

'EXPANDING CITIZENSHIP' UNDER *GOBIERNOS DEL CAMBIO?*

*THE CASE OF THE MIGRANT STREET
VENDORS' UNION AND AHORA MADRID*

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Abstract

During these last few decades, globalization, its scalar re-configurations and transnational migration have profoundly challenged the notion of citizenship, putting into question its meaning and its conceptualization beyond legal and territorial dimensions. Around the world, several “illegal” migrants and allies have mobilized to demand a right to citizenship. Some of these movements have been extensively covered such as the 1990s French Sans Papier movement or the early 2000s Spanish mobilizations (Barbero, 2012; Varela Huerta, 2013) while other fights remain untheorized. Moreover, the articles tend to focus on the migrant movement’s internal functioning, completely omitting an in-depth analysis of the political contexts which condition their genesis and activity.

This MA thesis attempts to fill in this empirical gap by examining the Spanish case of the Sindicato de Manteros y Lateros (Madrid) formed by “irregular” sub-Saharan transnational migrants and allies which collectively demand the provision of papeles and the depenalization of street vending in urban centers. In light of the analogous rise to power of the so-called progressive “gobiernos del cambio” in Madrid and other Spanish cities, which have placed municipalism and the figure of the citizen at the center of their policies and discourse, it becomes particularly interesting to analyze the actors and actions in which both “gobiernos del cambio” and unions debated on the potential shifting boundaries of liberal democratic citizenship, against a context of raising nationalism and xenophobia across Europe.

Keywords: *Street Vending, Manteros, Migrants, Sin Papeles, Citizenship, Gobiernos del Cambio, Madrid, Spain*

Abstrakt

In den letzten Jahrzehnten haben die Globalisierung, ihre skalaren Neukonfigurationen und die transnationale Migration den Begriff der Staatsbürgerschaft zutiefst in Frage gestellt und ihre Bedeutung und ihre Konzeptualisierung jenseits rechtlicher und territorialer Dimensionen in Frage gestellt. Weltweit haben sich mehrere "illegale" Migranten und Verbündete mobilisiert, um ein Recht auf Staatsbürgerschaft zu fordern. Einige dieser Bewegungen wurden ausführlich behandelt, wie die französische Sans-Papier-Bewegung der 90er Jahre oder die spanischen Mobilisierungen Anfang der 2000er Jahre (Barbero, 2012; Varela Huerta, 2013), während andere Kämpfe noch nicht theoretisiert sind. Darüber hinaus konzentrieren sich die Artikel eher auf das interne Funktionieren der Migrantenbewegung und lassen eine eingehende Analyse der politischen Kontexte, die ihre Entstehung und Aktivität bestimmen, völlig außer Acht.

Diese Masterarbeit versucht, diese empirische Lücke zu schließen, indem sie den spanischen Fall des Sindicato de Manteros y Lateros (Madrid) untersucht, der von "irregulären" transnationalen Migranten und Verbündeten südlich der Sahara gebildet wurde, die gemeinsam die Bereitstellung von Papeln und die Depenalisierung des Street Vending in städtischen Zentren fordern. Angesichts des analogen Machtzuwachses der so genannten progressiven "Gobiernos del cambio" in Madrid und anderen spanischen Städten, die den Kommunalismus und die Figur des Bürgers in den Mittelpunkt ihrer Politik und ihres Diskurses gestellt haben, wird es besonders interessant, die Akteure und Aktionen zu analysieren, in denen sowohl "Gobiernos del cambio" als auch Gewerkschaften über die möglichen sich verschiebenden Grenzen der liberal-demokratischen Staatsbürgerschaft diskutierten, vor dem Hintergrund, Nationalismus und Fremdenfeindlichkeit in ganz Europa zu erhöhen.

Schlüsselwörter: *Straßenverkauf, Manteros, Migranten, Sin Papeles, Staatsbürgerschaft, Gobiernos del Cambio, Madrid, Spanien.*

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Preface

It was Spring in Vienna when we were asked to come up with a topic for our MA thesis. I struggled to make a choice among all of my interests: gender and the city, graffiti, migration, public spaces, squatters... My polyamorous relationship with urban topics proved to be impractical for once and making a choice seemed to be the biggest challenge so far.

I still remember the day this changed: March 15, 2018. My Twitter, Instagram and Facebook feed were saturated with images of people rioting in one of the most multicultural neighborhoods of my dear hometown, Madrid. I quickly searched to find the igniting spark of these riots by reading the news and exhausting my feed, and all I could find was a collection of incoherent versions of the death of Mame Mbaye Ndiaye, a Senegalese “illegal” street vendor. Assisted by several municipal police agents, he lost his life from a cardiac arrest in *Calle del Oso* causing a proliferation of contradictory versions of the accountability of his death: neighbors of Lavapiés, the Senegalese community, municipal police, the mayor, the security councillor, opposition parties, the media... Many of these voices contradicted each other and the silence of *Abora Madrid's* City Hall, seen as a synonym of democratic renewal, equal rights and transparency for the majority of *Madrileñas* who voted in 2015, became after that day a source of disappointment to many. This disappointment was also voiced by a street vendor (self-proclaimed) union, which I came to know after these tragic events had taken place and whose activity I started to closely follow since then.

Chasing a hunch, I undusted an embryonic project I came up with, prior to my 4Cities enrollment. Originally, I had conceived a photographic project of migrants' various “informal” ways of earning a living in Madrid, but I quickly discarded it because A) I am not a good photographer and B) I was paralyzed by all the possible problems that the tensions between (in)visibility and (il)legality can bring about. Ruminating on this last point, I came to realize that the street vendor union, was actually catalyzing this tension in a radical way: “illegal” and “invisible” people making themselves “visible” to become “legal”. I needed to explore this further, to hear these stories myself, to understand what and how these tensions were being (re-)articulated.

In *Città Futura* (1917), Gramsci wrote: “I hate the indifferent. I believe [...] that “living means being partisan”. There cannot be only men¹, strangers to the city. Those who really live cannot but be citizens, and take sides. Indifference is abulia, it is parasitism, it is cowardice, it is not life. So I hate the indifferent.” Thus, as a citizen who lives to understand cities, I was confronted with the choice of remaining indifferent to Mbaye's death and the demands of the union, or embarking upon this exploration of the struggle for citizenship of others, and in the way maybe discover what it means to myself too. And so, I chose to take sides and I decided I had found my topic, or rather the topic had found me.

¹ Specially not only men, Antonio!

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I would like to thank my mother for being my vital source of inspiration and support. Without her, my attendance to this programme would have remained a fantasy. I would also like to thank all of my 4Cities colleagues (and in particular my two rocks, Serafina and Ignasi): for these two years of laughter, long walks, massive potlucks, library days, beers and tears. It was a very special experience to meet each and every one of you! A very special thanks to my thesis supervisor Professor Margarita Barañano, for transmitting me confidence, helping me out to reach institutional actors for interviews, encouraging me to delve deeper into theory and to remain curious. Lastly, I wanted to send a message of appreciation to every participant who has dedicated time and shared their views with me, without you my study would be deaf to a complex reality. This work is dedicated to all the *manteros* I met. Thank you for trusting me with your life stories. Your stories of dreams, hope, struggle and hardship, survival and solidarity.

Jai-rruh-jef. Gracias. Thank you.

In memoriam of Mame Mbaye Ndiaye

¡Mame, hermano, no te olvidamos!



Mame Mbaye Ndiaye, photo by Byron/Sindicato de Manteros y Lateros

Retrieved from: <https://www.eldiario.es/>

Introduction

Approaching the Object and Subject(s)

The front cover image of this MA Thesis is probably familiar to most Southern European cities' inhabitants. This type of street vending, more commonly known in Spain as *top manta*, is characterized by the use of a blanket (*manta*) to carry around and showcase products for sale. It is predominantly performed by male transnational "illegal"² migrants from West African countries, with a majority from Senegal (Espinosa, 2017), who face copious difficulties to access the labour market (Cachón, 2011). The *manteros*³ or "blanket street vendors" sell sports clothes, sneakers, handbags, perfumes, belts or sunglasses by roaming around and (temporarily) placing themselves in specific areas of urban historic centers, metro stations and beaches. A considerable amount of their offer are forgeries or fakes, imitating brands like *Louis Vuitton*, *Nike*, *Reebok* or *Gucci*. However, not all products violate, so to say, intellectual and industrial property laws, as is the case with hats, necklaces, earrings, bracelets and such. Regardless of the offered product, this type of informal street vending, is deemed illegal by most municipal and regional ordinances in Spain; while selling forgeries is punished by Criminal Law since 2015 (Martínez Escamilla & ASPM, 2014).

Even though the presence and activity of *manteros* in Spain is far from a novelty, in the last few years, particularly since the Criminal Law reform, Spanish media and politicians' are increasingly turning their attention to them, problematizing the phenomenon of *top manta* and feeding the hegemonic discourse which presents this complex and plural collective in an essentialized and criminalized fashion, sketched through the lines of (il)legality. Portrayals of them as «a (transnational) threat to the local urban economy, small and medium businesses», «the agents of unfair competition» or «dangers to public security»⁴ are rendering them as either hypervisible "threatening" subjects «unable to integrate in our societies» or rather «as victims of mafias». In parallel, several Spanish municipalities are pressured and concerned with finding "solutions" and ways of managing this urban multi-dimensional phenomenon at the convergence of migration, security, the use of public space and economy, leading to several moments of negotiation and confrontation. Partly as a response to this augmented, negative media attention and inclusion in local, national and even European public debates on the *manta* and the *manteros*, various migrant street vendor's (self-proclaimed) unions in several Spanish cities, are since 2015, spearheading the mobilization for the de-penalization of *top manta* and the long-established fight for citizenship rights by *sin papeles* or "illegal" migrants in Spain (Suárez-Navaz et. al, 2007; Varela, 2013).

² In a similar line to Suárez-Navaz (1996), I included this version instead of "undocument" or "irregular" migrant to "keep the connotations of the word and reflect the widespread use [...] in daily discourses." I would also like to note the obvious: not all street vendors are "illegal" migrants and not all "illegal" migrants work as *manteros*.

³ *Mantero*, in Spanish traditionally referred to a person that works fabricating and selling blankets, but now more commonly designates the street vendors that use a blanket to transport and sell goods. (See: <https://www.fundeu.es/recomendacion/mantero-no-es-lo-mismo-que-top-manta/>)

⁴ Refer to the Analysis section in this same work for exact newspaper article references.

Indeed, transnational migration continues to raise essential epistemological questions on the conception of the nation-state and borders, as well as the foundations on which liberal democratic notions like (Spanish and European) citizenship, belonging, or political participation lay (Suárez-Navaz, 1997, Balibar, 2004; Isin, 2009). By drawing from Critical Citizenship Studies, Social Movement Studies and transnational approaches to migration, I will first critically engage with the hegemonic perception of *manteros* as objects of politics, constructed as “illegal” workers and “illegal” migrants by looking at the legislative corpus and mainstream media representations. I will then move on to focus on the recent mobilizations by the street vendors unions, approaching *manteros* as relational agents and political-juridical subjects (Barbero, 2013), with certain autonomy and capacity to question and potentially expand the limits of the nation-state illusory project, using the city of Madrid as the main empirical case study and Barcelona as the counter-case. In this part, the idea is to try to capture the mobilization, the discourses, actors, scales, and so on. In sum, this thesis aims to provide a contemporary and contextualized example of just one of the multiple “illegal” migrant mobilizations in the Global North in this “glocalising” world (Swyngedouw, 2004), by considering *manteros* as “enactors of citizenship” (Barbero, 2013; Isin, 2009).

(Politically) Contextualizing the Subject(s)

Examining the case of *manteros* and their construction as political-juridical subjects through the unions becomes particularly interesting in light of the socio-political transformations taking place since 2015 in Europe, Spain and several Spanish municipalities, among them Madrid:

At the European level, we witnessed the widespread mainstreaming of the ‘migration crisis’ discourse in mass media and policy among members, fed by the construction of migration as a problem which can (and should) be tackled (Crawley & Skleparis, 2018; Moffette, 2018). This discursive turn has had real life consequences: a general rise of xenophobic and anti-immigrant climate across nations moved by a manufactured fear and linked, in turn, to the growth of nationalisms in the realm of national and local politics; the problematic dichotomization of refugee/(economic) migrant and the “strengthening” of borders of Europe (outside, within and even beyond). This is paradigmatically illustrated by the fact that in December 2015, the European Commission (EC), proposed a drastic transformation of FRONTEX to “promptly respond to emerging crises at the external border” by “going **beyond** checks and patrols at the **external border**” and including “measures in and with third countries, and responsibilities **'behind the border'**, such as return of third country nationals irregularly staying in the EU to their countries of origin” (my emphasis, European Commission, 2015). The new European Border and Coast Guard Agency was established on the 14th of September, 2016 (Ibid., 2016). These macro-sociopolitical dynamics continue to shape the everyday life and experience of migrants in the EU, as well as beyond: in their countries of origin and also transit. Nonetheless, migrants should not be seen as mere passive victims of these macro-political changes, and this is where the case study of the *Sindicato de Manteros (y Lateros) de Madrid*

(*SMLM from now*)⁵ come in; being one of the many examples of the “illegal” migrant mobilizations that have emerged to visibilize their conditions within the EU and contest these negative criminalizing and victimizing constructions, becoming, as I will try to argue, central actors in the demand of citizenship rights within the Spanish context since their birth in 2016 and 2015 respectively, up until today.

Now, let me turn to the national level. The first important consideration has to do with the legislative reform by the *Popular Party* (PP) of the Penal Code, popularly known as the «Gag Law», which entered into force on the 1st of July, 2015 and included among many other things⁶ a new regulation on intellectual and industrial property that affected the *manteros* collective by criminalizing them and explained in detail in the results section. According to the BOE (2015), this reform was justified by “the perspective that the passage of time offers of the virtues and deficiencies of the legal norms, the social changes [...], the new ways of putting at risk the security and tranquility of citizens, the new contents of the social demands included in this concept, and the urgent need to update the sanctioning regime [...]”. The reform was highly controversial and was interpreted to seek “repressing acts of communication which showed disaffection to institutions and its symbols” (Presno as cited by Bilbao, 2015) and on the way produced “new” criminal figures within the Spanish legal framework. Accordingly, opposition parties interpreted the reform as an institutional mechanism to “censor, silence, criminalize and repress any critique or expression of protest and establish a Police State” (Ibid.). Bilbao also notes that the response to “this growing demand for security” that the reform aimed to tackle was not “in accordance to the demoscopic data of the time”, where security was far from being the main concern of the Spanish population. In fact, the concern seemed to be quite another. Spain, like other Southern European countries, was strongly affected by the 2008 economic crisis: austerity measures, continuous cuts in public expenditure, a general housing crisis characterized by evictions and several corruption scandals, which brought about a crisis of representative democracy and a general climate of civil outrage; culminated in the 15M movement⁷ in 2011. In turn, efforts to bring this social movement into the institutionalized political realm ended in the creation of the national party *Unidas Podemos*, which partially breached, next to the liberal party *Ciudadanos* (Cs), the long-established bipartisan political dominion by PP (Rightwing party) and PSOE (Socialist Party).

This national transformation in the political arena, percolated into the municipal scale, where several *Podemos*-affiliated municipal parties and other political organizations, lumped under the umbrella term *Gobiernos del Cambio* (Governments of Change; GoC), started sprouting across the peninsula. *Ahora*

⁵ Original name of the Street Vendors Union of Madrid, which included the collective of can sellers (lateros) an activity predominantly performed by Asian migrants (Bangladesh, Pakistan, etc.).

⁶ The Gag Law brought about many other changes which had arguably more importance or societal impact, such as the articles violating freedom of expression but which are not worthy to mention in the text for the sake of the argument.

⁷ For an analysis of the 15-M movement, as well as its global connection to other mobilizations as a response to the 2008 economic crisis see to *Networks of Hope and Outrage: Social Movements in the Internet Age* (Castels, 2012).

Madrid, Barcelona en Comú, Valencia en Comú, Zaragoza en Comú, Por Cádiz Sí Se Puede, Compostela Aberta and *Marea Atlántica*, are some of the political confluences that reached municipal power after the May, 2015 elections. These “radical left urban regimes” (Blanco et al., 2019), had contextual differences in each city, but generally shared a political discourse backbone by Murray Bookchin’s Libertarian Municipalism principles, where ecology, the figure of the citizen, participative democracy and the geographical/political/administrative unit of the neighborhood were primordial (Bookchin, n.d.). These political confluences were an amalgam of the left political parties (*IU, Podemos, Equo*), activists and—in their own words— “organized citizens” with an agenda aimed to create a more “democratic, transparent, equal, social, cohesive and closer” city (Ahora Madrid, n.d.) for the “return of the city to its inhabitants” (Barcelona en Comú, n.d.). In its electoral program for 2015, *Ahora Madrid* stated:

“Now a window of opportunity opens, **a new urban agenda for citizens**, for the Madrid of the twenty-first century [...] A change that must begin with the management and organization of the city. Building a model of a democratic city in which **all citizens** can participate in the definition, the management and the development of key policies [...] The people elected to government positions must be **at the service of the citizenry** [...] A City Council that listens and knows how to integrate **citizen knowledge**. True participation goes hand in hand with real capacity for intervention, decision making and integration between participatory spaces and the institution.” (My own emphasis).

From this fragment it is clear that citizenship is central and that democratic renewal of institutions was clear aim; and although I am well aware that granting (national) citizenship was simply out of *Ahora Madrid*’s local political capabilities, I could not help but wonder: To what extent have they attempted to play a role in palliating the absolute lack of citizenship of “illegal” migrants in cities? Taking into account its roots in a social movement; have they opened up spaces for dialogue with these migrants, and in particular for the *manteros* collective represented by the union? What are the discourses and demands formulated by the *manteros* union and how did a “radical left” urban government manage this phenomenon at the intersection of migration, globalization, capitalism, and more importantly citizenship? Given that “the extension of citizenship is a product of a complex political lattice and not just of a simple isolated fight of a marginalized and vulnerable social agent, like undocumented migrants” (Suarez-Navaz et. al, 2007), this thesis will also aim to look at the interactions between the *SMLM* and the local political context in which it was embedded (*Ahora Madrid*). Moreover, in order to not fall into a “local trap” of the study of citizenship re-formulations, I will also include other political scales in the discussion which are necessary to understand the bigger picture of the struggle for *papeles* and the decriminalization of the *manta*.

Research Questions

In order to understand the dialogue for extensions of citizenship and depenalization of *top manta*, I have to make an initial approximation to *top manta* in the city of Madrid, then the *manteros*' union in particular and finally, look at the interactions with the different political scales paying special attention to *Ahora Madrid*. For this purpose, I worked towards answering the following research questions:

To what extent is the migrant street vendor union in Madrid engaging in 'Acts of citizenship' to expand it?

(Isin, 2009; Liliana Suárez et. al, 2013)

And in what ways has the 'gobierno del cambio' of Ahora Madrid positioned itself as an 'Political Opportunity Structure' for this migrant mobilization? (Giugni, 2009)

Objectives, Aims & Disclaimers

What are the end products I aim to extract from this theoretical reflection and empirical exercise? In this section I get slightly ahead of myself, introducing some concepts which will be expanded upon in the literature review.

Firstly, I make an initial approximation to the phenomenon⁸ of *top manta* in Madrid. This will be done by deconstructing its problematization by examining the legal norms (national, regional and local) that affect these street vendors, both in terms of 1) their social rights as migrants and 2) the development of their economic activity, paying attention to the production of their dual “illegality” condition and as objects of politics. In this regard, I will also analyse various digital and newspaper articles portraying *manteros* in different ways, which consolidates this construction of them.

Secondly, I will approach the *manteros* as agentic political-juridical subjects, contesting the previous productions by focusing on the creation of the union and the establishment of dialogue with the city hall of *Ahora Madrid*. For this, I will elaborate “a chronology of the conflict” of the confluences and harmonies between the actors involved, inspired by the fieldwork on “illegal” migrant mobilizations of sociologist Amarela Varela (2013) and anthropologist Liliana Suárez-Navaz and colleagues (2007). Simultaneously, I will try to generate a cartography of the actions and contexts in terms of ‘place, scale, networks, mobility and socio-spatial positionality’ (Leitner, Sheppard, & Sziarto, 2008). This adds geographical analytical complexity and reduces the possibility of falling into the ‘national’ trap when examining citizenship struggles. Moreover, by paying attention to the myriad of ‘Opportunity Structures’ in line with Social Movement Theory (from authors like Della Porta, Tilly, Giugni), I will attempt to unveil the socio-spatial and multi-scalar political contexts that have allowed for the migrant street vendor

⁸ Calling it a phenomenon is common in the media, political debates and academic texts, while *manteros* are often referred to as a collective.

unions to arise and contribute to “contentious politics” and the role in this process of the local scale. The idea here is to not limit the analysis to the internal working of the social movements but to look at its interactions with the institutional context. Last but not least, throughout the study I try to provide a (very basic) collective ethnographic account of the migrant street vendors’ lifestories, told through their “perceptions, desires, experiences and expectations” in Madrid as *manteros*. Given the ethnographic-inspired approach, in this MA thesis the results and analysis are presented hand in hand, always guided by the structure presented in the aim and objectives section.

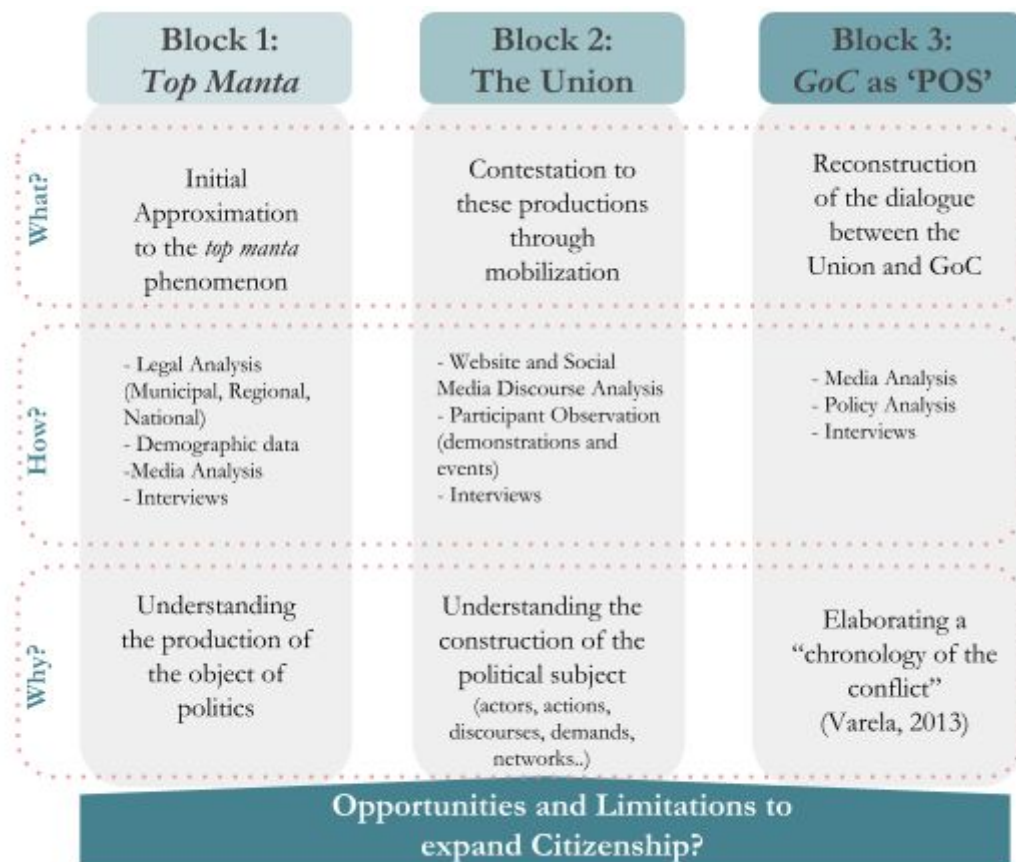
My ultimate aim is to contribute to the critical literature dealing with the potential of citizenship to operate not only at nation-state level, but also above and below, and beyond its legal character; by considering the limitations of territoriality and liberal democratic citizenship in light of transnational migration and a globalizing Europe, a continent which presents itself to the world as the spearheader of human rights and democratic values.

Before I move on, I would like to ponder on some disclaimers which are important to have in mind in regards to my study. To begin with, it is important to note that “illegal” migrant mobilizations, as well as *manteros* mobilizations, existed in Spain prior to 2015. Amarela Varela (2007), a Mexican sociologist from whom I have been largely inspired for the elaboration of this work, points at the analytical danger of talking about the creation of “new ways forms of politics or new subjects” because it can lead to the “un-memory of the conflict”, so a brief historical overview is an essential precautionary measure. Conversely, this thesis has a spatial focus (Madrid) and chronological focus (the term of *Ahora Madrid* between 2015-9), and it would not be daring to say that it has its own peculiarities: on the one hand the appearance of the *SMLM* in 2016, and on the other, the rise to power of *Ahora Madrid* and its briefly introduced “new urban agenda”. Lastly, I wanted to clarify that my intention is not to produce a normative judgement of the political trajectory and action by *Ahora Madrid*. Again, the idea is to understand the relation between this particular type of “illegal” migrants mobilization and the city hall with the intention of shedding light on the possibilities and limitations that local political scales have in guaranteeing basic economic, social and political rights to “illegal” migrants through the notion of citizenship as well as the formulation of demands to the local, national and transnational scale. Again, the idea is to reconstruct parts of the conflict to capture a dynamic snapshot of the mobilizations.

Methodology

This MA thesis is a qualitative single case study that approximates the construction and production of “illegality” of informal street vending and migrants, the contesting mobilization by some of these “illegal” migrants for citizenship and the depenalization of their activity, all against a “radical left” local political background, focusing particularly on the appearance and actions of the street vendors’ union in the city of Madrid during the political term of *Abora Madrid* (2015-2019). Given the complexity and multidimensionality of the topic, I have used a mixed methodological toolkit to be able to approach each of these three analytical blocks of the study:

Fig. 1: Schematization of object(s) and subject(s) of study with corresponding research methods and aims.



Source: Own Elaboration.

