

CONTRIBUTION TO THE HIGH-LEVEL CONFERENCE OF THE EUROPEAN SOCIAL CHARTER MOLDOVA 2026

THE STRUGGLE FOR DECENT HOUSING AS A RIGHT TAKEN SERIOUSLY: A NEW DIMENSION OF TRADE UNION ACTION THROUGH THE EUROPEAN SOCIAL CHARTER

Fernando Luján de Frías

Vice-Secretary General, Trade Union Policy UGT



"There is no economically advanced country - and this is a fact that is sadly overlooked - where the market system produces houses that the poor can afford".

John Kenneth Galbraith (1992). The culture of contentment.

Summary

1. Introduction
2. The problem of the "housing trap" in figures: the evolution of access to decent housing as a critical manifestation of the failure of the marketised model of residential provision in Europe in Spain and the rest of Europe.
3. The deep, but invisible, cause of the imbalances in housing supply and demand: the 'structural and consensual re-commercialisation' of a human right, converted into a real estate policy for private profitability rather than a housing policy of general interest.
4. From a clear understanding of the problem to truly coherent and effective institutional solutions: the role of trade union action in the light of the Revised European Social Charter
5. Conclusions: class unionism as an active subject in the struggle for a decommodified right to decent housing in the light of the CSER

1. Introduction

The High Level Conference on the European Social Charter should serve to bring the citizens of the Council of Europe countries closer to a legal instrument that protects their fundamental rights. The Charter is neither an abstract treaty nor a symbolic aspiration: it is a living normative commitment, which can and must guarantee the respect and implementation of human rights in each Member State.

Among these rights, the human right to housing - recognised in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Article 31 of the Revised European Social Charter - is today under serious threat across the continent. Millions of individuals and families in Europe, despite having jobs or income, are unable to access decent, safe and affordable housing. The right to a roof over one's head has become a commodity subject to the laws of the market, captured by financial speculation, and transformed into a business that has long forgotten people.

This paper, presented by UGT, aims to demand the universal right to housing, to demand its effective guarantee and to recall that the European Social Charter must be a legal wall to protect those who are being evicted from their right to housing. The Charter must be a tool of social justice, which acts forcefully when a State fails to fulfil its commitments and when vulnerable people are deprived of their dignity and their home.

Without housing, there is no social Europe. And without the European Social Charter, there is no legal shield to protect those who need it most.

The problem of the "housing trap" in figures: the evolution of access to decent housing as a critical manifestation of the failure of the marketised model of residential provision in Europe in Spain and the rest of Europe.

2. The scientific evidence of the severity of the problem across Europe: Europe's housing emergency in numbers

Access to adequate and affordable housing is today a drama for hundreds of millions of people, especially young people and immigrants, who find themselves immersed in a real labyrinth full of "new traps", with difficult escapes. The problem is by no means only Spanish. It is present and growing throughout Europe, especially for certain particularly vulnerable groups (such as young people; immigrants; single-parent families, mostly headed by women, etc.).

In addition to the data, it is illustrative in this respect that, in this new Legislature, which has just begun, the European Commission has created, for the first time, the figure of a commissioner for the housing problem in the European Union (EU). The intense and constant growth of large cities, in particular, is aggravating the problem of affordable accessibility. In all of them, purchase and rental prices are rising steadily, well above wages, if one has a job, of course.

According to Eurostat data (which serve as a reference for the European Committee of Social Rights - ECSR), the upward trend between 2015 and 2023 is very present throughout Europe, especially in the largest economies. In the case of France it is above 30% (31.3%), in Germany it is almost 50% (48.8%). But the extreme price increase in European "housing markets" goes beyond the large economies, it is general. In Portugal, Estonia, Bulgaria or Hungary buying a house is twice as expensive as it was a decade ago. Of course, there are always exceptions, as is the case, for example, in Italy, which has been able to keep price increases low (8%), as has Finland (5.4%).

In any case, and here lies the very serious socio-economic problem, the European average is close to 50% in this period (it was 48%), and rising. Undoubtedly, this is an excessive increase, both when compared with the inflation rate and, even more worrying in terms of trade union action, with the rate of wage increases. In this sense, it is double the rate of inflation for the same period, and much higher than wage increases.

Somewhat better, but also very worrying, seem to be the data offered by the European Statistical Agency regarding the "**rental markets**". The average increase in the European Union would be 13.3%, a rate clearly below the rate of inflation. However, it is said, "it seems", because those who know and analyse these data with rigour are suspicious of their partiality and, therefore, they are cautious about the data. Hence other estimates put the increase at 18%, or even **22%**. The problem of renting is therefore as serious or more serious than that of buying, according to the most scientifically reliable data.

Firstly, these data are not at all accessible, below those of the buying and selling market itself, so there is no certainty that they are correct. However, **it is unanimously agreed that they are continuously rising, and extremely above wage increases, in the main cities on the European continent**. Second, in the face of these deficiencies in official information, very disparate private indicators are used. For example, *Deloitte's Property Index 2024*, which highlights Sofia (Greece), which has doubled its price per square metre, Manchester (+51.4%), Porto (+35.6%) and Lisbon (+24.8%) among the cities where rents have risen the most.

The *HousingAnywhere* platform also recently published the highest increases in Rome (+28%), The Hague (+21.9%) and Madrid (+17%). In Barcelona, 21.51% in the last five years (Cambra de la Propietat Urbana).

Continuing with the - disturbing - analysis of the reality described by institutions of global economic governance, the OECD shows in the updates of its affordable housing database that a growing volume of the European population is overburdened (spending well over 30% of their income) on housing, whether in mortgages or rentals, although, paradoxically, the number of people obliged to overburden themselves financially in the case of renting is extremely higher, at almost 20% (one in five). The situation is more serious in some countries, such as Greece or Spain, than in others, but this perverse dynamic is also present in other European countries, whether in the Council of Europe, such as the United Kingdom, or in the EU, such as Belgium, France, the Netherlands, etc., although with less of a strain on their citizens.

The problem is worsening in Spain, paradoxically when it is the fastest growing country in the EU.

Spain not only follows these alarming trends, but also reaches more serious and even more dramatic socio-economic levels¹. If its increases over this ten-year period are among the highest, it is clear that in Spain the increases are more accelerated: in **just one year the price of housing has risen by 20% in terms of purchase and 15.4% in terms of rent**, much higher than the increase in wages. This housing crisis is worsening in large cities such as Madrid (not just in the city centre, but in municipalities in the metropolitan area, **rents of 1,200 to 1,500 euros** are being asked for three-bedroom homes€), Barcelona, Malaga and Valencia, where demographic pressure (due to the impact of immigration) and tourism are intensifying residential imbalances.

