Chapter 17
Resources for a Practice of Anti-discriminatory and Indigenous Social Work in the South of Spain from a Biographical Experience

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Introduction

Social work has become increasingly international and "seeks to maintain control by centralizing its authority through its international bodies" (Evetts, in Webb, 2003: 13). This chapter reflects and analyzes, from a critical social work perspective, the "Western" procedures and practices in the professional functions of social work and social intervention in Southern Spain, which have a limited application for people and communities with a colonized ancestry, and which remain in operation without being questioned (Briskman, 2008). This entails re-evaluating concepts such as egalitarianism arising from modernity and reviewing notions such as hegemony, power, and equity. In accordance with the proposal of postcolonial theory and the contributions of indigenous social work practice, the processes of social work are analyzed through a qualitative methodology, mainly semi-structured interviews and self-reflection. Various racialized personal experiences of a young *mestizo* university student, Manuel, are contrasted with the professional actions defined by social workers from different organizations (NGOs, social services and university). *Mestizo* refers to ethnic roots comprising a mix of the pre-Hispanic and European

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but with a prevalence of the Western. That is, descendants of indigenous people who have an essentially Western culture (Lizcano Fernández, 2005: 189), focusing on sociocultural rather than biological aspects (Moreno & Sandoval, 2013: 270–271). The impact of colonialism and capitalism on the socioeconomic conditions of indigenous people, the asymmetry of power, and police corruption can shape their perception and trust in institutions (Whyte, 2016; Burnette & Sanders, 2014), especially in victims of crime. (Caicedo, 2022). Throughout the results are revealed feelings of disappointment, frustration, abandonment, and disaffection in the face of racist aggression and the absence of professional actions using critical approaches and indigenous social work that offer a response to the victims and survivors of hate crimes. Although some of the actions are in line with anti-racist social work, all of these are carried out through the third sector. Actions from public social services, the main sector where social workers are located professionally, do not coordinate the resources, relationships, and problem-solving of local communities. In addition, the actions aimed at immigrant populations are for the management of legal or residence issues and not for problems of discrimination.

In the case of the university, despite having black and indigenous students, there are no specific resources to assist this population. In relation to Manuel's needs, such as support networks or information on resources, these are not offered, and for him as an immigrant, it is difficult to find them.

We hope that this chapter contributes to improving social work in Spain and to driving forward toward more critical approaches that are in line with the current context of globalization, capable of managing cultural diversity from anti-colonial paradigms and with greater equality in the welfare process.

With this objective in mind, this chapter is organized into five sections following the Introduction: The first defines the theoretical framework of critical, anti-racist, and indigenous social work; anti-racist social work; and social work in Spain. The second section explains the qualitative methodology that was used. The third part details the results that were obtained through the case of racism and violence experienced by a young mestizo, his knowledge of the social resources available, the informal support networks he could count on, and the social resources and the approach of anti-discriminatory social work in the university and student services, the community social resources, and the social work services with the immigrant population through specialized resources. The results are discussed and a conclusion is proposed.

Theoretical Framework

Critical, Anti-racist, and Indigenous Social Work

Social work as a profession rooted in the European context maintains certain ways of observing and intervening in social life and follows models that tend to be universalist, that is, which can be applied to all situations and contexts. These are based

on particular universalizing ethical, ideological, and political value biases (Gray et al., 2016), and this has generated problems in certain contexts and with certain populations that range from paternalistic practices and institutional violence to new forms of colonialism.

Anti-oppressive practices in social work seek to respond to power relations by confronting social divisions and processes of categorization that sustain structural inequality (Stepney & Ford, 2012). Anti-discriminatory social work is related to this concept. Some authors have defined discrimination as part of the process of oppression, linking them through the relationships of power. Criticisms of practices that fight against oppression and discrimination through social work are based on two fundamental aspects. The first has to do with the difficulties in transcending the relationships of power "inherent in professional relationships with service users" (Sakamoto & Pitner, 2005: 686); the second is related to dichotomies and binary discourses (Thompson, 2001). Other authors have criticized top-down approaches or the superficial use of seemingly neutral language (Mclaughlin, 2005).

