Socioeconomic School Segregation, Equity and Educational Policies in Spain: A Systematic Literature Review

Enrique-Javier Díez-Gutiérrez
University of León, León, Spain
Eva Palomo-Cermeño
Rey Juan Carlos University, Madrid, Spain

Abstract

In Spain there is an increasing trend towards educational policies allowing completely free choice of schools. The purpose of the review described here was to investigate whether school segregation arising from grant maintenance arrangements is an item taken into account when policies for educational equity are under consideration in Spain. It also explores how policies for free choice of school, linked to such grant aid, are reshaping the justifications offered in relation to equity in education. To this end, a systematic literature review (SLR) was carried out, covering from 1990 to the end of 2021and drawing on four databases reviewed pairwise: Dialnet, Scielo, Scopus and Web of Science.

Keywords*: Socioeconomic School Segregation, Educational Equity Policies, Free Choice of School, Grant-Maintained ("Charter") Schools, Quasi-Market*[i] *Policies.*

Introduction

In Spain there is an increasing trend towards policies allowing completely free choice of educational establishment (Díez-Gutiérrez and Bernabé-Martínez, 2021). It is not just right-wing or centre-right neo-liberals and neo-conservatives who defend a deregulated and commercialized framework for education. The centre-left and left wing have also spoken out in defence of a social model incorporating a right to choose in education (Sánchez and Ordaz, 2019). In fact, the latest educational law brought into force in 2021 –the LOMLOE-[ii] was proposed by a coalition government formed by the centre-left social democratic *PSOE* [Spanish Socialist Worker's Party] and the left-wing *Unidas Podemos* [United We Can] party. This law enshrines a right to free choice of school among its principles (Article 1, q) and articles related to schooling (Article 84.1) and schools (Article 108.6) among others. It has therefore consolidated this freedom of choice as if it were a right (Rey, 2020).

The Basic Law on the Right to Education, number 8/1985, of 3 July 1985, known by its Spanish acronym as LODE, introduced free individual choice of school in Article 4. It envisaged this solely in those cases in which the number of applications for places in a state school was higher than those available (Bernal and Lorenzo, 2012). Thereafter, the Basic Law on Education (LOE) brought in by the *PSOE*, and the Basic Law for the Improvement of the Quality of Education (LOMCE: number 8/2013 of December 9, 2013) brought in by the centre-right *Partido Popular* [People's Party] both extended this right.

Choosing an educational establishment without restriction is not truly a right, but rather the expression of an individual preference. This should in no way be seen as equating to the right of all citizens to education under conditions of equality of opportunity (Murillo *et al*., 2021). The Spanish Constitution does foresee the possibility of setting up private schools, but not that schooling in

them should be financed with public funds. The freedom of education that is indeed recognized in the Spanish Constitution (Article 27.1 b) takes the concrete form of the possibility of establishing private educational centres (Article 27.6). However, neither the Constitution nor the law envisions the possibility that families should receive monetary assistance from public funds to allow them to choose between state and private school systems (Valero, 2019). According to the Constitution basic education is both obligatory and free of any fee, but this does not imply that the State should be obliged to guarantee this absence of charges in private schools. This was confirmed by the Second Chamber of the Constitutional Tribunal in its judgement 86/1985 on 10 July 1985. The right to free basic education was stated. However, this did not include a right to access any private establishment without responsibility for fees, since public resources should not be used unconditionally wherever individual preferences might lie.

It is therefore unacceptable and constitutionally unjustified to equate the universal right to education with the manifestation of a particular preference, which may undermine the priority criteria that should govern educational planning and equitable schooling (Valero, 2019). Preferential choice provided to parents for a given school can only be entertained if it does not go against those criteria (Díez-Gutiérrez and Bernabé-Martínez, 2021).

The Spanish Constitution states that public authorities have the obligation to guarantee education for all citizens through general programming of schooling and the creation of educational establishments. To this end, they must devote the necessary resources to ensure the best feasible state education to the whole school-age population, regardless of the social class and private financial resources of pupils' families (Rambla, 2003; Rambla and Bonal, 2000). If a family prefers another type of education for their children, it would be logical

for them to bear the costs of their "private choice" but not to demand that their particular preferences be financed with public resources. What is surprising is that despite the campaigns that were launched against the LOMLOE denouncing the suppression of the right to free choice of school for families, the truth is that at no time has this been the case with this new education law (Asuar, 2020).

The controversy over the free choice of school and its conversion into a banner and weapon of attack by the right and far right, the association of private schools and the Catholic Church is essentially related to the defence of educational grant agreements (San Martín, 2021).

The Basic Law on the Right to Education (LODE) gave legal status and consolidated as a category of its own the figure of state funded private schools in direct competition with state education. As a result, the Spanish system maintains a dual network, the private part of which resembles the old "direct grant" schools. They are similar in make-up to what in the United States and some other countries would be called "charter schools". They have some parallels with what in England are called "academy schools" or "free schools", although these are obligatorily controlled by non-profit organisations.

The current education law (LOMLOE) retains these two systems, both publicly funded, seeing direct grant contracts as a way to provide a public service and conceding rights equal to those that state-owned schools have to the private establishments benefiting from them, thus re-affirming a dual model (Asuar, 2020). This new law has not even dared to establish the subsidiary nature of those state funded private schools; meaning for instance that state schools or classrooms would not be suppressed in the same areas where private subsidised schools are maintained or even extended. Furthermore, the LOMLOE does not

limit subsidised schools to compulsory education as they were previously. This policy is being extended to non-compulsory levels of education (Quirós, 2021).

In the 1980's it was justified that the State had to subsidise the public education service with private companies as a complement to a public network that was not able to guarantee a school place for all children. This was due to a strong demographic growth (baby boom) and the extension of the years of compulsory schooling (Rambla and Bonal, 2000). At present, the maintenance of school units in subsidised private centres when public units are being closed, can only be explained by other types of reasons of a more ideological and economic nature (Fernández and Muñiz, 2012).

It would be normal for grant maintenance agreements to be reduced, but in recent years they have been increasing with the repeated argument that they provide education by guaranteeing savings in investments, which is not supported by evidence (Burgos, 2015; Rojo *et al*., 2021).

A situation has been reached in Spain in which practically all private schools benefit from state contracts and grants. Presently, one out of every four pupils in the obligatory stages of education, nearly one million in total, is enrolled in one of the grant-assisted establishments of this sort, 60% of which are controlled by the Catholic Church (Sánchez and Ordaz, 2019). It is not just a question of a draining of investment away from state education (Recio, 2020). Rather, a major portion of the public resources destined for education are handed over to finance private schools through grant assistance (Cañadell, 2021). The policies adopted over the last decade in Spain, whether under conservative or social democrat governments, show a shrinkage in state education. Its funding has remained practically stagnant, while money for grant-maintained education has risen 25%, now amounting to more than 6,300 million euro a year (Consejo

Escolar del Estado [State Schools Council], 2021; Sánchez, 2019). Moreover, in a context of a long-running economic crisis and scarcity of public resources, there is an obvious problem about diverting state funds into the financing of private options.

Furthermore, public investment into direct grant education is regressive in nature since it implies transfers to people with high incomes, to the detriment of those with lower earnings (Martínez Celorrio, 2021). Through grant agreements, the lower classes finance the education of middle-class and upper-class children. The social groups with the greatest personal resources are those benefiting from this policy of educational subsidies. This is because the amounts they are ready and able to devote to their children's education are rounded out with a substantial quantity from state resources. In addition, their children tend to stay longer in the education system, studying for qualifications that require more time and greater expense for the State, such as undergraduate and master's degrees (Torres, 2001).

The objective of this compiled literature review is to analyse the role of educational grant contracts, and the freedom of choice of establishment linked to them, in their contribution as major factors of school segregation. All this, within the context of educational equity proclaimed by all the various administrations of regional and national governments. This aim is pursued through a review of academic publications and research on the topic from the last thirty years. The crux of the matter is whether educational policies expanding grant-maintained education contracts and encouraging the practice of free choice of school correspond to a model of education that turns equal opportunities into processes providing structural support for segregated schools and social inequality (Bernal and Lorenzo, 2012; Bernal and Vera, 2019).

Research Method

A systematic literature review (SLR) was undertaken in relation to research and publications on the overarching theme of segregated schooling and educational equity policies in Spain. The specific objectives of the investigation were to discover: (a) whether grant maintenance contracts have become the fundamental mechanism for segregation in the present-day Spanish education system, running counter to educational equity and using public moneys to bolster school segregation and social inequality; (b) whether school segregation arising from such contracts is a matter taken into consideration when there is discussion of policies for educational equity in Spain; and (c) how neo-liberal policies for freedom of choice of school, linked to state grants for the private category, are used to rewrite justifications relating to educational equity.

In this review the PRISMA (Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses) statement for systematic reviews (Buntins *et al*., 2019; Moher *et al*., 2009; Page *et al*., 2021; Urrútia and Bonfill, 2010) was used. This served to avoid, or at least to minimize, any possible bias (Moraga and Cartes-Velásquez, 2015).

The review took into account peer-reviewed academic articles, whether based on quantitative or on qualitative methodologies, or on both. A total of 102 academic articles were analysed, all having been published with open access and concentrating specifically on the topic under *investigation*. Literature review articles and essays were also incorporated. The method employed to gather information was a systematic trawl of various reference databases: Scopus, Dialnet, WOS and Scielo. These were searched for all publications from 1990 to 2021, using the most appropriate, relevant and widely used key terms (see Table 1) referring to the matter under investigation, combined with Boolean operators.

Table 1.

Database Search Terms

Database	Keywords	Boolean Operators	Search Results
DIALNET	segregación escolar	AND	353
	school segregation	AND	346
	política equidad educativa	AND	864
	educational equity policies	AND	238
SCOPUS	segregación escolar	AND	19
	school segregation	AND	3,937
	política equidad educativa	AND	4
	educational equity policies	AND	2.614
WOS	segregación escolar	AND	2
	school segregation	AND	3,922
	política equidad educativa	AND	58
	educational equity policies	AND	2,333
SCIELO	segregación escolar	AND	55
	school segregation	AND	84
	política equidad educativa	AND	43
	educational equity policies	AND	72
Total			14,944

Note: Table compiled by authors.

Table 2.

Eligibility (Criteria for Inclusion)

- Articles must have been published in academic journals between January 1990 and December 2021.
- Articles must be about experiments or studies set in a Spanish context or undertaken in schools in Spain.
- The fields covered could involve Social Sciences, Psychology or Education.
- The items should yield open access to documents.
- Articles must refer to the implementation or study of specific educational policies, such as laws, plans or proposals.

