

Report on the Integration of Foreign Students into the Spanish Education System

SUMMARY



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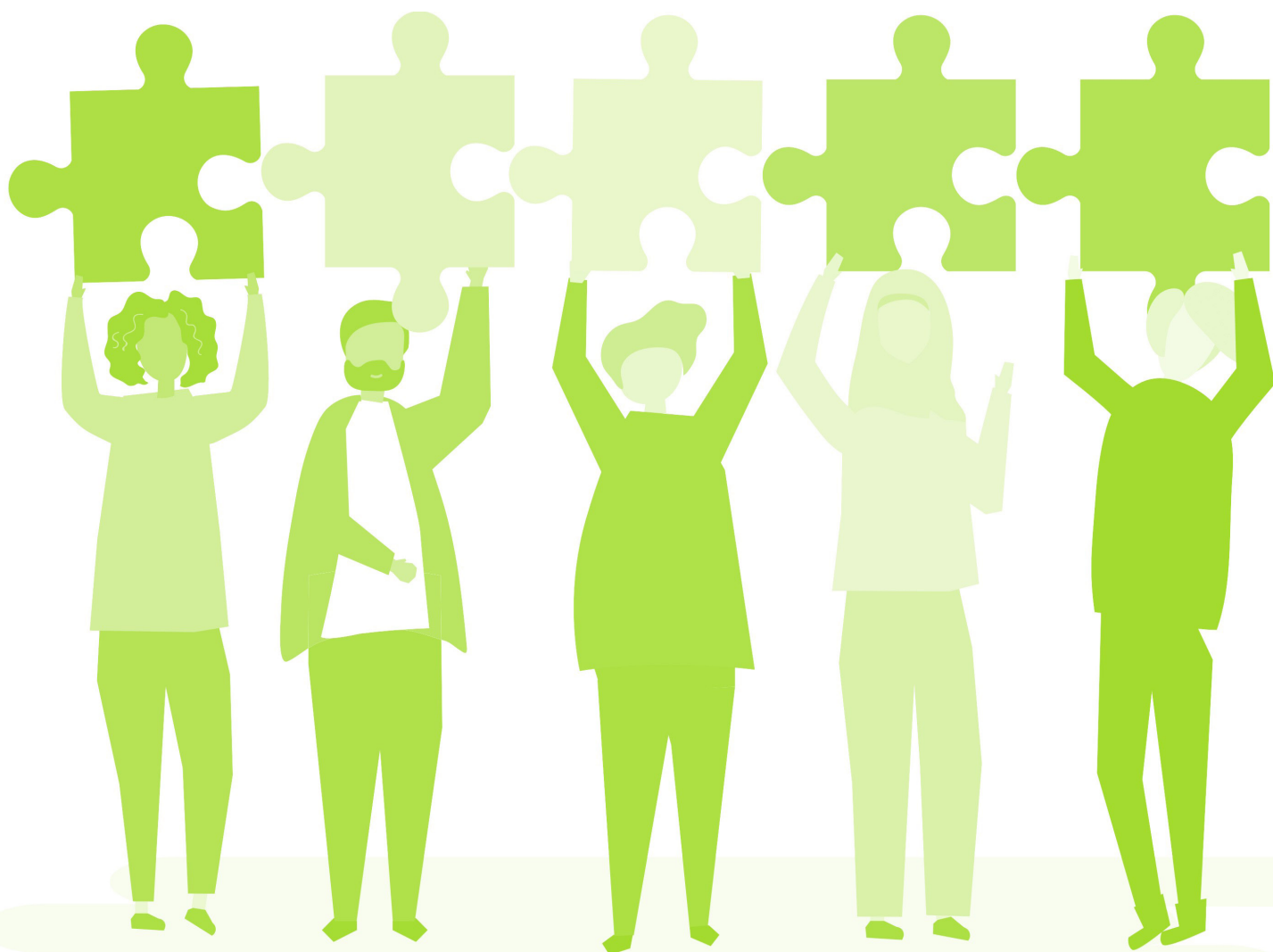
SECRETARÍA DE ESTADO
DE MIGRACIONES

DIRECCIÓN GENERAL DE ATENCIÓN
HUMANITARIA E INCLUSIÓN SOCIAL
DE LA INMIGRACIÓN



Cofinanciado por
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Report on the Integration of Foreign Students into the Spanish Education System SUMMARY





Catalogue of publications of the General State Administration
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NIPO PDF: 121-23-003-7
Layout and design: Solana e Hijos, A.G., S.A.U.

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Objective and analytical framework

Education is a powerful tool for reducing social and economic inequalities in society. Thus, education systems must be able to provide equal opportunities to their students, whereby everyone can access quality education and their academic results depend on their abilities and effort, and not on the circumstances defined by their social, economic and cultural background.

A student who is integrated into the education system, both academically and socially, is more likely to fulfil his or her full potential. However, the migrant population faces a number of obstacles that hinder this development: they come from countries with different cultures, norms and routines, as well as different languages; more often than natives, they have greater economic difficulties and fewer social and emotional support networks; and they often face rejection in their host countries.

Preventing, or at least reducing, divergences between natives and immigrants in the educational environment is a political challenge, and a social necessity, to help children and young people from a migrant background to fully integrate into the educational system and thus also into society.

By integration, we mean equal conditions and opportunities; achieving these levels of equality involves efforts in several areas: giving foreign children and young people access to quality education; ensuring that they make satisfactory progress in their learning; as well as ensuring that a safe space is provided, where all pupils feel protected, valued and able to learn.

To discover whether progress is being made in this direction, it is essential to create **a good base of indicators** that will allow for a deeper analysis and better understanding of the problem, as well as **to shed light on how better to approach any integration policy.** From this perspective, a set of indicators have been identified that measure the integration of migrant students throughout their educational process (before entering the education system, during their stay in it, and after leaving it) grouped into **the following 5 dimensions of integration:**

BEFORE ENTERING THE EDUCATION SYSTEM	Integration I: access to education and training
	Integration II: public-private school segregation
WHILE IN THE EDUCATION SYSTEM	Integration III: school performance and early school leavers
	Integration IV: school climate and suffering bullying
AFTER LEAVING THE EDUCATION SYSTEM	Integration V: Educational attainment of the adult population

In the following sections of this report, after a description of the methodology used (section 2) and an analysis of the demographic and geographical context of the migrant population in the Spanish education system (section 3), each of the dimensions that make up the set of indicators used to measure the integration of the migrant population into the Spanish education system are analysed (sections 4 to 8).

Methodology and data sources

Understanding integration as equality of conditions and opportunities, it is measured by analysing how a given indicator measured in the foreign and native population converges. Specifically, the difference between the two measurements, which we will identify as the gap, will give us an idea of the level of integration achieved¹.

However, an in-depth analysis of the level of integration of foreign students requires that, **given the heterogeneity of this group, the information be shown in disaggregated form**, whenever data availability permits, **based on the various sources of heterogeneity**, including: 1) the **educational stage** the student is at²; 2) students' **gender**, distinguishing between the gender gap (difference between data for foreign men and women) and the nationality gap (difference between natives and foreigners for both men and women); 3) **place of origin**, which makes it possible to identify both linguistic barriers and greater economic difficulties in the case of migration from developing countries; and 4) **geographical destination of foreigners**, which will make it possible to focus integration policies on territories with a higher concentration of foreign students and/or worse educational conditions.

In relation to sources of statistical information, the main database on the education of foreigners in Spain is **EDUCAbase**, published by the **Ministry of Education and Vocational Training together with the Ministry of Universities**. It publishes information about the number of foreign students enrolled and enrolment rates according to education, school ownership, gender and area of origin, both for the national total and by Region. Moreover, it includes information about education from the use of other statistical sources. Specifically, there is a module that includes the use of the educational variables from the Economically Active Population Survey (EAPS), which is compiled quarterly by the INE.

¹ Given that the value for foreigners is sometimes higher than that of Spaniards in certain indicators (drop-out rate, repetition of academic years, etc.) and lower in others (academic performance, enrolment in higher education, etc.), the gap will be calculated in such a way as to obtain a positive value in each case, to facilitate its interpretation. In each case it shall be indicated whether the gap is the difference between native and foreign population or vice versa.

² Early childhood education (0 to 5 years), primary education (6 to 11 years), compulsory secondary education (12 to 15 years), baccalaureate (16 to 17 years), basic vocational training (16 to 17 years), intermediate vocational training (16 to 17 years), higher vocational training (18 to 19 years) and university studies (18 years and over).

On the other hand, to obtain information about the academic performance of foreign students, it is necessary to turn to international programmes that assess competences, such as PISA, TALIS, PIRLS, TIMSS, etc.,³ all of which are available from the National Institute for Educational Evaluation (INEE). In this report we work with data from PISA⁴, since it is the most frequently published (every three years).

The definition of foreigner differs in both databases. In EDUCAbase, students are considered foreigners if they are not Spanish nationals⁵. Therefore, students with Spanish nationality and/or dual nationality but with immigrant parents are not considered foreigners. These students are also affected by the same integration problems as foreigners, since these are not linked to nationality but to the socio-economic and cultural environment in which they develop during their education. In PISA, this limitation is diluted as students are distinguished according to their immigration background and that of their parents, which allows a distinction to be made between natives, natives of immigrant parents and foreigners.⁶

However, both databases share the scarce detail available on the origin of foreign students, and can distinguish only, in the best-case scenario, by aggregate geographical areas. This limitation does not make it possible to differentiate the economic migrant, who is most affected by integration problems, from the rest.

³ PISA stands for *Programme for International Student Assessment*; TALIS stands for *Teaching and Learning International Survey*; PIRLS stands for *Progress in International Reading Literacy Study*; TIMSS stands for *Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study*.

⁴ Specifically, the PISA programme is a skills assessment (of reading comprehension, mathematics and science) undertaken by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) every three years since 2000, to assess what young people know and are able to do at the end of their Compulsory Secondary Education (ESO). The latest data published are from the 2018 assessment, as the 2021 assessment has been delayed by one more year due to the pandemic.

⁵ According to this definition, a student with dual nationality is considered Spanish.

⁶ Students with at least one parent born in the country in which the PISA test is administered, regardless of whether the student was born in that country; natives born to immigrant parents are those who were born in the country in which the assessment is administered and have parents who were born in another country; and foreign born are those born in a country other than the country in which the test is administered, regardless of whether they and their parents were born in that country.

