



UNIVERSITAT<sup>DE</sup>  
BARCELONA

## **Birds of passage: circular migration and tourism development in Spain, 1955-1973**

José Antonio García-Barrero



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Interuniversity PhD program in Economic  
History (UB-UV-UC3M)

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Birds of passage: circular migration  
and tourism development in Spain,  
1955-1973

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José Antonio García-Barrero

Supervisors:

Dr. Montserrat Llonch Casanovas

Dr. Carles Manera Erbina

Tutor:

Dr. Jordi Catalan Vidal



UNIVERSITAT DE  
BARCELONA

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Facultat d'Economia  
i Empresa

*A mis padres, Juan y Francisca, por cuidarme y ampararme, por hacer que este camino sea posible.*

“Dins els límits de l'espai i del temps, l'ànima del l'home anhela llibertat. Som aquí, en aquest vast univers, i no sabem què som, i no sabem què és l'univers. D'aquí ve la pregària de l'home per la llum, la seva perpètua lluita per aprendre una mica més durant els dies del seu pelegrinatge, i el seu esforç per anar transmetent la torxa de les seves visions de generació en generació.”

– *Llànties de foc*, Joan Mascaró Fornés

“El terremoto ciega muchos pozos y provoca mucho desfallecimiento: y también saca a luz energías y secretos ocultos. En el terremoto de antiguos pueblos emergen nuevos manantiales.”

– *Así habló Zaratustra*, Friedrich Nietzsche

"Y en todas partes he visto  
gentes que danzan o juegan,  
cuando pueden, y laboran  
sus cuatro palmos de tierra.

Nunca, si llegan a un sitio,  
preguntan a dónde llegan.  
Cuando caminan, cabalgan  
a lomos de mula vieja,

y no conocen la prisa  
ni aun en los días de fiesta.  
Donde hay vino, beben vino;  
donde no hay vino, agua fresca.

Son buenas gentes que viven,  
laboran, pasan y sueñan,  
y en un día como tantos,  
descansan bajo la tierra."

– *Soledades*, Antonio Machado

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# List of Abbreviations

AGA	Archivo General de la Administración
AHRM	Arxiu Històric del Regne de Mallorca
AHPG	Archivo Histórico Provincial de Granada
CCOO	Confederación Sindical de Comisiones Obreras
CPDES	Comisaría del Plan de Desarrollo Económico y Social
INE	Instituto Nacional de Estadística
OCDE	Organización por la Cooperación y el Desarrollo Económico
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
ONU	Organización de las Naciones Unidas
UN	United Nations

# Abstract

Circular migrations have played an important role in multiple migratory episodes in the past and present. They have also increasingly been a source of interest for political institutions. Based on the Triple Win theory, governments and other public and private institutions perceive these migrations as a way to alleviate labour shortages, brain drain and fight against illegal migration. However, the differential impact of these migrations in source and host societies is a factor sometimes neglected, despite being potentially important for our understanding of a variety of key social and economic indicators.

This thesis analyses circular migrations in Spain during the rural exodus, 1955-1973. To do so it focuses on a key scenario of internal migration during this period, intimately related to this typology of migratory flows: the formation of the tourism labour market in Spain, with particular attention to the main tourist region, the Balearic Islands. The Spanish tourism boom is characterised by an intense process of structural change with crucial socio-economic ramifications in the short and long term, shaping the economic specialisation of the Spanish economy and some of the characteristics of its labour market. The process of labour market formation in this sector was based on intense migrant assimilation shaped by circular migratory flows, which in the mid-XX was a notable and distinctive component of international and internal population mobility in comparison with other European countries. Thus, the study of this historical episode addresses the relationship between the persistence of circular internal migrations in Spain and the development of the tourism industry, labour market inequality, migrants' location choices and their levels of social mobility during the period.

The study of circular migrations and tourism employment both in the past and present involves significant methodological obstacles, given the scarcity of sources and methods appropriate for the distinctive features of this phenomenon. To overcome them, one contribution of this thesis is an array of novel micro and macro quantitative and qualitative sources from archival work in combination with methodological and conceptual innovations akin to recent studies such as that of Dustmann and Görlach (2016). The present study integrates both empirical quantitative and qualitative approaches to respond to two sets of guiding questions. Firstly, the process of labour market formation is studied to explore the role and impact of circular migration on the model of industrial relations and levels of labour market inequality in the host regions.

Secondly, from this analysis, three main questions arise that are answered in the following chapters: Did circular migration play a significant role in fostering firm expansion? Why did some households from southern Spain decide to migrate to tourist regions and persist in migrating circularly over several years? Did the temporariness of the migration significantly explain the differential levels of social mobility?

A key result of this work is that the development of tourism in this period implied the formation of a new labour market, where both intra and interregional circular migration became crucial for the level of growth recorded. The short-term impact of this migration was in accordance with most of the assumptions of the Triple Win Model: circular migrants helped the expansion of firms which benefited the social mobility of locals and long-term migrants in the hospitality and tourism-related economy, and circular migrants found in the tourism regions abundant seasonal jobs with lower comparative human capital requirements than other destinations and better wages than in their place of origin. However, this pattern of tourism development also meant a higher level of labour inequality and significant constraints for future economic and socio-ecological adaptation.

The temporariness was an important factor to understand these results. The author's interpretation concludes that most circular migratory movements were the result of voluntary and non-voluntary returns. While voluntary returns were shaped by the differential capacity of capital accumulation and investment in the areas of origin and destination, most persisted in circular migration because of housing shortages, lack of migratory networks, seasonal labour demand and an inadequate labour regulatory framework. In this context, the empirical results suggest that circular migrants had lower incentives and capacity to acquire host-specific human and social capital, key drivers of occupational upgrading. As the years of circular migration increased the income differential between these migrants and natives and similar but permanent migrants grew higher. As a result, the tourism development under this model of development and institutional framework produced social and economic inequality in the host societies and difficulties in achieving social cohesion in the mid-term. These results highlight the crucial role of public policies that pay attention to the differential nature of circular migrations, particularly regarding housing and employment policies.



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dirección de Montserrat Llonch, me sentí respaldado por el apoyo de otros investigadores e investigadoras de esta universidad. El Centre d'Estudis Demogràfics y la Asociación Española de Demografía Histórica me dieron la oportunidad de participar en el curso de Métodos de investigación en Demografía Histórica. En este curso pude aprender herramientas clave para el desarrollo de mi investigación y también tuve la fortuna de conocer a una gran red de historiadores, demógrafos y geógrafos en un ambiente personal e intelectual extraordinario. Me gustaría agradecer especialmente la cercanía y amistad de David Martínez López con quien nuestro aprecio por la cultura e interés compartido por la historia de la agricultura y las migraciones de la Andalucía rural nos conectó enseguida. Además, en la UAB también pude conocer a Albert Recio quien me abrió las puertas de su casa y me sugirió multitud de ideas. Joan Cals también me dedicó comentarios propios de la visión aventajada de quien analizó como contemporáneo el marco histórico de este estudio. Las reuniones con Jordi Maluquer de Motes, Pedro Fatjó y Miguel Sánchez Díaz fueron también valiosas.

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Esta tesis doctoral también ha sido un proceso de introspección en el que la documentación, los testimonios, los viajes a los archivos y las reflexiones embriagaban mis pensamientos, a la vez que permitían encontrarme y reencontrarme con mis raíces profundamente machadianas. Parte de todo ello lo pude vivir con mi abuela Josefa, ojos vivos de las migraciones temporeras, Guerra Civil, la posguerra y el éxodo desde la Sevilla rural con quien pude compartir sus últimos años mientras escribía esta tesis. Este trabajo va dedicado a tantos y tantas como ella, que dejaron o dejan su tierra en la búsqueda de caminos de felicidad, y a tantos y tantas que, desde las encrucijadas de caminos, acogieron y acogen a los que llegan en busca de un nuevo destino.

# Introducción

“The phenomenon of migration cannot be understood by treating workers like shirts [...] the critical factors governing the migration process are the social forces that differentiate the market for men from the market for shirts, and it is those social forces that the analytical apparatus must bring to the fore”.

-*Birds of Passage: Migrant Labor and Industrial Societies*, Michael Piore.

## 1. Las migraciones temporeras

Las últimas dos décadas han presenciado un renovado interés por las migraciones circulares o temporeras desde el ámbito económico y político. Diferentes autoridades a nivel regional e internacional como la Comisión Europea, la Organización Internacional para las Migraciones, el Banco Mundial o la Comisión Mundial sobre las Migraciones Internacionales de la ONU han puesto el foco en esta tipología de migraciones como mecanismo alternativo a las migraciones permanentes por el cual paliar problemáticas como la escasez de mano de obra, la fuga de cerebros o la emigración irregular. En 2018 Naciones Unidas en su resolución Pacto Mundial para una Migración Segura, Ordenada y Regular, enfatizaba la necesidad del desarrollo de esquemas migratorios entre países más flexibles y accesibles en la forma de migraciones circulares con el objetivo de promover la movilidad laboral y el empleo decente (Newland, 2009; Constant, Nottmeyer y Zimmermann, 2013; Nita, 2016; Rahim, Rayph y Ruysend, 2021).

Así, según su categorización básica<sup>1</sup>, este conjunto de flujos migratorios formales e informales de carácter repetido entre dos o más países o regiones generalmente por razones económicas, principalmente laborales (Wickramasekara, 2012 Constant, Nottmeyer y Zimmermann, 2013), supondrían importantes beneficios para los tres agentes implicados. Bajo la idea de *Triple Win Scenario*, desde estos organismos se señala que países o regiones emisoras y receptoras y migrantes, se beneficiarían mutuamente en aspectos tales como la disponibilidad de mano de obra, un menor impacto político y sobre

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<sup>1</sup> En la actualidad existe un debate sin consenso acerca de la conceptualización de las migraciones circulares que pone el foco sobre la temporalidad de la migración, el estatus legal de los migrantes y la diferenciación entre la migración de carácter espontáneo y aquella bajo acuerdos internacionales. Para un acercamiento al debate véase, por ejemplo, Solé et al. (2016) y Rahim, Rayph y Ruysend (2021). En esta tesis doctoral utilizaremos de forma indistinta el término de migración circular y temporera para referirnos a estos flujos en contraposición al concepto más amplio de migración temporal y a las de carácter permanente.

el gasto público en los países de destino, la transferencia de capital humano y las remesas en los países de origen o la acumulación de capital y las oportunidades de trabajo.

Este mayor esfuerzo e interés institucional, la creación de espacios supraestatales de libre circulación, así como la reducción de los costes de transporte, comunicación y acceso a la información han dado lugar a un crecimiento considerable de la migración circular a escala mundial. En 2011, las migraciones temporales, cuya duración no superaba los cinco años, suponían más del 40% del total de flujos migratorios en países como Reino Unido, Alemania o España, y más del 70% en Corea del Sur o Japón (Dustmann y Görlach, 2016). Dentro de los flujos migratorios exclusivamente circulares, entre los “espontáneos”, sin intermediación institucional, podemos encontrar un rol de relevancia de estas corrientes en múltiples escenarios clave de la migración internacional como son el corredor México-Estados Unidos, el Mediterráneo, el golfo Pérsico o el África Subsahariana, y de la migración interna como las migraciones rural-urbanas en India o China (Solé et al., 2016).

En éstos y otros escenarios, también ha jugado un creciente papel la migración circular intermediada por los estados. Para 2003 se habían firmado ya un total de 176 acuerdos bilaterales de cooperación para el desarrollo de la migración circular entre los países de la OCDE (Constant, Nottmeyer y Zimmermann, 2013). Al mismo tiempo, durante estas dos décadas la gran mayoría de países desarrollados han suscrito acuerdos de migración temporera con países en vías de desarrollo, teniendo como principal precedente a los clásicos programas de migración temporal durante los Treinta Años Gloriosos, como el Gastarbeiter Alemán o el programa Bracero en Estados Unidos, los cuales movilizaron millones de migrantes del sur de Europa y México respectivamente (Massey y Liang, 1989; Arango, 2006; Newland, Rannveig y Terrazas, 2008; Solé et al., 2016).

Con todo, la migración circular o temporera no es un fenómeno propio de las últimas décadas, ni tampoco de mediados del pasado siglo XX. Sus orígenes se encuentran en la movilidad humana misma. En las sociedades preindustriales, la movilidad circular de contingentes de población era un rasgo distintivo que registraba una gran diversificación y complejidad. Los calendarios agrícolas, la pesca y las oportunidades estacionales de trabajo en las industrias y servicios rurales, así como en las ciudades, generaban todo tipo de movimientos circulares de población. Todo este espectro de oportunidades daba lugar a una interrelación de carácter temporal y



persistente en el tiempo entre áreas rurales y urbanas, economías de montaña, las costas y el interior. En el contexto de la Europa Occidental, además de tener constancia de su relevancia en la historia Antigua, se conocen con relativa exactitud grandes flujos migratorios temporeros internos e internacionales de forma generalizada desde la Baja Edad Media dentro y entre territorios como Gran Bretaña, España, Francia o el Sacro Imperio Germánico (Tilly, 1978; Florencio y López, 2000; Lucassen, 2005; Lucassen, Lucassen y Manning, 2010; Hin, 2013; Stephenson, 2020; Taylor, 2011;).

Con el avance de la industrialización, y particularmente desde finales del siglo XIX, estos flujos en su vertiente interna comienzan a reducirse considerablemente en favor de movimientos de carácter permanente. Se inicia, entonces, especialmente desde mediados del siglo XX, un período en el que las migraciones circulares internacionales ganarán protagonismo en los países desarrollados, a la par que las internas continuarán teniendo un rol importante en países en vías de desarrollo (Hochstadt, 1999; Carmona y Simpson, 2003; Silvestre, 2007; Constant, Nottmeyer y Zimmermann, 2013).

Aunque la literatura sobre las migraciones temporales, tiene una larga tradición en economía, sociología e historia (Piore, 1979; Massey et al., 1987; Siddle, 1997; Lucassen, 2005; Silvestre, 2007), en los últimos años se ha producido un salto importante en el estudio del impacto de estas migraciones sobre los agentes de la migración. Focalizándose en las migraciones temporales no circulares, estos autores han generado nuevos marcos analíticos y conceptuales y han contribuido con nuevas metodologías que permiten acercarse de forma empírica al impacto de las migraciones temporales en múltiples escenarios del presente y el pasado. Estos autores han puesto de relevancia las características diferenciales de estas migraciones y la naturaleza dinámica y endógena de los incentivos para la adquisición de distintos tipos de capital, así como de las interacciones con las sociedades de origen y destino. De esta forma, estos trabajos han enfatizado la importancia de comprender las características distintivas de los flujos migratorios temporales para evaluar los resultados del proceso migratorio (Kosack, 2015; Dustmann y Görlach, 2016; Ward, 2017; Aradhya, Scott y Smith, 2017; Chabé-Ferret, Machado y Wahba, 2018; Clemens, Lewis y Postel, 2018; Kaufmann, Verheyden y Machado, 2021; Adda, Dustmann y Görlach, 2022).

Como resultado, esta literatura ha subrayado las potenciales implicaciones de la tipología de los flujos migratorios para la completa comprensión de muchos procesos históricos y el diseño de políticas migratorias en el futuro. Dentro de esta corriente,

algunos autores han subrayado que los resultados cualitativos y la evidencia histórica en numerosas investigaciones remarca la especificidad de los flujos migratorios circulares respecto del conjunto de temporales, denotando la necesidad de estudios que se dirijan a analizar empíricamente los procesos migratorios circulares y los episodios históricos y contemporáneos donde éstos juegan un rol clave (Zapata-Barrero, Faúndez y Sánchez-Montijano, 2012; Constant, Nottmeyer y Zimmermann, 2013). Por tanto, en el contexto de la historia económica, el análisis empírico de las migraciones circulares puede contribuir significativamente a múltiples cuestiones importantes para entender las economías y sociedades del pasado. La dirección de las corrientes migratorias, la desigualdad y cohesión social entre grupos socio-culturales, los niveles de capital humano, la dotación de capital y trabajo por parte de las empresas o la especialización productiva, son algunos de los interrogantes en los cuales este tipo de migraciones pudieron tener un rol importante en el pasado.

Sin embargo, pese a su importancia tanto diferencial y relativa, como en términos absolutos, la evidencia empírica sobre los procesos migratorios circulares en el pasado y presente continúa siendo escasa (Skeldon, 2012; Constant, Nottmeyer y Zimmermann, 2013; Solé et al., 2016). En palabras de algunos analistas, es precisamente su singularidad la que está detrás de su invisibilidad en un gran número de análisis y planteamientos políticos (Zapata-Barrero, Faúndez y Sánchez-Montijano, 2012). Como economistas, sociólogos e historiadores económicos han reconocido, el reducido número de estudios empíricos en este campo se debe particularmente a las dificultades para obtener información cuantitativa y establecer metodologías que capturen el efecto temporal y/o estacional derivado del movimiento de población de corta duración que se repite en distintos años (Silvestre, 2007; Newland, 2009; Skeldon, 2012; Constant, Nottmeyer y Zimmermann, 2013; Dustmann y Görlach, 2016; Adda, Dustmann y Görlach, 2022)<sup>2</sup>.

En las siguientes páginas el objetivo de esta tesis doctoral será investigar el rol e impacto de las migraciones circulares durante el éxodo rural en España. En concreto, la investigación se centra en uno de sus episodios clave y con mayor relevancia de la migración circular: la formación del mercado de trabajo turístico en España entre 1955 y 1973. Este análisis, con especial foco en el área de mayor intensidad turística, las Islas

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<sup>2</sup> Existen pocas, aunque notables, excepciones de bases de datos para economías contemporáneas que lo permitan. Principalmente, en lo concerniente a procesos migratorios del presente se debe señalar al Mexican Migration Project, encuesta retrospectiva que se realiza desde mediados de los ochenta dentro del contexto migratorio del corredor Estados Unidos-México. Véase: Massey et al. (1987).

Baleares, busca estudiar a través de evidencia empírica y abrir nuevos caminos de investigación acerca del impacto de las migraciones circulares en el pasado y su interrelación con el desarrollo turístico.

## **2. Migraciones temporeras y turismo**

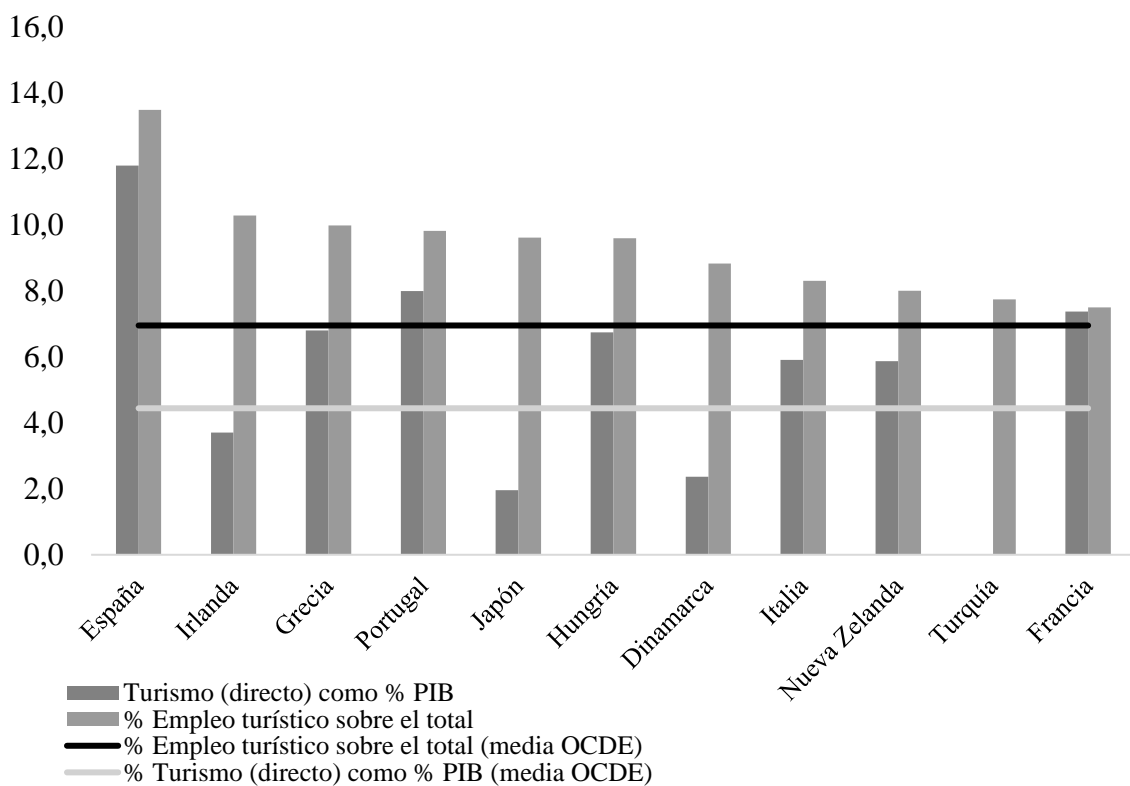
La elección de este sector como caso de estudio no es trivial. El turismo representa uno de los principales sectores de la economía global. En 2019 las ocupaciones vinculadas directamente a esta industria alcanzaban los 334 millones de trabajadores a nivel mundial. Uno de cada 10 empleos en el mundo y 1 de cada 4 del total de empleo creado entre 2015 y 2019 correspondía a los servicios turísticos (WTTC, 2021). Asimismo, el sector constituye uno de los grandes empleadores de mano de obra temporera del mundo. Históricamente, los migrantes han representado una parte muy significativa de la fuerza de trabajo en este segmento del sector servicios. Esta mano de obra, generalmente de carácter temporal o circular, ha jugado un rol fundamental en aliviar la escasez de mano de obra en una industria generalmente considerada de bajos salarios relativos, menor prestigio socio-cultural y frecuentemente estacional (Janta et al., 2011).

Esta interrelación tiene un papel prominente entre los países de la OCDE y particularmente en el caso de España. Aproximadamente el 61,1% del total de llegadas de turistas en 2019 correspondían a estos países, siendo cinco de los seis países más visitados en 2019 miembros de esta organización: España, Estados Unidos, Italia, Turquía y México (OECD, 2020). Dentro de los países de la OCDE, la incidencia del empleo turístico es particularmente importante en la Cuenca Mediterránea. Si definimos como empleo directo el trabajo en alojamiento, restauración, transporte, distribución y ocio directamente relacionados con bienes y servicios consumidos por visitantes, el gráfico 1 muestra que entre los 15 países de la OCDE con mayor impacto del empleo turístico directo siete pertenecen al área mediterránea. Destaca especialmente España, el país de la organización donde el sector tiene mayor incidencia, cuyo tamaño relativo del empleo turístico en 2018 alcanzaba el 13,5% del total y su impacto en la economía el 11,8% del PIB, mientras que, por el contrario, la media del total de miembros estaría en un 6,9% y un 4,4% respectivamente.

Dadas las características del empleo turístico, tanto en condiciones laborales como estacionalidad de la actividad, la migración circular o temporera se ha puesto sobre la mesa como un factor relevante para entender su evolución presente y futura. Una parte de

la literatura dedicada al análisis del turismo en las últimas décadas viene enfatizando las externalidades del desarrollo turístico, en muchas ocasiones vinculadas al mercado de trabajo, el sistema educativo y el crecimiento de la renta a largo plazo (Murray, 2012; Baum, 2015; Perles-Ribes et al., 2017; Navinés y Manera, 2018). Dentro de este contexto, algunos autores han subrayado la vulnerabilidad de estas economías ante shocks exógenos, como crisis sanitarias o geopolíticas (Duro et al., 2021) y el rol clave de la migración circular dentro del funcionamiento del mercado de trabajo turístico y otros sectores como la agricultura estacional o el sistema sanitario (Wright, 2021).

**Gráfico 0.1:** Países de la OCDE con mayor impacto del empleo turístico, 2018.



**Fuentes:** OECD Tourism Statistics.

**Nota:** Se han excluido por su reducido tamaño demográfico Islandia, cuyo impacto en el empleo es del 15,7% y del 8,6% sobre el PIB, Letonia, con un 8,5% y un 4,5% en los mismos indicadores, Luxemburgo, con un 8,3% y un 1,1%, y Eslovenia con un 7,7% y 5,3%. Todos ellos con una población inferior a los 3 millones de habitantes.

La interrelación entre migraciones temporeras y turismo puede tener también considerable importancia en el futuro. El progresivo envejecimiento de la población supone un importante reto para diferentes agentes vinculados a los mercados de trabajo especializados en estos servicios. La reducción de la población activa y el incremento de la demanda turística en Occidente puede suponer importantes restricciones para el desarrollo económico de esta industria en el futuro. En este contexto, que afecta de forma significativa a los países desarrollados, diversos autores han señalado que los costes

relativos entre trabajo y capital, a través de la automatización de procesos productivos, pueden jugar un papel determinante en los niveles de crecimiento económico de países y sectores económicos (Acemoglu y Restrepo, 2017, 2022; Borjas y Freeman, 2019). Dentro de este proceso, algunos autores han puesto el foco específicamente en la capacidad sustitutiva entre capital y migraciones circulares en función de sus costes relativos. Sin embargo, también han subrayado que, en industrias estacionales de servicios, como las vinculadas al turismo, el incremento de incentivos para la automatización de los procesos productivos puede estar considerablemente limitado por las dificultades inherentes a las características de los servicios personales para ser substituidos por capital (Liu y Portes, 2021).

Con todo, pese a la importancia del sector en muchos estados y regiones, el conocimiento del empleo turístico continúa siendo muy limitado, tanto para economías contemporáneas como del pasado (Ladkin, 2011; Malo, 2011; Zampoukos y Ioannides, 2011; Walton, 2012). Por tanto, la idea detrás de este enfoque radica en la capacidad de la interrelación entre migraciones circulares y mercados de trabajo especializados en servicios turísticos para retroalimentarse mutuamente. Así, al contribuir a preguntas como el rol de la migración temporera en el desarrollo del turismo en España, su impacto en sus mercados de trabajo y la gestión empresarial, los determinantes de esta migración y los efectos de ésta sobre las trayectorias laborales, se busca, al mismo tiempo, ayudar a conocer mejor las principales claves del desarrollo turístico en España: cuestiones como los efectos de *path dependence* de la planificación y gestión turística del pasado, su rol dentro de las migraciones internas e internacionales durante el éxodo rural, la aparición de las grandes cadenas hoteleras o los niveles vida y las condiciones laborales en este sector durante el Desarrollismo franquista.

### **3. Éxodo rural y *boom* turístico como escenario**

Por estos motivos, la elección de este período histórico es altamente pertinente. El proceso de formación del mercado de trabajo turístico en España no solo reúne muchas características idóneas para realizar análisis vinculados con el concepto de la *path dependence*, sino que también constituye un punto de inflexión donde las migraciones circulares “históricas” se enlazan con el inicio de las prácticas migratorias temporeras más contemporáneas. Como es conocido, entre 1955 y 1973 asistimos al auge de la movilidad migratoria en España, lo que supone la culminación de un proceso iniciado

cien años antes, interrumpido por la Guerra Civil y la inmediata posguerra (cuadro 1). Entre 1960 y 1973 el 15% de la población cambia de residencia en el interior de España, fundamentalmente a través de migraciones de larga distancia. Paralelamente, aproximadamente dos millones emigran a países europeos (Ródenas, 1994). En este contexto, la economía española logra finalizar el proceso de industrialización en detrimento del sector agrario. Se completa así un cambio estructural que significa la consolidación de la ruptura con los patrones migratorios temporeros vinculados campo-campo y campo-ciudad, al tiempo que aparecen nuevas alternativas migratorias, no todas de carácter temporal o permanente, sino también de tipo estacional, como la economía del creciente sector turístico (Naredo, 2004; Silvestre, 2007).

**Cuadro 1:** *Migraciones interiores 1877-1991.*

	Absolutas (miles)	Tasa anual (por mil)
1877-1887	369	2.2
1888-1900	428	2
1901-1910	566	2.9
1911-1920	583	2.8
1921-1930	969	4.3
1931-1940	696	2.8
1941-1950	1372	5.1
<b>1951-1960</b>	<b>1681</b>	<b>5.8</b>
<b>1961-1970</b>	<b>2562</b>	<b>9.8</b>
<b>1971-1980</b>	<b>1903</b>	<b>6.5</b>
1981-1991	1617	5

**Fuentes:** (Silvestre, 2003, p. 74).

En efecto, uno de los factores cruciales y característicos de este proceso es la especialización económica de España en servicios turísticos de la mano del *boom* turístico español. El gran crecimiento de la infraestructura turística en España, empujado por el vertiginoso incremento de la llegada de turistas internacionales se conforma como un agente importante dentro de la dinámica de cambio estructural. Durante la década más de un millón de españoles se incorporan como trabajadores, autónomos o empresarios al emergente sector (Pack, 2009). Esta expansión del empleo estará muy ligada al empleo estacional y a la inserción de migrantes provenientes del mundo agrario, de la mano de migraciones intra e interregionales. Todo ello tendrá una íntima relación con un desarrollo turístico muy desigual desde el punto de vista regional, concentrado en los archipiélagos y la Costa Mediterránea. De esta forma, las Islas Baleares se convertirán en el epicentro de un desarrollo turístico que también tendrá un impacto importante en las Islas Canarias

y las comarcas costeras de las provincias de Alicante, Barcelona, Gerona y Málaga (Sánchez, 2001; Almeida, 2013; Vallejo, 2015).

**Cuadro 2:** *Proporción de los nacidos en otra provincia sobre el total de la provincia, 1887-2021.*

	1887	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940
Álava	16,87	16,93	18,02	17,81	18,86	22,87
<b>Alicante</b>	<b>3,62</b>	<b>3,68</b>	<b>4,44</b>	<b>5,06</b>	<b>7,22</b>	<b>9,34</b>
<b>Baleares</b>	<b>2,46</b>	<b>2,01</b>	<b>2,92</b>	<b>2,93</b>	<b>3,44</b>	<b>6,53</b>
Barcelona	20,60	22,25	27,47	29,31	35,98	33,38
<b>Canarias</b>	<b>0,72</b>	<b>2,05</b>	<b>3,43</b>	<b>1,52</b>	<b>3,21</b>	<b>3,73</b>
<b>Gerona</b>	<b>5,04</b>	<b>6,20</b>	<b>8,18</b>	<b>8,33</b>	<b>9,46</b>	<b>12,92</b>
Guipúzcoa	9,63	10,85	16,56	18,49	19,99	18,08
Madrid	43,34	41,72	39,82	39,98	46,84	38,68
<b>Málaga</b>	<b>5,21</b>	<b>5,32</b>	<b>6,21</b>	<b>6,36</b>	<b>6,29</b>	<b>8,52</b>
Tarragona	6,22	5,56	6,42	8,28	10,36	13,59
Valencia	7,37	7,52	8,01	7,66	8,31	13,66
Vizcaya	19,53	26,48	26,95	26,19	24,91	24,36
España	8,20	8,68	9,56	10,30	12,25	12,55

**Fuentes:** INE. Censos de Población 1887-1991; INE. Padrón Continuo. 2021. Las provincias en negrita corresponden a las provincias turísticas.

En estas provincias el proceso de formación del mercado de trabajo turístico en España supondrá un punto de inflexión, al asentar un patrón de especialización intensivo en mano de obra ligada a servicios turísticos que seguirá en aumento hasta la actualidad, aunque con notables diferencias entre regiones (Almeida, 2013). Como consecuencia, algunas de estas provincias estarán entre las principales receptoras de migraciones internas y, a partir de los noventa, todas ellas participarán activamente de la inserción de migraciones internacionales (cuadros 2, 3 y 4).

