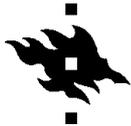


The Tourism-Migration Nexus:
Migrant workers' perspectives in Spain

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Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract			
<p>My objective in this study is to assess and to get a grass-roots perspective on the tourism-migration nexus. My intention is also to find out migrants views on remittances, what it means to work as a migrant for the Spanish tourism sector, and the migrants possible return to their countries of origin, regarding as well the opportunities to become entrepreneurs once they are back.</p> <p>Relationships between two global phenomena: tourism and migration will be considered under the light of different discourses and theories as well as primary data obtained from migrants, who work in the tourism sector. One of the intentions of this study is to turn the phenomenon of tourism-migration nexus into a part of a larger whole, by showing how significantly it relates to globalization.</p> <p>In order to assess the remittances sending customs, likelihood and relevance of VFR tourism, returning to the country of origin and investing in the tourism sector of two specific ethnic groups within Spain, Ecuadorian and Moroccan migrants, a field study of a total of 8 in-depth interviews with migrants and experts was carried out in winter 2011.</p> <p>The selected point of view only allows me to introduce a migrant perspective to the on-going discussion at the academic and international organizations' level, but also permits me to assess the UNWTO's view of tourism and migration through a grassroots lens. Thus these interviews and migrant viewpoints are at the very core of this study.</p>			
Avainsanat – Nyckelord – Keywords international migrant, migrant worker, remittances, tourism and tourism sector			



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Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract			
<p>Tavoitteeni tässä tutkimuksessa on evaluoida ja saada ruohonjuuritason näkökulma matkailu-siirtolaisuus nexukseen. Tarkoitukseni on selvittää maahanmuuttajien näkemyksiä rahalähetyksistä, mitä siirtotyöläisille merkitsee työskennellä Espanjan matkailu-alalla, sekä maahanmuuttajien mahdollista paluuta lähtömaihinsa, koskien myös heidän mahdollisuuksiaan ryhtyä yrittäjiksi, mahdollisen paluumuuton jälkeen.</p> <p>Tässä tutkimuksessa tarkastellaan kahta maailmanlaajuista ilmiötä: matkailua ja siirtolaisuutta, sekä niiden välisiä suhteita eri diskurssien ja teorioiden valossa. Näitä asioita tarkastellaan siirtotyöläisten, jotka työskentelevät matkailualalla, näkökulmasta. Yhtenä tämän tutkimuksen tarkoituksista on tarkastella turismi–migratio -nexusta osana isompaa kokonaisuutta, näyttämällä miten merkittävästi nexus liittyy globalisaatioon.</p> <p>Tässä tutkimuksessa mm. rahalähetyksiä, VFR-turismin relevanttiutta ja todennäköisyyttä, siirtotyöläisten mahdollista paluuta kotimaihinsa, ja investointia turismisektorille kotimaassaan tarkastellaan. Kahdeksan maahanmuuttajaa ja ammattilaista Ecuadorista ja Marokosta syvä -haastateltiin tämä tarkoitus mielessä talvella 2011 Espanjassa.</p> <p>Valittu näkökulma sallii minun esitellä maahanmuuttajan näkökulma keskusteluun, jota käydään akateemisesti ja kansainvälisesti, mutta samalla se antaa minulle mahdollisuuden tarkastella UNWTO:n turismi- ja maahanmuuttaja näkökulmaa ruohonjuuritasolta. Nämä ruohonjuuritason näkemykset ovat keskeisessä osassa tätä tutkimusta.</p> <p>Lähestyin tutkimusongelmaa maahanmuuttajan perspektiivistä, sillä suurin osa tutkimuksesta ei näe maahanmuuttajia tutkimuksen subjekteina vaan avuttomina objekteina. On tärkeää ymmärtää, että turismi ja maahanmuutto ovat sellainen liikkumisen muoto, että niillä on multidimensioanaalisia ja globaaleja sivuvaikutuksia. Tämän vuoksi niitä ja niiden solmukohtia pitäisi tarkastella monista näkökulmista, ei ainoastaan ylhäältä alaspäin. Lisäksi, rahalähetyksiä pitäisi tarkastella kriittisemmin; vastaanottajan rooli on edelleen epäselvä vaikka monet yrittävät painottaa vain positiivisia vaikutuksia.</p>			
Avainsanat – Nyckelord – Keywords kansainvälinen siirtolainen, siirtotyöläinen, rahalähetykset, matkailu, matkailusektori			

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This study is dedicated to my parents Ulla and Jorma Jokinen.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FECOHT-CCOO	Federación Estatal de Comercio, Hostelería y Turismo de Comisiones Obreras
FEHR	Federación Española de Hostelería
GDP	Gross Domestic Product

HoReCa	Hotel, Restaurant and Catering sectors
ILO	International Labor Organization
MDG	Millenium Development Goals
MLT	Migration Led Tourism
NGO	Non- Governmental Organization
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
TLM	Tourism Led Migration
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organization
VFR tourism	Visiting Friends and Relatives
WB	World Bank

1 INTRODUCTION

This paper examines the until now undeveloped research area which examines the relationship between tourism and migration. Despite the emergence of a number of new studies in this area that have evolved from the interest in 'ethnic tourism', visiting friends and relatives and the relationship of tourism to migration as well (particularly immigration and emigration), many of these relationships remain obscure and dim within existing conceptualizations of the area.

As a result this paper explores the discourses and literature on tourism and migration, seeking to provide a cohesive synthesis of the field from publications within the realms of tourism studies, migration studies, mobility discourses, sociology and the effect of globalization of working lives and patterns of migration and tourism. The study examines two specific ethnic groups within Spain, Ecuadorian and Moroccan migrants and establishes the travel patterns of the groups, the principal motivating factors to migrate and travel, significant relationships with their recent immigration experiences and the effect on their family and relatives within their travel patterns. Also their attitude and behavior related to remittances is analyzed in this study. The study uses rarely used form of data collecting technique to critically assess the strength and faults of these relationships – in-depth interview.

1.1 Reasons for the choice of the topic

The starting point of this study is the United Nations World Tourism Organization's (UNWTO, 2009) report called "Tourism and Migration Exploring the Relationship between Two Global Phenomena". The report is partly based on case studies from different countries and from different continents, but the UNWTO's (2009) report does not include a case study about Spain, although Spain is a European Union's (EU) "gateway" for African and Latin American arriving immigrants to enter the European Union's territory (see map2). So, this study concentrates on investigating tourism - migration nexus from the

perspective of the Ecuadorian and Moroccan migrant workers living in Spain. Ecuadorian and Moroccan migrant workers have been selected as research target groups because they represent the two largest non EU country diasporas in Spain. They also represent two different developing continents; Africa and Latin America, with large international migration mobility to the European continent. In addition, the Global Forum on Migration and Development's documents emphasize on the important role of the middle income countries; because these countries are attracting migrants from other developing countries as well as they act as countries of origin. For example countries like Morocco and Mexico are mentioned as an important target-and origin countries in migration. Ecuador is also a middle income country. So, there seems to be a need for further examination of the role of these countries in migration and development. Thus, the Global Forum on Migration and Development's documents (from 2007–2009) state that there seems to be much need for more primary evidence regarding the impacts between migration and development.

1.2 Research problem

This study is focused in particular on Ecuadorian and Moroccan migrants working for the tourism, travel and hospitality market in Spain. The main aim of this study is to get a grass-roots perspective on the tourism-migration nexus from migrants working in the tourism sector. Other key research questions are: what are the migrants' points of view on remittances and their impacts on their country of origin, what it means to work as a migrant for the Spanish tourism sector and migrants' possible return to their countries of origin and investing in their tourism sector. The complex phenomenon of tourism-migration nexus goes beyond the limits defined by remittances, VFR tourism, foreign investments and mobility of goods etc. because according to (2008, 53) it is mostly invisible to data gathering. Anyhow, the humble objective of this study is to hint towards important intersections between migration and tourism with reference to a data source consisting of research subjects living in the very heart of this interesting phenomenon. The results presented in the analysis section would have been impossible to obtain using any other research methods for the simple reason that this study aims to bring out the migrant voice regarding their own situation

while calling for an anti-oppressive approach, because; only this way we can complement our own discourses with the knowledge and voice of the others.

So, the focus of this thesis was first on migrants' remittances to their home countries and their development impacts over there. However, as the study developed the focus of it expanded to reflect more in depth the tourism-migration nexus. This study analyzes the tourism-migration nexus more profoundly and critically than the UNWTO's report. It does not seek to give recommendations for countries or any policy advises. The purpose of my study is to reflect the tourism-migration nexus from a neutral starting point, simply because the global umbrella organization has always some political agendas involved in their activities and opinions. This study attempts to understand more profoundly the phenomenon of tourism- migration nexus while it will attempt to increase the knowledge of it and everything related to it, however it does not seek to generalize. During the study some new findings that rise from the new primary data will be further analyzed, and also some suggestions about topics that should be explored more in depth in further studies.

1.3 Scoping the study

This thesis is limited to look at only the legal working immigrants leaving out refugees and "irregular migrants (or undocumented/illegal migrants): people who enter a country, usually in search for employment, without the necessary documents and permits" (UNWTO, 2009). Collected qualitative data consists of six in-depth interviews carried out with Ecuadorian and Moroccan migrants who are working for the tourism sector while living in Spain, and more data derived from primary material obtained from migrant - and expert interviews combined and reflected under the light of the existing quantitative and qualitative data. Reports commissioned by the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) and Global Forum on Migration's documents from 2007-2009 form part of the sources in this thesis. The theoretical frame of reference is formed by remittance and poverty reduction debate as well as by academic articles about the relationship of tourism and development and mobility theories such as Sheller and Urrys' (2004) "Tourism mobilities: Places to play, places in play."

The documents produced during The Global Forum on Migration claim that poverty reduction is one of the main subjects of interest in the matter of immigration, although poverty reduction through migration is not specifically mentioned in the Millennium Development Goals (MDG), it is still linked to the achievement of these objectives. These documents also state that work-related migration can help in particular to poverty reduction, gender equality, health, and global partnership. However, this thesis is not limited to MDG's, but is trying to figure out for what purposes migrants' remittances primarily go, and to see if there is an even broader and more diverse range than the MDG themes.

1.4 Data & Methodology

According to Hirsjärvi, Remes, and Sajavaara (1997, 155) the nature of this study is qualitative because "the investigation is a comprehensive data acquisition, and the primary data is collected in natural, real life situations'. This study also favours people as data collection instruments. In other words, the researcher has more confidence in personal observations and discussions with research subjects than in the information obtained by applying measuring instruments (Hirsjärvi, Remes, and Sajavaara 1997, 155). Categorization, reasoning and interpretation of the processes are fundamentally the same in both qualitative and quantitative research. Quantitative analyses of the operations, however, are more unambiguous than the qualitative operations. The quantitative research is also divided into stages that stand out more clearly than qualitative research (Mäkelä 1990, 45). As Rode (2008, 22) and Agozino (2000, 9) point out, in the middle ground of theory- and evidence-based data can be seen as theoretically - tied research in which data analysis is not directly based on the theory, but on the connections that can be detected. In this case, the idea is to seek supporting explanations or confirmation for the findings of the research material. Researcher can also make remarks regarding empirical mismatch with previous studies (Eskola 2001). Theory- tied approach to the data can also be called abductive logic (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2002, 99).

1.4.1 Changing the data collecting method

First I chose a qualitative data collection method called: focused Interview, carried out with Ecuadorian and Moroccan migrants who are working in the tourism sector while living in Spain. However, during the course of the investigation I decided to change the data collection method. Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2006) point out that focused interview is something between the semi-structured-, structured-, and in-depth interviews. But I decided to change the method very soon after starting the interview process to qualitative method called in–depth interview. According to Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2006) when talking about in-depth interview one can also talk about open client orientated interviews or discussion like interviews. They also remark that the duty of the interviewer is to deepen the answers of the interviewed by building the interview based on the given answers. I decided to change the method making the interviews slightly more informal and interviewees became extremely talkative and open to discuss about the themes concerning the interview and more, as well as about their personal stories. So, it was easy to make further questions and that made in depth opening of the research topic possible. In this thesis expert interview is also used as a research method in order to gather primary data about the research topics.

1.4.2 In-depth interview

So, the primary data collection method in this thesis is a qualitative method called in-depth interview, carried out with three Ecuadorian and three Moroccan migrants who are working in the tourism sector while living in Spain. According to Boyce and Neale (2006) in-depth interviewing is a qualitative research technique that involves conducting intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perspectives on a particular idea, program, or situation. According to Longfield (2004), the significant advantage of in-depth interviews is the confidential atmosphere in which sensitive information can be shared by the informants. Thus, informants are able to provide detail about their personal experiences, views, and behaviour. So, in this study the collected qualitative primary data, this is the material which is

derived from migrant - and expert interviews, is assessed in the light of the existing quantitative and qualitative data. The real names of the interviewed subjects have been changed for privacy reasons.

1.4.3 Questionnaire

I wanted to collect some basic information from all the interviewees, so I decided to use a questionnaire as a complementary method for the in-depth interview. One of the benefits of the questionnaire is that many things can be asked (Hirsjärvi, Remes, and Sajavaara 1997, 182). I prepared fourteen basic questions (see the questionnaire within the annex 1). I prepared the survey in English and in Spanish because I was not sure if all the Moroccan migrants knew Spanish well enough to be able to fill in the questionnaire. To select the questions I followed the basic instructions of Hirsjärvi, Remes and Sajavaara (1997, 190) to place more general questions at the beginning of the questionnaire and more specific questions towards the end. I also wanted to avoid multiple-choice type questions because “open- ended questions give the respondent an opportunity to say what they really have in their mind” (Hirsjärvi, Remes, and Sajavaara 1997, 188). At the end, all the interviewees filled the questionnaire without any problems, only one Moroccan interviewee asked me to fill it for her in Spanish.

