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Introduction

Policy changes generated in Europe by the growing concern with multiple inequality strands hit Spain only recently. Whereas comprehensive Gender equality machineries and policy instruments have been developed both at the national and regional levels since late 1980s, those proved limited concern for multiple discriminations, as respective strands of inequality were being tackled by specific institutions and policy mechanisms. So far, neither the strong institutionalization of Gender Equality policies nor the "legislative turn" which saw Spain increasingly legislating on Gender equality from early 2000s have been sufficient to engage the fact that gender discrimination is also shaped by other inequalities. Assuming Hancock's distinction of different approaches to the study of inequalities (Hancock, 2007; Kantola and Nousiainen 2009), Spain still can be characterized as pursuing 'Unitary Approaches', in which inequalities are tackled by separate institutions and gender has primacy. By contrast, there has been no trace of a truly intersectional approach, through which intersections between multiple equality strands are analysed, and only little proof of 'double or multiple discriminations' in policy discourses (Platero, 2008). Instead, Spain is taking its very first steps in institutionalizing a policy aiming at the elimination of multiple discriminations, as those listed in Article 13 of the Amsterdam Treaty. In the matter, even the transposing of European directives has still to be fully completed, in the form of a more comprehensive equality act, to be adopted in 2010.

However, the fact that Spanish policy makers have proved little interest in tackling multiple-discriminations, shall not be interpreted as a lack of public interest for the challenge of diversity. For instance, under the two last socialist terms (2004-), the country has joined the European vanguard in the promotion of sexual freedoms and the recognition of the diversity of private relationships on the first place (Osborne, 2006). Meanwhile, the Spanish population has experienced dramatic demographical transformations that pointed out its growing diversity in terms of ethnicity, religious beliefs or citizenship status, thus inspiring new areas of public intervention. But the failure to properly address multiple discriminations and the way they consolidate each other, sheds light on some structural, context-specific features of the Spanish polity.

This contribution intends to locate the domestic patterns that contributed to shape the making of domestic anti-discrimination policies and to frame the impact of the "external variable" (be it in the form of EU binding regulations or good practices). Those are mainly to be found in some *path-dependent* features of the politics of anti-discrimination, that have historically put gender first[1]. Nonetheless, beyond a normative assessment of performance in institutionalizing intersectionality, this paper will attempt to draw on more structural features of the Spanish polity, to address the most recent steps taken towards a multiple discrimination approach, to be noticed both at the regional *and* the national level, in policy plans *and* legislative documents.

On the one hand, the commitment of Rodriguez-Zapatero's governments in eliminating gender discrimination has resulted in a more inclusive understanding of gender inequality, pointing out the role of other strands of inequality (as age and ethnicity). This conceptual shift is to be mentioned in the Effective Equality between

[1] As the result of the long-term relationship between female politicians, femocrats and women's organizations, and a pushing State feminism born in the 1980's (Bustelo & Ortbals, 2007)

Women and Men Act (2007) and the subsequent Action plan (2008). Moreover, admonishments from the European Union regarding the transposition of anti-discrimination directives[2] entailed the reshaping of Equality policies, of which the newly established Ministry of Equality (2008) is the best example. On the other hand, the sub-national level and more specifically some regions are taking their first steps to engage multiple discriminations (Bustelo, 2009; Forest, Lopez, 2008). As a multi-level polity, Spain not only witnessed the development of regional legislation and machineries, but also some regions pursuing their own policy goals, this to be illustrated by the fact that regional instruments often anticipated on the developments at the State level, but also by their complexity and inclusiveness.

This paper firstly addresses the unitary dimension of gender equality policies in Spain, as regarding the scope of inequalities to be tackled. Assuming an historical-institutionalist perspective (Hall and Taylor, 1996) and thus considering that the public concern for diversity is likely to be shaped by existing policies and institutions, the main question will be the following. To what extent is the making of policies tackling multiple discriminations dependent towards the paths of institutionalization of equality policies in Spain? Consecutively, we will question the nature of the ultimate changes introduced at the State-level, which promotes a multiple discrimination approach. Pointing out a context of stronger Europeanization that, in Spain, clearly distinguishes the making of anti-discrimination from gender equality policies, this contribution attempts to typify the approach to intersecting inequalities which is being developed in State-policies. In the light of sociological elements as regarding the expert groups in charge of the upcoming Equality bill, its rather juridical framing will be discussed, since it challenges the increasingly structural understanding of gender equality to be noticed in the past few years. Put in other words, another – and more prospective - question will be whether the current shift towards anti-discrimination policies, is about to produce a backlash as regarding the making of gender equality policies in Spain?

In a second section, this paper concentrates on the role of the regional level in developing anti-discrimination policies, through the example of the three historic communities which have developed so far the most thorough policy instruments in the field of equality: the Basque Country, Catalonia and Andalusia. Drawing on policy text analysis and exploratory interviews, this section aims at documenting the development of regional policies tackling more than one ground of inequality through a same set of policy instruments. Assuming the multi-level dimension of Spanish polity, we will argue that the form of the State *matters* in that sense that it can possibly shape the understanding of diversity and the way to tackle situations of multiple disadvantage. Additionally, we will discuss the following hypothesis: can possibly self-governments provide a better (i.e., more friendly) venue for the making of intersectional policies?

Thus, the present contribution aims at rising some points of contention in the making of equality in Spain, as well as drawing attention on the possibly diverging patterns offered by a multi-level polity as regarding the promotion of diversity and the building of intersectional approaches.

1. Changing paradigm? From unitary to multiple-discrimination approaches

[2] As a result of transposition neglect under the previous conservative term.

