



# From circular to permanent: The economic assimilation of migrants during Spain's rural exodus, 1955–73

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## Abstract

Circular migration has played a substantial role in the assimilation process of rural–urban migrants in Spain across the twentieth century. This paper analyses the short-term impact of the temporariness of this type of migration in the economic assimilation of migrants during the rural exodus, 1955–73. More specifically, I study this process in one key scenario – the Spanish tourism boom. Using a novel micro-dataset, results show that the temporariness was a key factor that constrained the capacity of migrants to achieve income growth. Thus, the incentives to persist with circular migratory movements and the socio-economic constraints on permanent settlement had significant adverse consequences. These migrants sorted into lower-income occupations and had lower incentives and chances to acquire host-specific human and social capital in comparison with permanent migrants. As a result, circular migrants registered lower occupational attainment leading to a higher income gap with natives and permanent migrants as the years of circular migration increased in number. These results indicate that most migrants had fewer chances than natives of taking advantage of the process of rapid structural change not solely because of lower human and social capital factors but also because of the temporariness of their migration.

**KEYWORDS**

circular migrations, human capital, return intention, social capital, social mobility

**JEL CLASSIFICATION**

J62, R23, J24, N34, Z32

Researchers are increasingly paying attention to the influence of migrants' location preferences through the migratory process on earnings profiles. The growing but still scant literature argues that the intended length of the stay in the host countries can significantly influence the differential earnings profiles among diverse groups of migrants. According to these authors, temporary migrants can be less incentivized to invest in host-specific human and social capital.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, they tend to have a lower reservation wage, being more prone to accept lower wages and invest less in physical capital. This pattern implies that the rate of acquisition of these significant drivers of social mobility is endogenous to the migrant's behaviour. That is, it might be influenced by the changing incentives of the migrant over the time spent abroad. Thus, regardless of whether they eventually leave the country or become permanent residents, their initial prospects and posterior changes of expectations influence their behaviour and, consequently, their wages in the host labour market and assimilation in the host society.<sup>2</sup>

Understanding the impact of the temporariness of migration is important for the comprehension of the process of migrant assimilation since many migratory movements in the past and the present are temporary. Historical and contemporary registers show that the share of migrants that leave host countries within five years of arrival can oscillate from 20 per cent to 75 percent in different periods and countries.<sup>3</sup> Specifically, circular migration has particular incidence in key scenarios of international migration such as the Mexico–US corridor,<sup>4</sup> the Persian Gulf,<sup>5</sup> and the Mediterranean, where it constitutes a significant share of total migratory movements.<sup>6</sup> Besides, it is also significant in total internal migratory flows, particularly in developing countries, such as internal migration in China under the *hukou* system,<sup>7</sup> sub-Saharan Africa,<sup>8</sup> and India.<sup>9</sup>

Circular migration also constituted a substantial share of total internal and international migratory movements in the past in both rural and urban economies in preindustrial and industrializing countries. In Europe, repeated and circular migration was a predominant pattern that involved work during the harvest seasons and temporary work in jobs in urban industrial areas and the construction sector.<sup>10</sup> This additional source of income attracted hundreds of

<sup>1</sup> Dustmann and Görlach, 'The economics of temporary migrations'.

<sup>2</sup> Chabé-Ferret, Machado, and Wahba, 'Remigration intentions and migrants' behavior'; Adda, Dustmann, and Görlach, 'The dynamics of return migration'.

<sup>3</sup> Bandiera, Rasul, and Viarengo, 'The making of modern America'; Dustmann and Görlach, 'The economics of temporary migrations'.

<sup>4</sup> Lindstrom, 'The occupational mobility of return migrants'.

<sup>5</sup> Babar and Gardner, 'Circular Migration and the Gulf States'.

<sup>6</sup> Vaden and Piracha, 'Circular migration or permanent return'.

<sup>7</sup> Hu, Xu, and Chen, 'Circular migration or permanent stay?'.

<sup>8</sup> Beguy, Bocquier, and Zulu, 'Circular migration patterns'.

<sup>9</sup> Constant, Nottmeyer, and Zimmermann, 'The economics of circular migrations'.



thousands of workers each year before and after the industrial revolution in Western Europe, involving internal and international movements. For example, long-distance circular migration to the main economic centres that drew workers accounted for more than 300 000 people by the late eighteenth century.<sup>11</sup> Similarly, in France, 25–50 per cent of the total working population worked seasonally in agriculture and the manufacturing sector in the late eighteenth century.<sup>12</sup>

These movements increased during the age of mass migration in Europe and the United States. By 1914, 500 000 seasonal agricultural migrants from neighbouring countries were working in Germany.<sup>13</sup> In the United States, these flows played a key role during industrialization, particularly in seasonal sectors and short-term employment in manufacturing and large infrastructure projects, involving active recruitment practices by employers on both sides of the Atlantic.<sup>14</sup> Under this context, seasonal internal migration, fuelled by the large but declining seasonality of the US labour market, meant significant regional and sectoral mobility throughout the year.<sup>15</sup> In parallel, international temporary migration increased their significance, particularly from the late nineteenth century onward. Half of the North Atlantic crossings during 1908–14 were multiple individual movements between the two regions.<sup>16</sup> Some groups were particularly prone to circular migration, often driven by a strong motivation to return, as in the case of Italians.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, the rise of Mexican migration in the early twentieth century involved a large proportion of circular flows.<sup>18</sup>

Although the industrialization process ultimately fostered more permanent jobs and migration patterns, it was still important in the mid-twentieth century. In northern Europe and the United States, internal circular migration declined while international circular migration increased. The Bracero Program, which promoted the migration of 4.6 million Mexican workers in the United States, and the Guestworker programs in Europe are paradigmatic examples.<sup>19</sup> In industrializing southern Europe, circular internal migrations persisted. Specifically, temporary migrations in Spain during the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, with a significant share of circular movements, constituted one-third of total migrations.<sup>20</sup> After the Spanish Civil War, it remained noteworthy during the rest of the century in the south of the country. It is estimated that circular migration within Spain and to European countries involved more than half a million workers in agriculture, tourism, and some industries in the late 1980s.<sup>21</sup>

Thus, the incidence of circular migratory movements in the past could help to explain living standard levels and social mobility achieved by different groups of migrants. Unfortunately, empirical studies are limited by the lack of data or difficulties in fully capturing these migratory

<sup>10</sup> Silvestre, 'Temporary internal migrations'; Hatcher and Stephenson, 'Introduction'.

<sup>11</sup> Lucassen and Lucassen, 'Measuring and quantifying'; Lucassen, *The story of work*, pp. 223–6.

<sup>12</sup> Carmona and Simpson, *El laberinto de la agricultura*, p. 93.

<sup>13</sup> Wyman, *Round-trip to America*, p. 19.

<sup>14</sup> Rosenbloom, *Looking for work*.

<sup>15</sup> Engerman and Goldin, 'Seasonality'.

<sup>16</sup> Keeling, 'Repeat migration', p. 170.

<sup>17</sup> Hatton and Williamson, *The age of mass migration*, pp. 101–2.

<sup>18</sup> Gratton and Klancher, 'An immigrant's tale'.

<sup>19</sup> Constant, Nottmeyer, and Zimmermann, 'The economics of circular migrations'.

<sup>20</sup> Silvestre, 'Temporary internal migrations', p. 549.

<sup>21</sup> Tabares, *Jornaleros y temporeros*, p. 18.



movements in official accounts.<sup>22</sup> This obstacle for contemporary analysis becomes even more difficult when it comes to circular migrations in the past. In this paper, I use a novel and unique micro-dataset to study the effect of the temporariness of circular migrations on the level of economic assimilation of internal migrants in Spain. This data comprise 10 761 observations of men and women working in the Balearic tourism industry in 1969 linked to the 1960 municipality registers. This information allows me to study an intensive process of migrant assimilation based on circular flows – the Spanish tourism boom, 1955–73. Besides, by doing so, this analysis unveils an understudied process with key ramifications in the Mediterranean and other regions of the world – the formation of tourism labour markets during the period.<sup>23</sup>

Therefore, this constitutes a suitable historical case study to empirically analyse these effects and their intersection with the impact of tourism in Spain. During this period, the tourism industry became one of the main engines of the Spanish economy. Approximately 1 million Spaniards started to work or opened a business in tourism-related services. Tourism districts in coastal Spain and the archipelagos became an alternative migratory path to other traditional internal and international migrant destinations under the context of Spain's rural exodus.<sup>24</sup> As the most prominent tourist destination in Spain, the Balearic Islands saw an intense arrival of circular migrants in search of new labour opportunities in an exploding tourism industry. However, most went on to permanently remain in the archipelago. Between 1950 and 1981 the proportion of non-natives increased from 8 per cent to 26 per cent of the population.

## I | CONCEPTUAL CONSIDERATIONS

The literature on migrant assimilation attributes a great part of the migrant–native and migrant–migrant income gap to differences in productivity in host labour markets and societies. Consequently, the heterogeneous levels of occupational upgrading of migrants would be the result of a trade-off between migrant human capital, such as language skills, schooling, or task specialization, and the characteristics of the labour demand, worker competition, and socio-cultural institutions of the host society. Therefore, migrant location choices, as well as human capital transferability and acquisition over the life cycle, would be key drivers of migrant assimilation.<sup>25</sup> This process is shaped by the costs and benefits of migration, which alter the composition of migrants in the host country. Migratory policies have substantial effects on self-selection, in so far as they increase or reduce financial, informational, and legal constraints of migrating.<sup>26</sup> Although in most historical scenarios these policy-related constraints do not apply to internal migrations, governments have also sought to restrict these flows in specific contexts.<sup>27</sup> Once arrived at the destination, self-selection among those who return within the following years after arrival changes

<sup>22</sup> Constant, Nottmeyer, and Zimmermann, 'The economics of circular migrations'; Dustmann and Görlach, 'The economics of temporary migrations'.