Durante todo este proceso, la temporalidad de la migración jugará un rol importante en los procesos de inserción de migraciones internas e internacionales en estas regiones, donde persistirá una alta influencia de la estacionalidad del mercado de trabajo y del carácter temporero de la migración (León y Hernández, 2016). De esta forma, la mayoría de las provincias donde el turismo tendrá un rol importante durante el *boom* turístico se caracterizarán por registrar un gran crecimiento de la población migrante interna e internacional, que a partir de los ochenta comenzará a situarse en términos relativos por encima de las provincias industriales. Las Islas Baleares constituyen aquí el máximo exponente dado su nivel especialización y su trayectoria: de una de las regiones con menor porcentaje de población nacida fuera de la provincia y en el extranjero en 1950

pasará a representar la provincia con mayor porcentaje de toda España, en un proceso en el que verá duplicada su población (cuadros 2, 3 y 4; Almeida, 2013; Navinés y Manera, 2018).

**Cuadro 2 (Continuación):** *Proporción de los nacidos en otra provincia sobre el total de la provincia, 1887-2021.*

	1950	1960	1970	1981	1991	2001	2011	2021
Álava	22,73	29,90	40,56	34,49	42,81	40,58	35,09	32,40
<b>Alicante</b>	<b>10,24</b>	<b>15,73</b>	<b>23,47</b>	<b>25,66</b>	<b>25,40</b>	<b>24,60</b>	<b>20,30</b>	<b>18,79</b>
<b>Baleares</b>	<b>7,95</b>	<b>11,68</b>	<b>20,34</b>	<b>23,20</b>	<b>25,83</b>	<b>26,91</b>	<b>22,27</b>	<b>21,66</b>
Barcelona	37,88	41,48	45,98	41,55	37,12	30,67	22,97	18,80
<b>Canarias</b>	<b>4,69</b>	<b>5,82</b>	<b>6,72</b>	<b>6,64</b>	<b>8,76</b>	<b>10,08</b>	<b>9,63</b>	<b>8,46</b>
<b>Gerona</b>	<b>15,43</b>	<b>19,73</b>	<b>26,92</b>	<b>29,79</b>	<b>31,23</b>	<b>31,46</b>	<b>26,90</b>	<b>24,67</b>
Guipúzcoa	23,76	29,15	33,96	27,27	27,55	24,55	20,39	17,70
Madrid	43,35	46,02	47,86	43,40	39,54	33,23	26,13	23,30
<b>Málaga</b>	<b>8,66</b>	<b>8,34</b>	<b>12,04</b>	<b>14,81</b>	<b>16,35</b>	<b>17,12</b>	<b>15,92</b>	<b>16,09</b>
Tarragona	17,43	21,83	29,64	33,83	33,60	34,33	30,40	28,64
Valencia	17,86	20,04	25,59	25,73	23,51	21,39	23,46	15,80
Vizcaya	26,00	33,46	38,70	31,52	31,54	28,01	17,66	20,28
España	15,03	17,93	23,18	23,90	22,38	27,21	18,60	17,45

**Fuentes:** INE. Censos de Población 1887-2011; INE. Padrón Continuo. 2021. Las provincias en negrita corresponden a las provincias turísticas.

**Cuadro 3:** *Proporción de los nacidos en otra provincia o el extranjero sobre el total de la provincia, 1950-2021.*

	1950	1960	1970	1981	1991	2001	2011	2021
Álava	23,1	30,41	41,1	35,32	43,88	43,57	45,90	45,13
<b>Alicante</b>	<b>10,7</b>	<b>16,35</b>	<b>25,1</b>	<b>28,68</b>	<b>30,27</b>	<b>35,19</b>	<b>42,84</b>	<b>42,25</b>
<b>Baleares</b>	<b>8,94</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>21,5</b>	<b>26,60</b>	<b>30,20</b>	<b>37,16</b>	<b>45,44</b>	<b>46,00</b>
Barcelona	39,2	42,60	47,2	43,84	38,84	36,82	39,30	38,98
<b>Canarias</b>	<b>5,3</b>	<b>5,82</b>	<b>9,1</b>	<b>9,59</b>	<b>12,97</b>	<b>16,76</b>	<b>25,83</b>	<b>28,69</b>
<b>Gerona</b>	<b>16,2</b>	<b>20,52</b>	<b>27,9</b>	<b>31,47</b>	<b>33,70</b>	<b>39,23</b>	<b>35,39</b>	<b>48,34</b>
Guipúzcoa	24,9	30,03	35,0	28,54	28,89	26,71	28,12	28,80
Madrid	44,4	47,54	49,8	45,68	42,19	41,90	44,57	44,04
<b>Málaga</b>	<b>9,0</b>	<b>8,87</b>	<b>13,8</b>	<b>19,14</b>	<b>22,23</b>	<b>25,91</b>	<b>34,21</b>	<b>36,36</b>
Tarragona	17,7	22,24	30,4	35,20	34,94	39,97	48,73	47,92
Valencia	18,4	20,53	26,6	27,50	25,49	26,10	30,71	30,80
Vizcaya	26,8	34,18	38,7	32,51	32,70	30,32	31,35	30,70
España	15,6	18,63	24,5	23,90	25,20	26,49	28,89	32,91

**Fuentes:** INE. Censos de Población 1950-2011; INE. Padrón Continuo. 2021. Las provincias en negrita corresponden a las provincias turísticas.

Por tanto, este trabajo se focaliza en un contexto marcado por muchos de los factores clave para el estudio histórico de las migraciones circulares en perspectiva histórica. Situándonos en un escenario condicionado por el rol crucial de las migraciones



temporeras y la ruptura con los patrones históricos de movilidad vinculados a la demanda estacional agraria, podemos evaluar la respuesta e interrelación de los distintos agentes de la migración ante condicionantes cruciales de las migraciones circulares: alta escasez y demanda de mano de obra para ocupaciones estacionales; el coste de oportunidad en un escenario con múltiples alternativas migratorias; y un proceso de inserción migratoria en el que conviven dinámicamente migraciones circulares, temporales y permanentes con implicaciones en el corto y largo plazo. De esta forma, este caso de estudio deviene en un marco excepcional para analizar la persistencia de las migraciones circulares interiores y su impacto en contextos del pasado. Asimismo, también puede contribuir a aumentar nuestra comprensión sobre las características del desarrollo turístico en España y, particularmente en las Islas Baleares.

**Cuadro 4:** *Proporción de los nacidos en otra comunidad autónoma o el extranjero sobre el total de la provincia, 1970-2021.*

	1970	1981	1991	2001	2011	2021
Álava	33,2	35,32	33,15	32,36	35,26	34,96
<b>Alicante</b>	<b>23,4</b>	<b>26,61</b>	<b>28,14</b>	<b>33,11</b>	<b>40,95</b>	<b>39,27</b>
<b>Baleares</b>	<b>21,5</b>	<b>26,60</b>	<b>30,20</b>	<b>37,16</b>	<b>45,44</b>	<b>46,00</b>
Barcelona	44,3	39,95	35,17	34,03	37,02	36,92
<b>Canarias</b>	<b>9,1</b>	<b>9,59</b>	<b>11,03</b>	<b>16,76</b>	<b>25,83</b>	<b>28,69</b>
<b>Gerona</b>	<b>23,0</b>	<b>31,47</b>	<b>24,43</b>	<b>23,17</b>	<b>35,39</b>	<b>35,48</b>
Guipúzcoa	31,6	28,54	25,28	23,41	25,09	25,94
Madrid	49,8	45,68	42,19	41,90	44,57	44,04
<b>Málaga</b>	<b>6,6</b>	<b>10,60</b>	<b>12,97</b>	<b>16,77</b>	<b>30,24</b>	<b>27,95</b>
Tarragona	24,8	28,38	34,94	39,97	36,18	34,90
Valencia	24,0	25,17	23,38	24,19	29,02	26,89
Vizcaya	36,3	32,51	30,23	27,99	29,12	28,56
España	-	-	20,75	22,71	28,53	29,42

**Fuentes:** INE. Censos de Población 1950-2011; INE. Padrón Continuo. 2021. Las provincias en negrita corresponden a las provincias turísticas.

Al mismo tiempo se trata de un caso de estudio con particularidades que pueden ser de especial interés. La formación del mercado de trabajo turístico en España supone el estudio de migraciones circulares interiores, sin las restricciones de las políticas migratorias internacionales, bajo un contexto dictatorial marcado por la falta de libertades políticas y sindicales y una política laboral basada en la contención salarial. Este escenario puede ser especialmente interesante para ahondar en el estudio del éxodo rural en España y otras experiencias históricas similares en otros países en el pasado. Además, por sus características institucionales, puede contribuir también al estudio de procesos migratorios en países en desarrollo con regímenes políticos similares, especialmente

aquellos donde la apuesta por el turismo como palanca del desarrollo forma una parte importante de las políticas gubernamentales.

#### **4. Estructura de la tesis doctoral**

Siguiendo estas premisas, esta tesis consiste en cinco artículos que analizan el rol y el impacto de las migraciones circulares en el contexto del éxodo rural y el *boom* turístico en España. Estos artículos se pueden leer individualmente, aunque todos guardan un nexo común. Dada esta naturaleza independiente, aunque íntimamente interrelacionada, en estos artículos existen potenciales repeticiones y redundancias que se han buscado omitir en la medida que no dificulten la comprensión y contextualización individual de los trabajos.

Podemos dividir esta tesis en dos bloques. El primero de estos bloques lo constituyen los dos primeros capítulos. Estos trabajos se enfocan en analizar las características del desarrollo turístico durante el período centrándose en la génesis y posterior formación del mercado de trabajo turístico en España. El segundo bloque se dirige a responder los interrogantes surgidos de estos dos primeros trabajos en torno a tres grupos de cuestiones: (1) ¿qué rol jugó la migración temporera y la contratación en origen en la expansión empresarial durante el período? (2) ¿por qué algunos hogares decidieron migrar a áreas ligadas a la oferta laboral estacional turística? ¿por qué una parte de los mismos persistían migrando circularmente? (3) ¿qué niveles diferenciales de movilidad laboral se produjeron en el período según origen, género y capital humano? ¿la temporalidad de la migración ayuda a explicarlos?

El capítulo 1, “*La génesis del mercado de trabajo en España, 1939-1965*”, busca contrastar los mercados de trabajo vinculados al turismo tradicional previos a la Guerra Civil con el que emergerá basado en el turismo de masas de sol y playa. Asimismo, se indaga en la adaptación de la regulación laboral del régimen Franquista al nuevo marco de relaciones laborales abierto con el auge del turismo a partir de mediados de los cincuenta. Este análisis subraya cómo el turismo de masas trae aparejado la formación de un nuevo mercado de trabajo con mayores niveles de profesionalización, concentración regional e incidencia sobre los mercados regionales y las migraciones internas e interregionales. En este contexto, la inacción u omisión de los legisladores Franquistas a las características del trabajo en el turismo de masas tendría consecuencias negativas para el funcionamiento del sector.

Continuando esta argumentación, el capítulo 2 “*The formation of the tourism labour market in Spain, 1955-1973*” constituye el capítulo troncal de la tesis doctoral. En este trabajo se analiza cómo se estructuró el mercado de trabajo y se configuró un determinado comportamiento por parte de los distintos agentes. Su estudio muestra que la capacidad de atracción de mano de obra local y el desarrollo de migraciones circulares jugaron un rol clave en su formación. Al mismo tiempo, se analiza el impacto que tuvo la migración circular en este proceso buscando contrastar el concepto de *Triple Win* de estas migraciones en este contexto histórico. Se subrayan dos modelos de formación del mercado de trabajo según el nivel de atracción de mano de obra provincial, donde la composición y estructura de la mano de obra diferirá considerablemente. Focalizándonos en las áreas intensivas en mano de obra interprovincial, particularmente en las Islas Baleares, mostramos que las migraciones circulares pudieron beneficiar a los locales, a la expansión empresarial y a los temporeros mismos. Sin embargo, se argumenta que la inserción intensa en el medio plazo de migrantes circulares dentro de este contexto de vertiginoso desarrollo turístico pudo suponer un incremento de la desigualdad económica regional y problemas de adaptación a los mercados turísticos en el futuro y a las crecientes externalidades negativas futuras.

En el capítulo 3, “*The management of labour recruitment: the hotel chains during the Spanish tourism boom, 1959-1973*”, se utiliza un análisis micro para estudiar si la migración circular jugó un rol importante en la expansión empresarial. Para abordar esta cuestión acudimos a uno de los fenómenos característicos del período, la aparición y desarrollo de cadenas hoteleras, tanto nacionales como internacionales. A través de este enfoque que analiza la estructura de su personal en las Islas Baleares se muestra que la generación de redes de trabajo temporero fue clave para las empresas estudiadas para lidiar con los crecientes costes laborales y la falta de atracción de mano de obra local. Asimismo, mostramos que las características de las áreas de implantación determinaron distintas estrategias en las cuales la contratación en origen sería particularmente importante en áreas de profunda transformación del paisaje alejadas de los principales núcleos de población. Una versión de este capítulo ha sido ya publicada en la revista [\*Annals of Tourism Research\*](#).

Entender la elección del destino migratorio y la persistencia de la migración circular tras retornar al área de origen es el objetivo del capítulo 4, “*Mediterranean Crossroads: determinants of circular migration in Spain, 1955-1973*”. La encrucijada de

caminos que supone la migración circular a áreas turísticas en este período, a medio camino entre las migraciones temporeras seculares en el mundo rural y las migraciones circulares del presente, nos permite interrogarnos acerca de la persistencia de estas migraciones a lo largo del siglo XX en España. En este sentido, se señala que los bajos requerimientos de capital humano, las redes de migrantes y las características socio-económicas de las áreas de origen explicarían la decisión de migrar a áreas turísticas. Asimismo, el estudio indica que ciertos hogares del sur de España podían tener incentivos para continuar siendo migrantes circulares durante años en determinados contextos. Con todo, se sugiere que la persistencia en la migración circular también podía estar vinculada a “migraciones involuntarias” relacionadas con la escasez de vivienda, la regulación del mercado de trabajo, falta de redes de apoyo y la estacionalidad de la demanda.

Por último, el capítulo 5, “*From circular to permanent: migrant occupational attainment during the Spanish tourism boom, 1955-1973*”, estudia los determinantes de la movilidad ocupacional en la hostelería de las Islas Baleares con el objetivo de comprender las consecuencias de la migración circular, “voluntaria” como “involuntaria” sobre la movilidad laboral. De este trabajo se desprende que la brecha salarial entre locales y algunos grupos de migrantes no solo se explicaría por los diferenciales de capital humano, social y de género. Aunque estos factores serían importantes, la temporalidad de la migración reduciría los incentivos y la capacidad para adquirir capital humano y social específico de las áreas de destino. Como resultado, a medida que los años de migración circular se incrementen más amplia sería la brecha con los locales y migrantes permanentes, lo cual tendría consecuencias negativas si con el tiempo estos migrantes decidían establecerse permanente en el archipiélago.

Esta tesis finaliza con unas conclusiones donde se remarcan los principales argumentos, contribuciones empíricas y metodológicas, sugerencias en materia de política migratoria y una agenda de investigación futura.

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# I

## La génesis del mercado de trabajo turístico en España, 1939-1965<sup>1</sup>

### Resumen

Este artículo analiza las primeras fases del proceso de formación del mercado de trabajo turístico de sol y playa en España. El estudio aborda el impacto del incipiente turismo de masas basado en el sol y playa en el modelo de relaciones laborales heredado del turismo anterior a la Guerra Civil y el primer Franquismo. Para ello, en primer lugar, se muestran las características del mercado de trabajo turístico en la posguerra, los principales cambios en la política regulatoria de la Dictadura y su adaptación al emergente nuevo modelo turístico. En segundo lugar, se indaga en el efecto de la recuperación turística a partir de mediados de los cincuenta sobre las características de los mercados de trabajo del sector en las áreas protagonistas del *boom* turístico español. Los resultados de este trabajo enfatizan el alto rol del trabajo familiar, la economía sumergida y el aprendizaje en la empresa dentro del mercado de trabajo turístico de la posguerra. Asimismo, se señala la escasa adaptación por parte de la regulación franquista al nuevo marco de relaciones laborales abierto por la emergencia del turismo de sol y playa, lo cual afectará negativamente al funcionamiento del mercado de trabajo y las condiciones laborales. Éste será un nuevo mercado de trabajo que registrará mayores niveles de profesionalización, que estará condicionado por la estacionalidad turística y que ya para finales de los cincuenta se había convertido en un agente de cambio estructural, tanto atrayendo mano de obra local como vehiculando migraciones interprovinciales.

**Palabras clave:** Boom Turístico Español, Franquismo, Mercados de Trabajo, Economía Sumergida, Turismo de Masas, Islas Baleares.

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“Cuando llegué a España a trabajar clandestinamente en el 53, me encontré con un país hosco, pobretón, gris, humillado, triste. Después fue cambiando. Recuerdo perfectamente el día en que me di cuenta de que España se transformaba y que nuestra política se dirigía a un país que empezaba a dejar de existir. Fue a principios de los sesenta, una tarde de domingo, en la plaza de España [...]. Era la hora del regreso de los madrileños que habían pasado el día en la Casa de Campo o por las cercanías. Y de pronto me di cuenta de que aquellos jóvenes que llegaban no tenían nada que ver con la España miserable a la que dirigíamos nuestra propaganda. El desparpajo de las chicas, la forma de hablar, las vespas, los colores de la ropa. ¿Qué está pasando aquí?”.

-Jorge Semprún

## **1. Introducción**

Entre 1955 y 1962 se produjo el despegue del boom turístico español, un escenario clave dentro del proceso de modernización de la economía española que convertiría a la industria turística en uno de los sectores clave del país. De acuerdo con Carreras (1989), el turismo se convirtió en los sesenta en el sector con mayor contribución al crecimiento del PIB del período, junto con el proceso de urbanización, a través de la construcción y las obras públicas, la propiedad de viviendas, la hostelería y el comercio. Durante los años posteriores a 1962 el *boom* turístico colocaría a España como uno de los países líderes del turismo internacional. En adelante, ninguna economía mediana o grande registraría un grado tan alto de incidencia del turismo en su patrón de desarrollo (Sánchez, 2001; Balaguer y Cantavella-Jordá, 2002; Maluquer De Motes, 2011; Larrinaga y Vallejo, 2013; Navinés y Manera, 2018). Este “gran salto”, tal como lo acuñó Pack (2009), supuso el inicio de una transformación radical de la industria turística española y la formación de un nuevo mercado de trabajo turístico. Del turismo de carácter paisajístico y patrimonial, con una incidencia regional más diversificada, se pasaría a un modelo concentrado en el Mediterráneo y los archipiélagos, basado en el sol y playa, los paquetes turísticos y los vuelos chárter, para una clientela internacional en la que tenían cada vez mayor protagonismo las clases medias europeas. A partir de entonces, comenzaría una “revolución” de los mercados de trabajo regionales, generalmente consolidando o liderando procesos de cambio estructural a nivel comarcal y en muchos casos provincial (Vallejo, 2015).

En este artículo se analizan las características del mercado de trabajo turístico durante la posguerra en España y el proceso de transformación que tuvo lugar con la emergencia del modelo de turismo de masas de sol y playa a partir de mediados de los

50. Para ello, el artículo se centra en el estudio del modelo vigente tras la Guerra Civil y la posguerra en comparación con el modelo que comienza a crecer con enorme intensidad a partir de finales de los 50, poniendo énfasis en la capacidad de adaptación institucional y los factores transformadores o diferenciales del nuevo mercado de trabajo.

Para este análisis optamos por la combinación de un enfoque macro cuantitativo sobre la composición del empleo turístico y la dinámica del mercado de trabajo en conjunción con un análisis a nivel micro cualitativo y cuantitativo. En este sentido, hemos contado con fuentes cualitativas y cuantitativas, provenientes de reportes de órganos políticos como Gobernación Civil Provincial o el Sindicato Nacional de Hostelería<sup>2</sup>, legislación contemporánea y padrones municipales, en conjunción con fuentes bibliográficas. Dentro del estudio micro a partir de fuentes cuantitativas, debe destacarse tanto el uso de reportes para casos de regiones específicas, documentación de archivo sobre las trayectorias laborales de trabajadores del sector, como en especial el análisis de las características del distrito residencial de uno de los destinos turísticos protagonistas de la primera fase de desarrollo del boom turístico en España: el distrito de s'Arenal en Lluçmajor, Mallorca. Esta área se caracteriza por ser uno de los distritos municipales que registra mayor incidencia del desarrollo turístico en su estructura poblacional durante el período. El estudio de su población lo convierte, por tanto, en un escenario excepcional para comprender las dinámicas que estaban emergiendo desde finales de los años 50 en la industria turística y su impacto sobre los mercados de trabajo a nivel sociológico y espacial.

Los resultados de este trabajo contribuyen a aumentar el conocimiento y abrir nuevos caminos de investigación en cuestiones como los mercados de trabajo y las migraciones vinculadas con el sector servicios durante el Franquismo, así como el empleo turístico en perspectiva histórica. Por un lado, como señala Walton (2012), los mercados de trabajo turísticos, y en especial el de la hostelería, tienen la particularidad de aportar nuevas respuestas y generar nuevas preguntas acerca de cuestiones clave interrelacionadas como son las economías familiares, el trabajo de las mujeres, la economía sumergida, las migraciones estacionales y el cambio ocupacional durante el

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<sup>2</sup> De acuerdo con Barranquero, las fuentes provenientes de Gobernación Civil o el Sindicato Vertical son especialmente indicadas para el estudio de las relaciones laborales en el Franquismo dado que (1998, p.15): “El carácter interno, confidencial y secreto de muchos documentos revelan que estas fuentes, exentas de propaganda, presentan una válida información, única en muchos casos, por su naturaleza o por el carácter exhaustivo –valga esto para la Guardia Civil—de la información de sus autores”.

siglo XX. En la misma línea, desde la historia económica, Sarasúa y Molinero (2008) han remarcado la importancia de aumentar nuestro conocimiento sobre los mercados de trabajo de servicios durante el Primer Franquismo y su transformación durante el Desarrollismo, particularmente en aquellos aspectos donde están íntimamente interconectados el trabajo de las mujeres, la informalidad laboral y las economías de los hogares. Por otro lado, algunos autores han señalado la escasa atención recibida al estudio del empleo turístico en el pasado y presente pese a la importancia que ha ido cobrando sobre los mercados de trabajo de algunas regiones y ser un elemento clave para entender la evolución de los destinos turísticos (Recio y Banyuls, 2004; Ladkin, 2011; Malo, 2011; Zampoukos y Ioannides, 2011). En este sentido, este artículo indaga en las características de los mercados de trabajo turísticos dentro de las fases iniciales de desarrollo de los destinos turísticos. Se busca, así, ayudar a comprender el funcionamiento de los mercados de trabajo de servicios durante el primer franquismo, y las características de la transformación del empleo turístico cuando el sector se orientó al turismo de masas basado en el sol y playa.

Este artículo se divide como sigue. En el apartado 2 se analiza el marco regulatorio laboral del Franquismo y su adaptación al modelo de turismo de sol y playa. Dedicamos el apartado 3 al análisis de las características del mercado de trabajo turístico en la posguerra. El subapartado 4.1 muestra las singularidades del mercado de trabajo del turismo de sol y playa y su incipiente crecimiento a partir de mediados de los 50. El artículo se cierra en el subapartado 4.2 donde se estudia la traslación de estos cambios a nivel estatal y provincial al ámbito micro de una barriada situada en el centro de uno de los principales nuevos destinos turísticos. Finaliza el artículo en el apartado 5 con las pertinentes conclusiones.

## **2. El marco regulatorio laboral franquista ante el emergente modelo turístico del sol y playa**

A inicios del boom turístico la regulación del mercado de trabajo en la hostelería se regía por la Reglamentación de Trabajo del 30 de mayo de 1944. Esta legislación señalaba un total de 192 categorías profesionales para un total de 8 tipos de establecimientos turísticos, divididos a su vez por el número de estrellas o rango del lugar de trabajo del trabajador. En total, se establecían en la Reglamentación un total de 1.120 salarios diferentes. El cuerpo legal regulaba el conjunto de factores propios de la

profesión en la hostelería y su mercado de trabajo: desde las tareas de cada profesión, ingresos a percibir y movilidad interna, hasta la jornada laboral, las faltas, los pagos extraordinarios, manutención y alojamiento (Aroca, 2016). La formulación de esta reglamentación y sus actualizaciones se hizo atendiendo tanto a lo emanado del Fuero del Trabajo de 1938 y a una retórica nacional-católica, como al modelo de turismo establecido en las décadas anteriores, vinculado a una menor estacionalidad y un consumo más diversificado entre áreas urbanas y rurales, basado en el turismo patrimonial y paisajístico y el de balnearios y estaciones termales (Esteve y Fuentes, 2000). A partir de la Ley de Convenios Colectivos Sindicales de 1958 algunos aspectos fijados por la Reglamentación sufrirán actualizaciones, particularmente en el capítulo de las remuneraciones, y algunas modificaciones en cuestiones relacionadas a las mismas como los pluses por antigüedad. Así, en 1962 comenzarán a fijarse convenios colectivos con carácter provincial que, pese a otorgar una mayor capacidad de negociación a trabajadores y empresarios, seguirán bajo la carencia de libertades sindicales y el control del Sindicato Vertical (Carmona, 2006).

Pese a ello, sus principales rasgos no sufrirán modificaciones de consideración a medida que la oferta turística española se enfoque de forma cada vez más intensa en torno al modelo de turismo de masas basado en el sol y playa<sup>3</sup>. De esta forma, el vertiginoso e intenso desarrollo turístico se llevó a cabo en un contexto regulatorio que no se adaptó a las características del nuevo mercado de trabajo que buscaba regular. Como síntoma de una Dictadura que entendió el desarrollo turístico de una forma instrumental (Pack, 2009), como mecanismo compensatorio, fuente de abundantes y decisivas divisas para llevar a cabo la industrialización del país, no formuló un nuevo marco regulatorio que se enmarcase en los diferenciales cambios que se estaban produciendo en la industria turística. Tendremos que esperar a la legislación desarrollada tras la crisis de 1973 y, particularmente, durante la Transición Española, para observar modificaciones que adapten la legislación a las singularidades del mercado de trabajo dominante en el sector. Como resultado, los puntos más significativos de este cuerpo legal entrarían en conflicto o contradicción con gran parte de las características del nuevo mercado de trabajo

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<sup>3</sup> Un estudio realizado en 1973 acerca del mercado de trabajo en la industria turística de sol y playa en España señalaría que “El papel del Sindicato [Vertical] en los aspectos señalados [condiciones laborales y funcionamiento del mercado de trabajo] podrían ser objeto de tratamiento monográfico, así como los desfases y desajustes de la Reglamentación Laboral del sector turístico” (Gaviria et al., 1974, p. 166).

emergente, con consecuencias sobre el mercado de trabajo y particularmente sobre los trabajadores del sector.

La traslación de los preceptos de la legislación laboral del período al nuevo contexto turístico tuvo especial incidencia en tres elementos clave de la dinámica laboral durante el boom turístico español: la movilidad de la mano de obra en un ecosistema empresarial marcado por la atomización, la intensa estacionalidad de la demanda de trabajo, en la cual encontramos una fuerza de trabajo de un alto carácter temporero, y la informalidad laboral (véase capítulo 2). En este sentido, ante la emergencia de una nueva tipología turística la legislación terminó teniendo un efecto distinto al esperado: en algunos casos, la falta de adaptación supondrá una carencia importante para hacer frente a las externalidades negativas del modelo, con consecuencias sobre el nivel de precariedad laboral de los trabajadores y la formación de capital humano; en otros, su inadecuación supondrá su incumplimiento o escasa incidencia en favor de prácticas informales que venían desarrollándose previamente de forma consuetudinaria.

Uno de los factores clave era la capacidad de adaptación de la legislación a los potenciales efectos de la estacionalidad turística sobre la movilidad y formación de los trabajadores, así como en cuanto al alojamiento y la manutención. En este aspecto, destaca, por encima de todo, la ausencia de una figura contractual coherente con el hecho estacional de la industria turística en la legislación laboral española, esto es, el contrato de fijo discontinuo. A diferencia de otras industrias estacionales en España en las que existían este tipo de contratos, formando parte clave del funcionamiento del sector, como era el caso de la industria conservera (Muñoz, 2006), la legislación en materia laboral turística no adaptó las modalidades contractuales al carácter estacional de una creciente parte del empleo. No sería hasta la llegada del período democrático, a través de los convenios colectivos de finales de los setenta, que se configuraría como forma contractual base del sector el contrato fijo discontinuo. Los contemporáneos, desde los propios empresarios, hasta reportes de los sindicatos provinciales de hostelería, ya señalaron las potenciales consecuencias de esta decisión institucional: su ausencia favorecía el uso indiscriminado del contrato temporal lo cual dificultaba el establecimiento permanente y fijo de una fuerza de trabajo vinculada al turismo, proveniente de la migración temporera en muchas ocasiones. Todo ello, además, desincentivaba la inversión en la ya escasa formación de los trabajadores por parte de las empresas y la acumulación de antigüedad en la misma (Sindicato Provincial de Hostelería y Actividades Turísticas de Baleares,

1967; Sindicato Provincial de Hostelería y Actividades Turísticas de Baleares, 1970; Consell Econòmic i Social de les Illes Balears, 2003).

El carácter estacional de la demanda también tenía implicaciones en otro aspecto clave en el que incidía la legislación vigente: el alojamiento y la manutención. La Reglamentación de 1944 establecía la obligación de los hosteleros de proporcionar alojamiento y comida a sus empleados. Sin embargo, no estableció un marco penalizador para aquellos que, en su obligación, dieran un alojamiento precario o una manutención de baja calidad. Así, cuando se llegaron a realizar inspecciones de trabajo, los inspectores se vieron en la situación de imponer multas en base a la legislación de salubridad en los establecimientos de la hostelería al carecer de una legislación de carácter específico acerca de las condiciones del alojamiento. Esta situación se convertiría en un foco de conflicto importante entre trabajadores y empresa dado que el mercado de trabajo comenzaría a acoger cada vez más migrantes estacionales (véase capítulo 2).

La normativa tampoco logró la incidencia esperada en cuestiones cruciales de la legislación como son los ascensos y los pagos extraordinarios. Persiguiendo los mismos objetivos que las reglamentaciones en otros sectores (Babiano, 2005; Vilar, 2009), se buscaba fomentar los mercados internos de trabajo dotando al proceso de movilidad ascendente de una alta rigidez. Así, la legislación perseguía favorecer los ascensos bajo la priorización de la antigüedad de los trabajadores por encima de otros aspectos como las habilidades, predisposición o calidad del servicio. En el capítulo de “ascensos” la Reglamentación señalaba (Ministerio de trabajo, 1961, pp. 47–49):

“Los ascensos a la categoría de Jefes de departamento se regularán como sigue:

1. Por rigurosa antigüedad entre el personal de mando inmediato inferior, condicionada ésta al factor indispensable de conocimientos, preparación probada, dotes de mando, moralidad y rendimiento que garantice el perfecto desarrollo de su nueva función.

2. Libre designación por la Empresa cuando no exista personal que reúna las condiciones señaladas anteriormente. [...]

A parte de la libertad establecida en el artículo 13, con sus limitaciones, se establecen las siguientes normas:

1. Los establecimientos de las Secciones primera, segunda y tercera no podrán tener más que un Jefe de Comedor, un segundo Jefe de Comedor y, como máximo, un Jefe de Sector por cada cinco Camareros.”

Sin embargo, a partir de finales de los 50, cuando el tamaño del mercado comenzó a crecer de forma casi exponencial sobre un ecosistema empresarial altamente

atomizado, sus efectos serán limitados. La dinámica predominante será la contraria: una alta presencia de la rotación entre empresas tanto horizontal, como vertical (Véase capítulo 2, capítulo 3 y Homs, 1990). Así, la rigidez de la legislación en un contexto de crecimiento intenso de las vacantes pudo desincentivar, más que incentivar, los mercados internos de trabajo. Esto se debe a que muchos trabajadores podían entender que, dadas las dificultades legales para el ascenso interno, la rotación era una vía más rápida para lograr escalar ocupacionalmente. Las empresas, por su parte, podían optar por intentar retener a los trabajadores más cualificados, pero podían encontrar menos incentivos en invertir en aquellos trabajadores de carácter temporal y discontinuo.