To the origins of the politics of anti discrimination in Spain

The 1978 Constitution inaugurated the recognition of equality between women and men, considering it as one of the most important values of the Legal System (Art. 1.1), laying the foundations to implement affirmative actions (9.2) and stating equality before the law and the prohibition of any kind of discrimination in terms of birth, race, sex, religion, opinion or any other personal or social circumstance (14). Next milestone in tackling discrimination and promoting equality was the approval of the Worker's Statute (*Estatuto de los Trabajadores*) in 1980[3], stating that employees cannot be discriminated on the grounds of "*sex, marital status, age (…) social status, religious beliefs or political opinions, trade union membership, as well as language, psychological, physical or sensorial disability as far as they do not hinder worker's ability*" for the job (article 4c). However, gender equality has received the greatest deal of political attention. The creation of the *Instituto de la Mujer* (Woman's Institute) under the first socialist government, at the end of 1983, is considered to be the starting point for state feminism and gender equality public policies in Spain (Valiente, 1995). Since then, gender equality policy and machineries have developed quickly, as all Spanish Regional Governments (*Comunidades Autónomas*), as "legislative regions" (Carter and Pasquier, 2006), have established their own domestic instruments and legislations from late 1980s (Bustelo, 2008). Drawing on the cumulative work carried out within the QUING project (Forest and Lopez, 2009), at least 4 basic features deserve to be mentioned, that better account for this process of institutionalization:

- Its early stages have shaped a *unitary approach*, focusing on a sole strand of inequality, gender, with fewer references to other grounds of discrimination (Bustelo, 2008).
- This approach is also to be noticed in the scope of *Equality Plans*, which have been the *main policy instrument* of Spanish gender equality policies for the first 25 years of their history (Bustelo & Ortbals, 2007).
- Femocrats have played a key role for the institutionalization of anti discrimination policies in Spain. Since it only indirectly characterizes policy developments (through collective action), this pattern will not be addressed in this paper (See, for instance: Valiente, 1995)
- Despite those converging elements that shaped the very content of these policies for over two decades, Spain nonetheless presents a relatively fragmented landscape as regarding public action around gender inequalities that will be further discussed in section 2.

1.1 Building equality through unitary approaches

Among these features, early institutionalization, and the initial *supremacy of soft law instruments over hard law* shall be underlined on the first place, as we argue that both elements have played a key-role in the making of anti-discrimination policies in contemporary Spain.

[3] Ley 8/1980, March, 10th, 1980.

Putting the cart before the horses? Soft instruments before hard law

While in other European countries, setting a legislative framework has often been considered essential to the implementation of subsequent policy instruments, Spain has long privileged the latter over law making in the field of gender equality. The Woman's Institute launched its first equal opportunities plan in 1988 and five different plans have been implemented since at the national level. Though at a slightly different pace, regional executives have developed equality plans[4] of their own. Although being approved at the national or regional *executive* level, they can be considered as 'soft' legislation, strongly depending on femocrats' power of persuasion (Valiente, 1995; Bustelo, 2004). Yet, developing comprehensive policy instruments, in cooperation with a variety of actors and at different policy or administrative levels, revealed to be of added value. Indeed, the generalization of issue-specific policy plans in the field of gender policies and the rich experience drawn from their implementation, have shaped the content of subsequent legislations. As a result, those proved to be increasingly inclusive and transformative, drawing on a complex assessment of gender inequalities.

Since 2002, six regional equality acts have been approved, most of it before the national one was passed in 2007[5]. Although such acts are quite differentiated regarding their diagnosis of gender inequality, their scope and implementation instruments (Bustelo, 2008), a clear trend can nonetheless be detected, and more regional acts are expected to be approved in the very near future. The Basque (2005) and the Andalusian (2007) equality acts and the Equality Act at the national level (2007), in particular, have proved to be the most inclusive and thoroughly designed, including, among other provisions, the compulsory establishment of units in charge of promoting a gender perspective within different governmental areas. The national Act for effective equality thus paved the way for policy actions in several realms of social and political life. This cumulative but heterogeneous effort undertaken by legislative bodies and equality machineries both at the national and the regional levels, did not challenge a unitary approach to gender inequality. Nevertheless, the remaking of equality policies inaugurated in the form of more comprehensive legislations and mainstreaming instruments is likely to produce an increased sensitivity for multiple discriminations, as those legislations often articulate a complex diagnosis and policy instruments associate a growing number of actors.

The generalisation of Equality plans: an impetus for intersectionality?

Such an assessment can also be defended when considering the generalization of equality plans modelled on gender ones, in other areas of public action. The approval of sectional actions plans integrating a cross-cutting perspective on several strands of discriminations is one of the most promising trends in terms of intersectionality. Just as the latter were inspired from the *European Action Programs about Equal Opportunities for Women*[6], sectional equality plans adopted from mid-1990s onwards, especially in the fields of migration and disability, have illustrated the broadening scope of European anti-discrimination policies.

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[4] The gender equality plans consist of a set of aims, objectives and actions to be taken in a concrete period of time by different governmental departments. These plans are coordinated by the equality or women's agency and usually also involve other governmental levels and non-governmental organisations.

[5] *Navarra* (2002), *Castilla y León* and *Valencia* (2003), *Galicia* (2004), *País Vasco* (2005), *Baleares* (2006) and *Murcia* (2007) and *Andalucía* (2007) both after the national one.

[6] Specifically the fourth National Equality Plan which follow respectively the guidelines of the second, the third, the fourth, and the Fifth European Action Programs.

Among the most recently approved, the *Action Plan for Women with disability* (2007) thus aims at combating double discrimination affecting disabled women. In agreement with the 'European Manifesto of Disabled Women' (1997) and 2000/78 European Directive, the Plan pretends to complement two previous texts: the Act on *Equal Opportunities and non-discrimination of disabled people* (known as LIONDAU, 2003), which mentions disabled women's additional discrimination and the Act *on fiscal, administrative and social measures* (2003) that transposes above-mentioned directive. The Plan also complements the *First Comprehensive Action Plan for Disabled Women* (2005-8) approved by the Spanish Committee of Representatives of Disabled People[7]. Also approved in 2007, the *Strategic Plan for Citizenship and Integration* illustrates the reshaping of Spanish immigration policies, in a direction that integrates the complexity of a phenomenon that has been gaining relevance in the past few years. As a consequence, the Plan pays some attention to the gendered dimension of immigration in Spain, especially in the area of domestic work, and to the situations of increased vulnerability, as for migrant women suffering trafficking.

It is also relevant to stress differences between the *IVth Plan on Equal Opportunities between Women and Men* (2003- 2006), adopted under a conservative legislature, and the current *Strategic Plan on Equal Opportunities* (2008-2011), that came into force at the beginning of Rodriguez Zapatero's second term. While the former paid limited attention to the interactions between gender and poverty, the latter is drawing a more complex diagnosis of situations in which "*Women are more likely than men to get trapped in situations of social exclusion (poverty, disability, family breakdown, migration or ethnic prejudices, among others), affecting their citizenship rights*". These discrepancies may also be explained by the fact that the IVth plan was implemented as no Equality act did exist, while the Strategic plan has been conceived as an instrument for implementing the 2007 Act on effective equality. The generalization of equality plans is not only occurring with respect to different strands of inequality (citizenship status, disability, gender or age), but also at different levels of policy making, as pointed out in section 1.3. However, once put into the broader perspective of anti-discrimination policies in Spain, the two above-mentioned phenomena (the shift towards hard law and the diffusion of equality plans) depict an *unachieved process of institutionalization*.