<sup>23</sup> Walton, "'The tourism labour conundrum' extended".

<sup>24</sup> Pack, *Tourism and dictatorship*.

<sup>25</sup> Chiswick and Miller, 'Occupational attainment'; Silvestre, Ayuda, and Pinilla, 'The occupational attainment'; Beltrán and De Miguel, 'Migrants' self-selection'; Abramitzky, Boustán, and Eriksson, 'Do immigrants assimilate more slowly'; Pérez, 'Southern (American) hospitality'.

<sup>26</sup> Greenwood and Ward, 'Immigration quotas'; Abramitzky and Boustán, 'Immigration in American economic history'.

<sup>27</sup> Examples from different periods and regions can be found in Hu, Xu, and Chen, 'Circular migration or permanent stay?', and Díaz, 'Migrar contra el poder'.



the socio-economic characteristics of the different groups of migrants through the assimilation process.<sup>28</sup>

However, social capital can also be a determining factor in the process of decision-making regarding both location preferences and job matching before and during the migratory process. In this regard, migrant networks can reduce the costs of information, transport, and housing to relatives intending to migrate to the host society. They have a considerable impact on the pool of migrants and the levels of migrant concentration in the destination. Besides, they can reduce the costs of job-searching and improve the levels of employment of the members of their community. However, in the mid- and long-term migrant networks can lead to lower occupational outcomes if they tend to be segregated or direct job opportunities to their relatives associated with low-income sectors.<sup>29</sup> Conversely, some evidence has noted that lower levels of segregation and the formation of networks with natives could be associated with higher social involvement and occupational upgrading.<sup>30</sup>

Thus, the literature on migrant assimilation has stressed human and social capital factors in combination with migrant policies as the main drivers of social mobility in host societies. Nonetheless, the impact of these factors can be endogenously affected by the remigration plans of migrants during the whole migratory process. According to recent research, the intended length of stay of migrants influences their behaviour in terms of human, social, and physical capital acquisition. Thus, the intended length of the stay in the host countries can significantly influence the differential earnings profiles among different groups of migrants. Initial emigration plans could be endogenous to many key variables such as human and social capital, reservation wages, and levels of savings and consumption.<sup>31</sup>

Consequently, migrants who plan to return to their places of origin may have lower incentives to acquire host-specific human, social, and physical capital. Researchers on temporary migrations have noted that migrants who declared their intention to return at arrival had lower host-specific human capital attainment. For example, Dustmann showed an association between the declared intention of the length of the stay and human capital acquisition, particularly host-specific factors such as learning the German language, among migrants who arrived in Germany in the 1960s.<sup>32</sup> Similarly, in studies devoted to recent migratory movements in the context of migrant assimilation in France and across European countries, the authors demonstrate that migrants who intended to return earlier are less likely to be involved in the host society and to invest therein.<sup>33</sup> Conversely, they are more prone to invest in housing and develop projects at home as well as send remittances home. In a similar vein, other studies show that temporary migrants are less prone to reading local newspapers, having feelings of attachment, or generating strong ties.<sup>34</sup>

Intending to return early also alters reservation wages and consumption patterns. In his seminal work, Piore stated the effect of temporary migrations on migrants' behaviour in the context of the

<sup>28</sup> Borjas, 'Self-selection'; Lubotsky, 'Chutes or ladders?.'

<sup>29</sup> Munshi, 'Community networks'; Arroyo and Sánchez-Alonso, 'A city of trades'; Eriksson, 'Ethnic enclaves'.

<sup>30</sup> Abramitzky, Boustan, and Connor, 'Leaving the enclave'.

<sup>31</sup> Dustmann and Görlach, 'The economics of temporary migrations'; Adda, Dustmann, and Görlach, 'The dynamics of return migration'.

<sup>32</sup> Dustmann, 'Temporary migration'.

<sup>33</sup> Chabé-Ferret, Machado, and Wahba, 'Remigration intentions and migrants' behavior'; Janta et al., 'Returned migrants' acquisition'.

<sup>34</sup> León and Hernández, 'Immigrants' decision to stay'; Adda, Dustmann, and Görlach, 'The dynamics of return migration'.



guestworker programs during the Golden Age.<sup>35</sup> According to his view, more temporary migrants behave as ‘target earners’, a migrant behaviour where the main objective of the migration is accumulating savings rapidly through intense and long hours of labour. Thus, temporary migrants would have lower reservation wages and as a result would accept jobs that are less acceptable for permanent migrants or natives.<sup>36</sup>

This pattern would also mean lower consumption dynamics. Some authors have documented a higher level of savings among these groups of migrants in different periods and countries.<sup>37</sup> In this regard, migrant preferences can be related to the level of investment that can be achieved both in origin and destination. For example, a positive association between land-owning or easy access to land and return migration have been found in different scenarios.<sup>38</sup> Thus, more temporary migrants would postpone consumption in the host country to invest these savings after returning home.

Temporary migrations can also have a differential effect on migrants’ assimilation depending on the characteristics of the migratory path and time spent in the host region. In this regard, circular flows differ from other temporary movements since they comprise short-term, continued, and repeated moves. Consequently, circular migrants could have a lower capacity to acquire human and social capital in the host regions than other temporary migrants.<sup>39</sup> Similarly, this household strategy can imply a higher level of attachment to the place of origin, leading to lower incentives for acquiring host-specific capital.<sup>40</sup> Finally, circular migration often involves recruitment at origin by employers or intermediaries and migration in groups, which could result in lower host-specific information and greater incentives to rely on migrant enclaves.<sup>41</sup>

However, location preferences can change during the migratory process, having key consequences on the rate of assimilation achieved by migrants. Thus, initial remigration plans can change, leading to unplanned returns and stays.<sup>42</sup> This has two main consequences. One potential scenario would be an unexpected return. Migrants may have to return due to imperfect information, such as unexpected wages, or difficulties in adapting to the host society.<sup>43</sup> Another potential scenario is when the migrant planned to return but finally decided to stay. For example, European guestworker programs or Mexican circular migrants in the United States are paradigmatic cases of large migrant circular flows that ended up with a large share of transitions from circular to permanent migration.<sup>44</sup> More recently, Adda, Dustman, and Görlach, studying Turkish migration to Germany, found a strong correlation between the initial intended time of stay of the migrants and the actual time of residence in the host country. However, a large number of migrants, around 50 per cent, changed their initial prospects significantly, staying for longer.<sup>45</sup> In these cases, the

<sup>35</sup> Piore, *Birds of passage*.

<sup>36</sup> Adda, Dustmann, and Görlach, ‘The dynamics of return migration’.

<sup>37</sup> Kirdar, ‘Labor market outcomes’; Hu, Xu, and Chen, ‘Circular migration or permanent stay?’; Adda, Dustmann, and Görlach, ‘The dynamics of return migration’.

<sup>38</sup> Meng and Zhao, ‘Permanent and temporary’; Abramitzky, Boustan, and Eriksson, ‘To the New World and back again’.

<sup>39</sup> Constant, Nottmeyer, and Zimmermann, ‘The economics of circular migrations’.

<sup>40</sup> Dustmann and Görlach, ‘The economics of temporary migrations’.

<sup>41</sup> Skeldon, ‘Going round in circles’.

<sup>42</sup> Ward, ‘Birds of passage: return migration’.

<sup>43</sup> León and Hernández, ‘Immigrants’ decision to stay’.

<sup>44</sup> Constant, Nottmeyer, and Zimmermann, ‘The economics of circular migrations’.

<sup>45</sup> Adda, Dustmann, and Görlach, ‘The dynamics of return migration’.



**TABLE 1** Labour and social behaviour by citizen status.

Variables	Achievement	Incentive/propensity/effect		
		Native	Permanent migrant	Circular migrant
Human capital	Host-specific human capital	High	Depending on temporariness	Low
Social capital	Networks and information	High and positive	Medium and positive/negative	Low and negative
Migrant enclaves	Strong ties and information	–	Positive/negative	Negative

lower incentives for acquiring host-specific capital during the first years after arrival can hamper occupational mobility and social integration when the migrant decides to establish themselves permanently.<sup>46</sup>

Following these arguments, in table 1, I summarize the main effects of the various levels of temporariness of migration in comparison with natives. As can be seen, circular migrants could be negatively affected by the temporariness of the migration and their aforementioned associated differential behaviour. During the first years after arrival, these migrants would be willing to continue as circular migrants, behaving as a target-earner in the host society. As a result, they could experience lower incentives and face lower chances to acquire host-specific human and social capital. This pattern would negatively affect their propensity to build networks with natives and other migrants. Under this context, while social capital accumulation through networks with other groups of migrants and natives could be lower, migrant enclaves formed by migrants of the same origin could be strengthened. Therefore, as a consequence, the higher concentration of circular migrants sharing similar low information in a region, or a firm, could mean increasing segregation and lower information and capacity for mutual help among these individuals.

## II | SOURCES

The lack of research on circular migration is generally attributed to the difficulties of capturing these phenomena in statistical accounts.<sup>47</sup> To proceed, I use a novel and rich retrospective cross-section micro-dataset of a total of 10 761 individuals, men and women, working in the Balearic tourism industry in 1969. This information has been compiled from archives and manually digitized, giving a vast range of demographic, professional, and business variables for each individual. Staff from 200 hotels, 130 hostels, 200 bars and restaurants, 10 nightclubs, 13 travel agencies, and 1 transport company were randomly selected. This method took into account the size of the tourism districts and the characteristics of the industry. However, it is slightly biased towards high-quality establishments. The proportion of one-star hotels and low-quality hostels is 3–4.8 per cent lower than the total registered in August 1969. The observations relating to workers from transport companies and travel agencies have been excluded since they are shaped by different factors, leaving a total of 10 501 observations. Given that tourism and related occupations were the main labour market for migrants in the host labour market, this micro-dataset is representative of the main migratory experience in the Balearics. Between 1955 and 1973, the hospitality industry created

<sup>46</sup> Chabé-Ferret, Machado, and Wahba, 'Remigration intentions and migrants' behavior'.