Similar impacto tuvo la normativa referente a los pagos extraordinarios. La Reglamentación de Trabajo de 1944 buscaba substituir el sistema de propinas obligando a la adopción del llamado porcentaje de servicio. En lugar de cobrarse las correspondientes propinas, se aplicaba un 15 por ciento de recargo al cliente a repartir entre la plantilla. De esta forma se establecían dos tipos de personal a efectos retributivos: por un lado, un personal con sueldo mínimo garantizado y participación mayoritaria en este porcentaje; por otro, personal a sueldo fijo con participación minoritaria en el porcentaje. Las reglamentaciones y los posteriores convenios especificaban el porcentaje a repartir entre las distintas secciones y sus trabajadores. Sin embargo, en muchas áreas, y particularmente en las áreas de gran crecimiento vinculado al turismo de masas de sol y playa, persistieron de forma mayoritaria las propinas como emolumento extrasalarial en combinación con un formato de salario fijo establecido en el contrato o, en casos de alta informalidad, verbalmente (Sindicato Provincial de Hostelería y Actividades Turísticas de Baleares, 1970; Gaviria et al., 1974; Pack, 2009).

El porcentaje de servicio se había circunscrito a una industria turística basada en una clientela y un personal de servicio con relativa estabilidad. En el incipiente contexto, la incidencia de esta figura extrasalarial tuvo poco alcance, al tiempo que tampoco hubo capacidad ni intencionalidad para hacer cumplir el vigente marco regulatorio (Gaviria et al., 1974; Pack, 2009; Aroca, 2016)<sup>45</sup>. Asimismo, cabe señalar que este desfase entre la regulación y la realidad laboral ha sido considerado por algunos autores como un

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<sup>4</sup> Los convenios colectivos a partir de 1976 comienzan a recoger la eliminación del sistema de porcentajes que pasaría a ser un sueldo fijo equiparable al salario mínimo interprofesional. Véase una explicación acerca del impacto de este cambio en: González-Turmo, 1996.

<sup>5</sup> De acuerdo con Gaviria et al (1974), en las Islas Baleares, por ejemplo, en 1973 se contarán con cuatro inspectores para un censo de más de 15.000 empresas y más de 75.000 trabajadores.



elemento que incrementaba la precariedad de las condiciones salariales: aparte de mantenerse de forma mayoritaria el efecto flexibilizador sobre los ingresos del sistema de propinas y los conflictos internos en torno a su repartición, en las empresas en las cuales se llevó a cabo el sistema de porcentaje de servicio los empresarios podían ocultar los ingresos reales ante la falta de derechos sindicales y la escasa capacidad de los trabajadores de ejercer una supervisión sobre los mismos (Gaviria et al., 1974).

### **3. El mercado de trabajo turístico durante el primer franquismo, 1940-1955**

Desde la década de los cincuenta el sector turístico experimentaría un crecimiento que no solo irá en consonancia con la recuperación de la economía española, sino que debido a la llegada cada vez más intensa de turistas y el mayor acceso interno al ocio y a los desplazamientos, le permitirá ganar peso porcentual sobre el conjunto del mercado de trabajo español. De esta forma, entre 1946 y 1958 el empleo en la hostelería creció a una tasa 3,1% anual, creciendo por encima de la tasa de crecimiento de la población activa española. Si en 1945 representaba el 2% del total de la misma, para 1958 había alcanzado el 2,5% (Vallejo, 2022). Este mercado de trabajo, sobre el que operará a nivel nacional el nuevo modelo de sol y playa, debía gran parte de sus características a tres factores: su distribución geográfica, en un sistema turístico más diversificado; las características de su estructura empresarial y el nivel de crecimiento turístico registrado durante el período.

El empleo turístico estaba marcado, en una importante proporción, por las características propias del modelo de desarrollo vigente en el período anterior a 1936. Por un lado, tenía un peso importante a nivel regional un turismo nacional e internacional de alto poder adquisitivo con las costas vascas y cántabras como protagonistas. Por otro, se debe destacar la importancia en términos absolutos de las capitales de provincia y, en particular, la hostelería de las grandes ciudades, como Madrid y Barcelona. Esta composición geográfica y de tipología turística convivía con el incipiente, aunque todavía menor en términos absolutos, empleo turístico en el Mediterráneo, cuya importancia había comenzado a notarse ya en el período de entreguerras atendiendo a una lógica propia de destinos de alto nivel adquisitivo y turismo patrimonial y paisajístico de larga estancia (Cirer-Costa, 2014a, 2014b; Vallejo, 2019).

Esta composición dotaba al empleo turístico de una dualidad, en la que predominaban hoteles de lujo y de alta categoría, con una atomizada red de pensiones y hoteles de baja categoría y su oferta complementaria (Pack, 2009). De esta forma, las

características del total del empleo estuvieron condicionadas por la incidencia de esta dualidad en la composición total del empleo. Todo ello tuvo un notable impacto en la proporción del empleo no asalariado y femenino que registraba el mercado de trabajo, estando ambas proporciones vinculadas al grado de profesionalización y tamaño de los establecimientos turísticos.

Como podemos observar en el cuadro I.1, para 1946 el empleo en la hostelería estaba dividido en un total de algo más de 50 mil trabajadores en hospedaje y 150 mil en restaurantes, cafeterías y otros establecimientos turísticos. El trabajo llevado a cabo por mujeres representaba en torno al 60% del total en hospedaje y el 36% en la oferta complementaria. De forma similar, en el cuadro I.2 podemos corroborar la gran importancia del empleo no remunerado, generalmente vinculado a los trabajadores por cuenta propia y, con gran importancia dentro de esta industria, al empleo de familiares y conocidos dentro de los establecimientos turísticos. Para 1946 el empleo asalariado constituía solo el 39% del total de trabajadores en el hospedaje y el 26 y 33% en restaurantes y cafeterías y otros establecimientos respectivamente. Esta tipología de empleo no remunerado tenía una gran relevancia en el desarrollo de las relaciones laborales en el sector, dado que en muchos casos la remuneración de las tareas productivas en la empresa se producía fundamentalmente dentro de la economía de los hogares y la economía informal y sumergida, marcada por relaciones interpersonales y de parentesco.

**Cuadro: I.1:** *Composición del empleo por género en hostelería y restauración, 1946-1962.*

	1946		1958		1962	
	Empleo	Mujeres %	Empleo	Mujeres %	Empleo	Mujeres %
Hospedaje	55.980	59,6	84.645	48,2	101.977	-
Restaurantes y cafeterías	157.179	36,4	222.542	26,9	288.783	-
Total hostelería	213.159	43,5	307.187	35,4	403.927	-

**Fuentes:** Vallejo (2022).

Estas proporciones se relacionaban con el alto peso del personal familiar y el empleo por cuenta propia en las pensiones y hoteles de pequeña capacidad. En 1958 dentro de la categoría de hospedaje los hoteles representaban el 15,2 por ciento de la hostelería, un total de 46.825 trabajadores y las pensiones el 12,3 por ciento, 37.820 trabajadores del total de la hostelería. En cambio, en dicho año el trabajo asalariado correspondía al 91,7% en los hoteles, mientras que en las pensiones apenas alcanzaba el 36,4%. Por tanto, la incidencia del trabajo no asalariado estaba íntimamente relacionada

con el tamaño y la complejidad de los servicios ofrecidos en el establecimiento, así como con el grado de profesionalización del sector. A medida que a partir de mediados de los cincuenta los hoteles y las pensiones fueron ganando tamaño y comenzaron a ofrecer una mayor variedad de servicios la proporción de empleo asalariado fue ganando peso. Si el personal asalariado comprendía el 39,6% del total de mano de obra en hoteles y pensiones en 1946, en 1962 el personal asalariado alcanzaba el 71,8%, de los cuales los hoteles tenían un 92,7% del personal asalariado y las pensiones el 44,6%. Esta dinámica que es similar en los restaurantes, las cafeterías y otros establecimientos turísticos, como balnearios o salas fiesta, se iría agudizando durante los años sesenta (Cuadro I.2).

Este proceso afectaría a la proporción del trabajo llevado a cabo por mujeres en términos relativos. Dada la relegación socio-cultural de las ocupaciones de las mujeres a tareas vinculadas con la economía reproductiva, el incremento de puestos de trabajo derivados de la mayor complejidad y tamaño de los establecimientos turísticos supuso un aumento proporcional de trabajadores masculinos. Así, aunque el empleo femenino se incrementó durante todo el período, su peso decreció en términos relativos (véase capítulo 2).

**Cuadro I.2:** *Proporción del empleo asalariado en hospedaje y restauración, 1946-1966.*

	1946		1958		1962		1966	
	Asal.	%	Asal.	%	Asal.	%	Asal.	1966
Hoteles	-	-	42.939	91,7	53.396	92,7	70.448	93,1
Pensiones	-	-	13.766	36,4	19.792	44,6	17.191	58,7
Total	22.149	39,6	56.705	67,0	73.188	71,8	87.639	86,4
hospedaje								
Restaurantes	17.653	26,1	27.367	53,9	30.949	56,6	-	-
Cafeterías, bares, salas de fiesta...	30.351	33,9	79.723	46,4	99.344	42,4	-	-

**Fuentes:** 1946-1962 se puede encontrar en Vallejo (2022); 1966 en INE. Estadística del movimiento de viajeros en alojamientos hoteleros y campamentos turísticos. 1966-1970.

**Nota:** El año 1966 corresponde al número de trabajadores en el mes de agosto.

El proceso de formación de capital humano tuvo una gran incidencia en las carreras profesionales en el sector. La calidad del servicio y la profesionalidad de la mano de obra era una de las grandes preocupaciones de la Dirección General de Turismo y el Sindicato Nacional de Hostelería, que veían en la calidad tanto una forma de contrarrestar la visión extranjera sobre España, y particularmente del Régimen, como imprescindible para el futuro económico de la industria turística (Pack, 2009). Nuevamente, la dualidad de la estructura hostelera en España presentaba diferencias, con grandes hoteles con

mayores niveles de profesionalización, mientras que hoteles de menor categoría y pensiones ofrecían un servicio de escasa calidad. Sin embargo, aunque a diferentes niveles, la hostelería española mostraba niveles raquíuticos de formación, a la par que la formación formal a través de las dos únicas escuelas de hostelería, en Madrid y Sevilla, no alcanza los 200 titulados anuales para toda España (Vallejo, 2022).

Los escasos datos con los que contamos nos remiten a esta dinámica. En el cuadro I.3 se muestra la trayectoria laboral de un grupo de trabajadores seleccionados por su dedicación brillante al sector que se habían jubilado a finales de 50 o estaban cerca de hacerlo. Se trata de 36 trabajadores de diferentes provincias de España seleccionados por el Sindicato Nacional de Hostelería por haber cumplido 50 años de trabajo en la hostelería de forma ininterrumpida y meritoria. A pesar de ser una muestra reducida, estos trabajadores destacan por representar trayectorias laborales que fueron consideradas como brillantes por los jefes provinciales del Sindicato y, por lo tanto, nos muestran el paradigma de relación laboral del período que finalizaba. Dado que se alejan de los preceptos del régimen en cuestiones como la movilidad de la mano de obra o la profesionalización, nos permiten observar que incluso entre los trabajadores bien valorados por los reguladores las trayectorias laborales distaban de ser lo dispuesto en la legislación.

**Cuadro I.3:** *Trayectorias laborales entre los seleccionados para la Medalla del Trabajo del Sindicato Nacional de Hostelería tras 50 años de trabajo en el sector, 1961.*

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Edad media de entrada al sector	13,0
Estancia media en una empresa	17,3
% Trabajadores con media de estancia en la empresa inferior a 10 años	48,4
% Trabajadores que emigraron a otra provincia antes de 1939	43,8
% Trabajadores que emigraron a otra provincia tras 1939	12,5
Número medio de cambios de empresa antes de 1939	3,4
Número medio de cambios de empresa tras 1939	2,1
% Trabajadores que cambiaron de empresa más de 5 veces a lo largo de su trayectoria laboral	51,5
% Trabajadores que cambiaron de empresa más de 2 veces antes de 1939	57,5
% Trabajadores que cambiaron de empresa más de 2 veces tras 1939	30,3

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**Fuentes:** AGA. Sindicatos. Sindicato Nacional de Hostelería y Actividades Turísticas. “Ministerio de Trabajo, provincias, Sindicatos Nacionales, Economía”. Caja 143/144.

Como se puede observar en el cuadro I.3, la mayoría de las vidas laborales de estos trabajadores se corresponden al patrón señalado. La gran mayoría había entrado a la profesión a una edad muy temprana, entre los 8 y 13 años, aprendiendo el oficio dentro del sector de forma informal. La rotación entre empresas era considerablemente elevada. El 51,5% cambiaron de empresa al menos 5 veces a lo largo de sus 50 años de servicio. La estancia media en una empresa entre estos trabajadores llegaba a los 17,3 años, mientras que casi el 50% registraba una estancia media inferior a los 10 años. Esta dinámica incluía tanto ascensos, como movilidad horizontal, y en algunos casos la complementación de esta actividad con la de otros sectores durante el año. Los cambios a otras empresas fueron particularmente importantes durante el período previo a la Guerra Civil, coincidiendo con los primeros 30 años de experiencia laboral y de mayor incidencia de las migraciones interprovinciales en España durante el período. Estos trabajadores habían cambiado de empresa de media 3,4 veces antes de 1939, siendo el 43,8% de ellos fruto de migración a otra provincia en al menos una ocasión, aunque la mayoría de cambios de empresa tuvieron lugar en el mismo lugar de residencia del trabajador. Con todo, tras la contienda, en otra etapa del ciclo de vida, ya superando los 40 años, y en un contexto de menor migración interprovincial relativa, los cambios de empresa fueron todavía parte relevante de sus vidas laborales. El número medio de cambios de empresa fue del 2,1, siendo el 30,3% los que lo habían hecho 3 o más veces en este período, generalmente en la misma provincia dado que el porcentaje de los que se movieron de provincia descendió al 12,5%.

La transformación hacia un modelo de turismo de masas de sol y playa no supuso un cambio de este modelo. Más bien al contrario, agudizó esta problemática durante la siguiente década. De acuerdo con Pack (2009), a mediados de los cincuenta la falta de profesionalización era más aguda entre la hostelería de las áreas costeras mediterráneas y los archipiélagos, donde el gran incremento de la demanda supuso el inicio de una improvisación sobre la marcha del plantel que se agudizaría en la siguiente década, pese a la progresiva apertura de escuelas de hostelería en las regiones de mayor crecimiento durante los sesenta (Moreno, 1990).

Estos problemas no estuvieron derivados únicamente de la falta de recursos públicos y privados para la formación reglada, sino también con la falta de incentivos por parte de los trabajadores para participar de la misma. En las Islas Baleares, por ejemplo, la apertura de escuelas de turismo públicas y privadas no tuvo capacidad para absorber el

nivel de demanda de trabajo por parte de las empresas. Con todo, la nueva oferta de estudios tampoco motivó a la mayoría de la mano de obra joven a participar de la educación reglada ante el coste de oportunidad que suponía no aprovechar la gran demanda de trabajo durante el período. En este sentido, cabe destacar que la tasa de finalización de los estudios fue baja entre los matriculados durante la década de los sesenta y setenta debido a que el crecimiento vertiginoso de la demanda de empleo y, particularmente, de empleo con una cierta cualificación, incentivaba al alumnado a dejar sus estudios antes de obtener la titulación (Moreno, 1990)<sup>6</sup>.

## **4. El mercado de trabajo turístico de sol y playa, 1955-1962**

### **4.1. La emergencia de un nuevo mercado de trabajo**

Empujado por los cambios en la demanda internacional, a partir de la década de los cincuenta el turismo español se fue especializando en la tipología de turismo de sol y playa. Este proceso operó tanto modificando las pautas geográficas en cuanto a la incidencia e importancia del turismo a nivel regional, como a las características de la industria turística. Como señala Pack (2009), ya en 1952 el crecimiento del turismo internacional en España había comenzado a dirigirse de forma cada vez más intensa hacia el Mediterráneo en detrimento de los destinos tradicionales anclados en San Sebastián y la Costa Cantábrica. Cuando la demanda turística europea comenzó a incluir a las clases medias y bajas europeas y a dar un valor prioritario a las horas de sol, estos destinos, enclaves del turismo extranjero en España hasta entonces, no pudieron competir con las ventajas de las nuevas áreas emergentes. Los turoperadores que, a través de los vuelos chárter, estaban canalizando turistas de clase media y baja a las costas españolas, dejaron al margen de sus inversiones a los destinos tradicionales. Aunque seguirían dedicados al turismo de lujo de españoles y franceses, a partir de entonces estas áreas irían perdiendo relevancia dentro del desarrollo turístico del país.

Así, la concentración del crecimiento turístico en las áreas costeras mediterráneas y de los archipiélagos iba a suponer la formación de un nuevo mercado de trabajo. Todo ello se explicaría tanto por su diferencial incidencia desde el punto de vista geoespacial, como también porque iba a dar lugar a otra dinámica en cuanto a las relaciones laborales en el sector. Su impacto en el mercado de trabajo no tardó en dejarse notar. Si en 1955

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<sup>6</sup> Los contemporáneos llegan a mencionar el rol de las empresas acercándose a las escuelas de turismo y hostelería para ofrecer trabajo de forma informal al alumnado. Buchens, P. & Costa, P. "La formación profesional en la Hostelería balear: Problemas - Soluciones.". *Economía Balear*, December.

los grandes destinos de sol y playa representaban el 14,7% del empleo total, para 1963 ya alcanzaban el 21,4%. Si incluyéramos también a aquellas regiones donde este tipo de turismo también tendrá cierta incidencia o lo hará en un ecosistema turístico más diversificado, la importancia de esta tipología de turismo podría abarcar más del 30% a inicios de la década de los sesenta y superar el 50% a inicios de la siguiente década (cuadro I.4).

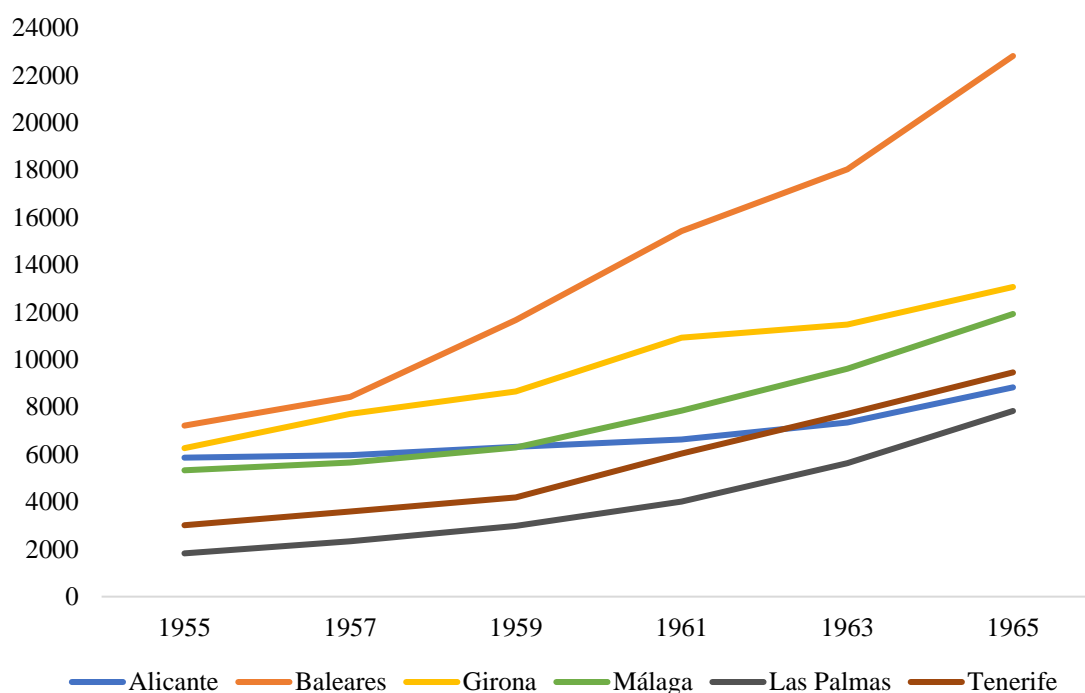
**Cuadro I.4:** Proporción de los asalariados en la hostelería y restaurantes en destinos de turismo de sol y playa sobre el total en España, 1955-1965.

	1955	1959	1963	1965	1967	1969	1973
Sol y playa	14,70	16,99	21,40	24,40	27,84	32,33	34,14
Sol y playa y diversificadas	38,74	41,01	45,28	48,04	50,97	54,45	55,57

**Fuentes:** Fundación BBV (1999).

**Nota:** Se seleccionan como “sol y playa”, las provincias de Alicante, Baleares, Gerona, Málaga, Las Palmas y Santa Cruz de Tenerife. Se incluyen como “diversificadas” provincias con especialización en el sol y playa, pero con menor impacto del mismo o mayor nivel de diversificación turística como son Barcelona, Tarragona, Cádiz, Valencia y Granada.

**Gráfico I.1:** Trabajadores asalariados en la hostelería por provincias, 1955-1965.

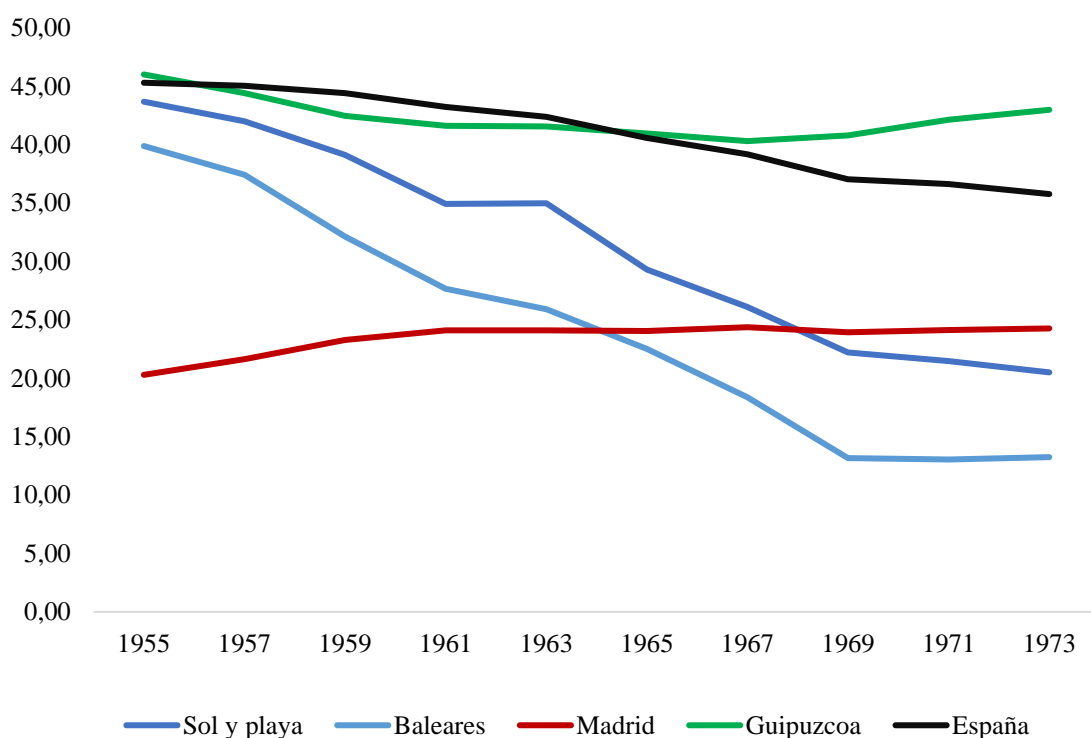


**Fuentes:** Fundación BBV (1999).

Dentro de esta fase de emergencia, se pueden distinguir tanto dos fases bien diferenciadas, como distintos niveles de incidencia desde un punto de vista regional. Por un lado, el despliegue de las medidas liberalización llevado a cabo por el Plan de

Estabilización en 1959 supuso un golpe de efecto a una dinámica ya en marcha. Si entre 1955 y 1959 estas regiones basadas en el sol y playa habían crecido considerablemente, incrementando en dos puntos su importancia dentro de la industria turística española, entre 1959 y 1963 superarían con creces los niveles previos, iniciando un proceso de crecimiento vertiginoso (cuadro I.3 y gráfico I.1). Por otro lado, el impacto del desarrollo turístico sería desigual entre las mismas regiones protagonistas. Durante el período 1955-1963 el crecimiento del empleo asalariado tendría una mayor intensidad en el archipiélago Balear y la Costa Brava. Con todo, a partir de 1959, tanto Málaga como las Islas Canarias registran un crecimiento que les permitiría converger con la Costa Catalana.

**Gráfico I.2:** *Proporción del trabajo no asalariado en la hostelería y restaurantes por regiones, 1955-1973.*



**Fuentes:** Fundación BBV (1999).

El crecimiento del turismo de sol y playa iría acompañado de una mayor profesionalización del sector, incrementándose muy considerablemente así la proporción de trabajadores asalariados sobre el total de trabajadores. Esta dinámica se puede observar analizando la evolución entre provincias y regiones turísticas dado que la incidencia del empleo no asalariado en el mercado de trabajo tenía distinta importancia en función de la estructura empresarial de cada región. En el gráfico I.2 se muestra la proporción del



trabajo no asalariado entre 1955 y 1973 en provincias y áreas seleccionadas<sup>7</sup>. El gráfico permite ver la diferencial evolución de este tipo de trabajo en función de la tipología de turismo. Podemos observar las tres categorías mencionadas. Por un lado, las Islas Baleares y el resto de destinos del sol y playa partirán de altos niveles porcentuales de trabajo no asalariado, fruto de una estructura empresarial con mayores similitudes a la de otras provincias de España hasta dicho período. Sin embargo, el crecimiento del turismo de sol y playa generará un gran crecimiento del empleo asalariado, tanto por la tipología de establecimientos, como por una mayor profesionalización.

Esto no significará que el empleo no asalariado no crezca, al contrario. No obstante, su tamaño proporcional se reducirá al incrementarse a mucho mayor nivel los remunerados. Aunque el empleo no asalariado en las zonas de sol y playa creció entre 1955 y 1973 un 57,3%, de 22.720 trabajadores a 35.790, el empleo asalariado lo hizo a un 369,4%, un total de 138.528 trabajadores (cuadro I.5). En cambio, un destino tradicional de tipo patrimonial, como la provincia de Guipúzcoa que partía de tasas similares a las iniciales de regiones de sol y playa, mantuvo una alta proporción de trabajo no asalariado entre 1955 y 1973, siempre superior al 40% del total de empleo. Esta dinámica será totalmente distinta en la otra tipología dominante en el período anterior, la cual se puede observar en la provincia de Madrid donde la mayor proporción de hoteles de gran capacidad y lujo, suponía que en 1955 el trabajo no asalariado tuviera un menor tamaño porcentual, inferior al 25%. La escasa incidencia del boom turístico en esta provincia supondrá que al contrario que las regiones implicadas, el tamaño del trabajo asalariado se mantendrá estable e incluso perderá ligeramente peso durante el período.

**Cuadro I.5:** *Trabajadores no asalariados en la hostelería y restaurantes, 1955-1973.*

	1955	1959	1963	1965	1967	1969	1973
Sol y Playa	22.720	24.385	27.302	32.654	32.281	33.910	35.790
Islas Baleares	4.786	5.521	6.310	6.625	7.080	7.416	7.869
Madrid	14.313	18.343	20.114	22.043	22.615	22.997	23.335
Guipúzcoa	3.428	3.612	3.863	4.040	4.128	4.363	4.546
España	166.149	188.467	205.456	206.838	211.398	215.952	225.911

**Fuentes:** Fundación BBV (1999).

**Nota:** Se debe destacar que estos datos y los de los siguientes cuadros probablemente infravaloran el impacto de estas ocupaciones en temporada alta. Por ejemplo, en Baleares se estima que el alcance de las ocupaciones de hostelería en temporada alta en 1973 era del 37,5%. Véase capítulo 2.

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<sup>7</sup> A medida que avance el *boom* turístico a lo largo de los años sesenta y principios de los setenta más patente se hará la pérdida de protagonismo del empleo familiar no asalariado. Como señalaría un informe del Sindicato de Hostelería de Baleares en 1970 (Sindicato Provincial de Hostelería y Actividades Turísticas de Baleares, 1970): “Al ser una hostelería que, cada vez más, tiende a aumentar de dimensión por unidad, el personal familiar tiende a perder peso relativo en el total del personal ocupado”.

Estas tasas de crecimiento del empleo en la hostelería de sol y playa supusieron rápidamente un mayor peso e influencia del empleo turístico sobre los mercados de trabajo regionales (Cuadro I.6). Generalmente, en las áreas donde creció con intensidad el número de trabajadores asalariados en el sector se produjo un gran incremento del peso del mercado de trabajo turístico dentro del conjunto de la economía regional. No obstante, el tamaño de la economía regional también determinó el alcance. Entre 1955 y 1963-65 las Baleares se convirtieron en la región en la cual el empleo turístico tenía mayor importancia, seguido de Gerona, lo cual corresponde a las áreas que registraron las mayores tasas de crecimiento del empleo turístico provincial. Cabe destacar, que el empleo turístico también adquirirá un tamaño considerable durante el período en el archipiélago canario, mientras que el mayor tamaño relativo de la economía malagueña y la alicantina, y el menor crecimiento de los asalariados, especialmente en el caso alicantino, limitaron el crecimiento porcentual. Esta dinámica continuará de forma que para 1973 en todas las regiones, a excepción de Alicante, el empleo en hostelería y restaurantes superará el 10% dentro del mercado de trabajo provincial.

**Cuadro I.6:** *Trabajadores asalariados en la hostelería y restaurantes respecto el total provincial, 1955-1973.*

	1955	1957	1959	1961	1963	1965	1967	1969	1971	1973
Alicante	3,12	3,10	3,11	3,11	3,29	3,78	4,26	5,49	5,78	5,45
Baleares	6,61	7,44	9,67	11,82	13,03	15,32	19,92	27,59	27,00	26,16
Gerona	7,03	8,01	8,53	9,83	9,77	10,82	11,00	10,87	11,04	11,18
Málaga	3,20	3,31	3,61	4,32	5,03	5,90	6,87	7,87	9,42	10,52
Palmas	1,92	2,55	3,15	4,16	5,45	6,89	7,40	8,30	8,34	10,34
Tenerife	3,25	3,76	4,49	5,97	7,25	8,43	10,60	11,35	11,47	12,32
España	2,92	3,05	3,23	3,45	3,43	3,65	3,83	4,17	4,19	4,43

**Fuentes:** Fundación BBV (1999).

**Cuadro I.7:** *Trabajadores asalariados en la hostelería y restaurantes, construcción y transportes y comunicaciones respecto el total provincial, 1955-1973.*

	1955	1957	1959	1961	1963	1965	1967	1969	1971	1973
Alicante	13,34	14,14	15,38	16,87	18,24	18,82	19,00	20,24	20,74	21,44
Baleares	21,30	22,83	25,20	29,11	32,27	34,22	38,50	45,34	45,69	46,71
Gerona	22,26	24,09	25,35	28,61	30,55	31,50	32,11	31,60	31,47	30,95
Málaga	43,66	44,78	45,34	48,53	51,56	52,01	52,14	53,50	55,44	54,83
Palmas	20,82	22,77	23,30	25,57	28,25	30,41	33,79	36,56	40,35	42,48
Tenerife	17,77	18,57	20,44	22,49	24,65	26,69	32,30	34,34	37,64	39,44
España	18,18	18,70	19,18	20,08	20,78	20,89	21,67	22,17	22,73	22,92

**Fuentes:** Fundación BBV (1999).

El impacto vinculado al incremento del gasto turístico también tuvo claros e inmediatos efectos sobre el conjunto de sectores directa e indirectamente relacionados

con el sector turístico, tanto por la inversión directa en estos sectores, como por los efectos de arrastre. Como podemos observar en los cuadros I.7 y I.8, el crecimiento del empleo vinculado con el desarrollo turístico fue ya elevado entre 1955 y 1963, en una dinámica que continuaría durante todo el *boom* turístico. Este empuje resulta particularmente importante si tenemos en cuenta, como refleja la comparación entre ambos cuadros, que fue superior al total de crecimiento relativo del sector servicios registrado durante el mismo intervalo, mostrando que en muchas de estas provincias son los sectores vinculados al sector turísticos los que están liderando el proceso de cambio estructural. Así, si añadimos a los trabajadores de la hostelería y restaurantes, los de la construcción y los transportes y comunicaciones, entre 1955 y 1963 se habría producido un incremento de la proporción de estos trabajadores de entre el 6% y el 18%.