The unachieved institutionalization of anti-discrimination policies

If compared to the developments in the field of gender equality, only a limited number of institutions, with restricted budgets and competences, have been created to fight against other inequalities. Hence, although the transposition of anti-discrimination EU directives makes compulsory the creation of an Equality body for preventing discrimination on the grounds of racial and ethnic origin, the announcement of the creation of such a council[8] was not fulfilled until late 2007. In response to European Commission's admonishment, a Council for the Advancement of Equality of Treatment and no Discrimination of People on the grounds of Racial or Ethnic Origin was created in September, 2007, of which members were still to be designated by March, 2009. Meanwhile, other (advisory) bodies have been created on the ground of EU anti-

[7]CERMI is one the most important organizations for disabled people, it groups 2900 organizations and represents the nine percent of Spanish disabled people. This Committee created the 'Commission of Women' in 2000, the one that impelled the approval of the mentioned Plan. The strength of organizations for disabled people in Spain also explains that gender + disability is one of the most investigated intersection in Spanish academic literature. See: Platero (2002, 2004), Arnau Ripollés (2003, 2008).

[8] In the Act 62/2003 on Fiscal, Administrative and Social Order Measures,

discrimination directives, such as the National Disability Council (2004), the Spanish Observatory on Racism and Xenophobia (2005), and the Council of Roma People (2006[9]). While the latter does not fulfil EC's expectations[10], until the creation of the Ministry of Equality, none of these institutions had moved beyond the unitary approach modelled on the case of gender discrimination.

1.2 From Equality to Anti-(multiple) discriminations policies? The re-making of policy instruments on the State level

However, a shift in terms of policy paradigms is to be observed in two directions. Firstly, laws tackling gender discrimination tend to be more comprehensive in their diagnosis, and inclusive as regarding the scope of inequalities considered. Secondly, the establishment of a Ministry of Equality, at the beginning of Rodríguez Zapatero's second term, represents an unprecedented step towards a multiple approach to discriminations. While in both cases, newly adopted instruments are still to be characterised as path-dependent towards the unitary approach initially adopted, their potential for challenging existing policy paradigms might well undermine the structural approach to gender inequalities that characterized the most recent development of the politics of anti-discrimination in Spain.

Paying lip service to other strands of inequality?

Coinciding with the 'European Year of Equal Opportunity', the national *Act for effective equality* was approved in 2007 and its first aim was to make the principle of equality real and to prevent gender discrimination. Besides, in 2006 the so- called 'Dependency Act'[11] had been approved, that pretends to lay the foundations of the *System of Autonomy and Attention to Dependent People* defined as the fourth pillar of Spanish welfare state. For different reasons, both texts constitute a new milestone in the making of gender equality policies in Spain. The *Act for effective equality* and the "*Ley de dependencia*" share a common assessment of the structural dimension of gender inequality[12]. The law making process also revealed a greater attention for multiple grounds of discrimination, raised by voices from the civil society, as well as regionalist and/or leftist parties. This more comprehensive understanding of (in)equality issues might provide an adequate legislative framework for tackling more than one discrimination and for exploring interaction between different grounds of inequality (Forest, Platero *et alii*, 2008).

It is also true, however, that both texts paid only lip service to other strands of inequality, maintaining a focus on double discriminations rather than multiple ones. The case of the *Dependency Act* and of its controversial implementation also illustrate

[9] Also in 2006, a Report is submitted by Spain to the Council of Europe that focuses on young Roma women due to the cross-sectional discrimination that they suffer.

[10] As regarding its independence, competencies and composition.

[11] Act to promote personal autonomy and to assist dependent people [*Ley 39/2006, de 14 de diciembre, de promoción de la Autonomía Personal y Atención a las personas en situación de dependencia*].

[12] However, in the Dependency Act, references to the gendered dimension of care work have been mainly restricted to the preamble, and were introduced on the insistence of feminist actors.

that this transformation is not a one-way process, and might generate new disputes[13]. Yet it can be argued that those criticisms are themselves contributing to a better attention for the diversity of targeted groups – such as the persons in situation of dependency, as they are pointing out multiple grounds of discriminations, to be revealed by the implementation of the Act (Arnau and Gil, 2007).

Even more recently, the fierce reactions around the planned renewed *Ley de aborto* (New Act on abortion, to be adopted in 2009) have illustrated the long way to go before achieving an intersectional assessment of inequalities. Whereas the high impact of voluntary interruptions among migrant and underage women is making even more salient the need for intersectional analysis, the controversial debate over abortion that is taking place nowadays is rather focusing on juridical and medical aspects, better suited to support ideological standpoints, to the expense of targeted measures for those women in disenfranchisement situations. In the matter, the sociological composition of expert committees in charge of preparing the draft is of special relevance, as the under-representation of social scientists and representatives of civil society organizations has hindered the adoption of a more structural and intersectional approach to the issue.

The path dependent structure of the Ministry for Equality

In April 2008, as part of the Rodriguez Zapatero's renewed government after the March 9th 2008 elections, a new Ministry of Equality was created. This is a key issue and an important milestone in the institutionalization of an anti-discrimination approach which takes into account other inequalities than gender, and an important step for the institutionalising of intersectionality at the central level (Bustelo, 2009). To this point, in the absence of a long term assessment of anti-discrimination provisions in Spain and since the literature is scarce, so far (for a review, see: Forest, Platero *et alii*, 2008), we shall instead convoke exploratory interviews and rather intuitive insights, to support our prospective assessment. Those, nonetheless, can once again draw on the historical-institutionalist perspective, well-suited for tracing back into previous institutional arrangements, the building of allegedly "new" institutions (Thelen, 1999). What is more, path-dependency perspective, which has been extensively applied to policy change in post-socialist societies, provides useful insights. Beyond institutional heritages, those emphasize the complex role of policy styles and institutional arrangements shaping the impact of policy transfers on domestic policies (Bruszt, Stark, 1996). These patterns, we argue, are relevant to enlighten current developments in Spain.