Anti-racist practices encourage resistance against forms of oppression and require social workers who understand race as a social construction or ideology in which prejudices abound, together with the essentialization of concepts that have served to legitimize inequality (Stepney & Ford, 2012). Anti-racist social intervention is any social action, systematic, formalized, organized, and planned, whose purpose is to combat or eliminate the various forms of domination based on the construct of race. Anti-racist social intervention can be carried out at different levels of intervention, be it for individual or collective subjects (groups and communities). Frequently, the type of actions that are carried out under this description includes care and advice for people who are victims of discrimination, active defense of the rights of minorities (advocacy), training, raising awareness and education in anti-racist matters, participatory and inclusive community action, as well as the diagnosis, planning, and evaluation of the latter, in accordance with theoretical and methodological approaches of empowerment, consensus building, creative conflict resolution, and awareness-mobilization. Similarly, there may be cases of discrimination that are not based on negative attitudes toward a certain group, but rather on the fact that their particularities have not been taken into account (as occurs in some forms of indirect discrimination) or the negative feelings may be accompanied by stereotypes of a positive nature that serve to maintain the system of domination (Buraschi & Aguilar-Idáñez, 2017; Crenshaw, 1991).

Anti-racism in general and anti-racist social intervention in particular need their identity, their foundations, their methods, and their goals to be completely remodeled if they are not to remain powerless in the face of the resurgence of old ghosts that seem to be haunting Europe ever more strongly. For more than two decades in Europe, anti-racism has been criticized for being one or two generations behind racism. This is especially true for the anti-racism promoted by institutions, which tend to reduce racism to its most explicit and aggressive expressions. It is not surprising that the anti-racist discourse of the political class and the media is limited to the examples of extreme right-wing parties, to episodes of racism in football, or to the action of Nazi skinhead groups considered marginal. Anti-racism, if it wants to

renew itself, needs to identify the new forms of racism, often far removed from the most extreme expressions. It is about recognizing "the family area" (Taguieff, 1997: 337) that brings together the new forms of racism, of thinking about racism in the plural, in its explicit forms, and in its more implicit forms, in its social and institutional dimension (Buraschi & Aguilar-Idáñez, 2017).

Indigenous social work, as another of the critical and anti-oppressive approaches of the field of Social Work, also highlights the hegemonic nature of social work research and practice, proposing other useful conceptualizations for a decolonized social work practice (Rowe et al., 2015). It was in the 1990s that the concept of "indigenization" acquired relevance in the scientific literature of culturally compatible social work (Walton & Abo El Nasr, 1988). In that period Osei-Hwedie (1993) highlighted that "indigenization must start from within," using local culture and practices of assistance as the main source of knowledge, for social work practice to be culturally appropriate and relevant" (p. 22). He further stated that indigenization involves finding new ways or revising local ideas and processes of problem-solving and service delivery. This entails understanding and coordinating the resources, relationships, and problem-solving of local communities; and the underlying ideas, philosophies, or values of the people, groups and/or communities involved (Osei-Hwedie, 1996: 216). Accordingly, the concept of "indigenization from without" (Yip, 2004, Watermeyer and Chung Yan, 2022) has also been discussed as a passive model in which host countries modify or extend the imported knowledge and practice in order to adapt them to the local culture and develop their own strategies to address the local problems and needs. The concept of "indigenization from within" emphasizes that theories and practical methods should develop a ground-up approach, with indigenous information as a primary source of knowledge. Indigenous social work requires a holistic understanding that, as Hart expresses it, includes "historical, social, economic, and political dynamics, as well as the mental, spiritual, emotional, and physical aspects of individuals" together with "interactions at the individual, family, group and community level," but it also poses difficulties at the point of putting them into practice (2021: 217–272).

Anti-racist Social Work and Social Work in Spain

As Gray and Coates (2016: 14) state regarding the current situation of social work and the globalization process: "it continues to fuel a crisis of relevance on at least two fronts – in relation to non-Western social work and to Indigenous social work; in other words, in relation to contexts that are trying to develop culturally relevant social work practices." In the Spanish context, social work conforms to the values indicated by the General Council of Official Associations of Graduates in Social Work and Social Assistants in its Code of Ethics for Social Work (2012) founded on the indivisible and universal values of human dignity, freedom and equality as conceived in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, democratic institutions and the rule of law. As Pastor Seller (2013: 3) states

it is impossible to carry out an analysis of the professional profile without linking it to the social, organizational and political context in which it is developed.