Case study

The case study is spatially and chronological set in the city of Madrid and the duration of the political term of *Abora Madrid* between 2015-19. My choice was informed by the limited academic research with a sociological/anthropological approach I could find on *top manta* in the Spanish urban context, with the exception of Fyssa (2016), Espinosa (2017) and Córdoba (2018). Previous 4Cities student Artemissa Fyssa (2016) explored the transnational dimension of this activity and contestations of street vendors in public space use. In my case, however, I look at the construction of the activity as an

economic/commercial, social and security problem and in turn the vendors' contestations in the public (political) sphere through their struggle to depenalize their activity and regularize their administrative status. In this regard, this thesis can also be understood as a semi-sequel to Fyssa's work in an exercise to make the research produced by 4Cities a constructive process. Alike Fyssa, I too consider *manteros* an adequate (partial) entry point to approximate the situation of "illegal" transnational migrants in contemporary urban centers, Spain and more broadly Southern Europe.

Likewise, the approximations to *manteros* and their unions as juridical/political subjects are also limited. I could only find the works of Espinosa (2017) and Córdoba (2018), both using as a case study the city of Barcelona. I assumed this scarcity of academic body of work, to be related to the relative young existence of both unions (Barcelona in 2015 and Madrid in 2016). The choice of giving preferential treatment to the case of Madrid, instead of carrying out a comparative analysis of the two cities, was motivated by the focus of the two previous authors, my familiarity with the case of Madrid and other logistical issues. Moreover, I also found a widespread analytical and temporal fixation within "illegal" migrant mobilizations research in Spain which looks at the 2000s shut-ins and mass legalization campaigns, usually through the example of the Catalan context. There is a reason behind this, given that the magnitude of the movement there in contrast stands in stark contrast to the ephemeral character of the shut-ins taking place in Madrid. (Barbero, 2012; 2013; Suárez-Navaz et. al, 2007; Varela, 2007; 2013). Honestly, adding the city of Barcelona as a second case-study would have implied an analytical complexity difficult to manage in regards to the length limitations and time constraints for this MA thesis.

Research Methods

As shown in the following schematization of the research design, I have blended a heterogeneous and interdisciplinary methodological toolkit to be able to approximate each of the analytical blocks (see Fig. 1). In this section, I justify my choices for those methods and expand upon their applications.

Interviews

A total of 21 semi-structured interviews were carried out in Madrid in the period from June to August of 2019: 12 with informal street vendors, 7 with institutional, academic and associative actors, and 3 (informal interviews) with souvenir shop workers. The main group (see Table 1), that of informal street vendors (coded as *SV*), could in turn be divided into two sub-groups: one composed by Interviewees *SV1* to *SV8*, and another from *SV9* to *SV12*. The first group (*SV1-SV8*) were all males from Sub Saharian countries (8 from Senegal, 1 from Gambia), with an age span from 39 to 20 and a mean age of 28,2. Moreover, all of them sold forgeries and 5/8 had an irregular administrative status. I approached most of them during my spatial observations in the *Sol-Callo-Gran Vía* axis while they were working, and only one inside a metro station in Plaza Castilla. Many agreed to carry out the interview on the spot, while

others gave me their phone numbers to set up an interview another day when free. Only one interviewee was contacted through another participant. In general lines, the themes for these interviews can be divided into three overarching sets:

- 1) Personal and activity-related (origin, time in Spain, time working with the blanket, products, confrontations with the police, fines);
- 2) Street Vendor Union & Mobilizations-related (acquaintance with the union, assistance, political/activist background, insight on Mbaye's case...); and lastly,
- 3) Local Politics-related (evaluation of *GoC's* actions (street-level) and perception of change (from *Ahora Madrid* to *PP, Cs and Vox* City Hall).

Semi-structuredness allowed for manoeuvring space to pose spontaneous questions depending on the openness of the interviewee. Nonetheless, for analytical rigour and comparison, I still aimed at asking most of the questions in the guide. All interviews were carried out in French and Spanish, depending on the interviewee's preference and subsequently translated to English (Appendix 2).

The second street vendor sub-group is composed by 3 males of Latin American countries (namely Ecuador, Mexico and Colombia), with a mean age of 34,4. They all had (different) regularized administrative statuses and sold hand-made goods/artisanry (2 jewelry and 1 drawings). In my analysis section I reflect on my choice to include these voices from what could be seen as another type of informal street vending. The questions posed were a mix between the questions I posed to the *manteros*, and to the souvenir shops, while others were improvised on the spot. The 3 interviews were carried out in Spanish and subsequently translated to English (Appendix 2).

Table 1: Interviewee Overview - Street Vendors

Interviewee Overview: Street Vendors					
Name	Interviewee code	Type of activity	Age	Gender	Country of Origin / Admin status
H.	SV1	Street vendor (Forgeries)	39	Male	Senegal / Irregular admin. status
M.	SV2	Street vendor (Forgeries)	30	Male	Senegal / Irregular admin. status
B.	SV3	Street vendor (Forgeries)	30	Male	Senegal / Regularized admin. status
O.	SV4	Street vendor (Forgeries)	20	Male	Gambia / Irregular admin. status
I.	SV5	Street vendor (Forgeries)	20	Male	Senegal / Irregular admin. status
S.	SV6	Street vendor (Forgeries)	39	Male	Senegal / Regularized admin. status
E.	SV7	Street vendor (Forgeries)	32	Male	Senegal / Irregular admin. status
Ou.	SV8	Street vendor (Forgeries)	24	Male	Senegal / Regularized admin. status
Ba.	SV9	Street vendor (Forgeries)	20	Male	Senegal / Regularized admin. status
H.	SV10	Street vendor (Artisanry)	40	Male	Ecuador / Regularized admin. status (Double nationality)
J.	SV11	Street vendor (Artisanry)	32	Male	Mexico / Regularized admin. status (Tourist Visa)
J.M.	SV12	Street vendor (Artisanry)	31	Male	Colombia / Regularized admin. status (Refugee status)

Source: Own Elaboration.

The Institutional/Academic/Activist interviewee group (see Table 2) was useful to shed light on the policy and politics of *top manta*, as well as perceptions of Spanish and Madrileñas in regards to migration and particularly African migrants or the internal functioning and opinion of the union. Within this group, there are 3 *GoC* local politicians (typologized as institutional); 2 university professors

(academic); and 3 associative actors (1 from the *SMLM* and 2 from *AISE*). Given that this group of interviewees is composed by actors with highly specialized functions, knowledge and roles, the thematic guidelines for these interviews were individually elaborated in accordance to gain insights on specific parts of the analytical blocks. All of the interviews were carried out in Spanish. The interviews can be provided on request.

Table 2: Interviewee Overview - Institutional, Academic & Associative Actors

Interviewee Overview: Institutional, Academic & Associative Actors				
Name	Type of actor	Position/Occupation	Gender	
Romy Arce	Institutional	Councillor of Usera and Villaverde with <i>Abora Madrid</i> through Ganemos (2015-19); Anti-capitalist militant; librarian	Female	
Pilar Sánchez (Cuca)	Institutional	City Major's Advisor (2015-9); Municipal Group of Más Madrid (2019- now); lawyer	Female	
Ana Fernández	Institutional	Second deputy mayor of Cádiz with <i>Por Cádiz Si Se Puede</i> (2015 - now)	Female	
Margarita Martínez Escar	Academic	Professor of Criminal Law in UCM (Madrid); Activist in <i>Asociación Sin Papeles de Madrid</i> (ASPM)	Female	
Liliana Suárez-Navaz	Academic	Professor of Anthropology in UAM; Expert in <i>Sin Papeles</i> mobilizations in Spain	Female	
Malick Gueye	Associative	Spokesperson of <i>Sindicato de Manteros y Lateros de Madrid</i>	Male	
Two members of AISE*	Associative	Spokespersons of the <i>Senegalese Immigrants' in Spain Association</i> (AISE in Spanish)	Males	
*They wanted to remain anonymous				

Source: Own Elaboration.

Legal documents & Policy analysis

From the Alien's Law and the Criminal Code (national level), to several ordinances dealing with street vending regulations in the Community of Madrid (regional level) and the Municipality of Madrid (local level; read City Hall). This was probably the thorniest task of my research, requiring me to delve into a field which was previously unknown to me, as a trained geographer. However, with the application of this research method, I discovered the extent to which the analysis of legal documents and policies regarding migration and street vending could provide me with a valuable insight into the regulatory bodies and the production of “illegality” of *manteros*, as workers and migrants. Indeed, the multidimensionality of this phenomenon, forced me to look into a wide array of legal documents produced by different political scales which regulating different aspects of social life (citizenship, economy, and use of public space). I also analysed the Law Reform Proposition titled “*Surviving is not a crime*” on the decriminalization of street vending (*Organic*)” (own translation), which was presented in the Spanish Congress of Deputies by the political party *Podemos-En Comú Podem-En Marea* on 6th April, 2018. This proposition was discarded but its analysis can shed light on an approximation of *top manta* and an attempt to depenalize the activity. Lastly, I also dared to look at some court resolutions of cases of *top manta* as well as violations of industrial and intellectual property.

Table 3: Overview of Legal Documents consulted organized by year, scale and interest.

Name	Official Name	Year	Scale	Interest
Foreigners' Law	<i>Ley Orgánica 4/2000 de la Ley de Extranjería y Asilo</i>	2000	National	Migration
Penal Code	<i>Ley Orgánica 10/1995 del Código Penal</i>	1995	National	Street Vending
Penal Code (mod.)	<i>Ley Orgánica 5/2010 de la Reforma Código Penal</i>	2010	National	Street Vending
Penal Code (mod.)	<i>Ley Orgánica 4/2015 de la Reforma Código Penal</i>	2015	National	Street Vending
Regional Government's Law of Street Vending	<i>Ley 1/1997 Reguladora de la Venta Ambulante de la Comunidad de Madrid.</i>	1997	Regional	Street Vending
Municipal Ordinance on Street Vending	<i>Ordenanza Municipal Reguladora de la Venta Ambulante</i>	2003	Municipal	Street Vending

Source: Own Elaboration.

Media Analysis

What does media in Spain say about *manteros*? What impacts does this coverage have on what members of the public, policymakers and the unions do? Has it affected their dialogue to some extent? These are some of the questions I had in mind while I was performing this media analysis. By analysing over 130 newspapers articles published in the period between 2015-2019 (and a handful prior to that), I hoped to sketch the various representations of the activity and the migrants; while reconstructing the discursive fields that mainstream media is using to talk about *top manta*, on the street vendor's union and the (local) political debates going on in Barcelona and Madrid. The reason behind including the media coverage of the Barcelona case in this analysis, is due to the fact that the two newspapers which I have exhaustively analysed (*El País* and *El Mundo*) are distributed all over the peninsula and continuously cover the two cases equally. Next to these two mainstream newspapers, I also looked at *La Razón* and *La Vanguardia*, next to some alternative digital newspapers: *Catalunya Plural*, *Eldiario.es*, *El salto*, and *Público* (which hold more leftist and progressive views than the previous ones). To retrieve the articles the following search terms were used: 'street vending' (= *venta ambulante*), 'street vendors' (= *manteros*), 'top manta', 'SMLM', 'Ahora Madrid', 'Barcelona en Comú', combined in different ways in the search engines of each newspaper. Following the results, I (manually) created a *top manta* media repository, where I would progressively add all articles dealing with the topic and briefly summarize them. Where these talking about commercial harm and losses or rather a mode of survival for migrants? The violence exerted by the police or by *manteros*? About the passivity or about the harshness of policies and city hall's actions? Whose scripts were featured more often? Having these questions in mind, I performed a discursive analysis, where I would also note the involved actors and the geographical scales mentioned.

Moreover, through the media analysis and by consulting other online sources, I reconstructed a map of all involved actors both in the struggle, debate and regulation of *top manta* in the cities of [Madrid](#)

and [Barcelona](#). I felt this was necessary to gain some clarity on the issue and show its dynamism. For this, I used the Open Source tool [onodo.org](#). I invite the reader to interact with it and any interested researcher working on or curious about this topic to contribute to the map if they wish. It shows the multi-scalar governance of *top manta* and crystallizes in an overview the different institutional competencies' complexities, the commercial associations complaining, the policial unions and police, the tight network of migrants and anti-racist allies in the struggle for the expansion of citizenship...

Demographic Data

Though this MA thesis was set up as a qualitative study, quantitative methods were not entirely discarded. They proved to be useful to shed light on specific issues such as the type and volume of migratory flows to Spain and their distribution in Madrid (in particular Lavapiés), their evolution through time or to try to arrive to an estimation of the number of “illegal” migrants in Spain. In regards to *top manta*, I was able to find municipal police's interventions on the activity of *manteros*, for the period of 2014 to 2019. Under the tag “total number of detained and investigated people for intellectual property violations”, as well as the so-called “number of interventions for protection of consumers and street users” in the whole city of Madrid and in the *Centro* district (where most *manteros* locate to sell), I could gain a quantitative insight on the municipal police actions. I was disappointed by the fact that the available data was only up to 2014, but at least the data covered the political term of *Ahora Madrid*. Lastly the databases where these datasets were downloaded from were the Madrid's City Hall data portal, the Municipal census (*Padrón Municipal*) and the Spanish National Statistics Institute (*INE*).

Participant Observation

During the Madrid semester, I assisted to as many gatherings and events (*see Table 4*) as I could, which were convened or counted with the participation of the *SMLM*. During these gatherings, I took videos, pictures and notes. The idea behind this participant observation was not only driven by my interest in getting to know the discourse and identifying some of the actors behind the *SMLM*, but also with my growing personal and political commitment as an anti-racist ally. In addition, I regret not having been able to attend any of the *SMLM* bi-weekly meetings, which could have showed me some of the internal workings of the union and have listened to more voices, apart from the *SMLM* spokesperson I interviewed (Malick).

Table 4: Overview of Events and Gatherings for Participant Observation

Event	Type of event	Location	Date	Organizers
Festival Antirracista	Festival	Sol Square	7-9/05/2019	SOS Racismo
Abrazada de los Pueblos, las Personas y los Derechos Humanos	Peaceful Demonstration/March	From Callao to Encomendadoras Square	05/05/2019	???
Imperialismo e Inmigración. Destrucción y Saqueo de África	Speech and Debate w/ African Manteros and Activists	Teatro del Barrio (C./Zuñi)	26/03/2019	Frente Anti-Imperialista
No olvidamos a Mame Mbaye	Concentration and Memorial Act	Nelson Mandela Square	15/03/2019	SMLM and others
Día Internacional del Migrante	Demonstration	Nelson Mandela Square	18/12/2018	SMLM and others

Source: Own Elaboration.

Reflection on Research Process and Challenges

Alike any other (novel) researcher, I encountered several empirical and analytical challenges throughout my study which I would like to share.

Theoretically, the issue ended up proving to be harder to dissect than initially thought. When I first choose my topic, I thought I was entering a relatively straightforward analysis of a migrant mobilization with clear actors and demands. But as my investigations advanced, I realised that the topic had many more dimensions I had not counted with and which were unfamiliar to me: law, economy, psychology, security studies next to migration, politics and public space... Honestly, to carry a truly holistic study of *top manta* would require an interdisciplinary team: where one can interpret legal texts and read judicial/court resolutions, another can get to know the sociological transnational character and migratory trajectories of the *manteros*, a psychologist could look at the health effects of working as *manteros* and conditions of “illegality”, and an anthropologist with great expertise on West African culture, and in particular, Senegalese culture could provide other insights (on Mourides, Islam and trade and commerce, Senegalese Peace culture...). Indeed, it was complex to read up and try to become a bit of each of these team members for myself, but it has not allowed me to delve as much as I wanted into my particular interest: the geographies of their mobilization, because I was scared of essentialization and reading the phenomenon in too simplistic terms.

In terms of the empirical I would have liked to have the opportunity to include more voices coming from *Ahora Madrid's* involved councillors: Marta Higuera Garrobo (First deputy mayor of Madrid City Council and head of the municipal government area of Equity, Social Rights and Employment), Javier Barbero (Health, Security and Emergencies councillor) and Jorge García Castaño (*Centro* and *Chamberí* districts councillor and Head of the Economy and Tax department). However, the municipal elections of May 2019, involving all three of them as candidates, adding the summer in between, made the setting up of these interviews a rather difficult task. However, I am awaiting a response to confirm an

interview with them after the hand-in date of this thesis and if it takes place I will make sure to integrate ad-hoc their voices to the results for my presentation. Similarly, I also tried to approach Pablo Carmona, an ex-councillor of *Abora Madrid* and candidate by *Madrid En Pie Municipalista*, during an urbanism debate in *el Círculo de Bellas Artes*, prior to the elections. He kindly agreed to the interview and provided me with his email address, but never replied to any of my emails. A similar situation took place when I tried to include the voices of Municipal Police by contacting one of their main unions (CPPM) with telephone calls and emails, but my requests also remained unreplied. In sum, if I continue to work on this topic, I would like to expand the interviewees to include all the aforementioned voices, as well as official unions (UGT and CCOO) and commercial associations complaining against *top manta*.

Continuing with this self-critical reflection on the interviewing process, but with *manteros*: there was a difference between carrying them out during their working time and on the spot, or outside of this context. Some *manteros* gave me their telephone numbers to meet up another day. Not only were the ones on the spot more tense throughout the interview, but also provided me with more concise answers than those who did not. This however, is something I explore in-depth in my analysis section. Likewise, my scarce (null) wolof vocabulary, forced me to look for migrants who speak Spanish or French. Though far from a challenge, given that all of them were fluent in French or Spanish, carrying out an interview in a language which is not your mother tongue is complex, added to the fact that I translated their answers into English trying to stick to the original meaning as much as I could.

Similarly, when synthesizing the results of these interviews, there are certain implications in the conversion of a plurality of voices into a single thread in order to knit one story. At the expense of details and richness, the analysis has gained brevity to fulfill length requirements but more importantly, it brought me closer to the possibility of understanding the struggle that unites the plural and morphing collective of *manteros*. It is a pity that the focus of my study did not allow me to probe more into the places of origin, transit and arrival of the *manteros*. However, in every interview it was unavoidable to end up talking about Morocco, Libya or Senegal. Some *manteros*, were particularly open to share with me their stories of 5-day trips through the desert, the camps in Morocco or a Refugee Camp in Italy, crossing the Mediterranean with boats and showing me pictures and videos. This is another line which could be powerful to further explore, for now these stories and testimonies remain in my memory.

Literature Review

Chapter 1 – Globalization and Migration: The Whole World on the Move?

As scholars, or an aspiring scholar in my case, we are more than acquainted with texts on the process of globalization. The takes on the topic vastly vary given the diversity of its causes, characteristics and consequences. At the dawn of globalization's theorization, political economy remained the imperative analytical unit. Some scholars argued that globalization would lead to the obsolescence of place, borders and nations sustained by the belief in (an illusory) democratization of the mobility of capital, goods, people and information, epitomized in works like Friedman's *The World is Flat* (2005). Others, namely the critics of this approach, revoked this argument by pointing at two aspects: 1) the continuation and exacerbation of uneven economic development and global power relations rather than the democratization⁹ of economic opportunities and mobility and 2) the scalar re-configuration, rather than the obsolescence of the political and economic sovereignty of nation-states in a relational and contingent manner (Harvey, 2001; 2016; Swyngedouw, 2004). David Harvey (2001) encapsulates well this second approach, defining globalization as:

“a geographical restructuring of capitalist activity (deindustrialization here and re-industrialization there, for example) across the face of planet earth, the production of new forms of uneven geographical development, a recalibration and even re-centering of global power [...] and a shift in the geographical scale at which capitalism is organized [...]”.

In a similar line, Swyngedouw (2007) also explored these scalar re-configurations of advanced capitalism, terming the process “glocalisation” by which national institutions restructured “both upwards to supra-national or global scales and downwards to the scale of the individual body or the local, urban or regional configurations”. Accordingly, nation-states far from evaporating from the world-system *chess board* as globalization unfolded, simply changed their meaning and role in this process of constant “de-territorialization and re-territorialization” of flows which are consistently becoming more “localized and trans-nationalized” (Ibid.), which unavoidably affects the meaning and role of the urban/local scale and transnational scale on the way. So, while it is true that globalization has to certain extents embraced and promoted the free circulation of capital, people, goods and information; on the other we have seen an extensive proliferation of legal mechanisms and technologies of control to regulate these flows, developing at the nation-state level but also at supra-national and local scales.

Doreen Massey raised some essential questions and conceptual points reflecting on this simultaneous process of de-/re-territorialization, in her seminal article ‘*A Global Sense of Place*’ (1991)

⁹ There are many renowned critical authors dealing with this: Klein, Harvey, Swyngedouw, Smith, Stiglitz, Wallerstein just to mention a few.

where she was trying to understand the relation between globalization, place and identity. She offers a more situated analysis of the way these global flows re-anchor at the local scale highlighting two different aspects. Firstly, the relational aspect of globalization, which she defines as “economic, political and cultural social relations, each full of power and with internal structures of domination and subordination, stretched out over the planet at every different level, from the household to the local area to the international”. Approaching globalization as economic, political and cultural relations which are increasing in intensity and stretching out throughout scales, but with the critical nuance of power being an integral element of the shape these take, affords a view of world power and place meaning in a constant process of reshaping. To further explain this, she introduces the concept of “the power geometry” of the “space-time compression” (the Marx-inspired-Harvey idea that we live in an increasingly “speeded up and spread out” world). The “power geometry” is a complex web that regulates socio-spatial relations not only in economic lines, but also in terms of gender, race, type of activity, and so on. In her view, economic relations continue to be an essential part to understand the control over mobility (adhering to the previously exposed Marxist interpretations), but acknowledges that it can never provide a complete picture of “the power geometry” at play. Secondly, Massey also insisted on the processual and produced character of place in opposition to a conception of place as something static or self-enclosed. Given that place is the dimension where “power geometries” are spatially manifested and contested. She also argued that these feelings of insecurity which feed “defensive and reactionary senses of place” are also informed by the “(idealised) notion of an era in which places were (supposedly) inhabited by coherent and homogenous communities”. In this regard, she draws a sound connection between globalization, meanings of place/identities, scalar reconfigurations and the growth of insecurity; and it seems as if her interpretations turned into accurate predictions. Nowadays, Massey’s fear of a proliferation of “reactionary senses of place” has translated into the mushrooming of “localism and nationalism” all over the European map, something which Harvey also attributes to “the security that place always offers in the midst of all the shifting that flexible accumulation implies” in his theory of the “spatial fix” (Harvey, 2016). In this regard, mobility could be said to be perceived as a menace for the “homogenous stability” and “order” of things within the places we inhabit.

In a similar critical spirit, Bauman (1998) also speculated about how this growth of insecurity could be explained in his chapter *‘After the Nation-state – What?’*. His premise is that during modernity the role of the nation-state (read sovereignty) was central and based on yet another illusion: that of being in ‘control’. Transnational forces, produced by this scalar re-configurations and above all the hyper-mobile flows of people, capital and goods have cloaked with mysticism where control emanates from, as well as what being in control means in today’s world. As a result, he concludes that this is giving ground to growing feelings of insecurity, uncertainty and fear. Nonetheless, he adds, this “image of global disorder reflects, rather, the new awareness (facilitated, but not necessarily caused, by the abrupt demise of block

politics) of the essentially elemental and contingent nature of the things which previously seemed to be tightly controlled or at least ‘technically controllable’ (Ibid.).

To recapitulate: so far I have shown how according to a considerable bulk of critical geographers, stratified mobility, reconfigured scales, and a “new” quest for security are some of the paradigms that characterize (and seem to be increasingly embraced) in our globalizing late capitalist democratic societies. As Papadopoulos & Tsianos (2013) well put it, “the concern today is how to codify mobility, how to make it productive and sustainable, and how to combine it with a new political order and the decline of sovereignty”. Now, I believe it is about time I move the argument forward and address the elephant in the text. So far, I have been discussing globalization and mobility in an abstract sense, without discerning between the different elements of mobility but there is one which has been central to capitalism’s development: migration, the movement of people. Migration has been (and continues to be) one of the main mobility pillars on which capitalism has and is sustained (Aquino & Varela, 2013).

The governance of migration, as in the attempts to regulate it, control and even contain it, could be said to be a field that has been vastly affected by scalar re-configurations and this previously discussed quest for security. Bauman (1998) puts it this way, “the dimension along which those “high up” and “low down” are plotted in a society of consumers is their degree of mobility”; and in turn, as I will argue their degree is demarcated through the lines of (il)legality. For instance, Withol de Weden (1987, as cited by Suarez-Navaz et. al, 2007)) mentions that prior to the “creation of the judicial non-category of “illegal”, this type of migration was referred to as “un-controlled”. So, in an attempt to draw lines of connection to the previous arguments on “feelings of insecurity”, stemming from the nation’s sovereignty loss of “control”, one of the strategies has been to create an increasingly imbricated legal regulatory framework, which has fed and transfigured our societies into the “fetichists of papers”, borrowing Liliana’s words (Suárez-Navaz et. al, 2007). Political scientist Sandro Mezzadra (2013) also holds that it is only after the 1973 crisis that the image of the “illegal” migrant gains today’s centrality in public rhetoric and the definition of migration policies. Consequently, we can assert that globalization has lead to a stratification of mobility which has been defining and defined by a strong differentiation between who can move and who cannot. And in turn, this differentiation regulated through legal-political mechanisms and technologies complexly woven and embedded with Massey’s “power-geometry”. Put simply, this has resulted in the fact that while “some of us enjoy the new freedom of movement sans papiers. Some others are not allowed to stay put for the same reason” ¹⁰(Bauman, 1998).

