Country Report Spain

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June 2009
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A. Key data sources and responsible institutions

Immigration is a relatively new phenomenon in Spain, which helps explaining the main drawbacks in its statistical treatment. First among these drawbacks is probably the fact that most data dealing with immigration in Spain comes from administrative data collection, which seriously hampers not only academic research but also policy analysis and evaluation. Second, the statistical information available is primarily related to stocks, while reliable information on flows remains scarce. And third, micro-data rarely exist. However, some important advancement has taken place over the last five years, as I will explain below.

For a long time, our knowledge about the size and characteristics of immigrant populations in Spain was based on two large register-based data sources: 1) Statistics on foreigners with valid residence cards or residence permits (Extranjeros con tarjeta o autorización de residencia en vigor), 2) Statistics on foreigners with valid work permits (Trabajadores extranjeros titulares de permisos de trabajo), which were recently replaced by Statistics on foreign workers registered as employed in the Social Security System (Trabajadores extranjeros afiliados y en alta laboral en la Seguridad Social). These two sources provide us with statistical aggregated counts of foreigners who reside (and work) legally in the country, and are published on a yearly basis since the early nineties. The former is collected by the Ministry of Interior, and the latter by the Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs (now called the Ministry of Employment and Immigration), although periodical publications based on both are managed by the Permanent Observatory of Immigration (known as OPI), which is the office responsible for analysing and publishing migration-related information within the State Department of Immigration and Emigration (http://extranjeros.mtas.es/).

Apart from these two administrative sources, the National Statistical Institute (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, INE) is in charge of collecting, managing and publishing official population statistics and large scale surveys that often include information about foreigners and, more generally, people of immigrant origin. The Padrón Continuo or Municipal Population Register is the most important one in this regard. Although municipalities are responsible for collecting population data at the local level and keeping the Padrón Municipal clean and updated, the National Statistical Institute (INE) centralizes data collected by the municipalities, carries out periodical cleaning and revision tasks and publishes official figures of total population residing in Spain, on the 1st of January each year.

The most important feature of the Padrón for the analysis of immigration is that it contains data on the entire population living in Spain regardless of their legal status (for more, see Sections 2 and 7). This is the reason why figures from the Padrón are currently considered the most accurate source to measure the actual size of immigrant population in Spain in spite of some important drawbacks (see Section 7). In contrast to other countries, the Spanish Census is not an accurate source for the study of immigration due to its well-known coverage problems in relation to the

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1 More frequent updates are sometimes available for some municipalities such as the city of Madrid, which publishes figures from its Municipal Population Register twice a year, in January and July. However, it is important to remark these are not official figures until the National Statistics Institute revises and publishes them some months later.
foreign population. Although the Census 2001 utilized valuable information from the Padrón Municipal, the foreign population continued being substantially under-recorded. This situation is expected to improve in the next Census, according to the latest documents published by the National Statistics Institute, which is responsible for the design and implementation of the decennial census.

In addition to these main data sources, there are two main surveys that may be used for studying immigrant population in Spain: the Labour Force Survey (known as EPA), and the Immigrants National Survey (known as ENI, Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes). A new methodology consisting of using Census 2001 as the sampling frame and applied from 2005 onwards, has improved the Labour Force Survey as an instrument for studying the labour market situation of foreign residents in Spain. On the other hand, the Immigrants National Survey, whose preliminary results are about to be published, is expected to be a crucial statistical source for both academic research and policy design and evaluation in the field of immigration. This survey utilized the 2006 Padrón Municipal as its sampling frame. The National Statistics Institute is responsible for both the EPA and the ENI, although the latter was designed in collaboration with the Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs and with a research team from the Universidad Complutense (Madrid).

A third important source for the study of immigration and the labour market is the Ongoing Sample of Labour Trajectories (Muestra Continua de Vidas Laborales), which is a random sample drawn out from the Social Security Workers’ Register that permits statistical analyses at the individual level.

There is no official linkage between any of these data sources apart from the fact that the 2001 Census and the Padrón Municipal have been used as sampling frames for the Labour Force Survey and for the ENI, respectively. In fact, they are thought to cover different populations. However, an advantage derived from this is that we can obtain relatively reliable estimates of the size of the undocumented foreign population living in Spain (by comparing official figures from the Padrón Municipal and the Statistics on foreigners with valid work permit) and the number of foreign workers employed in the black economy (by comparing Statistics on foreign workers registered as employed at the Social Security System and the number of employed foreigners according to the Labour Force Survey).

As can be noted, all the aforementioned sources offer information only about immigrant residents but none contains information on migration flows (either inflows or outflows), which implies that changing patterns of immigration to Spain can only be indirectly estimated (through the Padrón’s figures, mainly), and we completely lack any information about the patterns and determinants of return migration.

B. Historical evolution of the national data collection system/ data collection practices and policies on data collection

In Spain, the two most recent reforms of the Padrón Municipal (Municipal Population Register), approved in 1996 and 2003 respectively, have probably been the most major changes to data collection regarding immigration in Spain.
During the period between 1986 and 1995 the information in the *Padrón Municipal* was updated every five years (years ended in 6 and 1) through fieldwork data collection similar to the one utilised in the decennial census. In 1996, a new management system was established: on a monthly basis, each municipality had to communicate any changes in its population figures to the National Statistics Institute, which centralizes and revises all the communications from the municipalities in order to elaborate and publish official annual population figures for the whole country. Although the new system started to function in May 1996, the first update of the population figures was not made until January 1998. From that year onwards, population figures are continuously updated at the local level but the *INE* (National Institute of Statistics) only publishes the official figures on a yearly basis\(^2\).

This reform substantially improved Spain’s population statistics. However, the counting of foreigners continued to be seriously flawed because fear of expulsion prevented most foreigners from registering in their municipalities\(^3\). This situation changed after the reform of the Immigration Law in 2000 (known as Law 4/2000, on the Rights of Foreigners and their Social Integration into Spanish Society). The new legislation imposed the *empadronamiento* (registration at the Municipal Population Register) as the only legal requirement to access health care and other public services such as primary school for children\(^4\). In addition, the regularisation program that accompanied the legal reform -and all other regularisations implemented since- accepted the certificate of *empadronamiento* as a proof of the length of residence in Spain, which especially encouraged registration of undocumented people. Between 1\(^{\text{st}}\) January 2000 and 1\(^{\text{st}}\) January 2001, the number of foreigners born-abroad recorded in the register increased by 466,507 individuals\(^5\).