In Spain, there has not been a strong tradition of anti-discriminatory social work in general, nor of indigenous social work in particular, despite its history as a colonial empire since the fifteenth century, and despite having models of diversity management. As identified by Daniel Buraschi and Aguilar-Idáñez (2017: 4), there are still "racist barriers that are often difficult to detect and eliminate, because they are rooted in the individual and collective unconscious, and because overcoming them requires the task of sensitization, awareness-raising and personal and collective mobilization." Accordingly, both racist debates and practices, as well as the practice of social work, are always framed in a certain historical context. Social work in Spain dates back to the relatively recent past of the twentieth century, with the institutionalization of its teachings in 1932 in the first training school in Barcelona. In the city of Granada, in southern Spain, it began much later, in 1962, with the opening of the Isabel la Católica Technical School of Social Assistants, to become a university diploma in 1988 (Morales, 2010). At present, the main professional field for social workers is in personal Social Services, but also in health, education, justice, employment, urban planning and housing, business, environment, voluntary work, culture, and leisure. Regarding social services, more than 60% carry out their activity in primary care social services. In specialized social services, the predominant sectors of activity are those related to the elderly, functional diversity, and dependent people and carers. Among the main functions they perform are information and guidance; to a lesser extent they carry out actions of prevention, assistance, planning, evaluation, supervision, and coordination; and very rarely actions of promotion, rehabilitation, management, research, teaching, and similar (ANECA, 2004; Pastor, 2013). Gray et al. (2016: 14) ask an important question; "how can social work be culturally and context contingent while, at the same time, 'transcending context'?" A profession serious about cultural relevance would surely want to highlight differences to reinforce its view of itself as culturally adaptable, as Ragab (1978, 1982) refers to regarding the case of Egyptian social work, but as has also been highlighted in other international contexts (Osei-Hwedie, 1993, 1996, 2002; Osei-Hwedie & Rankopo, 2008; Wang, 1998).

Methodology

For this qualitative empirical research to analyze the existence and practices of anti-discriminatory social work resources in a city in southern Spain through the personal experience of a racialized person who suffered racism, his search for help, and his experience in this process, data were collected in 2022 using qualitative empirical research methods. The city of Granada was selected as the study area given the substantial presence of international students. The principal tools and techniques used were a field diary for collecting data on observations of occurrences, theoretical notes, and methodological problems, and semi-structured and open interviews.

A biographical study of a young *mestizo* university student, whom we shall call "Manuel" for purposes of maintaining his anonymity is contrasted with the professional actions defined by social workers from different organizations. His narratives about the discrimination and racism he has experienced are shown in relation to existing social work resources in the city for anti-discriminatory and indigenous social work. For this, interviews were also carried out with different public social work organizations and private entities (Table 17.1). Through these semi-structured interviews, details of the object of study are captured, manifesting the value of a micro-perspective. A critical race methodology is used to question the often normalized and naturalized racial and racist processes, underpinned by the construction of white bodies that are defined as white supremacy and its institutions, such as social work institutions (Joseph-Salisbury, 2019).

The organizations were intentionally selected to have a wide degree of diversity in the types of interventions of the different organizations and populations they serve, and thus be able to identify practices of anti-discriminatory and/or indigenous practices of social work.

The *self-reflection* on the professional practices of the authors was carried out on their professional experiences in the field of social work and social intervention (social worker with minors in social conflict, home help social worker, social project technician), in organizations from the third sector, in a private company that provides services to the local public administration and a foundation, respectively. We understand *self-reflection* as Habermas (2010), in the sense of a critical mechanism that enables the process of internal questioning that allows the subject to realize a more in-depth examination of himself and his actions.

Through the biographical interview, aspects were revealed relating to the aid process in general and to the actions of professionals in the context of racist aggression. This analysis allowed the various factors to be determined through the discussions of the social workers from the various organizations. We selected a young mestizo university student as a biographical experience of racism and exclusion in different institutional contexts in Granada. Understanding narratives of "othered" communities about effective action against racism provides the rationale for the

Table 17.1 Organizations interviewed, functions, and population they serve

Organization	Interviewees	Functions (Aneca, 2004; Pastor, 2013)	Population served
Third-sector NGO	Social workers	Information, guidance; actions of prevention, assistance, planning, evaluation, supervision, and coordination; promotion	Immigrants
Municipal Social Services	Social worker	Information, guidance; to a lesser extent they carry out actions of assistance	General population
University: Student Services Office (University) Inclusion service	Social worker Inclusion service staff	Information, guidance; actions of prevention, assistance and coordination	Students

story of this young mestizo man. Manuel is a 27-year-old mestizo man from Argentina. The selection of this interview came from a previous study where we met him. His experiences of discrimination and his lack of knowledge about social work devices that could help him have been contrasted with different support resources and how they function in the city.

The contact strategy consisted in approaching him after his involvement in previous research on college students, explaining the research study, and our interest in conducting an interview. The contact strategy with the social work professionals involved arranging an appointment where the research was explained. The selection of these entities was based on achieving diversity in the public sphere, including the university, as well as third-sector organizations that provide support to the immigrant population. We asked for and secured permission from all participants to use the information obtained.

The interviews were conducted individually by the authors at different times with each of the interviewees. The names of people and places have been changed to ensure the confidentiality of the data, as agreed with the interviewees. The authors are three white female researchers at different stages in their academic and professional careers. All of them have professional experiences in social intervention with different populations and origins and from different social organizations. This standpoint allowed a self-reflection on the different professional practices and the power relations they imply when working with minority populations. The first author was involved in analyzing the data and contributed to its interpretation within the theoretical framework. The second author conducted the fieldwork and interviews with social workers and also took part in analyzing the data. The third author carried out the interviews with Manuel and contributed to the analysis of the data.

