Educational Segregation in Spain, Episode Two: Gathering Signatures and Finding Support

Equity Spotlight Podcast Series

## TRANSCRIPTION

Federico:
This is Educational Segregation in Spain, Episode Two: Gathering Signatures and Finding Support.
[Transition music]

Welcome to our second episode of School Segregation in Spain. Do you remember last episode? We traveled all the way to the Basque Country to introduce the ILP project, an initiative started by Zubiak Eraikiz. Remember Zubiak Eraikiz? It meant "building bridges." This initiative in the Basque Country was to bring attention and to remediate school segregation in the Basque school system. We met Sabin and Gonzalo who ignited this conversation. We also learned about the history of education in Spain, and its dual system based on public schools and concertadas. Remember concertadas? Where those schools that were like private and public partnerships that started with the merchants of the democratic government in Spain? After Franco's, the dictator, regime?

Federico: We also learned about an increased immigration that have been experienced in Spain, particularly since the 2000s, with huge amounts of immigrants coming from Latin America, North Africa, and the Middle East.

So, what happened with this initiative? Did it stay only in the conversation between Sabin and Gonzalo or other members of Zubiak Eraikiz? What did they did [sic] afterwards? So, to help us out to understand what happened after this story, here is again our friend Sabin.
[Transition music]

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Sabin: We started with contact with different actors of the educational system, specifically the association of the—Como se dice—how do you say? AMPAs? AMPAs organization of the-

Federico: Yeah, the parent-teacher associations.

Sabin: Parent?

Federico: Parent-teacher association.

Sabin: Ah. In Spain, in the Basque Country is not with teachers. It's only parents.

Federico: Okay. So, it's the parent association of the school.

Sabin: $\quad$ The parents' associations. Yeah. Yes. The first contact started with the federation of parent's association of the—of the public—public schools. EIRE it's called, and with another organization that was the association of the directors of public schools. So, we spoke with both associations, and they considered it was interesting to promote a debate. Not just a debate in the association, but a debate in the institution, no? In our platform we were considering the instrument of-of an initiative-social legislative initiative. That is the institutional opportunity to collect signatures and to promote a debate in the parliament.

Federico: So, you wanted to take the issue to the Basque Parliament.

Sabin: Yeah.

Federico: And for that you need to gather signatures?

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Yeah. Yeah. In the case of the Basque Parliament, it's about 10,000 signatures. In the association we were considering this instrument-this legislative instrument and we considered that it was a good instrument to promote social debate about the school segregation. To concrete a few-concrete a few legislative articles about against school segregation, and to collect signatures to promote a debate. Not just a debate in the association, but a debate in the parliament, no? Both on different social and political and unions and different actors.
[Transition music]

Federico: So according to the Basque legislation, civil groups or organizations can present an issue to the Basque Parliament. To do so, they need to gather 10,000 signatures. Once these signatures are collected, the issue can be presented to the Parliament. After hearing the initiative, the Basque Parliament votes and decides whether the issue will be taken up as a Parliament debate and an issue to address.

Federico: An interesting fact of this political process is that if the Basque Parliament agrees to take up the issue, the organization or group who brought the concern is reimbursed by the Basque State the entire cost of the social campaign. But they need to gather 10,000 signatures. To gather 10,000 signatures, the ILP needed to gather support from major organizations related to education, and to gather support from organizations they need to have data and facts about school segregation in the Basque countries. In other words, they need to have evidence to go and tell people, "Hey, this is a problem. Look at how big is this problem." So, they brought Pablo to the team.
[Transition music]

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Pablo: Hello, my name is Pablo Rey Mazón, and I participate, I coordinate projects in Montera34, and I participated in this ILP project about school segregation in the Basque Country, developing all the visualizations and data analysis.
[Transition music]