The second reform of the *Padrón Municipal*, approved in December 2003, was aimed at erasing from the register the records of foreigners who registered once but no longer lived in the country. These people should have been de-registered "ex-officio" by the Municipality but rarely were (we should be reminded that the amount of money annually transferred by the central government to the municipalities partially depends on their population figures). In order to achieve this goal, the legal reform required that all non-EU foreigners without a permanent residence permit, renew their inscription at the Municipal Population Register every two years, which implies that official figures in the *Padrón* will be not affected by this change until 1\(^{\text{st}}\) January 2006 (two years after the norm was approved).

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\(^2\) The national figures based on the *Padrón* are produced twice a year: the first, named *Avance*, with provisional data at the end of March; and the other, at the end of the same year, with definitive figures declared official by the Government.

\(^3\) Even in spite of those fears, the number of foreigners born abroad in the *Padrón* increased from 580,195 to 831,626 between 1998 and 2000, which implies more than 250,000 new registrations.

\(^4\) Since the approval of the Law 4/2000, most municipalities have periodically carried out campaigns to promote the *empadronamiento* of foreign people. Note that municipalities have not only a statistical incentive to do so but also a financial one since part of their budget (the share transferred to them from the central government) depends on their population as counted in the *Padrón*. However, there is a wide variation on how efficient municipalities have been in this regard, which could obviously affect their foreign residents' figures.

\(^5\) We can assure that a large share of those new registered foreigners were undocumented migrants by comparing the figures provided by the *Padrón Municipal* at 1\(^{\text{st}}\) January 2001 and the Statistics on foreigners with a valid residence permit as of 31\(^{\text{st}}\) December 2000 (see more below).
The reform was known as *caducidad padronal* or *caducidad de las inscripciones padronales* ("expiry procedure") and occurred in the following manner. In 2005, INE received the complete list of foreigners holding a permanent residence permit from the Ministry of Interior (ADEXTRA). By comparing this list with the foreigners extracted from the *Padrón* database, INE sent each municipality an initial list of foreigners who had not been granted a permanent residence permit and who arrived in Spain between 1996 and December 2003. These lists included temporary residence permit holders and the so-called illegal asylum seekers and other undocumented persons without the possibility to distinguish among these groups, since the *Padrón* does not include information on the legal residence status of persons. Each foreigner of the list was invited to present him/herself to the municipality to renew their registration within two months. For foreigners who did not re-register in due time, municipalities could send a warning to each concerned person, although this step was not compulsory. If the concerned foreigner did not appear for re-registration in the *Padrón*, the usual procedure for the ‘ex officio’ de-registration was to be launched after the expiry date.

The implementation of this measure however, turned out to be problematic and controversial. First of all, the measure was not properly publicised and, consequently, a substantial number of non-EU foreigners still living in Spain did not renew their registrations within the given time. Second, some municipalities were more effective than others in ensuring that their foreign population renew. Third, in principle, only an explicit act of renewal by the person in question was accepted would allow the municipalities to keep his/her record alive in the register. All this implies that foreigners who did not renew their registration in time but were known to continue living in Spain because they had, for instance, changed their place of residence, were to be erased as well. All these factors led several local governments to be in open conflict with the INE, which finally agreed to accept a registered change of residence as enough to consider the foreigner's inscription as renewed. Due to these disagreements between the INE and some municipal statistical offices, no single record was eliminated until November 2006, when the INE fixed the definitive figures: approximately a quarter million foreigners were ‘ex officio’ de-registered as a result of the new law, and a similar number for those who had not yet appeared for re-registration, but were not yet ‘ex officio’ de-registered. The INE decided not to consider the last group in the estimation of the usual resident population stock figures on 1st January 2007. Officially, these foreigners were still in the *Padrón* but deactivated by INE for statistical purpose in order to cover the reality of the residence.

In addition, the controversy around the reform and its variegated implementation by the municipalities implies much uncertainty about the meaning of variations in the *Padrón’s* figures on foreign population in the future. As a matter of fact, differences between figures for years prior to and those following the reform cannot be immediately read as reflecting the previously unrecorded outflow of foreigners, as was originally intended. It is hoped that this can happen in the near future as the biannual renewal rule becomes well-known among immigrants and is homogenously managed by the municipalities.

On the other hand, we can also mention the creation of the Aliens Central Register in 2004. According to the decree that established it within the General Directorate of the
Police (*Dirección General de Policía*), this Register should collect data on a wide range of migration-related issues that were not centralized prior to its creation such as residence, work and study authorisations, asylum applications, expulsions, changes of nationality, etc. Although the functioning of the Register is not completely developed yet, it has become increasingly visible due to obligations imposed on EU and EEA citizens to register in it since 2nd April 2007 (before they were not required to request a residence card). This obligation has generated some inconsistencies in the latest figures from Statistics on foreigners with valid residence cards or residence permits: a large number of Romanian and Bulgarian citizens living in Spain still appear as having a valid residence permit and, therefore, merged with other non-EU citizen, despite being EU citizens since 1st January 2007. This inconsistency is expected to be progressively eliminated as these citizens’ residence permits expire and they request inscription in the Alien Central Register.

On the other hand, collection of data related to the labour market situation of foreigners in Spain experienced an important change in 2000, when the publication of figures on the number of work permit granted and the number of valid work permits was replaced by figures of foreigners in the Social Security Workers’ Register. Common delays in processing foreigners’ work permit applications, along with repeated regularisation programs that systematically lengthened those delays help explaining why statistics on foreigners with a valid work permit in Spain were always tremendously outdated. In addition, EU-citizens were not required to have a work permit and, therefore, were excluded from the work permits’ figures. All these factors were probably the reasons underlying the substitution of the previous dataset.

Finally, one of the most important experiences improving the collection of statistical information concerning the immigrant population has been the recent implementation of the National Immigrants Survey, carried out in 2007. This survey is specifically designed to be representative of the population of immigrant origin (born outside Spain), regardless of their legal status. The questionnaire was designed by a team made of researchers, in collaboration with members of the Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs. The sampling design and the data collection were done by the National Institute of Statistics. On this occasion, the content of the survey was mainly focused on the migration trajectory and the housing and labour market situation of migrants. By contrast, the information collected remains quite limited for analysing integration. There is a possibility that this survey will become a periodical activity of the National Institute of Statistics. In that case, there would be probably the possibility to introduce specific thematic modules in the questionnaire and cover other areas more related to integration. However, at this moment, such a possibility is not yet confirmed.