The migrant population in the Spanish education system: the demographic and geographical context of the education of foreigners

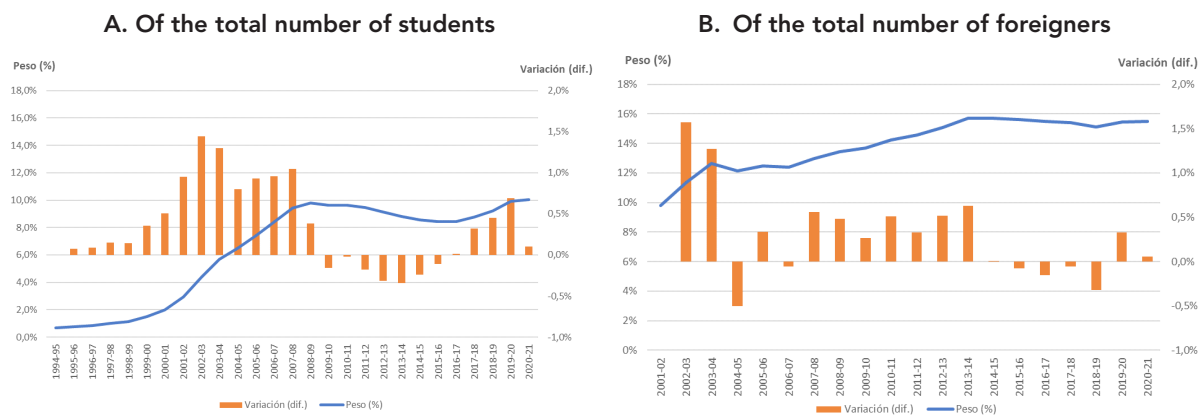
3.1. EVOLUTION OF FOREIGN STUDENTS IN THE SPANISH EDUCATION SYSTEM

In the 2021/22 academic year, the immigrant population enrolled in the Spanish non-university education system was 845,766 students⁷, which represents 10% of the total student body and around 15% of the total number of foreigners. As can be seen in Figure 1.A, this participation of the immigrant population in the Spanish education system has been characterised by strong growth during the first decade of the 21st century until the economic crisis of 2008. The changes in migratory flows caused by the crisis (which mainly affected economic migration) resulted in a reduction in of the proportion foreign students in the classroom, which fell to 8.5% of the total number of students in the 2016/17 academic year, after which the trend recovered to the pre-crisis situation.

Regarding the total number of foreigners (Figure 1.B), there is also an upward trend in the proportion of the student population, mainly due to family reunion processes, which led to an increase in the entry of the student-age population until the middle of the last decade. From this point onwards, the proportion of foreign students in the total student population stabilised at around 15% (a share similar to that recorded in the native population).

⁷ Not including Special Regime education.

Figure 1. Evolution of the number of foreign students in non-university general education (%)



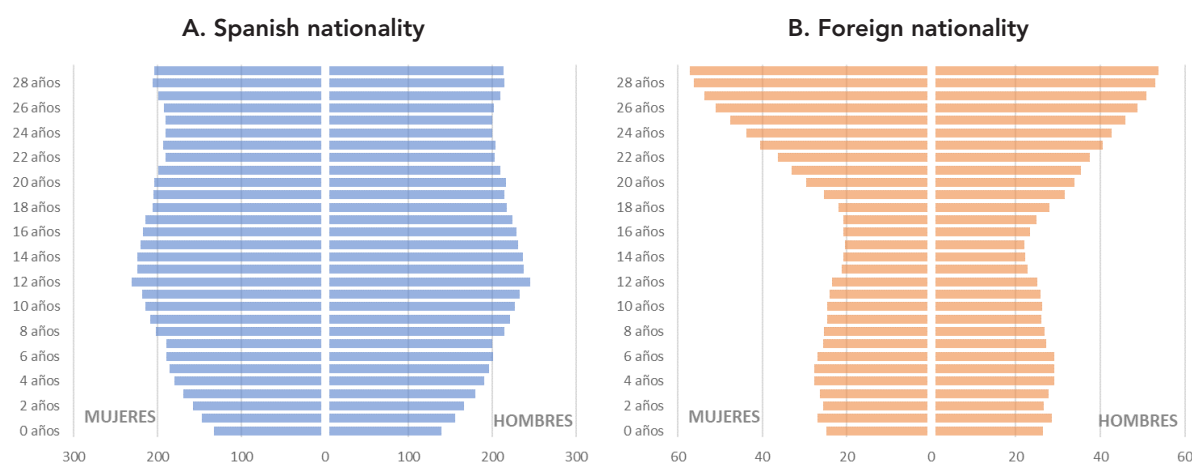
Source: Non-university Education Statistics (Subdirectorate-General for Statistics and Studies of the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training); Population Figures (INE).

3.2. DISTRIBUTION OF THE FOREIGN SCHOOL-ATTENDING POPULATION⁸ BY AGE AND GENDER

The age structure shows certain differences in the age structure of the foreign population compared to the native population. While the age structure of Spaniards is characterised by an inverted pyramid (Figure 2), with a narrow base that increases progressively up to the age of 12, foreigners have a broad base that tends to narrow after the age of 5. The opposite occurs if we look at the top of the pyramid (from the age of 18), where a slight narrowing is observed in the case of natives and a distinct widening in the case of foreigners, which may be explained by the nature of economic immigrants that come to Spain at an age at which they can join the labour market.

⁸ The school-age population is defined as the population aged between 0 and 29 years.

Figure 2. Distribution of the school-age population according to nationality and age (Figures as of 1 July 2021)



These differences in population structures determine, in turn, different proportions of students in the age brackets of each educational stage. If we analyse this proportion with respect to the total school-attending population in each nationality, the proportion of foreigners is lower than that of natives in the age brackets between 6 and 17 years, associated with primary and secondary education, but higher in the higher education age bracket.

By gender, the proportion of the population is evenly distributed between men and women at all ages, so that the distribution by age bracket of each educational stage does not differ substantially between them, neither in the case of natives nor in that of foreigners, although it does when comparing foreign men/women with their native counterparts, due to the differences in their population structures.

3.3. DISTRIBUTION OF FOREIGN STUDENTS BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION

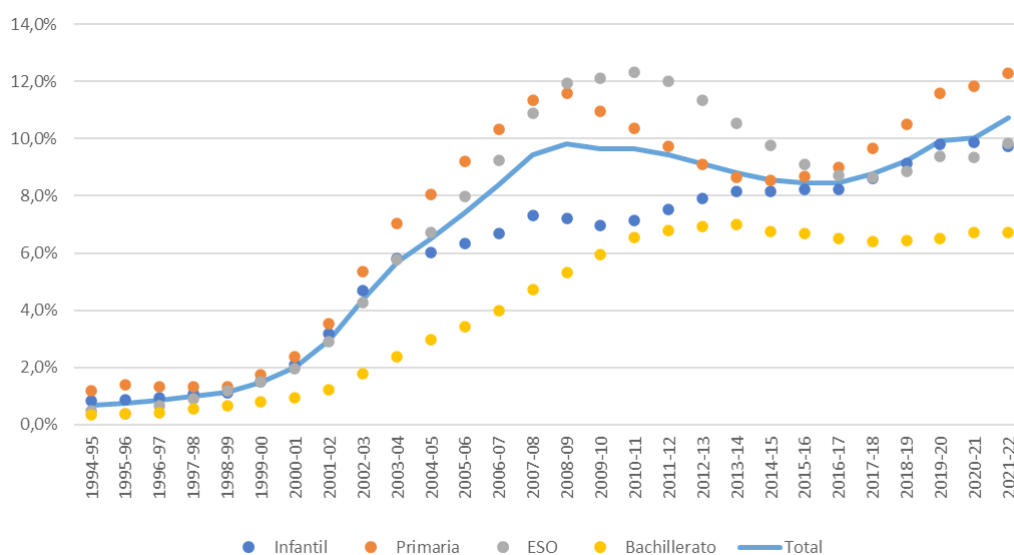
In the 2021/22 academic year, the proportion of foreign students enrolled in compulsory education (12.3% in primary and 9.8% in ESO) is similar to the proportion of foreigners in those age groups in the total population. However, the presence of foreigners in the baccalaureate students (6.7%) is under-represented considering that their proportion in the total population is, in this age group, 9%.

In turn, the evolution of these ratios (Figure 3) has not been equally affected by the 2008 economic crisis, with the proportion of primary and ESO students showing a downward trend in that period, in line with the lower inflow of economic migrants during those years and greater

return to their countries of origin. However, the presence of foreigners in the baccalaureate was hardly affected by the economic downturn, which suggests that either foreign students who are not so closely linked to economic migration are enrolled in this cycle, or that the return at older ages is more complex given the roots that have been created.

The lower presence of the foreign population in the most advanced stages of education, together with the lower impact of the economic crisis on the proportion of students in these educational stages, highlights a **greater early dropout from the education system among immigrants for economic reasons**.

Figure 3. Evolution of the proportion of foreign students of the total number of students at each educational stage.



Source: Statistics on Non-University Education (Subdirectorate-General for Statistics and Studies of the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training).

3.4. AREA OF ORIGIN OF FOREIGN STUDENTS

The 2008 economic crisis caused a change in the pattern of origin of foreign students (table 1), which now involves greater linguistic and cultural difficulties to achieve full integration. Thus, while in the academic year prior to the economic crisis (2007-2008), South America was the main area of origin of foreign students (almost half of them came from there), today this area is the only one that records a lower number of students than prior to the crisis.

Table 1. Distribution of foreign students according to area of origin

ÁREA DE PROCEDENCIA	Estudiantes		Peso		Variación	
	2007-08	2021-22	2007-08	2021-22	Personas	% cto.
Unión Europea	179.590	211.931	26%	24%	32.341	18%
Resto de Europa	25.540	59.092	4%	7%	33.552	131%
África	136.316	267.349	19%	30%	131.033	96%
América del Norte	6.671	9.647	1%	1%	2.976	45%
América Central	25.515	56.220	4%	6%	30.705	120%
América del Sur	293.332	183.891	42%	21%	-109.441	-37%
Asia	34.229	88.641	5%	10%	54.412	159%
Oceanía	332	394	0%	0%	62	19%
País no definido	1.972	5.649	0%	1%	3.677	186%
TOTAL	703.497	882.814	100%	100%	179.317	25%

Source: Statistics on Non-University Education (Subdirectorate-General for Statistics and Studies of the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training).