Here is where, once again Massey’s apologia for dissecting the intersectionality of the “illegal” bodies moving through space by looking at who holds “the degree of control and initiation” of these

¹⁰ I would add a critical nuance to this quote: While Bauman is right in indicating that some people are displaced from a territory because of their absence of papers, others are confined, or borrowing his own words forced to “stay put” in migrant detention centers (see Chapter 2 of *The Atlas of Migration in Europe: A Critical Geography of Migration Policies* by Migreurop(2019) for a complete and critical analysis of this topic)

flows can come in handy. Building up on her work, geographer Jennifer Hyndman (2004) calls for a feminist application to the study of migration, by seeing the figure of the migrant as “an embodiment of movement structured by Massey’s ‘power-geometry’”; a subject of study which can potentially help to visibilize the breaches within the current liberal democratic order in order to go beyond a reading of the nation-state “as a unitary-entity” (Ibid.), deconstructing state’s sovereignty. Indeed, the governance of migration is infested with contradictions, which point at the limits and potential breaches for contestation, but this explored in detail in Chapter 3. Let me continue by shedding light on the deconstruction of this governance apparatus. The attempt to regulate these migratory flows, which discerns those “high up” from the ones “low down” have resulted in what De Genova (2013) terms the “border spectacle”. Inspired by Guy Debord’s work *The Society of the Spectacle*, the “border spectacle” could be understood as a metaphor for the existing contradictions that take place at several scales (from the EU, to national and local contexts). De Genova argues that border policing and immigration law enforcement “produce a spectacle that enacts a scene of ‘exclusion’” which renders “migrant illegality visible” through “both language and image, of rhetoric, text and subtext, accusation and insinuation, as well as visual grammar” (Ibid.). By making this “illegality” visible, a difference is being produced between who holds a legal status and who does not, the latter systematically excluded and constantly invisibilized but also simulatenously visibilized in a fetishized way. This dichotomic relation in tensions is interesting to explore: the hypervisibilization and invisibilization of the figures of migrants in today’s world. In this regard, the border spectacle has two main consequences: on the one hand the fetishization of the figures of “illegal migration” and on the other the legitimization and naturalization of immigration law and border security, the operators of the stratification of mobility. In other words, the construction of the figures of “illegal” migrants are reinforced by images and language imposed on subjects which in turn legitimizes the existence of such category, and of the border spectacle as a whole.

Nonetheless, the “border spectacle” has a paradoxical side to it, given that these states simultaneously engage in the “shadowy, publicly unacknowledged or disavowed, obscene supplement: the large-scale recruitment of illegalized migrants as legally vulnerable, precarious, and thus tractable labour” (Ibid). Hence, one of the contradictions of globalization comes to the fore in this described paradox of migration’s governance: the palpable tension between the quest for “security” on one side, and the economic interest in making capital and workers flexible and even disposable on the other. This tension is continuously manifested in the dichotomies of “inclusion/exclusion”, legal/illegal, documented/undocumented, righteous of rights/unrighteous of rights. For instance, when looking at the particular case of Spain, David Moffette (2018) found “repressive and progressive practices coexisting in a contradictory and complementary fashion”.

Furthermore, the “border spectacle” does not only develop in the symbolic plane, but also spatially and materially through the extra/intra-territorialisation of the “border spectacle” which has come

to “encompass a much more variegated spectrum of spaces”, a part from the national one (De Genova, 2013). Let me present some examples of other scales where this spectacle is manifested. I have briefly mentioned in the contextualization section the fact that the supra-national scale (e.g. the EU) has “increasingly virtualized and externalized borders”, crystallizing in plurimorphous ways. Some examples are bilateral re-settlement agreements with non-EU countries for the expulsion of “illegal” migrants, the intervention of FRONTEX in non-EU seas and territories or the creation of the more recent European Coast Guard (European Council, n.d.). On the other hand, the intra-territorialization of the “border spectacle” can be explained with the multiplication of frontiers within the urban context, in our cities, which are drawn everyday through various biometric methods. For instance, the policing of public spaces (both through increased police and military presence, ethnic-profiling and documentation checks), the propagation of CCTVs, work raids in particular economic sectors (such as agriculture, fishing or construction) which tend to benefit from this “illegality” status to “hire” flexible labour and precarious workers among other strategies. All of these technologies and mechanisms, are to a large extent very much in line with the rise of “Revanchist” urbanism identified by geographer Neil Smith (1996). Another strategy which cannot be enough criticised is the confinement of migrants in detention centers because of their irregular administrative status (*CIEs in Spanish*). These are some of the gruesome acts of this spectacle that goes on and its justification along, though they are not all equally visible and visibilized... In sum, the critics of globalization and studios of migration converge in the interpretation of this turn towards security, and there are enough theoretical arguments, data and most importantly lived testimonies of migrants, to believe that it is becoming symptomatic across the multiple scales of governance.

Another aspect the “Border Spectacle” is tightly linked to and essential to mention, is the construction of “the other”. In the case of European nations it is based on a “binary distinction between the European and non-European citizens, and between the regular and irregular” (Contreras, 2016). For example and to follow the “visual” line of the “border spectacle” argument, Amarela Varela (2013), a Mexican sociologist that has studied the Spanish case of migrant mobilizations, introduced me to the concept of “*paterización*”. “*Paterización*” comes from the Spanish word *patera*, which refers to the boats that migrants who enter through the Western Mediterranean route from North Africa to Spain (and Europe) make use of. Critical geographers and sociologists that have touched upon the overrepresentation of this method of entry in the media since the Spanish migratory boom use it to call attention to the “generation of a hegemonic vision through images of avalanches of immigrants invading Europe” (own translation, p. 48). However, she continues to add that only 10% of migrants arrive through this method but that the “**spectacularism** of these black boats, the transmission in the news of black dead bodies [...] in Andalusian coasts, but most and for all the poor men and women entering through the coasts” legitimizes once again the existence of a security border regime, an apparatus that tries (and has to) to regulate, hinder and prevent this from happening. Thousands of people have died in the Mediterranean Sea, with

numbers diverging from source to source (i.e. FRONTEX, Missing Migrants Project). Mobility can be said to be stratified, human rights too, to such an extent that it has become normalized that people lose their lives because of their decision to move, usually in search for safety from the political situations in their country or better economic prospects. Achille Mbembe's "hypothesis that the expression of ultimate sovereignty resided in the power and capacity to decide who can live and who should die" (own translation, Mbembe, 2006), usually referred to as "necropolitics" can be used as a lens to further critically engage with the "border spectacle" idea and its intra/extra territorialisation through the subordination of the bodies of "the others" and shed light on some of the darkest side of the spectacle. This spectacularity, is an essential element for the legitimization of these policies, actions and so on, but they are unbelievably concomitant and contradictory to human rights declarations and charters, protecting migrants, children, teenagers, consumers, citizens and what not, yet the eye and the mind in this spectacle sit separate from each other.

Chapter 2 – Dissecting Citizenship: from Liberal Democratic to Insurgence and Acts

Citizenship studies is a broad and complex field, composed by by-default multidisciplinary approaches spanning from fields like political philosophy, anthropology, geography, migration studies to geopolitics, bio-politics and security studies. Each of these approaches concerns itself with different dimensions of citizenship: its political, legal, social and philosophical (increasingly questioned) meaning in today's societies, its conceptual limitations, its genealogy or role in border- and national identity formation. For the elaboration of this chapter, I have mostly relied on authors that adhere to Critical Citizenship Studies (CCS) and the Autonomy of Migration (AoM), which are mainly influenced by post-structuralist and Marxist ideas, respectively. Before introducing the theoretical approaches I used to operationalise citizenship for this MA Thesis, I wanted to ponder on the importance of being aware of the genealogy of the concept. I will not, however, go into the origin of the term because it is out of scope for this work's aim; rather I have deliberately started off with modernity for the purpose of elucidating how citizenship can be said to have undergone 'glocalisation' (Swyngedouw, 2004).

Using Hannah Arendt's concept of the 'conquest of the state by the nation', Étienne Balibar (2004) holds that in the 19th century, citizenship was directly equated to nationality and territoriality. National identity and citizenship have often been linked to each other, where they are both seen as designating "a state of democratic belonging or inclusion", which in turn, and as I have mentioned in the previous chapter is "premised on a conception of a community that is bounded and exclusive" (Bosniak, 2008). Even though liberal democratic citizenship has mostly served as an exclusionary status (and still is), it is equally important to acknowledge that it can also be an element for emancipation, as is the case with national identity formation processes for ex-colonies, as Balibar (2004) well notes. For the sake of this argument, however, let me momentarily keep my focus on the exclusionary side of it, or as Linda Bosniak

calls it, the “internal perspective” to citizenship (2008). Indeed, (liberal democratic) citizenship draws its exclusionary lines on the basis of anthropological differences, (i.e. sexes and sexualities, the normal and pathological, white and “others”, etc.) which “are systematically interpreted as inequalities and inscribed as such in the constitution of citizenship”, becoming not only “differential” but also “discriminatory” (Balibar, 2004).

Ironically, this (modern liberal) citizenship also ascribes to a universalistic language of (human) rights, were supposedly *all men are equal in rights*. This in turn, and borrowing Balibar’s terms, delineates the contradictory exercise of “assimilation” and “subjection” of ‘the other’ in relation to the white European male which citizenship has inscribed in its historical trajectory. According to Ferrajoli (as cited by Contreras, 2016), the cause behind the growing differentiation between human and citizen, is the expansion of globalization, becoming an increasingly compatible oxymoron through the workings of the ‘Border Spectacle’ where “assimilation” and “exclusion” simply co-exist in our liberal democratic societies. Papadopoulos and Tsianos (2013) also critically engage with the workings and consequences of this differential inclusion in regards to migration and capitalism, which I have summarized in this equation: “different residence status = different subjects of labour”; which is preceded by the “modality of entry” to the national territory of a migrant. Citizenship just like mobility, then, could be said to be stratified in today’s world.

However, the 20th century was, as Isin (2009) argues, “a time where the elements of citizenship were re-casted” caused by the “emergence of new rights (ecological, sexual and indigenous rights), blurring of boundaries between human and civil, political and social rights and the articulation of rights by (and to) cities, regions and across states.” Hence, it can be argued that scalar restructuring has potentially affected the ways in which citizenship is constituted, which hints us towards a level of flexibility of the concept and its potential to “jump-scales” or be multi-scalarly constituted, and not just nationally inscribed as in the previous paragraphs. Here, migration has played a key role, given that the (legal and social) figures of migrants and refugees, “are breaking the continuity between men and citizen, and putting into crisis the initiating fiction of modern sovereignty” (Naranjo, 2016). Worded differently, migration uncovers the limits, as well as breaches of the constitution of liberal modern citizenship, and maybe help to rethink ways of relating to place, in a more “progressive manner” as Massey urged over 20 years ago. The frontiers and borders have proven to be porous, walls and fences are jumped over, the Mediterranean sea is crossed, and our society’s fetishism for papers failings left in evidence... So, the question we should be asking is what role is citizenship playing now amidst scalar reconfigurations?

This last approach to citizenship, seeing it as open, flexible, questionable, and even a way for emancipation is a relatively new field. Scholars from both AoM and CCS continue to reflect on citizenship beyond sovereignty and the state, and they do this by looking at migration (see Ataç, Rygiel, & Stierl, 2016; Barbero, 2012; De Genova, 2013; Isin, 2009; Leitner & Strunk, 2014; Papadopoulos &

Tsianos, 2013). It is in this same body of work where I have found definitions of citizenship with enough space for manoeuvre to interpret and reflect on the mobilizations from the margins by migrants in their struggle for citizenship. I found Isin's (2009) definition of citizenship to be the most suitable for my study, who defines it as:

“a dynamic institution of domination and empowerment that governs who citizens (insiders), subjects (strangers and outsiders) and abjects (aliens) are and how these actors are to govern themselves and each other in a given body politic.”

This distinction between “citizens, subjects and abjects” is not just a matter of nomenclature, but actually constantly mediates relations between individuals and wider societal frameworks (namely the state and the law) given that “the substance of citizenship are rights” and these “are relations too” (Ibid.). At this point, the reader might be wondering why I have centered my attention in a concept like citizenship to apply to the collective of *manteros*, migrants whose mobility is more than often 1) deemed as irregular and 2) their presence in the country as illegal, constituting the category of abjects, denizens... This is because the figure of the migrant, which is “inarticulable but visible”, often resists categorization (into “foreigners, migrant, irregular migrant, illegal alien, immigrant, wanderer, refugee, émigré, exile, nomad”), hence it discursively challenges and “question[s] the modern figure of citizen with a singular loyalty, identity and belonging” (Isin, 2009).

On the contrary, in the struggle for citizenship many migrant mobilizations have actually engaged in the appropriation of these categories for their cause and struggle. For example, the 1990s French *Sans Papiers* or the 2000s Spanish Shut-Ins of the *Sin Papeles*. Other examples of more recent mobilizations are the DREAMers in USA or the most recent *Gillettes Noirs* in France. However, in every case the appropriation of the categories of struggle is done in different ways and not always with the same emancipatory results, as Walter J. Nicholls (2010) showed with the DREAMers in USA. His work serves as a reminder to remain critical in the study of migrant mobilizations attending at the differences created in this re-categorizations and discursive constructions, to not fall for the romanticization of migration. However, what all this migrant mobilizations examples prove is that citizenship holds an inherent flexibility with a potential for expansion at local, national and supra-national political, physical and administrative frontiers.

Lastly, it is also important to acknowledge that several AoM scholars identify a conceptual problem in the word ‘citizenship’ in an exercise of critical reflection. According to them it often obfuscates, rather than facilitating the possibility to expand it. For instance, Nyers (2007) identifies a limiting nature in the concept in terms of what ‘being political’ can entail, given that the concept has the convoluted birthmark which I have previously mentioned, that of being grounded mainly in ‘racial, ethnic, gender and geographical differences’. Even more critical is the view of feminists Tyler and Marciniak

(2013), who see the use of the term in citizenship studies as a hindrance for overcoming current (neo-)liberal practices and conceptions of itself (as cited by Ataç et al., 2016). I agree with many of the conceptual problematizations formulated by these authors and consequently acknowledge the need to examine its genealogy critically, but it is in this same examination of the concept that I find an answer to this dilemma. If the concept is understood as fluid, as a relation and not as status, then the openness for change and contestation is more attainable and its liberal democratic conceptions can be overcome. Arguably, the creation of a new term would eventually lead to other problems and limits in itself, so alike Isin, I prefer to approach citizenship as “in flux” (Isin, 2009). Hence, as a researcher who wants to understand the limits of and practices of citizenship, there is a need to look beyond semantics and into the field for queues which point at the ways in which citizenship is “in flux”. How it is practiced, resisted, or used as a springboard for insurgent movements, or how does it overcome (national) territorial limitations. Can it transcend scales? How? In relation to what? Velia Bobes (2000), summarized this well “citizenship is not an ontological or static condition, but is rather related to the existence of struggles and social movements that demands to the Nation-State the maintenance and the possible expansion of citizen’s rights” (own translation), and this expansion can be in that same scale, but as I have argued also beyond and below. In sum, I see citizenship as being characterized by this duality of being both “a means of governance and exclusionary rule”, but first and foremost “an important identity through which progressive struggles get enacted and performed” (Nyers, 2007) and is on the way being globalised.

The context I sketched in the previous chapters of globalization, its power geometries, scalar re-configurations and the “border spectacle” offered a sad realistic view of the present and a gloomy view for the future, where citizenship seemed to remain territorially bounded and internally interpreted. However, in this chapter I have tried to show the other side of citizenship: its potential for questioning the established orders, our frontier regimes, interrupting the legitimization of the “border spectacle” by seeing migrants as “insurgent or activist citizens” (Barbero, 2012; Isin, 2009; Leitner & Strunk, 2014).

Chapter 3 – Towards a Social Movement Of ‘Insurgent Citizens’?

In practice, what does it mean to study ‘insurgent citizenship’? How can the abstract notion of citizenship, which is mostly substantiated in identity politics and law but also “in flux”, be researched? The approaches and concepts that I have introduced in Chapter 2 partially reveal where I will have to look for answers: struggles, mobilizations, social movements. The first thing to be stated is that solely “listening to unauthorized practices breaks the hegemonic and seemingly static nature of citizenship” (Ataç et al., 2016). Migrant mobilizations for citizenship break this static nature because they “claim citizenship without possessing the status” (Ibid.), surfacing the contradictions between the differentiation between “human” and “citizen” and their relation to rights. By challenging and constructing citizenship from the margins, as well as interacting with institutions through informal and formal practices can the *Sindicato de Manteros y Lateros* of Madrid, the *Sindicato Popular de Vendedores Ambulantes* from Barcelona or

Mbolo Moy Dole in Bilbao be understood as part of a larger mobilization? Can they have something in common with the mobilizations and claims of DREAMers, the *Sin Papeles* or the *Gillets Noirs*? If we are to adhere to definitions of social movements which define it as:

“collectivities acting with some degree of organization and continuity outside of institutional or organizational channels for the purpose of challenging or defending extant authority, whether it is institutionally or culturally based, in the group, organization, society, culture, or world order of which they are a part” (Snow, Soule, and Kriesi, 2004).

Seeing migrant movements as part of a larger mobilization is nothing new and many authors from CCS and AoM have pointed towards a “new era of protests,” where migrant struggles are increasingly becoming “trans-categorical and transborder” (Ataç et al., 2016). Migrant mobilizations do not only resist an established order by demanding rights to nation-states which do not conceive them as being “righteous of”, but also challenge but to a large extent the “world order they are part of” (Snow, et. al, 2014) including along the way other scales and actors. Furthermore, they can be conceived as a collective to certain extent because they are pressing “claims as members of a subordinated group” by “accepting and redeploying an often stigmatized identity to gain rights” -that of undocumented street vendors (Pratt, 2004 as cited by Hyndman, 2004). Even if talking about social movements is too far out to some, they are undeniably organizing against citizenship’s exclusionary side or the “internal perspective of it” (Bosniak, 2008). Following this logic we can assert that migrant mobilization are engaging in what Charles Tilly coined in the 1970s “politics of contention” (Tarrow, 2014). Doug McAdam, Sydney Tarrow and Charles Tilly (2004) define it as “episodic rather than continuous, occurs in public, involves interaction between makers of claims and others, is recognized by those others as bearing on their interests and brings in governments as mediator, target, or claimant”. There are two types of politics of contention: “contained” and “transgressive”. “Contained” involves previously established and constituted political actors using “well established means of claim making” while “transgressive” is when “at least some of the parties are newly self-identified political actors and employ collective action” (Tilly, Tarrow & McAdam, 2004). Another way to put it is that one tries to alter the established order while the others try to dismantle it with their claims. From this definition it is clear why migrant mobilization studies has immersed and synthesized to some extents with Social Movement Studies (SMS).

Using this conceptual kaleidoscope one can identify voices, actors, struggles and discourses... but what about geography? I have been discussing citizenship as being constituted through national territory and contested in mobilizations, but if we wish to proceed analytically, what are the take-out lessons from SMS? Here is where Leitner and colleagues’ (2008) recommendations of looking at the “aspects of multiple spatialities” of “contentious politics” comes in handy, in order to see “to see how geography matters in contentious politics”. Let me briefly break down the different components of this “spatiality”, according to them:

- 1) “Scale”: by paying particular attention to the construction of new scales and the level of interaction of ‘contentious politics’ with the state.
- 2) “Place”: as in the places in which we live and work, by looking at places imbued with meaning.
- 3) “Networks”: the flows and materiality through which strategies and tactics of contentious politics are shared.
- 4) “Socio-spatial positionality”: as a synonym term of intersectionality as well the subjectivities, imaginaries, interests and knowledge.
- 5) “Mobility”: as “the material or virtual mobility of individuals or objects through space-time, within and between places”. Including both bodies as well as ideas and things/objects.

A part from these “multiple spatialities”, Meyer and Minkoff (2004) recommend to get to know ‘the world outside the social movement’. The world outside the movement is also referred to in political theory as the “Political Opportunity Structures (POS)” (Giugni, 2009). Hence, by looking at the movement’s local political embeddedness, its possibilities and limitations should become decipherable, given that its potential “does not only depend on their organizational features - but also on the openness of the political system” (as cited by Ataç et al., 2016). In other words, the concept of “POS” serves to understand the “variations and dynamics” that result from the interactions between the “contentious politics” and the institutional sphere, which combined with the “multiple spatialities” can allow us to reconstruct “the geographies of contention” showing the involvement and interactions of the different political and institutional scales. This concept has been used as a method to look at migrant mobilizations, combining ethnography, social movement studies and Critical Citizenship Studies to approach migration. For example, Varela’s work with migrant mobilizations in Spain in the 2000s engendering a “chronology of the conflict” which is in turn inspired by the “sociology of dissensus of Xavier Godàs” (2013), or the SocioSpatialNarratives (SSN) that Nanke Verloo (2016) applies to analyse the staging of conflict in the city.

Results & Analysis

Act 1 - An Initial Approximation to *Top Manta*: The production of the Object of Politics

Global Space/Local Place: Migration in Madrid

International migration to Spain is a relatively recent phenomenon given that it was only around the second half of the 1980s that a change of script from an emigrating country to a receiving one consolidated (Cachón, 2003; Martínez Lucio & Connolly, 2012). Lorenzo Cachón (2003), divides the construction of “Immigrant Spain” in three periods: one until 1985, another from 1986 until 1999 and from 2003 onwards, differentiated in “qualitative” terms. In the first period, he notes, immigration to Spain was mostly European with over 65% of migrants coming from other EU countries, 18% from Latin America, 7% from North America and only 10% from both Africa and Asia combined. Cachón generally describes that migrants of this period were mostly political refugees from Latin American dictatorships or rather retirees coming from economically more “advantaged” countries than Spain¹¹ (Ibid.). In the second stage, starting in the mid-80s, there is a “new”¹² kind of migration, in his own words. “New” in terms of their countries of origin, economic development levels of the regions and with “new” cultures and religions. This change was brought about by a series of events: Spain joining the EU in 1986, accompanied by a strong economic growth, the creation of a welfare state, an increase in education levels and this “new” migration was partially responding to the incipient labour demands of Spain’s secondary market. In this period, African migration grew +480%, with migrants coming mostly from Morocco and Senegal; and Latin American migration grew by +460%. Nonetheless, during that time European migration also doubled in numbers. Lastly, Cachón’s final stage, from 1999 onwards, is characterised by the incipient “problematization of the migratory phenomenon” or its construction as a “social problem” through what he terms “evocation” (in the media), “imposition” (in public political debates) and “legitimacy” (recognition by official sources) culminating in its institutionalization as such (Ibid, 2003).

According to the UN, between 2000 and 2010, Spain presented the second highest net immigration values worldwide, only after the United States (as cited by Moffette, 2018). This is a radically different picture from the one painted by Cachón in the early 2000s “consolidation of immigrant Spain”. Joaquín Arango (2019), holds that Spain’s case is an “uncommon immigration experience”, albeit still adhering to some of the trends of other Southern European countries. In contrast to Cachón, he divides immigration flows quantitatively and identifies four stages: 1) “a gradual start (1980s to 1990s)”; 2) “An immigration boom in the 2000s”; 3) “The severe protracted crisis (2008)” and 4) A stage which is rather

¹¹ Contreras would add to the list Moroccan students (2016)

¹² The use of “new” is intended to highlight its novelty as a social category in Spanish society, whose construction is consolidated by the “trinity” of law, media and policies.

“blurred” (2013- until now?). The migratory boom period was characterised by large inflows of labour migration, a high demand for caregivers and domestic workers; and high irregularity rates answered with various mass regularization¹³. However, this growth quickly retracted with the 2008 economic crisis, driven by wage reductions, austerity policies and job loss, which particularly affected migrants working in sectors like construction. The numbers of incoming migrants reduced, while the number of outgoing flows increased. Finally, the last stage (starting 3-4 years ago), is characterised by a recovered economic growth (3% per year); an increase in the number of refugees and asylum seekers, a change in the origins of incoming flows (i.e. Venezuelans due to political instability); and Spain becoming the main entry gate to Europe, replacing Italy and Greece. Frontex (n.d.) seconds Arango’s analysis, and in states that in 2018 the Western Mediterranean route became the most extensively used, with numbers “doubling for the second consecutive year to a record high of 57.034” and departures from Morocco increasing by five times (Frontex, 2019). This route is mostly used by Sub Saharan migrants according to Frontex’s “Risk” Analysis for 2019. With this, I do not mean to say that only African migrants hold irregular status or that all of them have an irregular status, this is far from true but the use of sea crossing as migratory route by migrants from this region makes them particularly prone to this situation. Similarly, a substantial proportion of these migrants currently arriving in Spain through sea, end up constituting the category of “illegal” because of their “irregular” border crossing. However, this is not the only way to hold an “irregular” status. The reality is more complex: the majority of migrants arrive by plane (Varela, 2013) and hold a wide range of “regular” status: tourists visas (which can later expire), or working permits (which cannot be renewed)... It is an impossible task to decypher the exact amount of “illegal” migrants or people holding an “irregular” status in Spain but a plausible estimation can be +180,000 migrants¹⁴ (INE, 2019).

Now, let me turn the focus to talk more in-depth about the characteristics of African population and Senegalese population in particular given that most of the *manteros* hold this nationality and not the spanish one, conforming the cateogires of “denizens” or “abjects” (Isin, 2009). African population in Spain has steadily grown throughout the years, with the first data available of 2002 counting a total of 442.408 which become 1.047.476 by 2019 (INE, 2019). From these, 70.879 hold a Senegalese nationality. The majority live in the region of Catalonia (22.362); followed by Andalucía (12.426); Valencia (5.742), País Vasco (4.672) and finally the Community of Madrid (3.317). In contrast to other regions of Spain, Madrid has a relatively low cypher of Senegalese migrants.

Scaling down by looking at the municipality, in 2019, there were 35.508 African migrants (City Hall, n.d.). The top three groups were Moroccans (22.346), followed by Senegalese (2.149) and Nigerians

¹³ These are the cases that Varela and Suarez-Navaz studied, between 2000 and 2001 with Aznar (PP); 2005 with Zapatero (PSOE).

¹⁴ I have crossed the numbers of total foreigners from the continuous census (5.025.264) minus the number of foreign residents in Spain (4.848.516) (INE, 2019). For a more accurate calculation an error margin would need to be approximated with those who do not inscribe in the census.