According to data from **EAPN** (European Network to Combat Poverty and Social Exclusion in Spain) Spain, 41% of tenants spend more than 40% of their income on rent, an unsustainable situation that **financially suffocates thousands of households**. Added to this is the worrying relationship between housing, employment and poverty. This is because:

- A) Having a job, even one with average pay and stability, no longer guarantees access to decent housing, as evidenced by the fact that in areas with high labour demand and reasonable salaries, housing is inaccessible for a very significant part of the employed population (e.g. Balearic Islands).
- B) The problem is even greater when housing and in-work poverty are related, i.e. it is clear that those who make up the so-called vulnerable group of working poor (over-representation of young people, women, immigrants) are almost forbidden to buy housing and find it very difficult to afford to rent.

¹ The Eurostat data are taken from an article in La Vanguardia, based on very precise data, fully verified with other data. <https://www.lavanguardia.com/dinero/20241201/10158259/vivienda-alquiler-compra-precios-problema-europa.html>. Also here <https://es.euronews.com/my-europe/2025/03/17/la-crisis-de-la-vivienda-en-europa-se-agrava-en-espana-es-un-problema-poliedrico>

C) In any case, living in rented accommodation is much more common among people living in poverty, which **makes the lack of decent housing a factor that perpetuates inequality and social exclusion.**

The serious socio-economic consequences of this European housing or residential emergency in Spain

Not only do the careful and prestigious studies of the third sector in this area provide evidence of this alarming reality, which requires social and institutional action, but they have also been certified by the reports of the Bank of Spain for several years. These reports make it clear that very significant social and economic changes are taking place, which are "decapitalising" certain groups in particular, such as young people. Not only are they unable to buy a home (only 36% own their own home, compared to 70% in their parents' generation), but they have to spend more than 60% of their - lower - salaries on rent. Therefore, the housing affordability deficit accounts for **70 per cent of inequality in Spain**, hitting the under-35s and immigrants particularly hard.

The basic reasons have to do with market deficits. On the one hand, the credit market, as the Bank of Spain identifies a negative evolution of this, because the conditions for mortgage loans have worsened, as credit has become more difficult and 100% of the mortgage is not given. The institutions required are high and prevent many people from accessing this option. On the other hand, the situation of the labour market, due to the greater precariousness of young people in their jobs, despite the great effort that trade unions have made in Spain to improve it, with evident achievements (e.g. the agreed labour reform of 2021; the increases in the minimum wage), but also with persistent deficits.

An obstacle to youth emancipation, which occurs at two speeds in Europe, with Spain taking the slower path.

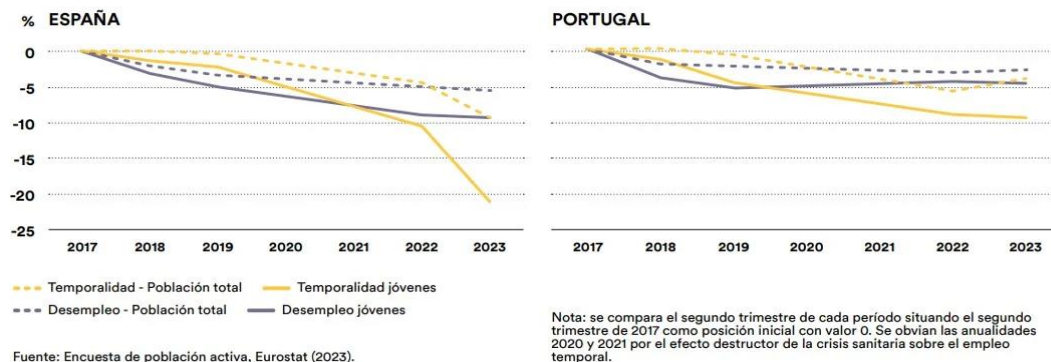
But the serious social impacts go much further. The housing problem, together with persistent job insecurity, is at the root of the fact that emancipation in Europe is progressing, like so many other things, "at two speeds". And, once again, the countries of the South are

the worst affected, as are those in the East, i.e. those with the most precarious socio-labour and economic conditions.

Young people in Southern European countries, and a significant proportion in Eastern Europe, do not emancipate from the family unit until the age of 30 (source: Eurostat). At the top of the list is, of course, Spain (30.4 years), although it is second, the first being Croatia (31.8 years). The problem is also acute in Portugal (29.1), Italy (30), Greece (30.6), Bulgaria (30), Poland (27.1) and Hungary (27.1). On the other hand, in the centre and north, young people become independent at around 23 years of age. This is the case in France (23.7), Germany (23.9), the Netherlands (23.2), Denmark (21.8), Sweden (21.8) and Finland (21.4). The European average is 26.3 years.

In addition to the problems of the credit market, due to legislative and political changes in favour of greater financial stability and profitability of credit institutions, there are also, as we have said, the more difficult conditions of the labour market for young people, which are of particular interest in this paper. The unemployment rate of young Spaniards is still much higher than in the Eurozone, despite the sharp reduction after the labour reform, and wages are below average.

Certainly, also due to the impact of the labour reform, Spain is no longer the 'red light' of youth unemployment in Europe. But 25.3% is still eleven points above the EU average, according to **Eurostat**, although increases in Sweden (27%) and Romania (26%) leave Spain in third place on the negative unemployment podium. It should be borne in mind that more than half of the under-25s are looking for their first job or have been in employment for more than a year since their last job due to a combination of factors that make it difficult for them to find employment. This would translate into some 523,500 young people who want and are able to work, but cannot find a job. Temporariness also continues to affect young people more (as does part-time work, in this case with a very strong gender bias, as women are over-represented, logically reducing wages, with negative consequences in terms of purchasing power to buy or rent), despite the fact that the labour reform has also been important, reducing the rate of temporary work by more than 8 points, higher than the impact in Portugal, which also carried out its **labour reform** (see Graph 1).



In short, in an increasingly tight credit market, with a scarce supply of housing and less favourable labour market conditions to facilitate a down payment, or a rental payment that does not consume a large part of the salary, the situation in Spain could not be more worrying. In total, only 26% of Spaniards live in rented accommodation, compared to 36.6% of French or 53.5% of Germans. The European average is 30.1%. Thousands of young people have to pay between 60 and 70 per cent of their salary to rent or buy, which is a maze. In Madrid, the **youth emancipation rate is the lowest on record**, with less than 15% achieving independence (see Graph 2).