The opposite is observed in all other areas, where increases in the number of students from these regions are observed. The **strong growth in arrivals from Africa stands out, which now makes it the region from which most foreign students arrive (30% of the total)**, followed in order of size by the European Union⁹ and South America (24% and 21% respectively). Also noteworthy is the strong growth of students from Asia who, although they represent a minority group, have increased their proportion from 5% in the pre-crisis period to 10% at present.

3.5. GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF FOREIGN STUDENTS

Finally, understanding where there is a greater concentration of foreign students by geographical location will determine where efforts at integration should be directed. In this regard (Table 2), foreign students are mainly concentrated in four Regions: Catalonia, Madrid, Valencia and Andalusia. In these Regions, except in Andalusia, the percentage of foreign students of the total number of students enrolled also exceeds the national average (10.3%), as is the case in the Balearic Islands (16%), which is the Region with the highest ratio, La Rioja (15%), Aragon and Murcia (14%) and Melilla (13%). At the other extreme are Extremadura, Galicia and Asturias (between 3% and 5%) where, moreover, the proportion of foreign students in the national total is very low.

⁹ It should be noted that the foreign student body in the European Union mixes students from advanced countries (around 40%), with fewer integration difficulties, with those from countries such as Romania (46%) or Bulgaria (7%).

In terms , it can be observed that the economic crisis has also changed the locations of foreign students participating in the Spanish education system. Thus, **if we compare the data recorded in the academic year prior to the crisis (2007/08) with the most recent (2021/22), we observe a shift in the presence of foreigners from the central area to the east and northeast of the country** (Figure 4), which may be due to the increase in African students mentioned in the previous section, a group that tends to be located in this geographical area.

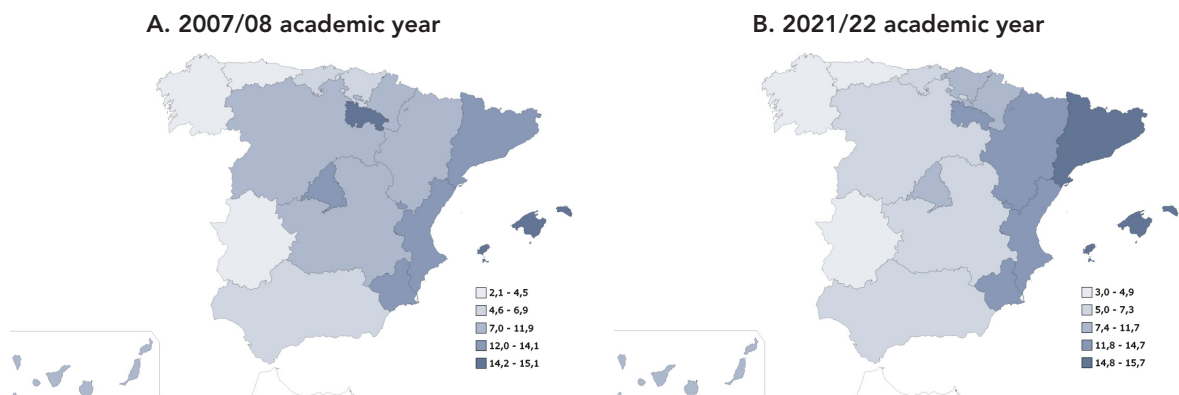
Table 2. Distribution of foreign students by Region

COMUNIDAD AUTÓNOMA	CURSO ACADÉMICO 2007-08			CURSO ACADÉMICO 2021-22		
	Nº de estudiantes	% s/ total extranjeros en España(*)	% s/ total estudiantes en cada CCAA(**)	Nº de estudiantes	% s/ total extranjeros en España(*)	% s/ total estudiantes en cada CCAA(**)
Andalucía	79.526	12%	5,5	98.197	12%	6,1
Aragón	23.239	3%	11,9	30.992	4%	14
Asturias, Principado de	5.661	1%	4,5	6.397	1%	4,8
Balears, Illes	22.724	3%	14,4	31.590	4%	16,3
Canarias	29.455	4%	8,8	32.119	4%	9,5
Cantabria	5.523	1%	6,9	6.080	1%	6,5
Castilla y León	24.690	4%	7	24.361	3%	7,2
Castilla-La Mancha	29.190	4%	8,8	25.828	3%	7,1
Cataluña	142.827	21%	12,3	206.587	24%	15,0
Comunitat Valenciana	91.782	13%	12,1	116.363	14%	13,2
Extremadura	5.273	1%	2,9	5.540	1%	3,2
Galicia	11.302	2%	3,1	15.359	2%	3,8
Madrid, Comunidad de	141.791	21%	14,1	145.469	17%	11,8
Murcia, Región de	32.825	5%	12,6	43.161	5%	14,3
Navarra, Comunidad Foral de	10.198	1%	10,5	12.132	1%	10,4
País Vasco	18.153	3%	5,6	33.216	4%	9,0
Rioja, La	6.944	1%	15,1	8.712	1%	15,4
Ceuta	338	0%	2,1	910	0%	4,6
Melilla	1.019	0%	6,2	2.753	0%	13,2
TOTAL	682.460	100%	9,4	845.766	100%	10,3

(*) Shaded cells are those with the highest values; (**) Shaded cells are those with values above the national average.

Source: Statistics on Non-University Education (Subdirectorato-General for Statistics and Studies of the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training).

Figure 4. Distribution of foreign students by Region (% of foreign students of the total number of students enrolled in each Region)



Integration I: Access to education and training

Access to education and training is a universal right, regardless of one's legal status. **The indicator that best measures this right is the school enrolment rate, which is taken to be the proportion of the schooled population in relation to the school-age population¹⁰.** Comparing this indicator across natives and foreigners gives us an idea of whether both groups have the same access opportunities.

4.1. SCHOOL ENROLMENT RATE OF THE FOREIGN POPULATION¹¹

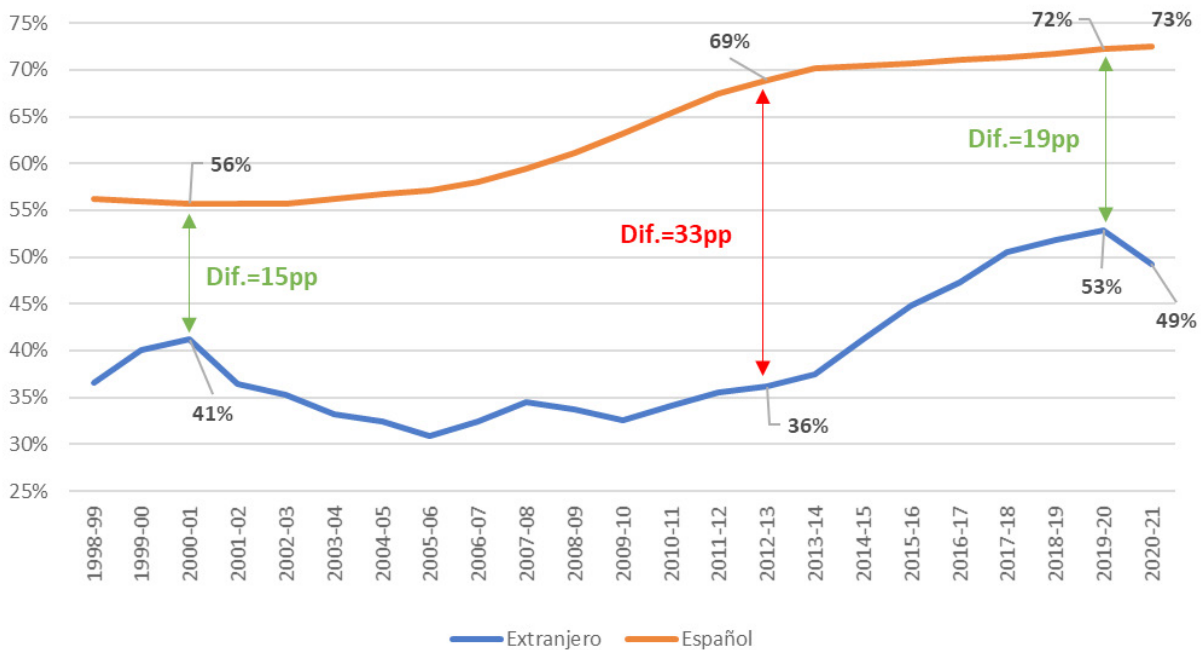
Analysing the gross enrolment rate¹² by nationality (Figure 5), **the first notable difference is that this indicator is slightly more than a third lower for foreigners (49%) than for Spaniards (73%).**

¹⁰ Specifically, the indicators used in this sense are the gross and net enrolment rates. The net rate measures the share of students in an age group enrolled in a given stage of education as a percentage of the total population in that age group. By contrast, the gross rate measures the number of students of any age group enrolled in a given level of education, i.e. the total number of students in that level of education, expressed as a percentage of the population of the official age group in that age group.

¹¹ The gross enrolment rate is calculated as the total number of students enrolled in any education system, expressed as a percentage of the population aged 0-29 years.

¹² Since enrolment data by level of education is available for foreign students, but without differentiating by age, the gross enrolment rate will be used in this report, which may be higher than 100% due to late entries and/or people repeating academic years.

Figure 5. Evolution of the total gross enrolment rate by nationality



Source: Prepared by the authors based on the Non-university Education Statistics (Subdirectorato-General for Statistics and Studies of the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training), the Integrated University Information System (SIU - General Secretariat for Universities) and Population Figures (INE).