Note: Table compiled by authors.

The procedure for the SLR performed for this research fell into several phases (Buntins *et al*., 2019). These were: (a) selection of the databases searched, which were Scopus, Dialnet, Web of Science (WOS) and Scielo; (b) selection of search terms, which were school segregation and educational equity policies in both English and Spanish versions; (c) setting of initial eligibility criteria, as shown in Table 2; (d) a process of selection of items by means of successive filtering procedures, agreed by consensus of the research team; (e) reading, coding, overview and analysis of results by all the researchers.

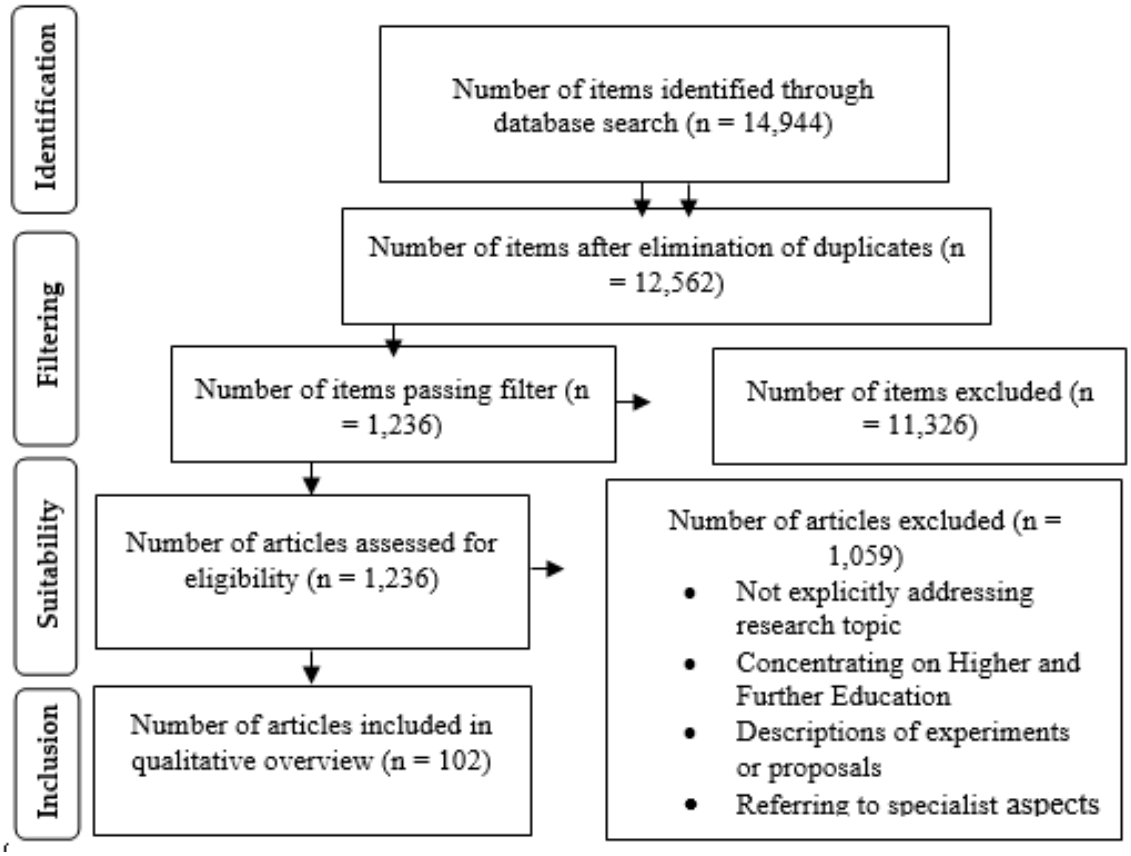
The process of selecting the items to form the corpus for research required successive filtering passes. Of the 14,944 articles emerging from the initial trawl, 2,382 were eliminated as duplicates, leaving 12,562. Those not fulfilling the inclusion criteria shown in Table 2 were then filtered out, a total of 11.326 being excluded and 1,236 items remaining. The third filtering pass took into consideration the titles and abstracts of the articles, ruling out those which (a) did not explicitly address the object of the investigation, mentioning it, but only in a tangential or roundabout way; (b) concentrated on the Higher or Further

Education level; (c) dealt with experiments or proposals for specific interventions that were merely described; (d) referred to related aspects that were outside the main field or looked at very specific sectors, such as sex equality, intercultural education, computer literacy and similar matters. This allowed the number of items to be reduced by excluding 1,059.

The 177 articles that remained were read in full. Those which were philosophical reflexions or book reviews, or related to other fields, such as social education, were removed at this point. The end result was a total of 102 articles that finally were included in the systematic literature review. The whole process is summarized by Figure 1.

Figure 1.

PRISMA Flow Chart Adapted from Moher et al. (2009)

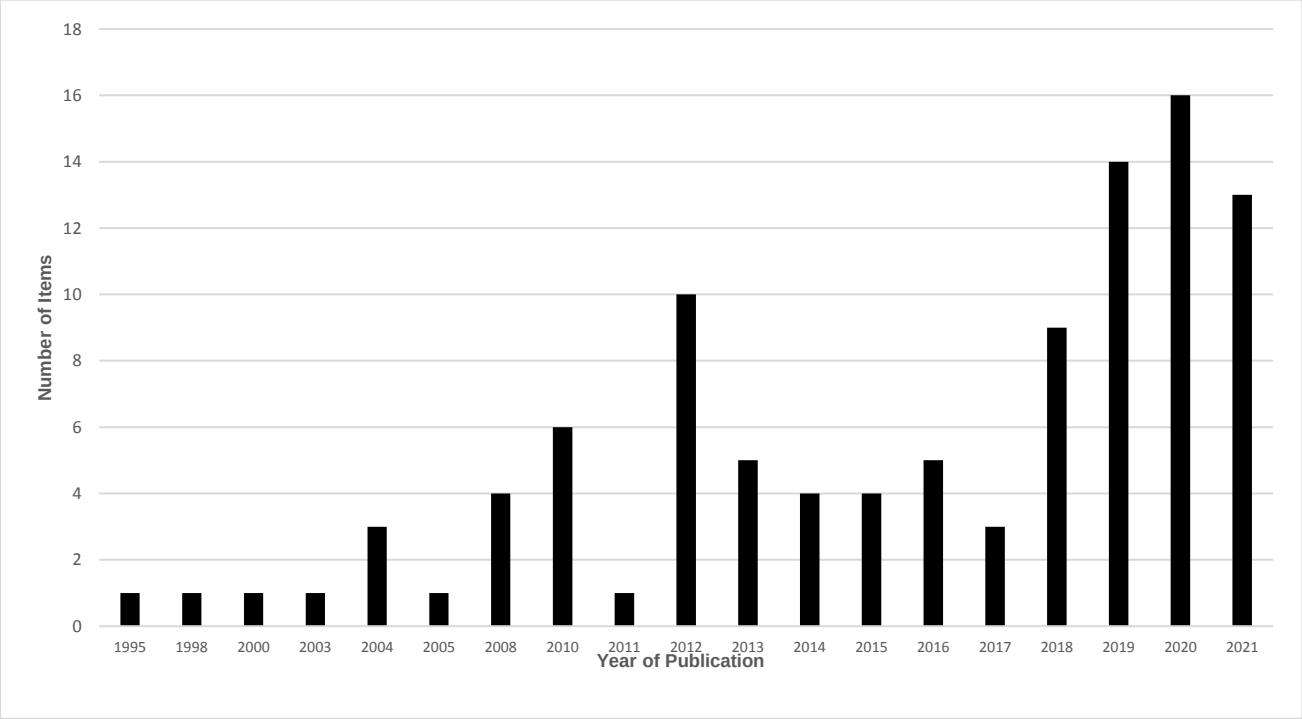


After the selection with the Mendeley Reference Manager of 102 articles fulfilling the criteria set out, the characteristics of the studies they incorporated were coded in accordance with the specific objectives of this review. The sections referring to aims, methods, results and conclusions of the articles were scanned to extract information appearing for the categories established. These were: year of publication, authorship, affiliations of authors, impact ranking of the journal, type of work (whether intervention, descriptive and empirical, or theoretical), methods used, sample size, sources of information, results and conclusions as a function of the specific aims of the research being undertaken, proposals or recommendations, and limitations noted. Two central analytic categories were included, the defining framework of school segregation and policies for educational equity. These categories were applied to every document.

Validation was based on the criteria proposed by the University of York for systematic reviews (Centre for Reviews and Dissemination, 2009). Inclusion and exclusion (described above), pertinence and suitability (picking out work related to the matter under consideration), assessment of the quality of studies and data description (solidity of the research process undertaken and robustness of the data provided in each piece of work), topicality (with priority for items from the last few years), reference value (peer-reviewed publication in journals with recognized prestige and impact) and sufficiency (adequate extent of the studies reviewed). Figure 2 shows the number of articles selected for each year of publication.

Figure 2.

Year of Publication of Articles Included in Qualitative Overview



Note: Graph created by authors

Results

School Segregation

The literature reviewed sees segregation in schooling as the outcome of a set of policies and actions causing an uneven distribution of pupils among schools as a function of their socio-economic, cultural and ethnic characteristics (Murillo and Martínez-Garrido 2017, 2018; Murillo *et al*., 2018). This infringes on two basic rights: the right to an inclusive education and the right not to suffer discrimination (Rey, 2020). This segregation has a negative impact on the educational outcomes of students from poor families, demonstrating the inequity of providing public funding for semi-private schools that are disproportionately attended by students from wealthier families (Prieto-Latorre *et al*., 2021). This is therefore a problem of social justice and inequity in educational opportunities.

In the United States the Coleman Report of 1966 was the piece of research that brought to international attention the assertion that segregation of schools is a direct attack against equity in education, apart from leading to a less cohesive and more unequal society (Murillo and Martínez-Garrido, 2018). As Poulantzas pointed out regarding the ideological function of education, "The state apparatuses including the school qua ideological apparatus, do not create class division but they contribute to it and so contribute also to its expanded reproduction." (Martin, 2008, p. 213). From that time on, the question has been investigated in many countries. From the literature review it became clear that in Spain research into the topic began expanding from 2000 onwards. This was especially true of work using data from PISA reports to quantify school segregation (Martínez Celorrio, 2019), through different indices (dissimilarity, which measures how many pupils would have to change schools to achieve a perfectly equal distribution; isolation, which measures the probability that a pupil shares a school with another member of his/her social group; etc.).