**C. Coordination and linking**

The National Statistics Institute (*INE*) and the Permanent Observatory of Immigration (*OPI*) are the two main offices providing information on key data sources about immigration in Spain.
The Observatory, integrated within the Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs, centralizes statistical information on foreigners which come from several data sources that are managed by different authorities such as the Alien Central Register (Ministry of Interior), Social Security Register (Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs), Statistics on Foreign Students enrolled (Ministry of Education), Statistics on Nationality Acquisitions (Ministry of Justice), etc. Although the Observatory may, in principle, carry out data collection on its own, so far it has restricted its activity to centralize data previously collected by other governmental agencies and periodically publishes this data in the Immigration Statistical Yearbook.

On the other hand, as explained previously, the INE centralizes statistics on population stocks collected by municipalities in the Padrón Municipal, as well as other register-based information like births, deaths, marriages and so on.

Unfortunately, matching operations are still a rare practice in Spain, not only for data on immigrant populations but for the whole population as well. Nevertheless, some attempts have recently been made. Among them, we highlight the linking operations made for the Ongoing Sample of Labour Trajectories (Encuesta Continua de Vidas Laborales, MCVL). As said before, this dataset is a prospective longitudinal sample drawn from the Social Security Workers’ Register since 2004, and is annually updated. So far, the information contained in the MCVL has been matched with information contained in the Padrón Municipal and in the Central Tax Office (Agencia Tributaria)\(^6\). There is also a project to link all the register-based information for immigrants, coordinated by the Permanent Observatory of Immigration. However, it is not completely clear at this moment whether the project will be ultimately carried out or not.

On the other hand, matching operations are said to be difficult even among different datasets within the same register. For instance, Spanish immigration authorities have information indicating the type of initial residence permit that a person obtained (i.e. for the purpose of family reunification, for work purposes, etc.); they also have information on subsequent residence permits granted later on. However, these two pieces of information cannot be linked for the time being, which implies that we cannot distinguish, for instance, people who entered the country on the basis of family reunification provisions from those who entered it by other means. In many cases, the impossibility of linking is related to technical issues related to the different software applications utilised by each administrative unit. Other times, however, the information exists on paper but has never been captured electronically.

**D. Concepts and definitions**

In Spain, citizenship has traditionally been the main concept organizing data collection in the field of migration, although information on country of birth is also increasingly available in sources such as the Padrón Municipal, the Census,

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\(^6\) Approximately 17 per cent of the individuals in the MCVL could not be matched in the Padrón Municipal. Individuals were linked when their ID number (DNI for nationals and NIE for non-nationals) and the date of birth (day-month-year) coincided.

In contrast, none of the major datasets in the field collects information on the place of birth of parents, which implies serious limitations to identifying second-generation immigrants. In addition, no question on ethnicity or religion is included in any of the major datasets described so far. As far as language is concerned, the Census questionnaire includes information on this variable for people living in Spanish regions with their own language (Catalonia, Basque Country, Galicia), but there is nothing related to foreign languages.

With the exception of the Census and the Labour Force Survey, none of the datasets described so far collects information on year of immigration from abroad. Two other sources for the study of (international and internal) migration exist: Statistics of Residential Changes (Estadística de Variaciones Residenciales) and Migrations Survey (Encuesta de Migraciones). The former is elaborated by the INE with the information contained in the Padrón Municipal on registrations and de-registrations of individuals due to changes of address (from one Spanish municipality to another one, or between one Spanish municipality and abroad). Its major limitations are the same as the Padrón’s: the date of registration does not necessarily coincide with the real date of (im)migration. In addition, the Statistics on Residential Changes counts moves, not people. The Migration Survey, meanwhile, counts the number of migrants instead of the number of moves; however, its major drawback is that it largely underestimates the number of migrants and of foreigners because it is elaborated from the Labour Force Survey, whose primary goal is to study people in the labour market rather than migrants. As in the Labour Force Survey, information on the year of arrival is asked only of foreigners, which excludes people with double nationality and naturalized foreigners (see more in Section 5.2).

E. Availability of data

E.1. Core demographic data on immigrants and migration control

E.1.a Population Stocks and General Demographic Characteristics

In Spain, data on population stocks and general demographic characteristics including sex, date of birth, nationality, country of birth and (sometimes) educational level at the time of registration (information on this variable is not periodically updated) is available in both the decennial Censuses and the Padrón Municipal. The stock population by sex and age group are also obtained through the Population Now-Cast (Estimaciones de la Población Actual, ePOBa) calculated on the base of 2001 census data, and the most recent civil registration information about natural

Note that the date of registration in the Padrón Municipal cannot be taken as a reliable proxy for date of arrival especially for foreigners, since incentives to register have widely varied over the last ten years and individuals may register whenever they want, even though registration is compulsory for anyone who has their usual residence in Spain.
increase (births and deaths) and the Padrón movements for migration flows. The Population Now-Cast stock figure is disseminated by INE within Spain and also at the international level, since it includes quite reliable figures for statistical purposes. In fact, INE also uses the Now-Cast stock figure as reference current population in household surveys and in National Accounts. However, two important limitations are that the Now-Cast figures produced since 2004 do not provide figures at the municipal level, and that the distribution by country of citizenship cannot be extracted from it but only from the Padrón.

The 2001 census was an appropriate opportunity to compare the two stock figures; actually, some corrections were made afterwards in the Padrón. The forthcoming 2011 census will be the last opportunity to improve the reliability of the Padrón following this procedure, since thereafter population enumeration will only be possible through the Padrón and reference population figures in surveys and in National Accounts will be consistent with it.