1.4.4 The interview process

First of all, it was very challenging to decide and choose the questions to be asked. Not only because I decided to have two researched groups: Ecuadorian and Moroccan migrant workers working for tourism sector in Spain. These groups were chosen because they are representing two developing continents and two of the biggest migrant groups living in Spain. So, the idea was to ask fourteen basic questions through the questionnaire and then ask about certain themes from each interviewee.

In second place it was hard to find people to interview who are working for the tourism sector in Spain and originally coming from Ecuador and Morocco. But,

after finding them it was a pleasant surprise to realize how open and deep they were and how willing to discuss and share very intimate information about their lives with me. Some of the interviewed I met several times and they also were willing to help me to find some more interviewees, people from their countries of origin who are currently living and working in Spain. I was a bit concerned about the language to use in order to interview Moroccan immigrants, but there was no problem at all as all of them speak perfect Spanish and several other languages too (usually Arabic, English and French).

Third place, I decided to abandon the original idea about the theme interview as a research method and instead chose to use deep interview as a method instead. I made this decision because all the interviewees were more than willing to discuss very deeply all the issues I asked them about. Thus, I got lots of information regarding the topic from less people and I didn't need to perform more interviews because it would have become repetitive. When I started to analyze and organize the information, three main topics arose from the data.

Finally, I sincerely enjoyed the interviewing process, it was probably the most exciting and interesting part of this whole work and I am deeply grateful for all the people who helped me in finding the interviewees and the people who regardless of their long working hours and many other economical struggles, were so kind to give me their very precious spare time for this thesis. Each interview is its own world, going through them over and over again I could still see the interviewees in front of me, telling me about their lives, their countries, their adventures, their struggles and their stories. These people became real-life heroes for me; somehow they have managed to do something that persons born in developed country find hard to imagine. They have left their countries to find jobs, learned new languages and are sending part of their salaries to their families in their countries of origin every month. For sure they are not just some involuntary objects, but strong-willed subjects with dreams and hopes of a better future for themselves and their beloved ones. Above all, to me they are real-life adventurers and conquerors of everyday obstacles. Without their contributions I wouldn't have learned about the real lives and their stories behind the faceless statistics, figures and numbers representing them to the world. Hirsjärvi, Remes,

and Sajavaara (1997) point out the great benefit of an interview for data collecting methods is that the data collection process can be controlled in a flexible way, adapting to the current situation and going along with the respondents. They also emphasize that a person is seen as a subject during the research situation (Hirsjärvi, Remes, and Sajavaara 1997, 192).

1.4.5 Reflections on the research process

My intention is to compare the compilation of the data consisting of the following reports of the following international organizations; UNWTO's Reports, Global Forum on Migration's documents from 2007-2009, World Bank's- and ILO's reports etc. Second part of the data comprises the recent theoretical discourses and academic articles that deal with mobility theories and Tourism-Migration nexus such as Sheller and Urrys'(2004) "Tourism mobilities: Places to play, places in play" and Rode's (2008) "The tourism-migration nexus: towards a theory of global human mobility" etc. Third part of the data consists of in-depth interviews carried out with Ecuadorian and Moroccan migrants who are working for the tourism sector while living in Spain. I conducted six in-depth interviews for Ecuadorian and Moroccan migrants. All the interviews took place in Madrid, Spain at the interviewees' working places that are tourism businesses in the Madrid area. The interviews are based on discussion, or often several discussions with the interviewees. The interviews lasted between one hour and several hours and there was also often long casual conversation with the interviewees. Five, of the six interviews, were tape recorded after clearing the interview's purposes and procedures and requesting proper permission. One of them refused, so I took notes.

Expert interviews form a part of the primary research. The interviews were conducted to obtain more specific information and to deepen the knowledge about the tourism sector in Spain, its significance in terms of employment and particularly about the immigrant workers who work in this sector. I interviewed a secretary of the Federación Estatal de Comercio, Hostelería y Turismo de Comisiones Obreras (FECOHT-CCOO) that means State federation of commerce, Catering and Tourism Workers Commissions. They also provided

me additional materials published by (FECOHT-CCOO) to gain more in depth knowledge about researched topics. I interviewed also Miguel Fernandez, who worked for the Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores y de Cooperación that means Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation between 1985 and 2011 as an Expert in International Cooperation. I was also trying to interview a representative from Federación Española de Hostelería (FEHR) that is Spanish Federation of Hospitality, in order to deepen the understanding of Spanish tourism sector and its relationship with the migrant workers. However, they never replied to my interview requests neither to the questions I sent via e-mail about the topic.

This thesis is also using few observations made by me as an employee of UNWTO in Madrid, Spain between May 2010 and November 2012 as well as a EU citizen, migrant and tourist in Spain (mainly in Madrid) between September 2007 and November 2012. Rode (2008, 48) stresses that actually, "tourists and migrants have multiple motivations that easily change at the point of destination, therefore their division between tourism and migration is a fluid one". I am a living proof of this kind of a fluctuation as I (myself) went to Cuba as a tourist willing to volunteer, in August 2007, when I changed my travelling plan and went to Spain at the beginning of September 2007 instead of Costa Rica, which was my second destination. Finally, instead of spending four days in Madrid as a tourist I ended up staying there the following four years as a migrant or a migrant worker to be more precise. While living in Madrid I also ended up doing an internship for the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) and after that I was asked to work for another project there, so I was working there altogether 1.5 years. This is also how I first started to read the UNWTO's Report "Tourism and Migration Exploring the Relationship between Two Global Phenomena" and noticed that Spain was not amongst the case studies presented in it, although Spain indeed is European Union's (EU) "gateway" for African and Latin American arriving immigrants to enter the EU's territory. When the time to write my master thesis came, I decided to complement the information on this subject which the report lacked. While living in Madrid I saw migrants' every day and everywhere. I was also volunteering for one Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) called ACULCO that was helping

immigrants from Latin America after moving to Spain. I was always interested to know more about these immigrants and about their lives.

1.4.6 Data triangulation

According to Denzin (1978) and Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2002, 141) when one study is using several different data sets (interviews, statistics, new or archival materials etc.) it is called data triangulation. So, in this case the idea is to compare the whole data; the above mentioned reports of the international organizations, the existing theories and the data consisting of the collected primary data and some observations from the researcher. This will be done by using a method called data triangulation which means the use of various materials and methods during the same study. Triangulation provides a comprehensive picture of the case under consideration as it should be examined from multiple perspectives.

1.5 Structure of the study

In the second chapter I present key concepts of this study to make it easier to follow the chapter three that is discussing about different mobility discourses, remittances and tourism migration nexus, to pave the way for understanding the phenomena from the global perspective. Chapter four is discussing about different migration theories and its history. After that, I will open up the primary data obtained from two specific ethnic groups within Spain, Ecuadorian and Moroccan migrants; a field study of a total of 8 in-depth interviews with migrants and experts was carried out in winter 2011. The results will be analysed in the chapters five and six. Finally, a migrant perspective to the on-going discussion on tourism and migration nexus will be achieved, while the UNWTO's view of tourism and migration is critically assessed. Thus these interviews and migrant viewpoints are at the very heart of this study.

2 KEY CONCEPTS

Key concepts of this study are as follows: international migrant, migrant worker, remittances, tourism and tourism sector. This chapter briefly describes the key concepts used through this study.

2.1 International Migrant

According to the United Nations (UN) recommended definitions: “a ‘long-term migrant’ was characterized as a person who has entered a country with the intention of remaining for more than one year and who either must never have been in that country continuously for more than one year or, having been in the country at least once continuously for more than one year, must have been away continuously for more than one year since the last stay of more than one year” (United Nations 1998). Although this definition is logically flawless, it has several detriments. First, it is difficult to understand, and regarding the data collection, a person should know about the likely future presence in the receiving country but also about previous periods of presence or absence from the country. Second, requirement that presence or absence should be continuous, it might result in biased data. Indeed, in this era of quick and affordable travel, it is very likely that mobile individuals, especially those identifiable as “international migrants”, might not remain continuously in any given country for more than one year. Thus, if short trips abroad for holiday or business are considered to break a continuous stay in a country, many persons who have actually moved from one country to another might not be regarded as “long-term migrants” according to the definition cited above. Lastly, by setting the key time limit as “more than one year” instead of “one year or more”, the large number of persons who move from one country to another with permissions to stay for only one year and who stay exactly one year would not be considered “long-term migrants” according to a strict implementation of the above definition (United Nations, 1998). UNWTO’s Report “Tourism and Migration Exploring the Relationship between Two Global Phenomena” has created migrant categories as follows; “former migrants, resident migrants,

highly skilled and business migrants, family reunification migrants and irregular migrants” (UNWTO 2009, 8).

2.1.1 Migrant worker

‘Labour mobility’ or ‘labour migration’ refers to the freedom of workers to practice their occupation wherever opportunities exist. Depending on the jurisdiction, workers can be referred to as migrant workers or migrants, temporary (foreign) workers or temporary migrants. When this mobility includes the crossing of a national border, this migration takes on a character of immigration, whether temporary or permanent. In these cases, workers are usually referred to as non-permanent or temporary foreign workers, temporary immigrants or guest workers, if they are regular/legal migrants. However, in some countries the lines are blurred between ‘migrants’ and ‘foreign-born workers’ who may have all the rights of native workers (Anderson, 2010). For the purposes of this study, the term ‘migrant’ or ‘migrant worker’ is used to refer to transnational workers that seek temporary employment in another country. UNWTO’s (2009) report talks about migrant laborers when defining regular and temporary labor migrants, guest workers or overseas contract workers (other than highly skilled or business migrants). Migrant laborers are defined as “people who migrate for a limited period of time in order to take up employment, save and send/ take money home” (UNWTO 2009, 4). Finally, as Rode (2008, 48) brings out, “even the most disadvantaged migrant worker engages in some touristic activities. Thus he claims that this is the reason why Zygmunt Bauman (1998) speaks of the tourist as the primary human condition in times of globalization.

2.2 Remittances

Remittance is a payment of money sent to a person in another place. The international remittances sent back home by migrant workers have a profound impact on the developing countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East. According to Global Development Finance (World Bank, 2004), official international remittances sent home by migrant workers represent the

second most important source of external funding in developing countries. Official international remittance now totals \$93 billion per year (Ratha, 2004 [ref.] Adams and Page 2005, 1), and are about twice as large as the level of official aid-related inflows to developing countries. Despite the ever-increasing size of official international remittances, very little attention has been paid to analyzing the poverty impact of these financial transfers on developing countries. While a small handful of studies have examined the impact of international remittances on poverty in specific village or country settings, we are not aware of any studies which examine the impact of international remittances on poverty in a broad range of developing countries (Adams and Page 2005,1). Officially recorded remittance flows to developing countries reached \$316 billion in 2009 (The World Bank, 2010). However, with improved prospects for the global economy, remittance flows to developing countries are expected to increase by 6.2% in 2010 and 7.1% in 2011 (The World Bank, 2010).

2.3 Tourism

According to Rode (2008, 47) most states and agencies define tourism as a stay that lasts between one day and a year, but temporary migrant workers often fall under this category too. UNWTO (2012) defines a tourist as a person who travels outside its usual environment for less than a year. However Rode (2008) points out that this definition is not satisfactory because while tourist visas are usually granted for a period of up to 3 months, many tourists overstay their visa time limit to finance their vacation. The definition includes travel for recreation, business and family meetings, religious and educational purposes. Rode quotes (Bookman, 2006) when stating that “neither the purpose nor the activities are relevant” (2008, 48). I agree with Rode (2008, 48) that actually, tourists and migrants have multiple motivations that easily change at the point of destination, therefore the division between tourism and migration is a fluid one. Moreover, it is problematic to define tourism because many tourists acquire real estate in destination countries and use them as a secondary or even primary residence.

2.4 Tourism sector

UNWTO (2012) defines Tourism sector as follows: it is the cluster of production units in different industries that provide goods and services typically demanded by visitors. Such industries are called tourism industries because visitor acquisition represents such a significant share of their supply that in the absence of visitors, their production of these goods and services would cease to exist in a meaningful quantity. Tourism industries include the accommodation provision for visitors, food and beverages, servicing activities, passenger transportation, travel agencies and reservations for other activities: cultural, sports and recreational activities, as well as other specific activities related to the country.

Thus, tourism is a key sector of the European economy. It comprises a wide variety of products and destinations and involves many different stakeholders, both public and private, with areas of competence very decentralized, often at regional and local levels. The EU tourism industry generates more than 5% of the EU's GDP, with about 1,8 million enterprises employing around 5,2% of the total labour force (approximately 9,7 million jobs). When related sectors are taken into account, the estimated contribution of tourism to GDP creation is much higher: tourism indirectly generates more than 10% of the European Union's GDP and provides about 12% of the labour force (European Commission Enterprise and Industry, 2012).

3 THE THEORETHICAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter I will look under the light of different discourses for relationships between two global phenomena: tourism and migration. I use these discourses to pave the way for understanding the phenomena this study is focusing on; remittances and the tourism-migration nexus. One of the intentions of this chapter is to make the phenomenon of tourism-migration nexus as a part of a larger whole, by showing how significantly it relates to globalization.

