



SCHOOL SEGREGATION OF ROMANI STUDENTS IN SPAIN

Research report of a study conducted in four selected locations

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Table of Contents

1. Introduction
2. Executive summary
3. Methodology
4. Legislative and policy framework
 - 4.1. National legislation
 - 4.2. Regional legislation
 - 4.3. Policies
5. Data on education of Romani population
6. Results obtained through the sampling method and analysis of the overrepresentation of Roma in specific schools in four locations in Spain
 - 6.1. Barcelona
 - 6.1.1. Gornal neighbourhood
 - 6.1.2. Sant Roc neighbourhood
 - 6.1.3. Sant Cosme y Sant Damián neighbourhoods
 - 6.2. Cordoba
 - 6.2.1. Calle Torremolinos area
 - 6.2.2. Guadalquivir polygon
 - 6.3. Madrid:
 - 6.3.1. Puente de Vallecas
 - 6.3.2. Vicálvaro area
 - 6.3.3. Villaverde area
 - 6.4. Badajoz
 - 6.4.1. Central area: Casco Histórico
 - 6.4.2. Los Colorines neighbourhood
 - 6.4.3. Las Malvinas neighbourhood
7. Causes
8. Measures and recommendations
9. Bibliography

1. Introduction

School segregation refers to the high concentration and higher percentage of students belonging to a particular group in particular schools or classrooms above the representation of that group taking as reference either the representation of that group at national level and/or the representation of that group, as compared to other schools in the same area or classrooms in the same school.¹ This phenomenon in all cases combined with inadequate education is a reality for Romani children in many European countries. The consequences are devastating, as school segregation deprives these children, who come from disadvantaged backgrounds, from accessing the tools needed to escape poverty and perpetuates the marginalisation that a large percentage of Roma experience.

The **Kamira Federation of Romani Women's Associations**² (and its federated association, the **Panyabi Women's Association**) and the **Mario Maya Foundation**,³ with financing from the **European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC)**,⁴ wanted to study the issue of educational segregation of Romani children in Spain, with the objective of assessing the characteristics of the problem, raising awareness and working towards solutions to help mitigate or resolve this situation.

With respect to the phenomenon of school segregation, the European Court of Human Rights has delivered rulings against the Czech Republic,⁵ Greece⁶ and Croatia,⁷ finding that discrimination towards Romani children exists in the field of education, as these children cannot access this right under the same conditions as the rest of the population. Thomas Hammarberg of the Human Rights Commission of the Council of Europe specified that it is not only unacceptable that Romani children are not provided the same quality of education that other students receive, but it is also illegal. He further specified that European countries must allocate sufficient resources in order to provide quality education under the same conditions to Romani children, they must actively promote mixed classrooms (not Roma-only classrooms), and stressed the need to collect data and statistics in order to evaluate whether or not progress is being made.⁸ Furthermore, school segregation is one of the issues tackled by Mr Hammarberg in his letter to the Ministry of Health after his visit to Spain in 2011. In a recent report, the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) reviewed progress made in Spain, yet also expressed its concern over the existence of "ghetto" schools, whose students are mostly Roma and immigrants.⁹ The report on Spain before the Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) reviews measures for preventing school segregation as regards the immigrant population, but makes no reference to the Romani population.¹⁰

¹ School segregation basically refers to the concentration of a high number of socially disadvantaged children in particular schools at rates higher than those found in other schools located in the same area. According to Benito, R. And González, I. "a segregated school system is one that is approaching a state of intraschool social homogeneity and interschool social heterogeneity, or a school system with a homogenous student profile within schools and heterogeneous student profiles among schools". Benito, R. y González, I. *Processos de segregació escolar a Catalunya* (2007). *Polítiques 59.FundacióJaumeBofill*: Editorial Mediterrània.

² The **Kamira Federation of Romani Women's Associations** is a non-profit organization created in 1999 to improve the situation of Romani women in our society. Since its inception, the organization has promoted the association of Romani women of different ages in different parts of Spain so that we can have a voice in the country on matters that concern us. Today the Federation is composed of 20 associations (1,500 members). More information available at: <http://federacionkamira.org.es>

³ The **Mario Maya Foundation** was created in 2009 with the purpose of preserving the legacy of the great dancer and choreographer, transmit his particular ability to combine tradition and modernity, to promote the Roma community and, ultimately, try to convey to the later generations his life and his work. More information available at: <http://fundacionmariomaya.com>

⁴ More information available at: www.errc.org

⁵ ECtHR, *D.H. and Others v. the Czech Republic*, Application no. 57325/00, 13 November 2007.

⁶ ECtHR, *Sampanis and Others v Greece*, Application no. 32526/05, 5 June 2008.

⁷ ECtHR, *Oršuš and Others v. Croatia*, Application no. 15766/03, 16 March 2010.

⁸ Tomas Hammeberg European Conference on Roma Education "*Education and training of Roma children and youth: the way forward*"; Bratislava, 9 April 2008. Furthermore, school segregation is one of the issues tackled by Mr Hammarberg in his letter to the Ministry of Health after his visit to Spain in 2011. See: <https://wcd.coe.int/com.instranet.InstraServlet?command=com.instranet.CmdBlobGet&InstranetImage=1967251&SecM ode=1&DocId=1746268&Usage=2>

⁹ European Commission against Racism and Intolerance, *Report on Spain*, 8 February 2011, available at: <http://www.coe.int/t/dgh/monitoring/ecri/Country-by-country/Spain/ESP-CBC-IV-2011-004-ENG.pdf>.

¹⁰ Report of the Spanish State for the Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, 2 November 2009, available at: <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cerd/cerds78.htm>.

2. Executive Summary

The purpose of this report is to find out whether there are schools in which Romani students are overrepresented at higher rates than the proportion of Roma living not only in the country (1.4%) but also in a particular neighbourhood. This results in the concentration of Romani students above the rate of Romani students in other schools located in the same area and would constitute school segregation of Romani children. The research results showed that educational segregation also takes place within schools: in some classrooms the majority of the students are Roma while in others there are very few or none.

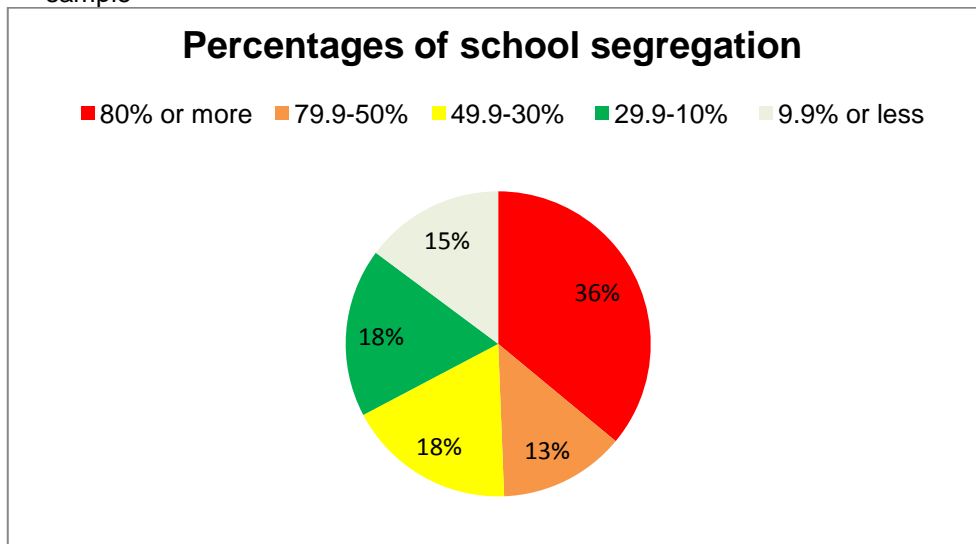
This report focuses on school segregation in Spain and represents the first document to put together evidence on this issue specifically with a focus on Roma population. The research was conducted in four cities and was made possible primarily by the willingness of a number of schools, or the people who work in schools, to share information about the representation of Romani students. Therefore it cannot be considered a representative sample. However, newspaper articles and information from activists and education professionals working in different parts of Spain indicate that the situation represented in this report is a reality in many other cities.

The results obtained are as follows:

25 of the 28 schools visited are public schools and three are charter schools. Of the three charter schools visited, the percentage of Romani students in one of them is 85%. Of the 28 schools visited 23 provided specific estimates of the representation of Roma among its student population.

According to a study the Romani population is about 666,000 in Spain, which is 1.4% of the total population.¹¹ The areas visited where schools are located have high percentages of Roma, but never above 50% of the total population. In all neighbourhoods visited, we observed schools in which the percentage of Romani students is much higher than the percentage of Roma living in the neighbourhood.

Figure 1: percentage of educational segregation in the schools of the research sample



¹¹ Fundación Secretariado Gitano, *Mapa sobre Vivienda y Comunidad Gitana en España*, Madrid 2007, available at: www.gitanos.org/publicaciones/mapavivienda/

In 8 out of the 23 schools (36%) Romani students constitute over 80% of the total student population (this is the case in Barcelona, Cordoba, and Badajoz, but not in Madrid). In half of these schools Romani students constitute over 95% of the student population.

In 3 out of the 23 schools (13%) Romani students constitute between 79.9 and 50% of the total student population (schools located in Cordoba, Madrid and Badajoz).

In 4 out of the 23 schools (18%) Romani students constitute between 49.9 and 30% of the total student population (schools located in Cordoba, Madrid and Badajoz).

In 4 out of the 23 (18%) schools Romani students constitute between 29.9 and 10% of the total student population (schools located in Cordoba, Madrid and Badajoz)

In 4 out of the 23 schools (15%) Romani students constitute less than 9.9% of the total student population (schools located in Cordoba, Madrid and Badajoz).