Federico: Pablo work in this non-profit called Montera, dedicated to government transparency and open-data initiatives. He knew Sabin from other social initiatives they have worked together in the past. The job-this job of the ILP resonated with him because he has two kids in public schools, and he's been always concerned about equity issues in public schools. Pablo is also the president of the parent association of the school his children attend. Full disclosure: my five- and seven-year-old goes to that school, and that's the reason I know Pablo. Let's listen to Pablo so he can tell us a little bit about the report.
[Transition music]

Pablo: We went from a European perspective, to Spanish, and to the Basque Country perspective just to-in order to give some overview and to give context to the situation in the Basque Country. The thing is, I didn't have to make the research for the data that came from-that sometimes-in most of the projects is part ofmost of the project is to start searching, researching where are the data. In this case it was Sabin, or maybe the other team, but the person who I was interacting with was Sabin, provided the data, so I have to think in ways of representing them.

Pablo: The more general ones, like for the Spain and for Europe, were simple bar charts. We made them better. We thought they were better than the ones that existed. But when we went in detail to the data for the Basque Country, we could start making new kind of stuff because of graphics to show the-how the school segregation-

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the seperation between the private or semi-private or public school was visible. There, we could make some more different visualizations and more.

Pablo: With that, we came to this-l think it was the more interesting visualization, was to compare scholarships because we didn't have measures of the people, migrants or people from different-from sociocultural economic perspective for this data. What we used-it was a proxy of the people with a scholarship for school material for the...how do you call the comedor? The food.

## Federico: Yeah.

Pablo: For-well, they have lunch in the school. Some people have scholarships for that. Also, we have another proxy of the foreigners. All of them we knew it was just a proxy. It was not the real data we wanted. We would-we would like better to have the real data with the socioeconomic structure of the people, but we didn't, so we used this proxy. And we had the data for the public schools and for the private and semiprivate, what we call here the concertados.
[Transition music]

Federico: So, Pablo used existing data from reports, but created better visuals that can tell a better story. In other words, he was using the same story elements out there in reports to create a better narrative for the reader. He had to use some proxies as some data was not available. He used, for example, what we call here in the US "students receiving free and reduced lunch" as proxy for socioeconomic status, and data on non-Spanish citizens or foreigners as proxy for immigration status. This latter one-this latter group can encompass a vast diversity of experience, right? Could be foreigners. Could be someone who came from Germany, France or Italy or Poland to work here in Spain. It could be people from South America. It

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could be people from Northern Africa or the Middle East that came here to find a better life, and a better economic opportunity. So, we should be careful what we interpret of result.

Federico: What did the report actually included [sic]? The report show a number of easy-todigest visuals describing the extent of school segregation in the Basque Country and the difference between concertadas, those public and private partnerships, and public schools. And the difference between them in serving low-income and immigrant students. Here are some highlights the report described by Pablo.
[Transition music]

Pablo: This case, it was a confirmation of seeing that private or semiprivate schools had less-less-less people with scholarships, and less people that are foreigners. So, it was confirming what we were expecting, but as when anyone working with data, you want more. So, you have this first research, and you say, "Well maybe it's a problem of how these areas, these zones have been designed," or maybe there's more difference among the different, you know-that in the private or semiprivate schools here, there are different networks. The Christian ones, the ikastolas they're more related to the Basque language and the Basque nationalnationalism, so maybe there's, there's more, but we don't have good enough data to do that.

Federico: Yeah, because the data on concertadas you have, grouped-it grouped ikastolas with traditional Catholic concertadas, right?

Pablo: Yes. Yeah. That's it.

Federico: Okay.
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Pablo: We know there are difference, and we know that some people talk about specific cases, like for example in the neighborhood of Deusto in Bilbao. There are two public schools. and one that-and they are both public. They're-I don't know how many meters apart, but one has much more migrants than the other. And this other that has less migrants is more-more Basque oriented, I don't know how to say that in English, because it comes from a former ikastola. The ikastola were those concerned that the semiprivate schools were promoting the Basque language. Some of them I think in the '80s were, it's called publified [sic]. They converted from private to public.

Federico: Yeah.