3.1. Remittances, poverty reduction and development debate

Generally speaking, academic literature on remittances can be divided into three groups: (i) analyses of the reasons to remit (altruism, insurance, exchange, investment, and inheritance (Cox et al., 1998; Gosh, 2006; IMF, 2005; López-Córdova and Olmedo, 2006; Rappoport and Docquier, 2005; Solimano, 2003); (ii) research on transferring channels, transferring costs, or policy options for reducing these costs (see, for instance, IMF (2005), Orozco (2006), and Orozco and Fedewa (2006); and finally (iii), a vast body of literature on the impact of remittances on development in receiving countries, mostly highlighting human capital and macroeconomic effects. This study is mainly concerned about the impact of remittances on development in receiving countries. There is vast consensus over the importance and stability of this flow as a source of external financing (Gosh, 2006; Ratha, 2003; World Bank, 2006) and, therefore, its capacity to balance the external account (e.g., by compensating current-account deficits), to fill the gap of domestic savings, to feed local financial systems, or to improve the receiving country's capacity to access foreign financing (Ponce, Olivie and Onofa, 2008).

What is more, several studies underline that remittances may record counter-cyclical behavior, increasing in times of financial crisis or economic recession in destination countries. This would mean that remittances have also become a mechanism for absorbing adverse shocks (World Bank, 2006, Molina, 2006). Another commonly accepted assumption is about the impact of remittances on development through their capacity to alleviate poverty. There is common belief in a direct link connecting migrant remittances with poverty reduction and human development –better education, wider access to health care– thus facilitating the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Academic articles on this topic cover a wide range of countries and impact variables, and they come to very diverse conclusions. According to the World Bank (2006), remittances do tend to reduce poverty, have a weak impact on inequality, and lead to higher household expenses in health and education. More precisely, Adams and Page (2005) estimate the impact of migration and

remittances on inequality and poverty for 71 countries and finds that a 10% increase in remittances reduces the proportion of individuals living below the poverty line by 3.5%.

When discussing the economic side, Cornelius, Martin and Hollifield (1994, 7). are stressing neoclassical “push-pull” arguments, that according to them “provide us with a simple and straightforward explanation for increases in immigration” According to them demand-pull in the European and U.S. economies during the 1950s and 1960s was so great that it stimulated large-scale migrations from the poorer economies of the “periphery” (Mexico, Turkey, North-Africa, etc.). Western Europe had so called guest worker programs and the United States had Bracero Program of contract labor importation (1942-1964). Thus these labor migrations were initiated and legitimized by the receiving states. But, at the aftermaths of the first big postwar recession (1973-1974) in the 1970s and 1980s the economic growth in Western Europe and North America slowed and made the movement of the labor from south to north an unpleasant obligation (Cornelius, Martin and Hollifield, 2004, 7).

Stopping migration was out of the question or at least very difficult, even during a period of sharp economic contraction, partly because of powerful, underlying push-pull factors. Thus, demand-pull migration had started processes that had unforeseen consequences, from the micro level (e.g., employers wanting to keep their “guest workers” indefinitely) to the macro (e.g., the increasingly large role of immigration in host-country population and labor force growth; the multi-billion-dollar dependence of sending-country economies on migrant remittances. Furthermore, supply-push migration reached new dimensions following the very rapid population growth of the peripheral countries like Turkey, Mexico and Algeria, even as their economies also slowed as a result of the global recession (Cornelius, Martin and Hollifield, 2004, 8).

As already stated migration has been an important issue in a human history and in recent years. According to Azeez and Begum (2009) the pace of international migration has been phenomenal due to trade liberalisation, deregulation of restrictive measures and the development of transportation facilities and

communication network and global cultural integration. As a result international migration has become a major concern for policy makers of labour sending as well as labour receiving countries. Azeez and Begum (2009) stress that, the contributions of international migration in the form of remittances to the economies of several less developed countries are worth noting though countries are worried about the leakage of intelligence through migration. They think that remittances from migrants working abroad are important for both families of migrants and the balance of payment of their home country. While remittances contribute significantly to the welfare of the migrant households, it also has a considerable impact on GDP as well as foreign exchange earnings of developing countries. They remind that remittances are now close to triple the value of the official development assistance (ODA) provided to low-income countries and comprise the second largest source of external funding for developing countries after foreign direct investment (FDI). Azeez and Begum (2009) point out that remittances have emerged as the least unstable source of financial flows for countries afflicted by shocks and constitute the single most important source of insurance for many poor countries. Evidence collected by the World Bank indicates that when a country encounters political or economic difficulties, citizens who are living and working abroad supports their compatriots by increasing the amount of money they send (Azeez and Begum, 2009). Hence, there exist many opposite views regarding remittances as remittances can be seen as a very considerable dependence for sending-country economies on countries of origin. Or remittances can be considered as the least unstable source of financial flows for countries afflicted by shocks and constitute the single most important source of insurance for many poor countries.

As well as World Bank (WB), International Labour Organization (ILO) (2006, 2) also sees remittances in a positive light by stating the following: “In the developing regions from which most migrants come, the positive contributions of migration are reflected in high remittance flows and the transfer of investment, technology and critical skills through return migration and engagement with diaspora communities”. These benefits are made possible by pro-active policies and effective international cooperation. ILO admits that there

are still many problematic issues related to migration that need a solution. ILO stresses that, while major destination countries have liberalized admissions for skilled persons to some extent, doors remain closed for low skilled persons, where developing countries have a surplus. Although this has three undesirable effects: serious brain drain from poor countries, the channelling of a large part of unmet demand to the irregular economy and reduced development benefits (ILO 2006, 2).

3.2 The relationship between two global phenomena: tourism and migration

“Growth in migration and tourism are two of the most significant manifestations of globalization. Migration makes important social and economic contributions to destination countries, culturally enriching their society, enhancing the tourism product and providing labour for the travel, tourism, hospitality and catering sectors” (UNWTO, 2010).

As already noticed, mobility takes many different forms including tourism and migration. The aim of this study is to demonstrate the relationship between these two social phenomena as well as to show some undeniable overlaps between them. According to Williams and Hall (2000) who are quoting Boyer (1997) when claiming that there are also definitional overlaps between these two phenomena, also both have been subject to chaotic conceptualization. Williams and Hall (2000) say that the fact that there is no theoretically grounded definition of ‘permanence’ is equally problematic. Thus, the migration literature uses such terms as temporary migrants, seasonal workers and nomads for particular forms of non-permanent migration. While some of the early academic tourism literature equated tourism to migration (e.g. Wolfe 1967, 1982).

Hall and Williams (2002, 18) note that the increasing uncertainty of growth in the developed world from the 1970s, combined with shorter production cycles and more rapid technological change, has led to significantly higher labour market mobility. Sziva’s and Riley’s (2003) study of mobility into the tourism

industry during restructuring following privatisation and re-internalisation of the economy, post 1989 illustrate excellently the changes mentioned above on labour market mobility. Equally insistent restructuring characterises the liberal capitalist economies of the developed world (Hudson, 1999), as well as the Newly Industrialized Economies, with the Asian crisis of 1997-99 illustrating the latter (Hall and Williams, 2002). Hall and Williams (2002) stress that at the individual level, the outcomes of such increased labour market mobility, are contingent on the industries they work in and the regions they live in, as well as their particular human capital. But, in a broader level, several societal consequences can be demonstrated. First and foremost, people are changing jobs more frequently while careers tend to have more discontinuities. This has two main effects on the tourism–migration nexus. First of all, increased labour mobility has been expressed both sectorally and spatially, in a way that individual careers are less likely to be bounded with individual places and instead they have spanned out to a number of locations. It can still be, even in the developed world, that majority of people live and work in the same locality for most of their lives, but there are increasing amounts whose careers have moved between regions or even across international frontiers.

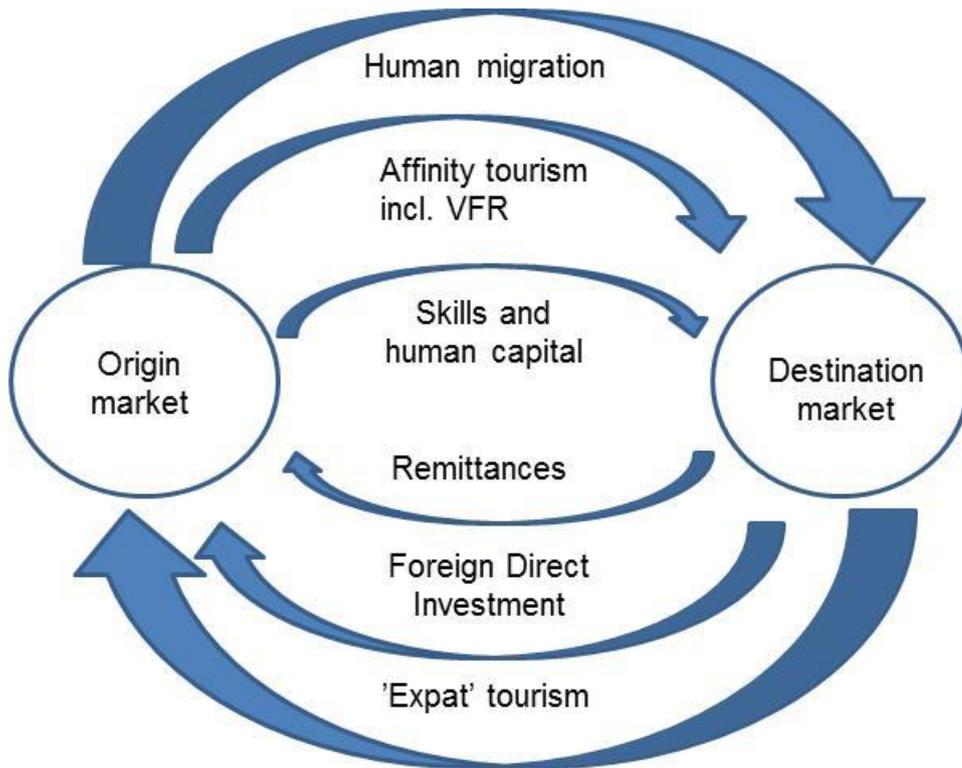


Figure 1. Main transactions involved in tourism and migration (UNWTO 2009, 1)

Travel and tourism is the largest industry in the world as it forms 11.7 per cent of the world's GDP, 8% of the world's export earnings, and 8% of the world's employment. This mobility affects almost everywhere, with the World Tourism Organization publishing tourism statistics from over 180 countries. Almost all countries are significant senders and receivers of visitors (Sheller and Urry, 2004 [ref.] WTO, 2002). There were 880 million international tourist arrivals in 2009 (25 million in 1950) while international tourism receipts reached US\$ 852 billion (611 billion Euros) in the same year respectively (UNWTO, 2010b). In 2010 the world had 215.8 million or 3.2 % of population comprising international migrants, females consisting 48.4 % of immigrants and refugees 16.3 million or 7.6 % of the total immigrants (World Bank, 2012). Economically active migrant workers were estimated to number about 105 million in 2010 (www.ilo.org, 2010). During the 1990s people across the globe have been brought 'closer' through various technologies that can be called remarkable 'time-space compression'.

Thus, there is an apparent 'death of distance' in what is sometimes described as a fluid and speeded-up 'liquid modernity' (Sheller and Urry 2004, 3 [ref.] Bauman 2000). This compression of time - space is manifested in the increase of the worldwide internet users (up to approximately 1 billion), the amount of TV sets (up to 1 billion), while mobile phones have bypassed landline phones by popularity. Simultaneously one can see it in rapid travellers' flows, migrants and tourists physically moving from place to place, from time to time. Consequently most of the places have been converted as recipients of these flows and thus these flows are causing transformations in almost all societies across the globe (Sheller and Urry, 2004).

So, borders, police, security guards and gatekeepers are the ones who are filtering out 'legitimate' tourists, with their tourist visas, from the 34, 5 million people who, according to The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), are divided into refugees; asylum-seekers; internally displaced persons (IDPs) protected or assisted by UNHCR; stateless persons; returned refugees; returned IDPs; and others of concern, and whose movements across the borders are often highly contested. Sheller and Urry (2004) claim that the current scale of physical travel is massive, actually the largest ever 'peaceful' movement of people across national borders. Anyhow, this thesis is limited to look at only the legal migrants leaving refugees and illegal immigrants out. So, migration is a historical process in human history and it has its roots in ancient times. Millions of people have been affected by the political, economic and social factors in a way that they have moved abroad from their home countries. According to Sheller and Urry (2004) global tourism in turn has grown a huge source of employment meaning that tourism and travel are indeed somehow implicating or affecting most people across the globe. Such employment includes travel agencies; transportation; hospitality; bars, clubs, restaurants and cafés; architecture, design, and consultancy; advertisement agencies, TV, news and the internet; arts, and sports events and festivals; and NGO campaigns for and against tourist developments. The growth of the tourism industry widely reshapes patterns of urbanization, of infrastructure development (roads, airports, ports) of agriculture and food importation, of cultural production and performance, with implications for almost every economic sector. Sheller and

Urry (2004) claim that migrant workers tend to be concentrated in economic sectors that are less attractive to native workers, these sectors are: agriculture, construction, labour-intensive manufacturing and services, including domestic work, hotel work and tourism. Thus, these sectors include some of the most vulnerable migrant workers such as women domestic workers, construction workers, workers with irregular status and trafficked persons.

Sheller and Urrys (2004) point out that migrant worker tend to be concentrated in economic sectors that are less attractive to native workers. Migrant workers (those who migrate for employment) and their families account for about 90 per cent of the total international immigrants. According to ILO migration today is for work and in the last two decades international migration has risen to the top of the global policy agenda (ILO 2006, 2).