The transcripts of the interviews were examined to identify emerging themes and then re-examined, to interpret them in light of existing theories, specifically those on critical social work, anti-racist, and indigenous social work approaches. The transcripts were then organized, coded, and analyzed.

Results

Racism and Violence in the South of Spain: The Life Experience of a Young Mestizo Man

This is a biographical experience of Manuel, a 28-year-old immigrant man, self-defined as *mestizo*, with Argentinian and Spanish nationality, and a university student. We call him "Manuel," to maintain his anonymity. He moved to Spain in 2015, due to the economic crisis in his country. His first destination was in the north of Spain, first in San Sebastian and then in Bilbao, both cities in the Basque Country region, and where he began his university studies. After 2 years he moved to Granada, in the south of Spain, and began a new university degree, encountering

bureaucratic and economic problems that led him to go to work in England for 7 months. Finally, he returned to Granada and resumed his undergraduate studies. He currently resides in Granada.

During these 7 years, he has encountered racist experiences of all kinds, from insults to physical and psychological violence. The aggression he suffered at the hands of a group of young white men was reported to the police. However, he relates the jokes and humorous comments he received from police personnel, where he did not receive any specialized attention, for example, having a facilitator as stated in the Action Protocol of the Security Forces and Bodies for Hate Crimes and Behaviors that violate the Legal Regulations on Discrimination (2020). Frequent forms of violence and discrimination against racialized people often do not fit into the legal categories of "racism" or "sexism," but are rather a combination of both (Crenshaw, 1991). This situation means that racialized people are frequently legally "invisible" and left without legal recourse; hence, the disaffection of our interviewee with institutions, such as the police and/or the judiciary, and educational institutions. The assault and complaint were not defined as a hate crime as set out in Article 510 of the Spanish Penal Code, which later made it difficult for the judicial process to continue. A year later, the interviewee obtained evidence for the complaint: names and photographs of the aggressors, recording from the bar where it happened, and testimony from witnesses, but none of it was considered because a year had passed since the filing of the first complaint. Manuel shows a significant disaffection toward the Security Forces and Bodies and defines the action by the police as negligent. On going to the emergency room, the day after the attack, they did not take any X-rays of his nose, despite the fact that in another medical consultation, they informed him that the blows received, specifically to the nose, could have been fatal.

At the hospital, he encountered administrative difficulties and refusals to access his medical history, as well as skepticism about the veracity of the facts he reported:

> I explained [to the nurse] that I didn't do anything, that they hit me, and she tried to understand why what had happened had happened. I explained to her that I didn't do anything, that they hit me and she said: "you must have said something or you must have hit them." And it was none of that. Perhaps that is why, making the racist violence that I suffered invisible, they forgot to take my X-ray, which was very important [as evidence for the trial].

Later, he received denials from the forensic medical professional who treated him:

> "Look, I don't have time for these problems" and she left. In other words, the only thing she did was to take my papers, she didn't even take all of them, she only took one of all the papers that I gave her. She stood up and walked away, and I had to go after her begging her to look at the other papers, but she didn't want to look at them. What happened? The first paper she looked at stated that I went to the emergency room, but the doctor who saw me in the emergency room did not take an X-ray [...] I had also gone to the psychiatrist because of all this, and she also refused to look at those papers.

For its part, the court did not tell him anything about the judicial process, he states, *because they forgot to notify me*, a fact that was later acknowledged by a court official. This error meant that deadlines were exceeded leading to the undermining of criminal proceedings. Subsequently, the case was dismissed due to these facts and, according to the Court, because the names of those accused were not available from

the first moment, despite having evidence of who they had been, evidence that was not considered because it was submitted after the deadline. The interviewee used a court-appointed lawyer, but later, he retained a couple of private lawyers. Finally, he was unable to continue with the civil proceedings due to a lack of financial resources.

Moreover, he describes discriminatory experiences in the university environment after the aggression, both from the faculty and from students, where he expected to find more sympathy and understanding:

> I was discriminated against. I had a teacher who, after telling him about the aggression I suffered, told me well, look, you must have done something, right? The reading I made of that was: "Look, you're dark skinned, it looks like you like to party maybe... you did something to get hit."

The aggression left him with significant physical consequences that made it impossible for him to carry out his academic tasks:

> I did not receive any type of help, I did not see any type of consideration, on the contrary, I felt that my colleagues, male and female, were disrespectful, that they did not care about my case.