Table1: Percentages of school segregation found in the research sample

Schools visited	Locations	% of Roma in the school	% of Roma in the neighbourhood
Colegio el Gornal	Barcelona	98	15
Lestonnac	Barcelona	85	40-50
JosepBoada	Barcelona	85	40-50
S. Cosme y S. Damián	Barcelona	99	15-20
Doctor Trueta	Barcelona	100	15-20
Albolafia	Cordoba	98	30-40
Jerónimo Luis de Cabrera	Cordoba	11	30-40
Federico Garcia Lorca	Cordoba	75	30-40
Gloria Fuertes	Cordoba	30	30-40
Averroes	Cordoba	1	30-40
Guadalquivir	Madrid	80	30-40
Concha Espina	Madrid	28	20-30
Aragón	Madrid	38	20-30
Asturias	Madrid	16	20-30
Santa Eugenia	Madrid	2	20-30
Villa De Vallecas	Madrid	6	20-30
Valdebernardo	Madrid	30 ¹²	15-20
Villa Blanca	Madrid	13	15-20
S. Roque	Madrid	47 ¹³	15-20
Colegio San Pedro Alcántara	Badajoz	95	15-20
Colegio Santa Engracia	Badajoz	70	15-20
JesúsObrero	Badajoz	5	
Colegio Manuel Pacheco	Badajoz	40	30-40

Legend:

80% or more
79.9-50%
49.9-30%
29.9-10%
White: 9.9% or less

¹² The remaining students are of immigrant origin.

¹³ The remaining students are of immigrant origin.

Eleven neighbourhoods were visited. In two of them, Sant Roc (Barcelona) and Las Malvinas (Badajoz), the percentage of Roma within the population was 50%; in Calle Torremolinos, and Polygon Guadalquivir (both in Córdoba) the Romani population is about 30 - 40%; in Puente de Vallecas it is 30%; in 5 neighbourhoods the population is between 15-20% (The Gornal, Sant Cosme and Sant Damian neighbourhood in Barcelona, Vicálvaro area in Madrid and Central Area: Casco Histórico and The Colorines neighbourhood in Badajoz). Data for the Romani population in Villaverde (Badajoz) was not found.

No reasonable explanation was found to justify the higher representation of Roma in a specific school, above the percentage of Roma living in the neighbourhood. From this we can conclude that clear examples of school segregation were found in all researched locations.

For the Spanish government, education has been a key issue in achieving the social inclusion of Roma. Efforts have been made to increase the level of schooling of Romani students and to lower the level of school absenteeism. In recent years there have been significant improvements in the level of schooling for students of Romani ethnicity. However, on the issue of school segregation no specific efforts have been made. In fact, the Spanish government did not include this issue as one of the objectives in the National Strategy for Integration of Roma 2012-2020, despite the request made by civil society.

The law dealing with education at the national level is the Ley Orgánica de Educación (Organic Education Law or LOE),¹⁴ which includes measures for achieving equality and compensating for inequalities in education. However, it makes no explicit mention of the issue of school segregation. In Spain, authority over educational issues is transferred to the Autonomous Communities. Therefore, they have the responsibility to enforce regulations relating to school enrolment. No law, polices at the national or regional level contains specific measures to prevent school segregation of Roma. However, there are examples of measures to reduce school segregation among the immigrant population such as the Integral Strategy Against Racism and Intolerance (2011).¹⁵ Moreover, the Catalanian ombudsmen has published a report on school segregation of the immigrant population in Catalonia.¹⁶

School segregation should be tackled at the level of educational policy. Furthermore, there is a need to raise awareness among government representatives working in the area of education. Specifically, the following steps should be taken:

- **Research** should be carried out to determine the extent of the problem.
- Specific measures should be created to establish a **balanced distribution of students during the enrolment process** to avoid segregation or overrepresentation of Romani students. A step by step process should be set up to distribute students in the area to avoid concentrating Roma in a particular educational institution by reviewing the areas of influence and the enrolment criteria.
- Ghetto schools should be provided **additional support in the form of projects such as the "learning communities"** which have already provided positive results.¹⁷

¹⁴ Available in Spanish at: Organic Law 2/2006 of 3 May on Education (LOE), available in Spanish at: http://noticias.juridicas.com/base_datos/Admin/lo2-2006.html

¹⁵ Ministry of Labour and Immigration, *Integral Strategy Against Racism and Intolerance* (2011), available in Spanish at: <http://www.oberaxe.es/files/datos/4ee5ba982ebe3/ESTRATEGIA-LINEA%20INTERACTIVO%208-12-2011.pdf>.

¹⁶ Special Report on School Segregation of the Immigrant Population in Catalonia (2008) available in Spanish at: www.terrassa.cat/files/9-4137-fichero/Sindic-Segregacio_escolar_08.pdf

¹⁷ For more information please see Includ-ED Project website at: <http://www.ub.edu/includ-ed/about.htm>

3. Methodology

The objective of this research is to gather data about specific instances of school segregation affecting Roma in four different cities of Spain (Barcelona, Badajoz, Córdoba and Madrid). To understand the extent of this issue on the national level, further research is needed. However, information provided by activists indicates that the findings of this research are not specific to the four research locations.

The target group of this research was defined as Roma who have been living in Spain for several generations. Roma are defined as people who consider themselves to be Roma or who are perceived as Roma by others. Roma who do not have long-term roots in Spain (migrant Roma) are not included in the scope of this research.

As explained above, segregation is manifested when the proportion of Romani children in a school is higher than either the proportion of Roma living in the country or the proportion of Roma living in that area, vis-à-vis the majority population. Ten consultants (one in Badajoz, four in Barcelona, two in Cordoba and three in Madrid) carried out interviews with three NGOs working on Roma Rights and educational issues at the national level (Enseñantes con Gitanos, Union Romani and Fundación Secretariado Gitano), NGOs working at the local level, 13 school mediators, seven educational workers from the government, four interviews with representatives from the regional education council and local (city) educational delegation, 42 interviews with Romani families and 19 school principals and teachers. In total 95 interviews were carried out.

Table2: Interviews carried out by location

	Barcelona	Badajoz	Cordoba	Madrid
NGOs	3	1	3	3
School mediators	4	1	4	4
Government educational workers	1	1	1	4
Regional educational council and local (city) educational delegation	1	1	1	1
Families	10	8	12	12
School principals and teachers	1	8	8	2
Subtotal	20	20	29	26
Total	95			

Furthermore, a total of 28 schools were visited.

Table 3: number of schools visited

Type of School	Public school:	Charter school:
Early Childhood and Primary School (CEIP)	16	3
Secondary School (IES)	9	0

In Spain, schools can be classified by their sources of funding:

PS: private schools (funded with private funding)

CC: *Colegio privado concertado*, or charter school (private with public funding)

CP: *Colegio público*, or public school (funded by the state)

By level of instruction, schools can be classified as:

CEIP: *Colegio de educación infantil y primaria*, or early childhood and primary school (from 6 to 12 years)

IES: *Instituto de enseñanza secundaria*, or secondary school

FP: *Formación profesional*, or professional training institute

Most of the primary schools visited are *centros de atención educativa preferente* (preferential education and care centres, or CAEP) which are characterised by the fact that students come from socially marginalised groups, which struggle with gaps in student achievement, face difficulties in educational integration and require additional support.

We were unable to perform all of the anticipated interviews, not because our interview requests were refused, but because these interviews were scheduled for dates beyond the research period (our deadline was set at six months from the initial request). Educational specialists maintain that in most of the charter schools, the percentage of Romani students is very low, as most students of Romani ethnicity attend public schools. Unfortunately, we were unable to confirm this during our research, as we focused on areas with significant Romani populations, and very few charter schools are located in these areas.

We encountered several obstacles in performing this research: administrators did not agree to interviews and provided partial information. They indicated that they could not provide information on the ethnicity of students, as they considered it illegal. We did not encounter these obstacles in the schools with a majority Romani population, which were easier to work with and showed a great interest in finding solutions for this phenomenon.

In order to protect their identity, we have omitted the names of the people close to the educational system (teaching professionals, NGO staff, Romani families and mediators), who provided us with a large portion of the information for this report.

The report was written in December 2010, once all of the data was gathered. The information was updated between October 2011 and February 2012. Unless specified otherwise the data is for the school year 2009/2010.

4. Legislative and policy framework

In Spain, racial discrimination is prohibited by the Spanish Constitution, as well as all of the international laws ratified by Spain -which, under article 10.2 of the Spanish Constitution,¹⁸ become part of the Spanish legal order-, as well as Law 62/2003 of 30 December on fiscal, administrative and social order measures that transposed the EU Directive 2000/43.¹⁹ The most important law in national educational legislation is the Ley Orgánica de Educación (Organic Education Law, or LOE). However, one must bear in mind that authority over educational issues is transferred to the individual autonomous communities, which regulate and organise the educational system within the framework of state law.²⁰

4.1 National legislation

An analysis of the general legal framework, which defines the elimination of racial discrimination in Spain, must necessarily start with the Spanish Constitution of 27 December 1978,²¹ which, after recognising the principle of equality as a superior value of the Spanish legal order (article 1.1 of the Constitution), raises this principle to a fundamental right in article 14, which states: “The people of Spain are equal before the Law, no discrimination of any kind may prevail for reasons of nationality, race, sex, religion, opinion or any other personal or social circumstance or condition”. Inclusion of the principle of equality, as not just a superior value of the legal order but also a right, in the second chapter of the first part of the Constitution in the section “Rights and Freedoms”, determines that all public powers are also bound to this principle, according to article 53 of the Constitution. Furthermore, it also means that the principle of equality can be protected by the jurisdictional order, in ordinary courts through a procedure based on principals of preference and summary treatment and, in this case, through an appeal for legal protection in the Constitutional Court (article 53.2 of the Constitution). The Constitution requires public authorities to remove obstacles that inhibit or obstruct the full enjoyment of an individual’s freedom and equality and the freedom and equality of the groups to which the individual belongs, for the purpose of ensuring that they are equal and effective, while reminding the aforementioned authorities of their obligation to facilitate the participation of all citizens in political, economic, cultural and social life (article 9.2 of the Constitution).