The UNWTO distinguishes between Migration Led Tourism (MLT) – migration for the purpose of seeking employment in the tourism industry – and Tourism Led Migration (TLM) – travel by migrants returning home to visit or receiving visits from relatives and friends (World Tourism Organization & European Travel Commission, 2010). The focus of this study is more confined to MLT although TLM will be also dealt with. However, after complex research regarding on main travel motivation, the UNWTO found that MLT lies under each one of the “major categories of leisure, business and private” and “hypothesized that between 15 and 25% of international tourist arrivals and corresponding receipts are linked to migration events” (Joppe 2011[ref.] World Tourism Organization and European Travel Commission 2010, 14).

To sum up, table 1 describes different forms of human mobility while bringing out nicely the tourism migration nexus. According to Rode (2008) the table represents a typology of human mobility which includes controversial categories such as ethnicity, race and class. The multidirectional flows of human mobility (e.g. North-South, South-South) are abstractions based on his personal hypothesis. Actually, the table should be seen as a reflection on different types of human mobility. Rode (2008) claims that a larger categorization should have included pilgrimages and other forms of tourism. The table only includes the

four main categories of tourists, business and state elites, labor migration, and refugees. Nonetheless, even these categories are rather unstable and are transcended by those who engage in multiple activities during their travels, as it is often possible when discussing about new hybrid forms of mobility.

Table 1. The different conditions of human mobility

	Tourists	State and business elites	Labour migration	Refugees
Reasons for moving	Voluntary, Cheap goods and services, retirement life time experience, pleasure, luxurious life-style	Less voluntary State interests, "saving the world", self-fulfilment, pleasure	Less forced Individual and community interests in creating wealth and prosperity, self-fulfillment	Forced Destroyed living conditions, reasonable "fear"
Legal status and time	Temporary admitted, falls under the law of the host nation, seasonal	Temporary admitted (3-5 years, often diplomatic immunity	Temporary or permanent, circular, seasonal	Often without legal status or refugee after the Geneva Convention 1954, permanent, forced or voluntary return migration
Global flow directions	South-South North-North North-South	North-North South-South South-North North-South	South-North South-South	South-South South-North
Spaces of settlement	Private White enclaves, resorts, hotel, accommodations through relatives	State funded and protected Diplomatic Enclaves, military Bases	Private Hotel, apartment, container houses on construction sites	State funded and protected Camps, Enclaves, tents, container
Modes of Transportation	Airplane, sea cruiser, bus, train	Airplane	Airplane, bus	Foot, boat, bus, train
Class	Predominantly middle class	Predominantly upper class	Predominantly middle to lower class	Different classes but the dangerous and expensive travel reduces the importance of class
Gender	Approximately 40% female	Predominantly male, 5-25% women	Increasingly female, 40% female	Around 40 % female
Travel industry	Tourist and real estate agencies	State supported	Family, trafficker, recruitment agencies	State supported or trafficker
Race and Ethnicity	Predominantly white, increasingly from other ethnicities (Asia, etc.)	Predominantly White	Predominantly Racialized	Predominantly racialized

Source: Rode (2008, 73)

4 MIGRATION

Migration is a historical process in human history and it has its roots in ancient times. Millions of people have been affected by the political, economical and social factors in a way that they have had to move abroad from their home countries. These factors can be grouped into “push” factors and “pull” factors. The push factors are: wars, social insecurities, natural calamities and political uncertainties. Again, the main pull factors are: employment, higher wages, better living standards and better working conditions (Azeez and Begum, 2009). So, in other words during the history after different nations divided to live in their own regions, some linkages between the regions began to emerge; cultural, economical and historical. These linkages determined the trends in migration flows over the centuries. Familiar examples for Europeans are; slave trade, migration from Europe to the North American continent and the African colonies, or the migration channel that is still in a very heavy use from North Africa to Spain and France (World Migration 2003, 4 and 27).

4.1 Short history of migration, development and some current figures

Cornelius, Martin and Hollifield, (2004, 8) claim that migration networks had developed during the years of expansionary immigration politics. These networks are helping to spread information to the smallest villages in the countries of origin about employment opportunities, modes of entry and residence in the receiving countries. They point out that these transnational social networks, perhaps more than any other factor, helped to sustain migration – particularly family reunification in Europe and illegal labor migration from Mexico to the United States, during periods of high uncertainty about job opportunities in the labor importing countries. So, regardless of economic recessions of 1973-1974, 1981 and 1991 to the present, immigration has continued peaking at historically high levels, and governments have had hardships to redesign immigration control and refugee admission policies to cope with the rising flows (Cornelius, Martin and Hollifield, 2004, 8).

In his study of migration and development De Haas (2008, 52) argues that the scholarly and policy debates on migration and development have tended to swing back and forth like a pendulum, from developmentalist optimism in the 1950s and 1960s, to structuralist and neo-Marxist pessimism and scepticism over the 1970s and 1980s, to more nuanced

views influenced by the new economics of labour migration, “livelihood” approaches and the transnational turn in migration studies as of the 1990s. Finally, since 2000 onwards, there has been a surprising renaissance of optimistic views, in particular in the policy debate, as well as a boom in empirical work on migration and development.

The key recent global factors and some regional trends in international migration are presented in more detail through this thesis, which mainly focuses on international migration, while acknowledging that there are far more internal migrants than international migrants worldwide. So, this thesis is limited to discuss about international migration that is one of the most important factors affecting economic relations between developed and developing countries in the 21st century. At the start of the century, it was estimated that about 175 million people—roughly 3% of the world population—lived and worked outside the country of their birth (United Nations 2002, Adams and Page 2005, 1). International migration is increasing at incredible speed, as can be seen from the UN Population Division’s estimate for 2010 on the population residing outside of their countries of origin being 213.9 million (United Nations, 2009). That is approximately 3.1% of the global population. Of that number, the ILO estimated the number of migrant workers to be approximately 105 million worldwide (ILO, 2010b), roughly distributed as follows: Africa 8.3%; Asia/Middle East 29%; Europe/Russia 33%; Latin America/Caribbean 2.9%; North America 23.8%; and Oceania 3.4% (ILO, 2006). Anyhow, in many countries there is also a serious phenomenon of irregular/undocumented/illegal migrants (Anderson and Ruhs, 2010), that is to say people who enter a country without the necessary documents and permits, but who are beyond the scope of this study. Finally, Joppe (2011, 662) stresses that the share of migrant workers within the tourism industry, particularly the hotel and restaurant sector is growing rapidly.

Finally, let’s look at the motives behind the migration as an example of this phenomenon. So, why do we think that migrant workers are leaving their countries of origin, specially migrants who migrate from South to high income countries belonging to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Although, according to World Bank (2011) South South migration (migration between developing countries) is larger than migration from the South to high income (OECD) countries. The push factors are said to be: wars, social insecurities, natural calamities and political uncertainties. Again, the main pull factors are said to be: employment, higher wages, better living standards and better

working conditions. But this thesis is claiming as well as Nicolas C.W. Rode in his thesis (2008, 17) quoting (Guidraundon and Joppke 2001, 4) “it is not a lack of development but development itself that pushes migration; development dislocates people and creates the aspirations and cognitive horizons that make them ready to move”.

4.2 Migration in Spain

This study concentrates on investigating tourism, migration and development from the perspective of the Ecuadorian and Moroccan migrant workers living in Spain. Thus, this section is intending to provide a representative sample of these three origin and destination countries and areas, which is likely to indicate the most important themes and linkages in the relationship between migration and tourism by using the same key data sources as UNWTO's (2009) study as well as other discourses and primary sources of information in this study.

Joppe (2011) claims that there are five different basic country group models of migration flow: high/high, low/low, high/low, low/high and low/controlled. According to her, Spain, Greece, Italy and Portugal belong to the high/high country group: “these countries have changed their status from ‘outward migration’ to ‘inward migration’ in the last two decades (Joppe, 2011, 664). In most OECD countries, migration is seen as a solution for long- term recovery as well as population growth since migrants will have a critical factor in filling labor and skill shortages (Joppe 2011, OECD 2010). Eurostat (2005) preserves its projections that population growth in the EU by 2025 will be largely dependent on migration. Regrettably, the latest data available is the 2005 Eurobarometer survey on geographical and labor market mobility.

The birth rate in Spain is one of the lowest in Europe, estimated 10.66 births/1,000 population at 2011 (Spain Demographics Profile, 2012). According to the United Nations Population Division (UNPD), Spain needs 12 million immigrants from now until 2050 just to maintain labor force levels (Marrero, 2004). Marreo (2004) interviewed Vladimir Paspuel who is a president of the “Rumiñahui” Hispanic American Association, which is a Madrid-based organization of Ecuadorians living abroad. Paspuel states that “Many migrant women work as domestics, which helps Spanish women to move in the labor market, migrant men work in construction, industry, commerce, hotels in the main cities, like

Madrid and Barcelona, and in agriculture in Murcia and Valencia. The immigrants are doing the jobs that Spanish people won't do now that they have moved up the economic scale" (Marrero, 2004). Cornelius, Martin and Hollifield, (2004, 25) state that Spain's demographic profile (rock – bottom fertility rates, rapid population ageing) will make foreign labor importation to a certain extent virtually unavoidable to cure labor shortages in certain economic regions and sectors.

Table 2. Basic characteristics of Spain

Population 46,754,784 (July 2011 est.,million)	Surface area 505370.00 (2010,1,000km2)
Population growth 0.574% (2011,average annual % est.)	Urban population 77% (2006,% of total population est.)
Population density 92.33 (2010, people per km2)	GNI per capita, Atlas Method 31,750 (2010,US\$)
Labour force 18.74 (2010,million)	GDP growth 2.84 (1996-2010,average annual%)

Sources: Spain Demographics Profile (2012) and the World Bank (2012)

4.2.1 Ecuadorian and Moroccan migrants

Moroccans have ranked amongst one of the largest immigrant communities in Spain all over its short history of immigration. Anyhow, the Moroccan emigration history without doubts antedates their significant presence in Spain, until to the beginnings of the 20th Century. After that, several major phases have been identified. The first one was linked to the Colonial system and had France as the main destination. In the 1970's a second phase began when the Maghreb countries contribution of immigrant labor became no longer necessary due to the European – wide economic crisis (Arango and González Quinones, 2009).

Slowly at first, and very rapidly in the late 1990s, Latin American workers joined the flow of migrants going to Spain for economic reasons, similar to the way 3.5 million Spanish refugees had gone to Latin America in the late 1930s and early '40s, fleeing war,

repression and hunger (Marrero, 2004). In 1999 Ecuador was looking for a way out of the worst economic crisis in the country's history. According to Vladimir Paspuel interviewed by Marreo (2004) the flights to Spain from Ecuador were coming in full back in those years. Thus, flights from Colombia, Argentina, Peru and Bolivia were also crowded. Paspuel states that "they would only ask that you to prove you had a couple of thousand dollars at the airport to show you were a visitor". According to Paspuel professionals were the first to leave Ecuador and the working class followed. In the end, Ecuadorians have become the largest community of immigrants in Spain, himself once a university professor in Quito (see map 1) who left in 2000 (Marrero, 2004).

Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation (2012) points out that the number of Ecuadorians in the country has increased from 2,000 in 1995, to 84,000 in 2001 and 375,000 in 2003. Ecuadorians have become one of the biggest foreign populations in Spain: there were almost 400,000 Ecuadorians with residence permits at the end of 2010, the third largest immigrant group (OPI, 2011). The real number could be 500,000 or higher, since many are undocumented. The number of foreigners residing in Spain at the end of the year 2011 amounts to 5,251,094, according to the latest Quarterly Report "Foreign residents in Spain. Main Results" prepared by the Permanent Observatory of Immigration (IPO) of the General Secretariat of immigration and Emigration.

Colombians living in Spain have also grown exponentially, from a little over 7,000 in 1993 to more than 80,000 in 2002 and 244,000 in 2003. It is estimated that over 300,000 Argentines entered Spain around 2001, after that country's economic collapse (Marrero, 2004). So, by 2004, Ecuadorians were the largest immigrant group in Spain, outnumbering Moroccans, "who continuously risk their lives crossing the Strait of Gibraltar aboard flimsy boats" (Marrero, 2004). The regularisations of 2000, 2001 and 2005 helped many Ecuadorians who had entered as tourists and over-stayed to achieve legal residence. But then a greatest change occurred with the introduction of the visa requirement in 2003. This immigration policy measure brought down the number of new arrivals and left family reunification as the main route of legal entrance to Spain and by implication also to Europe (Mata-Codesal 2011, 3). According to the census at 2006, five countries of origin form 60% of the immigrants of Spain: Ecuador 390.000 people, Morocco 379.000 people, Colombia 244.000 people, Romania 137.000 and Argentina 109.000 people (Albarracín y Gabinete Federal de Estudios Fecoht-CCOO, 2006, 30).

“After the global economic crisis of 2008, which strongly hit Spain, the US has recovered its position as the main destination for Ecuadorian migration, at the same time as the range of destinations has broadened to include new destinations such as the UK or Israel” (Mata-Codesal 2011, 3).

Although Morocco has grown into one of the world’s leading emigration countries, the systematic study of the developmental impact of migration in migrant-sending regions in Morocco and the Maghreb has been relatively neglected after a temporary surge of pessimistic studies in the 1970s. Empirical work from this region has therefore been largely absent from the lively theoretical debate on migration and development. The study of De Haas (2003) “Migration, remittances and regional development in Southern Morocco” conducted in the Moroccan Todgha oasis shows that international migration and remittances have significantly contributed to economic development, improved standards of living and enabled the partial emancipation of subaltern ethnic groups. However, several structural constraints prevent the high development potential of migration from being fully realized (De Haas, 2005).