This research demonstrated that segregation of schools in Spain decreased from 2000 to 2012, but then rose again from 2012 to 2015. These latter years coincided with the coming into effect of the LOMCE law, the financial crisis, and the gaining by the conservative *Partido Popular* [People's Party] of control over many of Spain's autonomous regions (Martínez Celorrio, 2019; Murillo and Martínez-Garrido, 2018). Spain became the sixth most socio-economically segregated country in terms of schooling in the European Union (Murillo and Martínez-Garrido, 2018), and third in primary school segregation among all the countries in the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Only Turkey and Lithuania having more strongly marked segregation (Ferrer & Gortazar, 2021).

The outcome is that schools, rather than constituting an ideal scene for cohesion, become areas reproducing or reinforcing social inequalities (Bernal and Vera, 2019). Even the children concerned are conscious of this, and it influences their learning processes and the construction of their social, democratic, and civic participation (Picornell-Lucas *et al.,* 2018).
Within the framework of a social justice model some authors consider school segregation not only as a lack of equity, but also as an expression of a situation of oppression:

> School segregation is a conscious and deliberate act of oppression by which groups in power separate, exclude and marginalise minority groups, thus preventing them from receiving quality education (...) Of course, at present, the oppressed in education are the children and adolescents (...). The oppressors are the economic and political groups that generate, favour and encourage segregation, or that do not provide the means to compensate for the inequalities produced by this situation. Public administrations, both educational and economic, are jointly responsible for this situation; jointly responsible by action or omission, by encouraging it or by failing to prevent it (...). Perhaps because it is generated by mechanisms that are subtler and difficult to make visible and combat, because it is dressed up in words such as freedom of choice or school autonomy, or because it is topped off with a fallacious equality of opportunities, which ends up making the student responsible for the failure of the system. After all, let us not forget school segregation is not an anomaly of the system; it is a reality deliberately sought to legitimise an unjust society. Currently, the subtlest but also the most effective mechanism to achieve this segregation is the application of the logic of capitalism to education: the creation of education quasi-markets. (Murillo and Martínez-Garrido, 2020, p. 6)

The review carried out reflected the fact that school segregation has multiple causes; most of them related to the introduction of mechanisms for quasi-markets[1] in education through policies for freedom of choice, support and funding for private schools or the publication of rank tables of schools (Duk and

Murillo, 2019). This introduction of market logic triggers the functioning of quasi-markets combining a trend towards commercializing and privatizing state education with arrangements for public regulation, justification and management of this privatization (Alegre, 2010; Luengo and Molina, 2018). However, school segregation also appears to be an outcome of models of zoning for schools and single districts tied to urban population distribution and social gentrification (Alegre *et al*., 2008). It may also arise from a generalization of bilingual programmes (Gerena and Verdugo, 2014), or competition among schools and competitive specialization between them (Durán Martínez *et al*., 2020; Gortazar and Taberner, 2020; Murillo and Martínez-Garrido, 2021; Murillo *et al*., 2021).

Nevertheless, all of these have a common denominator: socio-economic segregation of schools (Martínez and Ferrer, 2019). This socio-economic segregation occurs when pupils are separated on one basis or another by social and economic origin. Different adscribed lived realities influence students through various mechanisms: segregation based on where they live (or by gentrification processes), the existence of a dual education system (public-private and other modalities), a high territorial concentration of some groups (pockets of poverty), the way in which students are schooled (school zoning, quasi-market measures, single district, bilingual programme, etc.), public policies (school vouchers, quota allocation, etc.) and/or family strategies (González, 2021; Murillo and Martínez-Garrido, 2018).

It is true that one part of this separation of schools on socio-economic grounds is a question of residential segregation and social inequality (El-Habib *et al*., 2016). However, a major element appearing in the greater part of the research published - quite often collaterally- shows that it is also clearly a product of political measures taken in this respect (Murillo and Martínez-Garrido, 2018, p.

55). Within the context of education this alludes above all to policies for grant maintenance agreements (De la Cruz, 2019; Madaria and Vila, 2020) and policies for freedom of choice of school (Díez-Gutiérrez and Bernabé-Martínez, 2021).

Various reports from the OECD have raised the alarm about the risks from school segregation for educational achievement and social cohesion, stressing that disadvantaged pupils come off worst (OECD, 2011, 2012, 2016). The United Nations Special Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights, Philip Alston, stated in a 2020 report that school segregation increases the need to repeat whole years of study or courses, failure and dropping out of education. This all contributes to decreasing marks in assessments, and has a negative effect on pupils' expectations of going on to study at a university (Echeita, 2019; Martínez-Celorrio, 2019).

It should be added that it also involves a weakening of social cohesion and harmony (Bernal and Lorenzo, 2012). This is because the existence of contracts for grant-maintained education tends to sustain and strengthen the gap between pupils from families from the extremes of the socio-economic and cultural spectrum. Grant-maintained schools attract the children of families of a higher socio-economic stratum, leading to a segregation of pupils from families of a more modest status. This reflects and deepens the social, economic and cultural inequalities between schoolchildren (De la Cruz, 2019; Martínez-Celorrio, 2021; Murillo *et al*., 2018, 332).

Policies for Equity in Education and School Segregation

Any attempt at equity in society requires a plan for citizenship guaranteeing the dignity of all individuals and social cohesion based on a fair distribution of goods and resources (Marchesi and Martín, 2014). In contemporary times equity

is a social demand deriving from citizens' aspirations, which, with support from the values of democracy and human progress, tries to marry up individual and collective aims on the basis of equality, justice, inclusion and cohesive diversity (Sánchez-Santamaría and Ballester, 2016). The reference of a fair society should be equality (Nadelson *et al*., 2020), although it should be tempered by measures ensuring that the most underprivileged have priority in the distribution of public goods through differential treatment eliminating or reducing baseline inequalities (Simón *et al*., 2019). Whilst a paradigm of equality would grant everyone the same rights and access to the same possibilities and resources, in one of equity an unequal treatment is fair, provided it is to the benefit of the most disadvantaged (Rawls, 2002). This takes on board the proposals of the theory of distributive justice, on the lines of Marx's words "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs". This it aims to achieve through positive discrimination actions (Sen, 2010), accepting that "unequal" treatment is fair to the extent that it benefits the most underprivileged (Bolívar, 2012).

An educational system would be then equitable only if, the outcome of its policies are not merely to guarantee equality of opportunities for access, but also in the schooling process (paying attention to questions of recognition and participation), and in securing successful results for each and every pupil (Echeita, 2019; López *et al*., 2019). Only in this way would it overcome the socio-economic barriers limiting participation and learning among schoolchildren.

The review of policies for educational equity reveals that the measures most often alluded to in academic literature refer to three main tendencies. One is policies for equality of opportunity linked to access and the provision of services; for instance, guaranteeing coverage of basic educational costs (Duru-

Bellat, 2010) going further than free education limited to the absence of fees for enrolment and attendance (Abuya *et al.*, 2012; Sastre *et al.*, 2015). Secondly, is the expansion of availability of publicly funded places in nursery and preschool education, with no associated fees or charges, in the light of its impact on later educational progress and integral development, and the social cohesion derived from this (Hogrebe *et al*, 2021; Jiménez Delgado et al., 2016; Murillo and Duk, 2021; Piazza and Frankenberg, 2019). The third is an increase in the length of obligatory education (Rodríguez *et al.*, 2012). There are also policies for fairness in results permitting each and every pupil to be successful, in particular a policy for educational investment concentrating on outcomes and addressing the needs of the most underprivileged. It aims to reduce inequalities by dedicating at least 6% of GDP to this purpose (Ron Balsera *et al.*, 2016), involving additionally a system of grants and scholarships. Another strand is the claim that there should be obligatory continuing in-service training for all teachers (Lozano Diaz and Fernández Prados, 2018). There are policies for equity through fair and inclusive education, stressing equitable treatment during the schooling process with measures such as the avoiding of an excessive concentration of pupils from a foreign immigrant background in just a few schools (Chamseddine, 2018, 2020; Franzé *et al.*, 2012; Ortiz, 2010). Others advocate the suppression of streaming and setting by ability, or separation by intended specialism into more or less academic groupings (Pedró, 2012; Prats, 2010); this considering there should be a common syllabus for all pupils in the obligatory stages of education, so individuals of all different abilities and backgrounds are being kept in the same classroom (Craven *et al*., 2015);

In contrast, the available evidence shows that market-oriented policies promote competition (Mainer, 2020), tending to produce negative impacts on equity, by favouring school segregation and social stratification between State and private establishments (Córdoba *et al.*, 2020; Murillo and Martínez-Garrido, 2018;

Taylor *et al*., 2003; Valenzuela *et al*., 2014; Verger *et al.*, 2020; Zancajo and Bonal, 2020). Although most of the research work considered assumes this implicitly or reflects it only tangentially, few pieces address the matter expressly. One example worth citing approaches it as a central aspect, mentioning six elements and mechanisms forming an interconnected whole and participating in the configuration of arrangements for segregation:

> (…) The political commitment to a semi-private subsidised network that segregates; the economic selection made by private and semi-private subsidised education; the possibilities of each social group to access the schools; the lack of investment in the public network, in addition to an increasingly unattractive offer; the ideology, especially the religious one, which excludes the Muslim population; and, lastly, a schooling process without municipal zoning, paying little attention to low incomes, and not reserving places in the centres to distribute the pupils with especial educational needs or late starters. (…) it is a clearly segregating system in which the values of social cohesion and equity are subordinated to the freedom of choice of families, economic power and competition. (Sánchez, 2017, p. 141)

Policies for Free Choice, Equity and Educational Segregation

There is surprising agreement between many pieces of research as to the effects of segregation (Andrada, 2008; Fernández, 2008; Gómez, 2019; Madaria and Vila, 2020; Mancebón Torrubia and Pérez Ximénez de Embún, 2007; Murillo *et al.*, 2021; Olmedo Reinoso and Santa Cruz, 2008). This derives from or is related to the dynamics of free choice of school. Researchers point out that in all countries quasi-market educational policies driven by competition and parental freedom of choice. This is linked to the requirements of "customers", favour school segregation, and contribute to widening social gaps, even if there are differences of opinion about the way or extent to which this is so and on possible corrective measures (Córdoba *et al*., 2020; Dumay *et al.*, 2010; Hernández Castilla, 2020; Murillo and Martínez-Garrido, 2018; Rodríguez,

2020; Taylor *et al*., 2003). In spite of this it is clear that "In Spain there is an ever-increasing trend towards prioritizing free choice of establishment, which leads to a competition between different state schools, and also between the state system and private schools" (Rodríguez, 2020, p. 6).