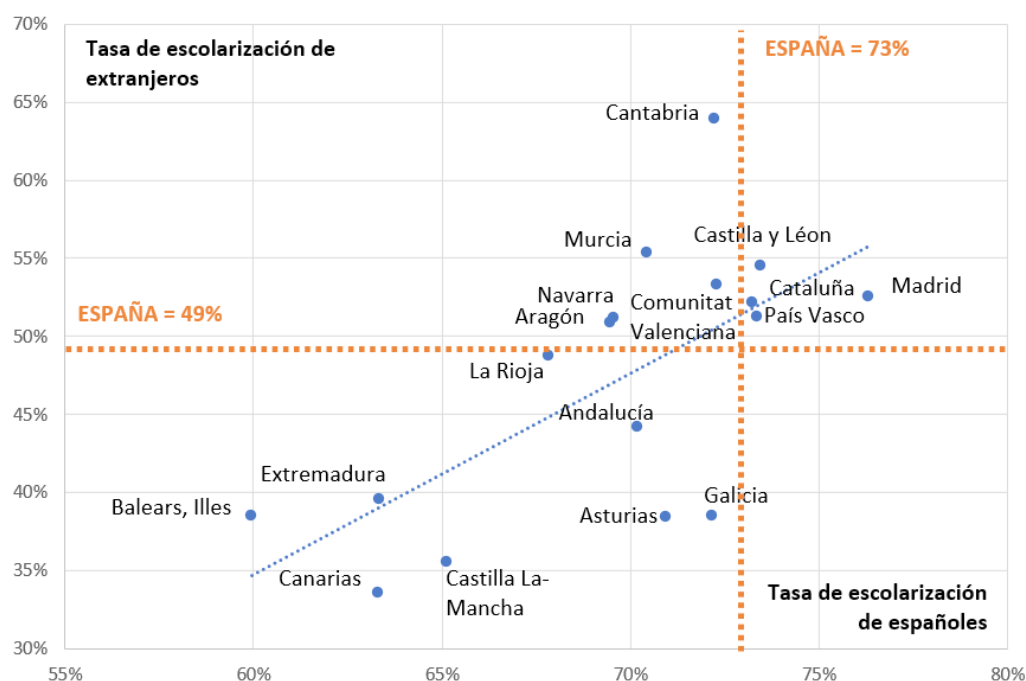
Considering its evolution, the indicator shows an upward trend in both groups, although with foreigners there are periods of decline during the earliest years of the 21st century (associated with the massive arrival of economic immigration during this period) and during the early years of the 2008 economic crisis, a pattern that does not occur in the case of Spaniards. Since 2013, the rate of foreigners has been growing at a much faster rate than that of Spaniards, which has reduced the enrolment gap from 33 percentage points in the 2012/13 academic year, when the highest difference was recorded, to around 20 at present.

4.2. SCHOOL ENROLMENT RATE BY REGION

If we compare the gross enrolment rate by Region, the rate for Spaniards is not only higher, but there is also greater homogeneity between the different Regions. Thus, while there is only a 16-percentage point difference between the maximum value (76% in Madrid) and the minimum (60% in the Balearic Islands) in the case of Spaniards, this value is as high as 30 percentage points in the case of foreigners (64% in Cantabria vs. 34% in the Canary Islands).

Figure 6 shows the enrolment rate of Spaniards against that of foreigners for the academic year 2020/21¹³. Cantabria and Murcia stand out, with high enrolment rates of foreigners compared to Spaniards; and Galicia, Asturias, Castile-La Mancha and the Canary Islands at the opposite extreme. Moreover, the graph includes national average values which allow a division into four quadrants¹⁴. **No Region is in the lower-right quadrant, the most worrying in terms of integration as it includes Regions with high enrolment rates for natives and low enrolment rates for foreigners. However, in the lower-left quadrant, where integration policy priorities are also detected, are Galicia and Asturias, regions with school enrolment rates for natives close to the national average, but with very low values for foreigners; as well as Castile-La Mancha and the Canary Islands, where the rates for natives are lower but almost double those for foreigners.**

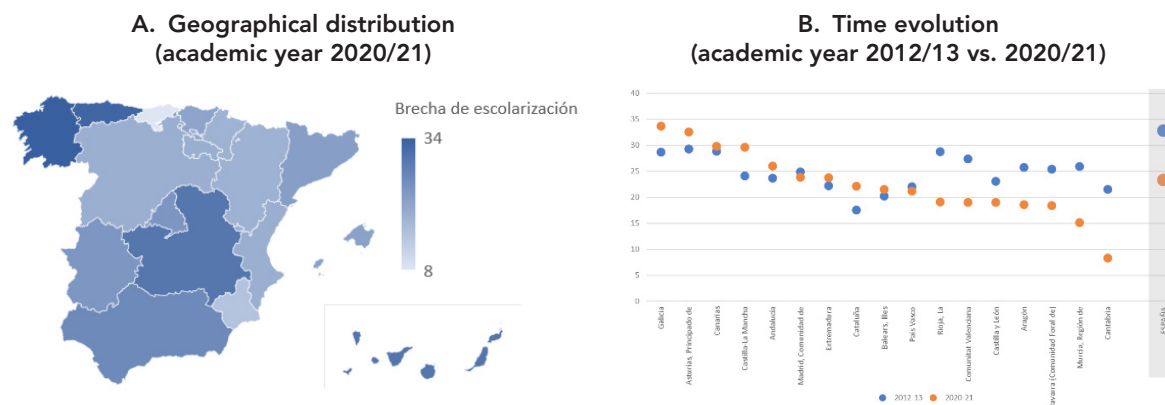
Figure 6. Comparison of the total gross enrolment rate of Spaniards and foreigners by Region (academic year 2020/21).



Source: Prepared by the authors based on the Non-university Education Statistics (Subdirectorato-General for Statistics and Studies of the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training), the Integrated University Information System (SIU - General Secretariat for Universities) and Population Figures (INE).

¹³ The Regions around the dashed blue line represent the average ratio of the enrolment rate of foreigners to that of Spaniards (around 1/3 lower for the former than for the latter). However, those above the line are the Regions with very high enrolment rates of foreigners relative to Spaniards (and vice versa for those below the line).

¹⁴ In the upper quadrants are the Regions with high values for the foreign enrolment rate, distinguishing between those which also show high values for natives (right quadrant) and those which do not (left quadrant); while in the lower quadrants the same distinction is made, but for those Regions with low foreign enrolment rates.

Figure 7. School enrolment gap^(*) by Region

(*): The gap is the gross enrolment ratio of Spaniards minus that of foreigners.

Source: Prepared by the authors based on the Non-university Education Statistics (Subdirectorato-General for Statistics and Studies of the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training), the Integrated University Information System (SIU - General Secretariat for Universities) and Population Figures (INE).

Figure 7.A shows that **the enrolment gap is more accentuated in the south of the country, while in the north (with the exception of Galicia and Asturias, where the gap is very significant) the differences are not so marked**. From an evolutionary perspective (Figure 7.B), if we compare the current enrolment gap with that of the 2012/13 academic year (in which, as mentioned above, the highest gap at national level was recorded), there are some Regions where the gap has increased (Galicia, Asturias, Castile-La Mancha, Andalusia and Catalonia), while at the other extreme are Cantabria, Murcia, Region of Valencia, Navarra and Aragón, all of which have managed to substantially improve the gap.

4.3. ENROLMENT RATES BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION

The highest enrolment rates (Table 3) are recorded at the primary and ESO educational levels, for both natives and foreigners, due to their being compulsory¹⁵. In the remaining stages, corresponding to non-compulsory education, enrolment rates are significantly lower among foreigners (except in some Vocational Training stages). These data show that there is a greater barrier to access to these educational stages for this group.

¹⁵ The fact that in the case of foreigners these rates exceed 100% is associated, on the one hand, with poorer academic results in this group, which generates a higher number of repeaters and, on the other hand, with the adaptive difficulties that this group has and which generate that the attendance of students in the different training cycles is not in accordance with the theoretical age corresponding to them.

Table 3. Gross enrolment ratio by nationality and level of education (Academic year 2020/21)

Educational level	Spaniards	Foreigners	Gap (*)
Early Childhood Education	73%	48%	25
Primary education	99%	112%	-13
Compulsory Secondary Education (ESO)	100%	113%	-13
Baccalaureate	73%	52%	21
Vocational training (**)	54%	44%	
Basic VET		13%	-6
Middle Level Vocational Training	43%	41%	1
Advanced Vocational Training	58%	35%	23
Higher education	30%	15%	

(*) The gap is calculated as the school enrolment rate of Spaniards minus that of foreigners, (**) Includes social guarantee courses and initial vocational qualification programmes.

Source: Compilation based on the Non-university Education Statistics (Subdirectorate-General for Statistics and Studies of the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training), the Integrated University Information System (SIIU - General Secretariat for Universities) and Population Figures (INE).

The case of Vocational Training, training stages with a greater orientation towards the world of work are the exception. Specifically, the enrolment rate of foreigners in basic vocational training is almost double that of natives, and that of intermediate vocational training is very similar. **However, this group does not tend to complete their education with more advanced studies**, with enrolment rates again much lower than those of natives, around half, both in higher vocational training and in higher education, which highlights the greater difficulties that foreigners have in accessing more advanced educational stages.

Integration II: Public-private school segregation of foreign students

The fact that the families of foreign students, linked to economic immigration, have a lower level of economic and socio-cultural resources than the average, promotes school segregation or concentration of these students in certain educational centres, which ends up affecting both the educational process and foreigners' educational outcomes¹⁶. **Thus, the public-private school distribution of immigration is a relevant aspect of the integration of foreign students.**

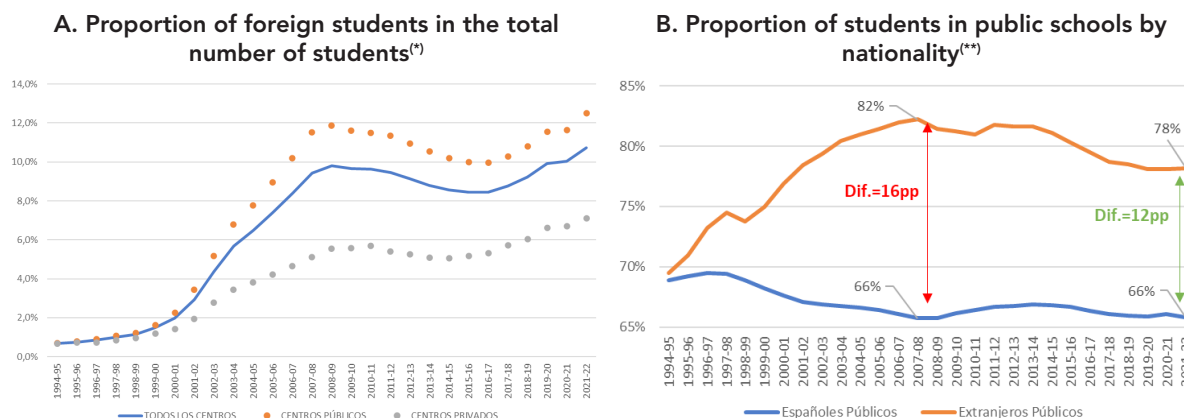
5.1. PRESENCE OF FOREIGN STUDENTS IN PUBLIC EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENTS

The data confirms that there is a higher presence of foreign students in public than in private schools. In the 2021/22 academic year, of the total number of students attending public schools, almost 13% were foreigners vs. 7% in the case of private schools. Moreover, although the presence of foreigners in both types of schools has grown rapidly since 2000 (Figure 8.A), it has grown at a faster rate in public than in private schools.