(1.408). An interesting characteristic to note is that Senegalese migration is highly masculinized in comparison to the other top groups, with 75,3% of Senegalese migrants in the city being male (whilst 54% of Moroccans and 58% of Nigerians were male). Over one quarter of Senegalese migrants lives in *Centro* district (517), followed by the districts of *Puente de Vallecas* (284), *Carabanchel* (248) and *Villaverde* (245) (Padrón Municipal, 2019). Statistical data for *manteros* does not exist, but estimations from the city hall coincide with those I got from Malick (SMLM spokesperson): around 200, 250 maximum. Within the *Centro* district, the Senegalese community concentrate in the neighborhood of *Embajadores*, popularly known as *Lavapiés*. Pérez-Agote, Tejerina and Barañano (2010), described that the growth of the Senegalese community in this district had been remarkable (next to Bangladeshis), with the numbers going from 53 Senegalese in 1998 to 808 in 2008. Counting today with 517, there has been a decrease in the neighborhood which would be interesting to research further¹⁵. Regardless of this, this neighborhood still plays an essential role for the Senegalese community as a place for encounter, culture and the weaving of networks of solidarity and mutual support and everyday life. Pérez-Agote et. al second this, where they claim that the importance of “diasporic collectivity” is stronger for Senegalese than for other migrant communities, where Lavapiés is often referred to as a “diasporic home”, a feeling I coincidentally stumbled upon in my fieldwork:

“I only know Lavapiés here. Lavapiés is home. I do not know another place, I only know here.” (M, SV2)

From the interviewed *manteros*, 5/9 lived in *Lavapiés*, one in *Puente de Vallecas* district and another in *Portazgo*. Those who did not live in *Lavapiés* told me they would go often. For instance, H. who has never lived in *Lavapiés* during his 2 years in Madrid said:

“I always go for the work and as well for the prayer, on Sunday, to the mosque.” (SV-1)

Despite the non-representativeness of the sample, I found a rich diversity in the ways they connect with the neighborhood, for friendship, groceries, religion, and their work. Another indicator of the plurality of this groups were the different ways the *manteros* had arrived to Madrid, in terms of 1) period of time; 2) means and 3) countries of transition. The older interviewees (late 30s) had been the longest here (around 10 years), while the younger ones (early 20s) had usually been for just 1 or 2 years. Some of my interviewees explained how they had arrived, for instance M. shows a modality of entry which is rather common:

“I arrived by plane, with a tourist visa to Portugal. I was there first.” (SV-2)

¹⁵ I can only think of some plausible explanations: 1) the effects of the crisis and the impact it had on immigrants emigrating, 2) gentrification and touristification which has already displaced some neighbours other peripheral neighborhoods like Puente de Vallecas or Villaverde; 3) Moving out to other neighborhoods because of social upward mobility and lastly 4) the acquisition of Spanish nationality and thus change in the census.

In this modality, the entry is both “regular” and administratively “legal”, but after 3 months, tourists visa expire and M.’s stay and administrative status would be deemed “irregular”¹⁶. I also heard stories of “irregular” border crossings:

“when I left Morocco, I had gone through very difficult times, they have mistreated us. The day I arrived here I was so happy. I just wanted to reach Europe, even if the work was shit, I was very happy, I did not want to die in the sea. [P: So, you crossed through the sea to Spain?] Yes. [In a big boat or a small one?] A big one, 42 people.” (Ou. SV-8)

As I mentioned in my methodology section, it was unavoidable to not talk about the countries of origin, transition or simply the situations in which they were before arriving in Spain. For instance, three *manteros* where in Italy before, another one in Portugal, and two others stayed in Morocco and Libya before crossing to Spain. In sum, all the statistical data I have presented can shed light on the flows, attempt to categorize into “regular” and “irregular”, approximate the volumes of migration to Europe or Spain or simply sketch a quantitative picture of diversity in the urban context, but it is only through these stories that one comes to realise that structural changes, policies, governmental actions affect people bodily, as well as the decisions they make, but also vice versa. Structure and agency, global and place always relational. O.’s story is a clear example of this:

“I was in Sicily, a city called Catania. But I was in a migrant center. I arrived there and try to ask for refugee status, they denied it to me, I talked to a lawyer and she issued an appeal... they gave me a date for an appointment, but they kept postponing and postponing... up to four times they postponed. I decided to leave, because one needs to live, right? **I did not come to Europe to just get papers, I came to make a life here.** It was difficult to get a job at the refugee center, there were two cops always at the door, they controlled where you went and when. It was bad, **I just had to leave...**” (O., SV-4).

The Multi-scalar Legal Production of “Illegality”

1985 is not only the year that Spain’s first migration stage initiated¹⁷, but also the year the first national Alien’s Law was approved. This law is often said to be a precondition for Spain to become a member of the EU in 1986, and was criticized at the time for its “policing approach” (Contreras, 2016). Later, in the year 2000 the (actual) law regulating Alien’s rights (officially titled Organic Law 4/2000 on the Rights and Freedoms of Aliens in Spain and their Social Integration), was drafted with the aim of “contemplating migration from a wider perspective[...] and not only from the lens of regulating migratory flows” (BOE, 2000). Nonetheless, it was subsequently amended to increasingly turn into securitizing measures facilitating “repatriations”, or aiming to “fight against “illegal” migration” (Contreras, 2016). The irony here, as Suárez-Navaz (2007) brilliantly puts it that “the *sin papeles* do not come from outside,

¹⁶ I use this language of “to be” and “illegal” again to make emphasis of the production of this “illegality”.

¹⁷ In accordance to Chacón’s (2003) analysis of migration to Spain.

they are a product created internally by our system constructed as dispossessed agents to justify their exclusion, their invisibilization and the denial their agency and relational capacity.” (p. 18).

In Spanish law, an alien is whoever does not hold the Spanish nationality. Alien's can be in Spain under two regimes: stay (less than 3 months) or residency¹⁸, which in turn is divided into temporal (3 months-5 years) or permanent. In order to attain a (temporal) residence permit one needs to 1) prove you have means to sustain yourself for that period of time without work; 2) not have any criminal records in Spain. It is with the permanent residency, attainable after 5 years of stay¹⁹, that an alien can stay for an undefined period of time and finally “work in similar conditions as the Spanish” (Chapter 2, BOE, 2000). The challenges, particularly during the first years of arrival, of trying to access the labour market without papers, forces many “illegal” migrants to look for means of subsistence in the “informal economy”, where they are exposed once again to the further vulnerabilization of their living conditions, given that the substantial part of (liberal democratic) citizenship, far from protecting them, produces them as the antithesis, the abjects who are not righteous of rights (Isin, 2009) deprived of even their agency. This phrase by Ou. encapsulates a common feeling:

“You will not see somebody that is a *mantero* and loves to work as such, it is because there is no solution.[...] there are people who sell drugs then that it is no problem, if they steal that is no problem but us... Us there is something inside that we cannot “say give, please” [begging for money]... I do not want to steal, [...] every person that works as a street vendor, the day there is a solution they would stop doing it, but in the meantime if there is no solution they continue. I swear the day I have my papers to be able to go to work, I am going to leave this, I am going to work, live well, and make a plan. Right now I cannot have it...”

In the particular context of Madrid, migrants have engaged in various “informal” economic activities to make ends meet which are often rather visible than “submerged” or “underground”. By taking a walk in *Sol Square*, one can spot multiple modalities: selling beverages, selfie sticks, artisanry or forgeries and fake goods. The latter being where *manteros* come in, accompanied by the next legal problem to untangle: the goods and their economic activity.

Despite the fact that article 3.2 of Madrid's Municipal Ordinance on Street Vending (2003) stipulates that “street vending outside of the allowed timetables and places is prohibited”, even when one contravenes this article, the type of goods a person sells makes its application be less or more strict. Let me first illustrate this with a field example and then go into the legal details. H. (SV-10), J. (SV-11) and J.M.(SV-12), are all informal street vendors, two of them sell jewelry and one of them drawings, all in the

¹⁸ Own translation from *estancia* and *residencia*.

¹⁹ This means that you have to go over the process of renovating your stay residency minimum once to fulfill the 5-year required period.

surroundings of Sol Square (where many *manteros* also sell their goods). However, when I asked them about problems with the police their answers were:

“No, I mean not too many, not like them [points at group of street vendors]. We are calm, sometimes they [police] come and tell us to pick up our stuff and say “leave gentlemen” that’s all.” (SV-10)

“Well, usually I would say that one or twice a week they [police] pass by and ask us [the other artisanry vendors that settle in that street] to pick up, but honestly, they always come with politeness. I have never had delicate inconveniences [sic], no... they just make me pick up and wait for me to pick up and that’s it.” (SV-12)

Even I, as a researcher felt the difference in the application of these norms and their real consequences. During my interviews with some *manteros* in Sol whilst they were working with the blanket, the answers were concise answers and the eye contact with me strictly minimal, as they simultaneously scanned the landscape for municipal or secret police²⁰. Many of them had had encounters with them,

“Only once, they took some of my things. It happened in Gran Vía. And another time I was running and you know like those things they place in Mesón de Paredes for cars not to circulate? I hit that with my knee. It still hurts sometimes when I am standing or sitting, [...] I know a guy who was also hurt by a cop and could not move his wrist for months, he could not work at all, for months... horrible and other guys have wounds on their legs... It is bad.” (O., SV-4)

“Oh yeah, once. In Gran Vía, I use to sell there always in Gran Vía but it is very bad now, it is a bad place, police are bad there. And now there is a police car with two cops on the door of the Primark. I am not going back there to sell. (I, SV-5).

“They are going to stop you, and sometimes take the bags, write something... They have fined me. Then if you do not pay the fine, you go to prison.” (M, SV-2).

Malick from the SMLM adds an important critical comment that it is not only about the products, but rather:

It's not about forgeries... if you want to fight against forgery, how come that 90% of the products sold by the *manteros* come from China and enter through the ports? Then go to customs if you want to fight this... go to the ports and work there, because fuck the merchandise enters, and then the *mantero* can go buy it and sell, you know? It's just that it has nothing to do with whether it's a forgery or not... it has to do with racism and that's it and everything else...

Manteros' concerns on police stem from multiple reasons: the confiscation of their goods or being fined. As many explained, the blanket gives them just about the money to make ends meet every month and if lucky send some back home, or as M. put it “it is about finding something to live

²⁰ In contrast with Street Vendors SV-10, SV-11 and SV-12, our conversations continued after the recording for an hour and I was able to even sit down on the floor with them next to their products to discuss.

from” (SV2). The amount depends on several factors: the season, the weather or on police interventions. For Ou. this was a major concern:

“there are moments were I run, they take my stuff and I have nothing left to buy more products. But what are you going to do? Steal, sell drugs? No, you are going to stay strong. The work there is shit, no one likes it. But if there is no solution...”

Margarita Martínez-Escamilla, Criminal Law professor and activist for blanket’s depenalization²¹ shared an interesting reflection during our interview, asserting that their activity makes them particularly exposed and vulnerable to the law:

“If they catch you, you can have several problems: the Penal Code, being fined, the municipal ordinances because you do not have authorization, and the application of the Aliens Law. And then this is all interrelated, imagine, if you have a residence permit but you have been caught several times selling things that are not criminal but you impose fines, when renewing the permits they will see if you have fines, if you have paid, if you have not paid, and if the Penal Code is applied forget about renewing your permits if you have them. So here there are many levels of illegality, even if it wasn't a crime, the fact of having so much police pressure, the fact that you are undocumented, is already a problem for these people, who are so exposed to the police.”

The Spanish Penal Code from 2015 is the legal text which currently sanctions the street vending of forgeries and fake products, treating it as a crime against industrial (or intellectual²²) property since its reform and which bleaks the possibilities to “regularize”. Art 274.3 states that:

“The itinerant or occasional sale (read street vending) of the products referred to in the previous sections (read forgeries) shall be punished by imprisonment from six months to two years.” (own translation, BOE, 2015).

Furthermore, “**depending** on the **characteristics** of the offender and the reduced amount of the benefit obtained or which could have been obtained [...] the Judge **may** impose the penalty of a fine of one to six months or community work from thirty-one to sixty days.” My interpretation of this article is that the dispositions are vague and abstract and can cause the unequal application in legal proceedings, and they do²³. Next to this, there is another problem related to community work, as Margarita pointed “there is not much offer on jobs for the benefit of the community, and [...] penalties for jobs for the benefit of the community expired when the time has passed, but this is not just for top manta, it’s general”. In other words, *manteros* who do not have the means to pay for these fines and are trialed, can end up in prison, or even being deported. Once again, this complicates regularization options vastly, independently of being “abjects” or “denizens” in our liberal democratic societies and are trapped, but many like O. (SV4) are well aware of this:

²¹ For complete story of her involvement go to the next section.

²² This type of felony was of much common application, prior to 2010 when more *mantero*’s would sell CDs and DVDs.

²³ I have read some judicial resolutions on street vending cases and they are very revealing

“It makes no sense that to get the papers, you need to live 3 years without papers and need a contract, which you won’t get because you do not have papers, and like this all the time... there is something wrong with the system, it’s like a game.”

Media Representations of *Manteros*

Legal constructions inform mediatic representations of migrants, and media in turn is one of the main vehicles for politicians’ discourses on *top manta*. This interrelation creates a kind of discursive “ecosystem” that retrofeeds itself in problematic(-ing) ways, and its dismantlement can help to understand the construction of *top manta* as a phenomenon or problem. From the 131 articles analysed, I was able to identify three different lines on *top manta* representation:

Manteros are...

The great majority of mainstream media articles represent *manteros* in three different ways: 1) as violent, 2) criminals, and 3) squatters of public space. Regarding the first category these are some illustrative sentences: “...it is **increasingly common** for *manteros* and *lateros* to **resist** the police and **attack** the guards...” (Arroyo, 2009); “the councillor of the PDeCAT, Jordi Martí, denounced that the **aggressions** of *manteros* to the Urban Guard are **no longer an isolated fact**” (El Mundo, 2017, Dec 19) or “our perception is that they **are more defiant and aggressive**, with confrontations that before did not even cross their minds, especially from leaders who coordinate the business.” (El Mundo, 2018, Aug 15). This last fragment, hints us toward the next categorization as criminals where they are portrayed as “the tip of the iceberg of **mafia networks** (Constantini, 2017, Apr 1); or directly as “mafia networks” (Mondelo, 2017, June 9). For instance, during the mediatic case where the spokesperson of the Barcelona union (Lamine Sarr) and other 7 *manteros* were arrested in their apartment with fake products to be sold, in some articles they were all portrayed as having criminal records²⁴, being **violent** towards the police and to other migrants group to **control (public) space** (Congostrina, 2018, July 28). Leading me to the last theme: *manteros* as unrighteous occupants of public space, perfectly illustrated in this statement of a member from the CSIF²⁵ who stated “under the permissive politics of miss Ada Colau (Barcelona’s major), they are exercising a criminal act in an **ostentatious ways**” (Gonzalez, 2017, Nov 24). Not only do police unions mobilize these discourses but also commercial actors. For instance, Ángeles García, secretary of the artisan society in Barcelona stated “they have to leave the ghetto they have turned into”, not only looking at their criminal activity but the aesthetics too. These discourses were also strong among municipal opposition parties during GoC’s terms in Madrid and Barcelona, where PP and C’s concerted their efforts for criticism. Their municipal campaigns for the 2019 elections illustrated this: while C’s

²⁴ Only 1 out of the 7 *manteros* did. Resolution SAP B 13118/2018 - ECLI: ES:APB:2018:13118 (Consejo General del Poder Judicial, 2019).

²⁵ A police union in Barcelona.

made a Twitter hashtag for *manteros* as public spaces squatters (#CallesOkupadas), PP's candidate Almeida used posters promising to "clean" Madrid from graffiti, squatters and *manteros*. In sum, *top manta* is constructed as a security, public space use "problem" and criminal problem (illegal status and activity).

GoC and governance

Another line of mediatic focus is on the management of *top manta*, which directly invoked GoC's actions and policies. GoC's in both cities have been continuously criticized by the same opposition parties for either their "permissiveness" or "passivity" towards the issue, to which the GoC has sometimes felt compelled to justify itself due to mediatic and political pressure. Here is a headline that shows this: "The PP denounces the increase in the 'top-blanket' and the City Council says that the actions against them have risen" (Duran, 2018, Jan 23). According to this discourse, GoC's "blind eye", has also lead to a municipal police body who "are in a borderline situation of unprotection, helpless and demotivation" (El Mundo, Dec 2017). Begoña Villacís²⁶ from Cs, stated "this Government does not know how to manage the Police and they see that they are not "a dish of good taste" for the City Council. They have always undermined the interests of the police and do not listen to them" (Lantigua, 2018, March 22) and this idea has also found an echo in political scales beyond the municipality: "The vice-president of the Community of Madrid criticizes that the City Council "looks the other way" with the *manteros* while "slapping" the Police" (Europa Press, 2018). From their side, Security Councillor of *Ahora Madrid* Javier Barbero, communicated that this feeling of unprotection is a specific matter of "the [police] union leaders but not of all police agents" (Lantigua, 2018, March 22). It is important to note that the conflict between local police and *GoC* does not directly stem from *top manta* management: it is more in reality complex as several interviewees opinions pointed at. Here is Rommy Arce's critical vision with the City Hall-police relations:

"[...] there was a moment, it was also a milestone in terms of security that facilitated losing all battles with the municipal police: When the municipal police mutinied in the street, I don't remember why, [...] the riot police was dismantled or..., but well the [police] unions demonstrated in the street and that day the councilman left the plaza de la Villa, he meets the demonstration, he decides not to hide and passes by, and there he was practically publicly harassed, pushed, it was a very violent and very hard moment at the beginning of the political term, [...] and from then on, pfffff... the relationship with the police went from bad to worse, and the whole relationship was one of continuous blackmail, of threats, of preying on the *manteros*. They used all sorts of things to harass and undermine the government, also in Barcelona. Because in the end the right used the police force, as a battering ram" (Rommy Arce, ex-councillor *Ahora Madrid*)

Or Pilar Sánchez Cuca's, in less critical and more self-critical reflection *Ahora Madrid*'s management in regards to an ethnic profiling project (PIPE) with the Municipal Police:

²⁶ Begoña Villacís was the Cs candidate for the May 2019 municipal elections, and is the current deputy mayor of the city of Madrid, with Almeida (PP) at the front.

“Not all police was aligned with it, and it was only a minority of the municipal police who believed in a project like this which we have had to work a lot from the inside for them to appropriate it, and I think we should have worked it further [...] it received many internal and external criticisms because they said it was like infantilizing police, or making them soft”. (Pilar Sánchez Cuca, major’s advisor, Ahora Madrid and Más Madrid).

Malick Gueye, spokesperson of the SMLM read this situation from his side:

“The right is there saying look Carmena is very good with the *manteros* is letting them sell anything, and Carmena is doing a good move; she does nothing but they are saying that she is doing and she is silent, and as the right uses the *manteros* so that their racist voters are happy, to say look at this you have to give a hard hand with them and these you have to kick them out of here, the other is like the good grandmother, who does not do shit, but it looks like she is doing and this speech suits her well. The whole time it was a political game, I don't know if I've explained myself well...”

The voices from the margins: the Unions and the Left

The last group of mediatic representations tries to deconstruct and combat *top manta*’s criminalization and problematization by opposition parties, commercial associations or police unions, by featuring the complaints of the SMLM or the SVAB, stories of *manteros*, or alternatives to *top manta*.

Mainstream newspapers *El País* and *El Mundo*²⁷ take a secondary role here, and instead several left digital independent media (e.g. Público, Eldiario.es, CatalunyaPlural, or El Salto) have taken up this task of being the unions and *manteros*’ vocal vehicles. Additionally, these articles have a propositive tone, in contrast to the critical one, featuring criticism to current management in regards to policing strategies, or alternatives to *top manta*’s like SVAB clothing project *Top Manta* or CUP²⁸’s proposition to designate a special zone for street vending in urban centers. Lastly, other articles try to shed light on the social realities of *manteros*, by including their personal stories next to critical positions on exclusion, discrimination and racism, police actions or the incongruencies of the Alien’s Law.

Interim conclusion of Act 1

The *manteros* are often referred to as a “phenomenon” by politicians, legal texts and media alike. According to the Oxford dictionary (Lexico, n.d.) a phenomenon is 1) “A fact or situation that is observed to exist or happen, especially one whose cause or explanation is in question.”; 2) “remarkable person or thing.” and 3) in philosophy “The object of a person's perception.” *Manteros*, as a collective are hard to approach and easy to essentialize probably because of their “phenomenological qualities”: what is the cause? Alien’s law? Art 276.3? Institutional racism? Governance?

In this first act I have tried to capture the ways this ‘object of politics’ has been constructed, as problem at the convergence of migratory, public space use, security or criminalization. The

²⁷ El País actually does it more often than El Mundo. Interestingly, I found out that El Mundo would do feature the opinions of the union would voice their opinions against the GoC, as a means to discredit them.

²⁸ Radical left municipal party in Barcelona, who defends *top manta*’s decriminalization.

instrumentalization has been particularly worsening during GoC's term, where opposition parties have used it as a means to not only discredit their political actions but also to earn voters, at a time where frontiers (physical, legal, political and social) multiply within Madrid, Spain and Europe, and *manteros* in the middle of it all well aware of their political objectification:

“we are in the street first, but we do not want it, we already know there is no future. We do it because the majority of us do not yet have papers. That is first. We do it with many problems, people talk badly to us, they say we should go to prison, that “what a fucking law that of Spain”, “how bad is Spain doing” and insult you everywhere, and nobody wants to live without privileges. One wants to live with privileges and respect, but towards the *mantero* there is no respect. It is always when the police does not take you, they take from you (products to sell), if the police goes and does not arrest you, then the population insults you. Sometimes they walk by and maybe spoil our things, you cannot say anything and they would answer “There is nowhere to walk by, there is nowhere to walk by dude!” That is their answer, there are people who walk by and do not say anything at all. It is a life that you live, but you know that you live like a person who is dead. And nobody wants to live dead. But since you are an immigrant and you are not in your country, you do not have papers, and you do not have any rights. (O., SV-4)

Act 2 - The Construction of a Political Subject: The Migrant Street Vendors' Union

Immunizing against the “un-memory” of the *top manta* struggle

“Before, the fight used to be another thing, we managed to depenalize the blanket [la manta] in 2010, then the new government of the right [PP] made it a law again... in the end the objectives and priorities change, right? After the 15-M ... people have other priorities, on fights... on evictions... other things... and racism was not as much denounced.” (Interview with Malick, Spokesperson of SMLM)

Even though the *Sindicato de Manteros y Lateros of Madrid (SMLM)* was officially founded in 2016, the struggle for the depenalization of the blanket and extension of citizenship for “illegal” migrants existed prior to that date and this section aims to be a prophylactic measure against the “un-memory of the conflict” (Varela, 2013).

On October 16, 2008 (ASPM, n.d.), neighbors, *manteros* and lawyers who conformed the *Asociación Sin Papeles de Madrid (ASPM)*, organized their first public press conference in the neighborhood of *Entrevías* (Villa de Vallecas, Madrid), where they introduced themselves as a support to the platform called *Ferrocarril Clandestino* (15M-pedia, n.d.). In this press conference they dealt with three themes (ASPM, 2008): 1) The creation and presentation of the ASPM to defend the rights of illegal migrants; 2) A campaign of support for the reprieve of *top manta* vendors, in the light of Mor Ndiaye's fixed sentence to prison or being expelled from Spain for 10 years and; 3) a demonstration taking place that afternoon under the slogan: “FOR OUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS AT THE BOTTOM OF THE SEA, FOR THOSE OF US WHO ARE STILL ADRIFT”. The initial part of this demonstration was a silent march from Lavapiés Square to Sol Square in memoriam of migrants who had lost their lives in the sea trying to

reach Europe. Once they reached Sol they danced and celebrated for the everyday struggle to survive of migrants who had arrived here. During these demonstrations other slogans were visible such as “If we do not have papers, what do we do? If we do not sell, how do we eat?”. Lastly, in that same presentation a member of the Workers’ Union *CGT* was present as well as artists who were against the criminalization of *top manta* (2008); this again related to the fact that *manteros* used to be specialized in selling *pirate* DVDs and CDs.

These episodes could be seen as the onset of the first *top manta* mobilizations in the Spanish context. Criminal Law professor Margarita Martínez-Escamilla was involved in it too and she called it “a social movement” in her retrospective article (2010). During my interview with her she explained how it all started:

“It was a long time ago, with the reform of the Penal Code in 2010, it was around 2009 or so. It all started when the ASPM contacted a colleague of mine, a professor of Criminal Law, because they his needed help to ask for the reprieve of some *manteros* who had been condemned to prison. Then we came to know of a reality that us, criminal law professors, were not aware of...”

This was the inauguration of a synergy between *manteros*, associations and academia that got together to reflect on the situation and the proportionality principle this law was not abiding to:

“...Then we thought to ourselves that reprieves were like patching, because it was asking for it for specific people who had specific sentences. Next to the ASPM and the Ferrocarril Clandestino (very active at that time), we initiated a campaign for the blanket depenalization and also took advantage of the Penal Code being reformed at that time aiming to take out the part of the crime against industrial and intellectual property...” (Interview with Margarita Martínez-Escamilla)

Manteros, lawyers, and artists united in this fight for the depenalization of *top manta*, the latter even made a campaign called “Not a single *mantero* in prison”, where they collected money to pay for the fines of *manteros* who could not afford them (Ibid.). All in all, and despite Margarita’s signs of dissatisfaction with all the results of the movement in her article, she mentions there was still a lot to celebrate: “we have made our voices be heard by saying that we do not like punitive excesses, that we do not only care about the crisis, but also about people and their rights [...] What we have achieved is also a cause for joy: that at least in this case the unjustified application of prison has been stopped and that no more *manteros*’ continue to suffer such disproportionate punishment.” (Ibid.).

After the 2010 reform of the Penal Code the ASPM continued its activity in other ways such as legal advising for migrants and joining other associations to protest against CIEs. In 2011, migrant associations were also part of the 15-M movement. For instance, from the involvement of the *Popular Assembly of Lavapiés*, and more specifically from its commission working on migration (*Migrapiés*) an integral cooperative project called Mbolo Moy Dole (wolof for Together We Can) was constituted in 2014 which

is still working up until today. In this cooperative project sub Saharian and Spanish neighbors of Lavapiés got together to think of alternatives to offer Migrapiés' members for "a better life" through self-employment by offering: catering, painting, move, sustainable tourism, and food on demand services (Diso Press, 2014). Meanwhile, the new reform to the 2010 Penal Code in 2015 was "threatening the *top manta* and solidarity" after the crisis, aimed to (re)criminalize street vendors with prison; as well as punishing solidarity towards "illegal" migrants (Martínez-Escamilla & ASPM, 2014). Meanwhile, in 2015 in Barcelona, the *Sindicato Popular de Vendedores Ambulante*, recognizing the achievements of the previous struggle, decided to take up the task of denouncing *top manta's* re-criminalization in light of this reform.