In terms of path-dependency, the new Ministry of Equality, to which the General Secretariat and the Women's Institute were assigned, has been clearly identified with formerly established gender policies and 'women's machinery'. However there were some signs from the beginning of the inclusion of other inequalities: the Youth Institute was also moved into the Ministry, and the Minister appointed, Bibiana Aido the youngest woman ever (31) to serve in Spanish government, was not especially known as a former gender equality policymaker or member of the feminist movement. These facts were the very first signs that 'equality policies' might refer not only to gender equality, but to other inequalities as well.

[13] The implementation of the so-called *Ley de dependencia* mainly falls into the prerogatives of regional governments. As those are also being asked to contribute financially to its implementation, the act is generating endless disputes and sheds light on regional differential resources.

The Ministry of Equality has been divided into two sections: the Equality Policies General Secretariat, which is subdivided in Government Delegation for Gender Violence, the Directorate General for Employment Equality, the Directorate General against Discrimination, the Women's Institute, and the Women's Participation Council (still to be created); and the Equality Sub-secretariat, home to the Youth Institute and the Youth Council. As it can be seen, apart from the Directorate General against Discrimination and the Youth Institute and Council, the Ministry structure is exclusively devoted to gender (in)equality. The Government Delegation for Gender Violence and the Directorate General for Employment Equality[14] are both designed and devoted to an idea of gender equality or equality between women and men. In fact, the way to resolve this tendency is the specific function that is given to the Ministry of Equality in the July Decree:

> 'The Ministry of Equality is the department of the General National Administration to which it corresponds the proposal and execution of governmental policies in regards of equality, elimination of all kind of discrimination against people regarding *sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion or ideology, sexual orientation, age or any other condition* or personal or social circumstance, eradication of gender violence, as well as youth. In particular, it is entitled to the elaboration and development of norms, activities and measures aimed to assure treatment and opportunities equality, *especially between women and men, and the promotion of social and political participation of women*.' (emphasis added)[15]

This identification of the Ministry of Equality with *gender* equality was clear in the first general decree for the general structure of the Ministries[16], where there was a curious confusion: it was expressly written that the Directorate General against Discrimination was aimed at the development of policies that 'fight *gender* discrimination'). However, almost three months later, in the decree in which the structure of the Ministry of Equality was expounded in detail (July 2008), the Directorate General against Discrimination is aimed at the:

> (…)development of the transversal application of equal treatment and opportunities principle and to the elimination of all kind of discrimination against people regarding *sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion or ideology, sexual orientation, age or any other condition* or personal or social circumstance[17]

While it is strongly shaped by former policy practices and institutional arrangements in the field of gender equality, the recent concern for multiple-discriminations, to be mainly noticed in hard-law at the State-level, is also to be related to the increasing impact of EU legislation and policy paradigms on the domestic scene.

1.3 Towards a logic of compliance?: the EU-modelling of new Spanish anti-discrimination policies

[14]This Directorate General is aimed at 'the promotion, impulse and participation in the design of public policies entitled to improve *women* employability and permanence in employment, fostering their training level and their adaptability to labour market requirements' (Royal Decree 1135/2008).

[15] Royal Decree 1135/2008, p. 30003.

[16]Royal Decree 438/2008, April 14th, for the approval of the basic organic structure for the ministries' departments. BOE n.92, April 16th 2008 (p. 20010-20017).

[17]Royal Decree 1135/2008, July 4th, for the development of the basic organic structure for the Ministry of Equality. BOE n.165, July 9th 2008 (p. 30002-30007).

When Europe (finally) hits home

In the case of gender equality directives, Spain could be depicted as a fairly good complier with European legislation (Bustelo and Lombardo, 2007), as the Women's Institute was already created in 1983 and was even reinforced with the recent additional creation of both the General Secretariat of Equality Policies (2004) and the Ministry of Equality (2008). The 2007 Equality Act also reinforces gender legislation and goes beyond on what the EU requires regarding gender discrimination. However, the situation is different regarding the other inequality grounds, that is Directive 2000/43/EC, which tackles the principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of racial and ethnic origin, and Directive 2000/78/EC, which establishes a general framework for equal treatment in employment and occupation, and implements the principle of equal treatment irrespective of religion or belief, sexual orientation and age in employment and training and requires employers to consider the needs of disabled employees. Spain claimed to have transposed both Directive 2000/43/EC and Directive 2000/78/CE mainly through Act 62/2003 on Fiscal, Administrative and Social Order Measures. However, this transposition was done very quickly, in the last moment of the required compliance period, and 'through the back door', that is without taking into account what the experts claimed[18]. Act 62/2003 was passed at the end of December, at the end of the Conservative Party majority. Curiously enough, the Socialist Party did not alter this incomplete transposition during the first Rodriguez Zapatero term (2004-2008).

To a certain extent, this lack of public concern for other inequalities might be explained by the clear priority that gender issues received from the first Rodriguez Zapatero's government. Consecutively, admonishments from the European Commission revealed necessary to start considering a more general anti-discrimination approach to multiple inequalities. In fact, on June 27th 2007 the European Commission sent Spain, among 13 other Member States, a formal notice ('reasoned opinion') for not implementing Directive 2000/43/EC correctly, which constitutes a formal step before launching infringement procedures. Problematic areas included: 1) The national legislation being limited in scope to the workplace (there are no measures to make the principle of equal treatment 'real and effective' outside from the labour realm); 2) The definitions of discrimination diverging from the Directive (Act 62/2003 does not specify how indirect discrimination is to be justified); 3) Inconsistencies in the provisions designed to help victims of discrimination (such as the protection against victimisation, the shift of the burden of proof and the right granted to the associations to assist individuals and possibly initiate collective action).

The Directorate General against Discrimination, within the Ministry of Equality at the central level is the unit in charge of dealing with multiple inequalities. Its design and functions are related mainly to the need to comply with EU legislation and with a European anti-discrimination approach, to be characterized as additive, rather than intersectional (Lombardo, Verloo, 2009). This administrative Unit is dedicated to coordination with other governmental levels (both regional and local), to design and evaluate measures for promoting equal treatment and fighting discrimination. It is also

[18]Lorenzo Cachón, Professor of the UCM and specialist in migration issues, at that time acting as an expert for the Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs, claimed having regretted his insistence on compliance. The transposition was done in December 2003 and he thinks that if it had been done after March 2008 (when the Socialists took office), it would have been a better chance of a more complete and adequate transposition (Seminar on the future Equality Treatment Act, organized by the Ministry of Equality, Madrid, 19-20 November 2008).

aimed at training public agents, awareness raising, and at promoting the creation of services for victims of discrimination. Among the functions assigned to this Directorate, there is one concretely aiming at the 'preparation and proposal of normative measures of transposition of directives and other European and international legal instruments'.