Another way to analyse the public-private segregation of foreign students is to compare the proportion of students attending public schools with that of Spaniards attending public schools (Figure 8.B). **The data again confirm that students of immigrant origin are more often than Spaniards enrolled in public schools. Thus, in the 2021/22 academic year, the proportion of foreigners in public schools is 20% higher than that of Spaniards** (78% of foreign students enrolled in public schools vs. 66% in the case of Spanish students). Moreover, the gap tends to narrow, but at a very slow pace (only 4 percentage points in 15 years).

¹⁶ Studies in different countries show that educational outcomes tend to be lower for children attending schools with a high proportion of students from low socio-economic backgrounds.

Figure 8. Evolution of students in public centres according to nationality



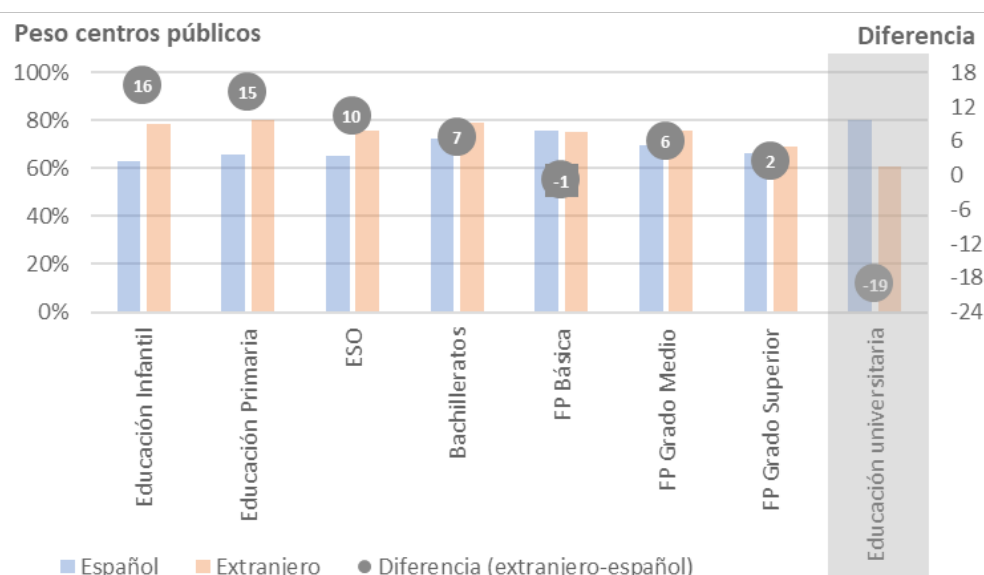
(*) Proportion of foreign students against the total number in public and private schools respectively; (**) Proportion of native/foreign students attending public schools against the total number of native/foreign students.

Source: Compilation based on the Non-university Education Statistics (Subdirectorate-General for Statistics and Studies of the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training).

5.2. PUBLIC-PRIVATE SCHOOL SEGREGATION BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION

The differences between the proportion of foreigners and Spaniards in public schools are even more accentuated when analysed at each educational stage (Figure 9). These differences tend to narrow as one moves through the education system (from 16 percentage points in pre-primary education to 7 in the baccalaureate), although not so much because of a greater capacity to integrate at the higher educational levels, but because of an increase in the enrolment of Spaniards in public schools at these stages.

Figure 9. Proportion of students in public schools according to nationality and educational level. (Academic year 2020/21)



Source: Compilation based on the Non-university Education Statistics (Subdirectorato-General for Statistics and Studies of the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training).

As an exception, the lowest proportions of all non-university educational levels and closest to those of the native population are once again recorded in Vocational Training, especially in Basic Vocational Training (75% of foreigners vs. 76% of natives) and Higher Vocational Training (69% vs. 67%).

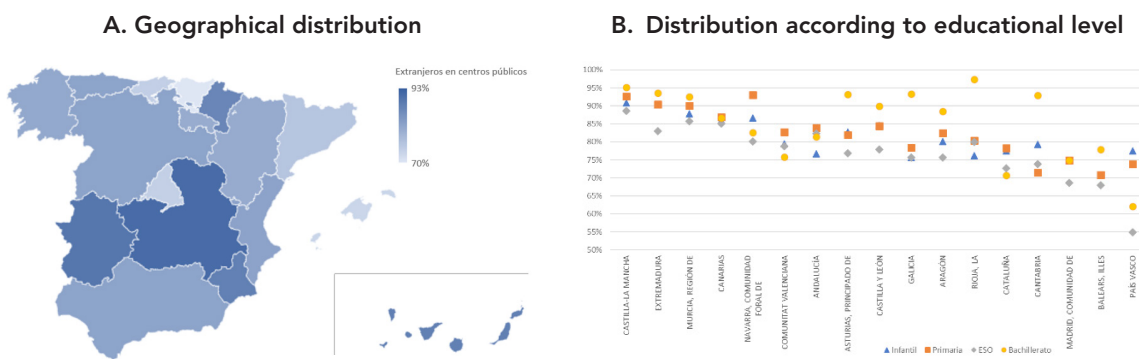
University education is the only stage in which the presence of natives in public universities (80%) is much higher than that of foreigners (61%). There are two factors that explain this difference. On the one hand, the greater early dropout of migrants' children from the education system means that on many occasions they do not reach university; while, on the other hand, many of them opt for more vocational training, providing quicker access to the labour market, related to Vocational Training.

5.3. FOREIGNERS ENROLLED IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS BY REGION

The enrolment rate of foreigners in public schools varies greatly between Regions (Figure 10.A). The highest rates are recorded in Castile-La Mancha, Extremadura, Murcia, the Canary Islands and Navarre (with values close to 90%) and the lowest in the Basque Country (70%) followed by the Balearic Islands, Madrid, Cantabria and Catalonia (around 75% in all cases).

If we analyse these values by educational stage (Figure 10.B), the first thing worth noting is that in most Regions there are significant differences according to educational level. **The general pattern is that the highest rates are found in bacculaureate (followed by primary education) and the lowest in ESO. However, there are some Regions that do not fit this pattern.** Specifically, in Valencia and Catalonia, the lowest proportion of foreigners enrolling in public schools is in bacculaureate, while in the Basque Country and Navarre, this proportion is also among the lowest (with the lowest in ESO in both cases).

Figure 10. Proportion of foreigners enrolled in public schools by Region Academic year (2020-2021)



Source: Compilation based on the Non-university Education Statistics (Subdirectorato-General for Statistics and Studies of the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training).

It is also worth highlighting the high dispersion in the values recorded according to educational level in some Regions. The Basque Country stands out as the Region with the greatest dispersion in the enrolment of foreigners in public schools according to educational level. Thus, the infant and primary school rates (78% and 74% respectively) are substantially lower than those in ESO (55%) and baccalaureate (62%) which, in turn, are the lowest rates in the whole of Spain. Other Regions with large disparities are Asturias, Galicia, La Rioja and Cantabria. In all of them, the proportion of foreign students enrolled in public schools is very high (around 95% in all cases) and is significantly lower than in all other educational levels (below 80% in most cases). Castile and Leon, Aragon and the Balearic Islands also show the same pattern, although with lower rates and less distant from those registered at the other levels of education.

Integration III: Educational outcomes. School performance and early school leavers

6.1. THE PERFORMANCE OF STUDENTS FROM A MIGRANT BACKGROUND

The data confirm that foreign students perform worse than native students in the three skills analysed in PISA (mathematics, reading and science), which amounts to a delay of slightly more than one year of school¹⁷. Specifically, the greatest lag (Table 4) is in mathematics (52 points), followed by reading and science (around 40 points). For natives with migrant parents, these differences fall to 33 points for mathematical competence and around 25 points for reading and scientific competence.

Table 4. Student performance by student background (PISA 2018)

COMPETENCIAS	Nativo	Nativo de padres inmigrantes		Extranjero	
	Puntuación	Puntuación	Brecha ^(*)	Puntuación	Brecha ^(*)
TOTAL					
Competencia matemática	498	465	33	446	52
Comprensión lectora	489	466	24	446	44
Competencia científica	497	473	25	456	41
MUJER					
Competencia matemática	493	460	33	443	50
Comprensión lectora	502	477	25	460	42
Competencia científica	495	470	25	456	39
HOMBRE					
Competencia matemática	503	471	32	450	53
Comprensión lectora	477	454	22	431	46
Competencia científica	500	475	24	456	44

(*) The gap has been calculated as the scores obtained by natives minus those of other groups.
Source: Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA, 2018).

¹⁷ A gap of 40 points is roughly equivalent to one year of school.

By gender, male students, in all three groups, score better than females in mathematical competence, but score significantly lower in reading. When comparing, for each gender, academic performance according to nationality, in the case of natives of immigrant parents, both genders record similar differences with respect to natives in the three competences; however, in the case of foreigners, the differences are somewhat more accentuated in men than in women.