Average age of emancipation in 'Europe'. Source. Euronews' with Eurostat data.

But the problem is not only for young people, and is very serious, but also affects other vulnerable groups, even those in work (precarious, but not only).

Although the serious socio-economic problem affects young people much more, they are not the only ones affected in a particularly worrying way, as other vulnerable groups of the population, even those in work, and not only the unemployed, are particularly affected by the housing emergency.

This is the case of immigrants, whose contribution to the improvement of the national economy and welfare, as long as it is in legal conditions and with human dignity, is undeniable, even irreplaceable in Europe, and certainly in Spain. The **CEAR (Spanish Commission for Refugee Aid)** warns of the crisis of the right to housing in these groups, so that a structural problem is aggravated with migrants and refugees.

These groups, which are on the rise, **encounter additional housing/residential barriers**, labour barriers, no doubt, but also social ones, due to the stigmas and prejudices against them (in addition to the lack of economic guarantees, there is a lack of knowledge of the market, discrimination, limited access to certain public policies, despite what is believed by certain collective imaginary, etc.). Within these groups, there are even more unprotected situations, such as that of unaccompanied immigrant minors, for whose due reception many countries in the South, such as Greece, Italy and Spain, are encountering great difficulties, with clear breaches of international regulations. Several complaints and condemnations by the ECSR are evidence of this. Therefore, the need for structural measures for the whole population in the face of the severe housing crisis requires special attention to vulnerable groups (young people, immigrants and **refugees**).

Although, it should be noted, the problem goes back much further in this case (**IOE Study, 2004**). The proliferation (return or re-emergence) of shantytowns and settlements in very important agrarian (e.g. Huelva, **Almeria**, Murcia) and urban areas of Spain is evidence of this and, at the same time, also contributes to their "social and economic invisibility". Another major concern of contemporary social class trade unionism, such as the one I represent.

The severe housing crisis is not a natural phenomenon, nor a biblical fatalism, but the negative consequence of inadequate legal, institutional and political decisions in the configuration and functioning of the housing market, which should not only be economic, but also social.

But, as we are going to try to demonstrate in this paper, also integrating the analysis of Javier Burón in his work 'El problema de la vivienda', as this intervention demands, this very serious situation is not a natural fatalism, no irresolvable and irreversible social

condemnation. We will see that the causes are multiple, yes, but, to a large extent, the problems of supply and demand are strongly conditioned by the harsh economic law that governs the housing market: "the **economic law of supply and demand**".

But isn't housing a fundamental human social right according to art. 25 of the **Universal Declaration of Human Rights** 1948 and art. 11.1 of the **International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights** 1966? How is it governed by a prototypical liberal conception of purely economic commodity markets, that is, by mercantilised laws without the general interest conditionality due to social market-institutions, as is (or should be), for example, the labour market? The increase in population, especially in cities, and the scarcity of new supply are pushing up residential prices, aggravating the accessibility crisis. As demand continues to grow and the supply of housing at socially affordable prices (for sale or rent) remains very limited (in Spain, even in regressive figures compared to other periods), prices continue to rise, and will continue to do so unless something relevant is done (see *Unpacking Europe's living revolutions* report, 2024).²

The contradictions between the reality and the norm are abysmal. Therefore, this radical fracture between what should be (adequate housing as a human right for all people) and what is (increasing difficulties for more and more people to access housing, to the point of creating a housing emergency, more intense for certain particularly vulnerable groups - e.g. young people, immigrants, single-parent families, the working poor, etc.) all over Europe, challenges us, as a real socio-economic issue of our time, as it did in the past, or today, as the workers' social question did in the past, or today, as it is in the present.) throughout Europe, challenges us, as a real socio-economic issue of our time, as in its day the workers' social issue, or today the issue of gender equality or environmental sustainability, to all public authorities and all socio-economic agents.

Social class trade unionism has in the promotion of the right to decent housing for the whole population an inescapable challenge for a fair labour society because of its condition not only as contractual but also as political-constitutional subjects.

² <https://www.cushmanwakefield.com/en/spain/insights/european-living-revolution>

Of course also the trade unions as subjects that we are "not only contractual" (e.g. to negotiate collective agreements on working conditions), but also as subjects of "constitutional entity" in defence of every socio-economic interest that is proper to the socially citizen population, such as the fundamental human social right to decent housing, constitutive, moreover, of a service of general economic interest.

But how can European trade unions contribute in an effective way, not in a testimonial or nominal way, to make this fundamental human social right real, not just programmatic or utopian, so that it can be enjoyed on a daily basis by the whole population in general, and the most vulnerable groups in particular? The aim of this paper is to try to outline a solid and practical response, based on the opportunities offered by the European Social Charter system and the jurisprudential doctrine of the ECSR, which aims to be not only critical but also prescriptive, that is, to put forward proposals that will enable the Council of Europe to move in this direction, at the same time encouraging and supporting trade union action, both through instruments of collective self-protection and, with particular emphasis, through legal instruments to fight for the effectiveness of this right. A social right that we understand to be binding and enforceable on the member states of the Council of Europe, even if they can reduce it, as is currently the case in Spain, but not only, to mere discretionary decisions of pure economic policy, without prior normative conditionality beyond vague principles and constitutional mandates. Let us look at it, in the hope of contributing to a housing policy that puts people back at the centre, and trade unionism as a fundamental actor in its democratic construction.

3. The deep-seated but invisible cause of housing supply and demand imbalances: the "re-commodification" of a human right

The complexity of the causes of the quantitative and qualitative imbalances between housing supply and demand in national states, particularly in Spain, cannot be an excuse either to make the root cause invisible or, much less, to find a solution to it.

Nobody doubts the enormous complexity of the housing problem in Europe in general and in Spain in particular, due to its polyhedral (proteiform) and multi-causal nature. The most reliable analyses on the subject point to a wide range of structural and conjunctural problems, both on the "supply" and "demand" side of housing. The most relevant of these include:

A) On the housing demand side

- The **increase in demand** in Europe's urban areas is linked to the increase in population driven by immigration, putting upward pressure on prices (José García Montalvo, Professor of Economics at the Pompeu Fabra University -UPF-). This increase in the immigrant working population is not, in general, the most well-paid, so the consequence is that their demand for housing is conditioned by greater difficulties of accessibility to housing.
- **Credit market conditions.** For a long time interest rates were very low, almost flat, and savings deposits were hardly remunerated, which led many investors to buy housing, **an asset considered low risk**. Now that the cost of money has normalised, **residential investment continues to yield good returns**, when combined with both rental and asset appreciation.