Morocco is among the developing countries whose economies depend largely of international migration. Approximately three million Moroccans abroad sending remittances place the country among the top receivers of remittances. After the turn of the century, both the number of emigrants as well as the volume of remittances reached its highest rates of increase. According to the World Bank, Morocco received almost seven billion dollars in remittances, amount which positioned it 14th in the world ranking. Thus, the flow of remittances in the Spain-Morocco corridor also registered a big increase after the turn of the century. Between 1988 and 2007, remittances coming from Spain to Morocco increased their weight from 4% to 15%. According to official data, Moroccan remittances sent by migrants from Spain ranked Morocco fifth, with 6,5%, after Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia and Romania (Arango and González Quinones, 2009; Criado, 2009). When considering the total transfers from workers registered by Spanish balance of payments in 2009, the total amount of the remittances to Morocco would be of the order of 549 million euro (Arango and González Quinones, 2009). The pattern of migration is mirrored in the form of the remittances sent to Ecuador by Ecuadorian migrants abroad. In 2010, Ecuador received 2.32 billion US\$ from its citizens abroad (BCE, 2011). Mata-Codesal (2011) stresses, that after oil exports, financial remittances to Ecuador are the

country's second highest income. Remittances are important for the macro-economy, as well as being at the core of the survival and improvement strategies of a large number of Ecuadorian families, both in rural and urban areas.



Map 1. Location of Ecuador. Source: www.iom.int.



Map 2. Location of Morocco. Source: www.iom.int

4.2.2 Migrants working for the tourism sector in Spain

Tourism is a profit making industry and the sector is characterized by low salaries and business thinking. Thus, consumer demand patterns require irregular working hours such as split shifts, weekend and night shifts and working during holiday periods as well as unsocial working conditions (Joppe, 2011; Busquets 2010).

According to UNWTO (2010), the tourism industry has been growing faster than the economy as a whole in many countries, when leaving some periodic setbacks aside. Worldwide international tourist arrivals have increased about one percentage point faster than global GDP in real terms. Bookman (2006, 35) stresses that because tourism requires a high amount of service providers, countries that rely on tourism are dependent on the inflow of low-skilled and high-skilled migrants. This is because tourism is very labor intensive sector. Workers are displaced by business cycles and structural (non-)changes which force them to move towards regions of growth: "the more tourist-oriented the country, the greater the inflows of foreign and domestic workers" (Bookman 2006, 38).

Since becoming part of the European Union in 1986, Spain's economy has grown to become one of the most prosperous in Europe. At first, Spain received many immigrants from Africa and the former Eastern European countries, who filled the hardest and lowest paying jobs in agriculture, construction and industry (Marrero, 2004). Joppe (2011, 666) points out that in Spain foreigners represented 14.5% of the economy as a whole in 2008, but 21.2% of the tourism sector. Of these, 75.6% were working in the Hotel, Restaurant and Catering (HoReCa) sectors, a 60% increase over five years. While 55% of foreign workers in tourism are women, in the HoReCa sector their share increases to 90%. Joppe (2011) also stresses that it is acknowledged that the working and structural issues of the HoReCa sector encourage employers to resort to this cheaper labor pool that migrant workers represent. Secretary for immigration for the region of Catalunya, Spain Adela Ros claims that; "Like the United States, Europe requires cheap labor from other countries. Our labor markets rely a great deal on that labor. Many do not want to recognize that fact." (Marrero, 2004). According to the World Bank (2011) Spain belongs to the top ten remittance - sending countries of the world at 2009, by sending 12.6 US\$ billions remittances during that year. Thus, Spain was seventh of the top remittance-sending

countries of the world after number one USA (48.3 US\$ billions), number two Saudi Arabia (26 US\$ billions) and number three Switzerland (19.6 US\$ billions).

5 ANALYSIS

In this section I am going to explain and analyze the themes that arose most frequently during the in-depth interviews and thus became the main topics around which the research is built. These themes are as follows: remittances, working for the tourism sector in Spain, possible return to the country of origin or investing in the tourism sector at the country of origin as well as the tourism migration nexus. In this study I call for an anti-oppressive approach where the immigrant voice is given priority, because it is very important to respect and learn from the knowledge and voice of the other. UNWTO's (2009) report states in its conclusions, that there are measurement problems to assess the linkages between tourism and migration flows in both origin and host countries. In this study I want to introduce such a new "primary data" that is said to be so hard to obtain and that supports the existence and the strength of the linkage between tourism and migration. So, I decided to collect information directly from the migrants themselves and deepen my knowledge of the relationship between tourism and migration. Some basic information of the interviewees is obtained from the questionnaire (see table 3).

Table 3. Basic information obtained from the questionnaire

NAME	AGE	NATIONALITY	HOW MANY YEARS HAS BEEN LIVING IN SPAIN	HOW MANY YEARSHAS BEEN WORKING IN SPAIN	THE REASON TO MOVE TO SPAIN
Maria	43 years	Ecuadorian and Spanish	22 years	22 years	Work, searching for something better
Manuel	29 years	Ecuadorian	11 years	11 years	Work, studies and sports
José	36 years	Ecuadorian	12 years	12 years	Work, personal reasons
Ali	31 years	Moroccan	3 years and 10 months	6 years and 6 months	Life conditions and wellbeing
Hussein	31 years	Moroccan	4 years	4 years	n.a.
Fatima	40 years	Moroccan	20 years	20 years	Work, to fight to improve the quality of life for herself and her family in Morocco

5.1 The reason to migrate

The in-depth interviews revealed interesting aspects in relation to the reason to move to Spain. The main reason given for moving to Spain in the questionnaire was work. Although they often went back to the point, in order to clarify that work was not the only, or the real motive for them to emigrate. The following comments are examples of what the interviewees said, when their interview progressed, related to their motives to move to Spain:

"I put work as the motive to go to live to Spain... Can I comment on it...? Although, it was my studies and other things too...like sports" (Manuel).¹

"I would like to comment that what I wrote on the questionnaire about the reason why I left my home...the reason was not because of work...I was

¹ "Puse el trabajo como motivo para ir a vivir a España... lo puedo comentar no..? Aunque fue el studio y otras cosas tambien... como el deporte"

very much in love and my girlfriend left me...Then my sister told me to go to live in Spain”(José).²

It seems that tourism and migration are really closely intertwined with each other even when looking at the motives to emigrate, as can be seen from the following comment;

”There are many different things here...the culture, everything...Here everything is computerized, there is much more infrastructure...how they live here...Real problem is life is different...People seek freedom, it is not a question of money...Although the worst jobs are for migrants” (Ali).³

Historically there seems to be nothing new in the above described phenomena since already in the second half of the twentieth century thousands of Europeans and North Americans crossed the Atlantic, to wash dishes, cook or make beds in hotels and holiday camps and, thus were driven less by employment and income prospects than by the tourist goals of adventure, exploration and discovery (Cohen, 1972; [ref.] Hall and Williams 2002).

5.2 Remittances

The focus of this study was first on remittances sent by the migrant workers, but during the study not much new information about the remittances sending arose. Although this research is concerned with a broader understanding of international remittances (financial but also in-kind and social remittances), It focus here on financial remittances for simplicity and data availability reasons. As stated by the UNWTO's report (2009, 12) “for many countries, alongside international tourism receipts, remittances are the top source of foreign currency”. The World Bank claims that remittances were US\$ 318 billion in 2007, of which the amount sent home by migrants from developing countries was around US\$ 251 billion. Also all interviewed migrant workers regularly send remittances to their family

² “Me gustaría comentar lo que pusé al formulario sobre porque me salí de mi casa ...no fué por racones del trabajo...estaba muy enamorada y mi novia me dejo...Entonces mi hermana me dijo ven a vivir a Espana”

³ “Alli hay muchas cosas diferentes de que aqui...cultural, de todo...aqui todo esta informatizado, hay mucho más infraestructura...como viven aqui”.

members in their home countries. They are sending between 150 Euros and 1000 Euros per month; see exact remittances sent per month from the table one. This finding is reinforcing the UNWTO (2009) conclusion claiming that “Migrants’ remittances and Migration-led Tourism (MLT) can be a tool of development, and poverty reduction”. During the interviews some interviewed also said their opinions about remittances and their impacts on their countries of origin:

”The year 1997 was economically very hard for Ecuador and remittances send by Ecuadorians migrated to work in EU and USA really made a big difference and greatly benefitted the economy of Ecuador ”(Manuel).⁴

”Remittances sent by migrant workers to Ecuador have been a great support for my country” (José).⁵

All the interviewees of this study are sending remittances to their family in their countries of origin (see table 4), but the amount of remittances varied greatly between the interviewees of this study. The amount of remittances sent per month ranged between 150 euros and 1000 Euros. In this study it appears to be related to the current professional status of the migrants. In this case, a migrant worker who has been running her own business in Spain for 22 years, (in the tourism services sector) is remitting approximately three times more than another migrant who has been working in Spain for 20 years but under contract. The finding here seems to be that in Spain migrants who are partners or owners of a private business (in the tourism services sector) are able to remit two or three times more than migrants who are working as employees at the hospitality sector. To conclude, all the interviewees seemed content with the amount they are remitting monthly, no one complained about the amount they were able to remit.

⁴ “El año 1997 fué económicamente muy difícil para el Ecuador y las remesas mandados por los migrantes ecuatorianos que emigraron para trabajar en la UE y los EE.UU. realmente hizo una gran diferencia y en gran medida beneficiado a la economía de Ecuador.”

⁵ “Las remesas mandados por los Ecuatorianos han sido un gran apoyo para mi país.”

Table 4. Remittances sent by the interviewees

NAME	PROFESSION IN SPAIN	REMITTANCES SENT PER MONTH	THE SENDING CHANNEL	NUMBER OF ECONOMICALLY DEPENDENTS IN SPAIN	NUMBER OF ECONOMICALLY DEPENDENTS IN OTHER COUNTRIES
Maria	Entrepreneur at the hospitality sector (Owner of a small business)	660-1000 Euros	Bank transfer (MoneyGram or Western Union if needs to be sent fast)	One son	9 siblings in Ecuador
Manuel	Waiter (partner in a small business at the hospitality sector)	n.a. *)	n.a. *)	No	n.a.
José	Hospitality (partner in a small business at the hospitality sector)	500 Euros/	Sister in Madrid is taking care of the sending	Three	One in Ecuador - mother
Ali	Waiter	150 Euros	MoneyGram	Zero	Three, parents and one brother in Morocco.
Hussein	Cook	150-250 Euros	Bank transfer	Two	Two, parents in Morocco (father is ill)
Fatima	Cook and in charge of the kitchen	300-400 Euros	"Locutorio" (call centre)	Zero	Five persons in Morocco (Mother, sisters and two children of her siblings)

*) He said that he is sending remittances frequently to his family in Ecuador, but he didn't say how much exactly he is sending every month.

5.2.1 The purpose of the remittances

According to Azeez and Begum (2009), most studies about remittance uses found that remittances are spent on current consumption, health and education, thus leading to improved standards of living for emigrant households compared to non-emigrant households. Fajnzylber and Humberto López (2008) state, in their study "Remittances and Development Lessons from Latin America", that remittances can lead to changes in

savings, expenditure patterns, and other household behaviors by increasing the income of recipient households. For example, remittances may allow previously poor families to meet their basic food needs and subsequently increase their expenditures on housing, education, or health. At the household level, remittances help to reduce poverty, improve standard of living and attain higher educational levels. At the macro level remittances could be used for entrepreneurship and productive investment which in turn increases job opportunities and income of people in the remittance receiving countries. At the same time, remittances help to improve foreign exchange reserves of labour sending countries and improve their current account position. Balance of payments of many third world labour exporting countries have become increasingly dependent on the inflow of foreign exchange funds remitted by emigrants working abroad (Azeez and Begum 2009, 304).

In the particular case of Ecuador, Acosta et al. (2007a) find a weak impact of remittances on poverty reduction at the national level, but a significant impact for individual receiving households. The same study observes a positive impact on education, and specifically on years of accumulated schooling, although this is limited to urban areas. The study also acknowledges a weaker impact by remittances on development in Ecuador, as compared to other countries analyzed therein. Calero et al. (2008) finds similar results. In Ecuador, remittances have a positive effect on both school enrollment and child labor, especially among girls in rural areas. In addition, Pacheco (2007) finds no significant effects by remittances on students' cognitive achievement among children from rural areas. Guerrero (2007) finds no significant effects by remittances on health spending. According to Acosta et al. (2006), remittances might have helped 5% of Ecuador's population out of poverty between 2001 and 2002. This limited impact is the result of the concentration of remittances in non-poor families. Other studies on the impact of remittances on development at the household and micro level include their role as insurance against risks (Kapur, 2004; Taylor, 1999), as well as their impact on income inequality (Acosta et al., 2007b; Adams, 1991; Adams and Page, 2005; Gosh, 2006; Koechlin and León, 2006; López-Córdova and Olmedo, 2006; IMF, 2005) and on employment (López-Córdova and Olmedo, 2006). There are fewer papers or reports on the meso or community-level impact of migrants' transfers. One example is Gosh (2006), who assesses the positive impact of remittances on housing and agrarian techniques (Ponce, Olivie and Onofa, 2008).

The findings of this study are supporting the claims of Fajnzylber and López (2008), Azeez and Begum (2009) studies regarding remittance uses. When discussing about the remittances all the interviewees said that remittances are spent on current consumption, health and education. One of them stated that the money goes for food, agriculture work (tools, seeds etc.), medicines, children's education, and to the intents to get them ahead in their lives. The nine siblings of this Ecuadorian interviewee are farmers and they own a small grocery together where they sell the products that they farm. The interviewee said that some of the shop's customers are tourists, so part of the remitted money is to benefit the small business that is dealing with the tourist sector in the country of origin. Thus, findings of this study support Gosh's (2006) findings regarding the positive impact of remittances on agrarian techniques as the Ecuadorian interviewee's remittances are partly used for agriculture work (tools, seeds etc.).