Given the more frequent updating of the Padrón’s figures, this is the source currently utilised to obtain official figures on population in Spain. Unfortunately, the form that immigrants have to fulfil in order to register in their municipality does not include a question about their first date of immigration to either the country or the city. As a result of this omission, there is a possibility that figures from the Padrón, commonly used to approximate immigration trends over the last eight years, would exaggerate the pace of the immigrant population’s growth, since people do not necessarily register as soon as they arrive to the municipality. To put it simpler, it is possible that a relatively substantial fraction of the immigrants who registered during the year 2001 and, consequently, appear as newcomers to Spain in 2001, had arrived one or two years earlier; however, they could have delayed their inscription in the Padrón until they checked with other country-men that registration in the Padrón does not imply a serious risk of arrest and deportation. This limitation must be kept in mind when immigration trends are based on figures from the Padrón Municipal. On the other hand, the Padrón does not provide information about the familial relationships among the persons living in the same dwelling either, which seriously hampers the analysis of the composition and characteristics of migrant households, in comparison to non-migrant ones.

The second source most commonly utilised for measuring stocks and general demographic characteristics of the immigrant population living in Spain is the Statistics on Valid Residence Permits (sometimes called ADEXTRA). For obvious reasons, this source includes neither naturalised immigrants nor foreigners that lack legal authorisation to reside in Spain. In addition, these statistics count not-expired residence permits, regardless of whether the permit holder still lives in Spain or not; similarly, death of residence permit holders is not registered, only the end of validity of the document is considered.

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8 Since the Now-Cast estimates only provide global figures by age and sex for all foreigners without distinction of citizenship, INE uses the distribution by country of citizenship extracted from the Padrón and applies a simple proportional rule. This methodology seems the most appropriate if it is confirmed that the difference between the Now-Cast estimates and the Padrón figures are equally distributed irrespective of the country of citizenship.
The Census and the Labour Force Survey are the only two major datasets that contain information on these two important socio-demographic variables: year of arrival and relation to the reference person (or household head). However, they are not free of limitations either. The coverage of the immigrant population is known to have been seriously flawed in Census 2001; the same problem affected also the Labour Force Survey, especially until important methodological adjustments were made to minimize this in 2002.

E.1.b Migration flows and characteristics of migrants at the time of migration

Migration flows
Although figures from the Padrón Municipal are commonly used to proxy changes in immigration trends from abroad, there are several limitations involved in this strategy, as can be deduced from the description of this source we made above. The only sources explicitly designed to collect information on migration inflows to and outflows from Spain are the Statistics of Residential Changes (Estadística de Variaciones Residenciales) and Migrations Survey (Encuesta de Migraciones).

Statistics of Residential Changes (Estadística de Variaciones Residenciales): every month INE receives from every municipality, the variations that have occurred in the Padrón: new registrations by change of residence (from other municipality or country), births and omissions, withdrawals (by change of residence, deaths, duplicates, undue inclusions, expiry) and modifications. These variations are included into the INE database, and grouped on a yearly base in order to count the number of international and national immigrations and emigrations. Considering the EU regulation, this method considers effectively the persons who change their legal or administrative country of residence, but there is no check if the 12 months criterion for identifying migrants is met since being registered in the Padrón is not required, while only the intention to live in Spain as usual residence is.

It is important to be aware of two main changes in the data collection methods in recent years:

1. In Spain, statistics on emigrations abroad have been produced since 2002. Most of these emigrants are Spanish citizens. After moving abroad, they have to register at Spanish Consulates in the country of destination. This information is then transferred through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to INE, and emigrants are de-registered in the Padrón. In addition to all registrations of Spaniards in Consulate registers, self-reported emigrations that include the country of destination are also considered international emigration (again, no time criterion is considered when producing these statistics, and it is

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9 New registrations (not births) are included as changes of residence, if a previous registration is found, or as omissions, in the other case, unless they are new registrations of foreigners from abroad.
10 It would be possible to check, after 12 months, if they are still in the Register, but consider the following difficulties: a) Information would not be available until at least two months after the end of the next year (to have time to receive the variations of December and to check that these still continue registered the following December); b) Most foreigners don’t communicate when they leave Spain, so most of them will continue registered, except in those cases where the municipality has done an official withdrawal because other people have registered themselves in the same dwelling.
impossible to ensure that only those who have lived abroad 12 months or more are considered emigrants).

2. Since the beginning of 2004, migration statistics include not only immigrants with known countries of origin or destination, but also those with an unknown country of origin or destination who have been registered (immigrant) or deregistered (emigrant) ex officio by municipalities. This change substantially increased the figures.

Figures on visas granted by Spanish Consulates abroad are another source of data for the study of immigration flows. However, these figures, annually published in the Immigration Statistical Yearbook, severely underestimate the total volume of migration inflows due to two reasons: firstly, not all foreigners coming to Spain are required to have a visa; and secondly, individuals who enter the country illegally (i.e. without the required visa) are not included in these statistics for obvious reasons.

Demographic characteristics of migrants at the time of migration
In line with what was noted before, information on the characteristics of migrants at the time of migration is largely missing in the Spanish sources. The Labour Force Survey includes information on time: the year of arrival, but little more than that. In fact, the question on the year of arrival is only asked to non-nationals, which implies that information on length of residence in Spain is missed for both people of immigrant background who have naturalized and Spanish people who were born abroad. The question is not even asked to individuals with two or more nationalities (Spanish plus other/s). In addition, there is no information on date of marriage, for instance, which implies that is not possible to know the marital status at migration of the surveyed migrants.

Fortunately, some of these limitations have been solved by the recently released National Immigrants Survey, which interviewed about 15,000 individuals born abroad (regardless of current nationality). It includes rich information on the migration trajectory of the surveyed individuals and their family, as well as about their demographic characteristics not only at the time of the survey but also at the time of arrival. In addition, it collects information on the date of arrival (month, year) and on the date of naturalisation for each of the persons living in the selected dwellings. However, this survey is cross-sectional, which seriously limits the analysis of return migration, for instance. Moreover, small immigrant groups are not sufficiently covered by the sample nor does it include a non-immigrant subsample, which prevents a proper analysis of integration outcomes.

E.1.c Legal Status of Immigrants

At the present time, there is no any dataset that allows identifying the legal trajectory of individual migrants since their arrival to Spain. The National Survey of Immigrants includes information on the legal status of the person at the time of the survey plus information on the length of time the person has been in the current situation. However, it is not possible to know their previous legal status.
Moreover, it is not possible to reconstruct legal itineraries of migrants at the aggregate level either. The Ministry of Interior publishes annually the number of foreigners holding a valid residence authorisation, with a breakdown by type. However, the information derived from applications and resolutions, concerning the same individual has never been linked to one other. Likewise, figures on the number of applications, rejections and positive resolutions have been published for each regularisation process that has taken place in Spain. Yet, individuals who obtained their authorisation through a regularisation program are not distinguished from others in the official Statistics of Foreigners with a Valid Residence Authorisation, but are rather generally merged with all foreigners who have an initial residence permit (lasting one year and renewable for two more).