Pablo: But there is this traditional or this cultural thing of a place. Even if both are public, they have different people, or different kind of teachers and whatever. Even if both are in the same system and both are public.
[Transition music]

Federico: So, let me expand on Pablo's description of the results of the report. By the way, you should find a link of the report and other interesting links about the case in the page of this podcast, so check it out. It's pretty cool.

So, the report shows that the Basque Country has the largest percentage of students attending to escuelas concertadas, these public-private partnerships. But not just in Spain. Actually, in the entire Europe, only second to Belgium, almost $50 \%$ of all students from early childhood to high school attend to a concertada. To give you some comparison, in the US only 7\% of students attend to a charter school, which are similar to concertadas, according to the National Center of Educational Statistics with data from 2018. So let me tell you again, in the Basque

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Country, $50 \%$ of students attend to this private-public partnerships of all the public network; in the US, only 7\%.

Federico: Another interesting fact is that around 10\% of students in the public network are immigrant students. To give you a comparison, in the US that percent just 23\%. Twenty three percent of all public-school students in the West come from an immigrant household. In the Basque country, only $10 \%$. So, $10 \%$ attends to the public network, but in the concertadas network only $5 \%$. If we look just at iskatolas, those type of schools that are considered concertadas but they are not Catholic, they're just focused on promoting and teaching the Basque language, it's only $2.5 \%$. So, the public neighbor almost double the total of the percentage of immigrant students from-if you compare it to concertadas, and almost quadruple if you compare it with ikastolas, those that promote the Basque language. Again, I will expand a little more on ikastolas just a little bit. Just hold for a minute.

Federico: But remember this. Remember this about immigrant students, when we talk about immigrant students in this report, is that it's a very vast and diverse and eclectic group. As I say, it could be people from wealthy parts of Europe like Germany, France. It could be also people from South America-coming from South America. People from Northern Africa. Could be people from the Middle East. Immigrant families that came to the Basque country. That needs to be taken into account when we think about that.

Federico:
Then we need to look at issues of low-income students that, as Pablo says, they were using the proxy of students who receive free lunch services. Those students account for $39 \%$ in the concertadas, but $61 \%$ in the public network. So again, a significant difference, which may indicate some issues of school segregation.

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Federico: The report goes into more details about those differences-how those differences played out in the different school zones, or school districts in the Basque Country. Yes, there are some nuances and differences across school zones, but the general patterns still hold: public school enrolls higher proportions of immigrants and low-income students than those concertadas, those private-public partnerships.

It could signal some potential causes for school segregation, but as we will learn in the next episode, this explanation is not as simple, as clear cut as one may think. For now, let's just stay with this info: the ILP initiative reported and emphasized the differences in students who are immigrant or low income between the different networks. This is what we use-what they use to begin to gain support from different political parties and from the general audience and population in the Basque Country. I think this is a good time to contextualize school segregation in the Basque Country with the rest of Spain, and other countries in the world, to have some sort of barometer to compare-to compare. To do that, I'm going to ask to someone to help us out.
[Transition music]

Lucas:
Hello, I'm Lucas Gortazar. I work as a Director of Education at the think tank EsadeEcPol, and I also work as an Education Consultant at the World Bank where I've been working for the last 10 years, in more than 20 countries. I am a mathematician, an economist trained at the Basque Country University in Bilbao.
[Transition music]

Federico: I met Lucas through Gonzalo and Sabin. Lucas was one of those experts that was called upon by Gonzalo and Sabin when they were creating these seminars to

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educate people in the Basque Country about school segregation. Lucas works, lives in Madrid, but he's originally from the Basque Country. He's actually originally from Bilbao. As he mentioned, he worked for the World Bank, and he has conducted several reports on school segregation with the global perspective, looking at different countries and how they're doing in that regard. So, I asked him to talk about the extent of segregation-school segregation in Spain, and how it compares to other places.
[Transition music]

Federico:

Lucas: Yeah. So, I guess we need to give a bit of context before we move on into-into diagnosis. We need some definition, some basic, common understanding and common ground. I would say there are-there are-there's two layers here. First is level of education, primary, secondary. Second is the type of segregation we're talking about. When it comes to socioeconomic segregation, it's a bit different than when it comes to migrant origin or ethnic segregation. There's not much analysis regarding racial segregation in Spain, for reasons you can understand, but on the other two, what we can say is that segregation is higher in primary compared to secondary, and it's-it's high relative to other countries. It's average in secondary, it's high in primary.