As a result, demand also increases through this investment channel, with **high speculation**, less than before the 2008 crisis, but very relevant. **In qualitative terms, this generates a vulnerable, unprotected demand.**

- The labour market conditions of certain groups, such as young people, given the constant rise in prices, **hinder the purchasing power of this component of the demand for housing**, which is the most in need of housing due to their need for emancipation.

B) On the supply side, problems have been accumulating for years because the development of new housing does not meet the demand, as it is mainly oriented towards solvent segments and not towards effective social demand, as evidenced by the structural stock of unsuitable empty housing. This is due to:



- The **limited supply available**, due to the relative scarcity of land dedicated to this purpose after the great real estate crisis of 2008 (problems in generating the land needed for construction). Construction is therefore well below needs.
- **High (speculative) housing prices with no social housing stock available to make prices affordable**
- the **boom in tourist rentals** complicates access to decent housing, especially for young people, because it reduces the availability of housing for rental and puts upward pressure on housing prices.
- The (unsuccessful) **focus on the rental market** in the housing plans since 2013 over buying due to the difficulties of access has not managed to reduce, or rather increase, its prices, but, at the same time, it has managed to limit the construction of housing at affordable prices.

The huge "trap" created for the youngest people by economic and institutional decisions is described in economic science as follows:

"Prices have risen much more than purchasing power... that encourages mainly young people to demand more rental housing because they can't afford to own, and...has created a rental boom especially in the larger cities. The result is a...trap.... where you can neither rent nor buy" (Clara Martínez-Toledano, Professor **Imperial College London, 2024**).

In other words, a high dependence on renting has been created in an increasingly expensive market with an increasingly vulnerable demand. Hence the tensions in both markets - renting and buying - and the failure of legal and political attempts to limit them (**housing markets with high tension or stress: high demand with high prices, low housing supply with high vulnerability of the demanders**).

- **Cost increases in the construction sector** (20%), as well as the problems of generational changeover in this sector

The very serious crisis, which has already been recognised and diagnosed by the sector and institutions of all political persuasions, demands that the current situation be reversed with





structural measures, not just temporary ones. However, this is where the differences in political and institutional positions begin:

- a) **while some are committed to deepening liberal recipes**, which have proven to be ineffective and counterproductive (e.g. liberalising public land for free private construction, reducing taxation in the sector, providing more bureaucratic facilities for construction, etc.).
- b) others -among which the union I represent is included- promote a **more profound change in the housing regulation model, more typically social** (*more investment in public or social housing; regulation limiting rents; restriction of the most speculative uses of housing, such as tourist rentals; design and implementation of a system of aid to improve accessibility for vulnerable groups in terms of housing needs - in line with what is done for vulnerable consumers; taxation that penalises non-social uses and encourages social uses, etc.*.)

The underlying problem is a market distortion of the nature of a fundamental human social right: housing should not be a commodity and subject to the pure laws of the economic market.

However, in order to implement a social model of legal regulation and a housing policy with affordable access for the entire population, including people from the most vulnerable groups (an inclusive approach to housing), it is necessary to make more effectively visible the real imbalance that causes the whole problem: housing, which is formally recognised as a human right, is treated as a commodity subject to the laws of the pure economic market in order to meet the needs of access to it.

But housing cannot be treated as just another commodity; like other basic necessities, it must be effectively satisfied with social guarantees that address the general interest it serves, conditioning the market, not the other way around, as is currently the case. **In the framework of international law**, the right to adequate housing constitutes an inexorable presupposition - together with the right to decent work - of the stability and security of individuals and families. It is a central place in our lives, not only social and familial, but also



emotional, a space for living in peace, security and dignity. This human right to adequate housing (*housing human right*) entails:

- both the **guarantee of accessibility** to accommodation in accordance with these requirements
- as **security of tenure** (without the threat of **eviction** - evictions - or expulsion from home or land)

In both cases in order to be able to live, free from discrimination and with equal opportunities, in a manner consistent with one's own culture and to have access to other primary goods (adequate services, education and employment). This right has a value in itself, but also as a fundamental prerequisite for the effective enjoyment of other social, economic and cultural rights, as well as civil and political rights (*Recommendation of the Commissioner for Human Rights on the implementation of the right to housing*, CommDH, 2009, 5, p. 3³).

Not only is the imperative content of freedoms and guarantees contained in the subjective human right to housing underestimated, but all too often violations of this right go unpunished.

As the **UN Special Rapporteur on adequate housing** explains, to a large extent, the current situation of radical fracture between what housing is in law, a recognised and guaranteed human right, and how it is in practical life, a good strictly subject to the harsh law of supply and demand, proper to its consideration as a "free" commodity on the market, is due to the fact that, at the national level, housing does not enjoy the guarantees, liberal and social, due as such a right. On the contrary, it is not, but is treated as a pure commodity.

How do we get out of this vicious circle? The key to effectively guaranteeing the international human social right to adequate (or decent) housing would be the design and effective exercise of this human right through the guarantees of effectiveness provided by

³ The social-legal characterisation of the right to adequate housing is basically made in the Committee's General Comments **No. 4 on the right to adequate housing (1991)** and **No. 7 on forced evictions (1997)**. They have been fundamental for the doctrine of the ECHR, unfortunately not for the European Constitutional Courts so far.

government policies and programmes for investment in housing, in particular through **National Plans for decent housing (to buy or rent) at socially affordable prices** for the whole population, leaving no one behind. Plans that should not be left to the political discretion of the European States - all of them ratifiers of the International Treaties on housing, but not of **art. 31 of the revised European Social Charter**, although Spain does - but which constitute a type of legally enforceable guarantee, without prejudice, of course, to the margin of appreciation that each State has in setting their contents and deadlines.

4. From a clear understanding of the problem to truly coherent and effective institutional solutions: the role of trade union action in the light of the Revised European Social Charter

No European state is impassive in the face of the housing drama, nor is the EU, but the solutions are partial and ineffective, with no legal conditionality, only political.

It is honest to say that the major housing crisis has caused states to make moves. The sharp increases in prices, both for buying and renting, have led most countries to adopt various measures to regulate the housing market. France, Germany and Portugal have implemented different rent containment systems with mixed results.