In 2016, the ASPM collaborated with the migrant street vendor union of Barcelona (*Sindicato Popular de Vendedores Ambulantes*) in a campaign called "Papers for All". This collaboration gave birth to the SMLM (SMLM, n.d.), who in turn hold their meeting at Mbolo Moy Dole's space, located in *Calle de las Dos Hermanas*, 14. This space is located less than 300 meters away from Nelson Mandela Square, a place that has plays an essential role in the spatial staging of everyday micro-politics of inhabitants, neighbor and migrant associations next to radical left/spaces of autogestion (*C.S.O. La Quimera*, *Local Anarquista La Magdalena*). Nelson Mandela has also served as stage for multitudinous protests, as I will show in Act 3.

In this section I have focused on the associative fabric dealing with *top manta*. Nonetheless, there are many other associations working for the rights of migrants in the spanish context, as well as in Madrid in Lavapiés, whose contributions have been essential: mobilizing against CIEs, police violence and ethnic profiling, racism and xenophobia, and working for the improvement of Africans and other migrants labour and living conditions, for cultural exchange, for language... AISE, Valiente Bangla, or the islamic brotherhoods of Mourids present in the area. African associanism in Spain, was mainly developed in the 90s and "has the characteristic of being weaved on the basis of nationality", as Vanessa Cadena (n.d.) indicates in her article on the topic. One of the examples is the Senegalese Immigrants in Spain Association (AISE), to whom I also spoke too about their mission:

"In the 90s, our elders, our parents and uncles, people who where here, lived a rather particular situation... Even today it is still lived, but in that moment it was terrible, terrifying. No one would rent a house to a black person, even though Spain had Equatorial Guinea, but they didn't care. [...] Since they didn't rent them houses, they lived [...] in hostels in the area of Atocha, [...] where all black immigrants came down and lived there. And they [police] entered there, any time, any moment, when they wanted [...] and made identifications. The ones with papers were allowed to sleep, the ones with no papers, where taken to the police station and after two days, three days he was deported to his country or to the country where he has his... it doesn't matter... because there are people who were refugees. And all this social alarm, this problem, pushed AISE to say "okay, we have to do something, we can't live in this country being discriminated. We're working, we're building in that country. [...] we pay for the police and then the police harass us, something is wrong, we have to fix it." (Interview with Spokesperson 1 from AISE)

Indeed, associanism is not only rich in the geographical sense within Lavapiés, but also for African associanism in Spain, as Nicole Ngodenga mentions in an interview “of the 54 countries of the continent, nearly half of them have associations. Each country, if they do not have a well-organized associations, has a group of fellow country(wo)men that get together. They can call it association or not, but it is a link which is created” (Cadena, n.d.).

Mapping Actors

The previous section proves that migrant struggles are not performed by them alone, rather it is thanks to a series of synergies and efforts, successive accumulation, that networks of trust and solidarity are built upon, and conflict and struggles stay alive. These associative web, is also part of the ‘Political Opportunity Structures’ (‘POS’) for the union. The previous exercise of the “un-memory of the conflict” proves to be extremely useful to not isolate in time and space, or give special analytical priority to one of these. What we can assert however, that the SMLM as well Barcelona’s SVAB, are both to some extent “contentious politics” actors. Constituting *manteros* as a new “political subject” in the map. It is important to stress however, that participation in Madrid’s union is not very high. In contrast to Barcelona where *manteros* almost double in numbers, Madrid has struggled to mobilize. Here are some reasons:

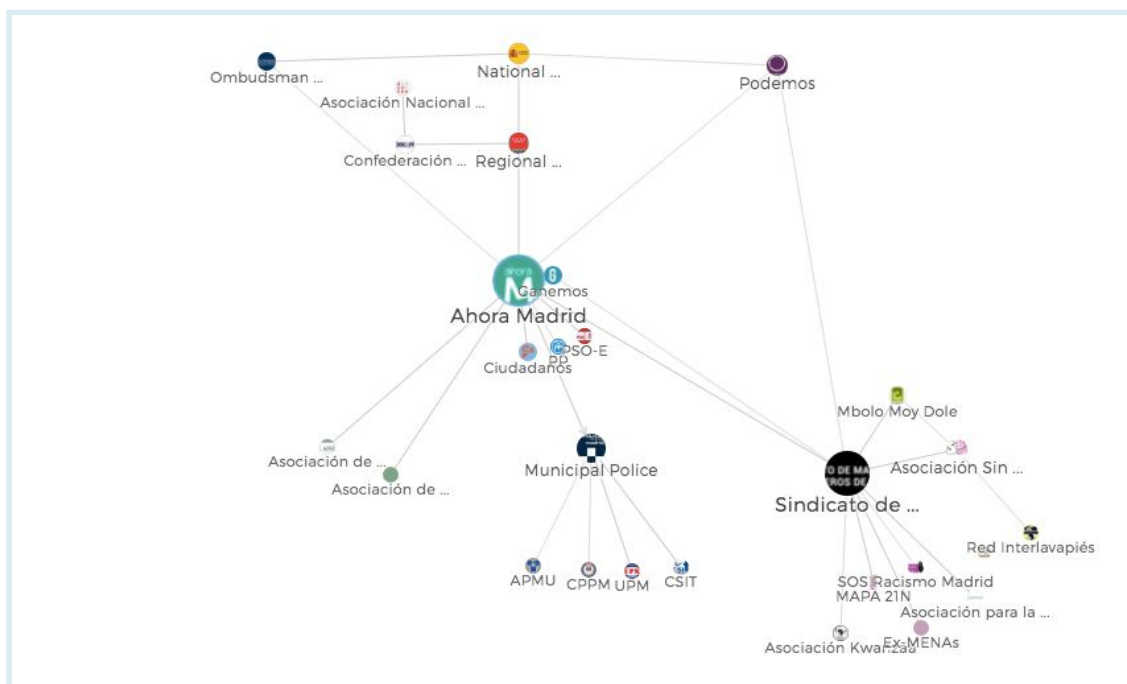
“The case of the migrant population has its particularities because of course the people have a job that is incompatible with political activity, and other types of conditions I would say even psychological and emotional ones. These make difficult some initiatives, their continuity, their support... The *Mantero* union itself has been going through a crisis since it was created, they are small, they have a hard time pulling, they have a hard time getting together, in other words, everything costs a lot in these collectives. The same goes for others, doesn't it?” (Rommy Arce, Ahora Madrid)

Malick Gueye, for his part explained:

“Racism was not condemned and... one has to expose it, because the collective of *manteros*, the people who sell in the street — me and more people were *manteros* but do not sell anymore because we have a job— if we do not go to the streets, if we do not visibilize, the *manteros* who are at the street will not do anything, for security reasons, because when they go out in the media and denounce the police aggressions, tomorrow they have to go back to the street and police are going to chase them more, they are going to harass them more... and that is because many times they are so invisible, that it has to do with this, because the *manteros* go to the street to try to take out their 20 bucks to eat, this cannot be allowed and if the people, who are activists that we are not selling or others, nobody is going to do it. [...] We [activists] are in a position that we didn't want to be, but we don't have any other option, if we don't show our faces, if we don't make our faces visible, if we don't denounce for the *mantero*, he won't do it for his safety, you know? We have to do it, there's no other solution.” (Malick Gueye, SMLM).

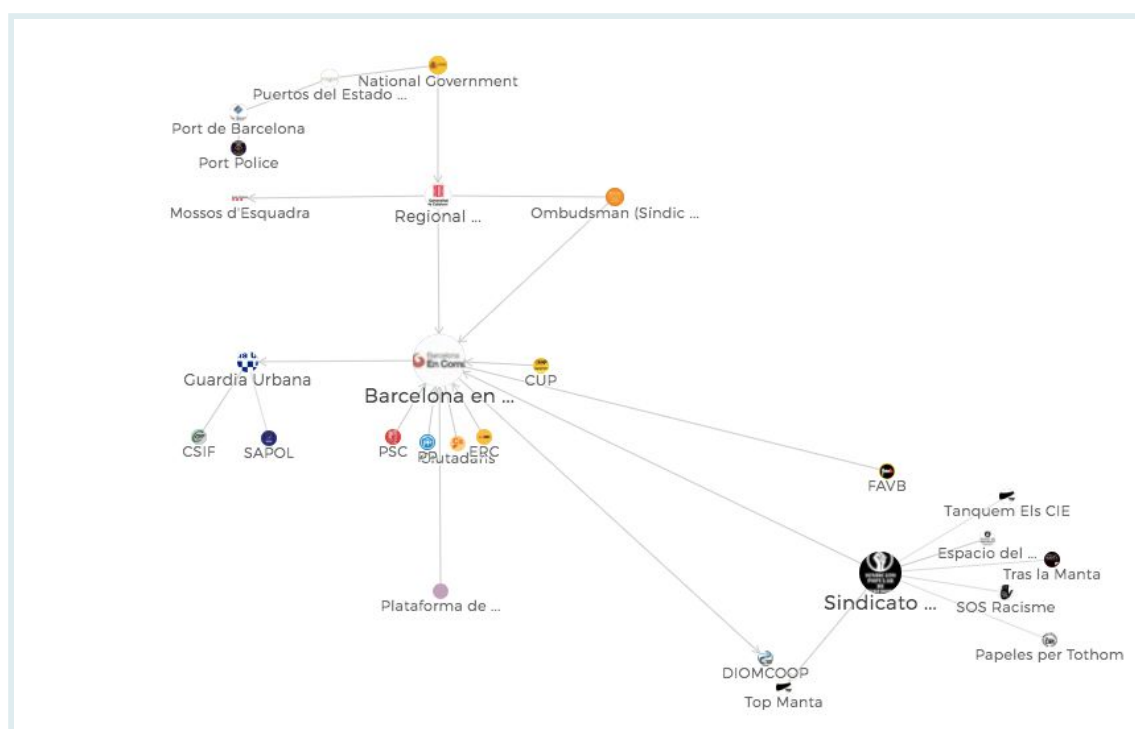
Indeed the majority of the *manteros* I interviewed had not heard of the SMLM, with only two of them who had assisted some assemblies. The ones who knew about SMLM was through a school named *San Lorenzo* (H., SV1; M SV2; O. SV4, OU. SV8), where they were currently learning spanish and other subjects. For M. (SV2) “If you have problems you can go there for help, if you cannot speak well spanish, you can.. there will be an intermediary to discuss, you can do this or that, to help you...”. Moreover, Ou. told me that many people of the SMLM study there too, and H. (SV1) got to know about Mame Mbaye’s anniversary peaceful concentration through his teacher. This can be another line to further investigate. This proves once again, that the actors beyond the union are important to get to know. In the following maps (see Fig. 2 and 3), which are screenshots from the interactive maps available in onodo.org, one can get a glimpse of the complex ecosystem of *top manta* composed by migrant associations and unions; but also political figures, institutions, commercial associations, security forces in the cities of Madrid and Barcelona. Again, I invite the reader to further investigate through this tool the different actors and their roles and to contribute if they wish.

Fig. 2: Screenshot of the Interactive Actors Map of Madrid organized by scales and type



Source: Own Elaboration.

Fig. 3: Screenshot of the Interactive Actors Map of Barcelona organized by scales and type



Source: Own Elaboration.

The Narratives and the Scales

I have categorized the narratives being mobilized by the SMLM by themes and by the political scales involved. The first narrative refers to the more “global” and ideologically driven fight: against capitalism, racism and neocolonial forms of exploitation. Both the SMLM and the SAVB, mention being largely inspired by the Black Panther movement (Malick Gueye, interview 2019). Recently, the SAVB received a visit from Bob Moses, a key figure in the American rights Civil Movement, who showed his support to the *manteros* struggles. Both make explicit references to the colonial past and present relations between Africa and Europe, like this one by spokesperson of SAVB Lamine in a debate with the municipal candidates for the May 2019 elections: “They say *manteros* come here to take our jobs, but it is never mentioned what they have taken before from us: our resources, our richness, even the jobs they are taking from Senegal” and he mentions the fishing bilateral agreements between African leaders and the EU (Radio Primavera Sound, 2019). Another narrative and claim involving the national state is against the Alien’s Law (4/2000):

“What we demand is the repeal of the Aliens Act, because it is the law on aliens that condemns them in the end to be *manteros*, it is the Aliens Law that criminalizes them, discriminates against them, segregates them... in the end people have no other option, that is where the roots are... You have to see it from there.” (Malick, SMLM).

At this discursive level is where I found many similarities with the claims mobilized by “illegal” migrants in the early 2000s shut-ins (Varela, 2013). The union also supports movements for the closing of CIEs (migrant detention centers), or the depenalization of the blanket involving the reform of the Penal Code to its 2010 situation, where under 400€ of obtained benefit, street vending was not a crime. In their complaint towards national policies on migration, European migration policies are also alluded to, acknowledging their tight links of governance, as can be seen in some of SMLM’s facebook posts descriptions:

“They’re not accidents. Exploitative Europe and its policies against migrants is responsible.” or “Murders of an exploitative Europe and its border and migration policies. The Spanish State is also responsible for blocking rescue boats. Denounce this inhumane Europe” (SMLM, 2018)

A great deal of the SMLM’s activism is done online, where they share posts and newspaper articles from the newspapers adhering to the theme of “voices from the margins” as I showed in the previous section. Scaling down, another narrative they mobilize is against municipal ordinances and city hall’s police protocols against top manta, holding the scale of the city hall accountable:

“Then, there is a part that there are municipal ordinances that drown the manteros in fines, and detentions by the municipal police and aggressions and all of this part also has to be denounced”. (Malick, SMLM).

They have done this through newspapers articles (EFE/Eldiario.es, 2018, March 28) or through videos (La Zurda, 2017). Both unions, (with their own context-dependent reasons) have been critical towards their respective GoCs, Ahora Madrid and B enComú:

“In Madrid there have been negotiations in closed office without any solution, everything has been absurd, you know? Political representatives, councillors and a mayor who lies, everything she said were lies and in the end they were more interested in the public opinion. What people think from the outside, but there has never been an intention to seek solutions, you know? They have been miserable with us, lying about everything they have said... I don't know how I can explain it more clearly, but in Madrid there has been no solution.” (Malick, SMLM)

Here is a communiqué issued by the SVAB (n.d.) criticizing their inaction and calling into action:

"We don't have to be quiet, we have to see what to do together. However, and despite being in contact with "the administration of change", as they call themselves... From the union we have presented several social proposals that could improve the lives of the *manteros* and neither the city council, nor the Generalitat²⁹, are interested in knowing how to treat the human capital they have in this city."

In that same communiqué they share their demands: 1) Mass regularization for “irregular” migrants in Spain, 2) “social projects for people in an irregular situation”, 3) “Training, orientation for people who have papers but have difficulties accessing the labour”; 4) “helo people who do not have papers or

²⁹ The Generalitat is the name for the regional government of Catalonia.

permanent contract to have right to social rent”, 5) “Immediate withdrawal from the policing measures (top manta) while social measures are being designed”. It seems clear and straightforward, right? However, there are problems according to the GoC for the attainments of these demands: one of them is this approach of “all or none”, which proved to be successful in the Sans Papiers movement in 1990s (Amarela, 2013) but harder in this context, and some GoC representatives have identified as closeness to negotiate or to reach halfway solutions. Another point is that some formulations of demands which where out of their competencies’ reach.

To conclude, let me briefly introduce one example of an initiatives passed during the political term of Ahora Madrid: the Neighbors’ Card for migrants (Tarjeta de Vecindad in spanish) which encountered many criticisms. The Neighbors Card was an initiative from *Ahora Madrid* and *PSOE*, which was approved by the majority in the municipal plenary session. It consisted of a pilot project, which started in July 2018 and ended in March 2019 in the Centro district of Madrid. According to the data that Pilar Sánchez Cuca provided me with: 303 cards were issued in different centers of Madrid. The card, according to the City Hall’s web “visibilizes the condition of neighbor of the city of Madrid” and aimed to “guarantee access for migrants to the same social services” (Ayuntamiento de Madrid, n.d.) and even though in the same source it says it was extended to other districts, Cuca told me it was not. The project was harshly criticized by many actors, some being more critical than others:

“They have done jackshit in Madrid. The neighborhood card is rubbish, you know? Like something to give out, [...] but it's fucking shit what they've done, the citizenship card, they've done it so that people can access the resources of the municipality, but there are no resources, first when you create a card for people to access resources, first create the resources, and then create the card.” (Malick, SMLM)

to “[...] I never really knew if it was good for anything, and I never liked it because of the very fact of having to give a neighborhood card, that somehow establishes segregation. I assume that every migrant, regardless of their legal status, we should defend their right to citizenship, so I do not understand that they have to have a specific card because of their immigration status[...]. Then I believe that it has not served for anything either, because as far as I know and on this there is a certain opacity in the results, it began to work on a pilot basis in the district center, and it seems to me that some people accessed employment workshop,s but I can not give you data on the results or on the effectiveness of that initiative. It was an initiative of the socialist party that had to be bought from them because they wanted to hang the medal to do something for the migrant population when it is the party that has brought to this country the population of the immigration law, the party of express deportations and many other atrocities committed over the years, and on top of that, we in a rather stupid political gesture, in my opinion, gave them the medal to wash their faces with an initiative like this, which I'm almost sure is useless.” (Rommy Arce)

From the 303 card holders, between 12 and 15 people accessed employment training during that period and a monthly income of 400€. From those, 8 are currently working. However, Cuca acknowledged that these already had a citizenship status prior to that and the limits of the card:

“That was the idea of the card, the great value of the card would have been that we could have said precisely that: that these people were in an irregular situation and that the card allowed them to access the courses” (Pilar Sánchez Cuca)

Other critics from this initiative were the members of AISE and Malick from SMLM, all pointing at the fact that it was not that useful, and that politicians knew it. Cuca hoped that the new government, PPs and Cs could have taken the neighborhood card further given, because they counted with the collaboration of yet another scale: the regional government, but she says she does not hope much from the new city council who thinks “the neighborhood card is just a piece of plastic” instead of seeing what went wrong and how it could have been improved (Pilar Sánchez Cuca).

Act 3 - A (partial) Reconstruction of the “Chronology of the Conflict”

For this last act, I have chosen to focus on a “critical” moment for the SMLM in Madrid of “politics of contention”. According to Nanke Verloo (2016), “critical moments may create liminal moments to (re)negotiate meaning, relationships and repertoires of action” where “the potential of conflict lies in the dramaturgy of these critical moments” which in turn “contribute to the repertoire of urban politics”. Why do I introduce this notion of critical moments at this stage? Initially, my idea was to explore the whole process of negotiation, the discursive fields being deployed or reimagined through narratives, the point of departure, and where we are now. In sum, I wanted to perform a whole ethnography like Amarela Varela or Liliana Suárez-Navaz’s with “illegal” migrant mobilizations back in the 2000s. However, I came to the personal realization that for my case 1) It was of uttermost importance that I understood the approach to the sociological, legislative and socio-political condition of *manteros* in Spain and Madrid first to then 2) compile a (partial) memory and snapshot of the *top manta* struggles. Having satisfied my hunger for those two points, I felt I was missing an urban approach, a more concrete spatialization of the movement, Lavapiés as a place for “staging the political”, where the struggle is particularly visible.

March 15, 2018, around 17:00 pm, Mame Mbaye, a senegalese migrant street vendor passes out in Calle del Oso, Lavapiés. He died from a cardiac arrest assisted by several municipal police officers. Tension come to surface and several individuals start rioting in the surroundings of Calle del Oso, Nelson Mandela Square and so on. The tension was generated by a series of contradictory version which were circulating on how the events had taken place. One of these versions was that Mame Mbaye was being chased by the police moments before from Sol Square to Plaza Mayor. The riots were interpreted by many as a sign of discontent with policing strategies against *manteros*. Members of the street vendor union, from which Mbaye was a member of, next to other collective emit a communiqué in which they attribute his death to institutional racism (Sindicato de Manteros y Lateros, n.d.). Mayor Manuela Carmena was on holiday, and Marta Higuera was the deputy mayor in functions. The rioters and several associations

demanding to the Municipality to take accountability or shed clarity on the events, but this information took some time...

Eventually, the autopsy revealed that Mame Mbaye had died from heart failure because he had a congenital disease. Malick, who was a close friend from Mbaye remembers the death like this:

“Mame Mbaye's death... has been painful because he was a very active person in the collective, but this was not an isolated case. Two years ago when we went to the registry of the city council of Madrid and to the Ombudsman to take complaints in less than nine months, there were about 17 police aggressions to manteros: breakage of arms, legs, and this we have taken to the registry of the town hall, we have taken it to the defender of the town... this is persecutions have always taken place but it is clear that if a person wakes up every day suffering police persecutions, police harassment, that is stressful... well clearly that can kill you, for me it is not an isolated case... nothing, it has been Mbaye, but it could be any other person, you know? No one can live on persecution, stress, oppression ... every day, of course they can kill you.”

M. (SV2), echoed this feeling too when asked about the happenings:

“The work we do here [blanket], is not good for our health, that's first. It's stressful, you run, here and there, the police chases you. What happened to Mbaye, could have happened to me. You go there, there is police there, you close your bag and you have to run. It's a risky job. We do it because we don't have a choice. We just don't have a choice. We have a family in our country.”

And Pilar Sánchez Cuca reflection is quite insightful too:

“What are the consequences? Why did Mbaye die? because he had a heart condition, dot. Okay. Do heart conditions do well with stress? If I have a heart condition, what do I think first? Well, I have to change my life, I have to lead a calmer life, I have to eat better, live a healthier life... because that is what happened to Mbaye, he had a heart condition and led an unhealthy life for her heart condition, was it the trigger? Well, we don't know, but it certainly can't be healthy to live in such a stressful situation because they are exposed to detention and expulsion.”

Moha Gerehou, former president of SOS Racism, wrote an article which he titled: “Life, politics and racism one year after Mame Mbaye”, where he claims that Mbaye's death, “wasn't just any death. It ended a life, opened a debate on racism and manteros, and had political repercussions.” (Gerehou, 2019). Mbaye had been 12 years living in Spain in an irregular condition, and he came to be a symbolic and plastic real myth of the struggle of manteros in Spain. Inscribed also in both the political imaginary of the left and in Lavapiés. Rommy Arce, describes its effect like this:

“I think that to a large extent it activated the migrant political fabric, and strengthened some discourses, I believe that it has managed to get associations like SOS madrid to drag more people, to turn the discourse around and be more radical in their way of raising a demand for rights, in other words, I believe that there was a revulsive component and it stirred up the waters. Now, the political fabric in Madrid is very poor, and the political fabric for the struggle for the rights of migrants is even weaker. Steps are being taken and critical moments such as Mame's death have been a revulsive one, as was the murder of Lucrecia Pérez at the time, but we are still far from the urgency in which we find ourselves, because the extreme right is moving forward in a forced march and yet we are still quite disjointed”

In this staging and scripting, SMLM took a leading role, becoming a visible political subject, and rescripting many of their narratives in more radical terms, like the narratives we have already explored, going from demanding citizenship to confront and visibilize institutional racism. Following Mbaye's death political actors from the whole political spectrum voiced their opinions on the events. The right recriminated Manuela Carmena, "the mayor of the people" for not being present when this "crisis" took place, or even facilitating and "inciting" the riots to take place, while Ciudadanos said the situation was badly "managed" (Constantini, 2018, March 23). Carmena in turn, met up with members from the Senegalese community and the consul of senegal (Lantigua, 2018, March 26), where the SMLM was not invited and who again voiced their discontent towards her (Lantigua, 2018, March 28), and ended up in them turning down 5.000€ for the repatriation of Mbaye's body to Touba, Senegal (Lantigua, 2018, April 10). On the other hand, the national party Podemos positioned themselves against the situation of exclusion and precarity that manteros were forced to live and proposed a new reform for the Penal Code to depenalize street vending under the 400€ on 6 April, 2018 which was turned down (Congreso, 2018). A year after his death the SMLM placed a commemorative plaque at the corner of Calle del Oso, which read "in memory of Mame Mbaye, a victim of spanish state's institutional racism" which was retired after some days. Today, the plaque is gone but the memory of Mame Mbaye still remains and with him the visibilization of the manteros phenomenon.



Discussion and Conclusion

This MA thesis aimed to contribute to the study of “illegal” migrant mobilizations in this “globalised” world by focusing on the case of unionized street vendors or *manteros* in Madrid (Swyngedouw, 2007). It did not only have a spatial focus, but also a chronological focus on the political turn of Ahora Madrid (2015-9). This chronological focus was due to the fact that governments of change ascribed to a political language and actions which were rooted in citizenship discourse (Ahora Madrid, n.d., Blanco et. al, 2019). However, globalization, scalar reconfigurations and above all migration have brought about a series of challenges which are above all apparent at the local scale and which shaking the ontological grounds on which modern liberal citizenship lays (Isin, 2009; Ataç et. al, 2016, Contreras, 2016).

In Act 1, I have tried to show how legal mechanisms internally produced “denizes” and “abjects” (Bosniak, 2009), migrants who are subjected to exclusion, invisibility and life in the margins. This in turn was related to how stratified mobility (Bauman 1989; Massey 1991) is to some extent producing a “stratified citizenship” within liberal democratic societies.. I also showed in this same act how “irregular migrants”, which includes many *manteros*, encounter not only the extra-territorialization of what De Genova (2013) termed the Border Spectacle, but also borders they encounter within the urban context. The persecution of the forgeries that *manteros* sell is not as “spectacular” in comparison to the policing of the activity in urban centers. *Manteros* are particularly exposed to this due to their “informal” economic activity in public space. Furthermore, I also looked at media and political debates on *top manta*, which I believe “spectacularize” *manteros* in different ways through their criminalization to legitimize their unrighteousness to public space or to citizenship. “Illegal” migrants working as *manteros* could be said to be one of the most visible, invisible collectives and hence an embodiment of the dichotomies of the Border Spectacle. In this way, their are produced as the objects of politics, which is aided by discourses and images from the media. In the local context of Madrid, politicians have instrumentalized them to large extents to discredit Ahora Madrid.

In Act 2, I looked at the contestations of migrant street vendors by their construction as political subjects through the SMLM since 2015. I looked at the history of *top manta* depenalization struggles, its connection to struggles for citizenship, and its associative embeddedness in Lavapiés but also beyond. I adhered to CCS and AoM readings of citizenship to identify the ways in which associations were constructing alternatives to modern liberal democratic citizenship, beyond ideas of territorial belonging and by pressing claims to a wide range of political scales with critical narratives.