The future Equality Treatment Act

Similarly, taking into account the claims from the European Commission, it can be assumed that the upcoming 'Equality Treatment Act' illustrates the same trend consisting in the Europeanization of the Spanish anti-discrimination policies. The recently established Ministry of Equality thus supported at the EU level, the recent proposal of a new and more ample Council Directive on implementing the principle of Equal Treatment between persons irrespective of religion or belief, disability, age and sexual orientation {SEC 82008) 2180} and {SEC 82008) 2181}[19]. Meanwhile, at the domestic level, a new expert working group was created in 2008 to elaborate the proposal of a new 'Equality Treatment Act'. Although first intentions were to proceed quickly (the report to the Cabinet was initially due by the end of 2008)- the process has suffered a delay mainly related to the political agenda (In the field of the politics of gender, reforming the legislation on abortion captured a great deal of political attention)[20] . This working group, nominated in May-June 2008, consists of (mainly legal) experts on Spanish Constitutional legislation, and the different grounds of discrimination contemplated (gender, age, belief or religion, disability, racial or ethnic origin, and sexual orientation) who in few cases are also representatives of affected groups. According to the Director General against Discrimination, the governmental unit within the Ministry of Equality leading this working group, public hearing will be open to different group representatives when the parliamentary process starts. In this initial phase, the working group remains cautious about the competition that might occur among the different groups representing the different inequality grounds.

The proposal of this working group is to tackle the six inequalities contemplated in the European directives and leave room open to other possible ones (for example, there is a strong will from to include health status, in order to protect against discrimination based on VIH/AIDS). Also the proposal includes the creation of a single institution providing assistance in relation to every of the contemplated inequalities. Initially, sex-gender was not thought to be included, as 'this inequality already has its much more advanced own legislation and bodies'[21]. Apart from giving gender a 'higher' status, there was clearly a threat put on the well established Women's Institute. However, in line with the emphasis put on gender equality under the present legislature, the Expert working group came to the option of mainstreaming gender in every other strands of equality to be tackled by the bill. How this idea is going to be formulated in the latter has not been detailed so far, but creating a new body *and* maintaining the Women's Institute seems to be the most likely[22]. This paradox might be solved by differentiating the goals of the two institutions: the body devoted to anti-discriminations would be mainly a body of protection and tutelage, while the Women's Institute would be maintained as a body for the promotion of gender equality policies.

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[19] Interview with Isabel Martínez (31/07/2008).

[20] Once the report submitted to the Cabinet, the bill is supposed to undergo a consultation procedure before being submitted for discussion at the parliament and eventually approved by 2010

[21] Interview with Isabel Martínez (31/07/2008).

[22] In this paragraph, prospective insights have been inspired by the experience of one of the co-author as a member of the expert groups.

Making intersectionality from a legal anti-discrimination approach?

Whereas the (possibly negative) impact of adopting an intersectional perspective and paying greater attention to other grounds of discrimination on existing provisions and policies in favour of gender equality is being widely discussed (For recent contributions, see: Crenshaw, 2009; Lutz, 2009), those discussions referring to the conceptualization of diversity and inequalities that stands behind the concept intersectionality pay limited attention to policy contexts. Beyond the normative assessment whether an intersectional approach is desirable or not and the one that contemplates the barriers that may hinder its implementation, it can be argued, nonetheless, that the issue of introducing intersectionality can hardly be separated from institutional paths and policy practices. In the case of Spain, those are firstly to be characterized by a long commitment toward a 'Unitary Approach', in which gender inequality has supremacy. This path of institutionalization can be related to the role played by femocrats for bringing equality issues on the agenda, as well as an implementation-oriented policy practice, to be illustrated by the long prevalence of soft instruments over hard law.

In line with Börzel and Risse's insights (1999, 2003), on the state level, the change has been partly the result of external incentives to adopt the instruments and paradigm being developed at the EU-level. Indeed, there was a strong misfit between EU regulations and policy solutions, and those that had been so far developed at the domestic level. If ones contemplates the democratic period (1978-), the former strongly differ from Spanish policy practice, not only as they place the emphasis on comprehensive legal protection, but also since they support establishing mechanisms for protection and legal assistance around *individual rights*. It can be objected that recent developments in Spanish equality policies, even in the absence of a strong EU-pressure, have consisted in more comprehensive legislation and strong protecting measures, especially as regarding gender-based-violence. Yet, rather than providing the grounds for possible legal actions, those have mainly aimed at a structural solution to gender-based discriminations.

In that sense, the important role currently given to legal experts, as in the case of the Ministry of Equality working group, along with the strong emphasis on compliance with EU norms, seem to leave out of focus the structural causes and roots that produces and maintains inequalities. Another point of contention (or "misfit") for policy transfers in the field of anti-(multiple)discrimination policies may arouse if ones consider the multi-level dimension of Spanish polity, to be characterized by a strong autonomy for specific sub-national polities.

2. Anti-discrimination under the regional scope

Given that the institutionalization of anti-discrimination policies still features as a work in progress in Spain, it is worth to mention that some equality machineries developed at the regional level have shown the most consistent signs towards a multiple (rather than intersectional) approach to discriminations in the last few years.

2.1 Making equality in Spain: a fragmented landscape

Regional machineries & policy plans: a step towards a multiple approach?

Spain's multi-governmental institutional organisation allowed the creation of a complex, continuously evolving institutional framework of women's machinery and equality bodies. In addition to the nation-wide Women's Institute, regional Women's Agencies were created in Andalusia, Valencia and the Basque Country in 1988, inaugurating the regionalisation of equality machineries. Comparable, although not similar, institutions were created in the 14 other *Communidades autonómicas* (CC.AA.) between 1989 and 1995. Those have been committed to the design of regional action plans in the field of gender equality, and associated to the making of (gender) equality acts adopted in 8 CC.AA since 2002 (Bustelo, 2008). As for State-wide policies, policy plans have been the main instruments of regional equality policies. The Basque equality plan adopted in 1999 was thus among the first ones to explicitly pay attention to situations of "multiple discriminations" (Platero, 2007: 36).