<sup>47</sup> Dustmann and Görlach, 'The economics of temporary migrations'.



50.3 per cent of the total new jobs in the Balearic Islands. If we include the construction sector, 70.6 per cent of job creation would be related to the tourism boom.<sup>48</sup> In 1974 it was estimated that 37.5 per cent of total employment was concentrated in the hospitality sector during the high season.<sup>49</sup> In the same vein, a micro-study on a significant tourism district in S'Arenal, Mallorca, showed that 74 per cent of migrants worked in hospitality and construction in 1965.<sup>50</sup>

The most important characteristic of this data is that it allows us to differentiate between circular and permanent migrants in 1969. To do so, I use the address of residence as an indicator of circularity. I select all migrants in the database who reported an address of residence in mainland Spain or were receiving accommodation from the firm as circular. Thus, this constitutes the best available information to empirically approach internal circular migration in Spain during the period. This is important since municipal registers, decennial censuses, and other institutional data present considerable negative features for the study of these migratory flows. First, most historical censuses in Spain, as in other countries, were carried out on a single date in December, a month not characterized by an increase in the demand for a considerable number of crops. The data, therefore, do not capture peak harvest labour demand for important crops, such as cereals or vines, as well as seasonal labour from other non-agricultural activities such as the textile industry or tourism.<sup>51</sup> Second, they substantially misreport women's labour participation. Bureaucrats, enumerators, and householders tended to assign them occupations related to the reproductive economy. Although the problem of undercounting is often associated with how work was defined – women's work sometimes involved seasonal and irregular job activities – social, legal, and cultural factors, related to the historical construction of women as dependents, also contributed to hiding women's work in official records.<sup>52</sup>

However, it is important to draw attention to the main potential shortcomings of retrospective cross-section data.<sup>53</sup> Firstly, our sample registers migrants who were in the labour market by the year of the interview. Therefore, it does not contain those migrants who returned or moved to other destinations before 1969. It also does not include unemployed workers, although during the summer season their number should be very low. Average annual unemployment in 1970 reached 2.3 per cent of the total active population in the archipelago. I include cohort control variables, such as years of labour experience in the sector, if the migrant worked in mainland Spain in 1967, and I also linked those who were already migrants in 1960. Even so, if unsuccessful migrants of the early cohorts were prone to return, the analysis could produce upwardly biased estimates. Nonetheless, we focus on circular migrants who stayed in the labour market in 1969, those whose willingness to continue as circular migrants could have considerable consequences if they finally decided to establish a permanent residence later. Moreover, the intense economic growth registered between 1959 and 1973 suggests that migrants would be more prone to return and stop circular mobility or change location choices after the onset of the 1973 oil crisis.

Secondly, cross-section data do not account for all potential changes in the skills of the different cohorts of migrants. In this regard, researchers have shown that country-origin composition is

<sup>48</sup> Own calculations from Fundación BBVA, *Renta nacional*.

<sup>49</sup> García-Barrero, 'Birds of passage: circular migration', p. 86.

<sup>50</sup> García-Barrero, 'La génesis del mercado', pp. 290–1.

<sup>51</sup> Silvestre, 'Temporary internal migrations'.

<sup>52</sup> Humphries and Sarasúa, 'Off the record'.

<sup>53</sup> Borjas, 'Self-selection'; Lubotsky, 'Chutes or ladders?'; Abramitzky and Boustan, 'Immigration in American economic history'.





crucial for understanding the level of assimilation across generations.<sup>54</sup> For that reason, besides the multiple types of individual information on human and social capital as well as individual socio-demographic information, I also take into account the macro-region of origin of the migrant, the province, and the human capital and household characteristics of the source district using the information proportioned by *Comisaria del Plan de Desarrollo* (CPDES).<sup>55</sup> A similar procedure can be found in Hui and Kambhampati to deal with similar data problems.<sup>56</sup>

Thirdly, this dataset focuses on migrants who stayed in the main and most numerous labour market of the region. Migrants and natives who moved to other sectors are not accounted for. This bias could affect results since both groups could change to other occupations not included in this labour market as a cause of their labour performance. Moreover, higher average wages reported in other services and the construction sector would imply that the native–migrant and permanent–circular migrant income gaps shown in this analysis would be higher if we took into account the rest of the sectors of the economy. Branches such as transport and telecom, metallurgy, and construction and its ancillary industries could offer higher wages, implying that permanent migrants could have an additional advantage over circular migrants. However, excepting the construction sector, they had limited capacity for job creation during the period, constraining intersectoral mobility in the short-term.<sup>57</sup>

Despite taking into account these potential biases, other researchers have used cross-sectional retrospective data to contribute valuable insights into various aspects of the literature on migration. In this regard, it is worth mentioning works from Chiswick and Miller devoted to the study of human capital transferability in Australia during the late twentieth century.<sup>58</sup> Similarly, others have utilized cross-section datasets such as the Spanish National Immigrant Survey (ENI-2007) to study the labour market attainment of migrants in Spain during recent decades or pay specific attention to factors such as returns of source country schooling in the host country or location choices.<sup>59</sup> From a historical perspective, researchers have used these datasets to study factors such as the occupational attainment of internal migrants in Spain and London during the interwar period and the impact of migrant networks in this process among distinct groups of international migrants.<sup>60</sup> Others, such as Pérez, have implemented a mixed approach working with two linked cross-section databases in combination with one cross-section database.<sup>61</sup>

In table 2, I present the main characteristics of the workers in the sample and in figure 1 the geographic origins of the Spanish non-natives. The most important feature is the high share of migrant workers, reaching 64.1 per cent of the total labour force. Significantly, rural workers coming from southern Spain became the main employees of the tourism industry. Women workers in the tourism industry predominantly came from this region. In contrast, natives and those born in the rest of Spain show higher rates of urban origin and foreign language knowledge. Finally, it

<sup>54</sup> Abramitzky, Boustan, and Eriksson, 'A nation of immigrants'.

<sup>55</sup> CPDES, *Anexo al Plan de Desarrollo Económico y Social*.

<sup>56</sup> Hui and Kambhampati, 'Between unfreedoms'.

<sup>57</sup> García-Barrero, 'Birds of passage: circular migration'.

<sup>58</sup> Chiswick and Miller, 'Occupational attainment'.

<sup>59</sup> Reher and Requena, 'The National Immigrant Survey of Spain'; Simón, Ramos, and Sanromá, 'Immigrant occupational mobility'; Silvestre and Reher, 'The internal migration of immigrants'.

<sup>60</sup> Silvestre, Ayuda, and Pinilla, 'The occupational attainment'; Hatton and Bailey, 'Natives and migrants'; Arroyo and Sánchez-Alonso, 'A city of trades'; Arroyo, Maurer, and Sánchez-Alonso, 'Paesani versus paisanos'.

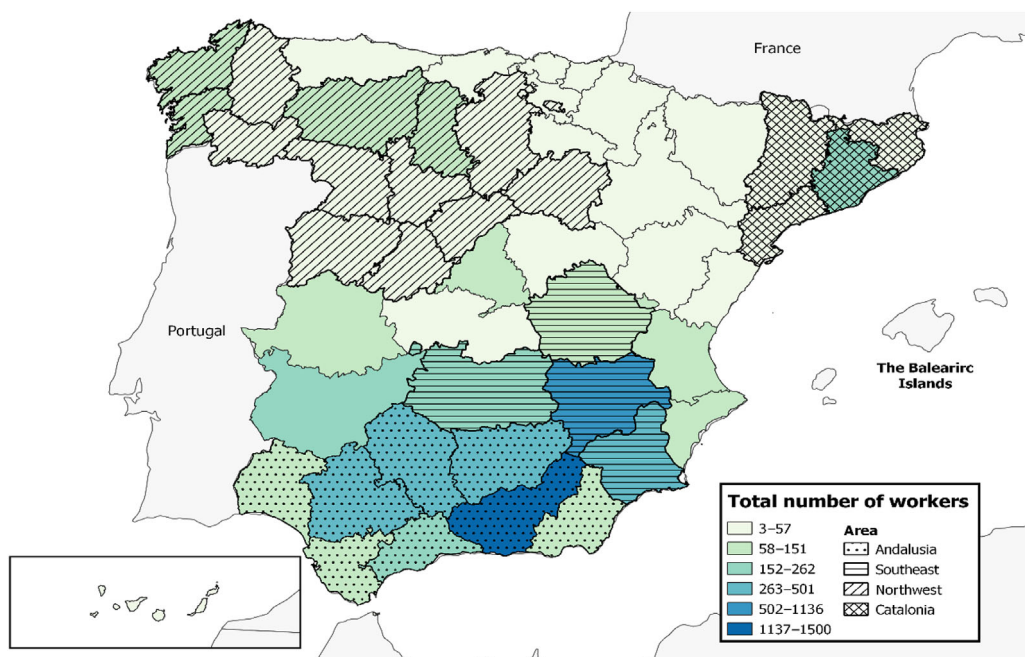
<sup>61</sup> Pérez, 'Southern (American) hospitality: Italians'.

**TABLE 2** Characteristics of the workers in the census by place of birth, 1969.

	(Percentage)		Average age (years)	Rural	Single	Total
	Male	Female				
Balearic Islands	3030	704	34.6	64.8	47.2	3734
Andalusia	1930	935	28.0	82.3	66.6	2865
Southeast	919	514	29.3	85.4	57.9	1433
Northwest	500	251	27.4	79.4	78.4	751
Catalonia	211	62	33.5	33.7	45.0	273
Rest of Spain	784	372	30.1	69.4	65.9	1156
Foreign-born	173	124	31.3	41.9	56.9	412
Total	7716	3045	31.0	72.5	58.6	10 624

Note: 137 observations do not provide information on place of birth.