Article 7.3 of the Data Protection Law limits the collection of “data of a personal nature that refers to racial origin, health and sexual life”, which may only be collected, processed and transferred for reasons of general interest, as provided by law or through the express consent of the person concerned.²² The aforementioned data may be used while the identity of the individual is preserved, and in any case percentage data may be used. Nevertheless, government officials are very reluctant to provide data on the Romani population, as they consider this practice to be contrary to the Constitution.

Note that in Spain, education is compulsory and provided free of charge until the student reaches the age of 16, either in public schools (funded by the state), private schools (funded with private funding) or charter schools (which are private schools funded by state grants). Early childhood education (3 to 5 years) is not compulsory, primary education (6 to 12 years) and secondary education (12 to 16 years) are compulsory and constitute basic and compulsory education. From the age of 16 years onward, students may pursue their studies in an Initial Professional Qualification Programme (from ages 16 to 18, high school diploma prior to university studies) or specific professional training at a higher level.²³

¹⁸Spanish Constitution of 27 December 1978, available at: http://www.senado.es/constitu_i/indices/consti_ing.pdf.

¹⁹ Law 62/2003 of 30 December on fiscal, administrative and social order measures, available in Spanish at: http://noticias.juridicas.com/base_datos/Admin/l62-2003.html.

²⁰ Organic Law 2/2006 of 3 May on Education (LOE), available in Spanish at: http://noticias.juridicas.com/base_datos/Admin/lo2-2006.html

²¹ See: http://www.senado.es/constitu_i/indices/consti_ing.pdf

²² Organic Law 15/1999 of 13 December on the Protection of Personal Information, available in Spanish at: http://noticias.juridicas.com/base_datos/Admin/lo15-1999.html.

²³ Organic Law 2/2006 of 3 May on Education (LOE), available in Spanish at: http://noticias.juridicas.com/base_datos/Admin/lo2-2006.html.

Currently, the LOE regulates education for students throughout the entire Spanish state, establishing consideration of diversity as a basic principle of the educational system, in order to meet a need found among all educational stages and all students. Thus, this entails an adequate response to the educational demands that the diversity of the students requires, without any type of exclusion. The aforementioned law does not make any specific reference to the Romani population.

As we will see in the following paragraphs, the LOE provides measures to achieve equality and compensate for educational inequality. Article 17.d of the LOE establishes that it is necessary to become aware of, understand and respect different cultures and differences between people, equality of rights and opportunities between men and women and non-discrimination of people with disabilities, and anticipates that the appropriate curricular and organisational measures be established to ensure adequate progress. These measures may include support provided within the ordinary group, flexible groupings or adaptations of the curriculum.

Part II of the LOE (articles 71 and 90) guarantees **the principle of equality in education**. To this end, chapter 1 (articles 71 and 72) of part II addresses the groups of students that require educational services different from what is provided through ordinary educational practices, as these groups present specific needs for educational support, and provides the precise resources for accomplishing this task with the objective of achieving full inclusion and integration. Students who need particular educational services are students with special educational needs who require particular forms of support and services, due to social circumstances, physical, psychological or sensorial disability or who demonstrate serious disorders of conduct (articles 73 and 75). Other students who require special educational services are students with high intellectual abilities (articles 76 and 77) and students integrated into the Spanish educational system later than others (articles 78 and 79). The following are listed among the resources that educational authorities and schools may use to achieve the aforementioned goals (LOE, article 72):

- Employ teaching staff specialised in the corresponding fields, qualified professionals and specific methods and materials needed to provide the student with adequate services.
- Provide public and private charter institutions with the necessary resources to adequately meet the needs of these students.
- Promote the training of teaching staff and other professionals who work with students that have specific needs for particular educational services.
- Collaborate with other administrations or public entities or private non-profit entities, institutions or associations to facilitate the education and better incorporation of these students within the school.

Schools should carry out adaptations to the school curriculum in order to ensure all students can achieve the established goals.

Moreover, chapter II (articles 80 to 83) refers to **compensation for inequalities in education**. In order to render the principle of equality effective in exercising the right to education, actions of a compensatory nature must be developed, concerning the people, groups and regional environments where unfavourable situations prevail, and thus prevent inequalities derived from social, economic, cultural, geographic, ethnic and other kinds of factors, as well as provide the economic resources and support to this end. Actions of a preventive and compensatory nature, during the stage of early childhood education, should guarantee education for all children whose personal conditions may give rise to inequality in accessing basic education or to progressing to higher levels. In terms of primary education, these actions must guarantee all students a school placement, free of charge.

Article 81 of the LOE states that “this concerns, likewise, the adoption of particular measures in geographic areas or schools in which a remedial educational intervention becomes necessary”.

For all students, Spanish and foreign, who do not meet the objectives of their educational stage, the law requires an adequate diversification of the content of the school curriculum in the last years of the educational stage. Through programs for curricular diversification and social guarantees, students may continue to receive education in this stage until age 21, in order to earn a graduation certificate for completing their secondary studies.

Note that there is an obligation to provide children with education, and the penal code sanctions parents who do not adequately educate their school age children (from 6 to 16 years old).²⁴

4.2 Regional legislation:

In Spain, authority over educational issues is transferred to the autonomous communities, and some communities have created specific laws. The national law establishes the general framework; however, by delegating authority to autonomous communities, the latter make decisions with regard to student enrolment. Local commissions supervise the observance of enrolment regulations.²⁵ A review of the legislation in the autonomous regions where our research was performed is provided below. The city of Madrid does not have any particular laws regarding this issue and is therefore not included.

Table 4: Regional legislation on education

Region	Legislation
Andalusia	Law 17/2007, of 10 December, on education in Andalusia. ²⁶ Decree 40/2011, of 22 February, which regulates the criteria and the admissions process for students in public and private charter schools. ²⁷
Catalonia	Law 12/2009, of 10 July, on Education in Cataluña. ²⁸ Decree 75/2007, of 27 March ²⁹ , on the admissions process for students in schools subsidised by public funds.
Extremadura	Law 4/2011, of 7 March, on education in Extremadura. ³⁰ Order of 12 March 2009 which regulates the admissions process for students in early childhood, primary, compulsory secondary and high schools subsidised by public funds. ³¹

The different autonomous laws reaffirm the provisions of the LOE, and the decrees and orders refer to the enrolment process based on the areas of influence and affiliation of specific primary schools to secondary schools.³² The educational commissions that monitor observance of the law in each autonomous region also participate in this process. Educational districts establish affiliations between schools and outline the areas or zones of spatial influence for each school (more points are given for closer proximity). Affiliation refers to the allocation of primary school students from one school to a specific secondary school,

²⁴Art. 226 of the Penal Code: If a person fails to comply with the legal requirements for care inherent to legal guardianship, custody or foster care or to provide the necessary legal support established to sustain his/her descendants, ascendants or spouse, who need this support, s/he will be punished with the penalty of three to six months imprisonment or fined from six to twelve months. Available in Spanish at: http://noticias.juridicas.com/base_datos/Penal/lo10-1995.l2112.html#

²⁵Interview with principal of the Albolafia public school, 7 September 2010, Cordoba.

²⁶Available in Spanish at: http://www.juntadeandalucia.es/educacion/portal/com/bin/Contenidos/TemasFuerza/nuevosTF/290108_Ley_Educacion_Andalucia/LEA/1201696918777_lea.pdf.

²⁷Available in Spanish at: <http://www.juntadeandalucia.es/boja/boletines/2011/40/d/updf/d2.pdf>.

²⁸Available in Spanish at: <http://www.boe.es/boe/dias/2009/08/06/pdfs/BOE-A-2009-13038.pdf>.

²⁹Available in Spanish at: http://www.gencat.cat/diari_c/4852/07083019.htm.

³⁰Available in Spanish at: <http://doe.juntaex.es/pdfs/doe/2011/4700/11010004.pdf>.

³¹Available in Spanish at: <http://doe.juntaex.es/pdfs/doe/2009/5200/09050113.pdf>.

³² In Spain, in order to be able to enroll a child in certain school he or she needs to accumulate a number points according to criteria such as living in proximity to the educational centre, in other words living in the area of influence of the school.

which generally belongs to the same educational area. If there is a high representation of Roma in a primary school and that school is assigned to a secondary school, the latter will also have a high representation of Roma. The criteria specified for affiliation is similar throughout the different orders and decrees.³³

4.3 Policies

With respect to specific educational measures for Roma, we can confirm that the government's approach has undergone a major transformation over the last 40 – 50 years. At the national level, the first specific action led to the creation of bridge schools which were special transition schools specifically for Romani children, with the objective of adapting children to society and fostering basic socio-cultural habits.³⁴ In theory, these schools lasted for eight years, although in some places they were present for a longer period of time, and they disappeared with subsequent policy developments.