Those defending freedom of choice in schooling claim that grant-maintenance contracts are a tool for opening up to all social classes the possibility of opting for a greater range and variety of establishments. The more schools there are in the grant-maintained category, the greater will be the possibility of all families – even those with modest incomes- to choose freely, accessing educational options much more diverse than with state planning (Marcos, 2019; Murgoitio, 2018). They believe grant contracts can be seen as a tool for levelling up the possibilities of gaining access to schools. This could potentially contribute to homogenizing the social make-up of the pupil body in all schools; and thus to reducing the school segregation linked to education systems in which the private sector receives no funding from state sources (Mancebón-Torrubia and Ximénez-de-Embún, 2010).

They go beyond this to claim that freedom of choice introduces competition between state and grant-maintained schools, motivating public education to differentiate the schooling it can offer and to become more competitive. This supposedly would have a positive effect on the results obtained by pupils in state schools and in the end would benefit all schoolchildren (Sainz and Sanz, 2021). Some claim that the objectives of freedom, equity and efficiency can all be combined (Burgos, 2015). In this sense, defenders of grant maintenance view it as part of an educational model considered as a service of public interest (Guardia, 2019).

However, as the system comes close to its fortieth anniversary, the distribution of pupils between state or private education continues to follow a clear socio-economic pattern in which privately owned schools concentrate the greater part of those whose families enjoy larger incomes and include a larger proportion of people in liberal professions requiring more qualifications and a higher levels of studies (Fernández, 2008; Gewirtz *et al.*, 1995; Lubián, 2021a; Rambla, 2003; Valiente, 2008). Besides, their expectations demand schools in which the social class they aspire to reach are present (Roda & Stuart-Wells, 2013). In contrast, state schools have a higher proportion of pupils coming from the most disadvantaged family contexts (Bayona i Carrasco and Domingo i Valls, 2019; Estalayo *et al.*, 2021; El-Habib *et al.*, 2016; Madaria and Vila, 2020; Murillo *et al.*, 2018). The latest report from the Spanish Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (2018/2019), cited for the 2016 to 2017 academic year 79.5% of pupils of foreign origin were attending state schools, with only 14.8% in grant-maintained and just 6.7% in private establishments (Bernal and Vera, 2019). This confirms numerous pieces of research carried out over the years (García Rubio, 2013; López-Falcón and Bayona i Carrasco, 2012; Madaria and Vila, 2020; Peláez, 2012; Villarroya and Escardíbul, 2008).

As far back as 2008, Maroy noted that the combination of free choice of school with selection of applicants by grant-maintained establishments accentuated school segregation and inequalities. The standards governing applications for school places are such as to have permitted grant-aided schools in particular to apply covert policies of selective admission. These can be based on charging fees, requiring the purchase of uniforms or specific educational materials, insisting on "voluntary" donations from parents, or instituting obligatory services which necessitate financial contributions from parents (Bernal and Vera, 2019; Capellán *et al.*, 2013; Lubián, 2021a; Sánchez, 2020).

Consequently, Articles 84, 86 and 88 of the LOMLOE attempt to set up mechanisms to mitigate these practices. They give priority to the nearness of a school to a pupil's home and to income level, put in place committees to ensure admission rights, rule out the inclusion of extracurricular activities during the school day, and audit school administrations to prevent them from collecting impermissible "top-up" fees, among other measures. However, these articles have freedom of choice of school as their guiding principle. Such measures would not seem likely to be very effective, in the light of what research has shown about educational planning and public intervention. Planning tools do not succeed in balancing out the inequalities in schooling that are the outcome of policies of free choice in the context of a quasi-market in education (González, 2021). This sort of policy has been termed the Third Way, managing the "human face" of capitalism. It amounts to palliating with ad hoc measures a system based on exploitation and spoliation, in such a way that its consequences are rendered less serious, but not questioning this system (Piketty, 2015; Riera, 1999).

The supposed aim of defending freedom and equity in the arrangements for free choice is cast into doubt by recent research (Fernández, 2019; Murillo and Martínez-Garrido, 2020). It is true that some families show a preference for grant-maintained schools when organizing their children's education, rather than opting for a state establishment (Burgos, 2015). This can be so even when the latter can offer conditions objectively more favourable for a quality education, for instance, having fewer pupils per class, or recruiting teachers through competitive examinations that respect equality, merit and capability (Rogero García and Andrés Candelas, 2020; Vera, 2017). According to Fernández and Muñiz (2012):

> The first hypothetical reason would lead us to think that grant maintained schools may offer a higher quality of academic education, but the data do not support this, once the effect of the socio-economic characteristics of the student body is discounted. Secondly, neither do the results support a hypothetical better training in social behaviour in grant maintained schools than in state schools. Thirdly, the religious factor (Catholic) has a certain relevance, although it does not seem to be ultimately decisive for school choice. (Fernández and Muñiz, 2012, p. 115).

Indeed, successive PISA reports have shown that state schools obtain similar or even slightly better results to those of private schools when conditions are comparable; that is, once account is taken of socio-economic variables affecting pupils' families (Cordero *et al.*, 2013; Domínguez, 2021). The same may be said about the second factor (Rogero and Andrés, 2014; Vera, 2017), despite the false belief of many families that grant-maintained establishments have better discipline and are more demanding in academic terms (Bernal and Vera, 2019). It is clear from research into school choice that religious beliefs do not operate as a major element (Díez-Gutiérrez and Bernabé-Martínez, 2021; Fernández, 2004; Pulido, 2020; Vera, 2017).

One thing is borne out by statistical evidence, as confirmed by a number of scholars (Fernández and Muñiz, 2012; Rodríguez *et al.*, 2014). This is the belief of families that social contacts, the suitability of classmates and their family backgrounds may influence educational outcomes. This would give their children competitive advantages in their future social and working life, which leads them to prefer the grant-maintained sector. The consequence has been a strategy of flight on the part of a good many middle-class families towards grant-aided schools, where there is less social mixing. So it is easier for them to have a more homogeneous body of pupils in comparison with the population in state schools. Fernández and Muñiz (2012) speak of a *vicious circle* in which schools receiving grant aid trigger a process of social segregation and a

consequential loss of equity and equality of opportunity in the education system (Bernal and Vera, 2019).

Conclusions and Discussion

The conclusion reached after the review of academic literature on school segregation and educational equity policies in Spain is that segregation in schooling for socio-economic reasons arising from grant maintenance contracts is a problem that has remained largely hidden (Murillo and Martínez-Garrido, 2018). Nonetheless, it has grown worse over recent years; more than this, it has not been a priority in educational policy in Spain (Martínez and Ferrer, 2019).

When policies for educational equity in Spain are considered, it becomes clear that the State has largely washed its hands of any responsibility for ensuring there are publicly-run schools that guarantee the right to education (Sánchez, 2019). The policies of the greater part of the educational administrations in the country whether national or regional, have not striven to increase the availability of publicly-owned establishments within the school system over the last twenty-five years. Rather, they have enhanced and favoured those privately owned and enjoying grant support (Madaria and Vila, 2020). Simultaneously, they have moved towards a growing deregulation in educational planning as a function of common necessities and priorities, permitting or encouraging the introduction of market mechanisms into the education system, which has brought more and more segregation to the system, with increasing inequalities (Rubia, 2013).

Nevertheless, it is possible to observe that this process appears to have gone largely unnoticed, or has been downplayed, in most of the academic publications about equity in education. It has been treated as just one facet among many, and in any case accepted as something totally inevitable; no

explanation being given that it is the outcome of a given set of educational policies (González, 2021).

Even when alternative policies are put forward to avoid school segregation, this is done from the mind-set of a model of freedom of choice of school (Bernal and Vera, 2019), proposing for instance "a better balance between supply and demand in education, as well as adjusting the number of places in those areas with the greatest oversupply" (Bonal and Zancajo, 2020, pp. 214-215). The recent new education law (LOMLOE) enacted by the *PSOE-Unidas Podemos* coalition government takes for granted this viewpoint in the regulations it brings into force, as has been shown.

It is true to say that one part of school segregation is a consequence of other factors, like residential segregation (Bonal *et al*., 2019; Lubián, 2021b). Nonetheless, it is still the case that socio-economic segregation in schooling is clearly the outcome of political measures taken in this field, capable either of promoting it or hindering it (Bonal and González, 2020; González, 2021). The extent to which the education system is more segregated or less, will condition the society being built for the future (Murillo and Martínez-Garrido, 2018). Neo-liberal policies relating to free choice of school are having an impact in the justification of any lack equity in education. It may be seen how the promotion and adoption of quasi-market policies in the field of education is converting the twofold system of schools into an arena for competition (Laval, 2004; Bernal, 2005), since the number of potential "customers" is in clear decline. It turns families into "clients" or "users", reducing the concept of free choice in education to a mere selecting of one from a range of different "providers" (Andrada, 2008).

What is certain is that the review conducted reveals that behind many invocations of freedom to choose a school there lies hidden a rejection of social mixing, of educating one's children with others not of the same class (Gimeno, 1998; Orellana *et al.*, 2018). This free choice of school is allowing the middle and upper classes to avoid pluralist, diverse schools and reject any need for their children to coexist with pupils of foreign origin, those with special educational needs or greater learning difficulties, and those from the lower classes. They are seeking out educational establishments that guarantee they can maintain a supposed status, conflict-free socialization with a group of equals, or strategies for accessing a greater cultural or social capital, providing social contacts and competitive advantages with an eye to present and future aspirations (Fernández and Muñiz, 2012, González, 2021; Rodríguez, 2020; Rogero García and Andrés Candelas, 2014).

This is what Bagley (1996) called "white flight", a movement of the population with more resources away from state schools. Demand grows for grant-maintained private schools, where the numbers of pupils from minority or immigrant backgrounds and of those with special educational needs are much smaller (Sáenz, *et al*., 2010). These establishments can choose which pupils to admit. They rule out those they foresee may get lower marks which would depress their position in rankings, and those who supposedly might give a bad image for their prestige and the expectations of their potential "customers" (Rogero García and Andrés Candelas, 2016, 2020; Rubia, 2013).