This is also the case of Spain and its **very well-intentioned - though today clearly failed - housing law, Law 12/2023, of 24 May, for the right to housing**. The Spanish case is prototypical of an action plan, even a legislative one, **very well-intentioned, but ineffective in practice**, not only because of the enormous political difficulties that its implementation is encountering in many of the territories (Autonomous Communities), due to **partisan confrontation** and institutional disloyalty, but also because of the poor design of the most important measures, such as the guarantee of sufficient social housing stock.

It contains no real guarantees of effectiveness in practically none of its star measures (e.g. affordable social housing stock, regulation of rental prices in particularly tense areas, new formulas for the provision of housing such as collaboration with the social economy and the third sector - non-profit organisations, etc.), setting very long deadlines and based on

discretionary political investment decisions. Therefore, these measures keep the very serious problem, which is urgent in its solutions, postponed for decades.

On a practical level, one proof of their failure is that **more and more young people are disengaging from the housing market in the face of ever-higher prices**. In February 2025, only 30% of people aged between 18 and 24 took any action in the real estate world, five points less than a year earlier. The situation is attributed to the impact of high prices and the lack of affordable options ([Housing market radiography for the first half of 2025](#) report).

In short, the fall was not due to an alleged loss of interest, but to the perception that the "market" is out of reach. There is now a shortage of [some 600,000 houses, according to the Bank of Spain](#), just to compensate for the imbalance between the little that is built and the new homes that are created. So **the problem goes beyond the poor**. And the problem is exacerbated in the rental market, whose market was born in Spain to try to solve the deficit of the purchase market. More than 1.2 million households are affected and this situation is affecting more and more layers, because as prices rise, it absorbs more of the wages of people with a decent one (José García Montalvo, Professor of Economics, UPF).

The EU seems to be committed to advancing policy responses that move between incipient EU regulation and the promotion of affordable social housing supply.

Nor does the EU seem to want to remain indolent in the face of this social drama of housing and is beginning to take action in the crisis. The European Parliament adopted the **Resolution of 21 January 2021 on access to decent and affordable housing for all (2019/2187(INI)) as a fundamental right**.

In addition to calling for the EU institutions and the Member States to guarantee access to adequate housing at affordable prices for everyone, it draws attention to the need to resolve **the problem of homelessness** (which in Spain is on the increase and is particularly topical today) by 2030 and warns that the explosion of holiday rentals is taking housing off the market and driving up prices, with consequences for the habitability of [urban and tourist centres](#).



The European Commission has, for the first time since the end of 2024, a **specific Commissioner** (Energy and Housing - given to a social democrat) and a **special committee to propose solutions** at European level within one year, tackling issues such as housing shortages, social housing, energy poverty, labour shortages in the construction sector and obstacles to obtaining building permits. The emphasis on a socio-occupational dimension of this problem (the economic and professional situation in the construction sector) is therefore striking. Hence, the response measures include, always on the idea that there is no "universal recipe", the following:

- The use of **European funds** for the **construction of social housing that guarantees affordable prices**, as proposed in the 2025 opinion of the European Economic and Social Committee, EESC, ECO/663 "Affordable housing: What can cohesion policy, the Urban Agenda and civil society do to ensure that housing is affordable for all?"
- the creation of a **pan-European recruitment platform** to address labour shortages in the construction sector.

In the collision between the social right to housing and the economic right to the free choice of its prices and uses (speculative, tourist, investment, etc.), the EU seems to understand that it must offer a socially fair balance. The rebalancing of a profoundly critical situation, unbalanced in terms of the extreme commodification of a human right, would be achieved either through a legal regulatory framework (e.g. more solid authorisations for limiting rental prices) or through more social housing investment funds. However, once again, it **is necessary to take into account both the competency limitations within the EU** (housing is the responsibility of the Member States - as, within Spain, it is basically the responsibility of the Autonomous Communities) **and the diversity of the political orientations of the Member States** (increasingly influenced by authoritarianism and ultra-liberalism), which make it difficult to reach an agreement aimed at favouring truly social solutions, based on enforceable subjective rights and not on more market (more housing supply, more land release without social conditionality).



Precisely in this practical key, attentive to the results, which is what the ECSDS demands, the European mission itself on the housing crisis, although it recommends that member states, such as Spain ([European fiscal semester, 2025](#)), improve the supply of affordable social housing, states that it is very difficult to regulate the market from the EU. The [president of the European Special Committee on Housing](#) is clear:

"It is not our competence to make regulations or directives, really, it is difficult for us to have the competence to regulate prices. We have very different situations and housing is an issue that millions of Europeans suffer, in each place with its own context, prices, salaries, it is not desirable to make a law that regulates from Brussels".

We cannot dispute this arguable assertion here. In fact, the European Commission itself has initiated a process of revision of the EU rules on state aid for services of general economic interest (SGEI). The aim is to increase the regulatory framework for state aid to social housing, in order to make it more affordable. [The public consultation for this review until 31 July 2025](#) is open

From the limitations and doubts of EU law to the possibilities of the CSER: housing as a legally enforceable basic social human right without the limits of political discretionality

Be that as it may, what is certain is that the limitations of the EU's legal and social action are compounded by the prevalence of the same housing market approach: the central idea continues to be the protection of the logic of the housing market, improving supply, without focusing on demand, although the latter is more socially conditioned (more Community and state investment for the promotion of social housing). And this is where, once again, the regulatory framework of the European Social Charter system and the doctrine of the European Committee of Social Rights (ECSR) present a greater commitment to social justice and greater effectiveness in guaranteeing the human right to decent housing. That is, if we know how to take advantage of it properly and if it is surrounded by the guarantees that give it the dynamism and binding nature that are due in this area.

The Council of Europe therefore has a major new opportunity to assert itself as a key player in the solution of a dramatic social and economic problem in Europe, for which the EU

admits its limitations, despite a renewed willingness to contribute to the solution. Although there would be nothing new in its **initiatives in this respect**, this is a time to revitalise them and, above all, to make them more effective. In this respect, it is well known that art. 31 of the CSER expressly recognises the **right to housing at socially affordable prices for the entire population, including those who do not have sufficient resources for this purpose.** But it does not limit itself to recognition, but demands "guaranteeing the effective exercise of the right to housing". And to this end, the States commit themselves, **that is to say, they are obliged to:**

- 1. to promote access to housing of sufficient quality;**
- 2. to prevent and alleviate homelessness with a view to progressively eliminating homelessness;**
- 3. to make housing affordable for those who do not have sufficient resources.**

This is not the only provision that refers to rights to guaranteed housing of sufficient quality (decent or adequate) at socially affordable prices (owned and/or rented). It also appears in the important articles 16 CSER (protection of the family) and 19.4 CSER (for migrant workers), and in article 30 CSER, as an essential measure to fight poverty and social exclusion. That it is not a programmatic right, as is the case in the Spanish Constitution (art. 47), but an effective right, to be effectively fulfilled, is clear from the consolidated jurisprudence of the ECHR, which already has a long tradition in this area⁴, **although it was little known until now in countries such as Spain. The ratification of the CSER and the protocol on collective complaints has changed, or should have changed, the panorama, as UGT is trying to promote, based on its complaint on this matter**, which will be alluded to below.