Nearly all Romani children have been provided with early childhood and primary education over the last two decades. Despite the progress made, Romani students experience higher rates of absenteeism and academic failure than their generational peers. Access to secondary education is also lower than it is among the non-Romani population, aggravated by school abandonment before compulsory education is completed. In terms of higher education, there are still very few Romani students who have obtained university degrees.³⁵ It is estimated that approximately 1000 Roma are currently studying at the university level, but this is extremely difficult to verify.³⁶

According to several studies in the autonomous communities, schools that receive Romani children from 3 to 5 years old (early childhood education) and from 6 to 16 years (compulsory primary and secondary education) comprise about 33% of all schools in Spain, distributed between public schools and private charter schools, although the Romani population in the latter is below 10%.³⁷

In calls for proposals directed to private non-profit entities, on the regional as well as the state level, the priorities established include educational programmes, programmes for monitoring and controlling school absenteeism, and mediation between families and schools. Some of these programmes have achieved very good results (e.g.: the programme to support Romani early childhood education by the Federation of Andalusian Romani Associations implemented in the 1990s),³⁸ however initiatives led by NGOs cannot replace an educational policy to combat absenteeism and academic failure. Only Catalonia, through the programme of “school mediators” (*promotores escolares*), has developed a policy on the autonomous community level from the Department of Education, in order to combat this situation. In other autonomous regions, there are several grants for NGOs to combat absenteeism. Due to budget cuts, as a consequence of the economic crisis, these grants are not available in Andalusia for the 2012 – 2013 school year.

³³ This generally includes: presence of siblings educated in the school or parents or legal guardians who work in the school; proximity of the student's residence to the school or proximity of a parent or legal guardian's workplace; annual income of the household; disability of the student, parent or sibling; large family; chronic illness of the student.

³⁴ With policies for special schools (bridge schools, 1978-1986), coinciding with a state of general marginality and poverty among the Roma, the educational system corroborated the idea held by mainstream society to keep the Roma separate in their own schools, isolated from the rest of the student population. Jesús Salinas Catalá, *Sistema Educativo y Cultura Gitana* (2004), available at:

http://www.disacnetsolutions.net/cdd/curso/docs/modulo73_legislacion_educativa.pdf.

³⁵ Ibid

³⁶ Ministry of Health, Social Services and Equality, *2010-2012 Action Plan for the Development of Roma*, available in Spanish at:

http://www.msps.es/politicaSocial/inclusionSocial/poblacionGitana/docs/ES_PLAN.pdf.

³⁷ Report of the Spanish State for the Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, 2 November 2009

<http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cerd/cerds78.htm>

³⁸ IV Jornadas de Intervención Social del Colegio Oficial de Psicólogos de Madrid, *Transformación social y compromiso de los profesionales*. Ministry of Social Affairs, 1996.

Currently, in terms of national policy, there is the Strategic Plan for Citizenship and Integration (2011 – 2014), approved by the Council of Ministers on 23 September 2011.³⁹ Among the Plan's objectives are: "Guarantee access and permanence in the educational system under conditions of equality and independent of origin". This means that the incorporation of students of a foreign origin must be performed in such a way that the distribution of students in schools prevents and impedes high levels of segregation and concentration, and establishes lines for action and measures. Among the latter: the balanced distribution of students, support for projects to improve the quality of instruction in segregated schools and support for teachers. No reference is made to the non-migrant Romani population, which faces the same problem.

The problem of segregation, with regard to the immigrant population, is already acknowledged within the Strategic Plan for Citizenship and Integration (2007-2010).⁴⁰ With respect to the measures for reaching educational equality and preventing discrimination, the plan states: "one of the specific problems that must be addressed is the trend towards concentration of immigrant students in publicly owned schools; although this occurs across all educational levels, the highest percentages are found in primary education, and the percentage decreases in post-compulsory levels. Not taking any action to reverse this trend would lead to segregation of the educational community into groups differentiated by culture, ethnic and social origin and economic capacity which, undoubtedly, would transfer over to society. The situation could be further aggravated if we consider the fact that the immigrant population tends to settle in socially marginalised areas, where schools have higher numbers of students in socially disadvantageous situations and, thus, with a greater need for differential education that increases pressure on the human resources and materials available."⁴¹

To prevent this situation from worsening, the LOE provides mechanisms for arbitration that enable balanced education for all students in schools supported by public funds, with the objective to prevent the concentration of immigrant students in schools, depending on the characteristics of the zone and local area. It is surprising that given the situation, such measures are not extended to Romani students.

The extraordinary May 2008 report of the Catalonia ombudsman expresses the ombudsman's concern regarding school segregation of the immigrant population and provides recommendations on this matter, yet says nothing with regard to the Romani population.⁴²

In Spain, two Romani development plans were approved, yet neither of them makes any reference to school segregation.⁴³ The National Strategy for the Integration of the Romani People 2012 -2020⁴⁴ does not contain measures against school segregation, although during the consultation period while the plan was being created, NGOs requested that school segregation be included as one of the problems to be resolved.

³⁹ Available in Spanish at: http://extranjeros.meyss.es/es/IntegracionRetorno/Plan_estrategico2011/pdf/PECI-2011-2014.pdf.

⁴⁰ Minister of Labour and Social Issues, available in Spanish at:

http://extranjeros.mtin.es/es/IntegracionRetorno/Plan_estrategico/pdf/PECIDEF180407.pdf.

⁴¹ Report of the Spanish State for the Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, 2 November 2009 <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cerd/cerds78.htm>

⁴² Available in Spanish at: http://www.terrassa.cat/files/9-4137-fichero/Sindic-Segregacio_escolar_08.pdf?.

⁴³ The 1989 Roma Development Program objectives are available in Spanish at:

<http://www.msc.es/politicaSocial/inclusionSocial/poblacionGitana/programaDesarrolloGitano/home.htm>;

2010-2012 Action plan for the development of the Romani population, available in Spanish at:

http://www.msps.es/politicaSocial/inclusionSocial/poblacionGitana/docs/ES_PLAN.pdf.

⁴⁴ National Roma Integration Strategy in Spain 2012 -2020, available at:

http://ec.europa.eu/justice/discrimination/files/roma_spain_strategy_en.pdf.

5. Data on education of Romani population

Information concerning the Romani population in the field of education is limited; however, it leaves little doubt that a situation of inequality is present, which grows with the level of education. According to a 2002 study performed by the NGO *Fundación Secretariado Gitano* (FSG) titled "Evaluation of the Educational Standardisation of Romani Students in Primary Education", the incorporation of Romani children in schools is widespread throughout the country, with 94% of Romani children enrolled at age 6 or earlier.⁴⁵ However, a high rate of absenteeism and a much higher rate of academic failure still exist among Romani students, as compared to their generational peers. 84.6% do not complete secondary education. It is estimated that 80% of Romani students who reach secondary education abandon their studies before graduating.⁴⁶ Research indicates that 31.9% of Romani students pass all subjects, as compared to 58.1% among non-Romani students, and that 68.4% of Romani children are behind in academic achievement by over two years, as compared to 25.8% among non-Romani children.⁴⁷ On the university level, there is no reliable data on Roma who have completed university level studies. However, it can be confirmed that Roma are underrepresented in university studies. Of 1.462.771 university students in the 2004-2005 school year, no more than 1,000 were Roma when in a numerically comparable situation with the majority population, there should be 28,648 Roma studying at the university level.⁴⁸

The educational situation is strongly influenced by gender. Among students who reach secondary studies, 60.7% are male while 39.3% are female⁴⁹ which indicates a high dropout rate among Romani girls in the transition from primary to secondary school. However, according to the report issued by the FSG, a greater number of Romani girls who begin secondary studies finish these studies, as compared to their masculine counterparts.

Historical problems that Roma have faced in the field of education have led to high levels of illiteracy. According to a recent study performed by the FSG, nearly 70% of Roma over the age of 16 have not completed basic compulsory studies.⁵⁰ Furthermore, Roma are five times more likely to be illiterate than the non-Romani population, as indicated in the latest study performed on the Romani population, compared with the *Survey of the Active Population* which indicates the general situation of the Spanish population and concludes that "among the Roma, between 13 and 14% are absolutely illiterate, and in terms of high functional illiteracy, according to the FSG, the figure rises to 58%".⁵¹

Racism and stereotypes are also part of the educational reality for Romani students. A study indicates that 25.3% of the majority Spanish population would be upset if their children shared classrooms with children of Romani ethnicity, while 9% of the population would feel the same way if their children were to share classrooms with children from immigrant families.⁵²

⁴⁵Fundación Secretariado Gitano, *Evaluation of the Educational Normalization of Romani Students in Primary Education*(2002) available in Spanish at: <http://www.gitanos.org/educacion/#La>.

⁴⁶ Women's Institute-Fundación Secretariado Gitano, *Incorporation and trajectory of Romani girls in the ESO* (2006), available in Spanish at: <http://www.gitanos.org/publicaciones/incorporaciongitanaseso>.

⁴⁷Ministry of Health, Social Policy and Equality, *2010-2012 Action plan for the development of Roma*, 9 April 2010, available in Spanish at: http://www.msps.es/politicaSocial/inclusionSocial/poblacionGitana/docs/ES_PLAN.pdf.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*

⁴⁹Fundación Secretariado Gitano, *Evaluation of the Educational Normalization of Romani Students in Primary Education* (2002), available in Spanish at: <http://www.gitanos.org/educacion/#La>.

⁵⁰ Fundación Secretariado Gitano and the Ministry of Health and Consumer Affairs, *Guía para la actuación con la comunidad Gitana en los Servicios Sanitarios*, available in Spanish at: <http://www.gitanos.org/publicaciones/guiasalud/>.

⁵¹ Functional illiteracy: a person may know how to read and write simple sentences, yet does not possess the skills needed for everyday demands and personal and professional development. In addition, UNESCO specifies that functional illiteracy also implies an inability to perform any activity which requires the continuous ability to read, write and perform calculations in order for the group and community to function properly.

⁵² Salinas, Jesús. "Reflections on Educational Policies for Spanish Gypsies." *European Education*. Vol. 39, no. 1, Spring 2007, pp. 42.