As regarding equality machineries, the type of structure (autonomous agencies, general directorates or ministries) and institutional location (as a branch of the regional presidency or under the responsibility of a ministry) have been of specific relevance to assess their action capacity (see: Bustelo and Ortbals, 2007) and ability to jointly consider other disadvantaged groups. For instance, in Catalonia, a new governmental area of 'Social Action and Citizenship' has been designed in 2006 to tackle issues of equality, and in 2006, a directorate for equal opportunity in a broad sense has been established within the regional Department (regional Ministry) of Labour[23]. In the Basque Country, which has boasted the best established equality body (*Emakunde*) within the area of presidency since its creation in 1988, equality plans and equality law were grounded in a same, consistent, framing of gender equality. Moreover, Andalusia has had a stand-alone ministry (*Consejería*) of Equality and well-being since 2004, which enabled to consider intersections of gender with inequalities affecting the different groups it deal with (disabled people, Roma, migrants, drug dependents, etc.)[24]. These new concerns are also reflected into the social goals of the Women's Institute, now subordinated to the Ministry, with a greater emphasis on migrant, Roma and disabled women (Bustelo, 2009).

Incipient steps towards a more inclusive understanding of gender discriminations are also to be mentioned in the equality bodies designed to tackle different strands of discrimination. As early as 2003, 3 years before the national Council being established, the Basque government created the *Council for the integral promotion and social participation of the Roma People in the Basque country*, of which the founding decree recommends to "*systematically take into account in its plans and working groups, the different social conditions, circumstances and needs of the gypsy population, and to ensure women's empowerment*"[25]. The first comprehensive plan adopted in 2004 (*Plan*

[23]Although "diversity" and gender equality are tackled by two specific sub-directions, the two dimensions are mainstreamed in the action of each of them. Personal interview with Natalia Paleo, Dept. del Treball de la Generalitat de Catalunya, March 2009.

[24] Personal interview with Micaela Navarro, Andalusian Ministry (*Consejera*) of Equality and Social Affairs (07.14.2008).

[25]Buletin Oficial del País Vasco, December, 5th, 2003: 23665

Vasco para la promoción integral y la participación social del pueblo gitano)[26], consecutively lists gender equality among its objectives. A similar experience has been carried out by the Catalonian government (see: section 3).

The specificity of regional polities

If party politics is a key factor when explaining the evolution of women's machinery and equality bodies at the State-level[27], in the regions, equality policies have developed simultaneously under socialist (Andalusia) as well as centre-right and nationalist governments (Catalonia, the Basque country), thus pointing out the relative autonomy of regional polities (Scott, 2007). Additionally, while it can be argued that sub-national polities constitutes "new avenues for feminist policymaking and activism3 (Ortbals, 2008), the country is counting with a highly differentiated women's movement. The continuing fragmentation of Spanish feminism, following the federalization process and the growing importance of regional polities has probably hindered the emergence of an umbrella organization[28] and has been favourable to the advocacy of more *narrowly defined interests*, according to regional or social experiences. Therefore, although the rich variety of women's organizations has not hindered effective cooperation on a number of issues, it has not provided adequate grounds for an intersectional approach[29].

These patterns, that deserve to be more thoroughly addressed in a specific paper (see: Alonso, Forest, 2009), are opening some questions, as regarding the *dual track* (national + regional) of equality policies in Spain, which shed light on the specificities of regional polities in terms of paths of institutionalization, party structure or collective action around equality issues. In fact, do such regional patterns make some regions more prone to engage a broader scope of inequalities through a same set of policy instruments? Which strands of inequalities are the most likely to be addressed, given that not every of them are similarly relevant in each region (as immigration, for instance). Additionally, to what extent policy developments to be observed in Spanish regions can be related to the *politics of identity* into which some have been involved over the three past decades (Basque country, Catalonia, Galicia)? Although they fall beyond the scope of this contribution, we shall place these opened questions under consideration when considering the paths of institutionalization of an intersectional approach in Spain. Yet, as a first step for further analysis, we suggest to concentrate on the pioneering practices being developed at the regional level from a concern for multiple discriminations.

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[26]http://www.gizaetxe.ejgv.euskadi.net/r402175/es/contenidos/informacion/pueblo_gitano/es_7946/adjuntos/

[27] the *Instituto de la Mujer* was created when the Socialist Party ruled for the first time (1982-1986), so that up to the mid-1990s national gender policies have been identified with the Socialist Party. Even if women's agencies and gender policies were maintained when conservative Party took office in 1996[27], Rodríguez Zapatero's victory, in 2004, had a positive impact, with a parity government, the creation of the 'Equality Policies General Secretariat', and the approval of important acts.

[28] Established in 1993, the Spanish coordination of the European Women's Lobby gathers about 30 women's NGOs, but does not cover the full range of those advocating broadly defined women's interests. Moreover, it mainly carries out coordination tasks towards EU institutions and EWL secretary.

[29] Four explanatory variables can be addressed: the history of the issues put on the political agenda by feminist organizations; the early institutionalization of gender equality policies, which forged a specific polity/policy arena around these issues; the diverging "ways of doing things" or method of collective action among these organizations, and the regionalized nature of Spanish State that led social actors to firstly address the regional polity.

2.2 Pioneering practices at the regional level

As emphasized above, Spanish regions have developed comprehensive equality machineries and legislations, although with important variations across CC.AA. To a certain extent, some regions have recently assumed the leadership in the making of anti-discrimination policies, with the adoption of thoroughly designed policy instruments, addressing a number of inequality axes. Hereafter, we provide three illustrations of such a leadership. Given the implementation-oriented dimension of Spanish equality policies, it is not surprising that most of good practices in terms of "intersectionality" (in a broad sense) are to be found in Policy plans. In the matter, however, what makes a policy practice "good" deserve some explanation. Drawing on literature on intersectionality where they have been widely discussed (REF??), some basic criteria can be identified, which are broad enough to assess incipient developments: the explicitness of references made to intersecting inequalities; their inclusiveness (i.e., the number of inequality axes to which it is referred); the fact that such references do not stigmatize one specific group, and the balance between individual and group-targeted measures (so that policy action does not aim at isolating new categories). With respect to these criteria, three policy documents adopted at the regional level deserve some attention. Nonetheless, while pointing out the leadership of some specific regions in tackling multiple-discriminations, selected documents also illustrate the limits to the institutionalization of intersectionality in Spain.