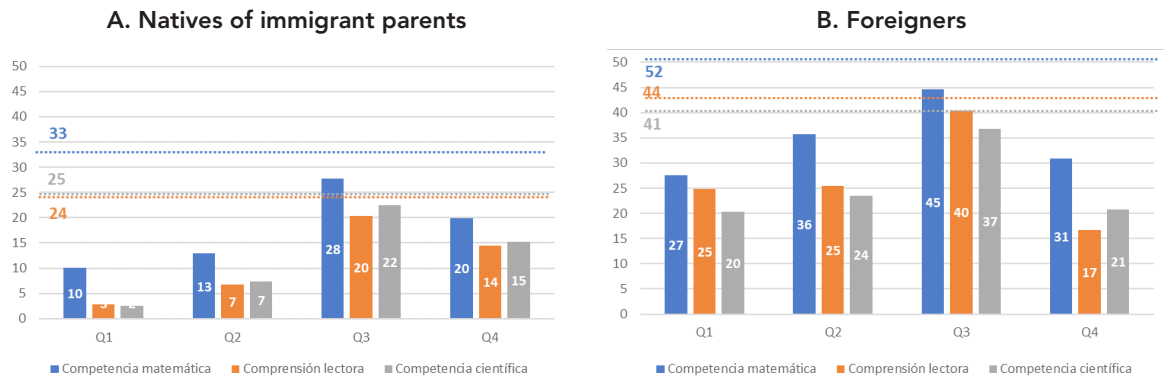
To ascertain the extent to which these results are explained by the socio-economic background of families, the PISA index of economic, social and cultural status (ESCS index¹⁸) has been included in the analysis, divided into four quartiles¹⁹. The difference in the performance of natives and foreigners in each of the quartiles captures the differences due to student characteristics related to their immigrant background rather than those linked to their economic and socio-cultural background (Figure 11).

When controlling for the effect of the socio-economic and cultural background of the students' families on achievement in calculating the gap, the differences are reduced, albeit unevenly across socio-economic and cultural conditions. In the case of foreigners, the gap is narrowed by around 50% in the three skills in both the first and fourth quartiles of the ESCS index (except for reading comprehension, which is reduced by 60% in the fourth quartile). **Thus, the delay increases from around 1 year to half a year for foreign students from worse and better socio-economic backgrounds, respectively. However, the reductions are smaller in the second quartile (around 40%) but especially in the third quartile, where they are around 10%.** In other words, at this level of economic and socio-cultural status the differences are not due to family financial resources, and it is necessary to look for other causes such as those related to the students' sense of belonging and/or the school climate, aspects which will be dealt with in the following section.

¹⁸ The acronym stands for "Economic Social and Cultural Status".

¹⁹ The first quartile represents the lowest 25% of the ESCS index values, the fourth quartile represents the highest 25% of the values, and the second and third quartiles represent 50% of the central values of the distribution.

Figure 11. Gap^(*) in academic performance by quartile of the Economic, Social and Cultural Status (ESCS) index. (PISA 2018)



(*): The dashed lines represent the 'raw' gap, or direct difference between the performance of natives and the rest of the groups; while the bars represent the 'net' gap calculated as the difference from the performance of natives in each quartile of the PISA index of economic, social and cultural status (ESCS).

Source: Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA, 2018).

In the case of natives of immigrant parents, the gap calculation shows an even greater reduction, especially in the first two quartiles, where the differences decrease by 90% and 70% respectively (except in mathematical competence where the reduction is 70% and 60% in each quartile). Moreover, in the fourth quartile, the reduction is high (around 40% in all three skills). However, again, the third quartile shows the smallest reduction: 15% in mathematics and reading literacy and 10% in science literacy.

6.2. RATE OF REPETITION OF ACADEMIC YEARS AMONG IMMIGRANT PUPILS

The lower academic performance of young immigrants discussed in the previous section has an immediate consequence on the rate of repetition of academic years of these students (Table 5). Thus, PISA data for 2018²⁰ show that while the rate of repetition of academic years at age 15 for native students is 22%, the rate for foreigners is more than double (50%). Native students of immigrant parents have a lower rate (42%) than that of foreigners (it is reduced with respect to the latter by 20%), although it is still higher, almost double, than that of natives.

²⁰ The repetition rate is measured as the proportion of 15-year-old students who have repeated a grade.

Table 5. Rate of repetition of academic years by student background (PISA 2018)

	NATIVO	NATIVO DE PADRES INMIGRANTES		EXTRANJERO	
	Tasa	Tasa	Brecha ^(*)	Tasa	Brecha ^(*)
TOTAL	22%	42%	20	50%	28
GENERO					
Mujer	18%	36%	18	44%	26
Hombre	26%	47%	21	56%	31
CUARTILES DEL ÍNDICE DE ESTATUS ECONÓMICO, SOCIAL Y CULTURAL (ESCS)					
Q1	42%	50%	8	57%	15
Q2	27%	37%	10	50%	23
Q3	15%	35%	19	42%	27
Q4	7%	18%	11	21%	15

(*) The gap has been calculated as the rate of repetition of academic years of foreigners and natives of immigrant parents minus that of natives.

Source: Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA, 2018).

By gender, the rate of repetition of academic years of males is higher than that of females regardless of the origin of the students. However, the gender differences are greater for natives (the rate of repetition of academic years for men is 43% higher than for women in this group) than for foreigners or natives of immigrant origin (in both cases the rate for men is 30% higher than for women).

When uses socio-economic status (ESCS index) as a corrective factor in the calculation of the rate of repetition of academic years, in both the group of foreigners and natives with migrant parents, the gap with natives narrows significantly in the extreme quartiles of the distribution (first and fourth). It is therefore in the families of foreign students with higher and lower socio-economic resources, compared to those of more intermediate status, that rates of repetition of academic years are most similar to those of natives. Reductions in the gap are not as significant in the second quartile and even less so in the third quartile, where the gap is the same as when not controlling for status. This again indicates that in this group the differences found are due to factors not dependent on socio-economic status but on being of immigrant origin.

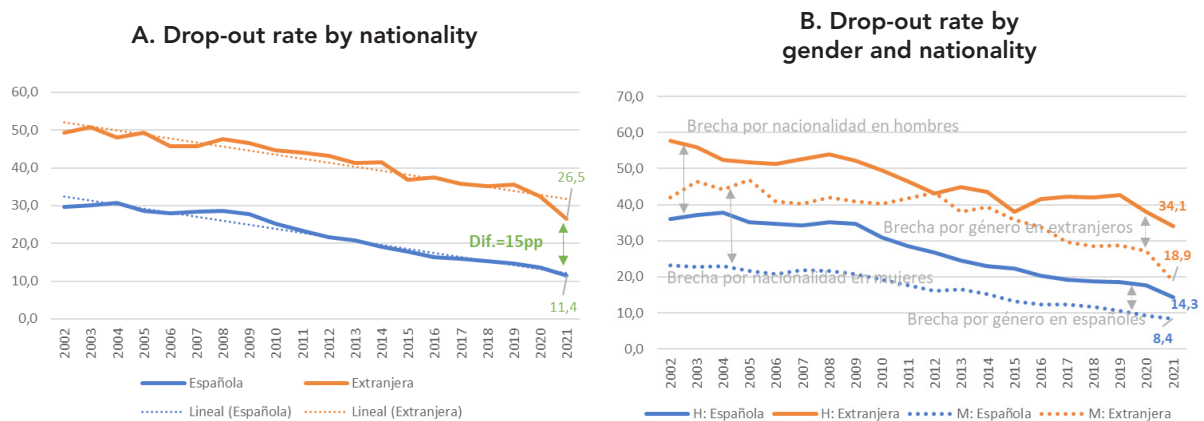
6.3. FOREIGN STUDENTS' DROP-OUT RATE²¹

The poorer academic performance and higher rates of repetition of academic years among foreigners are associated with greater difficulties in continuing their studies after compulsory

²¹ Population aged 18-24 who have not completed upper secondary education and are not in any other type of education.

schooling. Thus, **foreigners have a higher early drop-out rate than Spaniards** (Figure 12.A). **Specifically, for every Spanish student who drops out of the education system, slightly more than two foreign students do so.** Although this rate shown a downward trend, it has fallen at the same rate as that of Spaniards, so the gap has remained constant at around 20 percentage points. Only in recent academic years has there been an acceleration in the speed at which the drop-out among foreigners has fallen; this has reduced the gap to 15 percentage points (26.5% among foreigners vs. 11.4% among Spaniards).

Figure 12. Evolution of the drop-out rate



(*) The drop-out rate gap is calculated as the drop-out rate of foreigners minus the drop-out rate of natives.

Source: Exploitation of educational variables from the Labour Force Survey (INE). Ministry of Education and Vocational Training.

If we analyse the drop-out rate by gender (Figure 12.B), we observe that men record higher values than women regardless of the students' nationality. Thus, **the gap by nationality²² is almost twice as large for men (20 percentage points) as for women (10.5); while the gender gap²³ is almost three times higher for foreigners (15.2 percentage points) than for natives (5.9).**

As for the evolution of these gaps, the gap by nationality increases for both men and women during the years following the onset of the financial crisis in 2008, and begins to recover at the end of the period studied, although it starts somewhat earlier and at a faster rate for women than for men. As regards the evolution of the gender gap, it tends to narrow for Spaniards due to a faster fall in the drop-out rate for men than for women. However, in the case of foreigners, the trend is more irregular, with the drop-out rate for foreign girls remaining stable (around 40%) during the 2008 economic crisis and subsequent years, while the drop-out rate for boys continues to fall, due to the fact that the economic crisis seems to have had a greater

²² Difference between foreign and native drop-out rates.

²³ Difference between male and female drop-out rates.

impact on the education of foreign girls than on that of their male counterparts. Both rates are currently on a downward trend, although the female rate is decreasing more quickly.

6.4. DIFFERENCES IN SCHOOLING IN POST-COMPULSORY EDUCATION

Finally, the differences in the presence of students in the different post-compulsory stages can also help us to assess the extent to which foreign students have passed the previous stages and whether or not they continue with their schooling. **The data (Table 6) confirm that the children of immigrants are clearly over-represented in Basic Vocational Training and under-represented in Intermediate Vocational Training, Higher Vocational Training and Baccalaureate, in that order.**

Specifically, while 15.5% of students in basic vocational training stages are of foreign origin (10.4% of the total number of students in the 2020/21 academic year), this percentage stands at 8.7% and 6.8% in the case of intermediate and higher vocational training cycles respectively, and 6.7% in the baccalaureate. **Furthermore, this lower representation of foreigners in the most advanced educational stages is more acute private centres**, where the proportion of these students in the 2020/21 academic year stood at 7.1% and 6.4% in intermediate and higher vocational training respectively, and 5.2% in the baccalaureate.