He has also experienced daily racism in access to essential resources such as housing, or in daily interactions with other people:

> Before, when I was looking for another house, I went to see it and the owner, who was an elderly person, looked at me and did not want to rent me. He didn't even want to take me upstairs to see the house. Probably also because of where I'm from. He became nervous, hesitant and I noticed he was uncomfortable and of course! he didn't want to rent to me, he didn't want to show me the house for reasons that I believe to be racist and discriminatory.

Manuel is conscious of the existence of white privileges, promoted through the Spanish media. After the aggression, this consciousness has increased. He feels discriminated against, less important, and thinks that if he were a white boy, of German nationality, tall, he would inspire greater respect and he would not feel this way:

> It's obvious that people who are whiter, blonder, have more privileges, right? They are more popular, no matter how much someone tries, being dark-skinned, in the end they always have more privileges, what the media shows you are white, fair-haired people... and that's it. The truth is that in that sense I didn't feel… I mean, I didn't feel discriminated against on a personal level, but on a social level. In other words, I didn't feel that someone came and called me "shitty black man" or something like that, but rather that, more than anything, it is the system itself that causes it.

The consequence of this person's whole experience is a feeling of helplessness or institutional abandonment toward him, mainly after the aggression, but also helplessness on a social level. This produces in him a desire to flee from the context in which he experienced the aggression, but also from the country itself. He speaks of a flight to the north of Spain (where he identifies different elements in terms of discrimination) or to the Netherlands, which he considers a more advanced country than Spain. Paradoxically, he expresses the following view on Spain:

> I believe that we as immigrants and Latin Americans see Spain as very advanced, not only economically but also socially. We have a very, very, very favorable impression of Spain. In my case, I have also felt a little disappointed with other Latin Americans I have spoken with.

This disappointment is caused by unfulfilled expectations of Spain as a welcoming country with immigrants in general and with Latin Americans in particular, *because of the history that unites us*. It is a disappointment that, in a generalized way, extends to civil society and public authorities. Moreover, he had hoped not to have such difficulty finding work in a "first world" country, belonging to the European Union.

Further elements of the feelings of helplessness are the physical and emotional consequences of the aggression:

> Nothing has been done and it is something that makes me feel abandoned by the institutions themselves. This feeling is strong, that they could have killed you, and that nobody cares anything about it, institutionally.
>
> For me it led to damage to my morale and a loss of confidence in the system.

Knowledge of Available Social Resources and Other Necessary Resources

He knew of the resources available at the University of Granada, such as the Psycho-pedagogical Office, the medical facility, and the university canteens, among others, and expressed his intention to go to a psychological care facility. Despite knowing about these resources, he said that students are generally unaware of them. Thus, for example, another of the resources that came up in the interview was the scholarships for college students, of which he was unaware, as he said he only knew about regional and state university scholarships.

He identified a lack of resources in three areas: on an economic level, emotional and health support. Furthermore, he understood that these are resources that the welfare state should provide, though this is not always the case. He proposed that there should be a philosophical approach and a non-Western or non-traditional lifestyle. It is here that he referred to the lack of an intercultural perspective in order, on the one hand, to have an anti-discriminatory perspective with respect to cultures other than Western ones and, on the other hand, at the level of personal growth that is related to the latter, but at a more individual or micro level.

Informal Networks

Family and friends are his two main and permanent support groups. Currently, his family is a support, mainly his mother. The absence of a family network in Spain made it difficult for him to cope emotionally with the period after the physical assault. In fact, he thinks of that moment in his life as being totally alone. He expressed similar sentiments when speaking of helplessness. He also speaks of his "family in Spain," a family of Peruvian-Venezuelans in Bilbao, who have supported him and whom he considers as friends, like a second family. Similarly, another

support that he had in his first months in Spain was a family of Peruvians known to his father, who he stayed with in San Sebastian.

He also identified the presence of networks of friends as a limited emotional support, but at the same time, he pointed out the need for deep and professional emotional support. In addition, he mentioned a university group at the UPV (University of the Basque Country), comprising a professor and racialized students, and that he still maintains contact with one of these students:

> It was a support and it was stimulating to talk to racialized people, and from my own continent, for example, the Paraguayan girl, who I was very friendly with.

He considers that he could have expanded his networks with this group, or that he could have relied on them (in the form of advice and help) for some problems he had. This is the second support group that he had in the Basque Country, together with the Peruvian-Venezuelan family.

To a lesser extent from time to time, he has had support from roommates and co-workers, and an association to share and raise awareness on racist aggression, as well as provide contact with a lawyer and support to raise funds.

However, he realized that the first two networks, family and friends, were the ones he could really count on consistently, although the element of physical distance makes it difficult to use them to meet his needs (emotional support, receiving care) in specific and concrete circumstances, as was the case of the aggression. The most immediate networks, being the Peruvian-Venezuelan family and the university group as the most significant, have worked in a complementary way to these.