Sources: Census of the Balearic Tourism Industry of 1969.



**FIGURE 1** Spanish non-native workers by place of birth in the Census, 1969. Sources: Census of the Balearic Tourism Industry of 1969.

[Colour figure can be viewed at [wileyonlinelibrary.com](http://wileyonlinelibrary.com)]

is interesting to remark on the participation of workers born in other countries, reaching 2.8 per cent of the total workforce. This group consisted mainly of workers from the United Kingdom, Germany, France, and other northern European countries, who accounted for 84 per cent. However, it also included some migrants born in Latin America (particularly Argentina), Morocco, and France, mostly from migrant families from the Balearic Islands.



Most migrants migrated from southern Spain. In this area, we can differentiate two main regions – Andalusia, with a particular incidence in Granada, Córdoba, and Jaén, and the south-east, which comprises the provinces of Albacete, Ciudad Real, Murcia, and some municipalities of Cuenca. Moreover, in terms of differential features, I also highlight migrants from two additional regions – those migrating from the Northwest, who were migrants from Galicia and the provinces of León and Palencia, and those migrating from Catalonia, an industrialized area and a great attractor of migrants, which shares common cultural links with the Balearics, such as language and traditions.

To examine the role of migrant networks and take into account those who had settled before 1960, in the pre-tourism era, I have relied on municipality registers. More particularly, I use the population micro-data of 12 coastal municipalities in Mallorca. I collected and manually digitized those born in mainland Spain living in one of these municipalities in 1965 who were residing on the island at least since 1960. Furthermore, I selected from this sample those who were over 15 years old. Given the low number and proportion of non-natives during the pre-tourism era, this micro-dataset reaches 5182 observations. These areas account for 71.7 per cent of the total non-native population working in Mallorca included in the labour census of the Balearic tourism industry of 1969, a total of 4341 observations. I manually linked this micro-dataset to the Census of the Balearic Tourism Industry of 1969. Migrants were matched between the two datasets according to the criteria of shared first name and same first and second surname, and whether they were born in the same municipality of origin, had the same date of birth, and were working in the same tourism area of the correspondent municipality register.

For the construction of the wage proxy, I used the occupational categories of each one of the 10 501 observations of the sample. I followed the recommendations of Inwood, Minns, and Summerfield for a better estimation of real wages.<sup>62</sup> I impute to each observation the monthly wages established in the provincial labour agreement of August 1973, taking into account the specific occupational category of each worker.

One crucial concern was disaggregating the occupations as much as possible to capture the inequality within them. I dealt with this problem using an occupational category that disaggregates for specific occupations and firms according to census data and labour agreements. I used a multilevel hierarchy for each profession (e.g. ‘cook’ is divided into chef, sous chef, pastry chef, cook, kitchen assistant, pastry assistant, general kitchen employee, and dishwasher) and a firm typology which includes 24 firm categories divided between hotels, hostels, restaurants, bars, and pubs (e.g. ‘hotel’ is divided according to star ratings from five to one). In total, 1120 potential different wages can be assigned from this imputation. Therefore, I could use a wage proxy from a very disaggregated occupational category and adjust it for the characteristics of the firm.

I also follow the recommendation of these authors regarding the use of ancillary information on changes in returns of occupations and differences in earnings to make a better estimation. To do so, I adjusted the income scores utilizing the real wages reported by contemporaneous geographers during the same year.<sup>63</sup> They reported real wages, including tips, through interviews with 157 workers from the hospitality industry of Balearic Islands, Costa Blanca, and Costa del Sol for the equivalent occupational categories of our main database. This exercise allows me to control wage dispersion within occupational categories, better estimating the wages of high-income occupations. Finally, to deal with potential bias in occupational scores regarding the difficulties in capturing earnings differences between young and experienced workers through their life cycle,

<sup>62</sup> Inwood, Minns, and Summerfield, ‘Occupational income scores’.

<sup>63</sup> Gaviria, et al., *España a GO-GO*.



I assign the wage compensation for tenured workers established in the labour agreements if the worker had accomplished an entire year in the firm.

In table 3, I summarize the variables utilized in the analysis as a result of implementing this methodology. I included five categories that cover different factors related to demographic, human and social capital, firm, area of destination, and origin district characteristics. Aside from the mentioned variables, as firm and destination control variables, I use ‘firm size’, which is based on the accommodation or service capacity of each firm; ‘N. workers at firm level’, which includes the number of employees on the payroll of each firm; and finally ‘firm type’, which classifies each firm into 24 different tourism-related enterprise categories as defined in the collective agreements.

### III | LABOUR MARKET AND MIGRANT ASSIMILATION

The years of the rural exodus, 1955–73, represent the greatest process of spatial redistribution in the modern history of Spain. During the postwar period, 1939–51, internal migration from rural to urban areas increasingly recovered, following the dynamics initiated in the decades before the Spanish Civil War, despite the restrictions on human mobility imposed by the dictatorship. However, it was not until the mid-1950s that migration returned to prewar levels. This period coincides with the lifting of the barriers to internal and international migration imposed by the Spanish dictatorship and the culmination of the process of industrialization in Spain.<sup>64</sup>

This process was mainly driven by the increasing relative deprivation of farmers and the rural population compared with the situation in other economic sectors and urban scenarios, as the modernization of the Spanish economy and opportunities abroad intensified the rural penalty.<sup>65</sup> During the rural exodus, more than 15 per cent of the total population changed their place of residence, mainly moving from the rural areas of southern Spain, Galicia, Castile-Leon, and Aragon to the urban industrial centres. At the same time, around two million people emigrated to other European countries. The main internal destinations in Spain were the industrial centres of Madrid, Barcelona, Bilbao, and Valencia, while Germany, Switzerland, and France attracted the largest numbers of international migrants.<sup>66</sup> The predominance of agricultural activities in the rural economy meant that the rural exodus also implied an intense process of deagrarianization. Consequently, the agrarian population fell from around 50 per cent in 1950 to 25 per cent in 1970.<sup>67</sup>

An alternative migrant destination was the development of mass tourism and, as a consequence, the formation of an emergent tourism labour market. In some coastal areas of the Mediterranean basin and both archipelagos, the Balearic and Canary Islands, the growth of the demand for tourism services was the main driver of structural change. The tourism infrastructure skyrocketed during the period studied, and as a result, these areas started to offer an abundant number of jobs in a nascent industry in hospitality, construction, and other tourism-related service activities. Between 1955 and 1973, the number of hotels rose from 2200 to 9200 and hotel beds from 115 000 to 700 000, as the industry became a key engine of the Spanish economy and social

<sup>64</sup> Silvestre, ‘The occupational mobility’; Díaz, ‘Migrar contra el poder’.

<sup>65</sup> Clar and Ayuda, ‘Rural migration and agricultural modernization’.

<sup>66</sup> Ródenas, ‘Migraciones interiores 1960–1985’; Díaz, ‘Migrar contra el poder’.

<sup>67</sup> Clar and Ayuda, ‘Rural migration and agricultural modernization’, p. 5.

**TABLE 3** Summary statistics.

Variable	Observations	Mean	Standard deviation	Minimum	Maximum
<b>Socio-demographic</b>					
Age	10 507	31.05	13.01	7	83
Sex (men = 0, women = 1)	10 761	0.28	0.45	0	1
Civil state (single = 1, married = 2, widowed = 3)	9221	1.62	0.52	1	3
Rural = 0, urban = 1	10 761	0.27	0.44	0	1
Origin groups (Balearic Islands = 0, Andalusia = 1, Southeast = 2, Northwest = 3, Catalonia = 4, rest of Spain = 5, Foreign countries = 6)	10 624	1.63	1.82	0	6
<b>Occupational human capital</b>					
Literacy (literate = 0, not literate = 1)	10 761	0.006	0.08	0	1
Foreign language proficiency (no = 0, yes = 1)	10 761	0.15	0.36	0	1
Working in mainland Spain in 1967 (no = 0, yes = 1)	10 761	0.12	0.32	0	1
Seniority (years)	10 761	2.04	6.95	0	40
Labour experience (years)	6534	4.82	6.00	0	59
Contract (temporary = 0, permanent = 1)	7737	0.42	0.49	0	1
Wage (pesetas)	10 474	8587.2	3971.1	3420	31 770
Wage (log)	10 474	8.97	0.37	8.1	10.3
Resident (yes = 1, no = 2)	10 761	1.33	0.47	1	2
Circular migrant (no = 0, yes = 1)	7762	0.07	0.26	0	1
<b>Networks</b>					
Relatives at a firm level in 1969 (%) (log)	5615	-1.33	0.45	-2	0
Relatives at a municipal level in 1960 (%) (log)	4342	0.39	1.15	-1	2.3
<b>Firm</b>					
Supervisor place of birth (born in the Balearic Island = 0, born in mainland Spain = 1, born in a foreign country = 2)	10 518	0.33	0.61	0	2
Firm size (log)	10 425	5.00	0.74	2.39	6.6
Number of workers at a firm level	10 761	56.31	45.14	1	192
Firm type (5-star hotel = 0, 4-star hotel = 1, 3-star hotel = 2, 2-star hotel = 3, 1-star hotel = 4, resorts = 5, travel agencies = 6, bar and coffee shop category in descending order = 7-14, hostel category in descending order = 15-23, pubs and discoteques = 24)	10 756	6.97	9.73	0	24

(Continues)



TABLE 3 (Continued)