6. Results obtained through the sampling method and analysis of the overrepresentation of Roma in specific schools in four locations in Spain

Table 5: Summary of data on school segregation

Autonomous Community	Neighbourhood	total population	% Romani population	Schools visited	School type according to source of financing	Grade	% Romani students			
Barcelona	Gornal	7,205	15%	Colegio el Gornal	CP	CEIP	98%			
	Sant Roc (Badalona)	12,000 ⁵³	50%	Lestonnac	CC	CEIP	80-90%			
				JosepBoada	CP	CEIP	80-90%			
	SantCosme y Sant Damian (El Prat)	8,000	18,5%	S. Cosme y S. Damián	CP	CEIP ⁵⁴	99%			
Doctor Trueta ⁵⁵				CP	CEIP y IES	100%				
Cordoba	CalleTorremolinos	3,000	40%	Albolafia	CP	CEIP	97.5%			
				Jerónimo Luis de Cabrera	CP	CEIP	10-12%			
	Polígono Guadalquivir	9,217	30-40%	Federico Garcia Lorca	CP	CEIP	70-80%			
				Gloria Fuertes	CP	CEIP	30%			
				Averroes	CP	IES	1.07%			
	Polígono Guadalquivir	9,217	30-40%	Guadalquivir	CP	IES	80% ⁵⁶			
				Ramón y Cajal	CP	FP	One student			
Madrid	Puente de Vallecas	242,701	30%	Concha Espina	CP	CEIP	28%			
				Aragón	CP	CEIP	38%			
				Asturias	CP	CEIP	15.7%			
				Santa Eugenia	CP	IES	2%			
				Villa De Vallecas	ICP	IES	6%			
	Zona del Vicalvaro	70,920	20%	Valdebernardo	ICP	CEIP	70%			
				Villa Blanca	CP	IES	13%			
	Villaverde			S. Roque	C.P.	IES	47%			
				San Pedro Alcántara	Información no encontrada.	20%		CP	CEIP	95%
Badajoz	Los Colorines	1,500	20%	Santa Engracia	CP	CEIP	70%			
	Las Malvinas	8,000	50%	Jesus Obrero	CC	CEIP	5%			
				Manuel Pacheco	CP-CAEP/EC	CEIP	40%			

Legend:

CC: Charter school (private with public financing)

CP: Public school

CEIP: Early childhood and primary school (ages 6 to 12)

IES: Secondary school

FP: Professional training

CAEP: Preferential education and care centre or compensatory education centre

⁵⁴ This school changed name to the Instituto Escuela de Prat and also expanded to accommodate IES students.

⁵⁵ School closed in 2011 and reopened as a post compulsory vocational training school.

⁵⁶ Information on the first two years on the ESO, afterwards the percentage of Romani students decreased drastically due to students dropping out.

6.1 Barcelona and its metropolitan area

We will examine the situation in the following areas: Sant Roc (Badalona), Sant Cosme (El Prat), Gornal (L'Hospitalet de Llobregat), which are neighbourhoods located in the metropolitan area of Barcelona, in between the Bésos and Llobregat rivers.

6.1.1 Gornal neighbourhood, L'Hospitalet de Llobregat and Bellvitge area

The population of the Gornal neighbourhood, in the 6th district of L'Hospitalet, is estimated at 7,205 residents, of which approximately 15% are Roma.⁵⁷ Most of the Romani population does not live in a situation of exclusion, although they are working class/proletariat.⁵⁸

Only one public primary school (El Gornal school) is located in the Gornal neighbourhood. The school has 150 Romani students (98%) and 3 non-Romani students, which is why locals call it the "Gypsy school".⁵⁹ In the nearby Belvitge area (which is separated from Gornal by train tracks), there are several primary and secondary schools with a visibly lower population of Romani students.

The situation in the Gornal neighbourhood (as well as some other examples that will follow) illustrates that the problem of school segregation is not necessarily tied to residential segregation, as the Romani population is around 15%, nor to social exclusion, as Gornal is a working class neighbourhood.

6.1.2 Sant Roc neighbourhood, Badalona area

The neighbourhood's population is estimated at 12,000 residents,⁶⁰ of which 50% are Roma, which makes this the neighbourhood with the highest percentage of Roma out of all the neighbourhoods visited.⁶¹ There are four schools in the area: the Lestonnac primary charter school and the Mare de Déu de l'Assumpció primary and secondary charter school, the Baldomer Solà public primary school and the Josep Boada public primary school. Although the Roma in this area represent half of the total population, we found two schools: the Lestonnac and Boada schools, with percentages of Roma that reached 80 – 90 %, while the other two schools in the area had a much lower percentage.

6.1.3 Sant Cosme y Sant Damián Neighbourhood, El Prat area

The neighbourhood's population is estimated at 8,000 residents, of which approximately 1,500 people (or 18.5%) are of Romani ethnicity. This is a very dilapidated neighbourhood, where families suffer from serious socioeconomic problems.

In 2011, this neighbourhood had two schools: the Sant Cosme y Sant Damian primary public school, with 158 Romani students out of a total of 161, and the Doctor Trueta public primary and secondary school, with 100% Romani students (80 in total). Under the urban reform and socioeconomic development process, which took place in this area over the last few years, the Sant Cosme y Sant Damian school was strengthened with educational plans⁶² and a

⁵⁷Interview with the Romani Association of Gornal, 15 June 2010; interview with a social worker in Gornal, 15 June 2010, Barcelona.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹ The school staff's concern over this situation led to the adoption of measures that essentially aim to change the school's image and provide, on the pedagogical level, resources for the elements needed to make it more attractive to the rest of the population. Interview with a local association, 15 June 2010, Barcelona.

⁶⁰Human development, social intervention, interculturality and technology research group *DEHISI. Avaluació de necessitats del Barri de Sant Roc-Badalona*(2001), available at: <http://psicologiasocial.uab.es/dehisi/es/biblio/2011/04/13>.

⁶¹Interview with social services and local mediators, 14 June 2010, Barcelona.

⁶² "In Sant Cosme, the educational program is the combination of public and private initiatives from different fields, and dialog-based interaction, from the start, between schools, teachers, agents and educational professionals,

school mediation programme that placed these mediators within the educational system. As a result of this programme, enrolment increased from 100 to 158 students in only 5 years, and absenteeism was reduced from 45 – 50% to 24%, which constitutes a success. However, the Doctor Trueta school has a high failure rate and absenteeism rates that reached 65% at times. In late 2011 the Doctor Trueta school was closed and the Sant Cosme y Sant Damian school was expanded to accommodate the secondary level students. While the school was being closed, the educational authorities considered another option, which consisted of sending students from the Doctor Trueta school to several other schools. The option chosen, considered “the least worst” by the authorities and institutions, instead supports the continuation of an ethnically segregated school.⁶³

Today, in the 2011-2012 school year, the Sant Cosme y Sant Damian school is now the primary and secondary Prat School Institute with 100% Romani students. The Trueta school was converted into the Ribera Baixa secondary school, which provides post-compulsory training courses and has four Romani students enrolled during this school year.

6.2 Cordoba

Our analysis of the situation in the Guadalquivir neighbourhood (southern Cordoba) will focus on two particular areas: Calle Torremolinos and the Guadalquivir Polygon.

6.2.1. Calle Torremolinos area

There is no civil registrar in the Calle Torremolinos area, however, estimates place the population at 3,000 people of which around 40% are of Romani ethnicity.⁶⁴ There are two public primary and remedial education schools in this area:⁶⁵ Albolafia and Jerónimo Luis de Cabrera schools.

During the 2010-2011 school year, 97.5% of students at the Albolafia school were Roma (of a total of 111 students, three of whom were not Roma).⁶⁶ In the 2011 – 2012 school year there were 113 students and 91% were Roma. The area where the Albolafia school is situated is a socially excluded area. The majority of students come from families faced with social exclusion and socioeconomic problems.⁶⁷ To improve the situation during the 2011 – 2012 school year, it was converted into a learning community, absenteeism was reduced and more children were enrolled, as a consequence there was a slight decrease in the proportion of Romani students.

In the Jerónimo Luis de Cabrera school, located in the same area as Albolafia and at a distance of only 350 metres, only 10 – 12% of students are Roma. This school does not have a cafeteria, which it gave up several years ago. It has no after-school classes nor

families, entities and administrations involved in the strategic aspects of developing the project. Above all, emphasis is placed on actions that go beyond the school environment, directed in three areas such as the academic success of students, creation of educational habits within families and community coordination of different events.” Intercultural Education Resource Centre, *Resumen del Tema del Mes- Planes Educativos de Entorno*, available in Spanish at:

http://crei.centros.educa.jcyl.es/sitio/upload/PLANES_EDUCATIVOS_DEL_ENTORNO_Cuadernos_de_pedagogia.pdf. For more information see: Generalitat de Catalunya, *Los Planes Educativos de Entorno* (November 2011), available in Spanish at:

http://www20.gencat.cat/docs/Educacio/Home/Arees_actuacio/innovacio_educativa/Plans_educatiu_entorn/Doc_base_PEE_Noviembre_2011.pdf

⁶³ Interview with the Catalonian educational delegation, Fundación Secretariado Gitano and the NGO Enseñantes con Gitanos, 13 June 2010, Barcelona.

⁶⁴ Data provided by the Encuentros en la Calle Association: <http://www.encuentroenlacalle.org/>

⁶⁵ The remedial or compensatory education program is intended to guarantee access, permanence and promotion of socially disadvantaged students within the educational system, including students from ethnic minorities, immigrant groups, as well as family with serious socioeconomic difficulties. Royal Decree 299/1996, of 28 February, on actions intended to compensate for inequalities in education, available in Spanish at:

http://noticias.juridicas.com/base_datos/Derogadas/r0-rd299-1996.html.

⁶⁶ Interview with principal of the Albolafiaschool, 10 July 2010, Córdoba.

⁶⁷ Interview with the principal of the Albolafiaschool, 10 July 2010, Córdoba, and Panyabi Association of Romani Women, 2 July 2010, Córdoba.

extracurricular activities, despite being also a remedial school located in the same area and at a short distance from Albolafia (which has all of the aforementioned services).