**Cuadro I.8:** *Trabajadores asalariados en el sector servicios respecto el total provincial, 1955-1973.*

	1955	1957	1959	1961	1963	1965	1967	1969	1971	1973
Alicante	25,69	26,00	26,40	27,15	27,14	28,17	29,77	31,66	34,12	35,37
Baleares	43,41	43,76	45,77	47,88	48,96	50,99	54,39	59,87	60,01	60,78
Gerona	37,49	38,17	38,53	38,98	38,52	39,59	40,22	40,46	41,26	41,40
Málaga	33,66	34,27	35,75	37,19	37,45	38,53	41,08	42,69	45,49	47,84
Palmas	35,45	39,44	41,43	43,28	45,59	45,72	48,90	52,69	53,79	56,63
Tenerife	37,38	38,14	42,27	41,92	44,00	45,52	50,25	53,39	53,93	56,09
España	36,19	36,64	37,63	38,53	39,32	39,69	40,81	42,04	42,94	43,98

**Fuentes:** Fundación BBV (1999).

Por el contrario, el sector servicios crecería entre los mismos años entre un 3 y un 5% con la excepción de las Islas Canarias, donde el crecimiento relativo de estos sectores será similar al del total del sector servicios. En ambos casos, estas tasas de crecimiento tuvieron un protagonismo y diferenciación regional similar al previamente indicado. Las Islas Baleares y Gerona, liderarían un crecimiento en esta fase inicial, al que se sumaría el archipiélago canario y en menor medida el resto de provincias. En el sector servicios este incremento porcentual seguiría siendo vertiginoso durante toda la década, hasta acercarse al 50% del total del mercado de trabajo provincial en la mayoría de las regiones.

Con todo, la repercusión del crecimiento turístico tuvo especial reflejo en determinados municipios, en los cuales supondría una transformación radical desde el punto de vista social, económico y ecológico. La creciente llegada del turismo internacional tuvo especial incidencia en municipios rurales costeros en los que el rol e influencia previos del turismo, y de la hostelería en particular, había sido bajo. Aunque en algunas áreas se habían registrado o formulado propuestas para la construcción de

modelos de turismo residencial o hotelero, particularmente antes de la Guerra Civil, lo cierto es que su impacto era todavía escaso a la llegada de los años cincuenta (Pack, 2009; Cirer-Costa, 2014a; Vallejo, 2019). Sería en estos municipios donde el mercado de trabajo experimentaría una transformación radical y un crecimiento prácticamente exponencial (cuadro I.9). De esta forma, las tasas de crecimiento poblacional serán muy elevadas ya en la década de los cincuenta, como preludio del enorme crecimiento que se vivirá durante la década de los sesenta. Como es conocido, municipios como Benidorm en Alicante, Fuengirola en Málaga o San Bartolomé de Tirajana (Maspalomas) en Las Palmas, registraron tasas de crecimiento superiores al 25% durante la década de los cincuenta (cuadro I.10).

**Cuadro I.9:** *Evolución de la población en los principales destinos turísticos, 1940-1970.*

	1940	1950	1960	1970
Benidorm, Alicante	2.955	2.726	6.259	12.124
Llucmajor, Baleares	10.249	10.094	10.664	13.636
Castell-Platja d'Aro, Gerona	1.088	1.125	1.358	2.473
Lloret de Mar, Gerona	3.083	3.159	3.627	7.064
Marbella, Málaga	8.982	9.921	12.069	33.203
Fuengirola, Málaga	6.630	6.695	8.492	20.597
San Bartolomé de Tirajana, Las Palmas	8.960	8.809	13.384	19.846

**Fuentes:** INE. Censos de Población. 1940-1970.

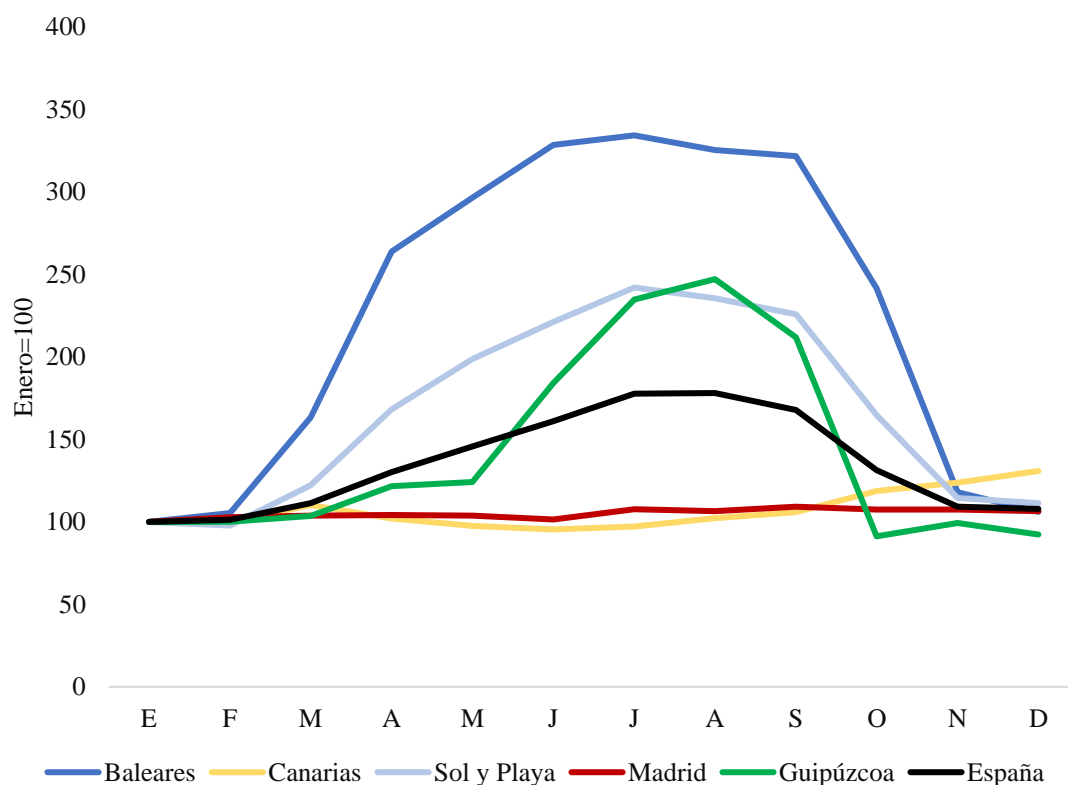
**Cuadro I.10:** *Tasa de crecimiento natural de la población en los principales destinos turísticos, 1940-1970.*

	1940-50	1950-60	1960-70
Benidorm, Alicante	-7,75	129,60	93,71
Llucmajor, Baleares	-1,51	5,65	27,87
Platja d'Aro, Gerona	3,40	20,71	82,11
Lloret de Mar, Gerona	2,47	14,81	94,76
Marbella, Málaga	10,45	21,65	175,11
Fuengirola, Málaga	0,98	26,84	142,55
San Bartolomé de Tirajana, Las Palmas	-1,69	51,94	48,28

**Fuentes:** INE. Censos de Población. 1940-1970.

El desarrollo turístico en estos municipios iba a tener un efecto diferencial respecto al mercado de trabajo anterior especialmente sobre tres factores clave con repercusión en el funcionamiento y composición del mercado de trabajo. En primer lugar, el nuevo paradigma dominante de la demanda turística internacional iba a suponer una mayor estacionalidad turística, reduciendo de forma considerable el peso del empleo fijo y anual en la industria turística. Aunque los establecimientos turísticos pudieran abrir todo el año, en muchas ocasiones se mantenía una plantilla base mientras que más del 60% de los trabajadores tenían consideración eventual, con la excepción de los hoteles de mayor categoría.

**Gráfico I.3:** Evolución mensual del número de trabajadores en la hotelería en distintas tipologías de turismo en 1966.



**Fuentes:** INE. Estadística del movimiento de viajeros en alojamientos hoteleros y campamentos turísticos. 1966-1970.

**Nota:** Total de trabajadores por mes y provincia. La estadística no dispone de datos para años anteriores a 1966.

El gráfico I.3 y el cuadro I.11 muestra que ya en 1966 la evolución mensual del total de trabajadores en la hotelería sufría considerablemente mayores fluctuaciones en los destinos de sol y playa que la media española o el modelo turístico vinculado al turismo patrimonial o de grandes capitales representado por Madrid. Así, pese a que algunos destinos turísticos tradicionales pudieran tener también una considerable

estacionalidad de la demanda de trabajo, como la Cornisa Cantábrica o los destinos de balnearios, el gran crecimiento proporcional de los destinos de sol y playa, intensificaría la estacionalidad turística total del país ya durante la primera mitad de los sesenta y su impacto sobre la economía. Como es sabido, esta estacionalidad estuvo concentrada de forma marcada entre los meses de abril a octubre, con la excepción de las Islas Canarias, donde además de una menor estacionalidad vinculada con el clima, los picos de demanda de trabajo se concentrarán a final e inicio del año.

El impacto de esta estacionalidad es mayor si movemos la unidad de análisis del ámbito provincial al de las áreas específicamente turísticas. El cuadro I.11 nos proporciona dicha información en la cual se recoge el número de trabajadores exclusivamente en los destinos turísticos. Utilizando coeficientes de correlación, este cuadro refleja como en la mayoría de regiones turísticas, con la excepción del patrón diferencial de las Islas Canarias, la estacionalidad era mayor en las costas donde se estaba produciendo el *boom* turístico.

**Cuadro I.11:** *Coefficientes de variación del número mensual de trabajadores en la hotelería en distintas zonas turísticas en 1966.*

	Zonas turísticas	Provincias
<b>Boom turístico</b>		
Baleares <sup>a</sup>	63,26 <sup>a</sup>	44,01
Canarias <sup>a</sup>	10,38 <sup>a</sup>	10,79
Costa Brava	101,12	85,36
Costa del Sol	18,46	9,13
<b>Destinos tradicionales</b>		
Cornisa Cantábrica <sup>b</sup>	55,56	40,63
Ciudad de Madrid	2,37	2,66
Ciudad de Barcelona	6,39	26,60
Balnearios <sup>c</sup>	106,98	-

**Fuentes:** INE. Estadística del movimiento de viajeros en alojamientos hoteleros y campamentos turísticos. 1966-1970.

**Nota:** Se siguen las recomendaciones de Duro y Farré (2015) acerca de las metodologías para el estudio de la estacionalidad turística.

<sup>a</sup>Canarias y Baleares no incluyen los trabajadores correspondientes a sus capitales de provincia, Santa Cruz, Las Palmas y Palma.

<sup>b</sup>La Cornisa Cantábrica corresponde a las áreas costeras de Guipúzcoa, Oviedo, Santander y Vizcaya, y en la segunda columna a sus respectivas provincias.

<sup>c</sup>Alojamientos hoteles o acampamentos al servicio de los balnearios de toda España.

En la segunda mitad de la década de los sesenta y principios de los 70 la estacionalidad de la demanda de trabajo se iría reduciendo progresivamente en los destinos de sol y playa sin que, por ello, supusiera un cambio en las características del modelo. Por ejemplo, entre 1966 y 1972 el coeficiente de variación de la demanda de trabajo mensual pasaría del 44,0 al 39,5 en Baleares y del 33,7 al 25,8 en las regiones que hemos categorizado como de sol y playa. De esta forma, el mercado de trabajo regional iría consolidando una fluctuación y movilidad de la mano de obra de carácter estacional que afectaría a diferentes niveles al resto de la economía.

La interrelación entre las características de la demanda turística y de la oferta, todo ello vinculado con las características del destino turístico como producto y de la política turística de los diferentes agentes implicados, se plasmaba en una diferencial proporción de las distintas categorías en cuanto a la estacionalidad. Como muestra el cuadro I.12, existe una relación entre la categoría del establecimiento y el nivel de estacionalidad, tanto en el total de España, como en las provincias de sol y playa. Los hoteles de lujo, y en menor medida los de 4 estrellas, registraban una estacionalidad substancialmente inferior al resto de categorías hoteleras y, particularmente, a las pensiones y los hoteles de una estrella, los cuales registraban mayores índices.

En este sentido, cabe destacar que la estacionalidad no era mayor para los trabajadores no asalariados, pero éstos la sufrían en un mayor grado dado que la mayoría de este trabajo se circunscribía a las pensiones y hotelería de baja calidad cuya estacionalidad era muy superior (cuadro I.13). Mientras que en 1967 el coeficiente de variación de los trabajadores no remunerados era del 26,81 y el 40,57 en España y provincias de sol y playa respectivamente para los remunerados alcanzaba el 19,21 y el 29,51. Sin embargo, a nivel de misma categoría y tipología turística, los trabajadores no remunerados, generalmente trabajadores por cuenta propia y familiares y conocidos remunerados dentro de la estructura del hogar o dentro de la economía sumergida, eran una fuerza de trabajo que tenía un grado menor de flexibilidad. Los empresarios que trabajaban por cuenta propia y/o utilizaban de forma abundante familiares eran más propensos a mantener durante toda la apertura a este tipo de trabajadores y flexibilizaban en mayor medida el uso del trabajo remunerado. Dentro de las pensiones los no remunerados tenían un nivel de estacionalidad considerablemente inferior tanto entre el total de España como específicamente en las provincias especializadas en el turismo de sol y playa.

**Cuadro I.12:** *Coefficientes de variación del número mensual de trabajadores en la hotelería en distintas tipologías de establecimiento en 1967.*

Categoría	España	Sol-playa
<b>Hoteles</b>		
Lujo	4,14	7,34
4	13,24	20,12
3 y 2	24,40	35,47
1	38,88	54,79
<b>Pensiones y acampamentos</b>		
Lujo	22,34	37,17
Pensiones	25,87	48,38
Acampamentos	97,37	100,27
Total	20,23	30,49

**Fuentes:** INE. Estadística del movimiento de viajeros en alojamientos hoteleros y campamentos turísticos. 1966-1970.

**Nota:** Se siguen las recomendaciones de Duro y Farré (2015) acerca de las metodologías para el estudio de la estacionalidad turística.

**Cuadro I.13:** *Coefficientes de variación del número mensual de trabajadores en la hotelería según tipo de remuneración en 1967.*

Categoría	Asalariados	No asalariados
<b>España</b>		
Total	19,21	26,81
Pensiones	32,97	18,55
<b>Sol y playa</b>		
Total	29,51	40,57
Pensiones	54,79	37,26

**Fuentes:** INE. Estadística del movimiento de viajeros en alojamientos hoteleros y campamentos turísticos. 1966-1970.

**Nota:** Se siguen las recomendaciones de Duro y Farré (2015) acerca de las metodologías para el estudio de la estacionalidad turística.

En segundo lugar, el gran crecimiento de la industria turística durante este período iba a dotar al sector de una mayor capacidad de atracción la mano de obra local, tanto por ofrecer salarios por encima de algunos de los sectores de la economía, como por el gran incremento de vacantes de empleo. Durante los primeros años de formación del nuevo mercado de trabajo el subsector clave de la industria turística, la hostelería, atrajo un considerable número de trabajadores locales. Los diferenciales salariales respecto



otras ocupaciones de la agricultura y de la industria, jugaron un papel fundamental, tanto entre trabajos de baja cualificación equivalente, como de alta cualificación. Así lo señalaba la Cámara de Comercio de Mallorca en 1962 (Manera, 2002, p. 404):

“Los altos ingresos que se perciben en la hostelería hace que ésta se nutra incluso de personal especializado de otros ramos industriales e incluso que se reste interés en los aprendices por conseguir una especialización, al poder obtener como botones y ayudantes de comedor ingresos insospechados hace unos años”

En tercer lugar, fruto de la gran capacidad de creación de empleo y a los salarios diferenciales tanto intersectoriales, como interregionales, a partir de este período el desarrollo turístico comienza a jugar un rol importante en los flujos migratorios intra e interprovinciales dentro del contexto del éxodo rural en España. Por un lado, una parte importante de la fuerza de trabajo de la emergente industria turística provenía de municipios de la misma provincia o adyacentes, lo cual suponía un incremento poblacional muy elevado de estos municipios, pero también un incremento de la movilidad intrarregional tanto diaria, como estacional.

Por otro, este crecimiento inicial también supuso el inicio de una migración interregional con un importante componente temporero que iría incrementándose a medida que el desarrollo de la economía turística fuera creciendo. A este contingente debería sumarse la progresiva llegada de población extranjera, principalmente por motivos residenciales, pero que también comenzará a tener un efecto sobre las ocupaciones cualificadas del sector, a la par que aumentaba la demanda de servicios y productos en sectores como los servicios personales o la construcción. Las Islas Baleares, principalmente Mallorca, registrará entre 1950 y 1960 un incremento de 17.793 españoles no nacidos en la provincia, mientras que el número de extranjeros residentes aumentará en 1.631. Al mismo tiempo, parte de la población de otras áreas de España que había emigrado previamente a Baleares, Girona y Alicante a ocupaciones vinculadas con la agricultura, algunos sectores industriales y la minería y las canteras, se fue desplazando hacía estos nichos nuevos de ocupación en el sector servicios. En muchos casos, la entrada al sector tuvo un carácter estacional y complementario a la ocupación u ocupaciones llevadas a cabo durante el resto del año, la cual en el caso de la población masculina cada vez más estuvo vinculada al sector de la construcción (Duocastella, 1969; Bisson, 1977 Barbaza, 1988; Salas, 2011).

En conjunto, podemos diferenciar a los destinos de sol y playa desde un punto de vista socio-económico en seis aspectos resumidos en el cuadro I.14. En efecto, los

destinos de sol y playa se diferenciaban de algunos de los modelos de turismo ya implantados en España por su mayor salarización, impacto de la estacionalidad y su impacto en las economías provinciales. Compartía con los anteriores destinos los bajos niveles de formación y la importancia del desarrollo de capacidades dentro de la empresa. Sin embargo, el nuevo mercado destacó por realizar esta formación informal dentro del rápido aprendizaje y la improvisación de las plantillas propio del período. Por último, desde un punto de vista geo-espacial también tenían rasgos diferenciales en cuanto al tipo de áreas de implantación y a la incidencia sobre el paisaje que ejercían. El análisis micro de uno de estos destinos emergentes característicos puede terminar por corroborar algunos de estos argumentos.

**Cuadro I.14:** *Características de las principales tipologías de turismo desde una perspectiva laboral en España a mediados de los 60.*

	No asalariados	Formación	Estacionalidad del trabajo	Impacto provincial	Áreas de implantación	Incidencia espacial
Sol y playa	Bajo	Improvisación/ informalidad	Alta/muy alta	Alto	Rurales	Alta
Capitales	Bajo	Informalidad	Baja	Bajo	Urbanas	Baja
Destinos tradicionales	Alto	Informalidad	Muy alta	Bajo	Urbanas/ rurales	Baja

**Fuentes:** Elaboración propia a partir de la argumentación y literatura citada en el texto.

**Nota:** Destinos tradicionales comprende la Cornisa Cantábrica y el turismo relacionado con Balnearios.

## **4.2. El emergente mercado de trabajo en el turismo de masas de sol y playa: s'Arenal, Mallorca, 1955-1965**

El efecto del nuevo mercado de trabajo emergente sobre los municipios que se estaban transformando en destinos turísticos de masas era ya muy intenso en este primer período. Un buen ejemplo de este proceso lo encontramos en el distrito de s'Arenal en Lluçmajor dentro de la Playa de Palma en la isla de Mallorca. Para inicios de la década de los 60 esta área ya se podía considerar un destino turístico de masas. No en vano, entre este distrito y el correspondiente a la ciudad de Palma se encontraban un total de 28 establecimientos turísticos en 1962, 15 hoteles y 13 pensiones, dando un total de 1.074 habitaciones (Dirección General de Turismo, 1963). Durante la siguiente década esta dinámica se intensificaría, convirtiéndose junto con Calvià y el resto de la Playa de Palma en una de las áreas donde el *boom* turístico mayor impacto tendría en el archipiélago.

Los cuadros I.15, I.16 y I.17 nos muestran el alcance de este desarrollo en comparativa con el total del municipio y las Islas Baleares en su conjunto. Como se puede observar, mientras que los no nacidos en Baleares suponían el 11,6% de la población de las Islas Baleares y el 10,1 del municipio en 1960, en del distrito de s'Arenal la población activa nacida en el resto de España suponía el 56,3% de la población en 1965. Asimismo, esta población migrante suponía el 70,7% de la población activa llegada entre 1958 y 1965, mientras que la llegada de otros municipios de las Islas Baleares alcanzaba el 19,6% del total.

**Cuadro I.15:** *Distribución de la población en las Islas Baleares y s'Arenal, 1950-1965.*

	Total	%
Nacidos en el resto de España (Islas Baleares, 1960)	51.339	11,6
Nacidos en el resto de España (Islas Baleares, 1950-1960)	17.793	0,40
Nacidos en el resto de España (Llucmajor, 1960)	1.084	10,1
Nacidos en el resto de España (Palma, 1960)	29.998	19,1
Nacidos en el resto de España (Palma, 1950-1960)	8.983	0,57
Población activa nacida en el resto de España en s'Arenal, 1965	588	56,3
Población activa nacida en el resto de España en s'Arenal, 1958-65	497	70,7
Población activa no local nacida en las Islas Baleares en s'Arenal, 1965	236	22,6
Población activa no local nacida en las Islas Baleares en s'Arenal, 1958-65	138	19,6

**Fuentes:** Arxiu Municipal de Llucmajor. Padrón de 1965 y INE. Censo de población y viviendas, 1960.

**Nota:** En población activa se incluyen las mujeres que indican la categoría "Sus labores". Como "locales" se identifican los nacidos en el municipio de Llucmajor y de Palma.

Estos datos merecen cierta matización por dos motivos. Por un lado, infravaloran el impacto real de las actividades turísticas sobre las ocupaciones y el tamaño de la población ya que tanto padrones como censos se elaboraban fuera de la temporada turística, además de excluir a los temporeros vinculados con la misma actividad (Silvestre, 2007). Por otro lado, como veremos también para el caso de las ocupaciones, una parte del predominio de la migración procedente de otras provincias se podría explicar por los desplazamientos diarios de corta distancia de locales desde otros municipios. Asimismo, el trabajo llevado a cabo por mujeres pudo sufrir una infravaloración, ya sea por no tener en cuenta su ocupación estacional, o por no incluirse su ocupación real al indicar o darse por sentado que su profesión se vinculaba únicamente

a las tareas de carácter reproductivo (Humphries y Sarasúa, 2012). Con todo, el objetivo de este enfoque a nivel de distrito es mostrar cómo de importante ya era la atracción de migrantes y el cambio ocupacional en esta fase inicial de desarrollo del *boom* turístico a través del estudio de la transformación experimentada por esta área eminentemente turística.

Los cuadros I.16 y I.17 reflejan este fenómeno con mayor precisión, aportando información acerca de los orígenes de los principales grupos de migrantes interprovinciales e intraprovinciales de entre la población activa. Así, el cuadro I.16 muestra que los principales grupos de población migrante provenían de las provincias de Albacete, Córdoba y Sevilla, siendo mayoría los llegados a partir de 1958. Con todo, el cuadro I.16 indica que estos municipios ya tenían un número considerable de contingentes de población que habría emigrado a las islas por otros motivos, particularmente en el caso de Lluçmajor a actividades relacionadas con el trabajo en las canteras y la industria zapatera<sup>8</sup>. Asimismo, podemos observar la importancia entre el total de migrantes de otros municipios mallorquines próximos, como Algaida y Sencelles. Sin embargo, entre los llegados a partir de 1958 y que permanecían en 1965 los municipios de otras provincias constituyen la totalidad de los principales municipios.

**Cuadro I.16:** *Principales grupos de población activa por provincias en s'Arenal en 1965.*

Provincias	N.	Provincias, 1958-1965	N.
Albacete	132	Albacete	97
Córdoba	105	Córdoba	93
Sevilla	67	Sevilla	53
Jaén	47	Málaga	38
Málaga	46	Jaén	36
Murcia	40	Granada	36
Granada	36	Murcia	32

**Fuentes:** Arxiu Municipal de Lluçmajor. Padrón de 1965.

**Nota:** En población activa se incluyen las mujeres que indican la categoría "Sus labores".

Dada la importancia del turismo en esta área, la gran mayoría de las profesiones declaradas por sus habitantes son una buena muestra del impacto del turismo y sus sectores de arrastre sobre el mercado de trabajo. Como se ha señalado, no contamos con el total de ocupaciones y ocupados de temporada alta, particularmente para los trabajadores de la hostelería. Aún con este sesgo, el gráfico I.4 refleja un gran impacto de las actividades turísticas sobre los habitantes del distrito para el año 1965. Las

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<sup>8</sup> La importancia de la industria zapatera en Lluçmajor se puede ver en Manera (2002).

ocupaciones que podían tener una relación directa con el desarrollo turístico, como albañiles, camareros y camareras, chóferes y transportistas, cocineros o lavanderas, alcanzaban el 49,2% del total de ocupaciones. Si sumáramos ocupaciones con vinculación indirecta, como fontaneros, electricistas o carpinteros, estaríamos ante el 60% del total aproximadamente. Dentro de las vinculadas directamente, destacan muy por encima del resto los que declaran trabajar de albañil, con más del 20%, y los que declaran ser camareros y camareras, con cerca del 15%. Cabe mencionar que, como señalábamos aquellos que reportan ser albañiles podrían compatibilizar esta ocupación con el trabajo en temporada alta en la hostelería, al igual que sirvientas o agricultores, por ejemplo.

Locales, migrantes de otros municipios de la provincia y migrantes desde otras provincias no entraron en las mismas ocupaciones por igual. Los cuadros I.18 y I.19 muestran que entre los que residían en el distrito los migrantes de otras provincias fueron la gran mayoría entre las ocupaciones muy íntimamente vinculadas con el turismo: suponen el 87 y el 67 por ciento de los ocupados que declaran ser albañiles o camareros o camareras respectivamente. Si observamos entre los que llegaron a partir de 1958, supondrían el 94 y el 85,9 del total de ocupados en las mencionadas categorías. Misma dinámica podemos observar en ocupaciones altamente feminizadas generalmente vinculadas con menores ingresos y menor prestigio socio-cultural de las cuales la población local podía ser particularmente reticente a participar. Es el caso de las sirvientas, lavanderas y limpiadoras, cuya aportación de las foráneas alcanza el 90% del total y el 100% entre las personas llegadas al municipio a partir de 1958.

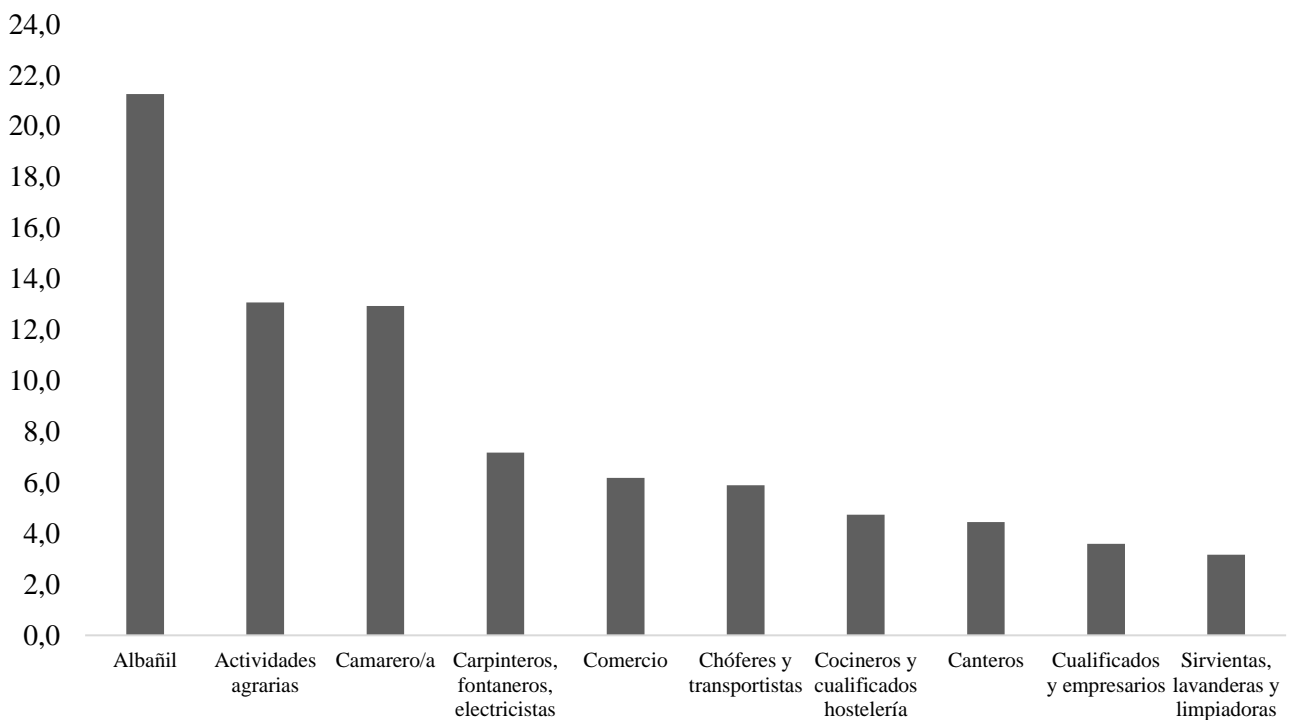
**Cuadro I.17:** *Principales grupos de población activa por municipios en s'Arenal en 1965.*

Municipios	N.	Municipios, 1958-1965	N.
Hellín, Albacete	90	Hellín, Albacete	66
Rute, Córdoba	40	Rute, Córdoba	38
Lora de Estepa, Sevilla	29	Lora de Estepa, Sevilla	17
Algaida, Mallorca	23	Puente de Génave, Jaén	15
Sierra de Yeguas, Málaga	20	El Saucejo, Sevilla	15
Puente Genil, Córdoba	18	Sierra de Yeguas, Málaga	15
Sencelles, Mallorca	16	Casas de Don Pedro, Badajoz	12

**Fuentes:** Arxiu Municipal de Lluçmajor. Padrón de 1965.

**Nota:** Se han excluido capitales de provincia. En población activa se incluyen las mujeres que indican la categoría "Sus labores".