Fajnzylber and López (2008, 133) stress that regarding their study of Latin America, expenditure patterns can also change if migration changes the preferences or incentives of those who are left behind, or if migrants tie remittances flows to specific expenditures. For instance, to the extent that migrants tend to work in occupations requiring limited schooling, the returns from investments in education may be lower for those who are envisaging international migration. Health outcomes can also change, possibly through a combination of income and information transfer increase by remittance senders. Finally, by affecting local labor market conditions and household budget constraints, remittances may modify labor force participation decisions, and bias individuals' occupational choices towards home production or entrepreneurship. In this particular case it was not further discussed if remittances affected the decision on siblings and children regarding this interviewee.

Findings of this study confirm that the remitted money often goes for education. Moroccan interviewee said that the money is always used for the food, bills, clothes, and to support the education of her sister's children in Morocco. There is no extra money to invest in the tourism sector or for any private business, as she says that everything is used for the basic needs. Often remitted money is used to the wellbeing of close relatives who are ill. The father of one of the interviewees is ill and the remitted money is used for his health care and for other everyday expenses. His father was a butcher in Morocco and he owns a butcher's shop there. No social security system existed there when his father was younger

and working so he does not receive any assistance from the state, any pension etc. Also another Moroccan interviewee said that the money is used to pay education for his brother as well as some bills and living expenses for his parents and brother. He said that it is impossible to save anything from the remittances or invest as all the remittances are spent immediately on daily expenses. So, only in one case, part of the remittances is used as investment for some means of production (in this case seeds and agricultural tools). The rest are all confirming Azeez and Begums' (2009) claim about remittances' use on current consumption, health and education. García and Shattering (2011) stress that remittances are widely recognized as a prerequisite to the survival of thousands of families and the well-being of many national economies in Latin America and the Caribbean. In contrast to international aid, remittances go directly to the families where international aid often fails to appear. Similarly, cash remittances have increased even during economic recessions while the flows of the international capital fluctuate. So, beyond all doubt these remittances sent by emigrants have a positive impact both on the family and on the country of origin.

5.2.2 Gender of the principal receptor of the remittances

As Morokvasic (1984) pointed out almost three decades ago, women are also birds of passage. Women are not only migrating more (as well as receiving more scholarly attention), there is also growing recognition that migration and remittances are highly gendered social processes. Contrary to literature on migration that identifies the household as a harmonic unit (as in the New Economics of Labour Migration approach pioneered by Lucas and Stark, 1985), dyadic relations are not problem-free (Åkesson, 2004; Cliggett, 2005; de Haas and Fokkema, 2010; Rodenburg, 1997). There are power imbalances that need to be thought of. Following Sanz Abad (2009, 390), I find it useful to think about who decides what to do with the remittances (decision power), who manages them (management), and who eventually enjoys the consequences (enjoyment). It is also important to look at the control mechanisms available for decision-takers. There are decisions to be taken regarding four aspects of material remittances: the nature of the remittance, the frequency of the sending, the sending channel and remittances' uses. Depending on the transfer we are talking about, the sender, the receiver, or both, agree what (either money or gifts) and when to send. Migrants are usually the ones who decide how to send the money, as they have a better knowledge of the available channels, although the type of transfer very much determines the channel. Depending on the

transfer as well, senders or receivers decide what to use it for. Some sending (either money or goods) are clearly targeted, while some other resources are not sent with a clear aim by the senders (Mata-Codesal, 2011).

An interesting finding of this study regarding the remittances was the sex of the principal receptor of the remitted money. In all cases the principal receptor was a woman; either sister or mother of the remitting person. Only in one case both parents of the remitting person were indicated as principal receptors of the remittances. In one case the sister of the male remitter is taking care of the remittances sent on his behalf. In patriarchal societies, as Smith (2009, 559) found for Albania, daughters are not expected to contribute to their parents, while sons do even after they become married.

One of the Moroccan interviewees said that:

"Because I am the son in the family, in my culture, it is my duty to take care of my parents... In case my parents want to travel somewhere they pay by using the remitted money, so in that way it is also used for the Moroccan tourism sector... But there is an economic crisis... so the majority of the remitted money is for living expenses"(Hussein).⁶

Morocco is a patriarchal society and the finding of Smith regarding Albania is similar to the finding of this study regarding Moroccan society. Although a Moroccan female migrant was also sending remittances to her family in Morocco; she is not married though. So, it seems that it is considered that in Morocco sons are expected to contribute to their parents regardless their marital status.

⁶ " Porque yo soy el hijo de la familia mi deber es cuidar de los padres en mi cultura ... En el caso si mis padres quieren viajar a algún sitio pueden pagar con el dinero enviado, por lo que de esa manera también se utiliza para el sector marroquí de turismo ... Pero hay crisis económica ... la mayor parte del dinero remitido es para gastos diarios".

5.3 Working as a migrant for the Spanish tourism sector

3“All my Moroccan friends and people I know from Morocco who have migrated to Spain are working either for the tourism sector (hospitality), social sector or the construction sector” (Ali).⁷

Also all the interviewed migrants for this study have higher education which is required to work in the tourism sector. In other words they are all over-qualified for their current job description (see table 5). Anyhow, none of them complained about that and said they were content with the position they worked in. Only a Moroccan airplane mechanic was disappointed with the non-existent employment opportunities in the field he had graduated from and obtained additional training in Spain. He thinks that the reason why there is no work for an aircraft mechanic, is because he comes from a Muslim country and after 9/11 it is impossible to get a job in that sector, in Europe or in any other non-Muslim country. He is currently working in the tourism sector as a waiter. As stated by ILO (2006, 2), doors remain closed for low- and semi-skilled persons, where developing countries have a surplus. This has three undesirable effects: serious brain drain from poor countries, the channelling of a large part of unmet demand to the irregular economy and reduced development benefits. However, in this study the brain drain will not be discussed in more depth due to its limited nature.

It seems clear that all the interviewees of this study are working very hard and long hours. Ecuadorian owner of a small business in the hospitality sector stated the following when talking about working hours;

“I work between seventeen and eighteen hours per day...there is no time...from Monday to Monday” (Maria).⁸

⁷ “Todos mis amigos y gente que conozco de Marruecos en Espana estan trabajando por el sector turistico, sector social o en las construcciones.”

⁸ “Trabajo entre diecisiete y dieciocho horas por día..no hay tiempo..desde el lunes hasta el lunes.”

Moroccan interviewee who works as a cook said that;

I have a little free-time...I work eight and a half hours per day and I have a lunch break of one hour... in addition to that, sometimes I work extra hours...there is no time to study...I am always working” (Hussein).⁹

According to Joppe (2001, 669) several factors such as the manner and conditions in which tourism services are delivered and the labour intensity is putting a significant strain on business to attract a skilled workforce, and even more to retain and develop them over the long term. While simultaneously, intensive competition is encouraging employers to reduce the burden of labour costs. So, the findings of this study are confirming Joppe's (2001) findings regarding the job description, work situation and education of the migrant workers.

⁹ “Tengo poco tiempo libre..trabajo ocho horas y medio cada día y tengo el almuerzo de una hora..a veces trabajo horas extras..no tengo tiempo para estudiar..estoy siempre trabajando.”

Table 5. Education and profession of the interviewees

NAME:	PROFESSION IN SPAIN:	PROFESSION AT THE COUNTRY OF ORIGIN:	WHAT EDUCATION DID YOU OBTAIN IN YOUR COUNTRY OF ORIGIN:	HAVE YOU OBTAINED SOME EDUCATION WHILE LIVING IN SPAIN:
Maria	Entrepreneur at the hospitality sector (Owner of a small business)	Journalist	3 years higher studies of journalism	I have not been able to because of the lack of the time
Manuel	Waiter (partner in a small business at the hospitality sector)	Law student	Higher education of law	No
José	Hospitality (partner in a small business at the hospitality sector)	Medical Student	University Studies of Medicine	No
Ali	Waiter	Airplane mechanic	Superior studies of math	Mechanics of the motors of the airplanes
Hussein	Cook	Butcher	Baccalaureate	There is no time to study, I am always working
Fatima	Cook and in charge of the kitchen	Student	Nurse (I did not finish my studies)	Spanish language studies

In order to get a deeper knowledge about immigrants working for the tourism sector in Spain I interviewed a secretary of the international trade union action from Federación Estatal de Comercio, Hostelería y Turismo de Comisiones Obreras (FECOHT-CCOO) that means State federation of commerce, Catering and Tourism Workers Commissions. When asking about if Spain has a minimum wage for the workers in the tourism sector he stated that;

Workers in the tourism sector (and specifically the hospitality sub-sector, which are grouped in our Federation) have minimum wages as determined by the relevant collective agreement applied. So there are as many minimum wages in the sector as agreements” (Fernando Medina).¹⁰

When discussing about the average level of the wages in the tourism sector, compared to other sectors like agriculture and construction for example the following statement of Fernando Medina illustrates the bad position of the findings of this study which are pointing out that none of the so called “working migrants” are saving or planning to save in order to invest later in the tourism sector or in any other sector from their countries of origin. Only two interviewees of six had plans regarding investments in their countries of origin. But, these two interviewees were already entrepreneurs at the tourism sector;

“Hospitality occupies the lowest salary step in the service sector (only personal services would be lower) The average level is certainly lower than sectors like construction, but the already mentioned differences between the lodging and restaurant subsectors must be taken into account” (Fernando Medina).¹¹

Table 6. Total Labour Cost and wages.

Total Labour Cost and Wages.Branches.		
2009	total cost gross	Wages and salaries
I: HOSPITALITY	19.167,36	13.850,10

Source: Encuesta Anual de Coste Laboral, IN.

¹⁰ “Los trabajadores del sector turístico (y específicamente los del subsector de la hostelería, que son los que se agrupan en nuestra Federación) tienen como salario mínimo el determinado por el correspondiente convenio colectivo de aplicación. Así pues existen tantos salarios mínimos como convenios en el sector”

¹¹ “La hostelería ocupa el escalón salarial más bajo en el sector servicios (solamente servicios personales estaría por debajo). El nivel medio es desde luego inferior a sectores como la construcción, aunque hay que tener en cuenta la ya indicada diferencia entre los subsectores de hospedaje y restauración.”

When discussing Spain's current economic situation and the possibilities to work in the tourism sector, a Moroccan interviewee said;

“Because of the economic crisis it makes no sense to migrate to Spain at the moment, there are no jobs, so there is no sense to come here now to search for a job” (Ali).¹²

I ran into this interviewee couple of times at the city center and after some time he told me that he had changed his job as there was not enough sales in the Moroccan restaurant he had worked for. This finding is supporting Joppe (2011, 669) who claims that in case of specialized ethnic restaurants, like the one that Ali worked for, “the domestic labour market may be unable to meet the need, and the seasonal aspect of many businesses makes them dependent on a flexible workforce”.

Regarding the recent economic crisis, mentioned by all the interviewees at some point of the interviews, the tourism sector is hard hit economic sector. Anyhow, Joppe (2011) claims that international tourism recovered faster than expected, as there was a 4% decline in international tourist arrivals in 2009, but a 7% growth in 2010. Moreover, this growth is expected to continue in the foreseeable future. Travel and tourism's contribution to GDP is expected to grow by 4.5% in 2011 and 4.2% per annum over the next 10 years (Joppe 2011; WTTC and Oxford Research, 2011). Finally, as stated by Joppe (2011, 669) it seems to be the state's interest that tourism should grow, even if access must be granted to a workforce with few rights and willing to accept the less than ideal employment conditions of the HoReCa sector. Thus, several authors have pointed out the advantages to both employer and state of hiring migrant workers, specifically Piore (1979), Rodriguez (2004), Ruths and Martin (2008), and Mackenzie and Forde (2009).

5.3.1. Spanish economical miracle

I also interviewed Miguel Fernandez, who worked for the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation between 1985 and 2011, as an expert on International

¹² “Por la crisis económica no hay sentido migrar a España por el momento, no hay trabajo, por lo que no hay ningún sentido venir aquí ahora a la búsqueda de empleo.”

Cooperation. According to him there were significant migration flows since the 19th century until the early 20th century when under the Spanish civil war, people migrated to Argentina, Cuba, Mexico, Venezuela, and Dominican Republic etc. Anyhow, because of the lack of proper financial systems and means to send remittances, adding lack of tradition, it was not usual to send remittances at the time. Instead, Spaniards who had migrated to Latin America wanted to get rich there. During the 1939 -1959 there was a shortage of exports in Spain due to the lack of machinery and money. So, primary products such as olives, sherry, nougat, orange and cognac were exported everywhere. According to Fernandez "The problem was that there was no money to import capital goods like tools and technology and all the necessary modern means of production. With the help of the stabilization plan by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) which included loans and credits the Spanish economic miracle which was achieved in only thirteen years".

According to Fernandez it was partly possible because of the remittances sent by Spanish migrants from Germany, Belgium, France etc. and the money earned through tourism from European tourists (especially French, German and Belgian tourists). So, the BKT of Spain grew 6-10% between 1960-73, thirteen years of development. Fernandez points out that remittances sent from Spain to Latin America peaked between years 1987-2007. He thinks that since Ecuador's national currency, the Sucre, was eased out and Ecuador adopted the U.S. dollar to its currency in 2000, remittances are not as important to Ecuador as to Morocco, which has its own national currency, the Dirham. Finally, he remarks that if the conditions of the country of origin are very bad migrants will never return, because they simply don't see any possibilities there to improve their lives. He also calls for better planning on the governments' behalf and all the official bodies related to the remittances sending and possible investments made by migrants to their countries of origin, to improve their situation.