Variable	Observations	Mean	Standard deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Area of destination					
Area of tourism growth [low expansion (Palma, Northwest of Mallorca, Pollença, Menorca and Es Plà, and Es Raiguer of Mallorca) = 0, high expansion (East and West Bay of Palma, Andratx, Ses Salines, Llevant, Felanitx, and Santany, Ibiza = 1)]	10 761	0.62	0.48	0	1
Tourism district (Palma = 1; West of Bay of Palma and Andratx = 2; East of Bay of Palma and Ses Salines = 3; Llevant, Felanitx, and Santanyi = 4; Northwest of Mallorca = 5; Alcúdia and Santa Margalida = 6; Pollença = 7; Ibiza = 8; Menorca = 9; Es Plà and Es Raiguer of Mallorca = 10)	10 761	3.03	2.09	1	10
Source district					
Share of households with an annual income under 40 000 pesetas (%)	4779	72.98	11.43	35.8	95.19
Illiteracy (%)	4779	11.14	5.13	1.71	21.18
Province (all Spanish provinces in alphabetical order = 1–50, Ceuta = 51, Melilla = 52, and foreign countries = 53)	10 623	17.15	14.08	1	53

Sources: Census of the Balearic Tourism Industry of 1969 and CPDES.

change.<sup>68</sup> As a result, approximately 1 million Spaniards started to work in tourism-related sectors or opened a tourism business often without any previous knowledge or preparation.<sup>69</sup>

High demand for low-skilled workers rapidly reduced unemployment in tourism destinations, producing labour shortages during the high season and a constant shortage of skilled labour. In this context, migration started to increase, with migrants being attracted by job opportunities and higher regional wages. Thus, rapid structural change and radical transformation of landscapes in leisure areas represented a horizon of opportunity for both natives and migrants. While in migrants' areas of origin, unemployment and stagnation predominated, in tourism areas full employment, chances of upward mobility, and comparatively higher wages were the norm. There was 'no promised land', but a context of opportunity.<sup>70</sup>

In the Balearic Islands, the area where tourism had a higher incidence in its economy, the capacity of the tourism industry skyrocketed from 112 to 1534 hotels and hostels, and from 6022 to 216 113 hotel beds. The increasing labour shortages quickly triggered intensive migration from

<sup>68</sup> Balaguer and Cantavella-Jordá, 'Tourism as a long-run economic growth factor'; Manera and Navinés, *La indústria invisible*.

<sup>69</sup> Pack, *Tourism and dictatorship*.

<sup>70</sup> García-Barrero, 'Birds of passage: circular migration'.



**TABLE 4** Main economic indicators of the tourism boom in the Balearics, 1955–73.

	1955	1959	1963	1967	1970	1973
Tourists (thousands)	188	321	677	1402	2271	3571
Hotel beds	6022	11 496	39 699	81 983	157 050	216 113
Hotels and hostels	112	215	697	11 089	1498	1534
Tourism workers	7215	17 190	24 342	38 550	57 304	59 405

Note: Tourism and tourism workers only refer to workers in restaurants, hospitality, and travel agencies. Annual average.

Sources: Spanish Populations Censuses, 1950–81; Annual National Accounts of Spain, 1955–73; Fundación BBVA, *Renta nacional*.

**TABLE 5** Main demographic indicators of the tourism boom in the Balearics, 1930–91.

	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1981	1991
Total population	365 512	407 497	422 089	439 465	532 947	655 945	709 138
Foreign born	3759	4422	4245	5876	6427	12 806	31 075
Total non-natives	16 429	31 049	37 791	57 215	114 857	165 323	214 272
Non-natives (%)	3.94	7.61	8.94	13.0	21.5	26.6	30.2

Sources: Spanish Populations Censuses, 1950–81; Annual National Accounts of Spain, 1955–73; Fundación BBVA, *Renta nacional*.

mainland Spain. Between 1950 and 1981 the Spanish non-native permanent population grew from 33 000 inhabitants to 150 000. In 1973 hospitality and construction workers accounted for 51.3 per cent of the provincial workforce during the summer season, with the hospitality sector amounting to a total of 37.5 per cent. As a result, the non-native population increased from 8.9 per cent to 26.6 per cent between 1950 and 1981 (tables 4 and 5).

The rapid and intense development of the labour market created a scenario that favoured occupational mobility as the industry continued increasing its size. Oral testimonies often remark on the rapid occupational upward mobility of workers in tourism occupations during this period.<sup>71</sup> The behaviour of the labour market was highly determined by the growing expansion of tourism-related economic activities. A mean of approximately 100 new hotels or hostels were built annually, expanding the number of new labour vacancies. The intense transformation of the tourism industry and its spillover effects on the provincial economy increased the competition for workers, especially those with specific human capital. In this context, average wages increased significantly in tourism-related services such as transport, travel agencies, or real estate and industries such as construction or metallurgy, leading to the mobility of locals to these sectors and exacerbating labour shortages.<sup>72</sup> In the case of the hospitality industry, the atomization of the business structure, characterized by the predominance of small, single-owner, firms, aggravated this pattern.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>71</sup> Heads of human resources from two Balearic hotel chains highlighted in interviews conducted in 1985 that, during the period 1959–73, ‘The labour careers are very fast: from working as a receptionist to becoming a manager, from assistant waiter to maître [...] During the whole period, there is an acute shortage of qualified personnel while the existing ones get bargaining power in the labour market [...] The origin of most hotel managers has been promotion [...] In the hospitality industry, the philosophy is: the person who has done an excellent job can move up and become a hotel manager [...] Generally speaking, this has been the case’. See *Homs*, *Cambios de cualificación*, pp. 9–47.

<sup>72</sup> *García-Barrero*, ‘Birds of passage: circular migration’.

<sup>73</sup> *García-Barrero and Manera*, ‘The management of labour recruitment’.



Although the rapid process of structural change opened a context of opportunity, migrants arriving in the Balearic Islands had to face important economic constraints posed by the characteristics of the economic process. Both willingness to return and difficulties in staying shaped and constrained transition from circular to permanent migration. As a result, migration to the archipelago was characterized by the large share of circular migrants, who comprised between 40 per cent and 50 per cent of total migration where most ended up establishing themselves permanently after years of circular migratory movement. According to the Census of the Balearic Tourism Industry of 1969, most circular migrants had accomplished between 2 and 4 years of migration by this year.

Indeed, for those willing to remain permanently in the Balearics, important difficulties arose. The combination of the fall in labour opportunities in winter and housing shortages made the social and labour assimilation of the migrants difficult. On the one hand, working in the construction sector became the main path for single male migrants and households to settle. Most construction projects were developed during the low season, generating a cyclical pattern with the tourism sector. In addition, wages in this sector could be higher than in most equivalent occupations in the hospitality industry.<sup>74</sup> Nonetheless, between 1955 and 1973, employment growth in the construction sector only reached 37.5 per cent of total employment growth in hospitality and restaurants.<sup>75</sup> On the other hand, the massive transformation of the tourism infrastructure and local uses of land in combination with the limited scope of the public housing initiatives of the dictatorship during the 1950s and early 1960s led to severe housing shortages. During the period, tourism destinations were among the areas with higher housing shortages in the country among migrant recipient areas.<sup>76</sup> As regional planners claimed in their reports to the provincial government, housing shortages were an additional element that complicated transitions from circular to permanent migration.

There are authentic problems when it comes to the immigration of nationals in our province where there exists a high labour shortage of skilled workers, mostly in activities related to the construction, ancillary industries and hospitality. Probably, more than half of the workers from mainland Spain and the Canary Islands are circular migrants between April and October, returning to their places of origin and facing severe accommodation problems. However, this problematic scenario becomes more critical when these migrants attempt to settle permanently in the province, due to the serious housing shortage.<sup>77</sup>

The institutional framework imposed by Franco's dictatorship also shaped their process of insertion into the host labour market and the whole society. Political and union association was illegal, and workers were obliged to belong to the sole union, *Organización Sindical Española*. Collective bargaining was under the control of the dictatorship. This implied that migrants had very limited scope to bargain for labour and housing demands through institutional means. During this period the dictatorship implemented a labour policy shaped by a very low minimum wage aimed to control wage growth. Furthermore, the regime did not adapt the labour legislation to the seasonality

<sup>74</sup> García-Barrero, 'Birds of passage: circular migration'.

<sup>75</sup> Own calculations using Fundación BBVA, *Renta nacional*.

<sup>76</sup> García-Barrero, 'Birds of passage: circular migration'.

<sup>77</sup> Ginard, *L'oposició antifranquista*, pp. 59–60. Author's translation from Spanish.



of the emergent tourism industry. Employers could not formulate permanent seasonal contracts that would imply that workers would be hired every year for the tourism season as in other seasonal industries. Furthermore, the legislation did not include other potential measures, such as subsidies to alleviate the effects of seasonal unemployment.<sup>78</sup> Consequently, ‘this [seasonal] gap was absorbed by the return [at the end of the high season] of some of these circular migrants to their places of origin and by the mobility of the rest to the construction sector’, stated regional social planners in 1974.<sup>79</sup>

Migrants were rewarded with considerably higher wages than those in the source areas. In these rural agrarian municipalities, seasonal unemployment and structural poverty were widespread. For instance, 55 per cent of workers in the sample from southern Spain migrated from source districts where the percentage of very-low-income households in 1962 was above 70 per cent of the total population. In addition, these migrants suffered significantly from the impact of the rural penalty, associated with the lack of access to basic public infrastructure such as running water supply and accessibility by road and education.<sup>80</sup>

However, migrants also returned as part of household–individual location preferences, where some were more prone to only migrate seasonally each year during the summer season. These migrants more often tended to migrate in groups, the so-called *cuadrillas*, than non-seasonal migrants. Returning migrants were more likely to come from areas where monopsonistic effects on local land and labour markets were lower. More specifically, those who returned to the archipelago as circular migrants mostly came from rural towns whose main crop was olives, a key advantage of which is winter harvesting, complementary with the tourist summer season. Moreover, these areas were characterized by lower land inequality than the rest of southern Spain. As a result, these migrants found in their source regions higher investment and seasonal job opportunities than other groups of migrants. These two factors gave migrants a strong incentive to see their time in their host society as temporary.<sup>81</sup>

Additionally, the high degree of labour scarcity and its subsequent labour costs motivated employers to establish channels of seasonal migration by implementing recruitment at origin to alleviate the cost of hiring and the difficulties of settling a large workforce.<sup>82</sup> This migratory path could mean no previous or reliable information about the host society and its labour market, giving employers a higher level of control over their recruited employees. As a contemporary expert on the tourism industry declared in 1973, ‘It is frequent – as was explained by someone very important in the tourism industry of Mallorca – the trips to Extremadura, Andalusia and Castille to recruit girls and boys’.<sup>83</sup>

#### IV | WHO ADVANCES IN THE LOW-WAGE LABOUR MARKET?

Given these factors which posed differential and heterogenous capacity to take advantage of the process of structural change, in this section, I am going to analyse the factors that shaped income

<sup>78</sup> García-Barrero, ‘La génesis del mercado’.