Social Resources and the Anti-discriminatory Social Work Approach

The University and Student Services

Social care from the university is principally managed by two Vice-Rectorates: that of Equality, Inclusion, and Sustainability and that of Students and Employability. The first of these is in charge of organizing the resources and activities related to the social dimension and sustainable development of all people who are part of the educational community: teachers, administration and services staff, and students. In general, its actions are aimed at achieving inclusion and equality, fundamentally in terms of gender and of people with disabilities and with other specific needs for educational support (Universidad de Granada). However, no service has been identified that specifically assists those who suffer discrimination based on race, ethnicity, or culture and which uses an anti-oppressive, anti-discriminatory, or indigenous social work approach:

> No, we fundamentally work with people with functional diversity and also with women who suffer harassment or gender violence. I don't know if perhaps the student social care office has a specific program (a staff member from the Vice-Rectorate for Equality, Inclusion and Sustainability).

The Student Social Assistance Office is located in the Vice-Rectorate for Students and Employability. This service is staffed by social workers, and its functions are to inform, guide and advise university students on existing social rights and resources (Univerisdad de Granada UGR). Various programs are carried out by this student care service, specifically: the social assistance program, aimed at students with economic difficulties and who do not have a scholarship; emergency food aid for students in vulnerable situations; the social intervention program for students with disabilities; the program to house young students with older people; and the health district protocol for foreign students with specific health problems, intended for students from countries outside the European Union or from countries with which there is no bilateral health care agreement (Universidad de Granada).

This service does not provide any resources, programs, or activities aimed specifically at the racialized and/or indigenous population, and despite being a service that has been in development for 30 years, they have never received any request from people who could be suffering some type of discrimination based on their country of origin or race:

> I haven't seen that situation in the time I've been here and we assist people of all nationalities more or less with problems with vocabulary, communication... well, I don't know, from Morocco, now from Ukraine, from Russia, from Morocco from… Not up to now. I don't know if the Inclusion service…no, I haven't encountered this situation of being discriminated against or suffering a situation because of skin color or…I haven't seen it (Student Services Office, SAC social worker).

And if they were to encounter it in the future, they suggest that they would resort to other university services:

> For me, if he came to me today and I was alone and didn't know what to do, I would call inclusion, okay? That's what I would do. I would tell them if this situation occurred, if this person told me that they have suffered this situation, that is where I would make inquiries (SAC social worker).

Social Work Through Community Resources

For public social services systems, the provision of social work and social care are generally organized into two levels of care: community social services and specialized social services (Seller, 2013).

In Spain, community services are the gateway to the public social care system. Through them are dispensed information, assessment and advice services, home help services, social cooperation to promote the creation of associations and coexistence and social reintegration focused on the search for alternatives to internment and institutionalization (Rodríguez, 2003).

The resources or programs that are offered by the community social services to the immigrant population are fundamentally focused on legal advice, dispensed by lawyers in matters of documentation regularization (residence permits, work permits), and the social services that carry out the so-called "*informes de arrigo*" ("embedding reports"). This is one of the documents necessary for an immigrant to

obtain a residence permit. The report, issued by the social worker, specifically certifies the residence of the person in a certain municipality and that he or she participates in different programs aimed at their "social integration" (learning the Spanish language, taking training courses and job search, etc.).

These community social services provide no assistance based on the anti-discriminatory, anti-oppressive, or indigenous social work model. This omission is based on the consideration that the discrimination that people from other places, of other races, may have been fundamentally due to the situations of economic vulnerability that they might face:

> We believe that immigrants find themselves in a situation of disadvantage or inequality precisely because they are without economic resources, without work, without housing... (Social worker CMSSSS).

Therefore, intervention from social work is aimed at improving their legal situation, economic situation, housing, etc.:

> Our intervention with the immigrant population, although with slight differences, is the same as what we do with any other person who finds themselves in a situation of vulnerability (CMSSSS social worker).

Social Work with the Immigrant Population Through Specialized Resources

The requirements of specific groups are supplied by the specialized social services. These are services that may be delivered by the public administration or by the organizations that form the third sector. They are aimed primarily at the female population, children and young people, the elderly, the disabled, homelessness or drug abuse and addictions, among others, and include both technical and monetary assistance and material resources (Rodríguez, 2003; Seller, 2013).

In the south of Spain, assistance for people from other countries, of other ethnicities, cultures, and races, is essentially offered through the resources, mechanisms, and aids that are provided to the immigrant population. Within these resources, the assistance is chiefly provided by non-profit organizations financed by the public administration or financial organizations, and they develop different programs and actions. One of the most representative and that has been analyzed in this research is the Asociación Granada Acoge (NGO Granada Acoge), which is part of the Federación Andalucía Acoge[1] (Andalusia Welcome Federation).