5.4 Possible returning to the country of origin and investing in its tourism sector

In this chapter migrants' possibilities to return back to their countries of origin, and possible investments in the tourism sector are discussed and analyzed under the light of migrants' interviews and some current facts and theories.

Manuel is planning to invest in the tourism sector of his country in the future. He is planning to invest in the hotel business or building apartments – sort of Apart-hotels in Loja, Ecuador where he is originally coming from. He is planning to start his business with Spanish partners, once he starts his business in Ecuador he will move back there, and use his knowledge and business connections obtained while living and working in Spain. He thinks that the only and the best way to help the development of his own country is to invest and return to live there. During a prior visit to his country, he took some Spanish friends to visit Ecuador; they saw various possibilities creating a good touristic business infrastructure over there. He says that Ecuador has mountains, beaches, nature etc. and that he has some good contacts that can aid him marketing his country as a tourist destination for Spanish residents after starting operations from Loja. He thinks that he can attract, via marketing, more tourists from Europe (especially Spain) and USA to visit Ecuador, in the future” (Manuel).

José says that in general Ecuador’s economic situation has improved and that he sees many business opportunities there. Anyhow, he thinks his children will not to go and live in Ecuador when they grow older. He says that his sisters’ children are now eight and nine years old and they don’t want to go to live in Ecuador. He says that every year he sees it more difficult to return to his country of origin, it is because life is good in Spain. He says that the tourism sector has been developed a lot lately in Ecuador. He thinks that Ecuador is very beautiful country and that is why it attracts so many tourists. In the future Maria wants to start a small travel agency in Ecuador, which organizes trips for European tourists to visit. She would like to organize exotic tours to the jungle, safari type, as well as tours to Galapagos Islands.

“I would love to be able to combine the fact that I have connections and knowledge of Spain and of Europe, and the possibility to invest money in my country...I could start my own travel agency in about three or four years time. In the future I would like to live in-between both countries, Spain and Ecuador, while running my business” (Maria).¹³

¹³ ” Me encantaría ser capaz de combinar el hecho de que tengo las conexiones y el conocimiento de España y Europa y la posibilidad de invertir el dinero a mi país ... yo podría iniciar mi agencia de viajes en unos tres o cuatro años de tiempo. En el futuro me gustaría vivir en ambos países, en España y en Ecuador durante la ejecución de mi agencia de viajes”

Ali says that;

“There is no possibility to make any investments by using the remittances I am sending to my family in Morocco. It is spent for the education of my brother and for other expenses of my family...I want to stay in Spain at least ten years which are needed to obtain the Spanish nationality” (Ali).¹⁴

Moroccans are required to remain ten years legally and continuously in Spain, in order to apply for Spanish nationality. For Ali living in Spain means freedom more than anything else. He thinks Spanish culture and lifestyle are very different from Moroccan. The main motive for him to stay in Spain is not because of the money, but because of the freedom, culture and lifestyle he can have while living in Spain.

Hussein says that he will stay five years and some months more, and then go back to Morocco to live. He wants to obtain the Spanish nationality and for that he needs to reside in Spain ten years as minimum. He wants to start working in the butcher’s shop owned by his father, after returning to Morocco. At the moment the shop is rented to others. He is not planning to invest any money in the tourism sector after returning, but he says that Moroccan tourists often come from other cities to visit his home town Khenifra, and that sometimes they are also clients of his father’s shop which is located at the local mall. He says tourists like to go there to see the lake and the mountains” (Hussein).

Fatima is planning to return to Morocco once she retires. She is in Spain because of her work, but can’t imagine any reason to stay in Spain after getting retired. She has no plans to invest money in the tourism sector of Morocco, as she has not enough money to be able to even think about it. Her family in Morocco is also poor and none of them works for the tourism sector therefore holds any interest. She is not considering any other business at all.

¹⁴ ” No hay posibilidad de hacer cualquier inversión mediante el uso de las remesas que le estoy enviando a mi familia en Marruecos. Se gasta en la educación de mi hermano y para otros gastos de mi familia ... Quiero quedarme en España al menos por diez años que se necesitan para obtener la nacionalidad española”

So, there are some very opposite views regarding investing in the tourism sector and the possible return to the country of origin. The findings of this study are pointing out that none of the so called “working migrants” are saving, planning to save or using the remittances in order to invest later to the tourism sector or to any other sectors in their countries of origin. Only two interviewees of six had plans regarding to invest in the tourism sector of their countries of origin. But, these two interviewees were already entrepreneurs at the hospitality sector in Spain. So, regarding this study it seems that migrants who already are entrepreneurs have more curiosity and courage to even plan to invest in the tourism sector (or any other sector). Maybe it is more a lifestyle issue than anything else. Or maybe it is just too difficult for these “working migrants” to even plan to invest some money, which they have not been able to save while remitting monthly to their families, for them to be able to take care of their basic needs. Anyhow, De Haas (2005) claims that international migrant households invest more than others in housing, agriculture and other enterprises.

Finally, as with other globalized industries, tourism is dominated by powerful multinational corporations and much of the profit flows back to the developed world: only as little as 10% of the money spent on a package holiday, can remain in the community of destination. At present only a tiny fraction of the global population – 3.5% is engaged in international tourism. The demand for tourism is driven by Europe, North America and a growing market from Asia (China and Japan) (Tourism Concern, 2008-2011). Without a doubt, tourism affects the livelihoods of many people in developing countries. The industry employs over 220 million people and unlike other globalized industries, the customer comes to the product. On the positive side, because the industry is so diverse, there is increased scope for wide participation, including the informal sector and there are considerable opportunities for linkages such as local agricultural supply to hotels and craft production for the tourism market. In addition, the resources on which tourism is so dependent, such as nature and culture, are assets that often reside in local communities. However, in the majority of local communities they have no rights or control over tourism development and they are often displaced to make way for it. Tourism frequently prevents local access to resources such as beaches and coastal areas where people gain their livelihoods, forcing up local costs and the price of land (Tourism Concern, 2008-2011).

5.5 Tourism and migration nexus

The work of Bookman (2006), O'Reilly (2003), as well as Hall and Williams (2002) on the tourism migration nexus and the new hybrid forms at the intersection of tourism and migration, is inspired by the radical turn towards primary observation rather than categorization of mobile life forms by Bauman, these authors have partly abandoned the dividing categories between tourism and migration. For authors engaged in research on the tourism-migration nexus, tourism is an integral part of migration. Mobility can be analyzed through a matrix of desire, time and space. The continuum of desire goes from voluntary to forced, the spatial from local to national and to international, finally the time spectrum goes from hours to years: "tourism falls somewhere in the middle, farther from home and shopping or excursions, less permanent than seasonal labor" (Bookman 2006, 25) The authors engaged in the tourism-migration nexus only differentiate between consumption-led-migration and production-led migration. Tourism as consumption-led migration and economic migration, as production-led migration encounter each other in global cities, touristic islands, and generally in touristic destinations. This division between production and consumption allows to avoid state-based categories and to consider migration and tourism as interrelated and overlapping.

5.5.1 Visiting Friends and Relatives

Career mobility, discussed about earlier in this study, has of course contributed to the wider geographical diffusion of friendship and family networks, and to the Visiting Friends and Relatives (VFR) tourism linked to this. Additionally, compulsory or voluntary early retirement often used by employers when restructuring their labour forces, has increased the amount of potential active elderly consumption migrants (Hall and Williams, 2002, p.18). This study however is not going to discuss about elderly consumption migrants in more depth. The extent to which VFR mobility has constituted a globalization of labour markets is open to question. However, findings of this study are revealing an interesting point related to VFR tourism (see table 7). All interviewees have been visiting their country of origin several times after migrating to Spain, but none of them have been receiving visitors (VFR tourists) from their countries of origin. Though, some of their friends and relatives counted as visitors although they were migrating to

Spain to live and work there. When discussing the issue of VFR tourism all of them said that it was either too expensive or that due to the visa related issues, too complicated or impossible for their friends and relatives to come and visit them as tourists. Therefore, it seems that VFR tourism only operates in one direction not mutually or equally. One of the Moroccan interviewees said the following;

“There must be a certain amount of money at the bank account for one to obtain tourist visa. We must go to the consulate and show them the flight tickets and hotel reservations purchased in advance, the bank statement showing that there are 30 000 EUR in our bank account etc., so it is safe to say that travel for us is made impossible to”(Ali).¹⁵

Some findings in this study are opposite to the UNWTO's claims (see Figure1) about affinity tourism, including VFR directed from origin market to destination market. According to UNWTO (2009) migration has led directly and indirectly to significant growth in tourism on both origin and destination countries through increased visibility, especially in the 'Visiting Friends and Relatives' (VFR) sector. Indeed all interviewees in this study have been visiting their country of origin, but none of them have been receiving visitors (VFR tourists) from their country. The only "visitors" they have received are relatives or friends who migrated to Spain in order to work and not just as tourists (see table 7). Even though the interviewees in this study expressed that their friends and relatives would like to visit them, it was impossible because of the lack of resources to obtain the visa and /or the flight tickets. But, when discussing more in-depth about the reasons for the interviewees to migrate to Spain, some of them said that family members who already lived in Spain helped them obtain a job and a working visa in order to migrate to Spain. So, as stated by Hall and Williams (2002) it seems that this study is supporting their point about career mobility, which has contributed to the wider geographical diffusion of friendship and family networks, and to the Visiting Friends and Relatives (VFR) tourism linked to this.

Table 7. VFR tourism between Spain and Ecuador, and Spain and Morocco

¹⁵ “Hay que tener cierto dinero en la cuenta bancaria antes de poder obtener el visado turístico. Tenemos que irnos al consulado y mostrar nuestros reservas de los vuelos y hoteles comprados y pagados y el recibo sobre que hay 30 000 euros en la cuenta bancaria..Así que para nosotros es imposible viajar como turistas.”

Name	How many visits to the country of the origin after moving to Spain:	How many visitors (friends, family members) have been coming to visit from the country of origin after moving to Spain:	How many years has been living in Spain:
Maria	3 visits	Three children of her siblings (came to Spain to work)	22 years
Manuel	3 visits	Two siblings (came to Spain to work)	11 years
José	2 visits	Two siblings (migrated to Spain)	12 years
Ali	4 visits	0 visitors	3 years 10 months
Hussein	16 visits	5 friends (migrated to Spain)	4 years
Fatima	20 visits	0 visitors	20 years

5.5.2 Rights based liberalism

Even if Europe's history of rights based policies is quite different from the United States, impact on politics and immigration policy has been much the same: expanded rights for ethnic and marginal groups, including foreigners. Cornelius, Martin and Hollifield (1994,10) state that the above-mentioned historical developments have caused a rethinking of classical liberal theory in the works of scholars who place human (and especially social and civil) rights honestly at the centre of the new social contract (see, for example, Rawls 1971;Walzer 1983;Hirsch 1992). A process of a political struggle that has redefined the relationship between individuals, groups and the state has influenced widely on the capacity of the democratic states to control immigration. Although judicial ruling have recently caused some chip away some of the protections and rights previously granted to the immigrants in Europe and the United States, the legal and political legacy of the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s continues to constrain the executive authorities of democratic states in their seeking to achieve territorial closure and to exclude certain individuals and groups from membership in society.

So, it is the unification of markets (the push and pull factors described earlier) and rights that explain widely the contemporary difficulty of immigration control in Europe and the United States. Cornelius, Martin and Hollifield (1994, 10) stresses that “this new political-economic-dynamic seems to have broken or seriously weakened the historically close linkage between business cycles and ‘admissionist’ or ‘restrictionist’ immigration policies”. Thus, effective immigration control seems to require a rollback of human and civil rights for noncitizens. One of the examples of this phenomena is, according to Cornelius, Martin and Hollifield (1994,10), new powers granted to the police in France and Spain to carry out random identity checks on any suspicious (or foreign – looking!) individual. One of the interviewees pointed out his fear to this procedure by stating that;

“Moroccan migrants must be careful to always carry their papers with them in Spain in case the police happen to stop us and ask. I know that if I fail to produce my identification card, I might be deported from Spain immediately...I know this has happened to some friends of my friends.. I am scared of the police in Spain because they can be racists sometimes.”
(Hussein).¹⁶

My own experiences regarding random identity checks carried out by the police confirm that it happens frequently in Spain. For example, there were random identity checks every week in the metro and bus station I used the same station daily during two years when living in Madrid. My observation was that mostly ethnic – looking people were checked, while I was never asked for any identification or never checked. Once, my Spanish friend who has a Latin appearance was checked too, as the police thought she was from Latin America. Many of the migrants interviewed for this study, who had not achieved the Spanish citizenship yet, hoped to finally achieve it before possibly returning to their country of origin.

¹⁶“ Los inmigrantes marroquíes que tener cuidado de llevar siempre consigo sus documentos con ellos en España en caso de que la policía deje de pasar con nosotros y preguntar. Yo sé que si uno no tiene su tarjeta de identificación a demostrar, puede ser deportado de España inmediatamente ... Yo sé que esto ha sucedido a algunos amigos de mis amigos .. Tengo miedo de la policía en España, ya que pueden ser racistas a veces.”