**Gráfico I.4:** Principales ocupaciones en el distrito de s'Arenal en 1965.



**Fuentes:** Arxiu Municipal de Lluçmajor. Padrón de 1965.

**Cuadro I.18:** Principales ocupaciones por lugar de nacimiento en el distrito de s'Arenal en 1965.

Ocupación	Locales		Baleares		Resto de España	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Albañil	12	0,81	7	0,47	129	87,2
Actividades agrarias	15	16,4	22	24,1	43	47,2
Camarero/a	11	12,2	16	17,7	61	67,7
Carpinteros, fontaneros, electricistas...	9	18,0	12	24,0	31	62,0
Comercio	31	72,0	7	16,2	13	30,2
Chóferes y transportistas	9	21,9	18	43,9	14	34,1
Cocineros y cualificados en hostelería	3	0,90	9	27,7	19	57,7
Canteros	13	41,9	7	22,5	11	35,4
Empresarios y cualificados	10	40,0	8	32,0	7	28,0
Sirvientas, lavanderas y limpiadoras	1	0,45	1	0,45	17	90,9

**Fuentes:** Arxiu Municipal de Lluçmajor. Padrón de 1965.

**Nota:** Como "locales" se identifican los nacidos en el municipio de Lluçmajor y de Palma.

Los locales y migrantes llegados desde otros municipios de las Baleares también participaron considerablemente de la economía turística del distrito. Aunque la categoría

de albañil parece abrumadoramente ocupada por migrantes, en otras como la de camarero o camarera suponen aproximadamente el 30% del total. Por otra parte, allí donde tuvieron mayor protagonismo en términos relativos y absolutos fue en ocupaciones turísticas que tenían un componente diferencial tanto en las condiciones laborales como la cualificación, como son los chóferes y transportistas, de los que entre ambos grupos superan el 60%, o cocineros y trabajos cualificados en la hostelería, superando el 30%. También tienen un gran protagonismo en ocupaciones con mejores salarios medios en crecimiento por el arrastre de la economía turística. Entre éstos destacan carpinteros, fontaneros y electricistas y otras profesiones similares, así como empresarios y ocupaciones cualificadas del sector servicios. De forma similar, si nos fijamos específicamente en los llegados desde otros municipios de la provincia a partir de 1958, podemos concluir que lo hicieron para ocupar trabajos vinculados tanto directa, como indirectamente con el turismo, de los que destacan ocupaciones cualificadas en la hostelería, los transportes, servicios cualificados e industria auxiliar (carpinteros, fontaneros, herreros...).

Con todo, cabe señalar que tampoco todos los locales y migrantes desde la misma provincia tuvieron la misma capacidad o intención de acceder a las crecientes ocupaciones. Observamos que al menos en temporada baja aquellos locales y migrantes desde la misma provincia que habían entrado en el mercado de trabajo décadas antes y que podían encontrar dificultades para moverse a los subsectores en alza se mantuvieron dentro de las ocupaciones de mayor importancia en períodos anteriores, entre ellos podemos encontrar a los ocupados en el sector agrario o el trabajo en canteras.

**Cuadro I.19:** *Ocupaciones relacionadas con el turismo por lugar de nacimiento entre los llegados al municipio entre 1958 y 1965 en el distrito de s'Arenal en 1965.*

Ocupación	Balears		Resto de España	
	Total	%	Total	%
Albañil	4	0,33	112	94,9
Camarero/a	8	12,5	55	85,9
Carpinteros, fontaneros, electricistas...	6	18,1	28	84,8
Chóferes y transportistas	11	50	11	50
Cocineros y cualificados en hostelería	7	26,9	17	65,3
Canteros	2	20,0	8	80,0
Sirvientas, lavanderas y limpiadoras	0	0,0	17	100

**Fuentes:** Arxiu Municipal de Lluçmajor. Padrón de 1965.

**Nota:** Como "locales" se identifican los nacidos en el municipio de Lluçmajor y de Palma.

## **5. Conclusiones**

La evolución del mercado de trabajo turístico durante este período está íntimamente marcada por la intensa transformación que se producirá a partir de mediados de los cincuenta. En torno a esta década “bisagra”, se producirá el paso del modelo turístico dual previo a la Guerra Civil y presente durante la inmediata posguerra a la emergencia vertiginosa del turismo de masas de sol y playa.

Antes de producirse este profundo cambio, la estructura laboral del mercado de trabajo turístico en España estaba marcada por un ecosistema empresarial donde hoteles de gran capacidad en las capitales y enclaves turísticos basados en clientela de mayor poder adquisitivo convivían con una red atomizada de pensiones y oferta complementaria de muy pequeña capacidad. Mientras que en el primer segmento se daban mayores niveles de profesionalización y complejidad en cuanto a las ocupaciones, en la gran mayoría de establecimientos existía un modelo laboral altamente consistente en el trabajo no asalariado, vinculado al reparto de los beneficios del trabajo dentro del seno familiar y de allegados, donde se daba una alta participación relativa de trabajo femenino y un muy alto componente de informalidad laboral. Con todo, la formación de capital humano en los diferentes segmentos compartiría similares rasgos: entre aquellos que finalizarían antes de 1960 su carrera laboral en el sector destacarían por una entrada al mercado de trabajo a edad muy joven, en ocasiones infantil, que daría lugar a una formación sobre la marcha dentro de la empresa y que podía incluir tanto movilidad interna, como a través de la movilidad entre empresas y regiones en múltiples ocasiones. Pese al escaso número de observaciones, estos datos mostrarían que ya existía una importante movilidad laboral, vinculada a la rotación y en menor medida también a la migración interprovincial, entre las trayectorias laborales previas al *boom* turístico.

A la llegada de mediados de los años cincuenta el marco regulatorio establecido por el Franquismo se encuadraba en esta tipología de mercado de trabajo. Sin embargo, desde este período hasta la crisis de 1973, las autoridades no adaptaron la legislación a las considerables diferencias y al mayor impacto regional que presentaba el nuevo mercado de trabajo emergente. Esto fue particularmente importante para factores clave del nuevo modelo como la estacionalidad de la demanda de trabajo, las remuneraciones y la movilidad laboral de los trabajadores. Todo ello tuvo consecuencias negativas sobre el funcionamiento del mercado de trabajo en aspectos como la formación de capital humano o las condiciones de vida de los trabajadores.



En efecto, este mercado suponía importantes diferencias respecto del modelo anterior. En este artículo hemos mostrado cómo el empleo turístico se fue concentrando cada vez de forma más intensa en el Mediterráneo y en los archipiélagos. En los primeros años del *boom* turístico su crecimiento tendrá ya un considerable impacto a nivel provincial, generalmente convirtiéndose no solo en un sector clave de la región, sino que en las comarcas y municipios específicos donde tendrá lugar supondrá una transformación radical de las relaciones laborales y de la estructura sociológica y poblacional. Así, emerge en estos municipios un mercado de trabajo que iba a distinguirse por mayores niveles de profesionalización en detrimento del empleo familiar no remunerado y el autoempleo, una formación laboral informal basada en la improvisación, por estar condicionado por la estacionalidad de la demanda turística, tener mayor capacidad de atraer trabajadores locales y convertirse en un gran vehículo de movilización de migraciones interprovinciales, tanto permanentes como temporeras, dentro del marco del éxodo rural.

El análisis micro cuantitativo de uno de estos destinos, s'Arenal de Lluçmajor, en la isla de Mallorca, muestra que aquellos que se asentaron atraídos por la demanda turística en este núcleo de pequeña población fueron fundamentalmente migrantes de otras provincias españolas, particularmente del sur de España. Estos migrantes ocuparon la gran mayoría de ocupaciones en el sector turístico y sectores relacionados, como son las ocupaciones de camarero, albañil, camarera y limpiadora. Con todo, también este incipiente destino turístico atrajo migrantes de la propia provincia y trabajadores locales. Sin embargo, estos dos grupos tuvieron mayor incidencia en ocupaciones de mayor remuneración y prestigio socio-cultural, tales como el sector de los transportes, la industria auxiliar o empleos cualificados indirectamente creados por el empuje turístico.

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## II

# The formation of the tourism labour market in Spain, 1955-1973<sup>1</sup>

### Abstract

This paper studies the process of labour market formation in the tourism industry in Spain between 1955 and 1973. The Spanish tourism boom represented a turning point for this industry and the Spanish economy with possible significant long-term consequences. Using multiple quantitative and qualitative sources, I show that tourism regions diverged in their capacity to attract local labour, a factor that led to a different composition of the workforce and inequality among natives and migrant groups. Furthermore, the characteristics of the migrant flows were particularly shaped by the degree of housing shortages, the seasonality of the labour market of the region and the lack of an adequate institutional framework. Tourism agents responded to this scenario by promoting circular migration through different mechanisms such as recruitment in origin, temporary housing and means of transportation. Thus, this typology of migration became a key factor for the level of expansion of the industry, particularly in the case of the hospitality industry. The impact of this migration on the host labour market follows most of the positive arguments about circular migrations. Circular migration helped to the expansion of the tourism industry benefiting natives who were able to climb up the occupational ladder, while migrants improved their living standards. However, it also had negative effects. The high skill premium for skilled jobs and the downward pressures at the bottom of the income distribution increased inequality in the regional labour market a dynamic that could be transferred to the overall host society. Furthermore, this pattern of growth may generate significant constraints for future adaptation to changes in the tourism industry.

**Keywords:** Migrations, Circular Migration, Labour Market Formation, Inequality, Spanish Tourism Boom, Balearic Islands.

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“Probablemente Ícaro creía tocar el cielo cuando se hundió en el mar epónimo”

*-La vuelta al día en ochenta mundos, Julio Cortázar.*

## **1. Introduction**

From 1959 onwards tourism has become one of the main engines of the Spanish economy. It is frequently recognized for its key role in the pattern of economic development conducted by the country since this period, with a particular incidence in the labour market and the balance of payments (Balaguer & Cantavella-Jordá, 2002). The prominent incidence of this sector can be notably seen in the archipelagos and in areas of the Mediterranean coast, where became the main sector of specialization (Almeida, 2013). However, the strong economic association with tourism services has also been related to considerable social, economic and ecological negative impacts. Thus, from a socio-economic perspective, researchers have noted factors such as limited income growth per capita in the long-term (Capó, Riera, & Rosselló, 2007; Navinés & Manera, 2018), higher rates of labour precariousness (Casado-Díaz & Simón, 2016), lower social cohesion and negative impact in educational attainment, especially on school dropouts (Amer, 2011). Furthermore, the current Covid-19 crisis has remarked the vulnerability of tourism specialisation (Duro, et al., 2021) and significantly the key role played by circular migrants in this and other sectors (Wright, 2021; Wright & Constantin, 2021). Despite these claims, tourism labour markets in Spain are still scantily explored from a contemporary and historical perspective (Malo, 2011; Walton, 2012).

Most main theories in social science and tourism studies note that the process that shapes the foundational characteristics of regions and their institutions, such as labour markets, industrial structures or legal systems, can have long-term consequences. Thus, path dependence theory considers that during a critical juncture of a region or institution an array of interdependences generate increasing returns, in terms of learning, coordination and adaptation, that constrain the capacity of change by increasing future costs of adaptation and restructuration (David, 1994; Henning, Stam, & Wenting, 2013). In a similar vein, the Tourism Area Life Cycle, which defines different stages in the evolution of tourism destinations, considers that the period of “development”, where the tourism destination shapes its structure, constrains the capacity of restructuration of the destination (Agarwal, 2002; Butler, 2011). Thus, from a labour market perspective, both theoretical frameworks emphasize the process of labour market formation as a key stage

for the understanding of the characteristics of the long-term development of tourism regions.

In this paper, I want to contribute to the study of the long-term effects of tourism specialisation by analysing the process of labour market formation in Spain with a particular focus on the case of the Balearic Islands. Although the tourism industry registered significant growth prior to the Civil War (Vallejo, 2019), from 1955, and especially 1959, until 1973 the so-called Spanish tourism boom represented a turning point in the Spanish economy. During this period, the tourism industry became the main sector of specialisation of the key tourism regions of Spain, adapted to a mass tourism model and structured its labour market, factors which characterise the development stage of the mentioned theories. The areas of higher tourism incidence experienced a strong process of tertiarization which led to intense migrant assimilation shaped by circular migratory flows. In the case of the Balearic Islands, this process changed the region from an economic and sociological perspective: given most ended up establishing permanently, the share of the non-native population changed from 8.9% to 26.6% between 1950 and 1981. Thus, by doing this study, this paper can suggest some insights into the historical roots of the dynamics of labour markets of tourism economies in Spain. Moreover, given the leadership and the exportation of these management experiences to the rest of the world since the eighties by its most prominent hotel chains, particularly the Caribbean and the rest of the Mediterranean (Andreu, Claver, & Quer, 2017), this research can also help to understand the process of labour market formation in these areas and proportionate guidance on labour policy.

This analysis can also contribute to the knowledge of the impact of circular migrations in labour markets. A scarce but growing research is remarking on the differential role of temporary migrations during the assimilation process. Accordingly, these authors note that temporary migrants differ in their investment preferences. These migrants would have lower incentives to acquire host-specific human, social and physical capital. Moreover, their location preferences would reduce their reservation wage, being more prone to accept low-income and precarious jobs (Dustmann & Görlach, 2016; Adda, Dustmann, & Goerlach, 2022). Thus, an important inflow of temporary migrants could alter the relative cost of capital and labour potentially having a distinct impact on management practices, labour market structure and wages and employment of natives. This could have important consequences in sending and receiving labour markets particularly if a considerable part of these inflows ends up becoming permanent residents

(Dustmann & Görlach, 2016; Chabé-Ferret, Machado, & Wahba, 2018). Given that this period is characterised by circular internal migratory flows and the lack of political and associative freedoms under the Franco dictatorship this study can be especially useful for historical and present experiences sharing similar social and institutional characteristics, particularly those where tourism development played a significant role.

However, although it is recognised a differential impact of circular migrants in specific, our knowledge about their effects on the structure host labour market is still limited. Given the importance of circular migratory flows in the formation of the tourism labour market in Spain, it constitutes an exceptional case of study to analyse the influence of this typology of migration from a historical perspective. Studies on the impact of circular migration are usually hard to develop due to the difficulty of fully capturing these movements of populations (Skeldon, 2012; Constant, Nottmeyer, & Zimmermann, 2013; Dustmann & Görlach, 2016). In this paper, I opt for an alternative and complementary approach by using descriptive quantitative analysis of this process in combination with the current theoretical and empirical evidence on the impact of migration in labour markets. To do so, I rely mostly on a novel and unique employer-employee micro-dataset of more than 10,000 observations of men and women working in the tourism sector by 1969. I combine this source with multiple quantitative and qualitative sources from reports, archival work and oral testimonies from the main tourist regions of the country.

From this analysis, I can draw three main results. Firstly, the results show that the capacity of attraction of local labour was substantially different between regions leading to different workforce composition and inequality among groups. I distinguish between areas intensive in inter-provincial migrant labour and those intensive in local labour. Focusing on the areas intensive in inter-provincial migration, I show that the lack of attraction of local labour was shaped by the relative higher wages and labour conditions offered by the sectors and occupations that benefited from the spillover effects of the tourism expansion. Secondly, the study shows that under this scenario circular migration became crucial to the level of expansion of the tourism industry. The agents of the industry responded to the economic constraints posed by the tourism expansion, such as housing shortages, the lack of an adequate legal framework and the seasonality in the labour market, by developing practices that promoted circular migration, such as recruitment in origin and temporary accommodation.

Thirdly, my results suggest that the impact of the intense arrival of circular migrants is consistent with the theory of the triple win scenario of circular migration but

also with some of the key disadvantages noted by some of these authors. By lowering costs of labour and solving seasonal labour shortages, circular migration fostered tourism expansion and benefited natives and permanent migrants who had access to a growing labour market with lower labour market competition. Circular migrants also were highly rewarded for migrating since improved their well-being and household income in comparison with the areas of origin. However, the higher labour flexibilization increased labour market inequality. Given that most circular migrants ended up becoming permanent migrants this inequality could be transferred to the whole regional economy.

The article is divided as follows. Section 2 analyses the current research on temporary migrations in labour markets. In section 3, I describe the sources utilised in this paper. Section 4 describes the main characteristics of the Spanish tourism boom. In section 5 I analyse the capacity of recruitment of local labour by the host labour markets. In section 6 I discuss the role of circular migration in the process of labour market formation and its impact on natives and income inequality. Section 7 concludes.

## **2. Labour markets and circular migration**

Researchers on migration in present and historical periods have highlighted the dynamic and complex nature of the migration process to understand the impact of migration on host labour markets. Standard economic models note that an increase in the supply of workers would imply a decline in the average wage as a response to migration arrivals. However, more expanded and adaptable models have remarked that this assumption would be unrealistic in real economies. As far as the capital is not fixed, firms can respond to an increase in the number of workers. By reducing costs of labour and increasing labour supply, migration can provide an incentive for firms for higher capital accumulation. As a result of lowering labour costs, firms could expand their production increasing capital accumulation and creating new job opportunities that can absorb the initial shock (Edo, 2019). Migrants can complement natives by specialising in tasks that natives are more reluctant to do, pushing natives to other more well-paid occupations where natives have a particular advantage and often more abstract/complex tasks, such as those who rely on communicational skills (Ottaviano & Peri, 2012). Mitaritonna, Orefice and Peri offer empirical evidence of this scenario in their analysis of migration in France between 1995 and 2005. They find that the increase of a more skilled migration than the average native population during the period had a positive effect on firms' productivity.



This effect was particularly strong for low productivity and small firms who were able to hire skilled labour boosting their efficiency. As a result of higher growth, employment and wages increased. Natives were able to climb up the occupational ladder within and move to firms offering higher wages: a 1% increase in the number of migrants was correlated with a rise in the workforce and pushed native wages by 0.5% (Mitaritonna, Orefice, & Peri, 2017).

However, migration can have important distributional consequences in the labour market structure by lowering the wages of competing workers and increasing the wages of those native workers who have skills that complement natives (Altonji & Card, 1991; Edo, 2019). Thus, the characteristics of the different groups of natives and the self-selection of migrants would imply differential and heterogeneous impacts on the different groups of natives. This can have a strong negative effect on low-skilled natives at the bottom of the income distribution who are closest to migrants' skills, while others remark that these effects can particularly concentrate in previous waves of migrants (Ottaviano & Peri, 2012).

Authors have shown that since this could have a positive wage and employment effect for other groups of natives this could induce higher labour inequality. For example, Dustmann, Frattini and Preston (2013), in their analysis of the contemporary UK, show that while the average wage increased, it harmed the wages of natives at the bottom of the income distribution and increased wages of natives at the middle and upper-income percentiles. This effect would be associated with the occupational downsizing of migrants at arrival, clustering into low-skilled occupations, and the increasing gains of productivity generated by this arrival which led to higher surplus and capital accumulation. Conversely, others have shown that an inflow of highly skilled migrants can reduce labour market inequality by reducing skill-premia while having positive effects on innovation and employment for natives, as has been suggested by Docquier, Ozden and Peri (2014), in their analysis of OECD countries during the nineties.

Therefore, in a scenario of perfect substitution with some groups of natives, migration can affect negatively local wages and modify labour inequality in the short run. However, in the long run, different mechanisms can absorb the shock. Thus, for example, analysing this issue in the case of the US in the seventies, some authors have found strong negative effects of migration on natives' wages, but full recovery of local wages in a decade (Jaeger, Ruist, & Stuhler, 2018). Hence, researchers have shown that the

characteristics of the impact on the natives and the labour market structure rely on the capacity of adjustment of firms to the increase of the labour supply in a specific institutional context and the geographical mobility of migrants and natives in response to labour supply shocks.

Historical periods are particularly worth testing the key role of economic growth and institutional factors in shaping the impact of migration. Given the lower human capital differentials among groups, a higher degree of substitutability is expected between natives and migrants in the past (Abramitzky & Boustan, 2017). Recent research focused on the Age of Mass Migration in the US remark that the level of labour shortages due to economic growth can have considerable importance on how migrants could affect the wages of similarly skilled natives. According to Tabellini (2019), cheap labour relaxed firms' labour constraints allowing them to expand creating well-paid opportunities for natives. More importantly, the intensity of labour shortages meant that the closest groups of natives working in highly exposed sectors, such as manufacturing or construction did not suffer employment or wage negative impact. However, given the distinct groups of natives benefited differently from migration it could widen labour market inequality during the period.

In contrast, Boustan, Fishback and Kantor (2010) show that during the Great Depression high unemployment and lower economic growth meant that workers were affected negatively by the in-migration of internal migrants, a more similar group in comparison with international migrants. Labour institutions played a key role in the characteristics of the adjustment: the presence of downwardly rigid wages during the Depression meant that the arrivals did not decrease wages but employment opportunities. This is consistent with contemporary analyses that show that in countries with higher employment protection, migration is more likely to impact levels of unemployment and temporary workers, while in less regulated countries wages tend to oscillate and affect more broadly the overall occupational distribution (Edo, 2019).

The impact of migration on the labour market structure can also depend on the mobility of migrants as a response to economic shocks. If labour shortages and firms' capital adjustment are not enough or capable to absorb all of the labour supply, migration can dampen wages and employment opportunities of more substitutable groups of natives. Nonetheless, because of their higher geographical mobility, migrants can absorb part of the negative shock by reducing unemployment and competition for job vacancies, helping

the labour market recover faster. Hence, internal migration within the country could have a cushioning effect on local labour markets reducing in the long-term the immediate negative impact of migration in the labour market and other markets associated with migration, such as real estate markets (Monras, 2021).

One exceptional case study to illustrate this can be found in the short and long-term effect of the Mariel Boatlift episode in the US, an abrupt and intense migratory movement in a tourism-related economy. In April of 1980, the temporary opening of the Cuban frontier meant that more than 100,000 Cubans decided to move to Miami based on its proximity to Cuba, increasing the city's labour force by 7%. These migrants were mostly low-skilled: 60% had no high school degree. There is no clear consensus about the negative impact of this migratory flow on low-skilled workers in Miami but a certain agreement has been reached that posterior internal migration of migrants could contribute decisively to dissipating the potential negative effects in a decade. According to Monràs (2021), 50% of this long-term recovery can be attributed to internal migration, while firms' adjustment would be key to understanding the rest. Furthermore, the cushioning effect as a response to the shock also benefited at a similar level to the alleviation of the initial increase of rental prizes, pushing housing costs to pre-Mariel levels.

Still, the impact and posterior firm adjustment and mobility of migrants could also be influenced by the temporariness of migration. According to Dustmann and Görlach (2016), temporary migrants differ from permanent migrants in their location preferences. Given that temporary migrants intend to return to their places of origin they can have lower incentives to acquire host-specific human, social and physical capital. Moreover, they can have lower reservation wages in the area of destination being more prone to accept low-income jobs that are related to higher labour intensity and precariousness. It can also have differential sociological and political consequences since research has shown that temporary migrants are usually less interested in host politics or in creating networks with locals (Chabé-Ferret, Machado, & Wahba, 2018; Adda, Dustmann, & Görlach, 2022).

Therefore, a labour market receiving a substantial flow of temporary migrants can face differential impacts depending on how the temporariness affects migrants' self-selection and the sectors and jobs where migrants are located. Some authors have remarked that temporary migrants are more likely to increase the labour supply at the bottom of the income distribution. Furthermore, the lower reservation wage of temporary

and fewer incentives for host-specific capital accumulation can mean less occupational upgrading which could reduce labour market competition in well-paid occupations and sectors (Adda, Dustmann, & Görlach, 2022). Moreover, by increasing or decreasing the labour supply of temporary workers firms can move towards more capital or labour-intensive modes of production. In this regard, Lewis finds in the contemporary US that a higher increase of low-skilled migrants means a decline in machinery adoption (Monras, 2021). Temporary migrants are also different in their degree of response to economic and social changes in the host region. In a study about migrant outflows in the US between 1929 and 1957, Biavaschi (2013) shows that an increase in the returns or outflows is associated with wage growth of remaining workers at state-level labour markets. Furthermore, it suggests that reduced competition in labour markets among other groups of substitutable migrants and natives leads to a cushioning effect on labour markets.

Temporary migrations also can have a distinctive impact depending on the characteristics of the migratory paths and time spent in the host region. In this regard, circular migration is characterised by a singular and differential nature. This typology of migratory movement means a shorter period of stay in comparison with most temporary movements and implies a higher level of attachment to the place of origin. Constant, Nottmeyer and Zimmermann (2013) define it as a continued and repeated movement of population between their homelands and other areas – one or more – of the country or foreign countries for work purposes. It has two main kinds, those which comprise spontaneous circular migrations, *de facto* migration outside any political scheme, and those which are coordinated under migratory agreements, which implies the participation of political institutions (Solé et al., 2016). It also distinguishes for having lower marginal utility from consumption and investment in the destination and higher incentives for the accumulation of savings during the stay in the host region in comparison with other temporary migrants (Dustmann & Görlach, 2016)<sup>2</sup>.

Therefore, circular migration can represent an alternative dynamic on how migrants interact with natives and host labour markets. Constant, Nottmeyer and Zimmermann (2013) argue that circular migration could represent a triple win scenario for sending and receiving countries, as well as circular migrants. From a labour market

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<sup>2</sup> Some authors also suggest that circular and repeated migrants might represent a differential path in terms of health, migrant's children educational attainment and intergenerational transmission. See: Aradhya, Scott, & Smith (2017, 2019).

perspective, receiving countries satisfy short-term labour shortages of low skilled workers allowing firms to fill their vacancies without increasing wages and preventing inflationary wage increases in the rest of the hierarchy of jobs. Moreover, the short-term stay of these low-skilled migrants would attenuate frictions with skilled natives and reduce labour market competition.

In this context, native workers would have an easier path to move up on the occupational ladder, particularly if the decline in labour shortage led to an expansion of the industry. Moreover, the higher flexibility of circular migration would facilitate the adjustment of labour: a decrease in the firm's production could be easily compensated by not recruiting the same number of circular migrants the next season. Hence, higher unemployment would not affect the host society but the area of origin. The complementarity with natives and the short-term stay of migrants could also imply benefits from a political point of view. In comparison with permanent migration, they could favour a lower anti-migrant public sentiment from some groups of natives.

From sending country's perspective, some benefits from circular migration could arise. They can benefit by alleviating seasonal unemployment and labour market imbalances. Migrants would return with higher income and thus increasing individual, household and regional income. Furthermore, circular migrants can be particularly prone to send remittances to their country of origin and return with new skills and knowledge acquired abroad.

However, researchers have also noted negative consequences for the three agents involved in the migratory process. From the host region's perspective, some authors have remarked that a substantial increase of temporary migrants can be accompanied by a higher inequality and segregation particularly if most of them end up becoming permanent residents (Chabé-Ferret, Machado, & Wahba, 2018). Since most circular migrants would help firm expansion and would mainly be complements to natives, this could widen the income distribution. In this regard, researchers have emphasised the key role of public provision of housing, subsidies, educational services and job assistance aimed to prevent the negative socio-economic impact of a large share of circular migrants in the host region (Constant, Nottmeyer, & Zimmermann, 2013).

Furthermore, an intense inflow of circular migrants can impact the level of capital investment. In this scenario, firms can be particularly incentivised to adopt labour-intensive technologies to the detriment of capital-intensives causing lower productivity. For example, Clemens, Lewis and Postel (2018) show that the policy of exclusion of the

*Bracero* program, which propitiated a decline of almost half a million seasonal workers each year to U.S. farms under typical contracts between six weeks and six months, failed in increase native's wages and employment. Employers responded to the decline of circular migrant labour by introducing saving-labour technological changes or reducing production when this capital was not available. Since natives and circular migrants were complementary agents in the labour market, the sudden decline of the labour supply did not affect employment and wages.

Circular migrants can find migration a great chance to overcome household income constraints, improve well-being and achieve upward mobility. However, they could also face negative consequences, particularly if circular migration perpetuates over time being trapped in very-low-income occupations or if they face abuse, discrimination or exploitation in the host society (Skeldon, 2012; Constant, Nottmeyer, & Zimmermann, 2013). In return, some of these migrants may suffer occupational downgrading if the years spent abroad do not lead to an accumulation of skills, or if the skills learnt are not transferable to the source country (Lindstrom, 2013). For the sending region, some have found substantial benefits in terms of income growth and human capital accumulation. This is what is found by Kosack (2021) in the analysis of the Mexico-US *Bracero* program in sending Mexican municipalities. Higher out-migration impacted positively on higher investments in human capital, such as primary school enrolment and expenditures on schooling. However, other authors have argued that remittances can make households dependent, impacting negatively labour force participation and productivity (Constant, Nottmeyer, & Zimmermann, 2013).

### **3. Sources**

Empirical work on seasonal labour markets and circular migration has to face important methodological challenges (Dustmann & Görlach, 2016), especially in low-skilled work in services, such as the tourism industry (Walton, 2012). In this paper, I computerised a unique and novel employer-employee micro-database of 10,761 observations of men and women working in the tourism industry by 1969<sup>3</sup>. This data includes a broad range of variables, including individual, professional and firm characteristics for each observation.

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<sup>3</sup>AGA. Sindicato Nacional de Hostelería y Actividades Turísticas. "Censo Laboral". Box 62. From now on in the following pages: "Census of the Balearic Tourism Industry of 1969".

Importantly, this source contains three crucial variables for the analysis of circular migrant flows and the income structure of the labour market. Firstly, it informs about the specific occupation of each worker and years of seniority and labour experience in the sector. Secondly, this data captures the occupation of natives during the summer season. This is important because circular migrants and seasonal jobs of natives were highly unreported in regular statistics and censuses of population or municipality registers. After all, these reports were taken in periods of the year that did not coincide with most of the seasonal peaks of labour (Silvestre, 2007). Thirdly, in this regard, firms were asked to report the current residence of the workers at the moment of the interview. This allows us to identify circular migrants using as a proxy those workers with more than zero years of experience who indicate their address of origin as a residence or report receiving accommodation by the firms.

I use this database to construct an individual-occupation-based income score. I follow the recommendations of Inwood, Minns and Summerfield (2019) to impute to each observation of the Census of 1969 the monthly wage corresponding to its occupational category established in the provincial labour agreement of August 1973<sup>4</sup>. This enables me to overcome the main problems of income scores noted by these authors. I use a multilevel hierarchy, taking into consideration a multilevel disaggregation within occupations and firm categories. I also employ ancillary information about changes in skill returns within professions to estimate real wages more effectively. This information comes from interviews with 157 workers about real their wages taken in 1973 in the Balearic Island and mainland Spain tourism destinations (Gaviria et al., 1974). Additionally, I include the extra pay for tenured workers as included in the labour agreements. In the annexe, more information about both data sources can be found.

I combine this core data with other complementary information about labour conditions and living standards. These data comprise multiple quantitative and qualitative information: from government reports and oral testimonies to labour agreements, labour inspections and contemporary surveys. To study household income inequality in

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<sup>4</sup>It is important to remark that between both years there was an increase in the minimum wage and an expansion based mostly on hotel beds, not on hotel inauguration. However, most of the change in the minimum wage was related to the increasing inflation (Maluquer de Motes & Llonch, 2005) and the main analyst of this period consider the years between 1967 and 1973 as part of a similar stage in the tourism development (Alenyà, 1990). Moreover, selecting 1973 presented considerable methodological advantages. This year allows us to compare regulatory wages with real wages and establish them in relative terms with the Spanish household survey of 1973/1974.

comparison with the rest of the economy I especially rely on two sources of data. On the one hand, I use the Spanish Household Budget Survey of 1973 which provides information on household spending of 455 households and 1,565 individuals living in the Balearic Islands by this year. On the other hand, I employ provincial average wages reported by Fundación BBV (1999) and Servicio Sindical de Estadística, and labour agreements at a sector and provincial level for the period 1955-1973.

#### **4. The Spanish tourism boom, 1955-1973**

Tourism was an important component of regional economies in Spain before the mid-fifties of the XX century. Some authors have noted the importance of tourism particularly in Catalonia and the Balearic Islands (Maluquer De Motes, 2011; Cirer-Costa, 2014a; Vallejo, 2019). However, the Spanish Civil War ceased the emergent growth registered during the previous decades. Thus, until the mid-fifties, the country did not recover from previous growth levels (Vallejo, 2020). However, since this period and especially stimulated by the liberation reforms launched by the Stabilization Plan of 1959 the sector started to become a key engine of the Spanish economy (Sánchez, 2001; Prados De La Escosura, Rosés, & Sanz-Villarroya, 2012;).