Lastly in Act 3, I looked at a particular critical episode for the migrant street vendors during the political term of Ahora Madrid, where they were forced to position themselves on a topic which is being constructed as being at crosspoint between migration, public space use, security but above all citizenship. The death of Mame Mbaye, a Senegalese street vendor who was a member of the union, stirred the

political context and had a large mediatic attention, which in turn contributed to the further visibilization of the manteros cause. In this same act the tensions between Ahora Madrid's new urban agenda, focused on the citizen and human rights were apparent, like Rommy Arce well puts it,

"I rule for all, but unfortunately the rights are not equal for all, nor the starting situations, there are situations of privilege that make it impossible for you to govern for all and be fair" (Rommy Arce)

This has polarized even further the position of the union. However the struggles continues and with the critical opposition parties of PP and Cs the future of the migrant struggle is rather uncertain and representation in the institutional political sphere is not guaranteed. So, the struggle continues and the expansion of citizenship with it,

"I believe that what we do as activists is to make the situation visible and also to deny all the hoaxes and lies, because we have the political arguments to denounce all the things that are being said. Well it is not working (laughs). If we really want people's lives to change, we have to defeat the Alien's Law. We have to try to live in a society in which everyone has the same opportunities to study, to work and to be educated, and that doesn't exist, and that's it. I do it because I believe it is a way to make it visible and it is my responsibility"

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Appendix 1: Interview Guideline for Street Vendors/*Manteros* (SP, FR & ENG)

(ESP) Na Ngaa Def! Hola, me llamo Paola, soy una estudiante de máster de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid en Estudios Urbanos. Estoy escribiendo mi tfm sobre los manteros y los gobiernos del cambio, aquí en Madrid y Barcelona. Me preguntaba si te podría hacer unas preguntas sobre ti, tu trabajo y sobre el Sindicato de Manteros de Madrid. Tus respuestas serán anónimas y serán tratadas con discreción ¿Te importa si grabo nuestra conversación?

(FR) Na Ngaa Def! Bonjour, je m'appelle Paola, je suis une étudiante du master de l'Université Complutense de Madrid en études urbaines. J'écris mon travail final sur les manteros et les gouvernements du changement, ici à Madrid et à Barcelone. Je me demandais si je pouvais vous poser quelques questions sur vous, votre travail et le Sindicato de Manteros de Madrid. Vos réponses resteront anonymes et seront traitées avec discrétion. Ça vous dérange si j'enregistre notre conversation?

(ENG) Na Ngaa Def! Hi, my name is Paola, I am a master student in the Complutense University of Madrid in Urban Studies. I am writing my thesis on street vendors and governments of change, here in Madrid and Barcelona. I was wondering if I could ask you a couple of questions about you, your job and the Street Vendor Union of Madrid. Your responses will be anonymized and will be treated with discretion. Would you mind me recording our conversation?

Personal / Personnel / Personal

1. **¿De dónde eres? ¿Qué edad tienes?**
(FR) D'où êtes-vous originaire ? Quel âge a vous?
(ENG) Where are you from? How old are you?
2. **¿Cuánto tiempo llevas en España?**
(FR) Depuis combien de temps êtes-vous en Espagne ?
(ENG) How long have you been in Spain for?
3. **¿Cuánto llevas trabajando con la manta? ¿Cómo empezaste?**
(FR) Depuis combien de temps travaillez-vous sur la manta? Comment avez-vous commencé ?
(ENG) How long have you been working with the blanket? How did you start?
4. **¿Siempre has vendido los mismo productos?**
(FR) Avez-vous toujours vendu les mêmes produits ?
(ENG) Have you always sold the same products?
5. **¿Cuánto dinero puedes llegar a hacer en un buen día de venta?**
(FR) Combien d'argent pouvez-vous gagner dans une bonne journée de vente?
(ENG) On a good day, how much money can you make?
6. **¿Has tenido problemas con la policía o seguridad del metro alguna vez?**
(FR) Avez-vous déjà eu des problèmes avec la police ou la sécurité du métro?
(ENG) Have you had any problems with police or metro/private security?

Sindicato de Manteros / Le Syndicat d'Manteros

1. **¿Conoces el sindicato de manteros de Madrid? ¿A través de quién?**
(FR) Connaissez-vous le syndicat des manteros à Madrid ? Par qui ?
(ENG) Do you know the street vendors Union? Who introduced you to it or how?
2. **¿Has ido a alguna reunión alguna vez?**
(FR) Avez-vous déjà assisté à une réunion ou démonstration?
(ENG) Have you ever attended a meeting or a demonstration?
3. **¿En tu país/ciudad hacías algún tipo de actividad política o activismo?**
(FR) Dans votre pays/ville, avez-vous fait de la politique, de l'activisme?
(ENG) Back in your country, did you do any political activity or activism?
4. **¿Qué opinas de lo que le pasó al compañero Mame Mbaye?**
(FR) Que pensez-vous de ce qui est arrivé à la camarade Mame Mbaye?
(ENG) What do you think about what happened to the colleague Mame Mbaye?

5. ¿Vas mucho por Lavapiés? ¿Vives cerca o en otro sitio?

(FR) Vous allez souvent à Lavapiés, vous habitez à proximité ou ailleurs?

(ENG) Do you go often to Lavapiés? Do you live nearby or somewhere else?

Política Local - Gobiernos del Cambio / Local Politics - Governments of Change

1. ¿Cómo sientes que os ha tratado Carmena y su equipo al colectivo de manteros?

(FR) Selon vous, comment Carmena et son équipe vous ai traité le collectif manteros ?

(ENG) According to you, how do you feel that Carmena and her team has treated the collective of Manteros?

2. ¿Qué pasa ahora con el cambio de ayuntamiento? ¿Has notado que está peor la cosa, o mejor...?

(FR) Que se passe-t-il maintenant avec le changement de mairie ? avez-vous remarqué que les choses sont pires, ou meilleures... ?

(ENG) What happens now with the change of government? Have you noticed things changing for better or worse?

Appendix 2: Interview Transcript with Street Vendors (*Manteros*) (SP, FR & ENG)

SV1 - H.	
Senegal / 39 yo / Male / Third country citizen (undocumented)	
Date and Time	July 2, 2019 ; 22:00; Carabanchel metro station
Residence	Carabanchel (4 months); Portazgo (2 months)
Field notes	While writing my MA Thesis, I worked temporarily as a receptionist in an office close to Plaza Castilla metro stop. I would take my metro back home there, and saw H. for some days in a row on the same side of the tracks, selling. One day I decided to approach him and talk to him, tell him about my research and if he wanted to take part in it. His colleague was a bit suspicious about me, but changed when H. explained to him that I was researching Mbaye's case. We ended up exchanging phones and decided to meet up when he was done with work another day. And so we did.

[Translated from French]

Where are you from?

Senegal.

Are you from a small town or village or from Dakkar? And how old are you?

I'm from Dakkar. And I am 39 years old.

How long have you been in Spain for?

(He asked me to pause the recording and would not reply because there was a man standing close to us in the terrace and he says that he was looking at us two...)

6 months. Before I was in Italy, but Italy 1 week or 2 week... In Torino.

And in Turin where you also street vending? Selling on the blanket?

In wolof we say "ser" (written Sare), ser. No, no, in Torino no, I didn't work as that. But in Torino there are people doing that.

So other would, but you didn't back there. But here in Madrid you do: When you arrived in Madrid: how did you start selling on the "sare", decided to sell products on the blanket?

No work, no work but you need to eat, you need to have a house, to sleep, but no work. I come here to Madrid and I have no job. If I had a job, I would not work as that, no good, don't understand that. Because one needs to eat, I left my family in Senegal.

All your family is there?

Yes... Yeah... Me here, but my family is over there [sic]... How do you call this? How do you call this?

Ah. But do you send money back to your family, like the money you make to your mum?

No. Here it is a lot of work, but very little money. Because it is a job where the police comes a lot.

But does that also happen inside the metro? Do they also come inside?

The police? Yeah.. for sure.

I didn't know, I thought they were only outside, in the street, not inside in the metro. What do you sell?

Have you always sold the same products, during the six months?

Bags, I have always sold bags.

On a good day. How much money can you make?

Five euros. It depends on the day, some days I earn zero, sometimes a whole week I earn zero.

You work every day?

It depends too. Normally yes. Some sunday I only do mornings, because in the afternoon I go home.

And you go also everyday to the same place in Plaza Castilla?

It depends. Plaza Castilla only, it depends but sometimes Atocha.

Normally, from what time until what time are you there?

In the mornings, like around 9 and 10. It depends. And I'm there until the afternoon, nine, ten, eleven...

So.. My next question is have you already had problems with the police or the metro's security guards?

Yeah.. with the police sometimes...

Did they fine you or write your name? Take your stuff...?

No, no, no... It depends. In the afternoons, but not everyday.. Because Monday, it is an example, they came and ask me not work on Monday...

(Having some difficulties of communication between us two...I offered him to answer in wolof but he did not want to so i decided to move on at this point)

If you want we can move on to the next question... Do you know the Street Vendors Union of Madrid?
Syndicat?

Yeah. It is like an organization like the one I told you about before when we met (AISE), but a little different. They are a group of manteros who meet up and speak in wolof about their day to day life, their work... it's a bit political because they try to depenalise the "manta". Do you know it?

No, no I don't know it.

Ok. What do you think about what happened to Mame Mbaye? Do you know the story?

Yes. Mbaye.

Mbaye was also part of the union...

Yeah, yeah... in Lavapiés, right?

That's right.

I went to the anniversary, the past anniversary.

Oh! I was also there!

Ab yeah? It was really hard. Last year I was not still in Madrid, I was in Senegal. But it is very hard, it is not normal. Because you come here, and you do not steal, you do not attack anyone, you just want a job. Mbaye just wanted a job. Your family has a lot of hope, and the family of Mbaye in Senegal had a lot of hope, before he died, a lot of hope, a lot of hope... But... you don't understand, its hard... Because I didn't know Mbaye, it was difficult in Senegal.

So is it a story that you had heard before coming to Madrid?

Yeah. In senegal you can find it in newspapers and also at the TV. A lot of people talked about his death, because it is not nice.

Do you also know the stories of Samb Mdou, Diop Mar or Idy Diem?

Diop Mar? He died, in Italy? My closest friends, Hareb Diop, is his niece. Diop Mar is the uncle of Hareb... I grew up with him. Do you know him? When did he die?

In 2011.

Ab no. It is not the same person.

Oh, alright. Well the story goes that in 2011 a far-right italian man of Florence killed Diop Mar and Samb Mdou because they were black....

Ab yeah, yeah, yeah... I remember yeah.

And Idy Diem, was also around the same time as Mbaye... also a horrible story.

Also in Italy? When?

2018. The same month as Mbaye.

Ab, I remember yeah.

Ok. So whenever you were here, in Madrid, you went to the anniversary of Mame Mbaye death's, how did you get to know about this event? Was it through friends?

Because I went on Wednesday and the teacher, the teacher told us: tomorrow is the anniversary of Mame Mbaye at 17.00, on Friday, right? Yeah, it was a Friday, I remember. In class, in the school, she told us to go to Lavapiés.

I have another question, you told me that the people from your class are also from other counties, from Morocco and so on... Did those from other countries also join you and your teacher at Mbaye anniversary?

Yeah, the Bangladeshi, the Moroccan, from other African Countries from Nigeria and a lady from Guinea-Bissau. There are a lot of people from African countries, not many but the Bangladeshi were many, moroccan not so many.

Do you go often to Lavapiés? To meet others?

Yeah, I always go for the work and as well for the prayer, on Sunday, to the mosque.

And in the mosque has there been anyone who mentions the street vendors union?

*No, no... But look, this is a party for the migrants in Lavapiés, close to Atocha, in Ronda de Toledo. My teacher took me. (Video picture attached) [Video sound: *We are so many more than when we started. Neighbor wake up, they are evicting at your doorstep* (singing)]*

Field notes: Carrying out this interview was personally a complex experience, his Spanish was not extensive and the same goes for my French, so from this point onwards we started talking about other things like words in wolof and his plans in Madrid, his life... He told me he lived with another roommate, and about his mother back in Senegal and his sister whom he calls often. As a matter of fact, he was trying to contact her while we were carrying out the interview. Towards the end of the interview I experienced a slightly uncomfortable situation with him, because he said he had feelings for me given that I approached him and was very nice to him, laughing and talking. I explained to him that I thought I was always pretty straightforward with my intentions of research and that although I was flattered, I was uninterested. It left me reflecting on my position as a female researcher, does it actually help in the process of approaching them because I seem to be perceived more as non-threatening than suspicious?

SV2 - M.	
Senegal // 30 yo // Male // Third country citizen (undocumented)	
Date and Time	07.07.2019 // 00.00 // Plaza Nelson Mandela
Residence	Lavapiés
Field Notes	I approached M. one day in Callao square, where he was working next to 6 other <i>manteros</i> . He agreed on carrying out an interview, so we exchanged phones to meet up another day. He accepted to meet me after a long day of work.

[Translated from French]

So, my first question is where are you from?

Senegal.

From Dakkar or another city?

Dakkar.

Ok, and how old are you?

I am 30 years old.

And for how long have you been in Spain?

For 2 years.

And for how long have you been working with the Sare?

Ah, top manta? Yes, the whole two years.

Have you always sold the same products?

Yeah.

What was it? I can't remember, sorry...

Handbags.

Are the bags the ones like Louis Vuitton, Gucci and these things?

No... I buy them here. I buy them at the «Chino». At the Chinese, they sell it.

And do you buy it here at the center? Or do you go somewhere else?

No, at the stores right here, very close.

On a good day, how much money can you make?

Noooo, that depends... it depends sometimes you come back with 20€, sometimes 30€... it depends on the days.. There are times you go with your colleagues to buy the bags... we work on this to survive, If you do not have papers, then you don't have a job, if you do not work, if you do not sell [on the blanket], It is about finding something to live from.

Do you always go to the same place to sell?

Yes. To Sol, Gran Vía... to the center.

Because, you live here closeby, I imagine?

Yeah, yeah... I live here in Lavapiés.

Ok... Have you had any problems with the police so far?

Yeah, yeah...

What happened?

They are going to stop you, and sometimes take the bags, write something... They have fined me. Then if you do not pay the fine, you go to prison.

Have you paid the fine?

Yeah, I paid, I paid...

And how much money was the fine?

That also depends, it can be 50 to 100€, but it can also be up to 1.000€. It depends, its problematic.

Yeah... I've heard from Malick, you know him?

Yeah, from the association, right?

Yep, I've heard from him that it is really hard to get your papers after being fined.

Yeah, yeah, that's true.

And for you... Do you think this is also going to be the case with you?

Yes, yes... but I still have to pay another fine, but this will take some time. The first one, I have paid, but have another one yet to pay. They still have to tell me, which day I have to pay. I don't know if I have to pay it.

So.. you have to pay another fine now?

No.. I don't know, we will have to see.. I haven't received the paper yet.

Ok. So we have talked a bit about it... but do you know the union here, the Sindicato de manteros y lateros? Through who do you know it?

Yeah, I know them. I know them through the school I work in.

Which school?

The school here, where we learn to speak well Spanish...

Ah, ok! What is the name of the school? Is it AISE?

Yeah yeah, but there is another association...there is an association in the school too.

What is the name of the school?

If you have problems you can go there for help, if you cannot speak well spanish, you can.. there will be an intermediary to discuss, you can do this or that, to help you...

Ok, so I imagine there people there who speak wolof?

Yeah, they speak wolof, they translate, they tell you to do this or that.

And do you remember the name of the school?

The school's name is San Lorenzo.

Have you attended any of the meetings or events of the union of Manteros? For example, the anniversary of Mbaye?

Yeah, yeah I have, I have attended there.

And what about a meeting?

Yes, that as well.

And how was it?

Yeah, good... but the problem is not easy to solve.

In what ways?

The police is always behind us, if they get us, everytime the objective is us, we do not have a papers, we do not have a right to sell, we do not have possibilities... If you are here, and you don't have a job, you are going to start stealing, and that is not nice, or do other things, but we do not want to do things (trucs) like that, we want to earn our life, legally. If they give me papers, I would search for a job, and go work. The work we do here [blanket], is not good for our health, that's first. It's stressful, you run, here and there, the police chases you. What happened to Mbaye, could have happened to me. You go there, there is police there, you close your bag and you have to run. It's a risky job. We do it because we don't have a choice. We just don't have a choice. We have a family in our country.

Do you send money to your family?

Yeah. We have a father down there, a mother. Whatever I earn, we divided it here, we pay the bills here, to survive, and the rest send I. It is to earn a living, that's all.

I see. In your country, in Senegal, have you ever participated in anything political or activism?

No, no, I have done other things but no politics. I vote and so, but no politics.

Why, If I may ask?

I don't know... I had not found anyone who told me, come on let's go do this or that. If I would have found a person that would have told me let us go this and that, that would benefit or bring something to us(nosotros), I would do it, but nobody proposed me this. I cannot do the big studies, if I could do it, I would do it. But if I find somebody that says let us do politics, do this and that to help these, to help our country, or someone then I would do it. That's all.

Aha. I get it. And I Imagine that it depends on the context, no? Because when you are here you work on something that there is police, but maybe in Senegal it's different?

In our country we work... In our country we just earn our living [Silence because he looks for a picture on his phone] Look, this is me! [It is a picture of him in what seems a woodshop]

Wow, Is that in Senegal? And How many years ago was this?

Yes, It's in Senegal. 5 years ago.

And do you miss Senegal?

Yeah, a lot.

And you were a carpenter?

Yes. I am a carpenter.

How good! I wish you could find a job as a carpenter here...

Yeah... I thought that here was the "belle vie". In our country we believe that here is the good life.

And why did you come?

Hmmm? Well we thought that here there would be jobs, that it was the good life. We come here to get some money and go back to our country.

So you have plans to go back to Senegal?

Yes, if I have some money and I can go back, I would do this. You see?

Can I ask do people sell with the Sare in Senegal?

No. They do not need to run from the police, people install their tables and sell many things there.

I had never thought about it but someone must have invented the current design of the Sare, no?

Yeah.. probably the older ones, the first ones, probably the ones who did 10 years ago, but that probably now have papers and a job.

And now I have to change our conversation a bit, sorry, but I wanted to talk about the case of Mbaye. What do you think about what happened to him?

I... I can't think about the situation. It's serious and sad. Mbaye was my friend.

Really? I am sorry for your loss, M.

Yes. pfff... He did everything for me. When I arrived here, it was difficult and he helped me, he took some of his money and gave it to me, he was like a big brother for me, almost like a father. I just can't talk about this.

Ok. I get it. Absolutely, I am really sorry I brought up the topic so abruptly.

He was a good friend, a good person.

I am sorry. Ok, so let's change topic if you wish, no problem. I wanted to hear your opinion a bit about politics here in Madrid. I do not know if you know that for instance last year, we had a government of change, with Carmena and her team.

The current government?

Right now we have a new government.

Yes.

What is up with them?

No... it just is bad, really bad.

Why?

[laughs] Because we cannot work, we just can't work.

Do you think that the things are becoming worse?

Yes, yes.

In what ways?

There are lots of police, you cannot even extend the blanket and work relaxingly. They always take the things. It is difficult right now, really hard.

And we still have 4 years...

Hub? 4 years? They are going to be there 4 years? Pfff... It is a lot of time. And you know something, us the Senegalese, we do not have any work, we cannot go do stuff like stealing, or drugs, we are not that. What we want is to work. If you are not going to work, if you do not have papers to work, you are going to sell something to survive, what are you going to do? Are you going to steal? Or do other things? If they do not let us sell, we are going to find another thing to do and it is not good, it is not good. We just want to earn our living.

Yeah.. it is about possibilities no?

We do not have possibilities... It is the only exit. They are stronger than us.

Yeah. I just wonder why do things have to be this way? That is what I am trying to find out.

But not everybody thinks the same. There are people who think other things different. If to someone, you close yourself to, you do not talk to them, you cannot know how they live, understand their experience... we who are here, we do not have other possibilities.

I have another question, you are free to reply only if you feel comfortable, but how did you arrive here? Through plane or boat?

I arrived by plane, with a tourist visa to Portugal. I was there first.

How much time?

Just one week.

And then directly to Madrid or another city?

No, yeah... I only know Lavapiés here. Lavapiés is home. I do not know another place, I only know here.

Ok, M., from my side that is all. Thank you so much for helping me! I am going to cut the recording here and if you want we can talk a little more.

Field notes

M. and I continued talking for almost an additional 30 minutes about life in Madrid and other topics. Right after saying goodbye I recorded some of his main points which I consider to be useful for my recording. I have used this method, in order to gain insight on topics that are harder to talk about during the interview, but always asking in the end if I can share what they explained to me off-record.

SV3 - B.	
Senegal // 30 yo // Male // Third country national (Regularized situation)	
Date and Time	15.07.2019 // 20.50 // Puerta del Sol
Residence	Marqués de Vadillo
Field Notes	I approached a group of 11 <i>manteros</i> in Puerta del Sol, entering Calle Carretas. I asked in wolof how they were, and who spoke Spanish, French or English. They had a conversation among them and referred to one another. When they saw I was not leaving, they pointed at B. as the one who spoke better Spanish. We started the conversation after I explained to him what I studied. During the whole interview, a municipal cop car was parked in the middle of Sol Square, some of the blankets extended, others not, during that time clients approached and nothing happened. It was like a weird truce had been established.

[Translated from French]

Where are you from?

Senegal.

How long have you been in Spain?

For so long, very long, for 7 years already.

Oh... you look so young! How old are you?

Try to guess... why do you say I look young?

I don't know, 26, 27?

No, more, more... (laughs) I am 30.

How long have you been working with the blanket?

For 4 years now.

Oh, and what did you do before?

Jobs, just normal jobs...

Have you always sold football t-shirts?

Yeah.. well no... before I sold bags.

And why are you selling t-shirts now? Is it less heavy?

No, no, it's not about weight.. But t-shirts occupy less space, bags are big.

How much money can you make in a good day?

Depends.. Today was not such a good day... police make it hard. It is hard to work as this.

Have you had any problems with the police?

Many, many... they chase us around. Not all of them bad, but some go around hitting people... I've seen it.

Have they fined you?

(Laughs) So many times...

Ah yeah? How many?

Like 10 times.

Woah. And have you paid?

Some, not all.

Ok. So.. do you know the union of street vendors in Madrid?

No.. no..

You know Malick Gueye or Serigne?

Ah yeah.. I know them.

Have you been to any of the meetings they organize?

No..

What do you think about what they are doing for the collective?

It is good, it's very good.

Has it helped you somehow?

No... not really.

What do you think can be a solution to this situation?

I don't know really (laughs while shrugging shoulders)... I wouldn't know.

What is your opinion about what happened with Mbaye?

It is hard you know... it was horrible. I was not here, I was in my country, in Senegal, but I heard about it and it's so difficult...

Oh. So you have been able since 2012 to go back home?

Yeah.

So... your papers are "in order"?

Yeah.

And why selling in the blanket?

Because I have no job.

How are things now with the new government? Do you feel the changes here?

Yeah.. it is getting worse and harder to sell.

What tips would you give me to be able to reach more manteros? I want to talk to them to hear more voices, but it is really hard, some look at my suspicious.

Yeah.. well you could be a cop... People do not talk because they are suspicious...for example, probably when you ask if someone speaks Spanish, they are telling you they don't when they do, because they do not know you, they do not trust you.

Yeah. I absolutely get that. It is always difficult for me to decide to approach you when you are working.

Yeah... that is because police are on top of us. If you want to get to know more go to Nelson Mandela. I am there the whole day. I am always in Lavapiés, in Marques de Vadillo I only sleep, and come sell here, but always in Lavapiés. Are you a lawyer?

No, I am just a student.

Can you help me get a job?

I can try B.... what are you good at? What do you like to do? Did you study or work as something in Senegal?

Anything. I do not care.... I just want a job. You don't have any friends with companies?

No.. I do not... I can help you but you need to tell me what you are good at!

I don't know.. Just anything, I can work in the garden, freights, kitchen assistant...

Ok.. thing is.. Here in Spain they are obsessed with papers, so you need to have a certificate to do that.. But your papers are good no?

Yeah, all fine, but no job.

So then you have access to some of these courses... but in any case, I am gonna ask around and try to help you.

Additional Notes:

I was recording some extra details about my conversation with B., and walking towards a group of street vendors who he had told me spoke French, when a police chase started between the cop and the group I was heading to started. One of them, the tallest and strongest man, remained at the back of the group, calling out a friend who was far, at the other side of the square while he was still running. Tourists around looked surprised, and some of them even laughed at the situation. Simultaneously an odd silence conquered the square, and the eyes of tourists and citizens alike turned curious, and ignited small conversations I overhear between them on how recurrent this event is in this area or just how comical it is. I still cannot find the fun in it. It is a real dog chases cat game and those bags are heavy! I know because I have asked some interviewees if I could lift them.

SV4 - O.	
Gambia // 20 yo // Male // Third country national (undocumented)	
Date and Time	15.07.2019 // 23.30 // Puerta del Sol
Residence	Lavapiés
Field Notes	I met O. while I was interviewing I. (SV5), he approached us curious to see what I was discussing with SV5. And then we spontaneously started a conversation about languages and particularly my (limited) knowledge of wolof with 3 other street vendors and seeing that he was very open and wanting to talk I asked him if I could interview him. He was very helpful and open to discuss many things, he spoke Spanish fluently and Pulaar.

[Translated from Spanish]

Where are you from?

Gambia. And you?

I'm from Spain, but my dad is Dutch.

Hmmm.. what is that Deutschland, Holland, Luxembourg?

Holland yeah, The Netherlands...

Oh, guten morgen, gute nacht.. I have friends in Deutschland.

Where you in Deutschland before? How long have you been in Spain?

No. I've been in Spain for 2 years and 4 months, but in Europe for longer... I was in Italy before.

Where in Italy if I can ask?