In spite of this lack of microdata with legal status information, aggregated estimates of the number of undocumented immigrants living in the country are relatively easy to calculate by comparing the total number of foreigners registered in the Padrón Municipal—which includes most undocumented living in the country- and the total number of foreigners holding a valid EU card, a residence permit or a student card according to the Statistics on Foreigners with a Residence Authorisation. It is also possible to estimate the size of the foreign population working in the black economy at a given moment by comparing the size of the foreign active population estimated in the Labour Force Survey and the number of foreign workers registered in the Social Security System.

**E.1. Change of citizenship**

Spanish legislation accepts the possibility of multiple citizenships. In fact, there are bilateral treaties between Spain and many Latin-American countries that establish the possibility of double nationality for nationals of these countries. In addition, citizens from Latin-American countries enjoy a privileged status in relation to naturalization since they can apply for the Spanish nationality after only two years of legal residence in Spain, whereas the general rule for the rest of foreigners is ten years. These two factors have enormously increased the number of people applying for naturalization in Spain lately.

The only official figures with regard to change of citizenship are aggregated statistics on people who have acquired the Spanish nationality in a given year. These statistics provide information on previous nationality, country of birth, sex, age at the time of naturalization, and legal reason to be given the Spanish nationality. Whenever a foreign person acquires Spanish nationality, the Civil Registry communicates this information to the National Institute of Statistics, which proceeds to update the person’s information on nationality. Previous records are not erased, nor are they published. At the same time, the Padrón includes information on every individual’s nationality. In principle, it should be possible to exploit information from the Padrón in a way that allows detecting who acquired Spanish nationality and when they did so.

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11 Note that this method of estimation wrongly counts as undocumented those foreigners who are in the process of renewing their residence permit and, therefore, are not included in the Statistics of Foreigners with a Valid Residence Authorisation.
Finally, the 2007 National Survey of Immigrants includes information on the different nationalities that every surveyed individual (and other people living in the dwelling) holds, as well as information on the date when they acquired the Spanish nationality.

**E.1.e Asylum seeking and refugees**

Asylum seekers and refugees are not yet included in statistics concerning migration flows and population stocks (there is the intention to start doing this soon, according to recent statements from the Director of the Permanent Observatory of Immigration).

Statistical information about this particular population group is annually published by the Ministry of Interior in the Asylum Yearbook (*Memoria Estadística de la Oficina de Asilo y Refugio*). The information on the stock of refugees currently living in Spain is extremely poor; official statistics provide information only at the aggregate level, by citizenship and province of residence.

The information on the inflows of asylum seekers is a little bit richer, since the Ministry of Interior publishes the Asylum Statistics, including figures on the number of:

- asylum applications by:
  - citizenship, sex, age, educational level and occupation of the applicants; applications of unaccompanied minor asylum seekers are not listed separately, although the number of applications of this type submitted each year is published.

- asylum applications by:
  - place where the application was filed (at the border, inside the national territory, in embassies/consulates abroad)
  - province where the application was filed, if filed inside Spain
  - type of documents presented (ID and travel documents, only ID, no documents)

- decisions by citizenship, place where they were filed and type: granted (Geneva Status), subsidiary protection, rejected and inadmissible

- appeals by type of decision (rejected or inadmissible) and citizenship

- judgements of the appeals by type of appeal

- Dublin-decisions

- Applications of stateless status by country of origin

**E.1.f Irregular migration**

The Ministry of Interior has published aggregated figures on irregular migration, apprehensions and expulsions since 1998. Currently, data on repatriated migrants (those who are sent back to their countries) are broken down into four categories that correspond to the four legal categories established in the Immigration Law:
- **Retornos**: number of migrants rejected at ports of entry, generally airports and harbours
- **Readmisiónes**: number of migrants expelled via application of re-admission agreements with origin countries
- **Expulsiones**: number of migrants expelled due to their illegal stay in Spain, in application of the Spanish Immigration Law
- **Devoluciones**: number of migrants expelled while trying to enter Spain through border points not defined as ports of entry

There are also figures on the number of illegal immigrants intercepted while trying to enter in Spain by boat.

In the Spanish context, it is important to highlight the fact that most undocumented migrants entered the country legally as tourists and ended up overstaying their tourist visa. This is one of the reasons why the category “retornos” usually includes the highest numbers.

### E.2. Measuring integration, discrimination and diversity

In Spain, there is no direct source of data collected specifically to monitor and assess the integration of immigrants. This is partly due to the fact that immigration is a relatively recent phenomenon in Spain, and both the administration and researchers have been more concerned with border control issues so far rather than with the incorporation of immigrants into Spanish society.

The study of the so-called structural integration has been mostly limited to the analysis of the incorporation of immigrants into the Spanish labour market, partially due to the availability of a large and reliable sample of foreign-born individuals in the Labour Force Survey. In contrast, the lack of a similar dataset for the study of educational attainment (not only of immigrants but also of non-immigrants) has hampered so far the analysis of integration in this particular domain. Taking into account the importance of this issue in the global assessment of the integration process from an intergenerational perspective, this deficiency seems particularly worrying to us. In fact, the difficulty of identifying the second generation or, more generally, the children of immigrants in most Spanish statistical sources, along with the lack of information on their education performance represents a major threat to assessing the integration process and immigration policies as a whole.

As commented previously, other datasets available enable us to describe the relative position of foreigners and/or immigrants (depending on the source) in other domains besides employment and education. However, they often are flawed with two main limitations: 1) most do not cover the immigrant population adequately because they were not designed to assure representativeness of this particular population (e.g. Health National Survey, Income and Living Conditions, Wage Structure etc.) and, 2) none are longitudinal, which seriously hampers the possibility of truly analysing the process of integration. The experience of the Ongoing Sample of Labour Trajectories constitutes an outstanding exception in this regard. First of all, it should be considered a good practice in terms of utilisation of the register-based information not only for migrants but for the whole population, to the extent that it implies one of the
first and more ambitious attempts of linking datasets. Secondly, the sample has been designed in a way that allows longitudinal analyses, not only retrospectively but also prospectively.