The IVth Basque Positive action plan for Equality between men and women (2006-)

The Basque "Act for the Equality of Women and Men" approved in 2005 makes explicit references to multiple discriminations: "*Basque public authorities guarantee a full and effective exercise of fundamental rights for those women or groups of women suffering multiple discrimination as they embody other factors able to provide the grounds for other situations of discrimination, such as race, colour, ethnic origin, spoken language, religion, political opinions, belonging to a minority, birth, disability, age, sexual orientation or whatever personal condition or social situation*"[30]. The IVth Positive action plan for Equality between men and women consecutively approved in 2006 pays a great deal of attention to the diversity of women. Meanwhile, it illustrates a new policy trend in Spain that consists in legislating first, before generating *ad hoc* implementation instruments.

The plan, a 300 pages documents distributed into 7 sections, thus "*aims at developing what is already stated in the (Basque) Act for equality, when it stresses the need to act for correcting the increased risk of poverty through the design of specific programs targeting women suffering multiple discrimination*" (2006: 145). While this concern being specifically addressed under the social inclusion chapter, the Plan nonetheless emphasises that "*it should by no mean understood that migrant, disabled, elder, women should be addressed in the sole area of social inclusion*" (2006: 146). All along the text, a broad set of possible inequality axes is suggested, such as rural/urban cleavage, age-, citizenship status, (non)employment. Within each group exposed to double discrimination, attention is paid to other possible factors (for instance, disabled women being addressed as members of other exposed groups).

Multiple axes of discrimination are not only mentioned, as the plan recommends measures such as data collection, cross-cutting reflection and targeted implementation

[30] *Official Bulletin of the Basque Parliament*, nº42ZK, p. 3224, March, 5th 2005

measures, through an increase of available resources. Additionally, there is a special attention for not producing stabilised categories through the addition of inequality axes, but mainstreaming the attention for the interaction between different inequalities all along the priorities, objectives and proposed measures of the document : "*it should by no mean understood that migrant, disabled, elder women (…) are necessarily in a greater risk of exclusion"* (2006: 146). As regarding the balance between individual and group-targeted measures, the document states that "*Improving the position of these women* (suffering multiple-discrimination) *makes necessary to impulse an empowerment process, including their most direct and urgent needs(…), as well as access to (…) awareness-building resources about discriminations against women in general, and about their own specific situation in particular*"[31].

Further evidences of the leading role of Spanish regions are to be found in the Vth Action Plan and policy development for women in Catalonia (2005) and the Catalonian Interdepartmental Plan for non discrimination of homosexual and transgender people (2006), featuring as pioneering at the national but also at international level.

Addressing multiple-discrimination in Catalonia

The first document, designed to bring gender mainstreaming, increase the participation of women taking into account their diversity, offering comprehensive assistance to women and with a wider understanding of violence against women is pioneer not only by explicitly mentioning sexual minorities, disability, migrant women, prostitution and women in social exclusion, but also by conceiving specific actions along with the intersections of these factors with violence, sexuality, etc. Drawing on a politics of identity that define the identity of groups of women according to their respective social experience of discrimination, exclusion or violence, the plan emphasises the need "*to make visible the diversity of women's identities, along with the variables that create them, from the fact of being women to the origin, ethnicity, age, sexual orientation, types of cohabitation, times and activities in which their lives are articulated, their priority support networks, belonging, etc. Along with having into account the multiple combinations of these diverse identifications, their relational and dynamic relationships.*

A second example relevant for the incipient institutionalization of intersectionality in Spain is the. Designed with the participation of civil society, it has a clear inclusive perspective because it intends to carry out actions concerning not only non normative sexuality (Platero, 2007), but also gender, age, social exclusion, disability, victims of the dictatorship, HIV/AIDS, etc. Although it is mainly adressing "double discrimination", especially when it comes to gender and sexuality, it addresses the need for public policies to act upon the diversity of sexual minorities: « *The (Catalonian) Government has approved a normative text which is pioneer in the EU. Not only because of the location of the policy, but also because of our will of compensating the historical exclusion of gays, lesbians and transgender people. All Catalonian citizens will enjoy a much cohesioned and respectful society in regard to affective, romantic, sexual and gender diversities, reflecting the positive capacity of Catalonia accepting the plurality of their citizens »* (2006: 6).

[31] If the Basque plan has inherited the coherence of equality policies developed by the regional women agency, *Emakunde*, one's could argue that having being adopted after Txaro Arteaga abandoned the head of the agency, it represents a step backward as regarding a complex assessment of intersectional inequalities, to be noticed through the absence of references to LGBT people (Platero, 2007).

Andalusia: from double to multiple discriminations

Drawing attention on the spill-over effects which are quite familiar in multi-level governance systems, the Ist Action plan for disabled women in Andalusia, approved in November 2008, expounds a critical assessment of regional, national and international provisions in the matter. Instead of perpetuating an additive approach to sex- and disability-based discriminations, it clearly aims at developing a multiple approach and pays explicit attention to the interactions between different strands of inequalities.

"*To the discriminations resulting from the double status of woman and disabled, shall be added the ones derivating from ethnicity or social class, etc., taking into account the transversality of gender in this chain of discriminations.This situation of 'multiple discrimination' conditions the autonomy (of disabled women) and make the practical needs and the strategic interests of each of them specific*" (BOJA, 2008: 131). This diagnosis is grounded into the critical assessment of existing provisions. Thus, the document recognizes that the Spanish Act on Equal opportunity, non-discrimination and universal accessibility for disabled persons (2003) as well as some action plans adopted at the EU- and the international levels paved the way for a greater attention towards situations of multiple discriminations. Yet, it stresses the fact that "*in general, references to disabled women are made alluding to very specific areas of intervention, although the recognition of diversity constitutes the (theoretical) starting point when it comes to the promotion of gender equality*" (BOJA, 2008: 118).

Drawing on a complex diagnosis of the situation of the targeted group in Andalusia, including references to age, rural/urban cleavage, educational background, employment and financial resources (section II.: 120-129), the plan does not make any reference to ethnicity, migrant status, nor sexual diversity[32]. More specific attention is dedicated to the intersection between gender, disability and employment and gender-based violence.

Selected "good practices" enlighten the crucial role played by regional polities in the making of anti-discrimination policies, pointing out the existence of "spill over" effects: a core of Spanish regions are thus drawing on previous experiences at the regional, the State and the supranational levels, to develop ever more complex policy instruments. Those clearly draw upon policy paradigms diffused throughout Europe as regarding the respect of women's diversity and the need for measures targeting social groups suffering multiple discrimination.