Measures to ensure socially affordable decent housing are neither purely politically discretionary nor can they be unreasonably postponed over time.

⁴ Digest de Jurisprudence, Comité européen des droits sociaux, December 2006. p. 9. For the updated version of 2022 see <https://www.coe.int/fr/web/european-social-charter/-/version-actualis%C3%A9e-du-digest-de-jurisprudence-du-comit%C3%A9-europ%C3%A9en-des-droits-sociaux>.

The biggest problem with state policies and measures in favour of the right to decent housing for everyone, regardless of their socio-economic and employment situation, apart from their inadequacy, of course, is the enormous political discretion in their design and adoption. Assuming that it depends on large investments and non-immediate measures, because building houses does not happen overnight, all European legal systems have understood that the state cannot be obliged to a certain intensity and quality of its affordable housing policies for the population as a whole, the more so the greater the socio-economic and labour vulnerability. Again, the Spanish example is unequivocal. Even a law such as the current one, with the best of intentions, undoubtedly **sets its social housing commitments in the very long term (20 years) and according to formulas and investments at the whim of the political decision** of the moment, without being legally enforceable, coercive.

To be even more specific, I think it is illustrative to mention a more recent example in my country. In the first week of June of this year, a **Conference of Presidents** was held in Barcelona, between the Spanish Government and the presidencies of all the Autonomous Communities, including those of the Basque Country and, of course, the host community, Catalonia. One of the points to be discussed was the Spanish government's commitment to triple the budget for housing over the next five years, up to 7,000 million euros, in order to effectively fulfil **the commitment to create sufficient social housing** (*which in Spain is barely 3%, well below the European average of around 10%; here we are witnessing a major regression, because in Spain there has even been a social housing stock of 20%*). The government would pay 60 per cent and the Autonomous Regions 40 per cent.

Well, **the absolute political fiasco of the aforementioned Conference left investment and, therefore, compliance with this part of the law up in the air, , just as the measures to control rental prices in the most tense areas are still pending, due to the rejection** of this measure **by certain Autonomous Regions** (those governed by the party opposing the Government, which are now in the majority), as it seems inadequate to them. Most of the Autonomous Regions prefer to offer liberal recipes (liberalisation of land and more taxation in favour of private construction).

This fact, not at all anecdotal, but expressive of a general category of total non-compliance with the right to housing by Spain, clashes at the root with the jurisprudential body of the ECHR and, therefore, with the position of the Council of Europe. Hence the Spanish non-compliance, as before in other countries (France, Sweden, Italy, etc.), with Art. 31 CSER. The case law of the ECSRC not only requires the progressive and sufficient adoption of effective measures, but also that they be **adopted within "reasonable timeframes"**, i.e., as far as possible reduced according to the specific nature of the crisis and the situation of each vulnerable group. As in the cases of France, Sweden, Italy and Greece, among others, the ECHR requires that, without prejudice to the progressive and complex nature of the problem, and requiring a margin of discretion on the part of the States, these deadlines must be consistent with the scale of the problem, so that they are not permanently postponed or deferred over time.

The reluctance of states to respect these temporary commitments, because it means taking the right to adequate housing legally seriously. This creates a set of very clear and defined obligations that contrasts sharply with the logic of discretionary political determination and long-term, non-legally enforceable and non-judiciable commitments. The ECSHR requires that the national action plan establishes a series of priorities and verifiable and assessable measures aimed at preventing and removing the obstacles that hinder access to the fundamental social rights associated with decent housing, in order to comply with art. 31 CSER in relation to art. 30 or art. 19, or others, of the Social Charter (*Ana Manero Salvador, 2007; Giovvani Guiglia, 2011*).

Precisely, as recalled in the **decision on the merits of 11 September 2024 (collective complaint n. 206/2022⁵)**, published in February 2025, which condemns Spain, among other violations of art. 31.1 CSER, the right to decent housing is not a theoretical right but must be made effective in practice, without the complexity of its real satisfaction, for economic,

⁵ Decision on the merits: Defence for Children International (DCI), European Federation of National Organisations working with the Homeless (FEANTSA), Magistrats Européens pour la Démocratie et les Libertés (MEDEL), Confederación Sindical de Comisiones Obreras (CCOO) and International Movement ATD Fourth World v. Spain, Complaint No. 206/2022 <https://www.coe.int/en/web/european-social-charter/-/publication-of-the-decision-on-the-merits-in-dci-feantsa-medel-ccoo-et-atd-fourth-world-v.-spain-complaint-no.-206/2022>

technical or political reasons, being an excuse for non-compliance. In this sense, he recalls that any re-housing plan are not a viable solution, as they are due to be implemented by 2034, have not progressed and lack concreteness, and do not comply with the requirements of the Charter (...) (...)".

In short, for the jurisprudence of the ECSR, unlike national jurisprudence, the right to housing is a subjective right, both individual (art. 31) and family (art. 16), to be protected economically and socially, but also legally. And the evaluation is not only of the law, but also of the results of the policies.⁶

It is not necessary here to go into further detail on this jurisprudence, which is consolidated, although it is little known (e.g. *ECSR decision on the merits of 25 June 2010, complaint n. 58/2009, Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions -COHRE*⁷). The important thing to remember is its existence and the profound legal-social progress that it brings with it to effectively guarantee the right to decent housing as a legally enforceable human right, far ahead of national jurisprudence, including that of the ECtHR, always entrenched in positions of *self-restraint*. In contrast to the most widespread state conviction that these norms can never go beyond the political commitment of implementation programmes, progressive and according to budgetary availability, the ECSHR, in its legal progress, promotes control by means of legally objectified indicators.