**Table II.1:** *Hotel beds by main destinations in Spain, 1955-1973 (thousands).*

	1955	1959	1964	1967	1970	1973
Balearic Islands	3	7	31	53	114	166
Canary Islands	1	2	11	17	28	42
Alicante	1	2	5	8	19	34
Barcelona	5	8	27	32	31	39
Girona	3	5	33	36	40	50
Málaga	1	3	13	17	21	26
<b>Spain</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>114</b>	<b>189</b>	<b>275</b>	<b>362</b>	<b>490</b>

**Sources:** INE. Statistical annuaries of Spain, 1955-1974.

Thus, as it is well known, the number of tourist arrivals changed from 2 million in 1958 to 31 million in 1973. As a response to the increase in the demand for tourism services, the number of hotels and hostels skyrocketed from 2,200 to 9,200 in the same period and the number of hotel beds from 57 thousand in 1955 to almost 700 thousand in 1973. This process was accompanied by an intense growth of tourist apartments and second homes: in 1970 were registered a total of 123,000 legal apartments and 1,923,000 illegal apartments or second homes (Tables II.1, II.2 and II.3).

The country had positioned among the top international destinations in the world, while tourism became the main contributor to the GDP growth and remained a key



component of the Spanish economy in the following decades (Cals, 1974; Balaguer & Cantavella-Jordá, 2002). Importantly, this achievement was driven by the development of a hotel supply of low prices, capable to compete downwards with other Mediterranean destinations such as Italy or Yugoslavia. Thus, although the number of luxury hotels increased, largely the growth was based on the inauguration of new hotels or hostels and the increase of hotel beds both of low category (Cals, 1974). In Spain, 49% of the total increase in hospitality supply between 1963 and 1973 were hotels of one star or hostels.

**Table II.2:** *Hostel beds by main destinations in Spain, 1955-1973 (thousands).*

	1963	1967	1970	1973
Balearic Islands	15	28	42	49
Canary Islands	3	4	5	8
Alicante	2	4	5	7
Barcelona	7	14	21	20
Girona	8	11	19	20
Málaga	1	2	6	7
<b>Spain</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>208</b>

Sources: INE. Statistical annuaries of Spain, 1955-1974.

**Table II.3:** *Total beds by typologies of touristic accommodation in 1970 (thousands).*

	Hotel	Hostel	Legal apartments	Illegal apartments <sup>a</sup>	Camping	Total
Balearic Islands	114	42	12	58	0,674	228
Canary Islands	28	5	16	57	0,160	110
Alicante	19	5	10	236	17	288
Barcelona	31	21	8	95	32	188
Girona	40	19	16	233	43	353
Málaga	21	6	27	208	5	268
<b>Spain</b>	<b>362</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>1,923</b>	<b>190</b>	<b>2,783</b>

Sources: INE. Statistical annuaries of Spain, 1971 and CPDES (1975).

Note: <sup>a</sup>It comprises second homes that can accommodate tourists but are not legally declared as part of the tourism supply.

The tourism boom took place in coastal Mediterranean Spain and the archipelagos. The epicentre of this process was the Balearic Islands (Tables II.1, II.2 and II.3), followed by Catalonia, Alicante and Málaga, and the late but intense growth of the Canary Islands. In the Mediterranean archipelago, the number of tourists changed from 300,000 annual arrivals in 1958 to 3,5 million in 1973 and for 112 hotels and hostels to 1,534. As a result, the capacity of accommodation in the hospitality industry changed from 3,000 beds to 216 thousand. The growth was particularly intense between 1963 and 1970. Between 1963 and 1970 an average of 114 hotels or hostels and 2,929 hotel beds were inaugurated annually.

Analysis dedicated to the Spanish tourism boom noted that this process meant a revolution for its provincial labour markets. More than 200 thousand new jobs were created if we only take into account hospitality and restaurants (Table II.4). During the sixties, approximately a million Spaniards started to work in tourism-related sectors or opened a tourism business often without any previous knowledge or preparation (Pack, 2009). Indeed, in these areas a profound process of economic transformation took place. The Balearic Islands can show us the extent of this process at a provincial level. In the archipelago, the growth of tourism-related services posed an intense transformation to the provincial economy. Between 1960 and 1970 the economy completed its structural change toward tourism-related services by almost duplicating the number of workers in services (Tables II.4 and II.5).

**Table II.4:** *Salaried workers in hospitality and restaurants by tourism region in Spain, 1955-1973 (thousands).*

	1955	1959	1965	1967	1969	1973
Balearic Islands	7	11	22	31	48	51
Canary Islands	4	7	17	22	25	34
Alicante	5	6	8	10	13	14
Barcelona	21	25	33	36	42	44
Girona	6	8	13	13	13	15
Málaga	5	6	12	14	17	23
<b>Spain</b>	200	235	302	328	367	417

Sources: Fundación BBV (1999).

**Table II.5:** *Workforce in the Balearic Islands by sectors of activity, 1955-1975.*

Year	Agriculture		Industry		Construction		Services	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
1955	76,543	40.1	35,165	18.4	11,924	6.2	67,212	35.2
1960	73,882	35.0	40,601	19.2	15,116	7.1	81,127	38.4
1965	59,062	25.9	45,014	19.7	21,797	9.5	102,020	44.7
1970	53,016	20.3	40,153	15.4	28,266	10.8	138,508	53.2
1975	42,508	15.6	40,606	14.9	31,264	11.4	158,037	58.0

Sources: Fundación BBVA (2003).

These numbers were even higher if we take into account the seasonality of the tourist arrivals in all the tourism destinations. Thus, in the case of the Balearic Islands accordingly to estimates, the hospitality industry by itself reached 37.5% of the total workforce by the summer of 1973. If we include the construction sector, which increased by more than 10,000 jobs between 1960 and 1970, approximately 50% in summer worked

in tourism-related activities (see Chapter 1 and the Annexe in this Chapter)<sup>5</sup>. Similar figures have been suggested for the case of the coastal districts of mainland Spain in Costa del Sol and Costa Brava (Pack, 2009). In contrast, employment in agriculture declined intensely during the period, in 10 years the primary sector lost 20,000 workers and 20% of the total workforce. Tourism spillover effects and the dynamism of some industrial clusters kept the manufacturing sector in a steady state during the period in absolute terms and a reduction in relative ones (Manera, 2001; Manera & Parejo, 2012).

## **5. Local labour and recruitment capacity**

As a low-wage labour-intensive industry the local labour market recruitment capacity was a key variable to understand the level of expansion of the tourism industry during the period. In these sectors, labour costs represent a significant and crucial share of total exploitation costs and therefore, levels of firm expansion are crucially constrained by the availability of labour and its costs. This is particularly significant for the core labour market of tourism, the hospitality (Andersson, Holzer, & Lane, 2005).

The institutional setting shaped by dictatorship conditioned a particular model of industrial relations. The Francoist dictatorship developed a labour policy based on a low minimum wage with scant influence on wage-setting (Serrano & Malo, 1979; Maluquer de Motes & Llonch, 2005). Moreover, employers could not formulate discontinuous fix-term contracts during the period to retain workers in a seasonal industry. Despite these regulations being present in other sectors, employers in the tourism industry only could offer a fixed or temporary contract (Consell Econòmic i Social de les Illes Balears, 2003; Muñoz, 2006). Therefore, the capacity of attraction of the emergent industry was mainly constrained by the local level of unemployment and the differential in wages and labour conditions with other sectors.

Demographic factors in conjunction with migratory policies under the Francoist dictatorship conditioned the size of the labour supply at the beginning of the tourism explosion in most touristic destinations and particularly in the case of the archipelagos.

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<sup>5</sup>AHRM. Sindicats. "Consejo Económico-Social Sindical de Baleares, 1976: Comentario de Urgencia sobre la situación de la economía Balear". Sind B.392. According with these regional planners by 1973 the service sector held 180,544 workers in the high season and 140,063 in the low season. Additionally, if we contrast the workforce in hospitality registered in the 1970 population census and the number of workers reported by Fundación BBV (1999), a total of 39,035 individuals were underreported in the official population census. See annexe for all the provinces.

On the one hand, the cohorts which accessed the labour market were comparatively smaller given the lack of births and excess mortality as a result of the Spanish Civil War and post-war (Nicolau, 2005). Besides, in the case of Catalonia and the Balearic Islands birth rates were considerably lower than the average fertility rates in Spain, a scenario which was not reversed until the baby boom and the arrival of massive internal migration in the mid-fifties (Cabr  & Pujadas, 1987). On the other hand, during the post-war, the Dictatorship implemented migratory restrictions aimed to control and reduce migratory flows, where internal migrations required explicit permission from the provincial government and illegal migrants could suffer very negative consequences. In both Balearics and Canary Islands, these restrictions suffered particular treatment given that until 1955 legal internal migration to the archipelagos required special permission by the provincial authorities. Thus, this policy specifically restricted legal migration to Balearics and especially illegal migration given its insularity, particularly among those without relatives already living in the archipelagos (D az, 2020).

**Table II.6:** *Indicators of the capacity of attraction of local labour by province.*

	Unemployment 1965	in Jobs agriculture 1960	in Tourism in growth <sup>a</sup>	Local labour <sup>b</sup>
<b>Intensives on migrant labour</b>				
Alicante	1.31	36.8	21.6	-
Balearics	1.75	35.1	24.9	35.9
Girona	1.50	28.8	16.9	37.3/44.0
<b>Intensives on local labour</b>				
Las Palmas	2.27	55.9	23.8	-
Tenerife	1.38	55.7	20.6	-
M�laga	3.66	50.6	19.8	60.0

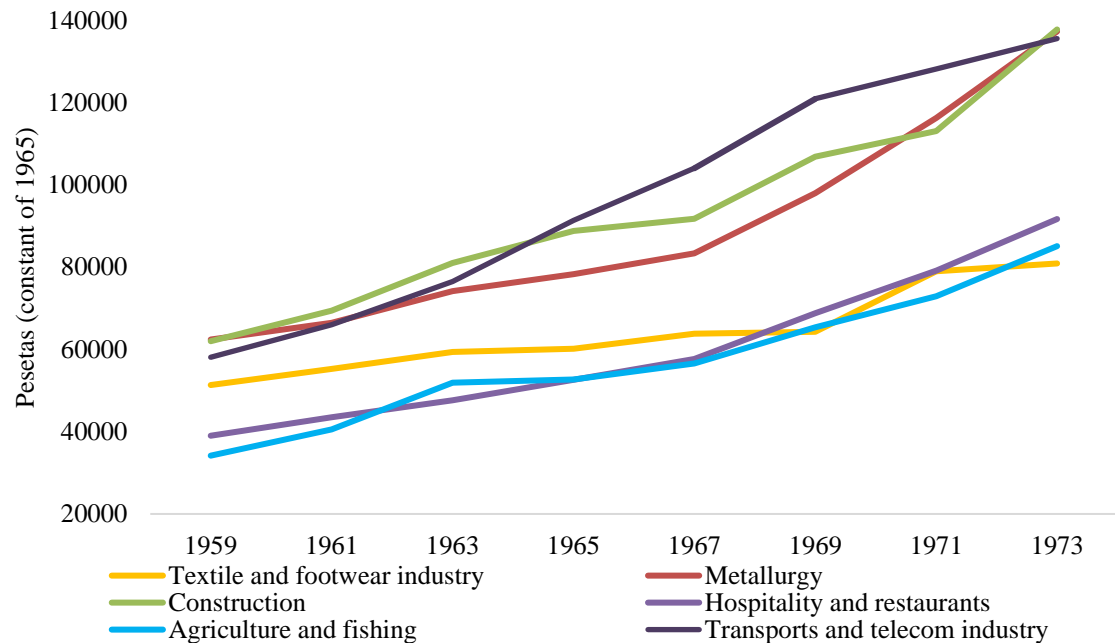
**Sources:** Unemployment in 1965 from Fundaci n BBVA (2007). Jobs in agriculture in 1960 from Fundaci n BBV (1999). Data on local labour in Balearics from the Census of the Balearic Tourism Industry of 1969; in Girona in 1967 from Duocastella (1969); and about M laga from Gal n et al., (1977).

<sup>a</sup>Compound annual growth rate of the number of hotel beds between 1955 and 1973. <sup>b</sup>Local labour refers to the share of natives in the hospitality industry. Balearics and Girona corresponds to 1969 and M laga 1975. Girona shows a share of locals and all Catalans in services in the main tourism municipalities of the Costa Brava.

Thus, provincial unemployment and the size of the agrarian sector explained that the levels of attraction of local labour differed sharply between tourism regions during the period. Two groups of destinations can be described as shaped by the role of migrant workers in their labour markets and the place of origin of the overall workforce (Table II.6). Firstly, areas characterised by the low attraction of local labour, where locals entered mostly into intermediate and skilled occupations in the hospitality industry and tourism-

related sectors. In these areas, the bottom of the income distribution was occupied by migrant labour from other regions of Spain, mainly southern Spain. This was the case in the Balearic Islands, Costa Blanca (Alicante) and Coastal Catalonia. Ethnographic contemporary research corroborates this impression (Duocastella, 1969; Barbaza, 1988; Valero, 1991) as well as the results for the Balearic Islands I will expand on below.

**Figure II.1:** Average cost of labour in the Balearic Islands, 1959-1973.



**Sources:** Fundación BBV (1999).

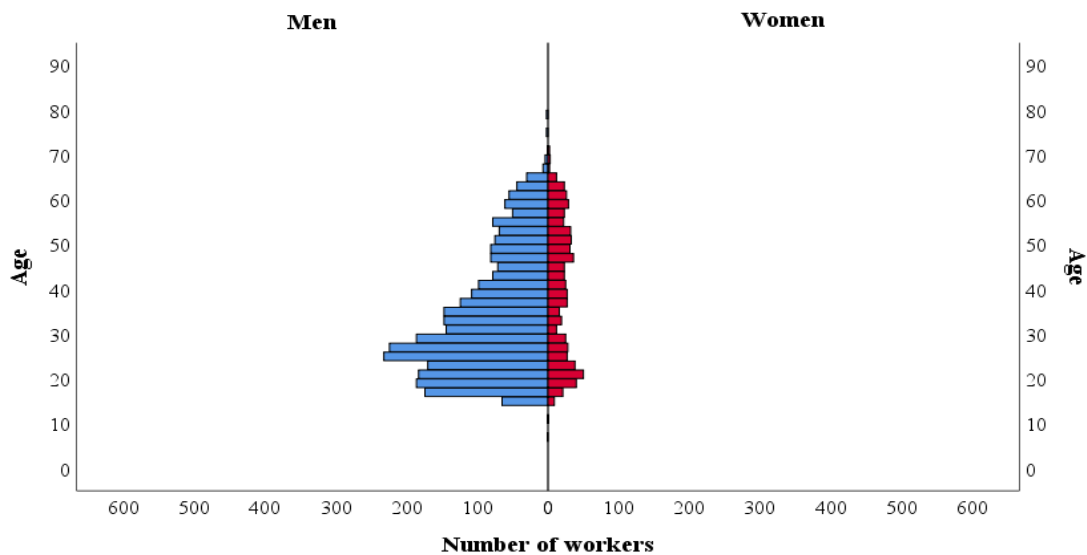
**Note:** It is worth mentioning that the most important contemporary data on average wages for this period, *Encuesta de Salarios* from INE, did not include information about hospitality and restaurants and other tourism-related services. Moreover, it presents significant biases, being the most considerable one the overestimation of the wage growth between 1963 and 1973. See Maluquer de Motes, J., & Llonch, M. (2005) and Serrano, Á., & Malo, J. L. (1979).

Conversely, Costa del Sol is characterised by a process of labour market formation mainly based on provincial or regional workforce. Unlike the previous model, a considerable share of skilled workers were migrants from other provinces, mainly from urban centres of northern Spain (Galán et al., 1977; Márquez, 2018). Hence, migrants came from internal migration within Málaga. While the top of the income distribution in these labour markets was formed by foreign workers, migrants from other regions of Spain and urban locals, the bottom comprised mainly natives and migrants from the same province and bordering districts. An ethnographic study developed between 1974 and 1976 showed only 20% of the workers in the Costa del Sol were born outside the province of Málaga, while 15% of skilled workers and managers were native-born, being this skilled staff mostly workers from the urban north of Spain or foreign countries (Galán et

al., 1977). The lack of qualified workers in the region but also the considerable role of investors from northern Spain, mostly Catalonia, Valencia, Basque Country and Madrid (Cirer-Costa, 2014b), meant the importation of high skilled workers from these regions (Pack, 2009).

Similarly, between 1960 and 1970 the migration from mainland Spain was very low in the Canary Islands. According to Márquez (2018), during the sixties in the archipelago natives entered mostly into the low-income occupations. In Las Palmas, for example, they comprised only 3.2% of the total population. Thus, migration comprised a high component of skilled workers: by 1981 41% of the total mainland Spain migrants on the island were skilled workers in well-paid positions (Díaz, 1990)<sup>6</sup>.

**Figure II.2:** Workforce distribution by age and gender among natives.



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

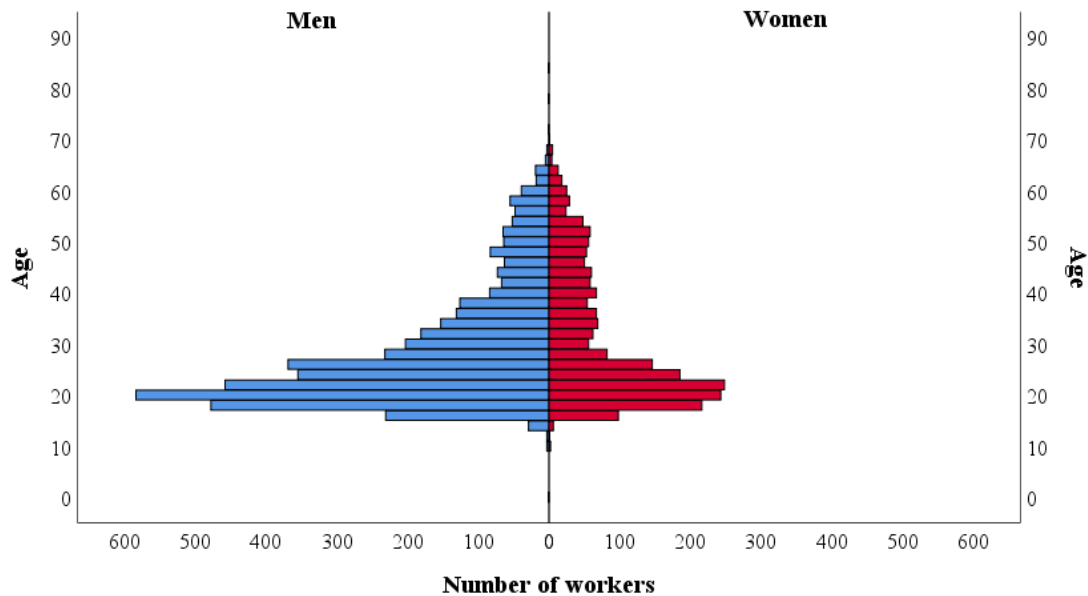
An in-depth analysis of the case of the Balearic Islands can depict the importance of the spillover effects in playing an essential role in the level of attraction of local labour. The growth of the tourism expenditure increased the number of workers in industries and services interrelated with the tourism industry. Sectors such as construction, transport and telecom, ancillary industry like carpentry and plumbing, metallurgy or real state and banking offered a large number of new job vacancies with considerable higher wages on

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<sup>6</sup> It is worth mentioning how these differential paths could contribute to the perpetuation of negative political and socio-cultural stereotypes of mainland Spaniards by the natives in both archipelagos. While in the Balearics the word *foraster* was often a classism term similar to the word *charnego* in Catalonia, in the Canary Islands the word *godos* treated mainland Spaniards as oppressors in colonial terms.

average (Fundación BBV, 1999) (Figure II.1)<sup>7</sup>. The spillover effects of this growth were crucial in increasing the economic constraints to attract and retain local workers. As contemporary regional planners summarised, as higher the growth of the tourism infrastructure the lower the capacity for recruitment of the local workforce<sup>8</sup>.

**Figure II.3:** Workforce distribution by age and gender among mainland Spain migrants.



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

Aside from the differential wages, seasonality of the jobs and labour conditions were other factors that undermined in comparative terms the attractiveness of the job vacancies in tourism occupations, particularly hospitality, where the indirect jobs created by the tourism explosion had higher chances of offering job stability<sup>9</sup>. As figure II.4 shows, the large majority of occupations in the hospitality industry registered rates of temporary contracts that reached 70% of total contracts, while skilled occupations registered 40% of the total. As a matter of comparison, the travel agencies, a tourism branch not affected by the seasonality and offering vacancies related to more qualified

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<sup>7</sup> In fact, average wages in the construction sector in the Balearic Islands were the highest among all the Spanish provinces within the labour agreements of this sector by 1967. See: Oficina Central de Convenios Colectivos (1968).

<sup>8</sup> “We can talk of an authentic contradiction. [...] When the hotel beds supply augments notably [...] the labour supply declines despite the efforts committed to attract temporary or permanent workers from mainland Spain; wages tend to increase and trigger spillover effects on the rest of economic activities related to tourism [...] which would increase the necessity of recruiting workers from mainland Spain” (Costa, 1970, p. 28).

<sup>9</sup> Anecdotal evidence shows that in Catalonia in the area of El Maresme, specialised in the textile industry, most industrial workers of this industry left their industrial jobs during the summer but they were reluctant to completely dedicate to hospitality because of the job insecurity of the activity (Duocastella, 1969, p. 239).

jobs registered in 1969 a total of 2.5% of temporary contracts. The growth in management tasks related to the supply-chain of tourism, which would potentially register similar rates of stable jobs, and tourism-driven industries in construction and metallurgy should negatively affect the hospitality's capacity of attraction.

Thus, the core and labour-intensive branch of the tourism sector, the hospitality industry, had intense difficulties to attract and retain local workers for the low paid occupations, the most numerous and crucial for the expansion of tourism. The low number of local workers in the hospitality industry would not only be the result of the level of growth of the tourism supply but also the result of the interaction of the tourism expansion with the rest of the economy. Therefore, as the tourism-related sectors started to grow they benefited from the tourism explosion and labour vacancies in hospitality increased, the lower was the capacity to recruit and retain local workers. Local workers could enter the sector during the beginning of the tourism boom, from 1955 to 1965, or perceive this as a contingent job afterwards, but ultimately climb up into the occupational ladder or move to other tourism-related sectors which were offering higher wages and better labour conditions<sup>10</sup>. As a contemporary regional planner described<sup>11</sup>:

“Its [hospitality industry] attractiveness has been declining as long as other sectors are offering similar wages. Moreover, the instability of the work, its seasonality and hard work in many cases are factors that are valued negatively among local population”.

Firms also faced difficulties to retain relatively qualified labour due to the high turnover which favoured less attachment of the workers to the firms. As we see in figure II.4, the number of workers who had changed employers in the last two years rounded 40% in all occupational categories<sup>12</sup>. These high turnover rates were influenced by the uncertainty over retaining practices by the employers. On the one hand, most employers were in search of a low-cost disciplined workforce to reduce short-term prices in a context where increasing labour shortages were increasing labour costs. On another hand, the

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<sup>10</sup> Thus, according to Cámara de Comercio de Baleares, an important local economic institution, in 1962 “the high earnings of the hospitality made that this sector nourishes even from qualified workers from other industrial branches and even disincentivise apprentices for achieving a specialisation in manufacturing, given that as a bellboy or dining room helper earn well-paid wages did not expect some years ago” (Manera, 2002, p. 404).

<sup>11</sup> Costa, P. “Problemas que nos plantea el turismo en nuestra economía”. *Economía Balear*, March.

<sup>12</sup> These empirical results corroborate the impressions obtained from interviews to managers in the middle of eighties about labour management in the sixties (Homs, 1990). I also found similar information in the narrative works from a prominent hotel manager about tourism in the period in Costa del Sol. I thank Rafael Vallejo for indicate me this reference. See Palomino (1971, p. 143).



high atomisation of a skyrocketing number of firms and hotels triggered incentives to recruit workers almost at any rate incentivising the turnover of the workers, particularly qualified employees (see Chapter 3). In this regard, the absence of fix-term contracts played a negative role in disincentivising higher retaining practices among employers<sup>13</sup>. Contemporary regional planners explained this pattern in the Balearic employer's association newspaper<sup>14</sup>:

“In the middle of the tourism season, once implemented the regular mechanisms of labour recruitment (...) the diverse firms without category distinction compete among themselves to attract the labour force to fill their vacancies, a recruitment process which often involves offering higher remunerations, usually considerably superior to those earned in other tourism destinations of mainland Spain where the tourism industry is less dynamic”.

As a result, at the end of the sixties, the composition of the workforce in the hospitality industry was characterised by the large share of non-native workers born in mainland Spain (Figures 2 and 3). It is important to remark that all firms faced problems to attract and retain local labour regardless of the quality of the firms. However, low-quality firms which grew considerably during the period found more difficulties in comparison with high-quality employers: high-quality hotels attracted 31.9% of local labour while hotels of low quality and hostels only 25-22%.

In the same line, figures II.2 and II.3 also show that the sector suffered a particular lack of attraction among local young and women. Local young workers whose access to the labour market was more recent and had a lower cost of opportunity by moving to other sectors were more prone to change of sector and take advantage of the job opportunities offered by the spillover industries and high add-value subsectors in the tourism industry (travel agencies, ancillary industry, transport, real state intermediation, among others). Only 26.1% of workers under 30-years old were born in the Balearic Islands. More specifically, 30.8% of men and 13.2% of women were born in the Balearic Islands under 30 years old. Conversely, local workers over 29 years old were 44.5% of the total, being 49.6 of total men and 32.8 of women in this range of age. In total, local workers under 30

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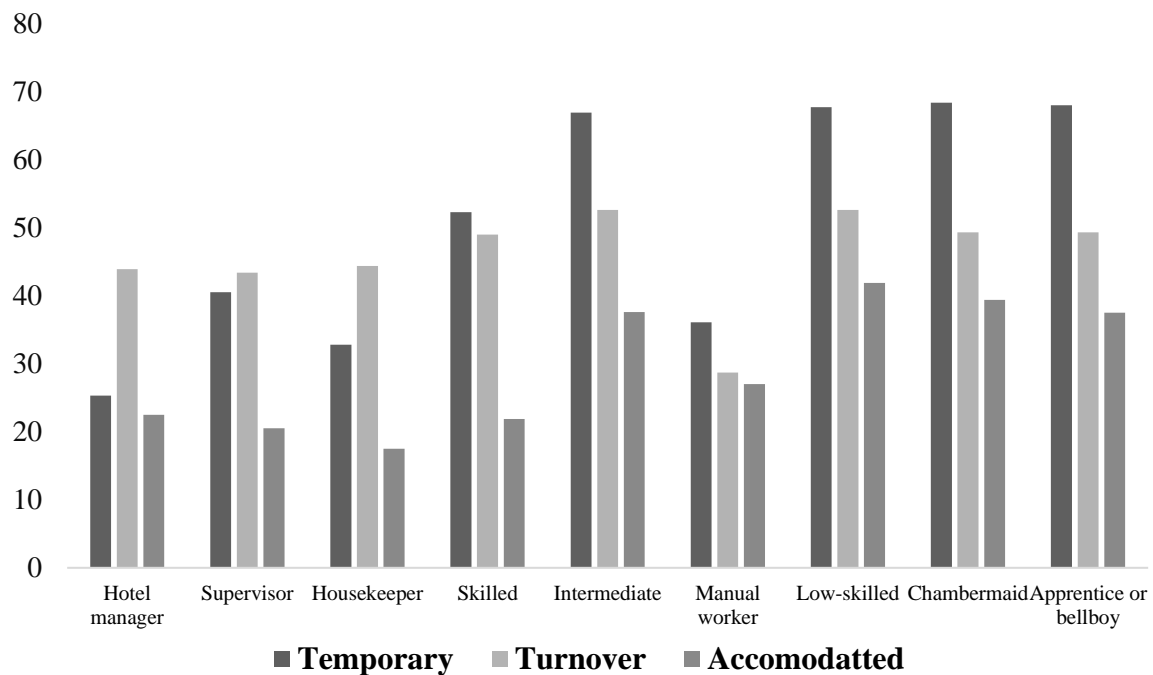
<sup>13</sup> Buchens, P. & Costa, P. “La formación profesional en la Hostelería balear: Problemas - Soluciones.”. *Economía Balear*, December. Firms complained to the labour authorities about this issue. They reclaimed regulations that would help to solve labour seasonality, such as subsidies to seasonal unemployment, and laws that promoted the provision of educational programs that facilitate human capital formation. See Sindicato Provincial de Hostelería y Actividades Turísticas de Baleares (1967).

<sup>14</sup>This pattern could have considerable long-term consequences. During the eighties, heads of human resources of different prominent firms of the tourism industry in Spain considered the high rates of turnover and rapid occupational upward mobility of workers during this period as an important constraint to adapt to changes in the tourism demand alleging lack of necessary training of the workforce during the formation of the tourism labour market. See for example: Homs (1987).

years old only comprised 44,2% of total local workers and women 18,8%, in a sector where young workers and women represented a total of 56,07% and 28,2% respectively.

In this context, during the sixties, natives and qualified and long-term permanent migrants with higher reservation wages than recent migrants entered or climb up into intermediate and well-paid tourism occupations where the seasonality of the labour demand was lower or was compensated by a competitive wage, particularly in the case of the hospitality industry. As a matter of example, in 1969 the share of natives and European workers in the travel agencies was 67% and 19%. Similarly, in the transport sector included in the Census, we can observe that in a public company of transport, ATESA, the share of natives reached 80% of the total workforce. Besides, the incidence of natives in transport was high in the districts of tourism destinations in the Balearics (see Chapter 1).

**Figure II.4:** *Temporary contracts, turnover rates and share of workers receiving accommodation in the hospitality industry by occupation in 1969.*



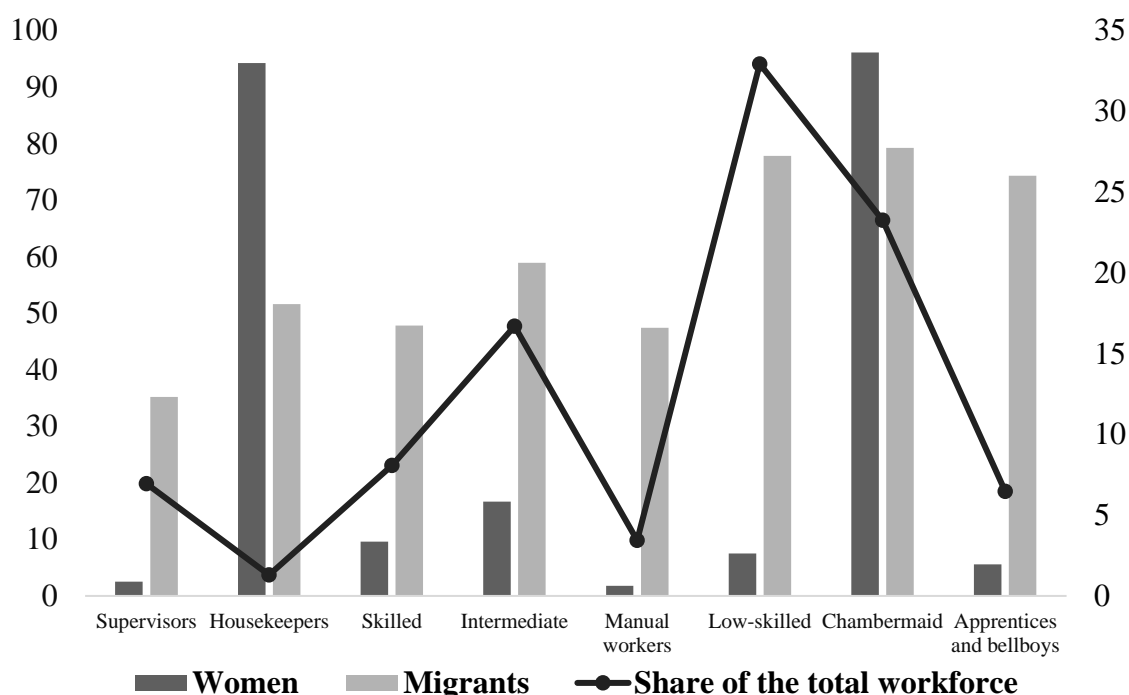
**Sources:** Census of the Balearic Tourism Industry of 1969.