<sup>79</sup> Sindicats, 392b, Archive of the Kingdom of Mallorca.

<sup>80</sup> Recaño, ‘Depopulation 1.0’.

<sup>81</sup> García-Barrero, ‘Birds of passage: circular migration’.

<sup>82</sup> García-Barrero and Manera, ‘The management of labour recruitment’.

<sup>83</sup> Díaz-Plaja, *El turismo ¿un falso “boom”?*.



**TABLE 6** Labour market attainment and social networks among workers in the Balearic tourism industry, 1969.

	Average			Percentage			
	Wage in 1973 (pesetas)	Experience (years)	Tenure (years)	Relatives at a firm level	Existing network in 1960	Foreign language	Supervisors and heads of department
Balearic Islands	9904	6.6	3.2	–	–	23.19	13.6
Andalusia	7418	2.7	1.0	26.5	12.3	5.27	2.2
Southeast	7722	3.5	1.3	30.7	33.8	5.72	2.3
Northwest	7714	3.4	1.0	13.5	0	8.39	3.6
Catalonia	10 206	6.9	2.2	5.4	20.6	30.77	14.7
Rest of Spain	8104	3.7	1.3	16.3	6.5	10.12	5.5
Foreign-born	10 830	5.5	2.1	–	–	82.77	16.1

*Note:* 'Experience' shows the average years of labour experience in the tourism sector. 'Existing network in 1960' shows the percentage of workers in the sample living in a municipality where there were more than five inhabitants from the same municipality of origin in 1960. 'Relatives at a firm level' comprises the percentage of workers who share the same surname and the same municipality of origin with at least one coworker.

*Sources:* Census of the Balearic Tourism Industry of 1969.

growth. As table 6 shows, the different origin groups registered significantly different levels of labour market attainment. Foreign migrants, natives, and Catalans achieved higher wages and most management positions. Similarly, these groups accumulated higher human capital through foreign language proficiency or years of labour experience. Migrants from southern Spain and the northwest had registered lower labour market attainment. Within this group, those from the southeast had higher chances of relying on migrant networks.

Under this context, this section is going to analyse the factors that shaped these patterns. To do so, I study differences between groups of migrants and natives, taking into account the main drivers of wage growth. I implement ordinary least squares (OLS) regressions using the individual wage in logarithms imputed to all the individuals in the main micro-dataset. I include cohort, firm, and area variables of control. It is important to recall that the key cohort variables of control included are years of labour experience in the sector and whether the worker was registered as working in 1967 in another province of Spain.

Table 7 shows the results of this exercise in three columns. The first column shows all individuals without including cohort, firm, and source, and host area fixed effects. The second column uses the same data but includes cohort, firm, and source area fixed effects, which considerably reduces the number of observations due to unreported data in some individual registers. In the third column, I repeat the previous exercise, restricting observations to those who had accumulated more than 3 years of labour experience in the sector by the year 1969. For dichotomous variables, the value of the variable changes when it moves from 0 to 1. When it comes to continuous variables, the value of the variable is computed when the variable increases by one unit.

The results indicate that the main explanatory factors of wage growth were primarily based on gender discrimination and human capital accumulation. Women were segregated to cleaning tasks associated with the reproductive economy, with limited scope for achieving upward mobility. It is important to remark that gender penalization increased with the accumulation of years of experience. While being a woman meant on average 13 per cent lower wages in comparison to

**TABLE 7** OLS model of labour market attainment for workers in the Balearic tourism industry in 1969.

	(1)	(2)	(3) 3+ years of labour experience
<b>Socio-demographic variables</b>			
Age	0.001*** (0.000)	-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.002*** (0.000)
Urban (rural)	0.046*** (0.006)	0.062*** (0.010)	0.051*** (0.015)
Women (men)	-0.135*** (0.006)	-0.137*** (0.010)	-0.191*** (0.019)
Single (married)	-	-0.075*** (0.010)	-0.099*** (0.017)
Widowed (married)	-	-0.077*** (0.028)	-0.075* (0.043)
<b>Occupational and human capital variables</b>			
Illiterate (literate)	-0.088** (0.034)	-0.045 (0.049)	-0.069 (0.110)
Foreign language (no foreign language)	0.132*** (0.009)	0.101*** (0.012)	0.050*** (0.017)
Tenure	-	0.005*** (0.001)	0.004** (0.001)
Labour experience	-	0.009*** (0.000)	0.008*** (0.001)
Fixed-term contract (temporary)	-	0.126*** (0.012)	0.084*** (0.017)
Working in a formal job in mainland Spain in 1967	-	-0.0213 (0.014)	-0.003 (0.026)
Firm size ( <i>log</i> )	-	0.049*** (0.009)	0.142*** (0.016)
<b>Place of birth (native)</b>			
Andalusia	-0.165*** (0.008)	-0.103*** (0.012)	-0.097*** (0.023)
Southeast	-0.143*** (0.009)	-0.083*** (0.015)	-0.063** (0.026)
Northwest	-0.133*** (0.012)	-0.066*** (0.019)	-0.035 (0.033)
Catalonia	0.00223 (0.019)	0.0173 (0.026)	0.079** (0.038)
Rest of Spain	-0.124*** (0.010)	-0.088*** (0.015)	-0.072*** (0.027)
Foreign born	-0.002 (0.017)	0.120*** (0.026)	0.091** (0.042)

(Continues)



TABLE 7 (Continued)

	(1)	(2)	(3) 3+ years of labour experience
Observations	9528	4396	2104
Firm	N	Y	Y
Cohort	N	Y	Y
R <sup>2</sup>	0.183	0.302	0.236

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses. Apprentices and bellboys are excluded. 'Firm effects' includes firm size and the number of workers in each firm, 'Cohort effects' comprises years of labour experience and a binary variable that registers if the migrant was working in mainland Spain in 1967. Potential multicollinearity was tested using variance inflation factor. All variables registered values below 2. Abbreviations: Y, yes; N, no.

Source: Census of the Balearic Tourism Industry of 1969.

\*\*\* $p < 0.01$ . \*\* $p < 0.05$ . \* $p < 0.1$ .

men, this disadvantage increased to almost 20 per cent among women who had accumulated more than 3 years of experience.

Furthermore, results show that having both general and host-specific human capital was a key driver of wage growth. Thus, host-specific human capital such as foreign language proficiency was associated with an average of 10 per cent higher wages. In addition, general human capital such as coming from an urban area, literacy, and getting a permanent contract, as a reward for skill and tenure, were significant factors that explain higher earnings among workers. However, among those who had lower skill levels, accumulating labour experience and acquiring human capital by learning by doing was another mechanism to achieve upward mobility.<sup>84</sup> One additional year of labour experience was rewarded with 0.9 per cent higher wages while increasing tenure by 0.5 per cent. Thus, by accumulating both factors, a low-skilled migrant could achieve a 15 per cent log wage increase after 10 years in the same firm. If, in this process, the worker had been rewarded with a fixed-term contract and acquired host-specific human capital, the wage increase would reach up to 30 per cent.

Taking these factors into account, we see that the native–migrant income gap oscillated widely. However, among the biggest groups, the gap was large, reaching a 10 per cent lower wage in some cases. Migrants from Andalusia, the southeast, the northwest and the rest of Spain, where those from Extremadura were the most important group, registered a substantial income gap with natives. The characteristics of the areas of origin could have a significant role in shaping the pool of migrants of each region. Migrants from southern and northwest Spain could be penalized by coming from rural areas, where human capital accumulation was lower and where unemployment and seasonal agrarian activities were predominant. Moreover, they could have had a comparative disadvantage with natives in terms of host-specific information and social capital.

In contrast, other groups of migrants who came from Catalonia and foreign countries registered higher wages than natives. These migrants could be different from those from the mentioned regions. They came from urban and dynamic industrialized regions and, therefore, had considerably higher costs of opportunity when migrated. Thus, Catalans could find migration to tourism destinations as an opportunity to take advantage of their differential human and social capital and access to high-income occupations in a growing industry with lower worker competition.

<sup>84</sup> 'The staff, from the director to the bellboy, have learned their skills through experience as a part of their working time in the firm' remarked heads of human resources. See [Homs](#), *Cambios de cualificación*, p. 80.





The cultural similarity with natives, such as sharing the same mother language, could be an additional advantage. Similarly, but to a greater extent, foreign-born workers achieved very good occupational insertion, as they mostly enjoyed holding social and human capital advantages in an industry oriented to international tourists.