However, given the resistance of ratifying states to compliance, there is also a need for a collective subject capable of promoting more effective actions to demand compliance, or

⁶ "the fact that the right to housing is stipulated under Article 31 of the Revised Charter, does not preclude consideration of relevant housing issues arising under Article 16 which addresses housing in the context of securing the right of families to social, legal and economic protection. In this context and with respect to families, Article 16 focuses on the right of families to an adequate supply of housing, on the need to take into account their needs in framing and implementing housing policies and ensuring that existing housing be of an adequate standard and include essential services".

⁷ More widely: ECSRC Decisions on the Merits in Collective Complaints: n. 15/2003 (European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC) v. Greece); n. 27/2004 (European Roma Rights Center (ERRC) v. Italy); n. 31/2005 (European Roma Rights Center (ERRC) v. Bulgaria); n. 44/2007 (International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights (IHF) v. Bulgaria); n. 46/2007 (European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC) v. Bulgaria); n. 48/2008 (European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC) v. Bulgaria); n. 49/2008 (International Centre for the Legal Protection of Human Rights (INTERIGHTS) v. Greece); n. 51/2008 (European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC) v. France); n. 58/2009 (Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE) v. Italy); n. 61/2010 (European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC) v. Portugal); n. 63/2010 (Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE) v. France); n. 64/2011 (European Roma and Travellers Forum (ERTF) v. France)

to reveal non-compliance and, therefore, the international responsibilities incurred by non-compliant states. Once again, as taught by the most prestigious jurists in Europe (Ihering, Ferrajoli), the achievement of a right requires struggle, action, because reality shows the constant violation, above all, of social rights. This is the case in Spain, not only in this case, but in general.

The need for a collective subject, such as class unionism, to demand, through collective and judicial action, the effective fulfilment of the right to decent housing as an inexorable social condition of a decent work society.

Precisely, aware of this new paradox, even contradiction in the European and Spanish legal system, the UGT made, once again in an absolutely pioneering and, we understand, courageous way, as no organisation had dared until now to rely on the legal enforceability of housing as a right, a collective claim before the ECSR. We sought to break away from this traditional understanding of the constitutional right as a mere political programme, alien to any effective legal control, **while social reality shows the lack of enjoyment of this right by hundreds of thousands of people, if not millions.** A substantive democratic society, based on the principles of the Social and Democratic Rule of Law, cannot remain impassive in the face of this strong contradiction, which undermines its most fundamental foundations and without which it would not be sustained, nor would the entire European social model.

Aware of this and breaking with a whole tradition of disbelief in the legal value of the right to housing, despite constitutional recognition ex art. 47 EC, the UGT filed collective complaint **No. 243/2024, Unión General de Trabajadores y Trabajadoras (UGT) v. Spain.** **The complaint was registered on 17 October 2024 and is still pending the admissibility procedure** (evidence of the growing slowness of the ECSR, incidentally, which is a serious obstacle to its practical usefulness, which it would be desirable to resolve). *It refers to Articles 16 (right of the family to social, legal and economic protection), 17 (right of children and young people to social, legal and economic protection), 19 (right of migrant workers and their families to protection and assistance), 30 (right to protection against poverty and social exclusion), 31 (right to housing) and E (non-discrimination) of the revised European Social Charter.*

The aim of the study is to demonstrate, in legal terms, how access to decent housing is not guaranteed, neither in the law on the right to housing nor in current practice, for a very significant part of the Spanish working population. The ineffectiveness of the right is even greater for the most vulnerable groups (young people, people on low incomes, immigrants), which would violate, in our opinion and in accordance with the consolidated jurisprudence of the ECHR, the legal provisions - rights and guarantees - of the aforementioned CSER. The facts of the problem are very clear, as was explained in the initial section, and our aim is to take this step from housing as an economic market lacking effective policies that socially condition its functioning, guaranteeing that it satisfies the human social right to affordable decent housing for all, to housing as a social market-institution, an effective guarantor of the right.

Measures are not only necessary, but urgent, in the short term, or at least within a more reasonable period of time than that established in Spanish law. Action must be taken now on the market, bringing to the surface the stock of empty homes in Spain, always respecting, of course, the rights of small homeowners, who in many cases have them as a supplement to their pensions and salaries. Effective rental price controls must also be established, without reducing supply, and, above all, thousands of social housing units must be promoted quickly.

Perhaps surprisingly, it is a trade union that takes this decisive step. So far this has not been the case, so it has been the civil society movement, through non-governmental or third sector organisations that have turned to the ECSHR to get their states to take housing policies and measures more seriously. In fact, we trade unions are not represented in the Spanish Housing Advisory Council. But, in our opinion, this is a novelty that takes on special significance today and constitutes a challenge that social class trade unionism such as that represented by UGT, or the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) cannot fail to address, due to the special institutional and social position that we have in the constitutional and international order, as our Constitution recognises (art. 7 and 28 EC), as well as the very functioning of the practical system of collective complaints of the ECSRC.

In this direction, the Economic and Social Council of the Kingdom of Spain, where the most representative employers' organisations and trade unions are represented, as well as the third sector of the economy, as a permanent consultative and social consultation body, is calling for more social housing to be built in order to be more effective in solving the serious housing problem. The aforementioned institution (*Memoria socioeconómica 2024*) has warned that the housing emergency is acting as a formidable "black hole" that is swallowing up a significant part of the great improvement in the economy, employment and social policies in Spain achieved in recent years, also due to trade union commitment and action, often with social dialogue and pacts with employers. Undoubtedly, in addition to improvements to the current housing law (although the Report has avoided entering into the debate, due to the recentness of the law and the absence of the necessary consensus), a new land law must be added. But, above all, it is necessary to create the necessary institutional and financial infrastructure **to build more than 850,000 social housing units, which are needed to bring us closer to the European average.**

It is not only a social problem, but also an economic one, affecting productivity levels and labour mobility conditions. Draghi competitiveness report.

At the international level, the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) is also committed in this direction. A chronic and severe situation of unaffordable housing can also end up affecting people's health and well-being, leads to great inequality in living conditions and opportunities and results in higher health costs, lower productivity and environmental damage. It should be recalled that, as highlighted in **Mario Draghi's Competitiveness Report**, housing is not only a social problem but also a key determinant of productivity and labour mobility. The housing crisis is exacerbating so-called "in-work poverty" for an increasing number of working people, as well as hindering any emancipation project for young people, even if they are in (even more precarious) employment.

As early as 2020, the European Economic and Social Committee (EESC) therefore adopted the opinion on "[Universal access to decent, sustainable and affordable housing in the long term](#)" and called for a European housing action plan, which has not been implemented. At

an EESC **conference**⁸ in Brussels (2024), a clear warning was issued: the housing crisis in Europe is worsening, leading to a series of side effects, including socio-occupational, as well as economic and comprehensive welfare losses. Trade unions must therefore encourage the EU institutions to put this challenge at the centre of EU policies.