In the field of discrimination, the situation is very much the same as in integration or perhaps even worse, due to the poor development of anti-discrimination legislation and policies in Spain. There is very little information about the extent to which immigrants perceive themselves discriminated against in different spheres of their daily life in Spain. In fact, the 2007 National Immigrants Survey included nothing along these lines. One of the few exceptions in this regard is the LocalMultiDem Survey, which asked all surveyed individuals (not only immigrants but also native-born) about feelings and experiences of discrimination in different realms. In contrast, information about the extent to which the native-born population accepts or rejects foreigners and people of immigrant origin is available through the information annually collected in the Survey on Spaniards’ Opinions about Racism and Xenophobia. Unfortunately, the questionnaire of this survey as well as the institution responsible of the data collection and preliminary analyses has changed from one year to the next, which limits the comparability of some of the questions.²

In sum, the statistical information available in Spain to analyse and evaluate progress (or lack thereof) in the overall process of integration and the development of a multicultural society is still quite limited, due mainly to:

- the inadequate definition of immigrant origin derived from the predominance of the category of nationality in most sources or, in the best scenario, country of birth but rarely origin of the parents.
- the inadequate representation of people of immigrant origin in surveys covering the majority population
- the lack of longitudinal data sources that allow monitoring changes over time.

E.2.a Employment

The two main data sources currently available for the study of migrants’ employment-related issues are the Labour Force Survey and the Ongoing Sample of Labour Trajectories (MCVL), since both contain micro-data and are not restricted to population of immigrant origin but also include non-migrant population. Although their main characteristics have already been described, we will summarize their major advantages and drawbacks.

The LFS’s main limitations are: 1) under-estimation of foreigners (it surveys approximately only 2 out 3 foreign residents in Spain), 2) year of arrival is asked neither of naturalized foreigners nor of individuals with double nationality, 3) its cross-sectional design (although a pooled dataset made out of successive cross-sections can be built), 4) no information at the time of migration. On the contrary, its main advantages are: 1) that samples of foreigners are large enough to allow separated statistical analyses for the largest immigrant groups, 2) year of immigration is included for foreigners, 3) a wide range of variables including educational level and

² The report from 2008, which includes some comparative analyses over time, is available in: http://www.igualdadoportunidades.es/archivos/doc_1932008_12247.pdf
some information on training, previous work experience and previous unemployment
spells, etc.

The MCVL’s main limitations are two-fold: 1) information on socio-demographic
characteristics is scarce and of dubious quality (only includes sex, age, educational
level at the time of registration in the Padrón Municipal, place of birth, place of
residence, nationality, and number, sex and age of other people living in the same
dwelling), 2) serious sample bias when the retrospective labour trajectory is utilized
(as a result of the strategy followed to construct the sample, which corresponds to 5
percent of the individuals registered as working in the reference year). However, this
bias disappears if one analyses only prospective information (from the year the
sample was drawn onwards).

In addition, the Encuesta de Estructura Salarial also offers micro-data on wages of
salaried workers (i.e. self-employed people excluded), and has been carried out in
2002 and 2004/5. However, in previous rounds this survey excluded individuals
working without contracts, self-employed individuals and individuals working in firms
with less than 10 workers, which obviously hampered their usefulness for the study of
the immigrant population.

Apart from these three surveys, aggregated data also exists on such aspects of
labour as: 1) Number of foreign workers in the Social Security Register (includes only
employed people), 2) Number of work permit applications and resolutions by year, 3)
Number of valid work permit at the end of the year (estimation), 4) Number of
employment requests (which can be made by either unemployed or employed
people), 5) Registered unemployed people, 6) Number of contracts registered. All
these statistics are usually available by sex, age, nationality and province of
residence.

**E.2.b Housing and Residential Patterns**

Apart from information available in the Census, there was very little information on
the housing conditions of the immigrant population in Spain. The National Survey of
Immigrants 2007 includes a specific module on housing issues; individuals are asked
about their housing trajectory since they arrived to Spain, the different localities
where they have resided and the type of housing they had in each of them: whether
they were rented or owned, the amount of money paid for the rent/mortage, etc. In
addition to this, the European Statistics on Income and Living Conditions Survey
(EU-SILC) also includes some questions on housing conditions. To the extent that
immigrant population (more exactly foreign population, because nationality is the
variable commonly used in this survey) is also included in the Spanish version of the
EU-SILC, this source can also be utilised to analyse some housing-related aspects
for the immigrant population in comparison with the non-immigrant one.

**E.2.c Health and Access to Healthcare**

The National Health Survey has been periodically carried out in Spain since 1987,
different questionnaires: households, adults and children. These are cross-sectional
surveys, which do not allow for proper longitudinal analyses. However, many of the questions have been repeated over time, which permits at least cohort analyses. The questionnaire collects information on three main health-related issues: health status, life style and utilisation of health services. The sampling method implies that immigrant households are included although they are not perfectly represented; in 2003, approximately 800 individuals were classified as foreigners in the adults’ sample. Leaving aside the limitations derived from using nationality instead of country of birth or immigrant origin as classifying variable, the sub-sample of foreign households and individuals is too small to make reliable inferences about the foreign population. More information is available at: http://www.ine.es/en/metodologia/t15/t1530419_en.htm

**E.2.d Education**

Information on migrants related to education is extremely scarce in Spain. The Padrón is the only official register that asks foreign individuals about their educational level. However including information on this is optional for the individuals who fill out the form to register, which explains the large number of missing cases on this variable and makes any estimation of average education level based on the Padrón information quite unreliable. In addition, response categories vary across municipalities, which makes aggregating this data at the national level difficult. The information on education contained in the Census is much more reliable and detailed but the main limitation in this case is related to the decennial frequency of this source. As a consequence, the information on migrants’ education contained in the Labour Force Survey is probably the best available. However, this information is restricted to the time of the survey and, therefore in Spain, we lack information that permits distinguishing between education in the country of origin and in the country of destination. Furthermore, information on school performance of middle and second generation immigrants does not exist, with the exception of the immigrants’ sub-samples included in the PISA study. However, one important limitation in PISA data is that information on nationality is limited to current nationality, which implies that naturalised immigrants cannot be identified. In Spain, the only official information available in this area is aggregate statistics from the Ministry of Education on the number of foreign students enrolled in education, by level, type of school and nationality. Microdata is not available.