Hence, "the system for choosing schools may be seen as one more mechanism subliminally giving shape to a model in which what is termed freedom of choice of school becomes a form of segregation and inequality" (Bernal and Vera, 2019, p. 197). Something similar is also noted in the OECD report of 2012 on "Equity and Quality in Education".

Moreover, all of this implies a devaluation of state education, as observed by Murillo *et al*. (2018):

> State schooling becomes associated with a ruling out of choice, because as the financial possibilities for families to choose a school grow, they increasingly opt for private establishments. In this way, state education tends to be associated to reduced choice and seen as negatively affected by a deliberate lack of care and attention. (p. 333)

Furthermore, the system allowing "choice of school" is based on the individualistic logic of the "ethics of the fittest"; not on the logic of fairness aimed at social justice, solidarity and democratic coexistence in a pluralist context. Although it would be reasonable for all families to be able to access the school they would like for their children, the privilege of preferential choice of an educational establishment must not be elevated to the status of a basic human right. Personal preferences should be paid for personally, as was previously the case in Spain (Agudo and Lacruz, 2012). The state must look after the common good instead of encouraging an educational market with rankings for schools, in which families compete to get the best offer, as if it were some huge supermarket.

Consolidation of the twofold system of state and grant-aided schools implies acceptance of the first and most powerful mechanism for social segregation of the education system (Bernal and Lorenzo, 2012). It also involves giving up any idea of schooling as a public good, access to which should be universal and free of charge (Darretxe-Urrutxi *et al.*, 2021).

To sum up, any educational policy that wishes to promote equity in education with a consequent greater social justice must take steps towards the progressive elimination of the segregation factor with the greatest impact in Spain: grant

maintenance arrangements. In the light of Agenda 2030, education policies should take on as one of their priority challenges the promotion of more equitable educational systems, doing away with any out-sourcing through grant maintenance and all the other quasi-market mechanisms that change a basic right like education into a market opportunity.

The community's obligation should be to safeguard the best possible state education which is the right of all children. This is only possible if there is a single system owned and run by the State, not diverting public resources into the funding of private options, but rather guaranteeing the availability of a sufficient number of places at all levels and in all modes of education. In brief, it is a question of ensuring that each and every state school has the best possible resources and facilities, rather than inciting families to choose and compete for what are supposedly the greater future competitive advantages for their children. It is not only less expensive and more equitable but also conserves the social aims of education.

There is a need to get back to the basic sense of education, which is to aspire to the greatest educational development of *all* pupils, and not just a select few. Improvements in all state schools should be sought rather than encouraging people to choose and compete, thinking only of the best "investment for my own child" and forgetting that education is a common good and a right for all (Martín, 2008).

Education is a universal right in accordance with international treaties backed by the United Nations and UNESCO, not to mention the Spanish Constitution itself. These say that it should be guaranteed by a public service allowing it to take place under conditions of equality, without any form of discrimination of a social or cultural origin, or on grounds of beliefs, sex, sexual orientation, or

whatsoever characteristic of a personal nature. State schools guarantee the universal right to education in equality and democratic conditions, and are what most contribute to equity and social cohesion, respecting every pupil's right to achieve the highest possible level of schooling, and educating within a shared project for citizenship (Bernal and Lorenzo, 2012).

It should nonetheless be pointed out that despite the prime factor in educational segregation being grant maintenance agreements, it should not be forgotten that there is school segregation even within the State education system. This takes various forms, including ghetto schools that concentrate pupils with the greatest difficulties into a single establishment, separation by intended more or less academic specialism, covert or even overt rankings, a range of optional subjects used as a hidden method of classifying pupils, the greater or lesser inclusivity of schools, bilingual programmes, streaming or setting by ability level, and so forth (Guzmán and Martín Alonso, 2021; Murillo and Martínez-Garrido, 2018; Rubia, 2013). Indeed, some research demonstrates that in certain regions there is greater internal segregation within the state system than there is between state and private sectors (Sánchez, 2017).

In the meantime, until progress can be made towards an exclusively State system, various palliative measures and proposals are put forward in the research for reducing school segregation. These include policies for planning and setting up state establishments as a function of social needs rather than demands or wishes (Bonal, 2018) or of balanced assignments of pupils (Benito and González-Balletbò, 2013; Sánchez, 2017), overseen by control committees. Other suggested policies would allot pupils to schools on the basis of proximity, considering the actual distances involved rather than relying on zoning and single districts (Gómez, 2019), or reduce teacher-pupil ratios (Bonal, 2018) so as to permit the development of effective inclusive education. Other

suggestions involve the setting of a maximum number of pupils with special educational needs per class and per school (Bonal, 2018), or reserving specific places for special needs pupils or late starters (Bonal, 2018). There are calls for increased positive discrimination in favour of given socio-economic groups in the criteria, or "tariffs". These should be used for admission (Ferrer and Gortazar, 2021), greater social commitment (Rubia, 2013), and modifications in the algorithm for allotting places (currently in general the Boston Mechanism) replacing it with more equitable alternative (Ferrer and Gortazar, 2021), or for stimulating consensus and collaboration among schools over admissions.

Proposals have been made for supporting schools that are in more disadvantaged areas or those having a greater concentration of vulnerable population by channelling more and better resources to them; also strategic plans to be put forward for renovating or extending state schools, for providing them with infrastructures and equipment, or for both. Stress has been laid on improving information and advice for families (Ferrer and Gortazar, 2021), but also on effective policies for avoiding cheating in the schooling process (Bonal, 2018), along with a proper inspection policy to control the functioning of grant-maintained establishments.

Finally, it should be noted that education policies aimed at enhancing equity have a limited impact, because of *glass ceilings* (Reimer, 1971), since schools cannot on their own counterbalance all social inequalities (Tedesco, 2011). It is possible to imagine equitable education in an unequal society, but in reality this is unviable (González, 2021). This claim is supported by all of the research investigating the relationship between educational and social equity, seeing these as a synonym for social justice (Tedesco, 2011). This is because social inequity solidifies, contributes to, and increases, inequality in education. It is societies with a more equitable education system that are more cohesive and

integrating (Álvaro Dueñas, 2016; Gil Hernández, 2020; Rodríguez and Oliveres, 2021).

The findings indicate that school segregation for socio-economic reasons as an outcome of grant aid arrangements is a problem that appears to be accepted as inevitable in Spain, and that at best proposals and legislation for educational policies envisage no more than palliative measures to reduce it. In the discussion it was debated whether, in view of Agenda 2030, an education policy aimed at promoting real equity in schooling, and with it greater social justice, should take the line of moving towards progressive elimination of the weightiest factor in segregation in Spain: grant maintenance agreements.

It is also essential to include an approach of "the ecology of equity" in the debate (Ainscow *et al*., 2013) as it affects the dominant social, political, economic and ideological structures (Echeita, 2019; Simon *et al.*, 2019; Hill, 2021). In other words, whether it is possible to overcome segregation without leaving capitalism (Mainer, 2020). All the data seem to indicate that it is essential to accompany education policies with public policies that have an impact on social inequalities in order to ensure equal educational opportunities. This is only possible by taking decisive steps to overcome the current capitalist system based on inequality, plunder and exploitation.

Notes

[i] The expression quasi-market has been applied in education to those models of schooling that maintain in existence a double or triple network of establishments (private and private funded by the State in competition with the state school system). These promote modes of financing and creating schools in response to demand; encourage the presence of the private sector in managing, providing and evaluating education; generalize mechanisms for diverting public funds away from state schools, requiring alternative private funding to be sought; favour systems allowing families free choice of schools for their children, and the like

[ii] The Basic Law 3/2020 (LOMLOE) (December 29, 2020) modified the Basic Law on Education 2/2006 (LOE) (May 3, 2006).

References

Abuya, B., Oketch, M. & Musyoka, P. (2012) Why do pupils dropout when education is "free"? Explaining school dropout among urban poor in Nairobi, *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education,* 43(6), pp. 740-762. https://doi.org/10.1080/03057925.2012.707458

Ainscow, M., Dyson, A., Goldrick, S., & West, M. (2013) Promoting equity in education. *Revista De InvestigaciÓN En EducaciÓN,* 11(3), pp. 32-43. Retrieved from http://reined.webs.uvigo.es/index.php/reined/article/view/283

Alegre, M. Á. (2010) Casi-mercados, segregación escolar y desigualdad educativa: una trilogía con final abierto, *Educação & Sociedade*, 31(113), pp. 1157-1178. Retrieved from. https://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=87315816006

Alegre, M. À., Benito, R., and González, I. (2008) Procesos de segregación y polarización escolar: La incidencia de las políticas de zonificación escolar, *Profesorado, Revista de Currículum y Formación del Profesorado*, 12(2), pp. 26-26. Retrieved from: https://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=56712206

Andrada, M. (2008) Libertad de elección escolar, mecanismos de atribución de plazas y preferencias familiares: una evaluación a partir de criterios de equidad, *Profesorado,* 12 (2), pp. 20-62.

Asuar, B. (2020, November 11) La nueva ofensiva de la derecha contra la educación salpica de mentiras las medidas de la ley Celaá, *Público*. Retrieved from: https://cutt.ly/NUXqW4X

Bagley, C. (1996) Black and White Unite or Flight? The Racialised Dimension of Schooling and Parental Choice, *British Educational Research Journal*, 22(5), pp. 569–580.Retrieved from: http://www.jstor.org/stable/1501670

Bayona-i-Carrasco, J., and Domingo, A. (2019) Proceso migratorio, concentración escolar y resultados académicos en Cataluña, *Migraciones. Publicación del Instituto Universitario de Estudios sobre Migraciones*, (47), pp. 3-34.

Bernal, J. L., and Lorenzo, J. (2012) La privatización de la educación pública. Una tendencia en España un camino encubierto hacia la desigualdad, *Profesorado. Revista de currículum y formación de profesorado,* 16(3), pp. 81-109. Retrieved from: http://hdl.handle.net/10481/23102

Bernal, J. L., and Vera, C. (2019) La elección de centro como mecanismo de segregación social, *Revista Fuentes*, 21(2), pp. 189-200. http://dx.doi.org/10.12795/revistafuentes.2019.v21.i2.04

Bernal, J. L. (2005) Parental choice, social class, and market forces: The consequences of privatization of public services in education, *Journal of Education Policy*, 20 (6), pp. 779-792. https://doi.org/10.1080/02680930500293825

Bonal, X. (2018) *La política educativa ante el reto de la segregación escolar en Cataluña.* IIEP UNESCO. Prospectivas.

Bonal, X. and González, S. (2020) *Desigualdades de aprendizaje en el confinamiento*. Barcelona: Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona.