## V | THE IMPACT OF CIRCULAR MIGRATION ON MIGRANT OUTCOMES

The persistence of the native–migrant income gap among migrants from southern Spain, after taking into account numerous human and social capital variables, suggests that other variables need to be considered to explain income differences during the period. One potential explanatory factor could be the temporariness of the migration. Following the aforementioned literature, this could be an unobserved source of income heterogeneity. As was previously explained, most migrants from southern Spain faced considerable constraints in permanently establishing themselves as well as incentives to return to their places of origin. Additionally, firms recruited some of these circular migrants at their municipality of origin. As a result, they could have had lower incentives and chances to accumulate host-specific human and social capital and a higher propensity to accept very low-income jobs. Thus, the prominent role of circular migrations may have played a crucial role in shaping the differential earnings profiles indicated above, once the human capital differential is taken into account.

To test these assumptions, I used a double approach. Firstly, in tables 8 and 9 I analysed whether circular migrants experienced less wage growth than other migrants from the same source areas and with similar characteristics. Secondly, table 10 follows table 1 to examine the impact of the constraints that those keeping a circular path could experience in their accumulation of host-specific human and social capital.

Table 8 shows the baseline regressions by regressing the individual wage in logarithms taking into account whether a male migrant from the rest of Spain is circular or permanent. I use two different categories of circular migrants – ‘non-resident’ and ‘circular’. ‘Non-resident’ includes two typologies of circular migrants. The first is those migrants whose employer was interviewed during the summer season and who received accommodation from the company. For this group, we do not know whether the migrants ultimately returned home at the end of the season. The second is those migrants whose employer was interviewed after the summer season and reported that their worker was living at a non-Balearic address. These are the migrants we know went back home. ‘Circular’, however, only comprises this second group, those who returned home at the end of the high season. Columns 1 and 4 include all migrants without controlling by years of experience to increase the representativeness of the sample. Columns 2–3 and 5–6 do include years of experience as a control variable. I include additional variables of control to increase the robustness of the cohort effects. First, by using a binary variable that shows whether the migrant was working in mainland Spain in 1967, we have better cohort differentiation, and we can take into account possible negative self-selection of migrants who have accumulated experience in other tourism destinations. Second, in columns 4–6, I linked the dataset to municipal censuses from data collected on 12 coastal tourism municipalities to differentiate those who were already established in 1960 and those who were not.

Table 9 corroborates the results by using a more in-depth analysis that exclusively takes into account migrants from southern Spain and includes women. These are the groups of origin that registered significantly lower wages than natives once accounted by the multiple demographic,



socio-occupational, and human capital variables in table 7. Besides, migrant women migrated disproportionately from these regions, representing the majority of women in the labour market. To this end, I employed new control variables. As I do not have more precise data on individual human capital, income, and wealth, I included dummies for the share of poor households and literacy in the district of origin to control for unobserved effects associated with the socio-economic position in the source regions. As permanent migrants could find assistance in terms of housing and information from migrant networks, columns 6 and 7 also incorporate the number of relatives already established in the same tourism area of the workplace of the migrant in 1960 and still living by 1965.

Results in tables 8 and 9 show that circular migrants had substantially lower wages than equivalent migrants from the same source areas. Moreover, it suggests that this penalization would increase as circular years accumulated. They show that circular migrants registered between 3 per cent and 6 per cent lower wages than permanent migrants. Similarly, column 2 of table 9 includes years of experience and firm category of the workplace of the migrant, suggesting that circular migrants clustered more in lower-paid occupations than settled migrants, indicating a lower reservation wage. Thus, as far as their location preferences are associated with returning, this migrant would accept lower-paid jobs in comparison with a migrant intending to stay.

Nonetheless, years of circular migration increase the income differential with a migrant that decided to establish themselves permanently at some point earlier in this time. This analysis shows that male circular migrants who have accomplished more than two years of labour experienced significantly lower wage growth. More specifically, migrants who persisted in being circular were penalized from 11 per cent to 15 per cent in the case of the category of circular and 6 per cent when we consider the category of non-residents. Importantly, circular women were also penalized, as can be seen in columns 4 and 7 of table 9. However, given that women of any kind registered very low wage growth in comparison with men, as was shown above, due to gender discrimination, the income penalization was between 3 per cent and 5 per cent.

These results suggest that the incentives to return and/or the constraints to move from circular to permanent had a considerable impact on the economic assimilation of migrants in the host society. Since circular migration of between 2 and 4 years was a common trajectory for most migrants during the period, these results show that the temporary nature of migration had a strong impact on migrants' chances of upward mobility in the Balearic Islands. These results on circular migrants are consistent with recent evidence that highlights the lower incentives and chances to acquire human and social capital of temporary migrants in comparison with permanent migrants, particularly when they are host-specific.<sup>85</sup> In this regard, table 7 already suggested that host-specific human capital such as foreign language proficiency and learning by doing was particularly important in this labour market.

According to table 1, circular migrants could be additionally penalized if other host-specific factors were important to achieve upward mobility both in terms of human and social capital accumulation. One key factor could be the level of information about the host labour market. According to contemporary analysts, in the Balearics, the areas of higher tourism growth were those registering higher labour shortages and wages.<sup>86</sup> Moreover, from a social and human capital perspective, establishing networks with other migrants and natives can be important as a source of human capital and assistance in terms of reducing the costs of finding a job and being

<sup>85</sup> Chabé-Ferret, Machado, and Wahba, 'Remigration intentions and migrants' behavior'; Adda, Dustmann, and Görlach, 'The dynamics of return migration'.

<sup>86</sup> 'La formación profesional en la Hostelería balear: Problemas – Soluciones' in *Economía Balear*, December 1970.



**TABLE 8** Direct effects of the temporariness of migration on migrant outcomes – Spanish migrants (OLS).

	Non-linked in 1960			Linked in 1960		
	(1) Men	(2) Men with 1+ years of labour experience	(3) Men with 2+ years of labour experience	(4) Men	(5) Men with 1+ years of labour experience	(6) Men with 2+ years of labour experience
Non-resident (resident)	-0.029*** (0.009)	-0.036* (0.018)	-0.037* (0.022)	-0.039*** (0.013)	-0.054* (0.029)	-0.057 (0.037)
Observations	3802	1303	1023	1805	443	324
R <sup>2</sup>	0.077	0.136	0.111	0.062	0.169	0.145
Circular(permanent)	-0.045*** (0.017)	-0.076*** (0.025)	-0.079** (0.031)	-0.067*** (0.022)	-0.107*** (0.034)	-0.111** (0.043)
Observations	2446	1030	823	1055	354	265
R <sup>2</sup>	0.091	0.144	0.113	0.078	0.194	0.159
Firm	N	N	N	N	N	N
Category	N	N	N	N	N	N
Cohort	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Province	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

*Note:* Robust standard errors in parentheses. Apprentices and bellboys are excluded. All Spanish migrants in the sample. 'Firm' includes firm size and the number of workers in each firm. 'Non-resident' corresponds to those receiving accommodation or showing a non-Balearic address, with at least one year of labour experience. 'Circular' refers to migrants reporting a non-Balearic address with at least one year's labour experience. 'Category' corresponds to fixed controls on the specific typology of the worker's firm. 'Province' includes the province of origin of the migrant. Potential multicollinearity was tested using variance inflation factor. All predictive variables registered values below 2. Abbreviations: N, no; Y, yes.

*Sources:* Census of the Balearic Tourism Industry of 1969.

\*\*\* $p < 0.01$ . \*\* $p < 0.05$ . \* $p < 0.1$ .



**TABLE 9** Direct effects of the temporariness of migration on migrant outcomes – southern Spain (OLS).

	Non-linked in 1960			Linked in 1960			
	(1) Men	(2) Men	(3) Men with 2+ years of labour experience	(4) Women with 2+ years of labour experience	(5) Men	(6) Men with 2+ years of labour experience	(7) Women with 2+ years of labour experience
Non-resident (resident)	-0.035*** (0.011)	-0.026* (0.015)	-0.066** (0.026)	-0.026* (0.015)	-0.034** (0.014)	-0.063* (0.036)	-0.036** (0.017)
Observations	2680	1440	681	298	1325	316	123
R <sup>2</sup>	0.053	0.168	0.160	0.166	0.065	0.216	0.628
Circular (permanent)	-0.047** (0.019)	-0.062*** (0.022)	-0.114*** (0.037)	-0.035* (0.020)	-0.067*** (0.025)	-0.151*** (0.053)	-0.050** (0.019)
Observations	1735	1088	547	242	790	188	109
R <sup>2</sup>	0.066	0.194	0.155	0.176	0.091	0.267	0.606
Firm	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Category	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Cohort	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Origin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Network	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y

*Note:* Robust standard errors in parentheses. Apprentices and bellboys are excluded. Migrants from Andalusia, the southeast, and the rest of Castilla-La Mancha and Extremadura. 'Firm' includes firm size and the number of workers in each firm. 'Non-resident' corresponds to those receiving accommodation or showing a non-Balearic address, with at least one year of labour experience. 'Circular' refers to migrants reporting a non-Balearic address with at least one year's labour experience. 'Category' corresponds to fixed controls on the specific typology of the worker's firm. 'Origin' includes the province or origin of the migrant and the socio-economic characteristics of the source district. 'Network' refers to the number of relatives in the host area. Potential multicollinearity was tested using variance inflation factor. All predictive variables registered values below 2. Abbreviation: N, no; Y, yes.

*Sources:* Census of the Balearic Tourism Industry of 1969.

\*\*\* $p < 0.01$ . \*\* $p < 0.05$ . \* $p < 0.1$ .



rewarded with better job opportunities.<sup>87</sup> Circular migrants used to migrate in groups, the so-called *cuadrillas*, which could favour concentrations at a firm and district level of migrants from the same origin with similar host-specific skills and information, where the incentives to create networks outside the relatives could be lower. The recruitment at origin by the employers of workers from specific municipalities of rural mainland Spain could exert an additional effect on incentives and levels of information among these recruited workers. In this regard, segregation would lead to lower human capital accumulation and lower access to job opportunities outside the enclave,<sup>88</sup> particularly when social capital becomes an influential factor in the decision of employers.