The 2007 National Immigrants Survey asked every surveyed individual about their educational level, diplomas, place where the diploma was obtained, whether diplomas obtained abroad had been homologated into the Spanish educational system, and their language skills. In addition, every individual was also asked about school enrolment, level, attainment (only level not grades) and language fluency of each of their children living in Spain. However, this information is by no means equivalent to micro-data on educational attainment of children of immigrants.
**E.2.e Family and Household**

Spanish sources hardly collect information on family related issues, either at the time of migration or during the migrants’ stay in Spain. There are no register records on marital status at arrival nor family members left behind in the country of origin (spouse and children in particular), which seriously limits our knowledge of the composition of flows and potential immigration multipliers. In addition, statistics on residence permits granted for the purpose of family reunification are not published (although they do exist), and it is impossible to know which foreign residents entered the country on the basis of family reunification provisions and which did not.

Moreover, with the exception of the decennial census information, we lack register-based data on the marital status of foreign residents. Information on this crucial variable can only be obtained from the foreigners’ sample of the Labour Force Survey and, more recently, from the 2007 National Immigrants Survey. Census data also includes some additional family related information, although it is not specifically designed to study migrants. For example, information on relatives left behind is completely absent.

Aggregate statistics on migrants’ fertility behaviour and marital choices are available from Vital Statistics: statistics on children born in Spain to foreign mothers, and statistics on marriages celebrated in Spain with at least one foreign partner. It seems important to highlight that these are figures on migration flows. In the case of marriages, not all marriages involving one or more foreign spouses are included since only marriages celebrated in Spain are recorded; and many migrants return to their countries of origin to get married even if they re-migrate to Spain immediately thereafter.

Micro-data for studying the fertility behaviour and marital choices of immigrants is available in the Census and, with some limitations, in the Labour Force Survey (which lacks information on previous marriages and divorces, as well as the date of the most recent marriage). The 2007 National Immigrants Survey has considerably improved this situation: it includes information on date of marriage, place of residence of the spouse at the time of migration and information on the migration history of the spouse. In addition, with some limitations, this survey also allows distinguishing married from cohabiting couples. However, it does not collect information on previous marital trajectories, and the possibilities for analysing fertility behaviour of migrants are more limited.

**E.2.f Social and living conditions**

The main statistical source for the study of the social and living conditions of the population in Spain is the Income and Living Conditions Survey (part of the EU-SILC, known as Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida in Spanish), which has been carried out annually since 2004. In 2004, the number of foreign individuals included in the sample was 1,455 (versus 29,913 Spanish nationals), or less than five percent of the total sample. Due to the fact that the sampling design was not done to make the survey representative of the immigrant or foreign population, conclusions drawn from this data for this population should be taken with caution.
The 2007 National Immigrants Survey contains some information on these issues not only at the time of the survey, but also at the time of migration. For instance, immigrants are asked about their housing conditions and labour market status.

**E.2.g Political participation**

It is possible to obtain aggregate data on the voting behaviour (aggregated turnout level, at least) of EU citizens (who are the only foreigners allowed to vote in Spain in local and EU elections), although this data is not periodically published. However, it is not possible to obtain any information on citizens’ voting behaviour that distinguishes individuals according to their immigrant background, which implies that once migrants acquire the Spanish nationality and the corresponding voting rights in local, regional and national elections, no information is available to study different patterns of voting behaviour between voters of native and immigrant origin.

The National Immigrants Survey 2007 included a question about participation in local elections (only turnout, nothing on party preference). Taking into account the rich individual information contained in this source, especially with regard to naturalisation, the inclusion of this question opens a new road for research. In addition, the National Immigrants Survey also included a couple of questions about participation in different types of associations.

However, the most complete dataset available on the political participation of immigrants is the one elaborated in the framework of the LocalMultiDem Project, which includes a random individual survey on issues related to political participation among immigrants from Morocco, Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru and Colombia in the cities of Madrid and Barcelona, as well as an exhaustive survey of all migrants’ organisations existing in these two cities. In addition, the LocalMultiDem Surveys have been carried out not only in these two Spanish cities but also in six other European cities, which allows for multiple cross-city and cross-groups comparisons.13

**F. Accessibility of data**

**From the National Institute of Statistics**

Aggregate data is relatively easy to access and, generally, free of charge in Spain. Most of it is readily available on-line on the INE website ([http://www.ine.es/](http://www.ine.es/)). In addition, it is possible to make tailor-made tabulations.

In addition, the National Institute of Statistics also provides free access to the micro-data in most of the publicly funded surveys (Labour Force Survey, National Health Survey, National Immigrants Survey, Fertility Survey, etc.) and to much of the register-based information. Methodological reports on sampling and quality issues are commonly available along with the micro-data on the INE website. Users do not even need to register to have access to these surveys’ micro-data.

13 For more information on the LocalMultiDem Project, see [www.um.es/localmultidem](http://www.um.es/localmultidem); or the Spanish branch of the project: [http://www.um.es/capsocinmig](http://www.um.es/capsocinmig).
In sources for which access to micro-data is not freely accessible online, there is sometimes the possibility of making a query for tailor-made samples. This is the case, for instance, with the Municipal Register Population. Researchers interested in accessing specific sub-samples of the registered population can make a query, which will be invoiced according to prices annually established and that vary mainly depending on the time spent by the INE’s staff in selecting the sample (the more conditions imposed, the more expensive the sampling will be). In addition, any query for a tailor-made sample from the Padrón has to be supported not only by the researcher him/herself but also by the responsible person of the body of the Public Administration that includes the statistical service. It is important to highlight that public universities are not included in this category since they are not strictly part of the Public Administration. Although the enforcement of this requirement has been uneven over the years, it has been recently made more stringent. On the other hand, a discount of 15 percent on the total price is available to researchers working in public universities.

From the Ministry of Interior
The administrative databases of the Ministry of Interior such as Statistics on Foreigners with a Valid Residence Authorisation or the Statistics on Expulsions, Devolutions, Entry Rejections and Returns are not accessible to the general public or researchers. The Central Register of Foreigners also operated by the Ministry of Interior is not accessible for scientific purposes either. Although individual researchers have been provided at times with aggregate information not available in the periodical publications, there is not a clear and transparent protocol establishing a procedure to follow in order to make queries of this type.