Bonal, X., Zancajo, A. and Scandurra, R. (2019) Segregación residencial y segregación escolar de estudiantes extranjeros en Barcelona, *Estudios urbanos*, 56 (15), pp. 3251-3273. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098019863662

Buntins, K., Bond, M., Bedenlier, S., Kerres, M., and Zawacki-Richter, O. (2019) *Systematic reviews in educational research: Methodology, perspectives and application*. Wiesbaden: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-27602-7

Burgos, F. (2015) *Evaluación de la política de conciertos educativos en España y su contribución a los objetivos de libertad, eficiencia y equidad educativa*. Published PhD thesis., Universidad CEU San Pablo.

Cañadell, R. (2021). Educación en crisis y pandemia capitalista: Privatización, segregación y menosprecio del conocimiento. *Viento sur: Por una izquierda alternativa*, (175), pp. 48-56.

Capellán, L., García, F. J., Olmos, A., and Rubio, M. (2013). Sobre agrupamiento, concentración, segregación o guetización escolar: claves para un análisis interpretativo de tales situaciones y procesos. *Avances en Supervisión Educativa*, 18, pp. 1-27. https://doi.org/10.23824/ase.v0i18.149

Centre for Reviews and Dissemination (2009) *Systematic Reviews. CRD's guidance for undertaking reviews in health care*. York: University of York. Retrieved from: https://www.york.ac.uk/media/crd/Systematic_Reviews.pdf

Chamseddine, M. (2018) Polarización escolar en España. Retos e implicaciones, *International Journal of Educational Research and Innovation (IJERI)*, 9, pp. 189-205. https://www.upo.es/revistas/index.php/IJERI/article/view/2618

Chamseddine, M. (2020) Segregación y Exclusión Escolar de la Primera Generación de Alumnado de Origen Migrante: De la Integración a la Desintegración, *REICE. Revista Iberoamericana sobre Calidad, Eficacia y Cambio en Educación*, 18(4), pp. 363–378. https://doi.org/10.15366/reice2020.18.4.015

Consejo Escolar del Estado (2021). *Informe 2021 sobre el estado del sistema educativo*. Ministerio de Educación y Formación Profesional

Cordero, J. M., Crespo, E., and Pedraja, F. (2013) Rendimiento educativo y determinantes según PISA: Una revisión de la literatura en España, *Revista de educación*, 362, pp. 273-297. https://doi.org/10.4438/1988-592X-RE-2011-362-161

Córdoba, C., Laborda, A., and Reyes, C. (2020) Preferencias de Elección de Escuela en Dos Casos de Alta Segregación Escolar. *REICE. Revista Iberoamericana sobre Calidad, Eficacia y Cambio en Educación*, 18(4), pp. 325–344. https://doi.org/10.15366/reice2020.18.4.013

Craven, R. G., Morin, A. J. S., Tracey, D., Parker, P. D., and Zhong, H. F. (Eds.). (2015) *Inclusive education for students with intellectual disabilities. Inclusive education for students with intellectual disabilities.* Charlotte (U.S.): Information Age Publishing.

Darretxe-Urrutxi, L., Alvarez-Rementería, M., Alonso-Sáez, I. and Beloki-Arizti, N. (2021). Voluntad política a favor de la educación inclusiva y equitativa: Inicios y desarrollo analizando su significado. *Archivos Analíticos de Políticas Educativas*, *29*(64). http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/artie/

De la Cruz, J. (2019) La segregación social en el sistema educativo español, *Supervisión 21: revista de educación e inspección*, (52), pp. 1-47.

De Madaria, B., and Vila, L. E. (2020) Segregaciones Escolares y Desigualdad de Oportunidades Educativas del Alumnado Extranjero en València, *REICE. Revista Iberoamericana Sobre Calidad, Eficacia Y Cambio En Educación*, 18(4), pp. 269–299. https://doi.org/10.15366/reice2020.18.4.011

Díez-Gutiérrez, E. J., and Bernabé-Martínez, C. (2021) La libre elección educativa neoliberal frente a la concepción de la educación como un bien común y público, *Revista de Educación*, 395, pp. 211-236. https://doi.org/10.4438/1988-592X-RE-2022-395-520.

Domínguez, C. M. (2021) *Análisis de eficiencia de centros educativo.* Published PhD thesis. Universidad Pablo de Olavide.

Álvaro Dueñas, M. (2016) Apología del saber inútil. Algunos apuntes sobre globalización, conocimiento, equidad y educación, *Tarbiya, Revista de Investigación e Innovación Educativa*, (44). https://revistas.uam.es/tarbiya/article/view/6808

Duk, C. and Murillo, F. J. (2019) Segregación escolar y meritocracia, *Revista latinoamericana de educación inclusiva*, 13(1), pp. 11-13. http://dx.doi.org/10.4067/S0718-73782019000100011

Dumay, X., Dupriez, V. and Maroy, C. (2010) Segregation among Schools, Effects of Student Body Composition, and Inequalities in Academic Performance, *Revue Française de Sociologie*, 51(3), pp. 461-480.

Durán-Martínez, R., Martín-Pastor, E., and Martínez-Abad, F. (2020) ¿Es inclusiva la enseñanza bilingüe? Análisis de la presencia y apoyos en los alumnos con necesidades específicas de apoyo educativo, *Bordón. Revista de Pedagogía*, 72(2), 65-82. https://doi.org/10.13042/Bordon.2020.71484

Duru-Bellat, M. (2010) La desigualdad en Europa: una cuestión de actualidad, *Revista Española de Educación Comparada*, 16, pp. 105-130.

Echeita, G. (2019) A la espera de un fructífero cruce de caminos entre quienes hoy circulan en paralelo por los caminos educativos de la equidad, la justicia social, la inclusión, la convivencia, la cultura de paz o la ciudadanía global, *Revista Internacional de Educación para la Justicia Social (RIEJS)*, 8(2), pp. 7-13.

El-Habib, B. E., Jiménez-Delgado, M., Ruiz-Callado, R., and Jareño, D. (2016) Composición escolar y expectativas del alumnado por origen y etnia: una aproximación a la segregación escolar extraoficial, *Revista de Sociología de la Educación-RASE*, 9(1), pp. 59-77.

Estalayo, P., Miño-Puigcercós, R., Malinverni, P., and Rivera-Vargas, P. (2021) El reto de la inclusión social, más allá de la escuela: Tensiones y carencias de las políticas de integración de niñas y niños migrantes en España, *Archivos Analíticos de Políticas Educativas*, 29(67). https://doi.org/10.14507/epaa.29.6258

Fernández, M. (2004) Elección de escuela: efectos sociales y dilemas en el sistema educativo público en Andalucía, *Revista de Educación*, 334, pp. 377-390.

Fernández, M. (2008) Escuela pública y privada en España: La segregación rampante, *Revista de Sociología de la Educación-RASE*, 1(2), pp. 42-69.

Fernández, N. (2019). *El cercamiento neoliberal de la escuela pública en Madrid. Un estudio del discurso y la gubernamentalidad.* Published PhD thesis. Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.

Fernández, R., and Muñiz, M. (2012) Colegios concertados y selección de escuela en España: un círculo vicioso, *Presupuesto y gasto público*, 67, pp. 97-118.

Ferrer, A., and Gortazar, L. (2021, April 28) Diversidad y libertad: Reducir la segregación escolar respetando la capacidad de elección de centro. Retrieved from: https://cutt.ly/fU1dewa

Franzé, A., Poveda, D., Jociles, M.I., Rivas, A.M., Villaamil, F., Peláez, C., and Sánchez, P. (2012) La segregación étnica en la educación secundaria de la ciudad de Madrid: un mapa y una lectura crítica. García Castaño, F.J. and Carrasco Pons, S. (eds.), *Población inmigrante y escuela: conocimientos y saberes de investigación.* (pp. 289-316). Madrid: IFIIE-CREADE.

García, F. J. and Rubio, M. (2013) Juntos, pero no revueltos: Procesos de concentración escolar del alumnado extranjero en determinados centros educativos, *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares*, 68(1), pp. 7-31. https://doi.org/10.3989/rdtp.2013.01.001

Gewirtz, S., Ball, S. J. and Bowe, R. (1995) *Markets, Choice and Equity in Education*. Buckingham: Open University Press

Gil-Hernández, C. J. (2020) *Cracking meritocracy from the starting gate: social inequality in skill formation and school choice*. Published PhD thesis. European University Institute.

Gimeno, J. (1998) Nuevos liberales y viejos conservadores ante la educación. *Neoliberalismo versus democracia* (pp. 130-159). Barcelona: La Piqueta.

Gómez, J. M. (2019) Zonificación escolar, proximidad espacial y segregación socioeconómica: los casos de Sevilla y Málaga, *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas*, 168: pp. 35-54. http://dx.doi.org/10.5477/cis/reis.168.35

González, P. (2021) La segregación escolar, las desigualdades educativas y el modelo educativo de la derecha en España, *Informes*, 157. Madrid: Fundación 1º de Mayo.

Gortazar, L., and Taberner, P. A. (2020) La Incidencia del Programa Bilingüe en la Segregación Escolar por Origen Socioeconómico en la Comunidad Autónoma de Madrid: Evidencia a partir de PISA, *REICE. Revista Iberoamericana sobre Calidad, Eficacia y Cambio en Educación*, 18(4), pp. 219–239. https://doi.org/10.15366/reice2020.18.4.009

Guardia, J. J. (2019). Marco constitucional de la enseñanza privada española sostenida con fondos públicos: Recorrido histórico y perspectivas a futuro. *Estudios constitucionales*, 17(1), pp. 321-362. http://dx.doi.org/10.4067/S0718-52002019000100321

Guzmán, E., and Martín-Alonso, D. (2021) Estudio de caso sobre el impacto en la segregación escolar de las políticas educativas en centros de educación secundaria, *Innovaciones metodológicas con TIC en educación* (pp. 2595-2610). Madrid: Dykinson.

Hill, D. (2021) ¿Qué podemos hacer?: activismo marxista en educación contra el capitalismo neoliberal, in E.J. Díez-Gutiérrez and J.R. Rodríguez Fernández, *Educación crítica e inclusiva en una sociedad poscapitalista*, Pp. 133-150. Barcelona: Octaedro.