This organization has been operating for more than 30 years in Granada and was established on the identification of a need for assistance for the foreign population:

> Granada Acoge was founded in 1987, developed from real life experience in the city, and the need to assist the foreign population... there is a group of people who see it as necessary that, in addition to the resources that may exist for the population in general, this specific characteristic is addressed, that is, of these foreigners (Social worker 1, NGO).

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[1] Andalucía Acoge (Sf). https://stoprumores.com/

Their actions are continually being adapted, depending on the new needs that this population presents:

> Over time, different needs and situations appear, when sometimes you give way, and other times you are asked to intervene, and that is where real life is happening, the reality of ex-students, for example, too, so these are issues that maybe twenty years ago weren't brought up like this, so we are always quite mindful of this, of this real life and of these situations (Social worker 1, NGO).

This organization carries out various projects and actions that address the different situations of vulnerability that the immigrant population faces:

> *General Assistance for the Migrant Population serves needs at* a wide-ranging level: housing, children and young people, legal aid and advice both in the city and in the province are provided. Although, i*n December 2021, legal advice in the province was ended, specifically linked to the Diputación (county council). Then we have programs for ex-students, the international protection program for applicants for international protection, free Spanish classes for the migrant population without means...* (Social worker 2, NGO).

Focusing on anti-discriminatory social work and on the actions that are developed through this approach in this organization, it should first be noted that they participate in programs and activities aimed at the fight against racism and issues of hate mainly through two actions. On the one hand, through their participation in networks and platforms whose purpose is political advocacy:

> The Granada network for refuge and welcome, which is a platform for political advocacy where a total of 42 groups come together, if I'm not mistaken, social organizations as well as dependent people, unions... And, well, a lot of effort is made for, well, this demand for the dignified welcome of immigrant people (Social worker 2, NGO).

And secondly, through its participation in the Stop Rumors program, an initiative in which various organizations and individuals come together with the aim of "combating negative and uncertain rumors that hinder coexistence in diversity" (Andalucia Acoge NGO):

> Then there is also STOP RUMORS, which is a program that is also carried out at the federation level that operates, well, giving training, it is run in the social work college here in Granada, it is run in institutes, so it is like creating anti-rumor agents (Social worker 1, NGO).

Through this organization, although they do not explicitly receive requests from people who may be suffering from a situation of discrimination, they have detected in their interventions that there are cases in which discrimination is clear:

> Yes, well, let's see it is always there, there is always discrimination, there is always racism. There are young men who talk to you about a more blatant racism or discrimination and there are other boys or other people where you have to dig a little deeper and eventually it ends up coming out... So, well, one of the things that we see the most in terms of discrimination and we talk about it a lot, it is with the administration itself…. In short, because of their particular situation, well, people who have the right to, and yet don't, because they can't exercise that right... and then of course another, another key aspect is the issue of housing. In housing there is a lot of discrimination. As soon as they see you're calling from a pro-immigrant association, right? Straight away they tell you that they are not interested (Social worker 2, NGO).

These are situations that either very clearly or in a more veiled way demonstrate situations of discrimination suffered by some of the people served by this organization and on which they give assistance with support and legal advice:

> We are very limited, yes, we are very limited. It is also something that, I mean, I don't know, it is something that will never be recognized, at an institutional level, it will never be recognized that there is discrimination based on race or origin... so it is good to encourage and support the person to make a formal complaint through the established channels, incidents, many times through these platforms themselves and then even in writing to the Defensor del pueblo (High Commissioner) (Social worker 2, NGO).

This limitation stems, in their experience, from the fact that the people themselves have integrated this reality into their daily lives and are perhaps not aware of the discriminatory or racist treatment they have suffered:

> Also, you see, it's that people like you have said very clearly before, they feel very integrated, right? And it's that many people are also very vulnerable due to their documentary situation, they don't have the possibility of filing a complaint because they don't have the possibility of facing a legal case, they do not have the documentation, they are in the dark, so to speak, aren't they? they are in the shadow. And then, it's that, straightaway, they assume that they have to live with it (Social worker 2, NGO).