Yeah. In the south... Sicily, a city called Catania. But I was in a migrant center. I arrived there and try to ask for refugee status, they denied it to me, I talked to a lawyer and she issued an appeal... they gave me a date for an appointment, but they kept postponing and postponing... up to four times they postponed. I decided to leave, because one needs to live, right? I did not come to Europe to just get papers, I came to make a life here. It was difficult to get a job at the refugee center, there were two cops always at the door, they controlled where you went and when. Getting a job was hard, some people worked on agriculture, in the fields picking bananas, apples, it was really harsh, you had to get out of the place very early, if you are out by 9 no job. Imagine, you take the bicycle to bike 15km and then once you get there, work for an hour and then you have to be back.... It was bad, I just had to leave...

And in Italy did you work with the blanket?

No, no.

And here in Madrid for how long have you been working with the blanket?

For 2 year or so.

So the first 4 months?

I could not work.

Aha. I see, and how did you start selling with the blanket?

By seeing my roommates. They went to work, I also wanted to work. It is very boring to be just sleeping and eating, I did that for too long in the migrant center. I wanted to get a job, and earn some money, so I went with them.

Have you always sold sunglasses?

Yes, always.

Why sunglasses and not t-shirts for example?

Because it is very heavy. I am small, I am not tall, also not fat, if I have to run from the police, it would be very difficult for me.

How much money can you make in a good day?

It depends... some days you can make 30 euros, some days, one day, two days or three days go by without doing anything. It also depends if we can put the blankets or not. Some days not a single person can extend the blanket. Also the weather, if it is good then one can sell. But sometimes one week you cannot earn money.

And how do you know when it is a bad day for business? Do you tell each other?

Yeah, for example, if they catch some of us, then the word spreads and we all know its a bad day for selling, so nobody comes to Sol.

Have you had any problems with the police?

Only once, they took some of my things. It happened in Gran Vía. And another time I was running and you know like those things they place in Mesón de Paredes for cars not to circulate? I hit that with my knee. It still hurts sometimes when I am standing or sitting, like right now it does not, but when I go to the bathroom it does sometimes. I know a guy who was also hurt by a cop and could not move his wrist for months, he could not work at all, for months... horrible and other guys have wounds on their legs... It is bad.

Wow. That is pretty harsh. I have heard from Malick Gueye, the spokesperson from the Union, that he had cases of manteros who had fractured legs and arms... Do you know the street vendor union?

Yeah. I know it.

Through who?

Through a friend.

Have you been to any of the meetings they organize?

Yeah.

And what do you think of their mission?

It is very good because it is good to help migrants. Migrants live here with a lot of problems, of police, renting a home, they ask and to see if there are solutions.

Back in your country, did you do any political activity or activism?

Activism yes, but politics not. I didn't not have time because I studied, but I had friends involved in politics. But not me, I was busy studying sciences up to my 18... I loved chemistry, mathematics, biology, french, history, geography... I also did some sociology and really liked it. Also I wished they would have taught me Spanish, because then it would be less hard to integrate and get a job... If I had learned some spanish before, I would not have to have waited so long to continue my education, now i'm in the Adult Education Center (CEPA), look! (he showed me his card for attending).

That's great, your Spanish is really good though. And what sort of activism did you do?

I Organized football matches and things with the boys of the village to make them embrace solidarity, and activities during the summer.

That's so nice... Ok now i have a bit of a difficult question but What is your opinion about what happened to Mbaye? I mean what conclusions did you arrive to?

What happened to Mbaye for me is something horrible, it is... illegal. Normally when people are doing blanket, people should know we do it to survive, pay our expenses, food and rent, and some of us if we are lucky to help our families but nothing else and no one else wants to live in the street. And nothing else. This is why many of us integrate in this (blanket) until some problems are solved, like getting our papers to search for a job that is better, because with the blanket we live but it is painful. I get that they chase us, we are doing something illegal, I understand that, police here (Sol Square) chase us, but just to the limits of the square. Mbaye was chased almost up to his house, that is a violation of human rights. That guy ran so much. It is not normal. Imagine being here in a country for 12 years, no papers, no job, you cannot go back to your family... this is just horrible, horrible. We just come here to earn some money, send some back to the family and go back home. It makes no sense that to get the papers, you need to live 3 years without papers and need a contract, which you won't get because you do not have papers, and like this all the time... there is something wrong with the system, it's like a game.

Yeah. Absolutely, it a fish bites tail situation. Tell me, do you go often to Lavapiés?

Yeah.. not much. Just if I have something to do, to call somebody, to shop and do groceries.

Do you live there?

Yeah.

Alright, I am also there often. By the way we are almost done, I have my last questions for you, they are about politics here in Madrid. What is your opinion on how Carmena has dealt with the collective of Manteros? I mean have you felt changes in these two years you have been working?

In my opinion, with Carmena the situation was better, some might disagree but this is what I think, I mean they still chased us... Sometimes two weeks you could not put the blanket on the floor, but then one week it was all good, they let us be. Before we would also ran and take refuge inside the metro....

Oh, because cops cannot go in there?

Yeah, sure they can, but they did not use to....Now, when we take refuge inside the metro when they start chasing us, they even go inside the stop after us. It is worse. It is dangerous, because there are children and old people, and when police chases you, you only think about getting away because you do not want your goods to be taken. We are in the streets and do not want to hurt somebody but if the things come they come without intention.

Have you heard of the initiatives that some Catalanian municipalities proposed some years ago? Of designating a special area for some street vendors to sell where cops would not intervene?

Oh, really? Yeah that would be very good. People think we come here to fuck them over, but we come here to make ends meet, pay rent, eat something, little more you can do.

Ok.. but I have a question, right now I see over there two of your colleagues, blanket side to side with the same products, football t-shirts. What happens when a client goes to one? I mean is there no problem for selling the same?

No, everybody has their clients, they approach you it is your client, they approach me it is my client, no problem, we do not fight for this, it is the way it is. If I do not have something, I won't kick the tourists away, I will point at another colleague that can have it. So everybody is doing their own thing, we are just trying to get a living, send some money back, maybe save up to go back home.

Thank you so much for answering my questions and I promise this is my last one, but what tip can you give me to talk to other manteros? I have experienced some of them being suspicious towards me, I don't know...

*It makes sense. Some of them might think you are a reporter. You know they come and take pictures of us, without permission and then talk about us making up stories, that we are criminals, that we are mafias, but we do not steal not sell drugs, we just try to live. To live is to fight (*Vivir es luchar*).*

Aha. I see, ok another question came up...

Go ahead.

So these blankets (Sare), they are very well made... with a sewing machine and everything I see; they have a very functional design to put in the glasses with the holes, I am impressed with the work. I had never ask this to anyone, but do you make them yourself or do you buy them? Who designed this?

We make them, all together, between us.

Is there anything else you want to know?

Yes. I have found many students that are finishing their studies and want to interview and research the case of blanket street vendors. Can you maybe explain to me why this happens?

Of course. For me, it is first of all, fulfilling the prerequisite of doing a Master Thesis, so I had to think of something to write on and research for a year to be able to graduate. But when I was thinking of a topic there were many things that interested me, asking myself what conforms the city? But I realised I asked this question without asking a more important one: who conforms it and how. Then Mbaye's case took place and I realised the amount of images that were circulating in the media on migrants, and manteros in particular, and being used to manufacture fear, and I think understanding human fears is interesting. Why are people scared of the other? Why is racism and xenophobia still a problem, and what is even worse, a growing problem? I also heard things like manteros are mafias, they are organized in this and that way, and I decided to explore this by myself, I do not want anybody to tell me. I wanted to have answers to this for myself.

Now I can add some comments to what you said: we are in the street first, but we do not want it, we already know there is no future. We do it because the majority of us do not yet have papers. That is first.

We do it with many problems, people talk badly to us, they say we should go to prison, that "what a fucking law that of Spain", "how bad is Spain doing" and insult you everywhere, and nobody wants to live without privileges. One wants to live with privileges and

respect, but towards the mantero there is no respect. It is always when the police does not take you, they take from you (products to sell), if the police goes and does not arrest you, then the population insults you. Sometimes they walk by and maybe spoil our things, you cannot say anything and they would answer "There is nowhere to walk by, there is nowhere to walk by dude!" That is their answer, there are people who walk by and do not say anything at all. It is a life that you live, but you know that you live like a person who is dead. And nobody wants to live dead. But since you are an immigrant and you are not in your country, you do not have papers, and you do not have any rights. If you go to the hospital because you are on a leave there are some things they cannot do to you, and for example you have nowhere to go if they spoil your things, you cannot call the police because you have to run from the police. You are alive, but dead and no one wants to live dead. But we do it, because we do not have papers we need to eat, pay expenses, pay a house, a lot of people think that when we are in the street we make a lot of money and things in our country, all of this is a fucking idea.. Because we earn but just to eat, to pay the house. For example, imagine if I earn 500€ a month, I have to pay my expenses, my clothes, my food, if I go to the associations, the metro card, if I have papers I buy plane tickets to go to my country and clothes to bring back to my family. We want to live here, because it is said that here there is more peace than in Africa, because if you have papers you have more rights to health than in Africa. Here if you live with papers you live in peace as said, but here if you live without papers it is better to live in Africa, because there for instance street vendors are not treated like here.

SV5 - I.	
Senegal // 20 yo // Male // Third country national (undocumented)	
Date and Time	15.07.2019 // 23.15 // Puerta del Sol
Residence	N.a. (not Lavapiés)
Field Notes	I approached I. and another street vendor in Sol Square with Preciados street. He was very open to talk, but we had to interrupt our interview at one point because municipal police got out of the car to take a walk and follow them. He remained with his blanket picked up, in the spot we were talking, while I took a walk deliberately approaching the place where the cops where and then taking another direction to see if I could hear anything. After the pause I returned to him and continued to talk.

[Translated from French]

Where are you from?

From Senegal.

How old are you?

I am 20.

How long have you been in Spain for?

For 1 year. I was in Lecce before.

Where is Lecce?

Italy.

Oh, alright. And how long have you been working with the blanket? Also in Lecce?

No, not in Lecce, I was there for very little, here for one year.

Have you always sold sunglasses?

No, before football t-shirts.

Oh, and why did you change? Was it too heavy?

No, because now it is good weather, so people buy sunglasses.

And have you had any problems with the police so far?

Oh yeah, once. In Gran Vía, I use to sell there always in Gran Vía but it is very bad now, it is a bad place, police are bad there. And now there is a police car with two cops on the door of the Primark. I am not going back there to sell.

Did they fine you? Or take your stuff?

They took my stuff, and gave me a fine. If you have three, you cannot get yours papers, I want to get mine, so I am not risking it anymore, I am not going to work again in Gran Vía, from now on always Sol.

Do you know the street vendors Union? With Malick and Serigne?

Yeah, yeah.

How do you know? Have you been to any meetings?

Through the school where I learn Spanish, San Lorenzo. Now i'm not learning spanish there but before I was.

I am guessing you were not here... but do you know the story of Mbaye?

Ah... yeah.. Mbaye.. So bad... it is the guy who ran a lot and died because of the police chasing him, no? He died down there, no? (Points towards the direction of Lavapiés)

Yeah, there are different versions but that's the story.

Yeah.. it was a bad story.

And.. do you go often to Lavapiés?

Yeah. A lot.

Do you live there?

No.

SV6 - S.	
Senegal // 39 yo // Male // Third country citizen (regularized situation)	
Date and Time	24.07.2019 // 22.45 // Puerta del Sol with Calle del Arenal
Residence	N.A.

[Translated from Spanish]

Where are you from?

Senegal.

How old are you?

39 years old.

How long have you been in Spain for?

For 10 years.

How long have you been working with the blanket?

Not always, it depends... if I have a job, I won't work with the blanket.

So.. you have your papers regularized I suppose?

Yes.

Have you always sold designer bags?

Yes.

Have you had any problems with police or metro/private security?

Yes. Several. They have fined me and sometimes they just take some of my stuff.

Have you paid them?

Some... not all of them.

Do you know the street vendors Union?

Hmmm... I don't know.

Malick Gueye or Serigne ring a bell maybe?

Ah yes, I know Malick...

What do you think about what happened to the colleague Mame Mbaye?

Well when you work with the blanket you know what happens, no? But it is very bad they chase us like that... very bad, they chase until we cannot do it anymore. Ok. I think I am going to stop here because I have to continue working.

Ok, totally makes sense. But... could I ask one more quick question?

Yes. Tell me.

Have you noticed things changing for better or worse with the change of government?

Honestly, no... because it is the same thing... They chase us the same, there is no difference, it is all the same.

SV7 - E.	
Senegal // 32 yo // Male // Third country citizen (regularized situation)	
Date and Time	25.07.2019 // 20.30 // Nelson Mandela Square
Residence	Lavapiés (Embajadores)
Field Notes	I originally approached a group of 4 men standing close to the bike station. Trying my luck to see if any of them worked as a street vendor. E. told me he used to be one and agreed to carry out the interview, the other three men remained listening and would occasionally intervene, it sort of became a focus group without preparation. Eventually, I have decided to use this as a single interview because E spoke more than the rest.

[Translated from French]

Where are you from?

I'm from Senegal.

Are you from Dakar or another village or town?

I'm from Basse Casamance in the south of the country. You know it?

I have to look it up. They do not speak wolof there, no?

No, I speak Pulaar, but there are more languages.

Aha, I see. And how old are you?

Right now I am 32 years old.

And how long have you been in Spain?

For 10 years now, a bit less.

Wow that's very long! And how about working in the blanket?

Well, right now I have papers so I do not longer do that... But I worked for over a year, more or less.

And what products did you sell?

I sold t-shirts, also CDs and DVDs.

That is almost from another historical period!

(Laughs) Yeah... you are right: Alejandro Sanz, Miguel Bosé... you know them? They died no?

Oh! What? Are they? I didn't know! Are you sure?

Yeah yeah, they told me.

---Discussion opens to two others who were standing with him in the beginning---

Man 1- No he is not dead. That's a lie.

I'm gonna search it. No, they are not dead.

(Laughs) they say a lot of nonsense in Senegal!

Maybe you wanted them to be dead to speculate with the price huh? How much money would you make on a good day with the CDs and DVDs?

Nothing. Just enough to eat and sleep. You earn very little money.

Did you have any problems with the police when you were working?

Of course. It is normal. It is only normal to have problems with this, it's like the routine.

And what kind of problems?

They take your stuff.

And do you know the union of street vendors?

What? What is that?

Man 1- Yeah man the union up there, the syndicate...

No

Man 2 - What union? I have been working for 10 years and didn't know about this. There is a union?

Man 1 - Yes... with Laura, Malick... there are 5 spanish people also Sengalese.

Man 2- Ah Laura yeah... But those I know from the ASPM... A top manta union, what are the odds?

Yes. Actually, the Union was born from the ASPM, that is why it has the same members.

Man 1 - They organize all the demonstrations from top manta...

Yes, exactly! So tell me, what is your opinion about what happened to Mame Mbaye?

Its normal. Its destiny.

What do you mean with its normal?

Well, that it was written. If the one up there wrote it like that, let it be. See for us death is a natural thing.

Ok, I agree. But natural is when you go to sleep and do not wake anymore, no? To what extent can we say that it is natural to die in the street after running?

Yes, it was meant that way, and it is what I believe.

Fair enough, Jakab, I respect that. And since you do not work anymore with the blanket you might not know this first hand, but have you heard any stories about the situation for street vendors with the current city hall?

Well.. they still chase them... cops are still doing their job, as far as I know (laughs). No.. but there is more and more people who are interested in this, journalists and even students like you.

Man 2 - Yes, yes, a lot of journalists come around.

Man 1- They take pictures of you and do not ask for permission. Look, i have the director of Telecinco, calling me, hey David, could you come and talk, we make an interview, you know what I say? I say no. Because they take what they want, they use our words, twist them to fit their views.

You know Maria?

No, who is she?

She is this journalist from TVE1, like this short. Well... she calls me and tells me can I ask you questions, I always answer to all her questions, I am a free man, to answer and say what I want.

Man 1 - Yes... but journalists still take your words and change them...

Man 4 - Look, I think you have approached me when I was in Montera like one month ago, and I said no to you interviewing me. You know why? Because I think that making this interviews with more people does not work. Because for example, if I don't think the same as them, I might not say it. People that say no, might have something to say, but they do not speak Spanish well or feel like they cannot speak their mind.

But you can... I say what I want. You asked me if you could ask questions, I can choose to answer or not.

Yeah.. no, but I get his point, it does not work with everybody. Some people feel confident and say what they want even in front of other guys, but I agree that others have a harder time.

Man 4- Sometime ago, this student came to me, he also spoke French, and we exchanged numbers and he interviewed me. He even recorded me with image. But I cannot do that in front of others.... If you want to find that which is the truth, you should not do that, and I say this because I was also a student, I did philosophy and I know what you are trying to do with your study, but this is not the way.

I try to combine both formulas, I also use the exchanging number, face to face interaction, from time to time. If you want we can meet up another day and chat, I will invite you to a coffee or a beer whatever you want and we can talk calmly.

Yes, if you want...

That'd be great! Thank you all for your help.

Additional Fieldnotes: Man 4 is (SV8). We met up another day in a café to be able to talk just the two of us.

SV8 - Ou.

Senegal // 24 yo // Male // Third country citizen (unregularized situation)

Date and Time	02/08/2019 // 20:20
Residence	Embajadores

[Translated from French]

Where are you from?

Senegal, in the region of Fatick. It is not far from Dakar.

And how old are you?

Like I already explained to you, in our country the people diminish their age to be able to go to school, but you could be 16 and not go to school. In my papers it says 22 years, but when I calculate my real age I have around 24, 23.

For how long have you been in Spain?

For a year.

And for how long have you been working with the blanket?

From the first moment I was here.

So, in the first moments you arrived here...?

In the first moments I arrived here I have been a couple of days to see the situation, after that I have started arranging things to adapt.

So, if I understand correctly, you have been here a couple of days to adapt?

Yes, just to see. Two days. To see how people work, to see how you have to run when police comes, all of this...

So there has been someone who told you?

No, I went to see how it went down.

But, alone?

No, with a friend who went to work at the same time.

But you know the friend from...?

We lived in the same house.

Al right. And when you have gone with your friend, who showed you around and everything, what were your first thoughts?

The things I thought from the beginning, you know? I do not like to anticipate, but the issue demanded anticipation, when I left Morocco, I had gone through very difficult times, they have mistreated us, buffé. The day I arrived here I was so happy. I just wanted to reach Europe, even if the work was shit, I was very happy, I did not want to die in the sea.

So, you crossed through the sea to Spain?

Yes.

In a big boat or a small one?

A big one, 42 people.

From wood or plastic?

Plastic.

Alright, so you entered Spain through Morocco, and before Morocco were you in any other country?

*No, I left Senegal directly to Morocco. I worked in Morocco for a bit more than a month, I saw the situation there with the Arabs, but when you go to sell, if there is an Arab next to you with the same (truc) stuff, he will assure to give you problems, they take out their knives, no matter what. I thought to myself I cannot stay, if I stay here they are going to kill me or I will hurt somebody, because I am a man that does not like to be mistreated. It's the reason why the guy who had given us the apartment, because he was in *Chaouman??*, in *Chaouman??* there are the people who take the people here, the bosses, they give them money etc, so I told him I want to go to Spain I said "I am a man, I am a kid, I have the strength and the capacity and the rigorosity". Why should I stay here (Morocco)? living here in the shit*

What is the function of the boss exactly? He sees you and says what?

What boss? The one in Morocco?

Yes.

No he didn't say anything, it was me who approached him, and one of my brothers who is right now in Morocco. We proposed to him to go to Spain. He took our money and eventually escaped with the money.

He escaped with the money? A lot of money?

A lot. Yes, and also the money of other people. The work is like that, it is a mafia. Its the kind of things where there are no laws, it is nobody's law.

And in Morocco you worked as what? With the blanket too?

No. In Morocco, I wouldn't say that it was work down there, I was in misery (être dans le galère).

But what did you do there?

We waited on the "tranquilo", to wait if we could leave or not, we would try we tried, we tried, it was the attempts.

Alright. In Morocco where? In which cities?

I was in two cities... because I was in... The ones I told you about the city they send us was close to the Sahara, it was not in Morocco. After 2 or 3 months, without money we returned and remained in the "galère" down there.

What is the galère?

The "galère" means you do not have money, you cannot eat well, you cannot dress well, you cannot go to the hospital, you sleep with 20 people in a small room, just one toilet.

Wow. Good I asked I had no idea what this word meant... That must have been an experience. Ok, so here, what do you sell here in the blanket?

I change according to the weather and time. For example if it is summer, I sell bags, because in the beginning of the summer I sell shirts of brands Louis Vuitton, Levi's, etc. But if this does not work well, then I go back to the bags, I change and maybe get football shirts.

I see. You know when I talked to some other manteros, some of them have told me that it also depends on the weight?

The glasses for me are too light, I am young, all that I can do... if one needs the force, i just think in any case I should use it. I am alone, puissance. In any case, all that my friends do, if I see it I can.

So... You also see the relation between the products and strength?

Yes, there are certain people who cannot take specific bags, they do not have strength. But is is not always like that, there are people who have strength and sell sunglasses, because if the police comes the sunglasses are the cheapest. But if it is Saturday, a lot of people get the stuff, but if the police are there and take, it is less severe with the sunglasses, it is more with the bags or the shirts.

So, it is a combination of the force but also the money to buy the things?

Exactly.

Alright. And where do you usually sell?

In Gran Vía. I sell there.

And so far have you ever had problems with the police?

No, not at work. Outside of work.

Oh. And what happened if I may ask?

They stopped me in the street. (Here the S. told me a long personal story involving a woman which I told him I would not include in the study to safeguard his identity and respect his privacy).

Alright. And do you know the union of street vendors?

Eeehh.. They have it explained it to me down there, in the school San Lorenzo. They did a speech down there. I also did one, I would show you on my phone, first in French and then in Spanish.

Oh yes, I'd love to see it. But then do you know the union or not at all?

Yeah, I know it. Because everybody down there knows it.

In the San Lorenzo, you mean?

Yes, because since I studied in Senegal, and I do not like saying bad things about them, they are my brothers, I wouldn't say they are all illiterate, but in the school there I am one of the only people that has studied in Senegal and in the class I am, if the teachers wants to write something, I know it. In Spanish, I cannot talk, but written I can understand. That is why I eventually decided to attend the school, because I go there and lose two hours and you know everything that the teachers says.

I see. And have you ever been to any meetings by the union or a demonstration?

The school. With the school?

So the school also organizes that?

Yes, yes.

So, do you know if the school has a lot of connection with the union of manteros?

All the students there are manteros, so by force there exists connections.

I see. So there is a strong connection. But have you assisted to any meetings in Mbolo Moy Dolee?

Molo Moy Dole, that's the association, it is the same thing... No I do not know it...

You don't know it? It is the place where the union meets up, close to Nelson Mandela Square.

No, I have not been there.

Still, have you ever done activism back in Senegal or politics?

Yes. In my first job I could show you some videos. In 2013-14 I was the president of the French Club in the CM where I studied. I gave out a speech against the war in Mali, if I remember one the speech went like the peace we search, the peace we want... (At this point S. continued to recite the speech by head).

It is like poetry, it is beautiful!

Yeah, I say it in wolof and pulaar. In the school I was, it was a big school. I also did other things, when one school becomes friends with another school, and there in 2014, I also did another speech, there were two political candidates there who wanted to be the president of the village. It was the moments of the elections, and was in a meeting.

And this was at the local level or regional?

Yes. Down there it's like for example, there is a city hall of Madrid, but then also one for Lavapiés, and those are acquainted with other people and because the students were behind me (derrière moi), and the students there that have the they were interested and because I was the president of the association, if they wanted something, they talked to me.

Aha I see. Nice, good job! Ok...so now I have a bit of a different question, What do you think about what happened to Mbaye? Do you know the story maybe? Cause you have been here just a year...

You know.. This question here... it is not that I do not want to reply, but I am a person that doesn't say things that does not know. I did not know Mbaye personally, but the moment I was in Morocco I saw all the videos and I was shocked, it made me a lot of wrong. I even wanted to come here.

But.. what videos are you talking about?

The videos were the people are rioting.

You mean were they throw things and the confrontation with the police?

Yes, the police does their job and there are there to protect the population. Imagine you were the ambassador of Senegal or something else, the population of Senegal, if something comes and they call you, you have to come automatically. But I did not know Mbaye.

Right, so you didn't know him. But did you for example attend the anniversary of Mbaye's death at Nelson Mandela?

I came, but later on. I arrived when the people were talking.

So you did not attend the walk?

No, me only if it is a pacific march, because I did not come here to "make problems", I do not go to marches that are problematic, but if it is a pacific march I can attend.

I think that normally the marches organized by the union are pacifist.

*That's why I say that everything I would only attend pacifist events, because us, we are taught to be pacifist. If I return to troisieme, we can name the pacifist resistance, the cultural armed resistance, and the traditional armed resistance. Traditional armed resistance we can cite the cases of *Mhabi Hounba?*, and *????? Diop*. But if we say pacific resistance is the case of *Cheikh Ahmed Bon Abbadi Mustafa?* but if we say pacific resistance that is the case of *Serikh Tonba?*. Everything he achieved, was through peace.*

Those are prophets or...?

No, those are disciples, they are the ones that loved the prophets the most. They believed that everything you want to say and do, has to be pacifically. And because all the resistances that have used war, have lost, only those that resist pacifically win. I, I know peace.

Absolutely agree, peace means life. Alright.. So do you come often to Lavapiés?

You know I do not really like Lavapiés...

Why not?

Because phhhh..I even wake up at 4 am in the morning to look for a room, to be able to leave here. There are a lot of people in the streets, thefts. If I find a room to leave Lavapiés... I want to live more like in Delicias, Legazpi, Páifico.

So you prefer those to Lavapiés?

Yes.

But just because of the thefts or...?

No, because it is not quiet. In reality, it is not calm...

What do you mean with "in reality"?

Because at 2am or 3 am you see people screaming in the street, they disturb people. We have to respect each other.

So.. you like close to Lavapiés but not there?

Yeah.. before living here, I used to live there. But the place I live right now, does not interest me either, the room is small. If the room would be big, that which I pay it is not bad. When I tell people what I pay it is not much, but because it is small.

So you live in the room by yourself...?

In an apartment yes, with a man and his wife, but I have my room.

Ok.. and do you know a bit about the political situation here in the city hall?

What do you want to say about it?