Lucas: Then when it comes to the type of segregation, segregation is higher in socioeconomic terms than when it comes to immigrant origin, but immigration is better included at schools. Immigrant population or population from immigrant origin, like second-generation immigrants born in Spain and Spanish citizens, are

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more included in Spanish schools with native-origin students relative to other countries. So, that would be the picture.

Lucas:

Federico:
Could you compare the extent of school segregation in Spain with the US? Do you have any barometer like we see it's—it's more severe or less severe?

Lucas: Yeah, it's so complex when it comes to mixing different indicators in different regions, and taking the whole country as a unit of measurement. I think with PISSA, the US has a smaller segregation in terms of socioeconomic status compared to Spain. I would need to check in terms of immigrant origin, but when it comes to looking within the US, you have states which have super-high segregation, and that segregation, of course, is a phenomenon tightly related to the racial issue in the US. So, we don't measure racial segregation in Spain, but of course, racial segregation in the US is probably at the heart of the discussion.
[Transition music]

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Federico: So, Lucas told us that school segregation in Spain exists and it's a problem, and that it's higher in the primary grades and in terms of socioeconomic status. Actually, if we look at just primary grades in terms of socioeconomic status, school segregation in Spain is one of the highest in all Europe, only behind Lithuania and Turkey, and even comparable to some South American countries with very high levels of school segregation due to class, socioeconomic status.

In terms of immigration, in terms of school segregation in relation to immigration, actually Spain, it's either similar to the mean of other European countries in the elementary level, and even lower in the secondary level. But there is one exception in terms of immigration in Spain-and that is the Basque Country, which is interesting because we were talking that there were very low percentage of immigrants in the Basque Country, even compared to the US.

Federico: So, beginning to wonder if these language models had something to do with this. Remember those three models of instruction of the Basque Country that we discussed before? They have the Model A which was just instruction in Spanish, the Model B which is a mixture between Spanish and Basque, and Model D which was only Basque language. I wonder if this has anything to do, but I will leave this question pending for the next episodes. We'll talk in ikastolas-about ikastolas in a few minutes, which may shed some light on this issue.

Federico: Bottom line: school segregation in the Basque Country is a fact. The ILP was into something concrete, and they began to gather signatures. They began to collect support. Gonzalo tell us the ways that they collected signatures.
[Gonzalo and Federico converse in Spanish]

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Federico: Gonzalo and Sabin told me that the signature collection lasted for about three to four months. They had booth in fairs, in major street in taxations, they moved through parental and teacher organizations to also get signatures. They were also able to collect signatures online, and this was the first time in ILP, and legislative initiative, collect the signatures online in the history of the Basque Country.

Federico: Gonzalo told me they even had ads in major radio stations, and they were featuring numerous newspapers in the Basque Country with headlines like "Euskadi Moves to Stop School Segregation." By the way, Euskadi, it's the Basque word for the Basque Country. Or other titles, like "Presenting Legislative Initiative to End School Segregation" in Cadena SER, one of the major radio and media outlets in Spain. But still, some organizations and political parties were not fond of the initiative for different reasons. Sabin explains this.
[Transition music]

Sabin: In the case of [LAP], they explained two main explanations. What was that in our test, we were considering that there was the public schools and the schools concertadas. So that the private school, that they receive public funding. They consider that it was not a good analyze because they consider that in the private, it's necessary to differentiate the-all the private that receive funding, and specifically some of them that is-are called ikastolas. Ikastolas, that it was a movement in favor of the Basque language years ago, and they consider that we cannot put all of them in the same group, no? Basically-Basically, in the Basque Country, the heart of the system is private with public funding that is the concertadas, we call them here in our educational system. Most of them are religious, most of them, could be more than the half of the privates are religious. The other, some of them are not religious but are private cooperative, so parents or different initiative and some of them have this movement that they form is a

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school cooperative, and they are in the movement in favor of the Basque language.