Hogrebe, N., Pomykaj, A. and Schulder, S. (2021) Segregation in Early Childhood Education and Care in Germany: Insights on Regional Distribution Patterns Using National Educational Studies, *Discourse: Journal of Childhood & Adolescense Research/Diskurs Kindheits-und Jugendforschung*, 16(1), pp. 36-56. https://doi.org/10.3224/diskurs.v16i1.04

Jiménez-Delgado, M., Jareño-Ruiz, D., and El-Habib, B. (2016) La expansión de la educación infantil en España: entre la igualdad de oportunidades y la segregación, *Revista Iberoamericana de Educación*, 72, pp. 19-44. https://doi.org/10.35362/rie72034

Laval, C. (2004) *La escuela no es una empresa: el ataque neoliberal a la enseñanza pública*. Barcelona: Paidós.

López, F., García, I. G., and Expósito-Casas, E. (2019) Educational effectiveness, efficiency, and equity in Spanish Regions: What does PISA 2015 reveal? *Orbis scholae*, 12(2), pp. 9-36. https://doi.org/10.14712/23363177.2018.291

López-Falcón, D. and Bayona-i-Carrasco, J. (2012) Segregación escolar y residencial en Barcelona: Del boom migratorio al asentamiento. F. J. García Castaño and A. Olmos Alcaraz (Eds.), *Segregaciones y construcción de la diferencia en la escuela* (pp. 21-42). Madrid: Trotta.

Lozano, A., and Fernández-Prados, J. S. (2018) Equidad estructural en los sistemas educativos europeos, *Revista Española de Educación Comparada*, 32, pp. 88-106. https://doi.org/10.5944/reec.32.2018.22857

Lubián, C. (2021a) Narrativas familiares e institucionales sobre las barreras de acceso a centros escolares en familias migrantes: Un estudio de caso en España, *Archivos Analíticos de Políticas Educativas*, 29(73). https://doi.org/10.14507/epaa.29.5777

Lubián, C. (2021b) Segregación residencial, segregación escolar y vulnerabilidad por origen nacional, *Migraciones. Publicación del Instituto Universitario de Estudios sobre Migraciones*, (52), pp. 249-286. https://doi.org/10.14422/mig.i52.y2021.009

Luengo, J. and Molina J. (2018) (Re)-contextualización del modelo de cuasi-mercado en Andalucía. Dirección escolar y familias compitiendo y seleccionando, *Revista de Currículum y Formación del Profesorado*, 22(2). https://recyt.fecyt.es/index.php/profesorado/article/view/66386

Mainer, J. (2020) Fábricas de inequidad, *Libre pensamiento*, 101, pp. 36-43.

Madaria, B., and Vila, L. E. (2020) Segregaciones Escolares y Desigualdad de Oportunidades Educativas del Alumnado Extranjero en València, *REICE*, 18(4), pp. 269–299. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.15366/reice2020.18.4.011

Mancebón, M. J., and Ximénez, D. P. (2007) Conciertos educativos y selección académica y social del alumnad,. *Hacienda Pública Española*, 180(1), pp. 77-106.

Mancebón-Torrubia, M. J. and Ximénez-de-Embún, D. P. (2010) Una valoración del grado de segregación socioeconómica existente en el sistema educativo español. Un análisis

por Comunidades Autónomas a partir de PISA 2006, *Regional and Sectorial Economic Studies*, 10(3), pp. 129-148. https://bit.ly/2lCK7nv

Marcos, E. (2019). Los conciertos educativos y la libertad de elección de centro educativo. *Revista de Derecho de la UNED (RDUNED)*, (25), pp. 429-470. https://doi.org/10.5944/rduned.25.2019.27003

Maroy, C. (2008). ¿Por qué y cómo regular el mercado educativo? *Profesorado. Revista de Currículum y Formación de Profesorado*, 12(2), pp. 1-11.

Martín, B. (2008). Enseñanza pública y enseñanza privada ¿conflicto o complementariedad? *Foro de Educación*, (10), pp. 111–132.

Martin, B. (ed.) (2008) The Poulantzas Reader: Marxism, Law and the State. London: Verso.

Martínez, L., and Ferrer, A. (2019) *Mézclate conmigo. De la segregación socioeconómica a la educación inclusiva*. Madrid: Save the Children.

Martínez-Celorrio, X. (2019) Desigualdad, segregación escolar y socialdemocràcia. In *Informe social 2019. Desigualtats davant d'un futur incert* (pp. 43-63). Barcelona: Fundació Rafael Campalans.

Martínez-Celorrio, X. (2021). Polarización social de la infancia y efecto redistributivo de las políticas sociales y educativas. *Educació Social. Revista d'Intervenció Socioeducativa*, 77, pp. 37-56.

Moher, D., Liberati, A., Tetzlaff, J., Altman, D.G., and The PRISMA Group (2009) Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses: The PRISMA Statement, *PLoS Med* 6(6): e1000097. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pmed1000097

Moraga, J., and Cartes-Velásquez, R. (2015). Pautas de Chequeo, parte II: QUOROM y PRISMA, *Revista Chilena de Cirugía*, 67 (3), pp. 325-330.

Murgoitio, J. M. (2018). El sistema educativo, entre el monopolio y la libertad escolar: escuela plural o pluralidad de escuelas. La letra y el espíritu de la Constitución. *Ius Canonicum*, 115 (58), pp. 83–120. https://doi.org/10.15581/016.115.001

Murillo, F. J., and Duk, C. (2021) La Segregación Escolar Comienza en Educación Infantil, *Revista latinoamericana de educación inclusiva*, 15(1), pp. 11-13. *https://doi.org/10.4067/s0718-73782021000100011*

Murillo, F. J., and Martínez-Garrido, C. (2017) Segregación escolar por nivel socioeconómico en España. Un estudio sincrónico y diacrónico. *Actas XVIII Congreso Internacional de Investigación Educativa: interdisciplinariedad y transferencia (AIDIPE, 2017)* (pp. 929-938). Valencia: Asociación Interuniversitaria de Investigación Pedagógica (AIDIPE).

Murillo, F. J. and Martínez-Garrido, C. (2018) Magnitud de la segregación escolar por nivel socioeconómico en España y sus Comunidades Autónomas y comparación con los países de la Unión Europea, *Revista de Sociología de la Educación (RASE),* 11(1), pp. 37-58. https://doi.org/10.7203/RASE.11.1.10129

Murillo, F. J., & Martínez-Garrido, C. (2019). Profiles of school segregation by socioeconomic status in Spain and its Autonomous Communities. *RELIEVE*, 25(1), pp. 1-18. https://doi.org/10.7203/relieve.25.1.12917

Murillo, F. J., & Martínez-Garrido, C. (2020). Segregación Escolar como Opresión. *REICE. Revista Iberoamericana Sobre Calidad, Eficacia Y Cambio En Educación*, 18(4), pp. 5–8.

Murillo, F. J., and Martínez-Garrido, C. (2021) Profundizado en la segregación social de los centros de secundaria en la Comunidad de Madrid, *Revista de Sociología de la Educación-RASE*, 14 (3), pp. 348-369. http://dx.doi.org/10.7203/RASE.14.3.18149

Murillo, F. J., Almazán, A., and Martínez-Garrido, C. (2021) La elección de centro educativo en un sistema de cuasi-mercado escolar mediado por el programa de bilingüismo, *Revista Complutense de Educación*, 32(1), pp. 89-97. https://doi.org/10.5209/rced.68068

Murillo, F. J., Belavi, G., and Pinilla, L. (2018) Segregación escolar público-privada en España, *Papers. Revista de Sociología*, 103 (3), 307-337. https://doi.org/10.5565/rev/papers.2392

Murillo, F. J., Duk, C. and Martínez-Garrido, C. (2018) Evolución de la segregación socioeconómica de las escuelas de América Latina, *Estudios Pedagógicos*, 44(1), pp. 157-179. https://doi.org/10.4067/S0718-07052018000100157

Nadelson, L. S., Albritton, S., Couture, V. G., Green, C., Loyless, S. D., and Shaw, E. O. (2020). Principals' Perceptions of Education Equity: A Mindset for Practice. *Journal of Education and Learning*, *9*(1), 1-15. https://doi.org/10.5539/jel.v9n1p1

OECD (2011) Private schools: Who benefits? *PISA in focus.* Paris: OECD Publishing. https://www.oecd.org/pisa/pisaproducts/pisainfocus/48482894.pdf

OECD (2012) *Equity and Quality in Education. Supporting Disadvantaged Students and Schools*. Paris: OECD Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264130852-en

OECD (2016) *PISA 2015 Results (Volume I). Excellence and Equity in Education*. Paris: OECD Publishing.

OECD (2018) *Education at a Glance 2018: OECD Indicators*. Paris: OECD Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1787/eag-2018-en

Orellana, V., Caviedes, S., Bellei, C., and Contreras, M. (2018) La elección de escuela como fenómeno sociológico. Una revisión de literatura, *Revista Brasileira de Educação*, 23, pp. 1-19. http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S1413-24782018230007

Ortiz, M. (2010) Ineficacia de las medidas para garantizar la igualdad de oportunidades, *Revista Iberoamericana de Educación*, 51(3), pp. 1-7. https://doi.org/10.35362/rie5131829

Page, M.J., McKenzie, J.E., Bossuyt, P.M., Boutron, I., Hoffmann, TC, Mulrow, CD, ... and Moher, D. (2021). The PRISMA 2020 statement: an updated guideline for reporting systematic reviews. *British Medical Journal*. 372:n71. https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.n71.

Pedró, F. (2012) Políticas públicas sobre apoyo y refuerzo educativo: evidencias internacionales, *Revista de Educación, nº extraordinario*, pp. 22-45. https://doi.org/10.4438/1988-592X-RE-2012-EXT-205

Peláez, C. (2012) La escuela, un espacio simbólico que construir: Estigmas y estrategias de los agentes en los procesos de segregación étnica y escolarización. F. J. García

Castaño and A. Olmos Alcaraz (eds.), *Segregaciones y construcción de la diferencia en la escuela* (pp. 61-82). Madrid: Trotta.

Piazza, P. and Frankenberg, E. (2019) *Segregation at an early age*. Pensilvania: Center for Education and Civil Rights, Penn State University. https://cecr.ed.psu.edu/sites/default/files/Segregation_At_An_Early_Age_Piazza_Frankenberg_2019.pdf

Picornell-Lucas, A., Montes-López, E., and Herrero-Villoria, C. (2018) La desigualdad de oportunidades educativas desde la perspectiva de los niños, niñas y adolescentes de Castilla y León, *Prisma Social: Revista de Investigación Social*, (23), 169-184. https://revistaprismasocial.es/article/view/2737

Piketty, T. (2015) *The Economics of Inequality*. Cambridge (MA): Belknap Press.