“The Learning Community is a project for transforming schools, directed towards overcoming school failure and eliminating conflicts. This project distinguishes itself by relying on the dialogue of learning, through interactive groups, where the egalitarian dialogue transforms into a common effort to achieve educational equality for all students.”

Ramón Flecha García and Lidia Puigvert, *Las Comunidades de Aprendizaje: una Apuesta por la Igualdad Educativa*, University of Barcelona, available at:http://www.comunidadesdeaprendizaje.net/pdf/flecha_puigvert_02.pdf

One mother commented: “My children are in Albolafia because they feel better as in the Jerónimo school there’s no cafeteria and when you try to enrol a child, they tell you that there’s no more school places left.”⁶⁸

6.2.2. Guadalquivir polygon

Currently, the area of the Guadalquivir polygon has a population of 9,217 residents, of which around 30 – 40% are Roma.⁶⁹ There are four schools in this area: two primary schools and two secondary schools, and a professional training institute. We will analyse the schools with the highest population of Roma and the surrounding schools.

In the Federico G^a Lorca public primary school, 70-80% of students are Roma. In the Gloria Fuertes early childhood and primary school, the percentage is around 30%. The fluctuation in percentages of Romani students makes little sense, due to the fact that the distance between these schools is less than five hundred metres.

The Averroes public secondary school has 1,400 students, of which less than 15 students are of Roma ethnicity (1.07%).⁷⁰ In the public Guadalquivir IES, 70% of students are of Romani ethnicity, concentrated in the first two years of secondary education, as the percentage drops in later years due to the high number of Romani students who drop out. We call attention to the fluctuation in representation of Romani students, considering that the distance between the Guadalquivir secondary school and the Averroes secondary school is only 10 metres.⁷¹

The Ramón y Cajal school is also located nearby (less than 300 metres away) and provides professional training courses (middle and upper grades). In the 2010 school year, there was only one Romani student.⁷²

6.3. Madrid

The population of the city of Madrid is 6,445,449⁷³ and the Romani population in Madrid is 60,000, according to NGOs.⁷⁴ We will address the situation in the following three areas: Puente de Vallecas, Vicálvaro and Villaverde.

⁶⁸ Interview with a mother whose children attend the Albolafia School, 5 July 2010, Córdoba.

⁶⁹ Interview with the Encuentros en la Calle Association, Panyabi Romani Women’s Association, 7 July 2010, Córdoba.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*

⁷¹ Director of the Guadalquivir Institute, 9 July 2010, Córdoba.

⁷² Interview with the Panyabi Romani Women’s Association, 2 July 2010, Córdoba.

⁷³ See: <http://www.madrid.org/iestadis/fijas/estructu/demograficas/padron/estructupopc.htm>.

⁷⁴ Interview with the El Fanal Association and Fundación Secretariado Gitano, 17 June 2010.

6.3.1 Puente de Vallecas

The population of this neighbourhood is 242,701 residents⁷⁵ while the percentage of Roma is no more than 30%.⁷⁶ In Puente Vallecas, there are 22 private schools and 25 public primary education schools and eight IES. We visited five schools, of which two had a high percentage of Romani students.

In the 2010-2011 school year, the Concha Espina public primary school had a total of 325 students, 80 of whom were Romani students (28%) and 50% of whom were from immigrant background.⁷⁷ Of the 53 students monitored for school absenteeism, 31 (or 58%) were Roma. When interviewed, Romani families explained that they did not consider it to be advantageous to have a high concentration of Romani students in the school. The Immigration Council subsidises teachers and a mediator or a socio-cultural coordinator, as decided by the management team, to combat absenteeism.

The most striking characteristic of this school (as is also the case in other schools in Madrid) is that the majority of Romani children receive tutoring, for educational achievement gaps of two years, outside of the classroom (this also affects immigrants, but at a lower percentage). A couple hours per day is the norm, though this varies with each child. This practice is not included in the LOE, which stipulates that tutoring be performed "in the regular group".⁷⁸ Under this system, which can be considered segregated education, among other things, students never catch up with their class level and always fall behind the rest of the students.

In the Aragón public primary school, 38% of students are Roma and 50% are of immigrant origin. Of the 48 students concerned by interventions to reduce absenteeism, 18 are Roma (37.5%). There is a program for remedial education with curricular adaptation for children who fall behind in class, which takes place outside of the regular classroom in a compensatory classroom all, or some days of the week.

The Asturias public primary school has 356 students, of which 56 (or 15.7%) are Roma. The school receives a positive evaluation, as the levels of absenteeism are low and the levels of academic success are high. Many parents of students were also enrolled in this school and they choose to enrol their children in the same school.

The Santa Eugenia IES is also located in Villa de Vallecas, with 2% Romani students, and the Villa de Vallecas IES, with 6% Romani students.

6.3.2 Vicálvaro area

This area has a population of 70,920 residents.⁷⁹ The population of Roma is below 20%.⁸⁰ There are a total of 10 schools in this area, six public schools (Alfonso Décimo el Sabio, Severo Ochoa, Vicálvaro, Valdebernardo, Los Almendros, Nuevo Valdeberribas) and four charter schools (Minerva, CID, La presentación de Nuestra Señora, El Valle). There are also three public secondary schools (Joaquín Rodrigo, Villa Blanca, Valdebernardo).⁸¹

Romani students in secondary schools, which do not constitute a very high percentage, are mainly concentrated in two schools: the Valdebernardo and Villablanca public secondary schools.

⁷⁵ See: <http://www.madrid.es/UnidadesDescentralizadas/CooperacionElmigracion/Inmigracion/Esplnformativos/MadridConvive/Observatorio/Publicaciones/Informe%20Distrito%20Puente%20Vallecas.pdf>.

⁷⁶ Interview with Barró Association and El Fanal Association, 17 June 2010.

⁷⁷ Ibid

⁷⁸ Available in Spanish at: http://noticias.juridicas.com/base_datos/Admin/lo2-2006.html.

⁷⁹ City of Madrid Observatory for Migration and Intercultural Coexistence, General Directorate for Immigration and Development Cooperation, *Informes Distritales: Vicálvaro* (2010), available in Spanish at: <http://www.madrid.es/UnidadesDescentralizadas/CooperacionElmigracion/Inmigracion/Esplnformativos/MesasDi%C3%A1lyConv/Distritos/Vic%C3%A1lvaro/Fichero/Informe%20Vic%C3%A1lvaro%202010.pdf>.

⁸⁰ Interview with the Barró Association, 6 June 2010.

⁸¹ Interview with the Barró Association, and El Fanal Association, 17 June 2010.

In the Valdebernardo public secondary school, 30% of students are Roma and 70% are of immigrant origin. There are no Spanish students that are not Roma.⁸² Romani students attend remedial classes. According to information gathered during interviews, the students in remedial education (nearly all Roma) receive remedial instruction in separate classrooms: thus all of their education, except for arts subjects, takes place among Romani students separated from the rest of the students.⁸³

Specific problems with Romani students:

- Some of the families interviewed expressed that “it’s not good that all of the Romani children are in the same classroom, the school authorities put them together. In this way they do not learn”.
- Parents complain of the continuous expulsions, which do not help children reach their academic potential.

In order to combat absenteeism, the social services of Valdebernardo, Instituto de Realojos e Inserción Social, Fundación Secretariado Gitano and El Fanal Association work in this school.

Up until 2010, Romani children arrived at school later than the rest of the students (at 10:00 am). Following complaints from the associations, this has been corrected. A very small percentage of Romani students (1 or 2 per school year) finish the Compulsory Secondary Education.

The Villablanca public secondary school has only 33 Romani students (13%) of a total of 251 children. As a general rule, minorities do not attend charter schools, which is why the majority of Romani students are concentrated in this school and the Valdebernardo school; the percentages are not balanced.

In this school, tutoring and remedial classes are also held in separate classrooms, with the same problem as before. The families also complain of the constant warnings and disruptions due to expulsions.

6.3.3 Villaverde area (Maria Antonia Casanova)

In the San Roque public secondary school (which is a CAEP), there are 189 students, of which 89 (47%) are Roma and the rest are of immigrant origin. There are no Spanish students that are not Roma in this school. This was one of the few schools in the area that had a canteen, which explains the concentration of children from disadvantaged families that receive social assistance, the minimum insertion income.⁸⁴ The majority were Romani families from the densely populated “Plata y Castañar” slum.

⁸²Ibid

⁸³Data provided by mediators from the Barró association, 17 June 2010, Madrid.

⁸⁴Minimum insertion income, law 15/2001, of 27 December.

Case study: the San Roque and Cristóbal Colón public school swap.⁸⁵

The San Roque public school was denounced during the 2008 – 2009 school year by the Educational Council, and upon a proposal from the Regional Administration of the Capital of Madrid, decided, without prior consultation and without prior approval from the School Council,⁸⁶ to organise an exchange between the San Roque and Cristóbal Colón public schools, both in the District of Villaverde (Madrid). This meant that students from San Roque had to attend, beginning the following school year, classes held in facilities of the Cristóbal Colón public school, and students from Cristóbal Colón would be transferred to San Roque facilities. We cannot ignore the social context in which this exchange took place: at the time, approximately 58% of the San Roque students were Roma, 2% were non-Roma, and the remaining 40% of students were mostly immigrant, representing a total of 20 nationalities and different cultures. San Roque was also a modern school, as maintenance and expansion works had been performed. The students of Cristóbal Colón, on the other hand, were mostly non-Roma students of Spanish nationality and the school's facilities were inferior to those of San Roque.

As regards the decision-making process, while the families of the Cristóbal Colón public school were informed, consulted and asked for their written consent, the families of the San Roque public school were not consulted and did not receive any official notification of a decision that they rejected from the moment they became aware of it.