Finally, it is important to highlight the situation experienced by many of the people who are assisted by this organization in terms of contacts and integration with people of the same origin, as fundamental aspects in the construction of their identity and in the establishment of support. Given this situation, there have been two main findings. Firstly, like the former aspect, it is not one of the issues that the population served usually asks for:

> It's also complicated, that they tell us about this kind of perception here, right? Although it happens when you join, when you continue with a work plan, right? (Social worker 3, NGO).
>   And it may be very complex to interpret it and make it visible, because they come for other issues, right? (Social worker 1, NGO).
>   Yes, it is evident, and we also return to basics, if you do not have your food and your house covered, you do not stop to think if you are better or worse emotionally. It is a matter of needs. And there are also, often, people who, because of their origin, because of their education, for whatever reason, because of a thousand variables, don't know how to identify what's happening to them either, they simply are as they are and they push on, as you said, they push on and then I'll have time to … (Social worker 2, NGO).

And secondly, like the work of this kind, even though it is not on the agenda, it is taken into account within a more global intervention:

> I do, but it's not something that I intended to be a big part of my work... they are things that come out and I'm talking about it, I'm talking about it with her ah, well look, well you can do this, well you can do that, right? Or activities... I deal with it in my program that, for example, there are many training techniques and I try with that, right? (Social worker 3, NGO).
>   Within International Protection, yes, at some point there has been contact with the Senegalese association, with the Moroccan association, work for integration, or with AVAM, the Venezuelan association friends of the world, where quite a lot of people have come from. In short, yes there is, but I think that, as Cristina says, it is something that is done but it is not a central point, that it is not a super-priority objective (Social worker 3, NGO).

Discussion and conclusions

The results obtained after the interviews and the analysis, carried out using different mechanisms and existing resources, as well as the personal experience of a young immigrant university student, self-defined as *mestizo*, reveals significant divergences between the needs experienced and the responses to them on part of the various social work organizations (see Tables 17.2 and 17.3). After analysis we found two fundamental reasons for this: on the one hand, the limited tradition of Spanish social work in critical approaches has generated a lack of self-critical reflection of professional practices; on the other hand, the epistemological lack of knowledge, on the part of social workers, on indigenous social work impedes its practical application, since it requires specific training that currently does not exist in the curricula of social workers.

The few existing resources are located in the private sector and the public sectors do not report this type of aggression and specific needs, nor do they carry out, in their work agenda, any actions of a collective nature of intervention, of

Table 17.2 Manuel's needs and resources

Needs and feelings of the student attacked	Disappointment, frustration, misunderstanding
	Abandonment
	Institutional disaffection
	Feel part of the community
Actions or resources identified that could have helped him	Networks and support groups
	Knowledge of resources
	Anti-discriminatory perspective with respect to cultures other than Western cultures and, on the other hand, at the level of personal growth that is related to the former, but at a more individual or micro level.

Table 17.3 Type of organization and critical approaches to social work

Organization	Critical self-reflection process of social workers?	Practice of anti-discriminatory, anti-oppressive social work?	Practices of indigenous social work?
UGR (University of Granada)	There is no awareness of receiving or identifying any discriminatory or racist experience. There is no knowledge of how to act in such cases	Yes	No
GA (NGO Granada Acoge)	Yes, there are cases of discrimination though not reported in the first person, but detected by the Social Workers. Action is taken in these cases	Yes Information Advocacy	No
Municipal Center of Social Services (CMSSSS)	Dedicated exclusively to documentation management	No	No

denunciation, or of including an indigenous, anti-discriminatory or anti-oppressive approach in their interventions. In addition, there is a perception that the difficulties presented by immigrant, racialized, and/or indigenous populations can be resolved through public social services by means of documentation management actions to cover their basic needs and legal regularization in our country. Their problems of discrimination or processes of support or interactions between social worker/user/family/community are not specifically addressed (Hart, 2021).

In the university environment, despite having black and/or indigenous students, there are no specific resources or approaches that take into account the values, cultures, and traditions to assist this population. And although no one has been detected who may be experiencing situations of specific discrimination based on ethnicity, nor is there any proposal for the implementation of mechanisms, plans, or actions that can address these situations, which, as has been exposed with the experience of Manuel, do exist.

In relation to the needs expressed by Manuel, there are greater support networks, a feeling of belonging, and more information from specialized resources. However, these are also insufficient, and it is difficult for him to find resources. There are neither anti-discriminatory and/or indigenous approaches nor anti-discriminatory and/or indigenous resources through university student care mechanisms or through public social services. Certainly, there is greater intervention of this type from private organizations that, through the different services and actions they develop, facilitate the establishment of support networks among the immigrant population. Similarly, through these services, situations of discrimination have indeed been detected, and interventions of support and legal guidance have been provided, whenever people so wish.

It is essential to advance the inclusion of critical approaches in the curricula of social workers, who will design social policies and programs and will directly serve increasingly diverse populations, in order to fulfill the principle of social justice that characterizes social work. Similarly, the design of social intervention projects in the private sector must incorporate an anti-discriminatory perspective for a critical (re)vision of professional practices.

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