However, on a realistic level, in accordance with what has already been said, the limits are obvious. Once again, therefore, it is necessary to appeal to the decisive role of the Council of Europe, through social dialogue, but also from the forceful judicial action, since the State Pacts demanded either do not arrive or take a long time. And the satisfaction of a fundamental right cannot wait.

5. Conclusions: Social class trade unionism as an active subject in the struggle for a decommodified right to housing in the light of the CSER.

In the light of the arguments developed in the previous pages, against the old and deep-rooted tradition of reducing the right to housing to pure utopia, to a vague programme of political compromise, we have proved:

- a) **that international legal instruments exist to intervene to protect the right to housing.**
From articles 16 and 31 of the CSER, with the serious jurisprudence of the ECtHR, this right is endowed with a content of effective guarantees of freedom (preservation of the right against evictions without just social cause, non-discrimination, etc.) and social guarantees (affordable prices) that are legally enforceable.
- b) **Due respect for human dignity**, which is the basis of all human rights, **calls on all of us, not only the public authorities, although they are the most concerned, to adopt an active position** in the most effective defence-struggle for the individual and family right to decent housing. In this proactive movement, class-based trade unionism must play a leading role.

⁸ Conference on Housing crisis in Europe - the way forward? EESC, **February 2024**



Until now, this prominence has been taken over by other types of social movements, which even assume the (formal, nominal) name of "trade unions", such as the so-called "tenants' unions". These organisations of the people affected by the housing emergency are not only gaining more and more media coverage, not only in social networks, but also in the general press, **with great influence**, but they even try to promote measures that they want to resemble, although they are not, clearly, similar. In fact, on more than one occasion they even talk about a **"renter-tenant strike"**, when, logically, these are actions that are prototypical of the exercise of the civil right to **demonstration and critical communication**. The aim is to press for a change in the model of regulation and management of housing, so that it ceases to be a purely economic market, and becomes a social market-institution, which prioritises the satisfaction of the right over the profitability of the economic interests around it.

In this growing logic of collective action, typical of "the social question", as opposed to the individual logic, typical of civil action, representative structures are created in such cases that appeal, once again, to trade union logic, such as **strike committees**, managed by "tenants' committees". In short, there is a very clear movement away from individual struggle, which is undoubtedly ineffective here, towards the collective action of civil self-organisation, for the moment not very effective, but which makes clear the need for collective action actors and movements. Of course, and without any intention of analysing either the theory of collective action or a specific critique of this mode of organising the struggle for the right to decent housing, what is indisputable is that we are facing a major socio-economic issue to which social class trade unionism cannot remain oblivious, and the UGT certainly is not in any way oblivious.

Hence the need to take steps to put at the service of this objective certain **internal socio-labour legal-collective instruments**, such as **social dialogue and consultation**. But also, collective bargaining, given the escalation of prices and the difficulties for a growing number of working people to access housing, because a job, even one that pays more than the minimum wage, is not enough for them to have access to housing.

In this sense, for example, in the hotel and catering sector and for certain areas where the housing market is under stress (buying and renting), these measures are already part of the



social benefits negotiated with the companies (as was once the case with other social action measures or retirement supplements through pension plans in the employment system). Companies see the lack of accommodation for workers as a risk for their activity, not only, but mainly, in the hotel and catering sector (high season) and activate solutions, negotiated on two sides (company and trade unions), or three sides, including the **Autonomous Regions** (e.g. agreements on land requalification, aid and new public housing to attract employees).

However, without persevering and fine-tuning this means of collective action, it is clear that it is the public authorities who must ensure that this right is satisfied, for all people and for all territories. Political discrepancies cannot be used as an excuse to justify the perpetuation of the social drama of housing, especially considering that **the escalation of housing prices would push the income of the Autonomous Regions to maximum levels. Institutional and political resistance must be corrected by appealing also to legal action, in order** to make the right practicable and reliable.

To this end, it is also necessary to criticise the current situation of the case law of the ECHR, whose legally binding nature, clearly established in the system of international treaties and the European Social Charter itself, has had considerable difficulties in establishing itself for a long time. Guarantees of an international nature will be possible if the national public authorities (executive, legislative and judicial) commit themselves to their implementation through domestic instruments, both in the short term (e.g. adjustment of rents to real rental capacity, public guarantees for the purchase of housing for socially vulnerable individuals and families, incentives for social renting) and in the medium term (e.g. reliable registers of vacant housing, etc.), and in the medium term (e.g. the creation of a social housing register, etc.), as well as in the medium term (e.g. the creation of a social housing register, etc.) as well as in the medium term (e.g. guaranteeing a minimum stock of social housing sufficient to cover the demand of those in most difficulty; guarantees of social protection for situations of housing crisis, avoiding evictions due to unaccountable non-payments, new laws).



For this, at least:

- State laws must include the legal commitments of the CSER and the case law of the ECSR, as is the case, for example, with the minimum wage, but not with other equally enforceable aspects (e.g. dismissal).
- The government must assume its obligation to do so, so that when it comes to establishing funding commitments and services that guarantee the fulfilment of the right, it does not do so outside of social dialogue or with deadlines that are so long as to be ineffective and not credible.
- National courts should also feel concerned by these jurisprudential decisions, correcting the scant interest they still show today in the CSER and, more worryingly, in the case law of the ECSR.
- Of course, the Council of Europe should speed up these procedures and facilitate the adoption of precautionary measures, in order to make them more useful.

Towards a social legal revolution through trade union action to fight for the right to housing in the Charter system: from the current "remercantilisation" to the "demercantilisation" due ex art. 31 CSER

In sum, the socially affordable housing emergency in Spain will not be resolved without a regulatory framework and a policy that ensures a programme of action or structural intervention, combining immediate solutions with fundamental reforms to guarantee fair and affordable access to housing. But such a programme, to be socially and legally reliable, must revolutionise the current view of this right, so that, being a human right, not a commodity, it is perceived as binding for legal, political and judicial action. The UGT hopes that the ECSR's decision on this matter, following its complaint, will achieve this qualitative leap, **from the current extreme remercantilisation**, as if it were just another economic commodity, **to the demercantilisation of the right** to housing (not dependent on people's economic capacity and employment situation, nor on their social status), as a social human right. We shall see.

Madrid 14th June 2025