**Note:** Share of temporary contracts includes a total of 6,754 individuals reporting the typology of their contracts. I identify a turnover as workers that changed their employer in the last two years. It pertains to a sample of 4, 157 individuals reporting seniority and years of labour experience.

Figure II.5 corroborates contemporary impressions by showing the share of migrants and women by occupational category by 1969. As we see, natives were concentrated in intermediate occupations, such as waiter, janitors and clerks; and skilled

jobs, being mainly receptionist, cook, accountant, barman or head of department<sup>15</sup>. Conversely, women and migrants entered into low-income occupations with higher levels of seasonality (Figure II.5). Women mainly worked in occupations associated with the reproductive economy, chambermaids, laundresses, cleaners and housekeepers. Most migrant men worked in low-skilled occupations, comprising approximately 70% of total workers in these categories. Occupations such as dishwasher, labourer, kitchen helper, assistant, doorman or busboy.

**Figure II.5:** Occupations by place of birth and gender in hospitality and restaurants in the Balearic Islands in 1969 (%).



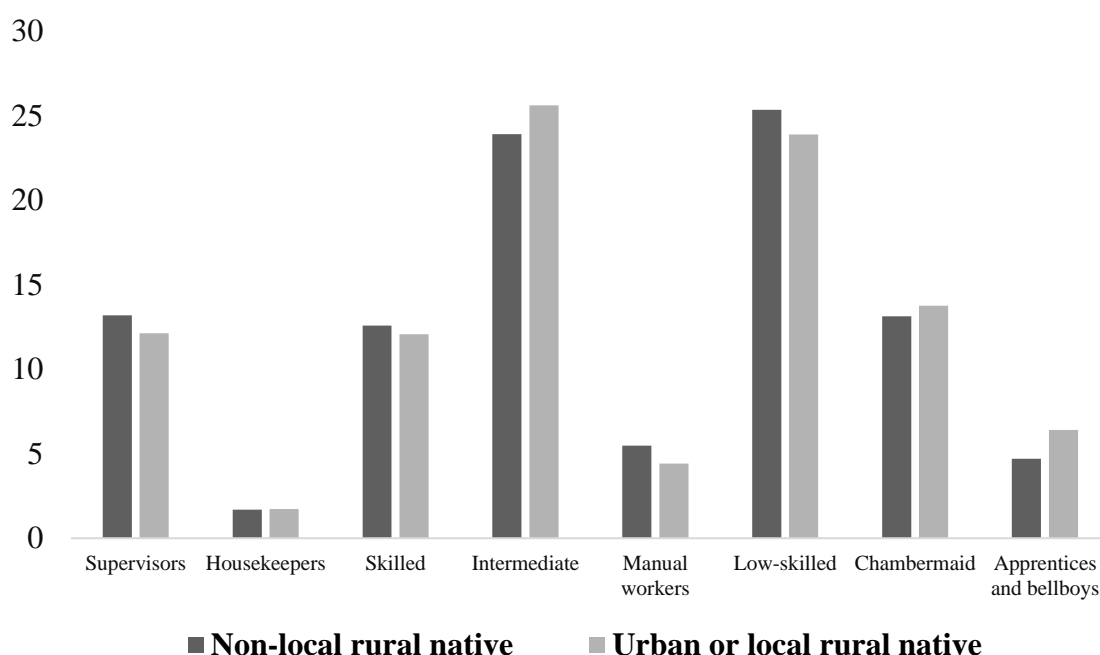
**Sources:** Census of the Balearic Tourism Industry of 1969.

The intense process of structural change also pushed consistently interior migration of natives from rural areas to tourist coastal destinations and the capital city. By 1981, 24.6% of natives were living in a different municipality where they were born, a total of 118,489 individuals. However, in contrast with the previous patterns, few occupational differences are found among natives regarding their origin in the tourism industry by 1969. In figure II.6, I depict the distribution of natives between the same occupational categories taking into account internal migrations in the archipelago. It

<sup>15</sup> In Costa Brava, testimonies remark that most local workers from cork and textile industry and fishing left their jobs to integrate into the tourism industry but they mostly entered into the middle and high-income occupations (Duocastella, 1969, pp. 232–240).

differentiates non-local rural natives, rural natives who were not born in the municipality of their workplace; and urban or rural natives, urban natives or rural natives who were born in the municipality of their workplace. The results suggest that rural migrants from other municipalities had very low penalisation in their access to jobs when they migrated to tourism areas. Both groups sorted mostly in middle or well-paid occupations, comprising a total of 51% of natives who were in these kinds of jobs. Similarly, only 25-23% were low skilled and 18-19% were women.

**Figure II.6:** Occupations of natives regarding their place of birth in hospitality and restaurants in the Balearic Islands in 1969 (%).



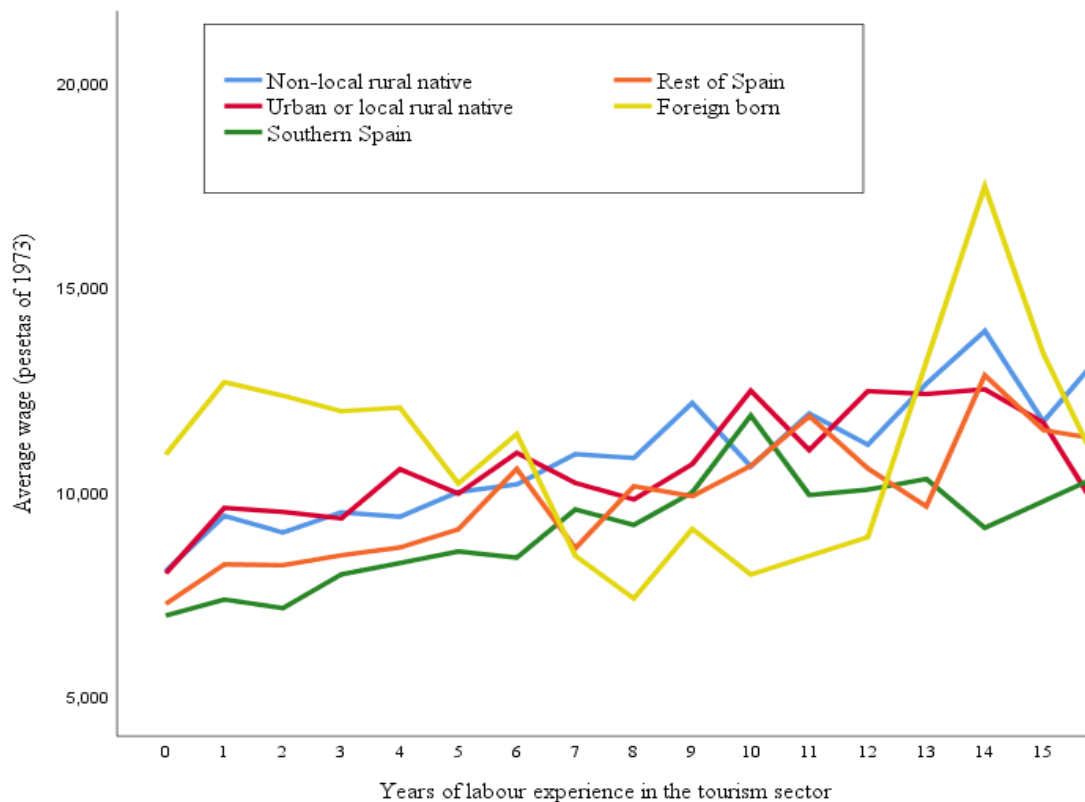
**Sources:** Census of the Balearic Tourism Industry of 1969.

This argument can be corroborated in Figure II.7 where I analyse the average wages of males of the main groups of workers by their place of birth. In the case of Balearics, we see that among native workers who remained in the labour market the level of wages was similar. Therefore, in this labour market, Balearic rural workers who moved to other municipalities of the archipelago entered into well-paid occupations. In contrast, if we look at the previous eight years when the share of migrants in the sector started to increase intensively, migrants from the rest of Spain, and particularly southern Spain migrants, registered a considerable migrant-native wage gap, although the oldest groups had experienced a substantial convergence by 1969. Among foreign workers, we can also see the difference between the cohorts of foreign migrants who came before 1962 and

those who started work and remained in the labour market since then. Results show that these recent migrants earned significantly higher wages than any group, including natives.

According to contemporaries, the period was characterised by the rapid upward mobility of workers and labour turnover, as the tourism industry increased dramatically its size (Garcias, Pérez, & Calvo, 1990). However, these wage gaps were the result of the distinct capacity of the different groups to take advantage of the process of rapid structural change. The descriptive analysis suggests that natives and most migrants did not behave as perfect substitutes in the labour market. Instead, natives and migrants are mainly sorted into different occupational scales. The key role of circular migration during the process of labour market formation could help to explain the observed occupational differences among groups.

**Figure II.7:** Male average wage by years of labour experience in hospitality and restaurants in the Balearic Islands in 1973.



**Sources:** Information about occupations in Census of the Balearic Tourism Industry of 1969; information about wages from Provincial Labour Agreements of 1973 weighted with reported real wages and average tips from 157 workers provided by Gaviria et.al. (1974). Due to the lack of data in some variables, it corresponds to 6,534 observations.

## 6. Circular migrant labour and inequality

### 6.1. The development of circular migratory networks

The dramatic growth of the tourism sector during the period posed important economic constraints for firms willing to keep exploitation costs low to take profit from a tourism expansion based on low prices. Intense job creation and lack of attraction of local labour meant high labour shortages during the summer season. According to local authorities, job contract signs increased deeply at the beginning of the summer period, becoming the Balearic Islands the first province of Spain in terms of the number of contracts signed in May both in relative and absolute terms by 1972<sup>16</sup>.

Different mechanisms appeared to contribute to a more efficient trade-off between supply and demand. On the one hand, within the province, apart from public employment agencies, it is documented the existence of private recruitment agencies which started to intermediate between employers and workers competing with the public recruitment agency, despite being illegal according to the labour legal corpus of the dictatorial regime<sup>17</sup>. It also documented the existence of companies that helped firms in the process of selection of workers<sup>18</sup>. On the other hand, firms developed active recruitment practices aimed to seek workers and hire them in mainland Spain and foreign countries, establishing networks of circular migration (Sindicato Provincial de Hostelería y

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<sup>16</sup> AHRM. Sindicats. "Informe sobre el servicio de colocación de Baleares". Sind. 831.

<sup>17</sup> Delegación Provincial de Sindicatos de Baleares, "I Consejo Económico Sindical Insular de Ibiza y Formentera. *Boletín Informativo de la Delegación Provincial de Sindicatos de Baleares*. February 1965. According to the ruling labour legal corpus in this period all job hiring must be intermediated by the public agency of recruitment. Private agencies were illegal and were punished with fines and the end of their activity. BOE. 2nd of March of 1943. "Ley de 10 de febrero de 1943 sobre colocación de trabajadores". Retrieved from <https://www.boe.es/datos/pdfs/BOE//1943/061/A02009-02012.pdf>. Similarly, all job advertisements in newspapers had to correspond to the demands of workers registered in the public agency of recruitment. However, multiple interviews and internal reports remarked that at least in some areas of Spain most recruitment was produced outside of the State institutions, such as the Balearic Islands and coastal Andalusia. See: Buchens, P. & Costa, P. "La formación profesional en la Hostelería balear: Problemas - Soluciones.". *Economía Balear*, December.; Delegación Provincial de Sindicatos de Baleares, "I Consejo Económico Sindical Insular de Ibiza y Formentera. *Boletín Informativo de la Delegación Provincial de Sindicatos de Baleares*. February 1965 and Delegación Provincial de Sindicatos de Granada. "Entrevista al jefe del servicio provincial de encuadramiento y colocación de la C.N.S. *Revista de la Delegación Provincial de Sindicatos de Granada*. December 1963. In the Balearics Islands, the proliferation of job advertising which was not registered in the public agency obliged to the newspapers to include an advertisement from the *Sindicato Vertical* notifying fines will be imposed on those who published job advertisements without the permission of the State union. See: Oficina de Colocación. "Visado de la Oficina de Colocación". *Última Hora*, April 24<sup>th</sup> of 1965.

<sup>18</sup> See Mallorca Servis Selección. "Seleccione el personal de su empresa". *Economía Balear*, April 1970.

Actividades Turísticas de Baleares, 1970; Chapter 3)<sup>19</sup>. In some cases, oral testimonies and documental evidence also show that employers and groups of migrants facilitated means of transportation aimed to reduce costs of migration by arranging bus lines and other means of transportation that transported groups of circular migrants from the most representative municipalities of origin at the beginning and the end of the high season (González, 2017; Servera, 2021)<sup>20</sup>.

**Table II.7:** *Migration status by place of origin the hospitality and restaurants in the Balearic Islands, 1969.*

	Circular	Permanent
Andalusia	39.6	60.4
Murcia-Albacete	44.1	55.9
Extremadura	41.0	59.0
Northwest	48.7	51.3
Total Census	41.4	58.6

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

**Note:** Circular corresponds to workers with at least one year of labour experience reporting an address outside the Balearics or receiving accommodation from the employer. Permanent correspond to workers with at least one year of labour experience reporting an address in the Balearic Islands. Due to the lack of data in some variables, it corresponds to 6,534 observations.

In this context, circular migrant labour played a crucial role in shaping the level of expansion of the tourism industry in the regions of Spain facing a lack of attraction of local labour. Given the low attraction of local labour, the capacity for growth of the tourism industry was dependent on the availability and cost of labour in mainland Spain. The core role of occupations of hospitality made the capacity to fill these vacancies essential for the overall expansion of the tourism industry and its tourism-driven industries. Thus, the higher the availability of labour higher the extent of expansion without increasing significantly local labour costs<sup>21</sup>.

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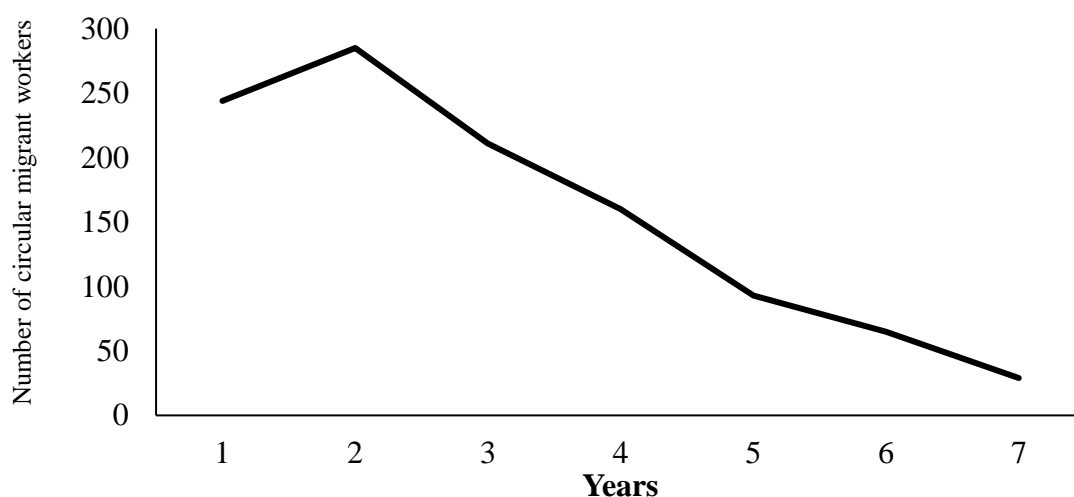
<sup>19</sup> A contemporary expert on the tourism industry declared in 1973: “It is frequent –as was explained by someone very important in the tourism industry of Mallorca—the trips to Extremadura, Andalusia and Castilla to recruit girls and boys” Díaz-Plaja (1972, p. 35). Similar practices are documented in the Costa del Sol. See Galán et al. (1977). Moreover, some migrants remarked the role of firms in shaping circular migration: “In 1965 I was working in a municipality of Seville and some employers from Mallorca and Catalonia came to hire chambermaids and there they stablished wages and labour conditions” (Capellà, 1977, p. 75). “Most employers travel around mainland Spain during the winter to hire workers for the summer that are illiterate and do not know about their rights. They are interested to hire as most illiterate as possible” (Capellà, 1977, p. 75).

<sup>20</sup> Regular bus lines were created which connected, in a weekly basis, rural municipalities of Andalusia, Badajoz and Albacete with the port of Valencia. The return of these circular migrants at the end of the summer season was a popular event in these districts of southern Spain. See cited references.

<sup>21</sup> The owner of Sol Melià, Gabriel Escarrer, probably one of the most prominent agents in this period remarks in his memories the sharp labour shortages by remarking the importance of recruitment in origin in mainland Spain and how firms struggled for labour in the summer season (Durán, 2021, p. 244 and

These economic constraints were partially solved in the Balearic Islands, coastal Catalonia and Alicante with the development of networks of circular migration which generated a selective process of transition from circular to permanent migration<sup>22</sup>. Table II.7 shows that among migrants with at least one year of labour experience in the sectors around 40% of migrants by 1969 from the main areas of origin were circular migrants<sup>23</sup>. The transition from circular to permanent migrant was not immediate. By 1969, most circular migrants had accomplished between 2 and 4 years of migration, while a few migrants still were circular after more than five years (Figure II.8). This pattern was associated with incentives to return and maintain circular migration by the migrants (see Chapter 4) but also because of the socio-economic constraints in the destination and the legal framework.

**Figure II.8:** *Survival curve of circular workers from mainland Spain in hospitality and restaurants in the dataset, 1969.*



**Sources:** Census of the Balearic Tourism Industry of 1969. Due to the lack of data in some variables, it corresponds to 6,534 observations.

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Chapter 3): “When labour shortages increased most hotel directors came to the port of Palma when the ships arrived [...] with placards which offered jobs in the hospitality to those who came to Mallorca as migrants”.

<sup>22</sup> Contemporary evidence for Catalonia noted that “Migrants from the rest of Spain, who came to work during the summer season return to their places of origin, and few of them, attempt to stablish permanently” (Duocastella, 1969, p.240).

<sup>23</sup> Circular migration not solely was important in the main core subsectors of the tourism industry. Although, we do not know the extent, anecdotal evidence also points out that circular migrants were some workers of transports, such as taxi drivers, construction workers and day labourers in agriculture. See for example (Capellà, 1977). And oral testimonies, as matter of example: “There [Caravaca de la Cruz, Murcia, Spain], aside of spending two years working as a hairdressing I met my husband and my first contact in Mallorca: José. In that moment, he was a circular migrant [...]. When the hot weather started, he came to the Island and spent all the summer working as a taxi driver for tourists in S’Arenal”. *Diario El Mundo: Una Isla de 'forasters'* (III): 40 años cardando turistas”. Retrieved from <https://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2010/08/10/baleares/1281465410.html>.



For those willing to remain in the archipelago, substantial obstacles arose. Firstly, the majority of the labour demand was seasonal, forcing migrants to deal with a lack of work opportunities in the winter. Moreover, the lack of adequate measures to alleviate this scenario by the Dictatorship mentioned above diffculted the permanent settlement of migrants in the archipelago (see Chapter 1 and Annexe in this chapter). In this context, in most tourism destinations the construction sector and related subsectors became the main window for those willing to establish permanently. The construction of tourism infrastructure during the rest of the year was a key factor, providing accessible jobs out of the summer season although it offered fewer jobs in comparison to the hospitality, creating an excess of labour supply (Barbaza, 1988; Ruiz, 1999; Consell Econòmic i Social de les Illes Balears, 2003; also see Figure A.II.1 in the Annexe)<sup>24</sup>. Secondly, the massive transformation of the tourism infrastructure and local uses of land led to significant housing shortages. According to my estimates, most tourist destinations of coastal Catalonia, Alicante, Las Palmas, and the western region of Mallorca were among the areas with the highest housing deficit per capita in Spain in 1962 (Table II.8). These results are even more important if we take into account that the seasonality of the migration meant that most of the migrants were not registered as inhabitants of these areas. Thus, during summer it is expected peaks of housing pressure are higher than in other recipient areas where migration was more permanent.

**Table II.8:** *Housing deficit per capita among districts of the main recipient provinces, 1962 (main tourism destinations).*

District	Province	Rank (1-74)
Western Mallorca	Balearic Islands	3
Maresme	Barcelona	6
Baix Penedés	Tarragona	13
Coastal Alicante	Alicante	15
South Las Palmas	Canary Islands	16
Costa Brava of Girona	Girona	17
Costa Brava of Barcelona	Barcelona	22
Center of Las Palmas	Canary Islands	25

**Sources:** (CPDES, 1963).

**Note:** I included as a recipient province, all districts from Asturias, Balearic Islands, Catalonia, Euskadi, Madrid, Navarra and Valencian Autonomous Community. The Canary Islands is included due to intense migration within the region associated with tourism registered during the period. I could not include Bilbao due to a lack of data. Although this data can be biased by the size of each district, which is important to remark is how important the housing shortage became at a very early stage of the Spanish tourism boom.

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<sup>24</sup> Contemporary observers noted an excess of labour supply during the rest of the year. In the construction sector, many workers used to concentrate in squares and well-known places waiting for employers to appear, where they would select some of them for day labour. See Serra (1971).

The increasing population growth of tourism areas after 1962 suggests that this issue was not resolved but rather incremented its incidence during the period. Reports of the provincial government in 1967 noted that these problems not only affected migrants but that were among the main concerns of the total population (Ginard, 1998, p. 61). As regional planners claimed in 1966 and contemporary anecdotal evidence also pointed out for the Balearic Islands, Catalonia and the Canary Islands (Duocastella, 1969; Márquez, 2018), housing shortages were an additional element that hindered the transition from circular to permanent migration (Ginard, 1998, pp. 59–60)<sup>25,26</sup>:

“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.”

In a similar vein, other experts on Balearic tourism noted that the impact of circular migrants could be even bigger by 1973<sup>27</sup>:

“In the hospitality sector, 64% of workers are non-resident migrants who at the same time represent a total of 22,4% of the total active population in the archipelago. This non-resident population is the highest among all the Spanish provinces in absolute and relative terms and earns 15,3% of the total salaried earnings of the provincial service sector [...]. In previous years this “gap” was absorbed by the return of these circular migrants to their places of origin and by the mobility of the rest to the construction sector”.

Employers responded to problems of housing that could potentially undermine the attraction of foreign labour by providing accommodation to the workers. Anecdotal evidence points out that these practices of accommodation were shared at least in all the tourism regions of Spain where interprovincial circular migrant labour played a key role in the development of the tourism sector, such as in coastal Catalonia and Alicante (Duocastella, 1969; Valero, 1991). In the Balearic Islands, our information provides empirical evidence which demonstrates that they represented almost half of migrant workers and were important across the archipelago. As we see in Figure II.9, in 1969 the

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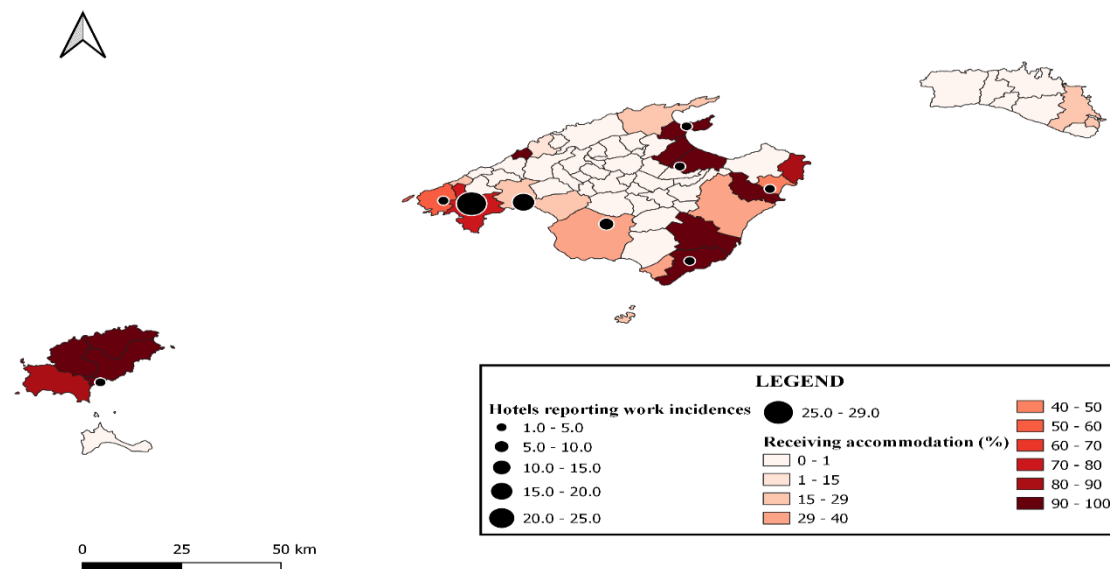
<sup>25</sup> Anecdotal evidence also describes discriminatory behaviour against migrants from landlords (Salas, 2011). Besides, oral testimonies point out that appeared individuals who intermediated and helped to find temporary housing at a arrival in exchange of commission (Servera, 2021).

<sup>26</sup> The major of Ibiza declared in 1971 that “migration have created us serious problems of housing”. In the same newspaper, the major of Sant Antoni de Portmany, Ibiza, reported that in 1971 his town had 9,800 inhabitants while the number of circular migrants reached 4,000 and the number of tourists was 7,000. See: Macías, J. “El activo Alcalde de Ibiza: una gestión diaria”. *Economía Balear*, September 1971 and Macías, J. “La invasión turística ha sido inesperada nos dice el Alcalde de San Antonio”. *Economía Balear*, September 1971.

<sup>27</sup> AHRM. Sindicats. “Consejo Económico-Social Sindical de Baleares, 1976: Comentario de Urgencia sobre la situación de la economía Balear”. Sind B.392

share of accommodated workers among non-natives was particularly sharp in those areas registering low population size and experiencing an intense process of tourism growth by this moment, such as Calvià, Ibiza and east of Mallorca.

**Figure II.9:** Share of accommodated non-native workers 1969 and work incidences in the labour inspection of 1972 in hospitality and restaurants in the Balearic Islands.



**Sources:** Census of the Balearic Tourism Industry of 1969; Labour inspection of the hospitality industry of 1972: AHRM. Govern Civil; “Expediente sobre las condiciones de alojamiento de los trabajadores de hoteles”. G.C. 1993.

Multiple information points out the precarious conditions of these accommodations. According to one labour inspection conducted in the summer of 1972, the majority of migrants lived in insalubrious and overcrowded places in the basement of the hotel or improvised rooms. Inspectors detected these precarious living conditions indistinctive of the category of the hotels or hostel and tourism area, except for luxury hotels (Figure II.9)<sup>2829</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> As result of these inquiries, the provincial governor of the Balearics claimed in internal correspondence with the Minister of Information and Tourism, Sánchez-Bella, that “the conditions of accommodation and manutention of our workers in hospitality are far to respond to the human dignity”. Among the sectors critics with this situation was the local church of the areas of origin and destination. In 1972 the bishops of Valencia, Mallorca, Menorca, Ibiza, Orihuela and Albacete published a letter in local newspapers where condemned tourism as “the exploitation of the men for the men”. AHRM. Govern Civil. “Carta de Alfredo Sánchez-Bella, Madrid 8 de septiembre de 1971”. G.C. L.1993. It is important to remark that there was no labour regulation that covered the accommodation of workers by the firms in the tourism industry. Civil servants set fines only based in the general regulation regarding to healthiness in hotel and hostel spaces. See B.O.E. August 7<sup>th</sup> of 1968. Retrieved from <https://boe.es/boe/dias/1968/08/07/pdfs/A11687-11700.pdf>.

<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, workers also complained for being supplied with food of very bad quality by the firms during their work-stay although it is hard to assess overall impact of these practices Gaviria et al. (1974).

## **6.2. Circular migration and labour market competition**

Several qualitative pieces of evidence support the idea that circular migrants arriving in the Balearics behave similarly as noted by theoretical and empirical research on temporary and circular migrants studied in different historical scenarios. Contemporaries observed that circular migration had a cushioning effect on host labour markets. Circular migrants were flexible to the changes in the host local labour demand. Thus, for example, when the oil economic crisis started to affect negatively tourism demand in 1974, some contemporaries remarked that unemployment levels were lower than was expected because most of the circular migrants stayed in the areas of origin in the following years given that firms stopped to call them for work at the beginning of the summer season (Consell Econòmic i Social de les Illes Balears, 2003). Oral testimonies from the areas of origin also suggested the same labour dynamic, remarking that although circular migration to the Balearics had been substantial it declined with the start of the economic crisis. As the priest of Iznalloz, Granada, declared in 1974: “Other years went a lot of people from this district [to Mallorca]. This year, instead, few have emigrated due to the tourism crisis” (Lara, 1977).

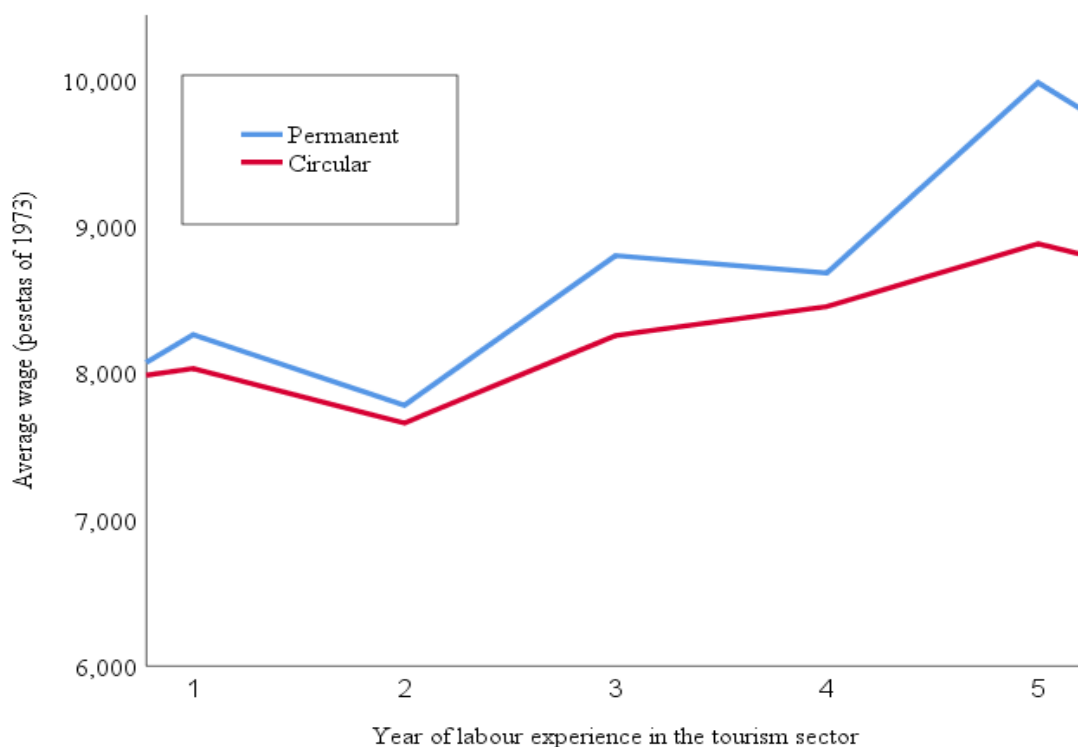
Contemporaries also noted that circular migrants were more prone to prioritise their areas of origin in economic and socio-politic terms. They reduced consumption at the destination and were particularly willing to send remittances to their relatives (Duocastella, 1969). But more significantly, they maintained their socio-political duties in their areas of origin. In this regard, reports and oral testimonies show that the circularity of the migration diffculted the development of a new working-class movement surged from the tourism development which as consequence would have probably fostered opposition to the Dictatorship. The communist party and the main clandestine Spanish union, Comisiones Obreras, had to face how most of the recruited migrants’ members often returned to their places of origin. Besides, they regretted that these migrants were scanty interested in local politics and prioritised leisure after work at the destination<sup>30</sup>.