Table 6. Percentage of foreign students in general non-university education (Academic year 2020/21)

Curso 2020/21	TOTAL (*)	E. Infantil	E. Primaria	ESO	Bachillerato (**)	Ciclos Formativos FP Básica	Ciclos Formativos FP Grado Medio (**)	Ciclos Formativos FP Grado Superior (**)
TODOS LOS CENTROS	10,4%	9,9%	11,9%	9,3%	6,7%	15,5%	8,7%	6,8%
CENTROS PÚBLICOS	12,2%	12,0%	14,1%	10,7%	7,3%	15,4%	9,4%	7,1%
CENTROS PRIVADOS	6,8%	6,0%	7,1%	6,7%	5,2%	16,0%	7,1%	6,4%
Enseñanza privada concertada	6,1%	6,0%	6,0%	5,7%	4,2%	16,0%	7,9%	6,1%
Enseñanza privada no concertada	9,0%	5,7%	15,5%	14,4%	5,9%	15,0%	5,7%	6,5%

(*) Including students from Special Education Centres; (**) On-site and distance learning.

Source: Figures on education in Spain. Statistics and indicators (2022 edition). (Subdirectorato-General for Statistics and Studies of the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training).

Integration IV: School climate. Sense of belonging and suffering from bullying

A good school climate allows students who are children of immigrants to feel accepted and valued by their peers and teachers, which is a major factor for them to feel integrated into their schools and to be able to progress. In the PISA study we can find information about: 1) how students perceive the school climate in their schools²⁴; and 2) whether they have experienced any bullying²⁵.

Figure 13 shows the mean values of both indices²⁶, as well as the results of the ANOVA test²⁷ which identifies statistically significant differences between the mean values recorded according to the origin of the students. The result of this test is shown in the green circles in the graph and in the number recorded in them, which indicates the position of that group of students in terms of the size of the index (1 corresponds to the highest value, 2 to the next, and so on). If two groups have the same number, it means that no statistically significant differences were detected between the mean values of the two groups.

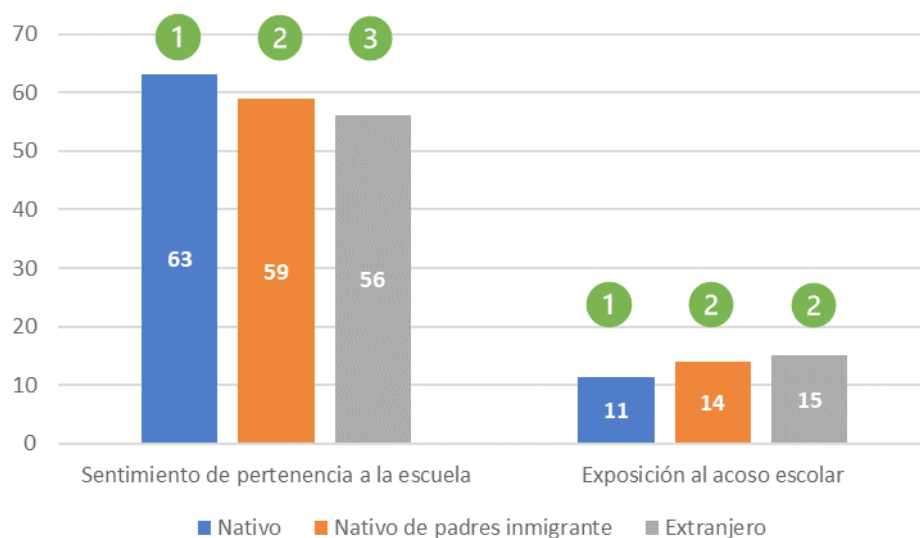
²⁴ The student's sense of belonging index is constructed on the basis of the degree to which they agree with the following statements: I feel marginalised at school; I make friends easily at school; I feel integrated at school; I feel uncomfortable and out of place at school; other students like me; and I feel lonely at school.

²⁵ The bullying exposure index is constructed on the basis of the number of times students have experienced; over the past year; situations such as: unpleasant rumours have been spread about me; 'I've been hit or pushed; my things have been taken or broken; I've been threatened; I've been made fun of; I've been excluded on purpose.

²⁶ For both indices, the value 0 corresponds to the OECD average, so that positive values indicate a sense of belonging, or greater exposure to bullying, than the OECD average. Since this report does not make international comparisons, both indices have been standardised to values between 0 and 100 to facilitate their interpretation.

²⁷ Analysis of variance (ANOVA) is a statistical technique to identify whether the means of two or more groups are different.

Figure 13. Mean values of the indices of sense of belonging to school and exposure to bullying by student background (PISA 2018)



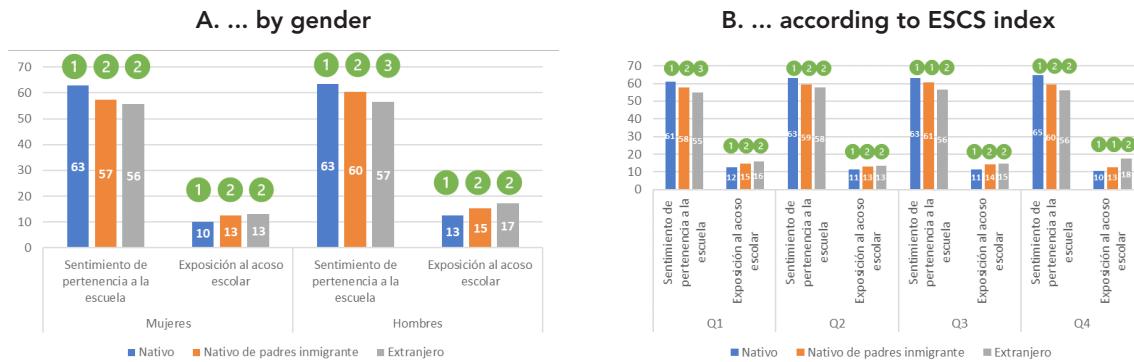
Source: Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA, 2018).

According to the results obtained, **foreign students show more negative values, which are moreover statistically different from natives, in both indices, indicating a lower sense of belonging to the school and greater exposure to bullying.** In natives of immigrant parents, exposure to bullying is similar to what is seen with foreigners; however, the feeling of belonging is significantly higher than in foreigners, although it is still significantly lower than that of natives.

When both indices are crossed with the gender of the students (Figure 14.A), it can be seen that **foreign men and natives of immigrant parents have a greater sense of belonging than women, although they are also more exposed than women to harassment.** In any case, both men and women from these two groups are at a disadvantage compared to natives and, in the case of foreign men, even compared to natives with immigrant parents, since they feel less integrated into the school than the latter²⁸.

²⁸ The ANOVA analysis shows a statistically significant difference between the mean of the belongingness index of foreign men and natives with immigrant parents.

Figure 14. School belongingness indexes and exposure to bullying according to..... (PISA 2018)



Source: Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA, 2018).

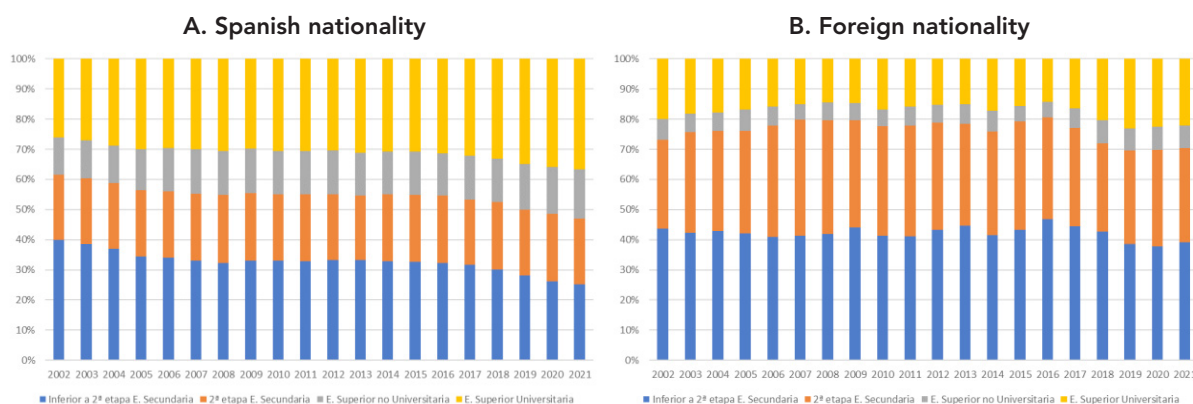
When controlling for the economic, social and cultural status of students' households (Figure 14.B), we observe a slight improvement in the integration of natives of immigrant parents with a high average status (quartiles 3 and 4 of the PISA ESCS index distribution), where the average values of this group are more similar to those of natives than to those of foreigners (at least in the index of feeling of belonging for students in quartile 3 and in the index of exposure to bullying for students in quartile 4²⁹). However, among students experiencing worse socio-economic and cultural conditions, the profile of this group is again similar to that of foreigners. **Foreigners are at a disadvantage compared to natives even when controlling for socio-economic conditions.**

²⁹ The ANOVA test yields statistically non-significant results when comparing the averages of natives of immigrant parents and natives on the index of feeling of belonging to the school in quartile 3 of the ESCS index, and on the index of exposure to bullying in quartile 4.

Integration V: Educational attainment of the adult population

Among people aged 25 to 34, differences can be observed between Spaniards and foreigners in the level of education attained (Figure 15), with the former group having a significantly higher level of education. Specifically, **in the 2020/21 academic year, while the proportion of Spaniards in this age group with less than an upper secondary education is 25%, this figure is 50% higher (39%) among foreigners.** These differences are more accentuated at higher levels of education, where 53% of the Spanish population has higher education compared to 30% of the foreign population (the figure is 80% higher).