Despite the protests reflected by the media, the process moved forward and a few days later, on 18 April 2008, parents of San Roque students were summoned by the school's administration to a meeting with the purpose of personally informing them that the school would be moved to a new location for the 2008/2009 school year, which had until that time been the Cristóbal Colón school site.

The mothers of the San Roque AMPA (Association of Mothers and Fathers of Students) mobilised and called a meeting with the FAPA (Federation of AMPAS in the Madrid Community) and the FSG, offering to cover the vacant places in the San Roque CP, which had sufficient space, renovated and appropriate facilities with students coming from Cristóbal Colón school. However, they decided to exchange the facilities instead, and when a copy of the file was requested, they were told that it did not exist.

The alleged reasons why students from both schools could not be put together were:

"In the San Roque CP (...) due to the type of school population, with a high rate of absenteeism (...) the enrolment of students with significant gaps in academic achievement and outside the ordinary placement periods, etc., made it necessary that this school implement a specific educational programme (...) The Cristóbal Colón public school has a standardised educational programme (...) The Cristóbal Colón will begin the next school year with approximately 435 students. The facilities of the San Roque public school have the capacity for 676 students, they are under-utilised, given that the school will have around 200 students in the next school year."⁸⁷

Moving forward, a platform was created to support the San Roque AMPA, with the participation of the FAPA, the FSG, and the following associations: Romí Sersení, Presencia

⁸⁵ Information based on data collected by the Fundación Secretariado Gitano, *Caso de la permuta de los Colegios Públicos San Roque y Cristóbal Colón en el Distrito madrileño de Villaverde, para el curso 2008/09*, available in Spanish at: http://www.gitanos.org/areas/igualdad_de_trato_y_no_discriminacion/noticias/29520.htm.

⁸⁶ The public school council is composed of the school principal (who acts as president), the director of studies, a councillor or council representative, responsible for the municipal area in which the school is located, a number of teachers selected by the faculty (which cannot be less than one third of the total number of council members), a certain number of parents and students selected respectively by and among them (which cannot be less than one third of the total number of council members), a representative of the administrative staff and school services and the school secretary, who acts as secretary for the council (with no voting rights). Article 126 of the LOE, available in Spanish at: <http://www.infoescuela.com/infoescuela/pdf/FichaJulio06.pdf>.

⁸⁷ See: http://www.gitanos.org/areas/igualdad_de_trato_y_no_discriminacion/noticias/29520.htm.

Gitana, and the Movement Against Intolerance. Yet in the end, the exchange took place. An appeal was lodged against this decision, which has not been assessed or continued.

This case study represents a scenario that is very common in the Spanish educational system: a school without enough room for all students who wish to enrol, and another school in which there is more than enough room for enrolling new students. In this case, the administration organised an exchange between all students and teachers in each school, perpetuating school segregation and missing the opportunity to provide an educational solution that would be inclusive for all students and in line with the integration policy. It appears obvious that the only reason for the difference in treatment is the origin of the students who, we recall, are majority Roma and immigrant. The reasons alleged by the Administration are not acceptable, as it could have sought alternative solutions that would have promoted integration, such as connected classrooms or remedial education programs, instead of maintaining the situation of a ghetto school for Roma or immigrants only.

By means of summary, we can say that the problems found in the Madrid area are the following:

- 1.- There are schools with high percentages of Roma and immigrant population, with very few non-Romani Spanish students.
- 2.- Romani students are frequently tutored in classrooms separate from other students.
- 3.- Families complain of excessive warnings and sanctions concerning expulsions from the classroom or school.

6.4 Badajoz

According to information provided, in the 2009 – 2010 school year, less than 10 Romani students in the entire Badajoz region completed their studies in the secondary school. Therefore it is crucial to prioritise the improvement of educational levels among Roma in this region.

We analysed three areas where Roma live: the central Historic Casco area, Los Colorines neighbourhood and Las Malvinas neighbourhood.

6.4.1 Central area: Casco Histórico

There is no exact data on the neighbourhood's population: estimates place the Romani population under 20%.⁸⁸ We visited the San Pedro Alcántara public primary school. Of the 106 students served by this school, 101 are Roma and five are non-Roma. The school principal acknowledges that 95% of the students are Roma, which makes this a "ghetto school".⁸⁹ Despite the fact that the school is part of an integral plan for special remedial education in order to prevent gaps in academic achievement from primary levels, on the day of our visit, 50 children did not come to school. According to a local activist, several schools are located nearby (Navarro, Santo Angel, Josefinas and others), but in these schools, the number of Romani students is very low or non-existent.⁹⁰ The S. Pedro Alcántara school has a canteen and provides scholarships for books and materials. Nevertheless, the level of education is very low and teachers are demotivated, due to poor relationships with students and their parents (lack of respect, parents do not show up for appointments, etc). The district of education is aware of the low level of academic achievement and segregation. Of 14 sixth-graders, four students are going to enrol in the secondary school. Girls drop out as young as 12 years old. This data expresses the gravity of the problem. The principal emphasises that

⁸⁸Interview with head of the Badajoz Romani Women's Association, 7 May 2010, Badajoz.

⁸⁹ Interview with principal of the San Pedro Alcántaraschool, 8 May 2010, Badajoz.

⁹⁰Interview with head of the Association of Romani Women of Badajoz, 7 May 2010, Badajoz.

there are families in the school and the neighbourhood with economic problems, but it is not a population in a situation of marginality.

6.4.2 Los Colorines neighbourhood

The population of the Los Colorines neighbourhood is around 1,500 residents⁹¹ of whom approximately 20% are Roma. The Santa Engracia public primary school is located in this area, in which 106 students are enrolled, of whom 74 (70%) are Roma.⁹² This school has the space to accommodate 400 students. The teachers and the principal say that the educational level is very low. It has a very high percentage of absenteeism (at times over 30%) and very few children attend classes every day of the week. It is normal to miss a few days, but neither the parents nor the local education authorities seem to be concerned about this. The families in the neighbourhood consider the local area to be dangerous and worry about the safety of their children. Marriages take place at very early ages (from 14 years onwards).⁹³ To improve the situation, the staff would like to convert this school into a learning community.

6.4.3 Las Malvinas neighbourhood (Suerte de Saavedra)

The neighbourhood's population is about 8,000 residents,⁹⁴ of whom about 50% are Roma.⁹⁵

In this marginal neighbourhood, there are three schools and two secondary schools. We visited the Jesus Obrero primary charter school, with only 5% Romani students, and the Manuel Pacheco primary public school. Despite the high concentration of the Romani population, the concentration of Romani students does not exceed the proportion of the population in the neighbourhood in any of the schools.

In the Manuel Pacheco school, the percentage of the Romani population is in accordance with the neighbourhood's population, no greater than 40%. The levels of absenteeism are high, between 20 and 30%, depending on the time of year. This is a CAEP institution, it has a canteen, provides scholarships and free school materials, books and breakfast. It coordinates activities in consideration of the percentage of Romani students: music activities, a Romani culture week and the month of October is dedicated to Romani culture. There are other schools in the area (E. Iglesias, Pastorcito and the Instituto Guadalupe y Reino Aztási) with good levels of integration. There are between 14 and 15 children per class. There is a support programme that is intended to be performed inside of the classroom, to avoid separating participating students receiving special support from the other students. The school follows the absenteeism protocol, and would highly value the presence of mediators. They want to introduce the evangelical religion as an optional class, as the majority of Roma belong to this faith. They state that very few students remain in the secondary school.

⁹¹ See: http://www.elperiodicoextremadura.com/noticias/badajoz/el-barrio-de-san-fernando-supera-a-san-roque-por-numero-de-habitantes_354597.html.

⁹² Interview with the principal and director of studies of the Santa Engracia school, 5 May 2010, Badajoz.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Data provided by a local association, 6 May 2010, Badajoz.

⁹⁵ Interview with head of the Association of Romani Women of Badajoz, 7 May 2010, Badajoz.

7. Causes of school segregation

School segregation in Spain has existed since Roma were first provided with education. Initially, it was a result of a government policy that created segregated schools (known as bridge schools) with the objective to prepare Romani students to integrate into the educational system. As of today, and despite the improvements in terms of general education and reduction of the level of absenteeism, complete integration has not been achieved and one of the main barriers is school segregation of Romani students who frequently have a very low educational level. The causes of the aforementioned school segregation in Spain are multiple and complex, and will be explored below.

School segregation is frequently associated with **residential segregation**. In Spain, as a result of the housing policy of the 1980s and 1990s, neighbourhoods were created with a high concentration of Roma which, in many cases, transformed into areas with high levels of social exclusion.

These neighbourhoods, with a high Romani population, still exist today. This is a factor that must be taken into consideration, because the higher the percentage of Roma in a neighbourhood, the higher the percentage will be of Romani students in that area. However, this factor does not explain the high concentrations of Roma found in many schools, since, with the exception of the Sant Roc neighbourhood (Badalona) and the neighbourhoods visited in Cordoba, none of the other areas analysed have a population of Roma over 30%. However, schools were found in all of the areas analysed with percentages of Romani students between 70 – 100%.

The criteria used for awarding points to students to assign them to a particular school which is similar in all of these areas is also unable to explain these percentages. If the student's residence is a fundamental criteria, based on the **areas of influence** that are assigned to each institution, the absence of large concentrations of Roma or Roma only neighbourhoods therefore could not be the cause of the very high percentages of Romani students in certain schools. The problem, in our opinion, is not only that there are schools with a high concentration of Romani students, but that this concentration is clearly higher than the percentage of Romani children and youth living in the school's territory of influence. Otherwise, the problem could simply be resolved by redrawing the areas of influence of each school.

The **affiliation of primary schools**, particularly school that are known to have a high percentage of Romani or immigrant children, to a specific secondary school supports or perpetuates school segregation in secondary education. This is the case at least in the early years, as in higher levels of education there is an ostensibly low percentage of Romani students.