Sabin: By the way, we have to consider the Basque language is taught too in the public system. But that was one of the reasons, that because they didn't-they told us that they were not in-the other reason was that in our proposal, there was not the defense of a unique linguistic model for all the public-educational system of the Basque Country, with all the subjects in Basque. Only Basque. Nowadays in the Basque system there are different linguistical options. You can study all in Basque, with Spanish subject, as language Spanish. You can study only in Spanish with the Basque subject, just the language. And after, there is a system that is half and half. They consider that because in our initiative, it was not only in favor of the only in Basque system. These were the two main reason to not support the initiative, yeah.
[Transition music]

Federico: The two major teacher unions did not support the initiative or the gathering of signatures due to language politics. They didn't support it because first, the initiative was grouping ikastolas and Catholic schools together under the level of concertadas, and the initiative was emphasizing the role of these concertadas in segregating schools. And second, the teacher unions did not support the initiatives because the initiative was not proposing as a solution having all schools to teach $100 \%$ in Basque, in Euskara. The rational for that is that if you have all classrooms teaching in Euskara, you don't have other tracks where segregation could happen. For example, those other two models that I mentioned earlier: the Model A, which is just in Spanish, which there are a lot of immigrant students particular for South America, and Model B , which is a mix between Spanish and Basque.

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Federico: So, why did the teacher unions were so protective of ikastolas? Why didn't they want to group them with Catholic schools and blend a little bit about for school segregation? Here's when we need to stop for a minute and understand the history of ikastolas and language politics in the Basque Country. I think I'd mentioned before that we will get to this point. This is the time where we do it.

Federico: So, during Franco's years, the Basque language was outcast from public institutions and schools. Franco, after all, was a nationalistic dictator that wanted to unify Spain within the same language. They didn't want split cultures around the country, which of course, this was the intention with the Basque unique culture and the desires for autonomy. The schools were instructed fully in Spanish during Franco, and they didn't let schools or people to teach Euskara.

Federico: Ikastolas were born, were raised as small pockets of resistance at that moment. There were small local initiatives created by local communities, creating their own school to instruct in Euskara to be able to conserve the language. This was a very underground, in many cases, operation. But when democracy came about and the Basque Country took the reins of its own education system, ikastolas were brought into the public umbrella. They were the model to follow, but they remain as private institutions that offer free education: a concertada.

Federico: This is very interesting because also due to the abolishment of the Basque language, Euskara, during the Franco's year, some generations of Basque do not speak the language at all because they grew during Franco's years. So, think about this: the Basque, Euskara, is the predominant language of instruction, but it's still the minority language in the everyday practice. So, language politics here are very important because they're trying to push Euskara to become again the main language in Euskadi, in the Basque land. This is very interesting because

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many parents who send their children to be instructed fully in Euskara, themselves, the parents do not speak Euskara.

Federico: So, my daughter, for example, goes to a classroom that teaches fully in Euskara. Of course, I don't speak Euskara. It's actually a pretty hard language to learn. There's a lot of parents there, some who are not from the Basque country, but someone who are, who did not speak Euskara either. This is kind of the background of the language politics, and why there's so much protection for the Basque language and for ikastolas. Here, there is another interesting issue about ikastolas that Gonzalo told us about.
[Transition music]
[Gonzalo and Federico converse in Spanish]

Federico: Gonzalo told me that most iskatolas have become cooperatives, which though they do not charge tuition because they're supposed to be public, they're subsidized by the government, parents still need to pay their dues for being members of the cooperative. Most of the students enrolled in ikastolas now come from upper middle class Basque families. In a sense, ikastolas has become the school for the bourgeoisie of the Basque Country, of families of middle-class and upper middle-class families that have a strong emphasis on conserving Euskara. Though, still the public schools there is the Modelo B that the kids can teach Euskara, but some families prefer the iskatola. And therefore, they have a minimal enrollment of students from low socioeconomic or immigrant status.