To capture these effects, in table 10 I used three new variables. Firstly, I utilized a binary variable that differentiates whether the area where the migrant is working registered intense tourism growth during the period or did not. Secondly, 'relatives at a firm-level' attempts to analyse the effect of social segregation by using the log number of migrants from the same municipality of origin at a firm level. Lastly, to find evidence of the importance of social capital in terms of wage growth, I include a dummy variable that compares when the supervisor of the workplace was born in mainland Spain or a foreign country in comparison to when they were born in the Balearic Islands. It is important to note the difference between 'relatives at a firm level' and 'supervisor born in mainland Spain' or 'supervisor born in a foreign country'. Following table 1, the former refers to 'migrant enclaves', focusing on the concentration of migrants from the same municipality of origin, while the latter looks at the relationship between the migrant and other groups of migrants and natives. For example, if migrants are more likely to find better job opportunities in firms run by other migrants than by natives, the results would show the crucial role of social networks in the labour market. To control for other heterogeneous effects, all results are linked with municipal census data and also take into account the area of the firm and its specific firm category.

The results suggest that circular migrants could be penalized by these aforementioned factors. Wage differentials were significant between tourism areas, representing in some cases up to 6 per cent and 10 per cent high-income growth by moving to areas with better job opportunities. Information about these opportunities was less available and could be less interesting to those unsuccessful in becoming permanent or willing to maintain a circular path – and in some cases recruited at their municipality. However, results show that, even if they wanted to stay, social segregation was correlated with lower wages. Columns 2 and 4 suggest that one log increase in the number of relatives at a firm level would reduce wages between 4 per cent and 8 per cent. Lastly, the substantial role of social capital in the process of recruitment for well-paid jobs could also affect circular migrants in that being circular and segregated reduced incentives and chances to build it. Columns 3 and 4 suggest that the place of birth of the supervisor was significant to access well-paid occupations. Working for a supervisor born in mainland Spain meant 4 to 5 per cent higher wages in comparison to a native supervisor. Therefore, these outcomes indicate that the capacity to build networks with other groups of migrants and natives was a significant driver of income growth.

<sup>87</sup> We also have documental evidence about the important role of social capital and ethnicity in the process of recruitment and promotion. For example, workers from the Costa Tropical, Granada, used to complain about favouritism on north European workers in hotels managed by employers from these countries. See *Actas de la Junta Económica del Sindicato Provincial de Hostelería y similares L-5505*. Granada Provincial Historical Archive.

<sup>88</sup> Eriksson, 'Ethnic enclaves'.

**TABLE 10** Indirect effects of the temporariness of migration on migrant outcomes.

	(1) All	(2) Men	(3) All	(4) All
Area of tourism expansion (low expansion)	0.057*** (0.015)	0.100*** (0.026)	–	0.609*** (0.224)
Relatives at a firm level ( <i>log</i> )	–	–0.080*** (0.027)	–	–0.040* (0.023)
Supervisor born in mainland Spain (native)	–	–	0.054** (0.027)	0.041 (0.028)
Supervisor born in a foreign country (native)	–	–	–0.009 (0.024)	–0.020 (0.025)
Tourism district	Y	Y	Y	Y
Firm	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cohort	Y	Y	Y	Y
Category	Y	Y	Y	Y
Province	Y	Y	Y	Y
Observations	1854	1005	1455	1365
$R^2$	0.207	0.210	0.217	0.226

*Note:* Permanent and circular migrants (OLS). Robust standard errors in parentheses. Apprentices and bellboys are excluded. Migrants from Andalusia, southeast Spain, northwest Spain, and the rest of Castilla-La Mancha and Extremadura. Includes temporary and permanent migrants from these regions. ‘Category’ corresponds to fixed controls on the specific typology of the worker’s firm. ‘Province’ includes the province or origin of the migrant. ‘Firm’ includes the size and the number of workers in the firm’s payroll. Potential multicollinearity was tested using variance inflation factor. All predictive variables registered values below 2. Abbreviations: Y, yes; N, no.

*Sources:* Census of the Balearic Tourism Industry of 1969.

\*\*\* $p < 0.01$ . \*\* $p < 0.05$ . \* $p < 0.1$ .

## VI | CONCLUSION

Circular migration has been one of the factors that shaped internal and international migration in Spain across the twentieth century. This paper has attempted to study the impact of this typology of migratory movements in the processes of assimilation. To do so, I focus on one of the most characteristic scenarios associated with internal circular migration in Spain – the process of labour market formation during the Spanish tourism boom. The main results show that the low level of income assimilation of the main groups of migrants cannot solely be attributed to human and social capital differentials. Instead, this paper shows that the temporariness of migrations, which became a differential and predominant factor, constrained the ratio of income growth.

The Spanish tourism boom represented an intense process of rapid social mobility. However, under the institutional framework established by the dictatorship, I find that not all groups could take advantage of this dynamic at the same level. Results suggest that male natives, some groups of north urban Spanish migrants, and foreign workers achieved considerable income growth during the period. By contrast, women and migrants from rural southern Spain achieved significantly lower improvement. On the one hand, women were penalized for having in the main access to low-income jobs with very limited occupational ladders. On the other hand, rural southern migrants could achieve higher earnings by accumulating years of experience and by learning by doing to acquire host-specific human capital, such as foreign language proficiency, which was a





key driver of income growth. Nonetheless, in comparison with other groups, the achievement of these migrants was particularly low, even when we take into account human capital differentials.

This paper suggests that a significant share of the native–migrant income gap can be attributed to the temporariness of migration. Circular migrants registered substantially lower wages in comparison to permanent migrants with similar characteristics. More importantly, as years in the host labour market increased, the penalization of this migratory path was incrementally higher. Moreover, given that this study does not cover migrants who have not managed to return to the Balearic Islands and the mobility of permanent migrants to other sectors of the economy, the circular–permanent income gap could be even greater.

Previous research has shown that circular migration was related to occupational and investment factors that increased the willingness of migrants to return to their areas of origin each year. However, in other cases, migrants had to return due to the impact of the seasonality of labour, housing shortages, and inadequate labour regulation. These factors shaped the behaviour of the migrants and their capability to achieve labour market attainment. Circular migrants were different from permanent counterparts in terms of job selection, incentives to acquire host-specific human and social capital, and the levels of access to these factors.

However, in comparison with permanent migrants, the very short-term stay of circular migrants also implied a lower capacity to build networks and acquire key knowledge about the host society. In this regard, the tendency to be segregated and the characteristics of labour recruitment, often associated with recruitment at origin by the firms, made the formation of networks with other groups of migrants and natives more difficult, having a negative impact on human and social capital acquisition. Thus, migrants able to establish permanently sooner were more able to achieve labour market attainment in the host society.

This paper contributes to three historical and economic debates. Firstly, it offers an additional explanatory factor to understand migrant–native income gaps during the twentieth century in Spain. Given that circular migration and short-term temporary migration from southern Spain have been a significant share of total rural–urban migratory flows, these results could help to explain differential levels of social mobility in recipient areas. For example, some studies have shown lower social mobility for migrants from southern Spain during the first part of the twentieth century in Barcelona and the mid-twentieth century in Madrid.<sup>89</sup> As circular migration has been a significant component of most internal migratory flows through Spanish contemporary history, taking into consideration the differential effects of these migratory flows could help to explain distinct levels of reservation wages at arrival and labour trajectories in the host region.

Secondly, these results add evidence to the growing literature on temporary migrations in two ways. This paper presents some evidence that stresses the importance of considering the intended length of stay when analysing earnings profiles in the processes of migrant assimilation.<sup>90</sup> It also contributes to the state of the art in this field by providing new insights into the impact of circular internal migrations, an area that has been little explored in the literature.<sup>91</sup> In this regard, this paper has suggested that circular migrations could have a differential impact on migrants' economic assimilation, given that both the intended length of stay and the characteristics of its socio-economic insertion into the host society differ considerably from other temporary migrations.

<sup>89</sup> *Silvestre, Ayuda, and Pinilla*, 'The occupational attainment'; *Silvestre*, 'The occupational mobility'.

<sup>90</sup> *Dustmann and Görlach*, 'The economics of temporary migrations'; *Chabé-Ferret, Machado, and Wahba*, 'Remigration intentions and migrants' behavior'; *Adda, Dustmann, and Görlach*, 'The dynamics of return migration'.

<sup>91</sup> *Constant, Nottmeyer, and Zimmermann*, 'The economics of circular migrations'.



Thirdly, this paper also proposes some lines of investigation in terms of migration policy. Previous research has suggested that key influential factors in the decision to re-migrate during the Spanish tourism boom were the seasonality of the labour demand, housing shortages, lack of an adequate institutional framework, and the low capacity to rely on social networks.<sup>92</sup> Therefore, the evidence on internal migrations presented here is in line with recent papers devoted to the study of international migrants<sup>93</sup> that argue that, in societies where circular migration plays a significant role in migrant assimilation, improving housing affordability and lowering seasonality in the host local labour markets could enhance migrants' transition from circular to permanent as well as labour market outcomes and social integration in host societies.

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## DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

The main micro-data used in this article were collected from archival work at Archivo General de la Administración and manually digitized (Archivo General de la Administración. Sindicatos, Sindicato Nacional de Hostelería, box 62). Complementary micro-data related to social networks come from archival work at municipality registers. Since both sources reveal individual private information, they cannot be shared publicly due to the Spanish Organic Law on Protection of Personal Data and Guarantee of Digital Rights of 2018.

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<sup>92</sup> García-Barrero, 'Birds of passage: circular migration'.

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