Ghetto schools, or schools with a majority Romani population, are the result of a process:

Families interviewed stated that they were met with difficulties when they tried to enrol their children in certain schools which allege a lack of space when they try to enrol their children. In the case of Cordoba, for example, we encountered several cases in which Romani students who wanted to enrol in the Averroes IES (which has barely any Romani students) were unable to do so. However, two cases were also brought to our attention of non-Romani children who were accepted despite the fact that they did not attend a school assigned to the Averroes IES. A study indicates that 25.3% of the majority Spanish population would be disturbed if their children attended class with Romani children while only 9% of the population would feel disturbed if their children shared the classroom with children from immigrant families.⁹⁶ This trend was confirmed in our interviews with Romani families, who expressed the fact that they were aware they were not welcome in some schools.

In practice, schools that appear to be more sensitive, more open to the Romani population, more permissive and offer more services (canteen, scholarships, etc.) begin to receive a

⁹⁶ Salinas, Jesús. "Reflections on Educational Policies for Spanish Gypsies." *European Education*. Vol. 39, no. 1, Spring 2007, pp. 42.

higher number of Romani students. Currently this implies certain educational issues common among Roma (higher levels of absenteeism and school failure, etc.). Furthermore, as a consequence, schools with higher percentages of Romani students are schools with a school canteen, scholarships and other types of assistance, which are intended to go towards the most disadvantaged population, while there are schools, in the same area, that refuse certain services, for example school meals, which prevents a certain type of student from registering in that school.⁹⁷

Once the school becomes a school with a majority Roma or immigrant population (or the sum of both), it is extremely difficult to attract non-Roma students.⁹⁸

In later years, families with higher educational expectations, mostly non-Roma, start to leave the school and enrol in schools that provide a higher quality of education.

After a few years of this process, only Romani children (and in a few cases, immigrant children) are left in the school, without incorporation of the non-Romani population in subsequent school years, and gradually producing a decrease in the level of quality of the school. At the same time the school becomes more permissive in order to adapt to its student population or to avoid conflicts, and the overall level of education decreases. The result is a discredited school, with a very low level of quality, which becomes known as the "Gypsy school."

A mother in the San Roque neighbourhood told us: "I don't take my son to Lestonnac school anymore, because I want him to study and the level of education over there is much lower and there is no awareness about the importance of education, so they place little pressure on the students to study. Over there everything has gone lax, mothers take their children to school in their pyjamas and slippers, they say "in the end, we are all one – in reference to how we are Roma and do not have to worry about how we look, even the girls go to school in their slippers." This provokes more rejection and more discrimination against the Roma. People do not want to go to the "gypsy school".⁹⁹

Educational services are aware of the situation and have even closed some schools.

When a school has a high number Romani population many problems arise:

- These students are being educated in a situation different from reality, as mainstream society does not have such a high percentage of Roma.
- The often low quality of instruction results in inequality in educational opportunities.
- We are fostering segregation and stigmatisation of the Roma and encouraging prejudice and stereotypes.
- These all constitute obstacles with the integration of Roma into society.
- It is true that some Roma do not place a high degree of importance on education, and with the lack of successful Romani students, this problem deepens, as the Romani population experiences only this reality. While if students with low educational aspirations would co-exists with a population with higher educational aspirations, another model that is more beneficial to educational advancement is shared.
- If the Romani population is kept isolated, with high percentages of school absenteeism and without educational aspirations, due to the lack of successful Romani students, a self-perpetuating cycle is created that leads to more

⁹⁷ Data provided by principals of schools with a majority Roma population.

⁹⁸ This is even one of the recommendations of the Catalan ombudsman in the report on school segregation referring to immigrants (close the school, otherwise the trend towards segregation cannot be reversed)

⁹⁹ Interview with the mother of a student in San Roque, 18 June 2010, Madrid.

absenteeism, more delays in academic achievement, more difficulties in keeping up, lower educational levels and rejection grows within this school.

- This creates demotivation among the student body and teaching staff.

With high levels of absenteeism and school failure, and a lack of motivation and successful Romani students, the level of education decreases and often results in the school being closed, given the difficulty of reversing the dynamics of exclusion within the school.

8. Measures and recommendations

As acknowledged in the **Ministry of Education's Action Plan**:

*"Many international studies indicate that in developed societies, by 2020 – 2025, only 15% of employment opportunities will be for people without any qualifications. This means that, with regard to the levels of our educational system, 85% of people will need to have a level of education equivalent to professional training at a middle or high school level. Thus, we need an educational system that guarantees equity and excellence across all levels, a flexible system that facilitates mobility between different training options, which promotes research, innovation and transfer of knowledge, which ensures that no student is excluded. We need, ultimately, an educational system that promotes the success of all students and continuation beyond compulsory studies within a framework of life-long learning and training."*¹⁰⁰

We are aware of the difficulties in addressing the issue of school segregation, but we cannot continue to ignore this reality, which affects a high percentage of Roma and limits their access to education under equal conditions. Both the Strategic Plan for Citizenship and Integration (2011-2014)¹⁰¹ and the Integral Strategy against Racism and Intolerance¹⁰² refer to concrete measures to prevent the segregation of the immigrant population into schools with a high percentage of immigrant students. In the report for the United Nations Commission for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, the Spanish government considers the ghettoization of immigrant students to be a discriminatory and segregatory practice, and proposes measures for its prevention.¹⁰³ The ombudsman of Catalonia has pronounced himself in a similar manner, with respect to the immigrant population.¹⁰⁴

Given the current educational situation of Romani children, an **educational policy** needs to be initiated and implemented by the Ministry of Education, as well as the different autonomous communities.

To this end, we propose the following measures:

1. Research

- Adequate awareness of the educational situation of Roma is necessary, based on statistical data that collects information on this population, disaggregated by ethnicity, gender and other factors.

2. Measures to reach educational equality and prevent discrimination or segregation.

- There is a need to **raise awareness among educational authorities** of the gravity of this problem and how it can work towards finding solutions to prevent educational inequality.
- A **balanced distribution of student enrolment must be established through regulations in order to prevent segregation or overrepresentation**. The redistribution should be done **gradually** to nearby schools focusing on new students enrolled, preventing the concentration of Romani students in a single school. Furthermore the areas of influence and the enrolment criteria should be revised.
- School affiliations from primary to secondary education must be made flexible or disappear, in order to prevent a concentration of minority students in secondary school.

¹⁰⁰ Available in Spanish at: <http://www.educacion.gob.es/educacion/sistema-educativo/politicas/plan2010-2011.html>.

¹⁰¹ Approved by the Council of Ministers on 23 September 2011, available in Spanish at:

http://extranjeros.meyss.es/es/IntegracionRetorno/Plan_estrategico2011/pdf/PECI-2011-2014.pdf.

¹⁰² Ministry of Labour and Immigration, *Integral strategy against racism and intolerance* (2011), available in Spanish at: <http://www.oberaxe.es/files/datos/4ee5ba982ebe3/ESTRATEGIA-LINEA%20INTERACTIVO%208-12-2011.pdf>.

¹⁰³ Report of the Spanish State for the Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, 2 November 2009 <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cerd/cerds78.htm>

¹⁰⁴ Available in Spanish at: http://www.terrassa.cat/files/9-4137-fichero/Sindic-Segregacio_escolar_08.pdf?

- Ghetto schools must receive special support, with projects such as the “**learning communities**”, as experience has proved that these practices are successful and provide positive results.¹⁰⁵

3. Measures to improve the level of academic success and prevent and combat absenteeism.

This is certainly not just an educational problem, thus it deserves comprehensive treatment: urban, social, health, educational and labour aspects must be addressed. However, the Ministry of Education is the institution that needs to adopt specific measures to address this problem:

- It is necessary to **coordinate and work together with other governmental offices** that are active or have authority in the different areas such as housing or health departments, as well as NGOs, to obtain results and prevent fragmented responses.
- Promotion of special action plans (which have already been implemented in the past), stimulating action in four directions: academic success among students; educational and social integration of Romani children, increasing family responsibility; and boosting teacher satisfaction and consolidating a team of very committed teachers.
- Initiate and/or increase school monitoring programs to prevent absenteeism, with monitors or mediators of Romani ethnicity such as the Savorenzsa program,¹⁰⁶ based on collaboration between NGOs and the educational authorities. When implementing such programmes it is necessary to focus on three sides:
 - families, promoting actions to raise awareness within the Romani population on the importance of education and family involvement in the educational process, promoting a model of participation among parents and encouraging more family leadership.
 - teachers: specialised staff, who are aware of the issues and committed to an educational project is necessary. This measure is not new, as it was developed in the past through the creation of teams assigned temporary to a school in order to develop a specific project.
 - students: through monitoring to support academic success and decrease absenteeism through specific strategies, such programmes have already been implemented in the past.

4. Measures to offset social disadvantage

- Ensure that in areas where is needed all schools have similar resources (canteen, extracurricular activities, mediators, etc.).

5. Specific measures to support and train teaching staff in these schools

- Create a specially trained staff, with an awareness of the local issues and commitment to a well-designed educational plan.
- Ensure the professional stability of teachers who are specially trained to work in complex situations and who want to work in these types of schools.
- Encourage networking among teachers and trainers working with ethnic minorities for the exchange of experience and to promote their continuing education.

The Ministry of Education must not forget its role as the guarantor of equality, which it holds under the state, independent of the educational authority transferred to the autonomous communities.

¹⁰⁵ For more information, visit the webpage of the Includ-ED project: <http://www.ub.edu/includ-ed/about.htm>.

¹⁰⁶ This project is implemented in Catalonia by the Pérez Closas Foundation with financing from the Department of Education. It consists of integrating school mediators into the educational system.

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Collaborating partners:

- Asociación Barró
- Unión Romaní
- Encuentros en la Calle
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