Federico: Remember that report from Pablo? It showed that while immigrant students compose 9\% of the total school enrollment in the traditional public schools, they

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Equity Spotlight Podcast Series Federico Waitoller, Ph.D., MAP Center Equity Fellow - Illinois only compose $2.4 \%$ in ikastolas. Even Catholic concertadas are a larger share of immigrant students and students from low socioeconomic status, but about 6\%.

Federico: So, iskatolas may be contributing to this issue of school segregation, even though they had been born, they been created as a way to resist and sustain an injustice, which was the prohibition of the Basque language. So here we have an interesting issue, right? We have a just-an emancipatory initiative like the ikastolas, that in the time of Franco came as a way of resistance to sustain and contribute to preserve the Basque language and Basque culture against a dictatorship. Over time, they have become a school for the bourgeoisie and contributing to school segregation. Now, we're going to go back to our story now, and we need to figure out if at all this end of signature collection, the ILP was able to collect 10,000 signatures or not.

## [Transition music]

Federico: At the end of the signature collection, the ILP was not able to collect 10,000 signature. They collected 17,000 signatures. And even better, some political parties pledged their support to them here. Here again, Sabin tell us a little bit about it.
[Transition music]

Sabin: We received, at the beginning, the support of three political parties. Bildu, that is the left, nationalist, independent political party in the Basque Parliament. Socialist party, that is the party that, at the moment, is governing in the central government of Spain, socialist party. And Elkarrekin Podemos, that is the party who is in coalition with the socialist party in the state, but was the federations of the Basque Country, the socialist party of the Basque Country. Elkarrekin Podemos, that is

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Unidas Podemos of the Basque country with Bildu. At the beginning, the threethese three left parties supported the campaign.
[Transition music]

Federico: So, the initiative was able to collect 17,000 signatures, which by the way, Gonzalo was actually disappointed. He thought they would get many more signatures, like 50,000, he told me, but he thought because they were not backed up, supported by some of these major national teacher unions they didn't get to that goal. But anyway, they got to 17,000 , more than 15 . They were able to move on and present to the Basque Parliament, and they were-they received the support of three major political parties that Sabin mentioned.

Federico: I'm going to review them to you, so you understand the politics better. One was the PSOE, which was the socialist party. It's the center left party, but it's the nationalist party who is currently in power in Spain. It's the ones who have the presidency.

Podemos, which is another left party that it's also co-governing with the PSOE, the socialist party, but it's a little more leaning to the left, and also is represented in the Basque parliament.

And Bildu. Bildu is also a left party, but it's only in the Basque region. It's a nationalist party. That means that push from much more or stronger autonomy in the Basque Country.

Federico: Those three supported them. The ones who didn't support them were two other major parties. The PNV, which is the nationalist Basque party. Though this is a center right party who has been in power in Euskadi, so the president of the autonomous region of the Basque Country is from the PNV, and they've been in

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The other party was the PP, which is the national-I mean Spain, center right party that also in some points in Spain has been in power governing the country. So, those three parties, again, PSOE, the socialist party, Podemos and Bildu were supporting them, at least for now.

Federico: Things were looking pretty good. Think about this, they were able, again, to collect the signatures and find the support of three major parties, and even Gonzalo told us that these parties and representatives, when they were holding press conferences, they would be standing behind them supporting when they were talking to the press. So, things were looking good. Things were looking good for the initiative, at least for now.
[Transition music]

Federico: Next episode, we continue to follow the ILP to see if they succeed when they present in the Parliament. Also, we delve into the solutions they propose to eliminate school segregation in the Basque Country. We also will compare those to what the experts says on school segregation in Spain, and what other autonomists have tried out to mitigate school segregation in Spain. All that and much more in our next episode of School Segregation in Spain.

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[End of Audio]


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