Although it is impossible to access directly the databases owned and managed by the Ministry of Interior, the Permanent Observatory of Immigration (integrated within the Ministry of Employment and Immigration, previously Employment and Social Affairs) annually publishes the Immigration yearbook, which includes, among others, aggregate data from the sources controlled by the Ministry of Interior. This information is downloadable free of charge from the website of the institution (http://extranjeros.mtas.es/es/InformacionEstadistica/index.html). However, this information does not allow for tailor-made tabulations but only what has been prepared by the Observatory.

From other ministries
Most of the Ministries that collect information related to the foreign or immigrant population do not provide direct access to that information, although they usually allow the Permanent Observatory of Immigration to exploit these sources and publish aggregated statistics in the Immigration Yearbook.

G. Quality and scope of data collection

According to the information contained in this report, it is clear that the quality of data on (international) migration flows is particularly poor in Spain because the statistical information collected at the border is not systematically exploited and, probably, not even collected in a way that would allow such exploitation. As a result, we have to rely on stock data coming mainly from the Municipal Population Register to
approximate the changing patterns in inflows trends. This procedure is clearly flawed due to the changing advantages (and disadvantages) derived from registration over the last decade. In contrast, data on stocks can be considered of (relatively) good quality since figures from the Municipal Population Register include not only documented but also undocumented foreign population (or most of it) living in Spain. In spite of the problems of double registration (the same individual in different municipalities) and low rate of de-registration by immigrants who return to their homelands, recent reforms commented above seem to have helped.

On the other hand, the availability of different datasets with different target populations permits us to check each source’s reliability and coverage problems. Comparisons between the Padrón Municipal and Statistics on Foreigners with Valid Residence Authorisation allow stable and relatively good estimates of the size of the undocumented population and its changes over time. Likewise, comparisons between data from the Labour Force Survey and the Social Security Workers’ Register allow estimating changes in the size of the foreign (not immigrant) labour force working in the black economy. Moreover, the recently released National Survey of Immigrants has confirmed, for instance, the extraordinary quality of pre-existing sources like the Labour Force Survey for analysing issues relating to the immigrant population in Spain.

Overall, taking into account the large size of the undocumented immigrant population in Spain and the large proportion of it employed in the black economy, the statistical situation with regard to this specific population group is not too bad. However, the main problem continues being the scarcity of micro-data or data at the individual level that permits researchers and policymakers to analyse the determinants of migrants’ behaviour and their performance in the receiving society. This is particularly clear in the field of integration and discrimination, which still remains seriously obscure due precisely to the lack of national representative micro-data.

H. Conclusions - Recommendations

From the description made in the previous pages, we can conclude that accessibility to the statistical data on immigration and immigrant population in Spain has substantially improved in the recent years and is, in general, good with the exception of the data collected by the Ministry of Interior. Actually, the most important deficiencies identified and discussed in this report have to do with the lack of (accurate) information on certain specific topics and with the inappropriate exploitation of some of the statistical data already collected, rather than with their accessibility. In order to improve some of these deficiencies, we recommend:

- Establishing mechanisms of coordination and collaboration between the different institutions that collect register-based information related to the immigrant population in order to ensure the possibility of linkage operations and longitudinal designs, following up on the experience of the Ongoing Sample of Labour Trajectories. In this regard, the construction of a unique dataset that centralizes all the information related to the legal status of foreigners would be an important step. Microdata from such a dataset should be made available to researchers, and the possibility of linking
its records with information obtained through public-funded surveys should be explored, at least for certain specific topics.

- Adapting the sampling design of the major public-funded surveys to ensure that they are representative of not only the majority population but also of the immigrant population. This implies either over-sampling the latter or including, at least, specific fieldwork protocols aimed at dealing with immigrant-specific difficulties (non-response, localisation, languages, etc). Statistical operations like that of the National Immigrants Survey 2007 represent an obvious improvement; however, their realisation is warranted only to the extent that the purpose of research is immigrant specific (e.g. role of networks in shaping the migration decision). In all remaining issues, the goal should be to include representative sub-samples of immigrants in the statistical instruments designed to study the majority population. To do so, we recommend:

- Generalising the use of place of birth and place of birth of the parents –instead of only nationality- as the main statistical category to organize data collection procedures.

- Assuring a better statistical coverage and follow-up of refugees admitted to and living in Spain, probably by including them in the Central Register of Foreigners.

- Starting to publish not only aggregate date on granted authorisations but also figures of annual applications, in order to make sure that the impact of legislation and policy changes are traceable.
## Annex 1 – Key datasets on migration and integration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responsible institution</th>
<th>Name of the Dataset in English</th>
<th>Type of dataset</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National Institute of Statistics</td>
<td>Population and Housing Census</td>
<td>Census</td>
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<td>National Institute of Statistics</td>
<td>Official population figures: Municipal Population Register</td>
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<tr>
<td>National Institute of Statistics</td>
<td>Vital Statistics</td>
<td>Register</td>
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<td>National Institute of Statistics</td>
<td>Residential Variation Statistics</td>
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<td>National Institute of Statistics</td>
<td>Assisted emigration</td>
<td>Register</td>
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<td>National Institute of Statistics</td>
<td>Statistics on suicide in Spain</td>
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<tr>
<td>National Institute of Statistics</td>
<td>Migrations Survey</td>
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<tr>
<td>National Institute of Statistics</td>
<td>Fertility Survey</td>
<td>Survey</td>
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<td>National Institute of Statistics</td>
<td>Living Conditions Survey</td>
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<td>National Institute of Statistics</td>
<td>Labour Force Survey</td>
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<td>Spanish Structure of Earnings Survey</td>
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<td>National Institute of Statistics</td>
<td>National Survey of Immigrants</td>
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<td>Foreigners with valid student residence permit</td>
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<td>Ministry of Interior</td>
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<td>Foreign workers with a work permit</td>
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<td>Ministry of Interior</td>
<td>Quota applications</td>
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<td>Foreign students enrolled and graduated in tertiary education</td>
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<td>Homologation and acknowledgement of foreign studies and diplomas</td>
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<td>National Survey on Racism and Xenophobia</td>
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<td>Others</td>
<td>Immigration in Andalusia</td>
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<td>Survey on immigration (Catalonia)</td>
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