6 Critical views of the six main transactions involved in tourism and migration

I will present a summary of my key findings regarding the UNWTO's (2009) view presented at the beginning of this study (see Figure 1 Main transactions involved in tourism and migration at page 23) in Figure 2.). In Figure 2 I have also summarized the findings previously mentioned to demonstrate the interlinked factors that explain partly the reality in which Ecuadorian and Moroccan migrants live. I have chosen to illustrate these findings in a linear fashion according to the examples and emphases which rose during the interviews, as well as in order to seek clarity. However, it is necessary to note that the multiple factors identified below are in fact interrelated and extend beyond the presented causalities. Furthermore, my purpose here is to investigate the tourism-migration nexus from a more neutral starting point than UNWTO's report is presenting, as well as to assess it more critically and theoretically, therefore UNWTO's report seems to lack some serious amounts of critical consideration when considering the phenomenon of tourism- migration nexus. In turn, the data and analysis presented in this study is exploring the phenomena more profoundly and critically, and taking into account the voice of the research subjects as well as recent academic discourses regarding the research topic.

Skills and human capital going to the destination markets can imply 'brain drain' for the country of origin. What is more, not only 'brain drain' on short and medium term, but on a long term as well because many migrants start families and decide to stay permanently as already revealed earlier in this study. UNWTO's report (2009, 2) uncritically assumes that it means "future skills enhancement and emergence of a new class of entrepreneurs, when immigrants return". However, this study has discovered that only immigrants who already are entrepreneurs have more curiosity and courage to even plan to invest in the tourism sector (or any sector) in their country, while ordinary "working migrants" do not even dare to plan to become entrepreneurs after returning home. It also seems to take it as a positive note, that skills and human capital is flowing to the destination market, although the possible "short/medium term brain drain" mentioned the report forgets that many migrants decide to stay permanently.

UNWTO's (2009, 2) report states that tourism and migration cause "well-informed investment in travel, tourism and hospitality" as well as "new investment streams". But, according to the findings of this study foreign direct investment is not easy for so called "working migrants", because they have no possibilities to save while remitting monthly to their families in their countries in order for them to take care of their basic needs. UNWTO's (2009, 2) report sees remittances as "additional revenue, contributing to increased consumer spending". But, the role of the remittances is not so clear, because they are fluctuating heavily and the meaning of them still needs to be further explored. Finally, human migration can cause more crimes and social conflicts in the destination country as also acknowledged by the UNWTO's (2009, 2) report by stating that "migration can cause "crime and human trafficking in the destination country", however this negative side effect has been excluded from the figure (see Figure 1 at page 23) describing main transactions involved in tourism and migration. According to UNWTO's figure (see Figure 1 at page...) affinity tourism, including VFR is flowing smoothly from the origin market to the destination market, but as the findings in this study have revealed VFR is very difficult from the country of origin due to visa and economic limitations. According to Figure 1 'Expat' tourism is also flowing without any problems from the destination market to origin market and whereas in reality 'Expat' tourism is sometimes forbidden if the migrant willing to travel is under the process of getting the nationality.

Regarding to the origin market, Bookman (2006, 94) argues that the higher the number of local suppliers, the higher the multiplier effect of the tourist in the local economy. "Tourists and travelers have stimulating effects on the local economy. They bring foreign capital both directly by spending and indirectly by inducing investment. In the process, the domestic service sector is developed, and its linkage and multiplier effects spread throughout the economy" (Bookman 2006, 33) Consequently, it can be concluded that the economic growth generated by tourism creates a demand of diverse skills that cannot be fully covered by the local population, the aggregation of tourist and migrants at one place can have spill-over effects on sending destinations (VFR tourism, remittances, distribution of democratic ideas, etc.). This phenomenon is more complex than simple foreign investments and mobility of goods, because it is mostly invisible to data gathering (Rhode 2008, 53).

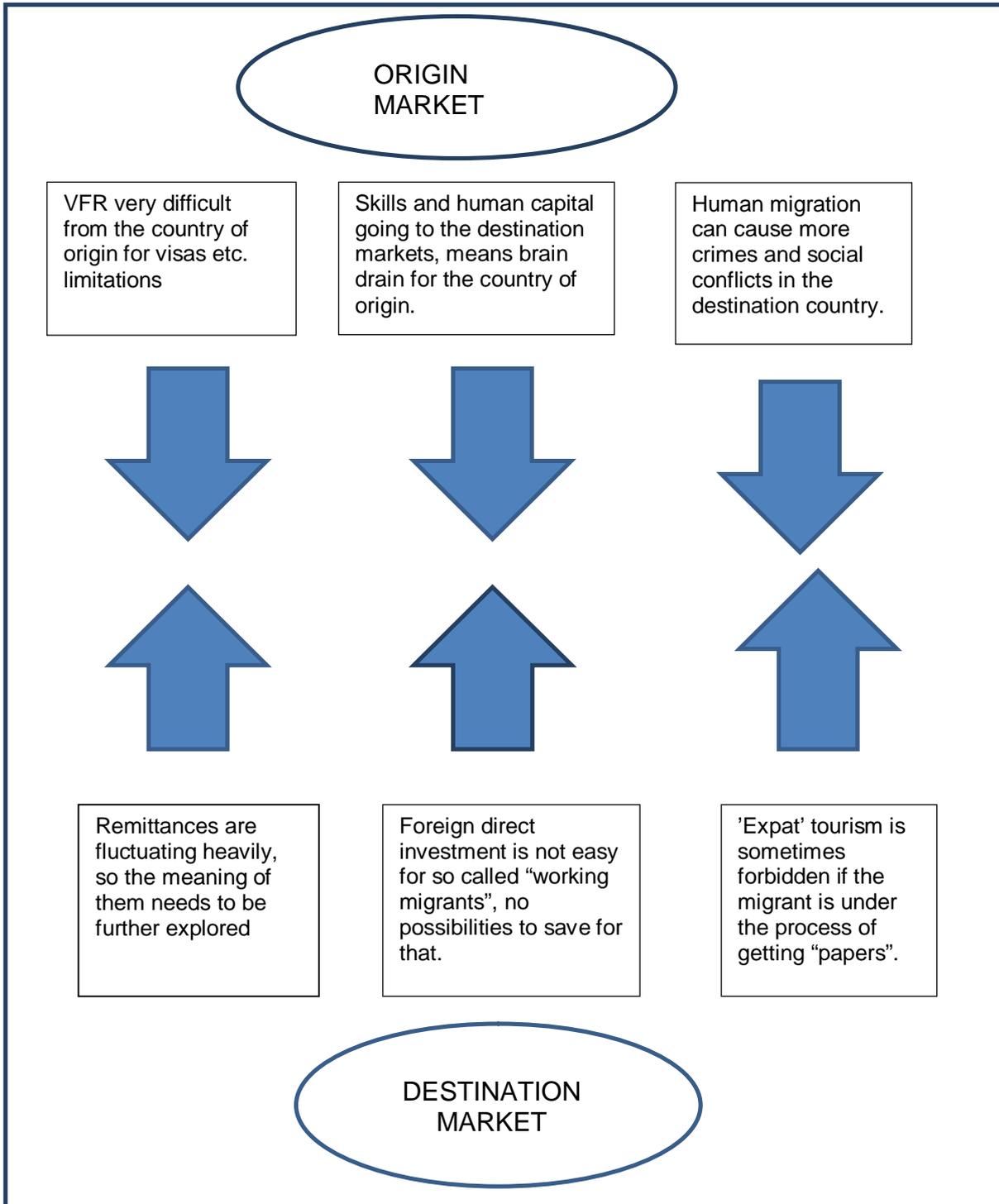


Figure 2. Critical views about the 6 main transactions involved in tourism and migration according to the UNWTO.

7 CONCLUSIONS

This paper started reviewing several discourses on globalization, mobilities, migration and remittances etc. The main aim of this study was to get a grass-roots perspective on the tourism-migration nexus. This was carried out by asking the migrants' working in tourism about their own situation. Migrants' point of view on remittances sending, and their impacts on the country of origin were also studied directly from them. What it means to work as a migrant for the Spanish tourism sector, and migrants possible return to their countries of origin and investing in their tourism sectors were also amongst the main topics examined within this study. Instead of generalizing, this study aimed to examine the phenomenon in more depth. The selected data collection methods; in-depth interview and questionnaire, helped giving a diverse and in-depth understanding of the phenomenon studied.

Moreover, new forms of hybrid mobility such as tourist-migrant workers and retirement migrants show that human agency is far messier and more complex than the categories imposed by nation-states and global governance organisms would allow (Rhode 2008, 71).

Data constraints, together with a weak theoretical base in the face of need for a holistic approach, have contributed to the overall lack of research on circulation and temporary mobility related to tourism. The main exceptions are the burgeoning literatures on counter-urbanisation (e.g., Jaakson, 1986; Champion, 1989; Halseth, 1992, 1993; Sant and Simons, 1993; Buller and Hoggart, 1994; Halseth and Rosenberg, 1995) and retirement migration (e.g., Murphy, 1981; Mullins, 1984, 1990; Hall, 1990; Rogers, et al., 1992; King, et al., 1998, 2000; Williams, et al., 1997). These are production and consumption led migration, which have both been informed by tourism experiences and investments. However, there has been a singular lack of attention to the role of tourism in these new forms of migration, with some exceptions (e.g. Monk and Alexander, 1986; Myklebost, 1989; Williams and Patterson, 1998; Williams et al., 2000) and very few attempts to clarify the fluid relationships between tourism and migration which are inherent in the life courses of such individuals. Similarly, there has been only a modest volume of research on the phenomenon of the tourist-worker (Bianchi, 2000).

Surprisingly, there has not been any substantial progress concerning the VFR tourism – However, this is also an area where research is problematic because of the prevalence of

mixed motivations and behaviour, and the weakness of secondary data. So, it can be concluded that the tourism-migration nexus represents a fertile and still largely virgin territory, offering plenty of work for tourism and migration researchers. Not only is this a potentially fruitful interface between different research traditions, but it also represents an increasingly important component of the new forms of mobility. There is, in a sense, nothing new in these examples. There have long been migrants whose love of place has over-ridden the logic of labour market and material incentives. The results of this study also point out that current migrants were driven less by employment and income prospects than by the tourist goals of adventure, exploration and discovery.

It seems to me that from the part of the social sciences side, tourism studies are not taken very seriously, instead tourism is seen as strictly profit seeking business orientated subject of study. It should however be taken into consideration, that there exists many links and joints in these two disciplines; as well as direct effects of the tourism sector on migration, development and globalization. I also agree with De Haas (2008, 53) who claims that policy and scholarly discourses naively celebrating migration, remittances and transnational engagement as self-help development “from below”, also switch attention away from the relevance of structural constraints and the real but limited ability of individuals to overcome these. International institutions and states continue to play a major role in shaping favourable conditions for social and economic development.

According to Joppe (2011) the political imperative in most high – income countries seems to minimize the fiscal costs associated with low – skilled immigration, worsened by the public debt many have accumulated during the financial crisis, they will try to keep migration low or restrict migrants’ access to the social welfare system (Joppe 2011: Ruth and Martin,2008). But, as pointed out by Carens (2007, 4; Joppe 2011, 671) it is always morally problematic to rest right the rights of migrants “because they violate the state’s own understanding of morally acceptable conditions of employment”. In all, “Just as we are jeopardizing genetic diversity throughout the world by the overexploitation of the natural environment, we are also endangering social and cultural diversity through indiscriminate commercial development, including tourism. The tourism industry must think beyond the immediate drive for increased profits and consider the social, cultural and environmental implications of its actions” (Reid, 2003, 236).

To conclude, I chose to approach the research questions from a migrant perspective seeing that most of the studies do not consider them as subjects of research, but see them as helpless objects instead. It is important to realize, that tourism and migration are a kind of mobility that has multidimensional and global side effects. And this is why they and their interfaces should be considered from many perspectives, not only from the top downwards. In addition, remittances should be evaluated more critically; the role of the recipients is still unclear although many parties like to emphasize only the positive effects. Then, the possible return of working migrants to their countries of origin is thought about in an extremely optimistic view. As stated before by Miguel Fernandez (2012) if the conditions of the country of origin are really bad, migrants will never return, because they simply don't see any possibilities there to improve their lives. So, extremely optimistic views related to the possible return should be considered more carefully. This study also finds out that only migrants who were already entrepreneurs were able to imagine being entrepreneurs in the future. Thus, I call for scholars who are willing, critically and from a neutral standing point, to assess the tourism-migration nexus.

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9. ANNEX 1 Questionnaire

INTERVIEW FORM

Basic questions:

1. Age: _____ 2. Sex: f / m

3. Nationality: _____

4. How long have you lived in Spain? _____

5. How long have you worked in Spain? _____

6. Profession in Spain: _____

7. Profession in your country of origin: _____

8. What education did you obtain in Spain? _____

9. What education did you obtain in your country of origin: _____

10. Number of economic dependents in Spain: _____

11. Number of economic dependents living in some other country, which country: _____

12. Why did you move to Spain? _____

13. How many times have you visited your country of origin after moving to Spain? _____

14. How many visitors (friends & family members) have you received from your country of origin after you moved to Spain? _____

FORMULARIO DE LA ENTREVISTA

Preguntas básicas

1. Edad:_____ 2. Sexo: mujer/hombre
3. Nacionalidad:_____
4. Cuánto tiempo ha vivido en Espana?_____
5. Cuanto tiempo ha trabajado en Espana?_____
6. Profesión en Espana:_____
7. Profesión en su país de origen?_____
8. ?Qué estudios tienen cursados en su país de origen?_____
9. ?Ha hecho algún studio o grado más en Espana?_____
10. Numero de dependientes económicos en Espana:_____
11. Número de dependientes economicos que viven en otro país,?Que país?_____
12. Por qué usted se mudó a Espana?_____
13. Cuántas veces ha visitado su país de origen después de mudarse a Espana?_____

14. Cuántos visitantes (amigos y miembros de la familia) ha recibido desde su país de origen después de que se trasladó a España? _____