Figure 15. Proportion of the population between 25 and 34 years old at each level of training according to nationality



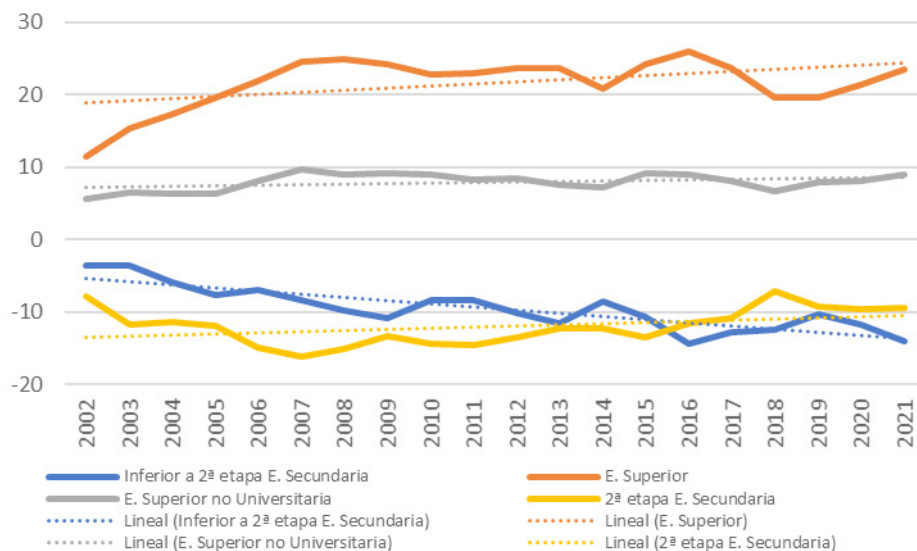
Source: Exploitation of educational variables from the Labour Force Survey (INE). Ministry of Education and Vocational Training.

In terms of evolution over time, this lack of integration is even more worrying given that while the Spanish population is clearly moving towards a higher level of education (a downward trend in the percentage of the population with less than a baccalaureate education and an increase in the proportion of the population with higher education), this pattern has not been so clear in the case of foreigners. It is only in recent years that a similar evolution to that

of Spaniards has begun to be observed, which has led to a reduction in the proportion of foreigners with less than a baccalaureate education from 47% to 39% and an increase in the proportion of the population with tertiary education from 19% to 30%.

This disparity in the evolution of the educational level of the population explains why the gap has deteriorated (Figure 16), with the differences widening both in studies below baccalaureate level (the difference in the share of the population with this educational level has gone from –4 percentage points in 2002 to –14 in 2021) and in higher education (11 vs. 23).

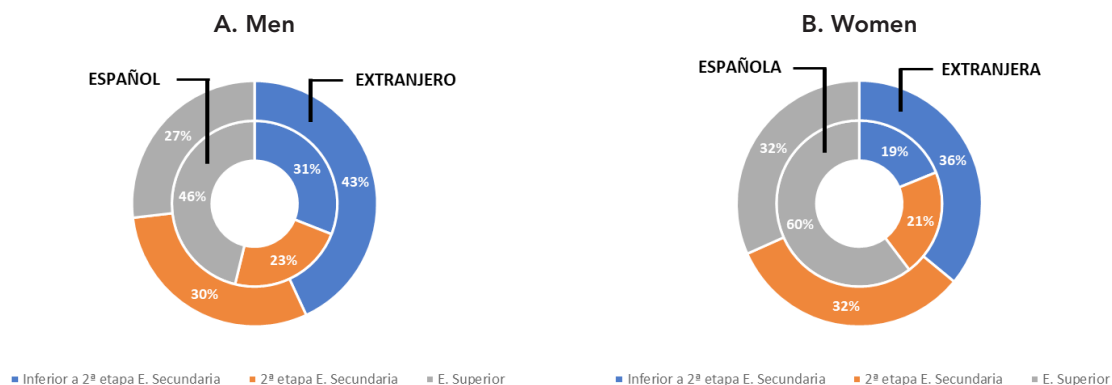
Figure 16. The gap between foreigners and Spaniards in the educational level of the population



Source: Exploitation of educational variables from the Labour Force Survey (INE).
Ministry of Education and Vocational Training.

By gender (Figure 17) it can be seen that, regardless of nationality, women have a higher level of education than men (a lower proportion with less than a baccalaureate education and higher with a tertiary education). However, in the comparison by nationality, greater differences can be seen in the case of women, which highlights the need to pay greater attention to this group in terms of integration policies. Specifically, the difference in the proportion of the population with less than a baccalaureate education is 12 percentage points in the case of foreign men compared to native men and 17 percentage points in the case of women, with this difference increasing even more in tertiary education, where the proportion of foreign men is 19 percentage points lower than that of Spaniards, while it rises to 29 percentage points in the case of foreign women.

Figure 17. Level of education of the population by nationality and gender (Year 2021)



Source: Exploitation of educational variables from the Labour Force Survey (INE).
Ministry of Education and Vocational Training.

In summary, these lower levels of education should be interpreted as an indicator of a lack of integration of the foreign population in the Spanish education system and highlight the need to make progress in this area, especially bearing in mind the implications that educational levels have on all other aspects of integration³⁰.

³⁰ Analysis of this educational variable has found that people with higher levels of education tend to have better health, greater social participation and higher employment rates and relative earnings.

Main conclusions

This report details a set of indicators to measure the integration of foreigners during their time in the education system (before they enter the education system, while in the education system and after they leave the education system), making it possible to identify deficiencies, areas for action, successes achieved, etc. with which to guide integration policies.

In this sense, **the data confirm that there are fewer opportunities for foreigners to access the education system**, especially in the more advanced stages. More specifically:

- The school enrolment rate of foreigners (49%) is 33% lower than that of natives (73%). The good news is that, although the school enrolment rate continues to rise for both groups, since 2013 the rate of growth of foreigners has accelerated, which is narrowing the gap.
- By Regions, the priorities in terms of integration policies in this area are detected in Galicia and Asturias which, with school enrolment rates for natives close to the national average, show very low values in the case of foreigners. The gap is also high in the southern half of the country, notably in Castile-La Mancha and the Canary Islands, where school enrolment rates for natives, although below the national average, are almost double those for foreigners. The situation is even more worrying given that in all these regions, together with Catalonia, the gap has widened in recent years.
- By educational levels, the enrolment rates for non-compulsory education are significantly lower among foreigners in them all, except in basic and intermediate vocational training, which confirms a greater tendency among foreigners towards this type of training, with a greater orientation towards the labour market. Moreover, foreigners have more difficulties in accessing the final stages of education, as they have the lowest enrolment rates compared to natives (around half) in these stages.

There exists public-private school segregation by nationality:

- A higher share of foreign students attend public schools than Spanish students. Specifically, the proportion of foreign students in public schools is 20% higher than that of Spaniards (78% vs. 66%). This gap has been narrowing since the 2008 economic crisis, although at a very slow pace.
- By educational level, these differences tend to narrow as the educational stage progresses, but this is due to the increase in the enrolment of Spaniards in public schools at these

stages. Thus, in vocational training these differences are very small, while in university education proportion of natives in public centres (80%) is higher than that of foreigners (61%). Thus, it is foreseeable that a major core of foreigners who arrive at university are not linked to economic migration and, therefore, have more resources to study at private institutions.

- The enrolment rate of foreigners in public schools varies greatly between Regions. The highest rates are recorded in Castile-La Mancha, Extremadura, Murcia, the Canary Islands and Navarre (around 90%) and the lowest in the Basque Country (70%), followed by the Balearic Islands, Madrid, Cantabria and Catalonia (around 75%). The Basque Country also stands out as the Region with the greatest dispersion according to educational level: the rates for infant and primary education (78% and 74% respectively) are substantially lower than those for ESO (55%) and baccalaureate (62%) which, in turn, are the lowest rates in the whole of Spain.

Once they enter the education system, data confirm that **foreigners perform less well in school than natives:**

- Specifically, this translates into a delay of slightly more than one year of schooling for foreigners, and slightly less for natives with migrant parents. The longest delay is in mathematical competence and it is slightly lower in reading and science.
- When controlling for the effect of the socio-economic and cultural background of students' families on achievement in calculating the gap, the differences are reduced in all three competences and at all socio-economic levels except for the upper-middle level, where the differences are to be found in factors other than family financial resources (such as students' sense of belonging and/or the school climate at their schools).
- The lower academic performance of young immigrants' results in a rate of repetition of academic years (50%) that is twice that of natives (22%), although in the case of natives with immigrant parents it is somewhat lower (42%). Again, when controlling for the economic, social and cultural level of the family, the gap with natives is significantly reduced at all socio-economic levels except the upper middle, again highlighting the existence in this group of other factors not linked to socio-economic characteristics that also hinder integration.
- This manifests as higher early drop-out rates among foreigners. Specifically, for every Spanish student who drops out of the education system, slightly more than two foreigners do so. This rate has trended downwards over time, similar to of the trend observed in Spaniards, except in recent academic years where an acceleration in the rate of dropout has been observed.

Moreover, **foreigners feel less accepted and valued by their peers and teachers than natives:**

- In particular, they have a lesser sense of belonging and are more exposed to bullying. On the other hand, this situation is somewhat improved among natives with migrant parents.

- By gender, foreign and native males of immigrant parents have a greater sense of belonging than females, although they are also somewhat more exposed than females to bullying. Moreover, foreign men feel less integrated at school than native-born men with immigrant parents.
- When controlling for the economic, social and cultural status of students' households, foreigners continue to be at a disadvantage compared to natives at all socio-economic levels. However, there is a slight improvement in the integration of natives of immigrant parents with upper-middle and high status.

As a result of all the above, after their passage through the education system, **the level of education attained by foreigners is significantly lower than that of natives:**

- In particular, there is a higher proportion of foreigners with a maximum level of education below baccalaureate, and a lower proportion with higher education. Moreover, these differences are greater at higher levels of education.
- Moreover, while Spaniards have shown a clear tendency to improve their educational level, this has been less clear among foreigners, and it is only in the last five years that this pattern has begun to be observed among them as well.
- By gender, it can be observed that, regardless of nationality, women have a higher level of education than men. However, when comparing by nationality, greater differences are observed in the case of women, especially in tertiary education, which highlights the need to pay greater attention to this group in terms of integration policies.

All in all, the data show that there is still a long way to go in terms of the educational integration of foreigners: **although progress has been made in recent years, it must be accelerated to ensure that these students develop are educated under the same conditions and with the same opportunities as their native counterparts.** Any time that passes before this convergence is achieved means less progress as a society, especially considering the implications that educational levels have on all other aspects of integration, inasmuch as these young people will see their capacity to develop their full potential and contribute to society in general limited.

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