2.3 Regional vs. External variable: who is learning what from whom?

In the Spanish multi-level governance system, using the reference to the EU legal framework for challenging existing legislation might be adopted by a number of actors in the respective regional polities, as a mean to influence further policy developments (Carter and Pasquier, 2006). Since regional institutions are developing their own policy instruments for tackling discriminations, making direct and explicit references to the EU

[32] However, an implicit reference to sexual orientation is made within the axis of intervention "Health and reproductive and sexual rights".

legal order[33], Spain perfectly fits with the "emerging picture of a polity with multiple, interlocked arenas for political contest" (Hooghe and Marks, 1996). In the literature on European integration, however, regions have long been treated "*as a separate 'dimension' of the multi-level game, rather than as individual political actors fundamentally positioned within a multi-actored 'institutional' web of decision-making". But "thinking in terms of the 'EU-centre' versus the 'region' omits scope for discussion of domestic centre-periphery relations*" (Carter, Pasquier, 2006: 9-10, see also Alonso and Forest, 2009). For this reason, capturing the interaction of Europeanization processes and regional governance "*in ways which are integral to domestic centre-periphery relations*" is essential to the understanding of the domestic impact of Europe, especially in multi-level systems of governance (2006:10). Additionally, it is noteworthy that EU gender equality policies have a strong multi-level dimension which facilitates its influence on sub-national entities (Gallego, Gomà, Subirats, 2003), especially when, as it is the case in multi-governed Spain, the latter gather broad competences in the matter.

Nonetheless, whilst the Europeanization of regional equality policies in general has received a limited amount of attention that mainly focused on the diffusion of gender mainstreaming (see: Villagómez, 2005, Perrier, 2006, Alonso, 2007), the issue of institutionalizing intersectionality draws new perspectives as regarding the impact of EU-modelled practices in Spanish regions. In fact, afore-mentioned "good practices" in tackling multiple-discriminations shed light on the numerous references to the EU framework made in regional policy documents. So far, most of these references dealt with the adoption of gender mainstreaming. Yet, in the most recently adopted documents especially in the field of anti-discrimination, those aim at legitimizing "from above" a better accounting of women's diversity. Although being present in most of sectional actions plans recently adopted by Spanish regions, references to the EU are of specific relevance in the case of self-governments interested to relativize the mediating role of State policies in prospect of more direct influences from abroad[34]. This political "usage" of Europe (Jacquot, Woll, 2003) is not only illustrated by the references to the "EU model" present in the preamble of the Basque equality Act (2005), but also by those made by nationalist MPs during parliamentary debates on the (national) Effective equality Act (2007).

But in the case of a multi-level polity, it is especially difficult to disentangle the influence of the 'external' variable from other sources of policy transfer and social learning, such as the central government and the 16 other self-governed regions. For this reason, and, since Europeanization is not merely a top-down process but results from the interactions between European models or incentives and domestic actors and structures (Radaelli, 2004), investigating to what extent regional anti-discrimination policies are Europeanized (see: Alonso, Forest, 2009) might provide an answer to this core question of policy transfer literature: who is learning what from whom (Marsh and Dolowitz, 1996)?

Concluding remarks

[33] As it is in the case of the Basque equality Act.

[34] another hypothesis should not be ruled out, in the fact that be it at the regional, the State- or the supranational level, "multiple discrimination may be attractive to policy makers because of its simplicity" (Kantola, Nousianen, 2009: 14).

Whereas previous documents issued by the QUING project (Forest, Platero *et alii*, 2008 ; Forest, Lopez, 2009) located incipient signs of concern towards multiple discrimination in State-level policy documents, the present contribution intended to provide a more complex framing of the making of equality and anti-discrimination in Spain, taking into account two basic features: a policy practice (through the scope of legislation and policy instruments) to be characterized as pursuing a "unitary approach" (Hancock, 2007), and the multi-level dimension of Spanish polity. To a certain extent, those lead to depict the 'anatomy of an absence', as the signs of concern for multiple-discriminations – not to speak about a structural understanding of the way they shape each other – are weak and relatively recent. Referring to historical institutionalism and to the concept of path-dependency, this contribution thus enlightens the variables that contributed to shape the form, the content and the main instruments of Spanish equality policies in the past decades, which, we argue, left almost no space for tackling more than one (or two) grounds of inequalities at the same time.

However, recent developments taking place both at the national and the regional level and both in legislation and soft policy instruments, make necessary to address at least two levels of interaction. Firstly, the making of anti-discrimination policies sheds light on the growing 'domestic impact of Europe', to be explained by a strong misfit between domestic policies and those developed in that field at the EU-level. The establishing of a new Ministry for equality, and the proceeding of the upcoming Equality act (through the constitution of Law-oriented expert groups), as well as the scope of equality strands to be addressed thus may be considered a shift of paradigm. Nevertheless, the path-dependent structure of this Ministry, as well as the strong emphasis maintained on Gender equality seem to illustrate that "'paradigms' are by definition stable and self-reproducing and do not 'shift' easily" (Geddes, Guiraudon, 2004: 334). Secondly, the regional politics of equality and anti-discrimination also point out the importance of the policy context into which new paradigms and instruments are being transferred and/or autonomously developed. The highly differentiated dimension of respective self-governed polities thus questions existing institutional arrangements around equality issues, the scope of inequalities tackled by regional policy plans as well as more structural features such as the discourses on diversity developed in Spanish CC.AA or the role of civil society organizations in enhancing public response to the challenge of diversity.

Drawing a complex situation, this contribution mainly aims at generating hypothesis on the crucial role of institutional and political contexts in the institutionalization of intersectionality. At the same time, it suggests that the very concept of intersectionality still constitutes a non-stabilized policy approach, which might be subject to stretching in order to take into account not only the scope of inequalities considered, the hierarchy between them and the "best way" to incorporate an intersectional approach into existing policies, but also variables such as the form of the State or the way social diversity is understood in a concrete polity.

Whilst only an additive approach in which a rather structural understanding of gender inequality receives the greatest deal of public attention can be so far identified as a shared policy paradigm in multi-governed Spain, it is worth to note that the absence of an intersectional discourse and a lack of conceptualization and references[35] even in the Spanish academia, do not represent promising indicators of an innovative approach in

[35] Except for some 'good practices' in some regions.

tackling multiple discriminations. Thus, there is a strong need for a debate at all levels, not only amongst policy makers and other discriminated groups' advocates, but also in the Spanish feminist movement and the academia. A debate that would ideally discuss thoroughly the need for a framework tackling intersections between different strands of equality but maintaining a structural understanding of the way they shape and reproduce each other.

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