OK.. so the time you have been here there has been a change in the local government from a left party to a right party and i was wondering if you have felt this change like in the streets, with more police or stories that you have heard? Maybe others saying that things used to be better or worse... or mentioning the names of Carmena or Almeida?

You know I do not know ... What I want is to wear good clothes to work, go work somewhere I can work with good clothes. It is important to dress well. You will not see somebody that is a mantero and loves to work as such, it is because there is no solution. The people who do not think this, if there are people who sell drugs that it is no problem, if they steal that is no problem but us... Us there is something inside us that we cannot say give, please [refers to begging for money], I do not want to steal, if you leave your phone, I swear to the life of my mother I would not steal it. Even if it is an Iphone or something like that I do not take it. [... part I was unable to translate.] But every person that works as a street vendor, the day there is a solution they would stop doing it, but in the meantime if there is no solution they continue. I swear the day I have my papers to be able to go to work, I am going to leave this, i am going to work, live well, and make a plan. Right now I cannot have it... look the moment you told me what time are we going to meet up I told let us do it today, and not tomorrow, because I do not like to lie. Because it was me who did, I did not go to work. Because I do not like to lie. I have preferred to leave my work to come talk to you, because we do not have a planning. No, at this point I cannot have a planning. Because you can go to sol at 10, and there are police who are going to come back. You can go and there are no tourists. You can go two hours, three hours ahead and there are police, you run and you come again. It is for this that it is hard to have something with a mantero, because they can tell you come, because they think they are no police, and the people rest he will decide to stay. But people do not like it. You know me... I am not sure if you have noticed, but i cannot go with clothes like that, I wear proper clothes, I love perfume because we see other people in the metro, because when there are other people you have to behave well.

What do you mean is the connection between the perfume and the metro?

Because there are people who do not like the "truc", the thing were we put the stuff. Because it is important to smell good, if you stay under the sun, you are going to smell. I even tell my friends about this, it is important to dress well. I do not like people who are nasty (sale).

But there are also people who dress well and smell? Isn't it a natural thing.

Yeah that is normal. But one has to... look, I try everyday to behave well, because in reality if I have a girlfriend that is nasty, I do not like that. It is important to be charming.

Have you heard people talking about how things have become worse or better?

The problem is that they have not told me much.

But you have friends that work with the Sare?

Yes, for sure, all my friends here work with it... If I work I earn they take my products, but there are moments were I run, they take my stuff and I have nothing left to buy more products. But what are you going to do? Steal, sell drugs? No, you are going to stay strong. The work there is shit, no one likes it. But if there is no solution....

It is not common, but I have found people who worked with the Sare, but did have papers too. What do you think about this?

You know not all people are the same. Because having papers and still working as this is shit. Or have papers and not work. I swear to my mother, if I get papers I am going to work, and build my life, and find a girl and prepare the future of our kids. In any case, that's what I want.

Ok. So for my side I am done, but maybe you have something to add or something that you feel you need to tell me?

I love your work. I hope that in any case everything goes well. But I have a question, but how do you feel? Maybe you could ask more about this. The first day I arrived in Spain: how did I feel? The day I was in the sea, what do you feel? I am here, I cannot do anything I am not anybody, I am not "legal", I cannot do "nada", I cannot leave and I should not stay, nada. When you see policemen you are scared. I say it like this but I am not like that.

Aha, and for instance when the two national police came in (the bar we were at) what did you feel?

No, nothing. Because I am not a bad person, I did not steal, I did not do anything... I am proper.

Ok, Ou., that was all from my side, thank you so much.

SV9 - Ba.	
Sengal // 20 // Male // Third Country Citizen (Regularized situation)	
Date and Time	3/08/2019 // 17:00 // Embajadores
Field notes	Ou. (SV8), very kindly, offered me help in my research. I was very pleased to hear this, and he told me he would tell some friends about it and try to agree to an interview. Eventually he tried to set up two interviews for me, but eventually I ended up interviewing only one of them, because the other called saying he was with his friends at his house, so he did not feel like it. S. also came along to help his friend in case he wanted to say in wolof or he couldn't understand something.

[Translated from Spanish]

Where are you from?

I'm from Senegal.

From Dakkar or another region?

No, from Touba.

And how old are you?

I'm 20 years old.

For how long have you been in Spain?

For 2 years and 8 months.

For how long have you been selling with the blanket? How did you start?

So in Madrid, always, when I arrived all my senegalese friends were doing this. But from December or November I always go to the south, to take the olives.

Oh, where in Andalusia?

Yes, in Jaén.

Like in the city or in another village?

In a small town, Los Villanes, like 30 km away from Jaén.

And how is it? You work with more people there?

Yes, people from Mali and Morocco.

And how is the job? Is it well paid?

Yes, it is hard work, but it is paid well. It is 7 hours a day of work.

So you have done this both years since you are here? Why Jaén?

Yes. A brother told me about the job in Jaén, he lives there. You see here in Madrid, it rains, and there are a lot of police in Sol and Gran Vía around those dates, so I go to the south.

Where do you mostly sell?

I sell in Gran Vía and Sol. It depends, if there is no space in Gran Vía I go to Sol.

I have heard it is harder to sell in Gran vía, do you agree?

Everything difficult [sic].

What do you sell? Have you always sold the same products?

I sell bags, sunglasses, tshirt. Depends.

On what?

Well on the weather.

And what about on the money you have to buy the goods?

No, that is not important, it is more about the season.

On a good day, how much money can you make?

No, nothing. Just to eat. In manta there is no money.

Some people can send money back to their families, is it your case?

No, before sometimes but it is very difficult. I do not have enough for that.

Have you had any problems with police or metro/private security?

No.

Wow. Never? That is incredible, they have never caught you in 2 years? Or taken stuff from you?

Oh, yeah, they have taken stuff from me. Many times, always. They always take stuff. Sometimes in just one month, two or three times.

Do you know the street vendors Union? Who introduced you to it or how?

No, I don't know it.

What about Mbolo Moy Dole? Serigne? Or Malick Gueye?

Yeah, Malick I know.

But you know they have formed a union to discuss things about being mantero, and try to come up with strategies to fight criminalization and mobilize people through activities... etc.?

No.

Alright. And what about back in Senegal, did you do any political activity or activism?

No, no politics for me.

What do you think about what happened to the colleague Mame Mbaye?

Mbaye... was a good man. We had a meeting every Sunday of our islam association...

A Mouride association?

Yes.

So you knew him personally?

Yes.

And when you heard he had died, what were your first thoughts?

I was coming back from work that day, and saw a lot of police and people, I didn't not know what was going on.

When you heard what had happened, did you go to Nelson Mandela?

A friend called me... he told me to come... But I saw many people, and many cops, and I did not want problems so I stayed home.

How so?

I didn't have papers by then... now I have them.

Oh nice! Through a job or..?

No, for regrouping.

Aha, so you have family here?

Yes, my father.

And your mother is she in Senegal?

Yes.

Do you go often to Lavapiés? Do you live nearby or somewhere else?

No, I do not go often. I live here, in Embajadores, but only eat, sleep, watch TV done.

You never hang out in Nelson Mandela or close by?

No.

What happens now with the change of government? Have you noticed things changing for better or worse in these two years you have been working in the street?

Yes, things have gotten worse. A lot of police, more police. It is much more difficult to sell now.

What are your plans for the future?

I am going to a course in Norte Joven, in the neighborhood of Pilar on plumbing.

Nice! And how is it going?

No, i'm starting soon. For now I have to take Spanish classes, to learn more spanish, then I can take plumbing.

Cool! Where did you get to know about this course? A friend or...?

No, I asked in San Lorenzo school and they told me.

You have plans to go back to Senegal?

Yes. After the picking of the olives this year I will go again, it ends in February or so..

And what were your expectations before coming to Madrid?

I thought life in Europe would be very good, I thought I was going to make money, but since I arrived it has been difficult to find a job, and I have tried. In Senegal, you always see these images, you know? Of all the good things. If they show Madrid, they show Gran Vía,

but you do not see here [Lavapiés] how the fellow countryman are drinking and being in the streets. In Senegal you never saw top manta, you did not know countrymen where doing this to survive here.

Ok. Ba. This is all from my side. Thank you so much for your time!

SV10 - H.	
Ecuador // around 40 // Male // Spanish nationality (Regularized situation)	
Date and Time	1/08/2019 // 21:00 // Calle Arenal
Field notes	H. and J. (SV11) were also street vendors, but of a “different kind”, why? Because they sell artisanry, they were handcrafting on the spot. I found them talking to each other, while H. was making a bracelet out of leather. I decided to include both of them in the study because I think it could be interesting to ask people who sell artisanal goods if they were chased by the police or felt threatened in the same way. I also asked for their opinion on manteros’ activity.

[Translated from Spanish]

Where are you from?

I’m from Ecuador.

And how long have you been in Spain for?

Hmmm.. for 7 years now.

Have you been selling with the blanket for very long?

No... I mean I have, like over 10 years, but this is not what I usually do. I have a small stall in Malasaña, in this square [he actually told me the name of the square, but I have decided to keep it out for privacy reasons].

I am assuming, correct me if I am wrong, that you needed papers to get that license?

Yes. I did. But I had my papers, I got my papers for some time now.

And do you sell the same things, you make these?

Yes, I told you I am from Ecuador and there we work with leather. I make these myself yes.

So, why sell with the blanket if you have stall?

Because in the summer nobody goes to that square because there is no shadow, there are less people, plus my stall is only on specific days of the week. So I prefer coming here [Calle Arenal] during the summer and then go back to my regular stall. This way I get an extra money to get by. From september onwards I return to the stall.

Have you ever had problems with the police while working with the blanket?

No, I mean not too many, not like them [points at group of street vendors]. We are calm, sometimes they [police] come and tell us to pick up our stuff and say “leave gentlemen” that is all.

Have you ever had to pay or a fee or have they taken stuff?

Well it has happened but it is not common, but we never had to run.. We just pick up our stuff calmly. I feel for them [manteros].

Are you acquainted with the initiatives proposed by the City Halls of El Vendrell or Calafell in Tarragona, of designating a specific area for street vendors to sell? What is your opinion about it?

Well..it could work... but they sell something different than us.. I mean it is not the same, we are not like them. We sell artisanry, handcrafted products... I have tried applying to other market Stalls, most recently one for Retiro. When I presented my documents they said they had enough artisans, but what if I had presented myself as having nuts? They would probably tell me as a responses that they need artisanry.. I mean, I am pretty sure that a Madrilenian has it much easier than me to enter this market in Retiro. I often think I do not get it because i’m Latinamerican.

You say they are different to you, but you both sell with the blanket. In what sense do you feel you are different?

Well because they sell football shirts and shops around here do too, so police aims at them more than us. We just sell handcrafted things, we make it ourselves. That is why they have to run and they have those threads on their blankets, no? Those guys have to constantly run away, they are harassed. When I see them I feel for them. See, I do not need those threads.

Do you consider that the presence or activity of manteros have any kind of impact on your business or other's like here around?

No, at least for me it doesn't. But as I said, the shops here care, and they care a lot, because they sometimes sell the same things.

What happens now with the change of government? Have you noticed things changing for better or worse?

No, not particularly. As I said, police are non-conflictive with us. We are just kindly asked to leave.

Al right, that is all from my side, thanks for helping me out with my research H.!

SV11 - J.	
Mexico // 32 // Male // Third country citizen (tourist visa)	
Date and Time	1/08/2019 // 21:20 // Calle Arenal
Fieldnotes	See above.

[Translated from Spanish]

Where are you from?

I'm from Mexico, from Michoacán.

And how long have you been in Spain for?

I arrived yesterday by plane, im planning on going around Europe, travel a bit.

Oh right, and where are you planning on travelling to?

For now Granada, go a bit around the South, i'm leaving tomorrow.

Nice, I love Granada. And then are you thinking of other places?

Yeah, maybe around the north of Europe, I do not know yet, nothing set in stone.

Ok. And how long have been selling jewelry? You make it yourself?

Yes, I do. I have done it for a year and a half or so.

Ok, so back in Mexico you also sell or only when you travel?

Yeah i do. I used to work as something completely different, I was a psychologist. I used to look completely different.

And you also go around selling in Mexico or just stay in Michoacán?

No, I move, it depends, to some beaches, and places, depending on how much money I make, but I like being on the move.

Cool. And how is it to sell here in Madrid?

It is good. I always like coming here, its like familiar to me, I have the feeling I was here in another life. I also like staying somewhere close to here, and I know some people here.

Have you had problems with the police from other times you have been here?

No... it is quite ok, it is relaxed. Sometimes they pass and don't even say anything. Others, like H. already told you, make you pick up your stuff and that's all.

Are you acquainted with the initiatives proposed by the City Halls of El Vendrell or Calafell in Tarragona, of designating a specific area for street vendors to sell? What is your opinion about it?

No, im sorry I don't know them. But i guess it indeed it can work, if it's somewhere centric why not. Still I think the same as H. it is not the same style of street vending we do.

What happens now with the change of government? Have you noticed things changing for better or worse?

I cannot give you any information about this, I am unaware of government affairs here.

Al right, don't worry. These were all the questions I had, thanks for taking part of this J.

SV12 - J.M.

Colombia // 31 // Male // Third country citizen (refugee status + work permit)	
Date and Time	12/08/2019 // 20:30 // Calle del Carmen
Fieldnotes	<i>J.M. is a similar case to J. and H. He sells drawings in the streets. In Calle del Carmen there are other people who also settle there to sell hand-made products, having to do with art, I had seen them on the walks I always did to go observe and interview manteros in the Sol, Gran Vía, Callo axis. One day I decided to approach him and ask similar questions to the ones I asked to SV9 and SV10.</i>

[Translated from Spanish]

My first question is where are you from and how old are you?

I'm from Colombia, I am 31 and my name is J.M.

How long have you been in Spain for?

I've been for 2 years here in Spain.

And have you always worked selling drawings in the street?

Well.. actually yes. Basically since I arrived to Spain I try to earn some money with the drawings. It is not so much a sale, but more a value that you give it approximated to the person, and the person sees if one has the capability or not, given that here, street vending is illegal in the streets I just ask for an approximate value of what one considers that one can receive for a drawing.

Ah... So you don't have a fixed price of the drawings?

In general, I ask for 10 euros for a drawing, but it is a price that can vary. If the person has 7 euros or 5 euros they can take it too, or 8 or 10, some people give more. Because here in the street it is forbidden to sale, but even more setting a price to art.

How much do you earn on a good day on the street?

It depends, today I sold 2 drawings, but I have only been here for a couple hours, I arrived here around 18.00 and will leave soon... But, Yesterday I sold 7 drawings... There are times I do not come in a week, but I survive without selling in the meantime.

In relation to this point your raise, I see you are well aware of the local ordinance of selling being illegal.

Have you ever had any problems with the police?

Well, usually I would say that one or twice a week they pass along and ask us [the other vendors that settle in that street"] to pick up but honestly, they always come with politeness. I have never had delicate inconveniences [sic], no... they just make me pick up and wait for me to pick up and that it.

Have they ever taken any of your drawings?

No, not even, not even asking me for papers or anything, they just say very politely to leave and I pick up and I just relocate 2 or 3 streets down and I just move to another street. It would be that mean that one is having a bad day if on the same day they caught me 2 or 3 times.

So, for example if you see some cops approaching now, what do you feel?

Honestly, yes. If I see them coming in walking, with the car, or by motorcycle I'd feel a little nervous and a little scared because they could at any moment tell me to pick up my stuff, but not because they are going to take my drawings. If they tell me to leave and pass again after 30 minutes or an hour later then they can take my drawings or give me a fine.

So, let us turn to my topic, as I explained to you, of the manteros, you also work in a spot where you might see them passing by. How do you see them? Do you see similarities in what you do?

The manteros topic is complex, they have their pros and cons, their good and bad side. In the good side, one knows they have the need to search for some money in the street. They are people who arrive here, like we do, because of the need, war in their countries or because in their countries they do not have the guarantees that this place has, to search for a more dignified life. One knows they are just earning their living, searching for some money. But on the other hand it is complex because it is forgery (pirateria), faking of brands and one knows that shops here pay to have the right to sell original merch. Forgeries are something illegal. On the other hand, something I do not like is that when they start running in the streets, with the luggage, the blankets behind, there was an inconvenience like 2 months ago with a lady that 20 or 30 street vendors passed by and pushed the lady to the floor, she hit her head and her head opened. The ambulance came, she was dropping blood and she hurt her head. So, they do not care if its an old person, if its a pregnant lady or a kid, they just run in groups, like a herd and push whoever. So... honestly I do find that a bit pitiful, that they do not take care in that sense, and I have seen inconveniences like that several times, pushing people. Here in Spain, there is a large population of old people, isn't there? If they push a 90 year old, they can break their hips or something. That's on that hand, but again, I repeat on the other, they need to eat, they

might not have a working permit and then... what else can they do? They resort to the need of selling illegal material and I don't know it's just complex...

I see, you see many dimensions to the issue! I'm glad...

Yeah... like the two sides, no? When I worked in Colombia I was in the secretariat of culture. In those times, I had a job... a normal job, a legal job. It served me for my income, health insurance, but I would also alternate with selling in the streets of my city. I was working with the secretariat of culture and simultaneously go to the streets to sell drawings, and I was also an invader of public space, I would also occupy a spot, so like I had the opportunity of working on one side and the other, and so I realise the good things and the bad things, no?

Nice, it's like the institutional and the subversive, like art, art in the museum and art in the street, no?

Yes, absolutely, since I have arrived here in Spain I have been more on the other side, the side of "illegality" in brackets, of occupying a public space, which is a space for people to transit normally, so that is the reason why I try not to occupy a lot of space, and bring a lot of things, and try to stick to the wall, occupy the least space possible. Maybe they [manteros] should also do that because they set up in the middle of the street, any spot, they block the shops, the doors. Maybe they should have more order of themselves.

I see... well there was this initiative proposed in some Catalan municipalities of designating a space in the city for "illegal" street vendors to sell, manteros but also other vendors without permits. What do you think of this?

You hear this and what do you think?

No, I think it is really good. I have a friend in Barcelona, he is also Colombian and draws and he told me that there is a part close to the beach that is where all manteros go, they place themselves there, I have no idea if it is the city hall doing this or...

Well.. I can answer that.. from what I have studied it was more of an organic thing. What I aim to say is that they use to locate in Passeig de Gracia and Plaza Catalunya metro, but they did several police interventions which has displaced the manteros to new location, so instead of disappearing they have just moved them, the same way you explained to me with what you do, you pick up your things and move some streets down...

But yeah.. what you were mentioning before, about providing a special zone is interesting but everything with an order and so... Now, if they could have a permit, pay their social insurance, and contribute to the state with taxes, well then it would be different... seen as different.

I had another question for you... you can answer if you feel comfortable. Why do you sell drawings in the street is it because you like it or because it is hard to find a job or any other reason?

In my case, when I arrived I got the red card. I got the red card here and...

Sorry.. Which one is that one?

It is as a refugee. I asked for political refugee asylum, that allows to be legally in Spain but obviously I cannot go to another country, I can't leave, and it allows me, with the other card, which I already have to work, I have a working permit. But on the other hand, it is what I like, I really like it, I am amused in the street, and honestly I have been 10 or 12 years in the streets and one ends up getting used to it.

Wow. 10 years in the street selling?

Yes, I am 31, and I started when I was 19 in Colombia. So as I was saying there I had the opportunity that I would take turns, and would work sometimes with the secretariat and other times in the street. Another time I also did in an art academy, and there I was a drawing teacher to kids, and I also had a special class with kids with Down Syndrome. So.. I would work with them and work in the street, so I grew used to this and I don't know.. I like it. I also have some health issues with gastritis, and it has prevented me for my work. There are moments I go to bed and wake up with an upset stomach and if i had a fixed job I would always have to go.

I see... so this job of street vending allows you that flexibility.

Yes... to be honest this job has helped me a lot. It is true that in another job I could earn more, with a fixed income every month but my health would not allow me much. So for the time being I live and I am just happy with what I do.

So... for instance, if the special designated zone would be done and artisans and artists would be asked to settle there next to street vendors, what do you think?

Honestly, if they gave us the option of a space like for the people who work with drawings, make caricaturesque drawings, and artisans, I would be up for going. If we had the guarantee of having a fixed place and were we would have a permit and that we would contribute with taxes and social security and also that the zone would, and with the zone help us pay security. Because I do not know how it works in Spain... I do not know if its very high, but if its high and the street does not justify paying that.. then it would be complex. I heard from a friend who is England, who comes to visit me every 2-3 months that over there the artists get a permit and the taxes that they pay are reduced like half, so there is a lot of support from the government to artists. So if they could take that into account and they could simplify it or give benefits and discounts then I would like an area like that, I would like it... because then one would stop thinking so

much, is he going to kick me out or not...will I end up in another street, in the other street i hope not to find the same... there is the delicate issue. But yeah.. it would be good being honest.

Alright, this is my last question, I don't know if you know that we had a change of government from this two years you have been here, we changed from a left (with Carmena) to a right party in the municipality. Have you seen any changes in terms of police presence or anything else?

Well.. honestly I would not know how to answer, because I'm not very related to that. Since last year when I arrived I have seen manteros running away and this year, its the same, I still see them running. I would not be able to say if there is more police control or not...

Interview Guideline - Street Vendors Union Spokesperson (SP & ENG)

Agradecimientos y Explicación del TFM. Todas tus respuestas serán anónimas y serán tratadas con discreción ¿Te importaría si grabo nuestra conversación con grabadora de voz, es decir sin imagen?

(ENG) Greetings and explanation of MA Thesis. All your answers will be anonymous. Would you mind if I record our conversation, just audio, no image?

Preguntas generales sobre el Sindicato / General questions about the Union

1. ¿Podrías describirme la labor y el objetivo del Sindicato de Manteros? ¿Cómo surgió?
(ENG) Could you describe to me the work and aim of the Street Vendors Union? How did it come to being?
2. ¿Cómo y cuándo te involucraste en el Sindicato de Manteros?
(ENG) When and how did you get involved in the Street Vendors Union?
3. ¿Cuántas personas forman parte del mismo? ¿Cómo pasa uno a formar parte del sindicato?
(ENG) How many people are part of it? How does one become a member of the Union?
4. ¿Cuáles son vuestras demandas y quien quereis que os escuche: El estado, el ayuntamiento, Europa...?
(ENG) What are your demands and who do you want to be listened by: the state, city hall, Europe?
5. ¿Cuáles dirías que son vuestras tácticas de protesta y movilización, o manera de haceros escuchar?
(ENG) What would you say are your tactics of protest and mobilization, ways to be heard?
6. ¿De qué manera participan los lateros en vuestros sindicatos? ¿Qué tal lleváis lo de ser pluriétnicos, hay dificultades a la hora de hacer política?
(ENG) In what ways do can sellers participate in your union? How do you deal with the pluriethnicity? Does it pose challenges in doing politics?

Alianzas / Alliances

8. ¿Con quiénes soléis colaborar? ¿Qué os une a ellos?
(ENG) Who do you usually collaborate with? What unites them to you?
9. ¿De qué maneras colaboráis con el sindicato de BCN? ¿O con otros colectivos de manteros o sin papeles en otras ciudades?
(ENG) In what ways do you collaborate with the BCN Union? And with other street vendor collectives or undocumented migrants in other cities?
10. ¿Qué opinas de las “soluciones” que se están creando en BCN: marca top manta, de top manta a top model, la Diomcoop...? ¿Por qué en Madrid no?
(ENG) What is your opinion of the “solutions” which are being created in BCN: top manta brand, from top manta to top model, Diomcoop? Why not in Madrid?

Los gobiernos del cambio / Governments of Change

11. ¿Cuáles eran vuestras expectativas en materia de la manta y migración con la llegada al ayuntamiento de Ahora Madrid?
(ENG) What were your expectations in terms of the blanket and migration with the arrival of Ahora Madrid to the city hall?
12. ¿Podrías describir brevemente tu opinión sobre algunas iniciativas del Ayuntamiento dirigidas a los migrantes como la tarjeta de vecindad? ¿Y alguna iniciativa para los manteros?
(ENG) Could you briefly give me your opinion on some of the initiatives of the City Hall which are directed to migrants such as the neighborhood card? And initiatives for street vendors?
13. He leído algunas de vuestras opiniones al respecto, pero podrías describirme brevemente vuestra relación con el gobierno de Carmena ¿Diríais que habéis tenido oportunidades para dialogar, que se os han abierto espacios? ¿Que lo impedía?
(ENG) I have read some of your opinions about it, but could you briefly describe your relationship with Carmena's government? Would you say you had opportunities to dialogue? Were spaces opened? If not, what were the challenges?
14. ¿Y que han incluido vuestras demandas en su agenda política?

(ENG) Do you feel they have included your demands in the political agenda?

15. ¿Ha cambiado a lo largo del tiempo vuestra relación con Carmena y su equipo? ¿Por qué razones?

(ENG) Has your relationship with Carmena and her team change across time? For what reasons?

16. ¿Habéis notado ya cambios en la relación de vuestro colectivo con el nuevo ayuntamiento en las calles o en el marco institucional?

(ENG) Have you felt that there have been changes in the relationship between your collective and the new city hall in both streets and institutional setting?

Mame Mbaye y los disturbios de Lavapiés / Mame Mbaye and the Lavapiés Riots

17. ¿Estuviste presente el día de los disturbios de Lavapiés tras la muerte de Mame Mbaye? ¿Podrías describir un poco el episodio?

(ENG) Where you present the day of the riots of Lavapiés, after Mame Mbaye's death? Could you describe the episode to me?

18. ¿Qué importancia tuvo ese día para vosotros como movimiento? ¿Dirías que fue un momento crítico de vuestra lucha?

(ENG) What did that day mean for you as movement? Would you say it was a critical moment in your fight?

Personal

19. ¿Tenías experiencia política/activista antes de venir a España?

(ENG) Did you have any political experience before coming to Spain?

20. ¿Trabajas con la manta, durante cuánto tiempo? ¿Y qué tipo de productos vendes/vendías?

(ENG) Do you work with the blanket? For how long? What type of products did you sell?

21. ¿De dónde eres? ¿Cuánto tiempo llevas en España? ¿Situación administrativa? ¿Edad?

(ENG) Where are you from? How long have you been in Spain? Administrative situation? Age?