Prats, E. (2010) Equidad y eficacia en la Estrategia de Lisboa: un reto estructural en los sistemas de educación básica en Europa, *Revista Española de Educación Comparada*, 16, pp. 131-158. https://dx.doi.org/10.5944/reec.16.2010.7527

Prieto-Latorre, C., Marcenaro-Gutiérrez, O. D., and Vignoles, A. (2021). School segregation in public and semiprivate primary schools in Andalusia. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 69(2), 175-196. https://doi.org/10.1080/00071005.2020.1795078

Pulido, C. (2020) *La privatización de y en la educación pública: un estudio comparado de los casos de Inglaterra y España.* Published PhD thesis. Universitat de València.

Rambla, X. (2003) Las desigualdades de clase en la elección de escuela, *Revista de Educación*, 330, pp. 83-98. https://ddd.uab.cat/record/117763

Rambla, X., and Bonal, X. (2000) La política educativa y la estructura social, *Cambios en el estado del bienestar. Políticas sociales y desigualdades en España* (pp. 285-309). Barcelona: Icaria.

Rawls, J. (2001). *Justice as Fairness; a Restatement*. Cambridge (MA), The Belknap Press.

Recio, M. Á. (2020). ¿Cómo han afectado y afectan los recortes a los centros educativos? *Cuadernos de pedagogía*, 505, pp. 72-77. Retrieved from: https://hdl.handle.net/11162/204189

Reimer, E. (1971) *School is dead: An essay on alternatives in education*. London: Penguin.

Rey, F. (2020) *Se-gregación escolar en España. Marco teórico desde un enfoque de derechos fundamentales y principales ámbitos: socioeconómico, discapacidad, etnia y género.* Madrid: Marcial Pons.

Riera, M. (1999). Capitalismo con rostro humano. *El Viejo topo*, (132), pp. 5-6.

Roda, A., and Stuart-Wells, A. (2013). School choice policies and racial segregation: Where white parents' good intentions, anxiety, and privilege collide. *American Journal of Education*, 119(2), 261-293. https://doi.org/10.1086/668753

Rodríguez, C. (2020) Segregación escolar, políticas de demanda y fracaso escolar, *DYLE: Dirección y Liderazgo Educativo*, 5, pp. 5-7.

Rodríguez, P., and Oliveres, V. (2021, December 2) ¿La meritocracia son los padres? Cómo el sistema educativo falla a las clases bajas frente a las altas. *El Diario.es* Retrieved from: https://cutt.ly/fUuKoji

Rodríguez, V., Pruneda, G., and Cueto, B. (2014) Actitudes de la ciudadanía hacia los servicios públicos. Valoración y satisfacción en el periodo 2009-2011, *Política y sociedad*, 51(2), pp. 595-618. https://doi.org/10.5209/rev_POSO.2014.v51.n2.43561

Rodríguez, H., Ríos, O. and Racionero, S. (2012) Reconfiguración de la educación compensatoria en base a las evidencias científicas. Actuaciones inclusivas para la igualdad de resultados, *Revista de Educación, nº extraordinario*, pp. 67-87. http://doi.org/10.4438/1988-592X-RE-2012-EXT-207

Rogero-García, J., and Andrés-Candelas, M. (2014) Gasto público y de las familias en educación en España: diferencias entre centros públicos y concertados, *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas (REIS)*, 147(1), pp. 121-132. http://dx.doi.org/10.5477/cis/reis.147.121

Rogero-García, J. and Andrés-Candelas, M. (2014) Family and State Spending on Education in Spain: Differences between Public and Publicly-Funded Private Educational Institutions. Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas (REIS), 147, pp. 121-132. http://dx.doi.org/10.5477/cis/reis.147.121

Rogero-García, J., and Andrés-Candelas, M. (2016) Representaciones sociales de los padres y madres sobre la educación pública y privada en España, *Revista de la Asociación de Sociología de la Educación*, 9(1), pp. 46-58.

Rogero-García, J, and Andrés-Candelas, M. (2020) School choice and post hoc family preference in Spain: Do they match up? *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 28(3), pp. 1-16. https://doi.org/10.14507/epaa.28.4354

Rojo, V., Alkorta, E., and Bustillo, J. (2021) Privatización de la educación en España, de la consolidación de los conciertos educativos a la NGP. *Desempeño docente y formación en competencia digital en la era SARS COV 2* (pp. 259-270). Madrid: Dykinson

Ron-Balsera, M., Dorsi, D., and Petersen, T. (2016) Ensuring Mixed Education Systems Comply with Human Rights. *A Report to The International Commission on Financing Global Education Opportunity*. http://report.educationcommission.org/download/807

Rubia, F. A. (2013) La segregación escolar en nuestro sistema educativo, *Forum Aragón: Revista Digital de FEAE-Aragón sobre Organización y Gestión Educativa*, 10, pp. 47-52.

Sainz, J., and Sanz, I. (2021) Los centros públicos y concertados se refuerzan mutuamente. Revisión de la Literatura. *Cuadernos de pedagogía* (516), pp. 16-20.

San Martín, O. (2021, febrero 3). Padres, profesores y centros de la concertada denuncian ante la Comisión Europea que la Ley Celaá vulnera derechos fundamentales. *El Mundo*. Retrieved from: https://cutt.ly/UUXrcrh

Sánchez, D. (2019, julio 30). La financiación de la educación concertada subió un 25% en diez años mientras se estancó la de la pública. *ElDiario.es* Retrieved from: https://cutt.ly/UUXiM3p

Sánchez, D. (2020, noviembre 11). Los colegios privados denuncian que el 90% de los concertados cobran cuotas irregulares a las familias. *ElDiario.es* Retrieved from: https://cutt.ly/jUBkcou

Sánchez, D. and Ordaz, A. (2019, February 25) La escuela concertada, de la necesidad en los tiempos de Felipe González a pilar ideológico de la derecha. *Eldiario.es* Retrieved from: https://n9.cl/1xpx

Sánchez, F. (2017). La segregación étnica y social en el sistema educativo de la región de Murcia. Análisis del dispositivo sociocultural generador de guetos escolares. *Revista Nuevas Tendencias en Antropología*, (8), pp. 114-145.

Sánchez-Santamaría, J., and Ballester, M. (2016). Desarrollando el éxito educativo para todos, reflexiones, propuestas y retos conceptuales en torno a la equidad educativa. *REICE. Revista Iberoamericana sobre Calidad, Eficacia y Cambio en Educación*, 12(2), pp. 85-104. https://revistas.uam.es/reice/article/view/2857

Sastre, A., Assiego, V., and Ubrich, T. (2015) *Iluminando el futuro: invertir en educación es luchar contra la pobreza infantil: resumen ejecutivo*. Madrid: Save the Children.

Sen, A. (2010). *The Idea of Justice*. London, Penguin.

Simón, C., Barrios, Á., Gutiérrez, H., and Muñoz, Y. (2019) Equity, Inclusive Education and Education for Social Justice. Do all Paths Lead to the Same Goal? *Revista Internacional de Educación para la Justicia Social (RIEJS)*, 8(2), pp. 17-32. https://doi.org/10.15366/riejs2019.8.2.001

Taylor, C., Gorard, S., and Fitz, J. (2003) The Modifiable Areal Unit Problem: Segregation Between Schools and Levels of Analysis, *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 6 (1), pp. 41-60. https://doi.org/10.1080/13645570305053

Tedesco, J.C. (2011) Los desafíos de la educación básica en el siglo XXI, *Revista Iberoamericana de Educación*, 55, pp. 31-47.

Urrútia, G. and Bonfill, X. (2010) Declaración PRISMA: una propuesta para mejorar la publicación de revisiones sistemáticas y metaanálisis. *Medicina Clínica*, 135 (11), pp. 507-511. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.medcli.2010.01.015

Valenzuela, J. P., Bellei, C., and De los Ríos, D. (2014) Socioeconomic school segregation in a market-oriented educational system. The case of Chile, *Journal of Education Policy*, 29(2), pp. 217-241. https://doi.org/10.1080/02680939.2013.806995

Valero, A. (2019). Perfiles constitucionales del derecho a la educación y la libertad de enseñanza en el ordenamiento jurídico español. *Revista Vasca de Administración Pública. Herri-Arduralaritzako Euskal Aldizkaria*, (115), pp. 191-213.

Valiente, O. (2008) ¿A qué juega la concertada? La segregación escolar del alumnado inmigrante, *Profesorado*, 12(2), pp. 142-164.

Vera, C. R. (2017) *La elección de centro escolar en Aragón: razonamientos y estrategias de los padres en la elección de centro escolar*. Published PhD thesis. Universidad de Zaragoza.

Verger, A., Moschetti, M. C., and Fontdevila, C. (2020) How and why policy design matters: understanding the diverging effects of public-private partnerships in education, *Comparative Education*, 56(2), pp. 278-303. https://doi.org/10.1080/03050068.2020.1744239

Villarroya, A. and Escardíbul, J. O. (2008) Políticas públicas y posibilidades efectivas de elección de centro en la enseñanza no universitaria en España, *Profesorado*, 12(2), pp. 90-115.

Zancajo, A. and Bonal, X. (2020) Education markets and school segregation: a mechanism-based explanation, *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*. https://doi.org/10.1080/03057925.2020.1858272

Author Details

Enrique J. Díez-Gutiérrez holds a PhD in Education Sciences and is a Senior Lecturer of the Faculty of Education at the University of León (ULE), Spain. He holds a degree in Philosophy. Diploma in Social Work and Social Education. Specialist in educational organisation, he currently develops his teaching and research work in the field of Intercultural Education, gender and educational policy. In addition to numerous articles and book chapters, he has recently published: *La asignatura pendiente* (Plaza y Valdés), *La educación en venta* (Octaedro) and *Educación para el Bien Común* (Octaedro) with Juan Ramón Rodríguez.
ejdieg@unileon.es
ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3399-5318

Eva Palomo Cermeño (Corresponding Author)
Eva Palomo Cermeño holds a PhD from the Universidad Rey Juan Carlos de Madrid (URJC) and is a Lecturer at the same university, in the Department of Humanities. Master in Interdisciplinary Gender Studies. Her lines of research are: feminist theory, history women's movements, gender violence and applied ethics. In 2015 she published the book *Sylvia Pankhurst. Suffragette and socialist*. She has also published several articles and book chapters on feminist thought and activism and its relationship with other critical theories and social movements
eva.palomo@urjc.es
ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7433-4084