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<sup>30</sup> See Ginard (1998) and Arxiu Històric de CC.OO. Illes Balears. Serveis. Caixa 4. As local workers declared during these years: “Circular workers who come to work to Mallorca do not protest against employers injustices such as poor accommodation or food because they prioritize a handful of pesetas [money]” (Capellà, 1977, p. 75). Others were worried because the continued loss of members: “If the worker comes to Mallorca for working six months and go back to his place of origin to work in the olive harvest we will never have a united and strong working movement” (Capellà, 1977, p. 75).

Similarly, circular migrants experienced lower income growth than their permanent counterparts. Figure II.10 suggests that groups of circular migrants in the tourism sector registered lower income growth than permanent migrants that had accumulated the same years of labour experience. More importantly, although it corresponds to different cohorts, these results could also highlight that the income gap between both groups increased as spending more years in the labour market. Therefore, according to the theoretical and empirical research on temporary and circular migrant labour, the massive arrival of circular migration could have consequences on the degree of substitutability with natives and levels of labour market inequality.

**Figure II.10:** Males' average wage from southern Spain and Galicia by status in 1973.

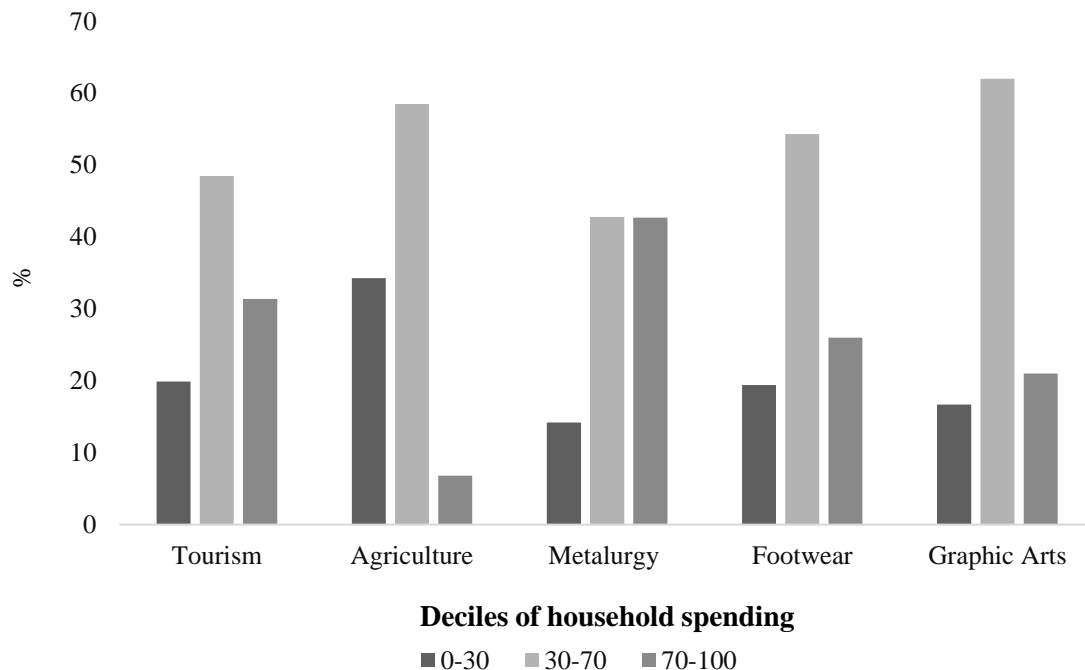


**Sources:** Information about occupations in Census of the Balearic Tourism Industry of 1969; information about wages from Provincial Labour Agreements of 1973 weighted with reported real wages and average tips from 157 workers provided by Gaviria et al. (1974).

The structure of the labour market both within the sector and, in comparison with the rest of the sectors of the economy, can contribute to a better understanding of the impact of circular migration in the labour market. In Figure II.11 we analyse this issue by showing the household spending in the Balearics in 1973 by the occupation of the head of household. It depicts that the tourism labour market was the most unequal within the provincial economy. Concretely, it shows that if we only account for natives and permanent migrants, the households where the head of household worked for the hospitality were those with a lower share of middle incomes and registered a considerable

percentage of workers at the bottom and top deciles. Taking into account that circular and recent permanent migrants were not usually registered and had lower average earnings than long-term permanent ones, the actual rate of inequality would be even higher.

**Figure II.11:** *Distribution of the reported household annual spending in deciles by the occupation of the head of the household in 1973-1974 (%).*

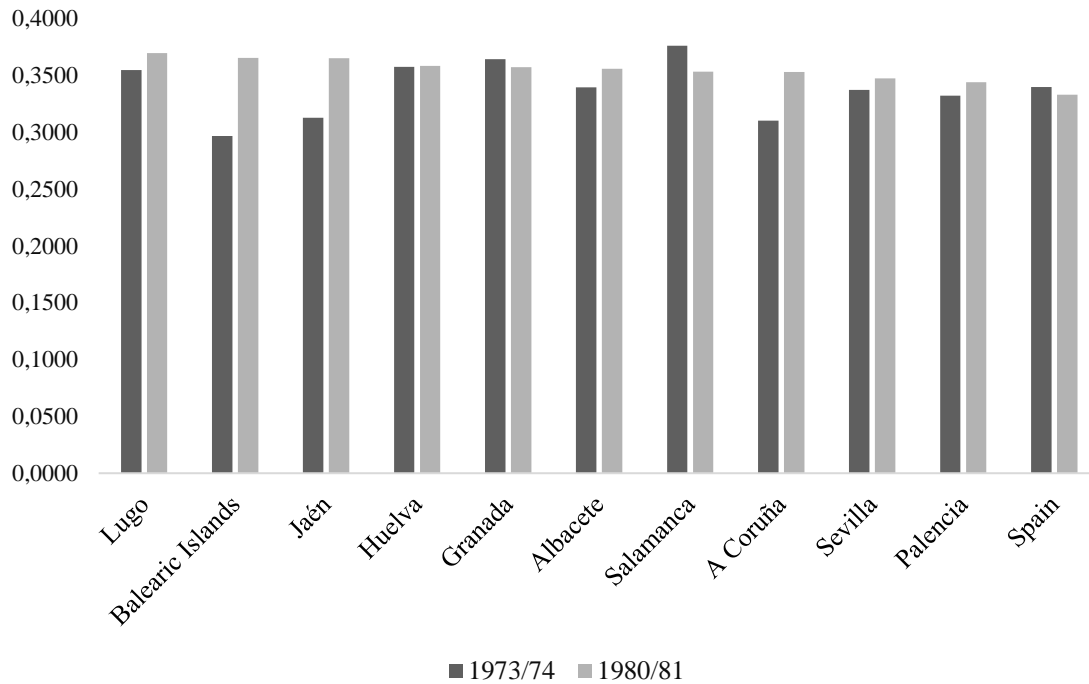


**Sources:** INE. Spanish household budget survey of 1973-1973. I used INE occupational codes from the National Classification of Occupations of 1961 (CNO-61) in combination with the table of equivalences provided by the National Classification of Occupations of 1979 (CNO-79). See: (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 1979).

**Note:** The household spending was weighted by the number of members of the household employed.

Indeed, although other factors operated during the period, the permanent establishment of this volatile migrant population after 1973 coincides with the increasing inequality of the host society. As we can observe in Figure II.12, the Balearic Islands was the region which registered a higher GINI increase between 1973 and 1981, becoming the second province in the country in terms of social inequality. As far as the Balearic Islands is the province which represents the most the impact of tourism on its economy in this period, a similar dynamic could have operated in districts of other provinces with high tourism specialisation based on the attraction of circular migrants.

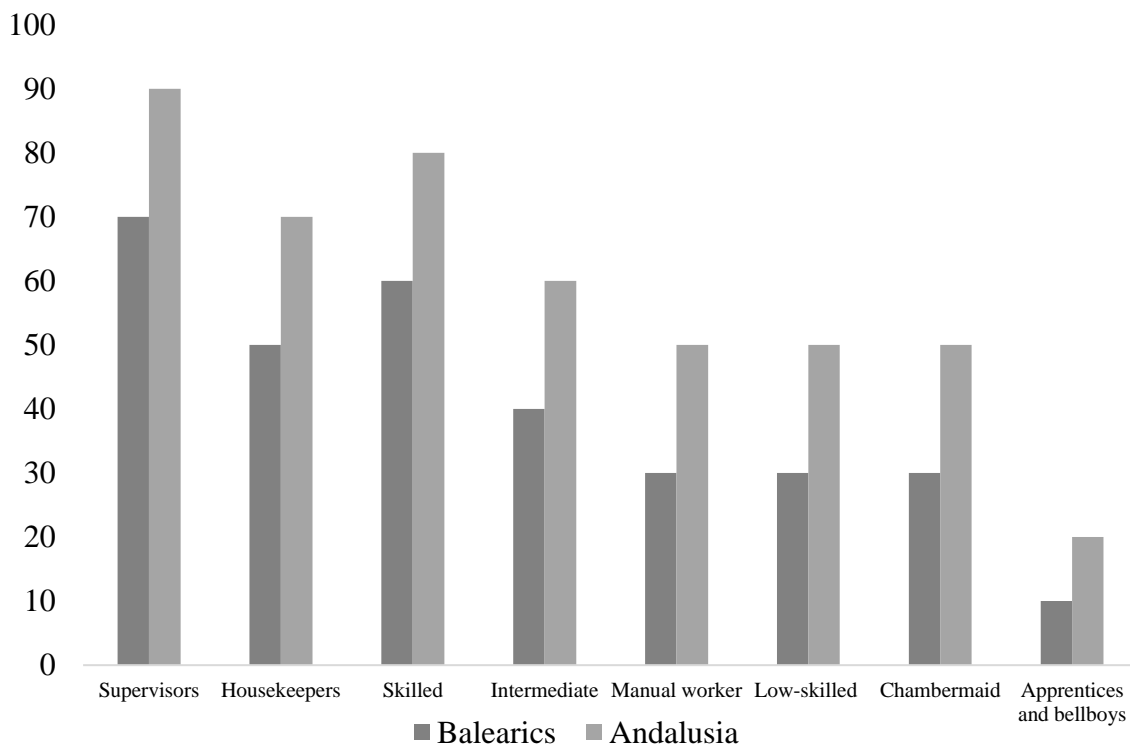
**Figure II.12:** GINI index of household spending among provinces with higher inequality in 1980-81 in Spain.



**Sources:** Goerlich & Mas (2002).

The intense inequality observed in the previous figure can be analysed more deeply by looking at the structure of this labour market. As figures II.13 and II.14 inform, the structure of the labour market was very unequal. Managers and supervisors, mostly comprised of locals and European foreigners, could earn wages that reached top income deciles of the local provincial labour market and household budgets. For example, the average wages earned by the supervisors were at the 70% decile of the income distribution of the Balearic Islands and 90% in Andalusia. Skilled workers could also receive considerable relative well-paid wages. Conversely, the majority of migrant workers could earn wages equivalent to lower incomes. Thus, a low-skilled worker earned on average the equivalent of the 30% decile of the income distribution in the Balearic Islands and the middle average income in Andalusia.

**Figure II.13:** Ratio of wages by main occupational categories in comparison to the provincial income distribution in the Balearic Islands and Andalusia in 1973.



**Sources:** Information about occupations in Census of the Balearic Tourism Industry of 1969; information about wages from Provincial Labour Agreements of 1973 weighted with reported real wages and average tips from 157 workers provided by Gaviria et al. (1974). Household budgets and provincial average earnings from INE. Spanish household budget survey of 1973-1973 weighted with the ratios provided by Torregrosa-Hetland (2015). Wages include average tips reported in Gaviria et al. (1974).

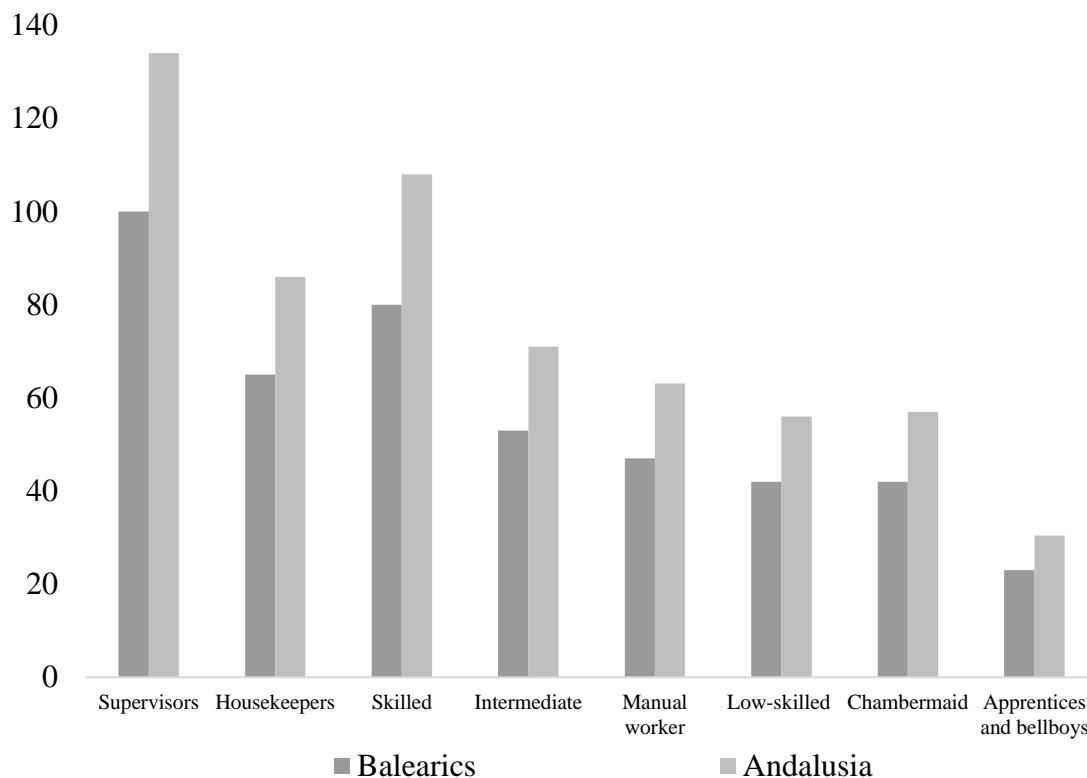
Although these earnings placed migrants at the bottom of the host-income distribution they represented considerable higher wages in comparison with those earned in the areas of origin. As we see, similar low-paid wages in destination were equivalent to middle-income wages and provide the equivalent of a middle-income household spending in the areas of origin, a factor which was particularly favourable for individuals and households intending to return to their places of origin. A wage earned on the Balearic Islands by a low-skilled Andalusian worker represented 56% of the mode of monthly housing expenditure in Andalusia. Thereby, if a household had three members in the sector, one as a middle-income worker and two sons as a low-income worker, they would earn during the tourism high season the equivalent to 174% of the mode of housing expenditure in Andalusia.

These results are consistent with the triple win theory of circular migration (Constant, Nottmeyer, & Zimmermann, 2013). Circular migrants behave as a flexible



labour force that exerted two main effects on the host labour markets. Firstly, by alleviating labour costs they could help firms to expand their production and tourism infrastructure, increasing the number of relatively well-paid occupations in the tourism sector and tourism-driven economy. Secondly, as a result, natives, qualified and long-term migrants, benefited from lower labour market competition and higher access to these new job opportunities. These groups faced lower competition to climb up the occupational ladder and progressively access to well-paid occupations where wages and labour conditions were considerably better. Thus, they could benefit from a skill premium that increased as the sector augmented its size.

**Figure II.14:** Ratio of wages by main occupational categories in comparison to the mode of household spending in the Balearic Islands and Andalusia in 1973.



**Sources:** Information about occupations in Census of the Balearic Tourism Industry of 1969; information about wages from Provincial Labour Agreements of 1973 weighted with reported real wages and average tips from 157 workers provided by Gaviria et al. (1974). Household budgets and provincial average earnings from INE. Spanish household budget survey of 1973-1973 weighted with the ratios provided by Torregrosa-Hetland (2015). Wages include average tips reported in Gaviria et al. (1974).

This dynamic would explain why some occupations in tourism were at the top earnings percentiles of the provincial labour market. Contemporary reports highlighted this issue noting that in the short-term both relatively qualified natives and migrants particularly benefited from this path of development by having higher market power. Accordingly with regional planners, these groups of workers were always in an auction of their time

of labour and were able to climb up the occupational ladder very quickly. They regretted that “this workforce lacked any formal preparation turns increasingly more expensive, while the qualified workers continue permanently in the auction of their wages” (Sindicato Provincial de Hostelería y Actividades Turísticas de Baleares, 1967). In a similar vein, in 1970 they remarked that (Sindicato Provincial de Hostelería y Actividades Turísticas de Baleares, 1970) :

“Firms have no other option than rewarding their qualified workers, e.g. workers at the top of the occupational hierarchy. [...] As far as firms are increasing their dimension, family workers are losing their relative weight in the payroll. Therefore, qualified and trusted workers have to be retained at any cost and with certain incentives”

Circular migrants also won by migrating to tourist destinations and particularly to the Balearic Islands as figures II.12 and II.13 remarked. Those who managed to become permanent and those who remained circular also benefited from this process: they earned wages considerably higher than the areas of origin which allowed either achieve social mobility in origin or improve their well-being in the destination. Still, this process could have as consequence an increase in local labour market inequality and social inequality by the interaction of two mentioned factors: firstly, the lower competition and high skill premium for natives and long-term migrants in a labour market and overall economy experiencing high economic expansion. Secondly, the effect of the downward wage pressure at the bottom of the income distribution exerted by the influx of circular migrants with lower reservation wages than natives and permanent migrants. This pattern meant that, in absence of regulatory intervention of the Dictatorship, particularly on higher minimum wage policy that could prevent downward pressures on wages, growing labour market and increasing inequality could increase during the period without entering into an intense contradiction. However, as far as most of the circular population ended up becoming permanent residents, this process besides increasing labour market inequality could increase social inequality shaped by place of origin in the host region.

## **7. Conclusion**

This paper has studied the process of labour market formation in the tourism sector in Spain and its short-term socio-economic consequences. This analysis has highlighted three main dynamics that shaped the labour market structure and behaviour. Firstly, my results show a divergence in the path of labour market formation based on the socio-economic characteristics of the region. Secondly, a key role of circular migration in

shaping the response of agents to the increasing economic constraints arose by the economic development. Thirdly, a differential impact of circular migration on the structure of the labour market.

Results show that the capacity of hospitality firms for attracting local labour differed among tourism areas leading to distinct paths of labour market formation. Two main models were identified. On the one hand, Alicante, Balearic Islands and Coastal Catalonia as areas intensive on migrant labour. These regions were characterised by lower levels of unemployment and jobs in agriculture. Under this context, locals ended up comprising the intermediate and skilled occupations of the sector sharing these jobs with foreign workers and urban northern Spanish migrants. Meanwhile, the most populated occupations, mostly low-income jobs, were filled by migrants from the other Spanish provinces, mainly from southern Spain. On the other hand, Coastal Andalusia and the Canary Islands became intensives in local labour. These regions registered higher unemployment and a significantly higher share of agrarian employment. Therefore, the majority of jobs in the sector were occupied by local workers from the same province. Contrary to the previous model, qualified workers from the rest of Spain and foreign workers were the most numerous groups, sharing the well-paid segment with some locals.

In areas intensive on interprovincial migrant labour, local labour attraction was significantly constrained by the spill-over effects of the tourism expansion over the rest of the provincial labour market. Focusing on the case of the Balearic Islands, I show that tourism triggered the increase of a large number of jobs in sectors dependent on the growth of the tourism infrastructure which offered higher wages and labour conditions. The core of the tourism development, the hospitality, registered higher rates of temporary employment, lower wages, worse labour conditions and labour turnover that undermined the attraction of locals, especially to the numerous vacancies in low-skilled jobs. I show that the lack of attraction to hospitality was particularly significant among the younger cohorts of local workers and women.

Therefore, the expansion of tourism in these areas became dependent on internal migration from mainland Spain. However, the characteristics of the intense economic growth posed considerable socio-economic constraints for developing this migration. Tourism areas registered intense housing shortages and seasonality of the labour market that difficulted the arrival of a permanent migration from other provinces. Moreover, the labour policy of the Dictatorship is characterised by the lack of an adequate legal

framework oriented to alleviate the externalities of the seasonality of labour, such as fix-discontinuous contracts or other subsidies.

The different agents of the tourism industry responded to these constraints by implementing practices and services that could promote circular migration. On the one hand, firms sent members of the staff to seek workers in the areas of origin aimed to establish networks of circular migration and provided accommodation during the season, usually in very precarious conditions. On the other hand, means of transportation and job searching were launched to reduce the costs of hiring and transportation. As a result, circular migration became crucial for the development of the tourism industry in these areas, reaching between 40-50% of total migration in some years according to different estimates.

The intense arrival of circular migrants had a differential impact on the host labour market and society. Most circular migrants behave as a flexible labour force that responded to changes in the labour demand, had higher investment preferences in the area of origin and earned lower income than their permanent counterparts. This could have a considerable effect on the labour market structure. According to the literature and descriptive results, circular migration could have three main effects on the host labour market. Firstly, the intense arrival of workers with lower reservation wages could alleviate the increasing labour costs facilitating the expansion of the tourism industry. Secondly, given the flexibility of this workforce and lower occupational achievement, circular migration benefited natives and long-term permanent migrants who were able to access the new job vacancies with lower labour market competition. Thirdly, the lower reservation wage of circular migrants in combination with the high skill premium in skilled occupations increased the inequality of the host tourism labour market which registered the highest rates in the province.

These results show that the impact of circular migrants in the labour market is consistent with some of the characteristics of the triple win scenario theory on circular migrations but also with some of the disadvantages and caveats noted by some authors. Circular migrants were imperfect substitutes for natives and some groups of permanent migrants given they behave as a flexible labour force with lower reservation wages. Thus, natives benefited from the higher economic expansion and lower labour market competition. Circular migrants earned higher wages by migrating and improved their well-being in the short term. However, this process had as a consequence an increasing

inequality in the host labour market that was transferred to the host society since most of the migrants ended up becoming permanent migrants.

Finally, the process of labour market formation in the tourism industry in Spain could have three major long-term consequences for future economic and social development. Firstly, the generation of networks of circular migration was a key factor for the tourism expansion weakening the economic constraints posed by the spillover effects on the labour markets. This allowed the development of massive low-quality hotel infrastructure which faced considerable difficulties from the oil crisis onwards to adapt to the changes in the tourism international markets (Cirer-Costa, 2014c; Murray, Rullán, & Pons, 2014). Secondly, as we have shown, labour markets in the areas specialised in tourism were shaped by intense inequality in income and labour conditions marked by place of origin. This dynamic could have posed problems in terms of social cohesion and upward mobility in the long term. Thirdly, the continued expansion of this model of tourism development and industrial relations in successive tourism booms could have generated inherent constraints in the long term. Intense demographic growth and lower-income per capita increase experienced during the last decades could indicate the impossibility of continuing growing without increasing the negative externalities of this model over the ecological sustainability and social inequality of touristic regions, with the real estate market, level of consumption of natural resources and social segregation as main critical factors (Murray, 2012; Navinés & Manera, 2018).

This research suggests that higher housing provision and lower seasonality of the labour demand could have improved the transition from circular to permanent and reduced income inequality in the host society. This remarks the importance of the design of public policies aimed to prevent the negative consequences of the transition from circular to permanent migrant, particularly on housing, job assistance, unemployment subsidies and adequate institutional framework that could help to alleviate the seasonality of the labour market, and social integration (Constant, Nottmeyer, & Zimmermann, 2013). In this regard, further research is needed to empirically study the effects of circular migration on occupational mobility and the social integration of migrants. Moreover, given the importance of labour regulations on how labour markets absorb an increase of migrant workers, studies analysing the specific role of labour agreements and minimum wages in labour markets shaped by circular migration would be particularly insightful.

## 8. Annexe

**Table II.A.1:** *Seasonality of the labour demand in hospitality and restaurants in the main tourism destinations in 1970.*

	1970 Census	BBV Salaried	%Differential	BBV Total	%Differential
Alicante	9,213	14,100	53,04	20,089	118,05
Balearics	18,269	49,796	172,57	57,304	213,67
Barcelona	35,943	42,411	18,00	57,655	60,41
Girona	6,171	13,900	125,25	20,766	236,51
Málaga	18,014	18,791	4,31	24,888	38,16
Las Palmas	11,033	11,867	7,56	15,812	43,32
Tenerife	12,832	14,986	16,79	19,044	48,41

**Sources:** INE. Population Census of 1970 and Fundación BBV (1999).

**Note:** 1970 Census corresponds to individuals declaring working in a firm or self-employed in the construction sector in December. BBV Salaried only comprises salaried workers. BBV Total shows the annual average of employees, self-employment and other non-salaried workers.

**Table II.A.2:** *Seasonality of the labour demand in the construction sector in the main tourism destinations in 1970.*

	1970 Census	BBV Salaried	%Differential	BBV Total	% Differential
Alicante	36,009	26,466	26,50	30,423	-15,51
Balearic	27,454	23,790	13,35	28,265	2,96
Barcelona	158,849	135,563	14,66	149,302	-6,01
Girona	24,295	20,288	16,50	22,430	-7,68
Málaga	41,053	34,087	16,97	36,302	-11,57
Las Palmas	25,186	22,433	10,93	25,110	-0,30
Tenerife	30,043	21,917	27,05	24,102	-19,77

**Sources:** INE. Population Census of 1970 and Fundación BBV (1999).

**Note:** 1970 Census corresponds to individuals declaring working in a firm or self-employed in the construction sector in December. BBV Salaried only comprises salaried workers, annual average. BBV Total shows the annual average of employees, self-employment and other non-salaried workers.

**Table II.A.3:** *Occupational categories in the Labour Census of the Balearic Tourism Sector of 1969 and the Labour Agreement of August 1973.*

Category	Occupation
Heads of department masc.	Head of Department, Second Dead of Department, General Accountant, Auditor, Bookkeeper, Store administrator.
Heads of department fem.	Housekeeper, Head of the laundry.
Qualified	Administrative, Clerk, Cook, Accountant, Receptionist, Main janitor, Line cook, Pastry chef, Headwaiter, Maître,
Intermediate	Waiter, Wine Steward, Store Administrator, Second of Kitchen, Cashier, Janitor, Barman, Store Clerk, Office boy, Second Maître, Baker, Interpreter.
Manual Workers	Carpenter, Construction Worker, Plumber, Foreman, Labourer, Mechanic Driver, Gardener, Mechanic Assistant, Storekeeper, Upholster.
Low-skilled masc.	Assistant, Coffee Picker, Kitchen Help, Third of Kitchen, Doorman, Security Guard, Second Clerk, Labourer, Entertainer.
Low-skilled fem.	Chambermaid, Laundress, Dressmaker, Telephonist, Hairdresser, Entertainer, Cleaner, Scullery Maid.
Bellboys and apprentices	Apprentices, Elevator Operator, Bellboy.

**Sources:** BOP. August 12, 1973, and Census of the Balearic Tourism Industry of 1969.

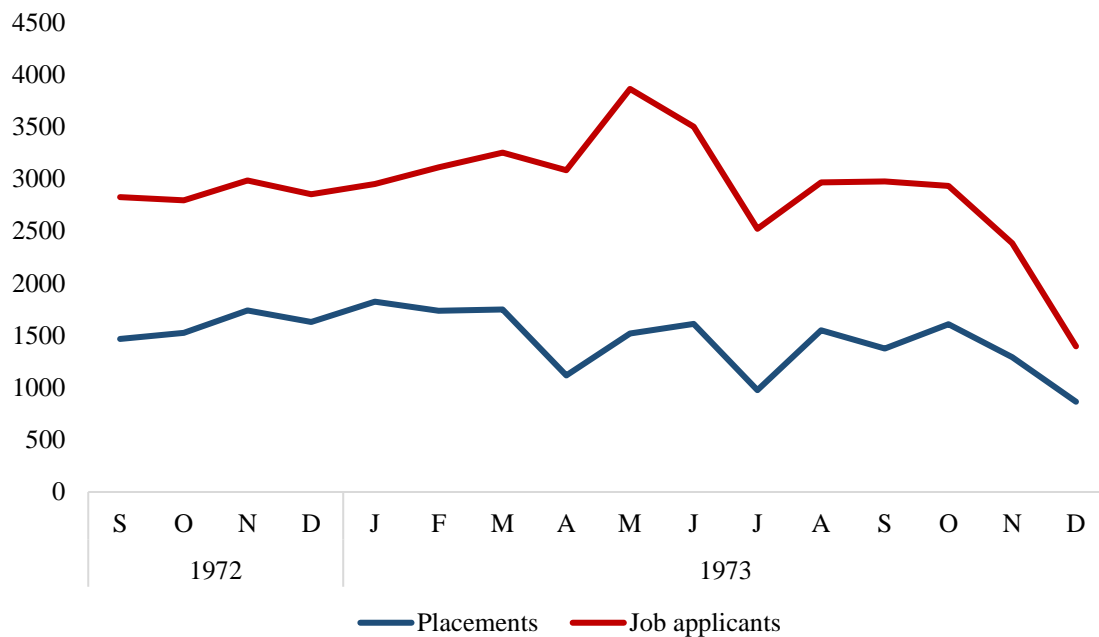
**Table II.A.4:** *Wage differentials between the labour agreement of August 1973 in the Balearic Islands and the poll conducted by Gaviria et al., 1974 in the summer of 1973 in the Spanish tourism destinations.*

Occupation	Collective Agreement of August 1973	Gaviria et al. 1973
Bellboys	3,420	3,000-2,000
Kitchen helper, chambermaid	6,100-5900	6,500-5000
Assistant	6,100-5900	6,500-5,000
Waiter	7,775-6,100	10,000-7,500
Maintenance Assistant	6,200-5900	6,000-5,000
Storekeeper	8,675-7,100	10,000-8,000
Hairdresser	No included in the agreement.	8,000-7000
Kitchen helper	6,650-6200	9,000-8,000
Second of Kitchen	9,125-7,775	15,000-10,000
Head of Kitchen	10,000-7,325	24,000-18,000
Housekeeper	8,225-7,325	12,000-10,000
Maître	10,000-7,325	12,000-10,000

**Sources:** BOP. August 12, 1973 and Gaviria et al. (1974).



**Figure II.A.1:** Monthly job applicants and placements made by the Servicio de Colocación regarding the construction sector of the Balearic Islands in late 1972 and 1973.



**Sources:** AHRM. Sindicats. “Partes de colocación 1971-1976”. Sind B.831.

**Note:** It is important to remark that although the official public job agency, Servicio de Colocación, was the only institution legally able and in charge of job hiring, the majority of recruitment took place in informal or even illegal channels. However, data from this institution show us a trend which is in line with the qualitative evidence. For more, see footnote number 17 in this chapter. From November 1973 data is negatively affected by the Oil Economic Crisis. The job applicants category comprises those still without a placement and those who found a placement the same month.

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# III

## The management of labour recruitment: the hotel chains during the Spanish tourism boom, 1959- 1973<sup>12</sup>

### Abstract

This paper explores the labour management of hotel chains during the Spanish tourism boom, a period characterized by high labour shortages. Focusing on the behaviour of three prominent emerging hotel chains in the Balearic Islands, we adopt a micro-comparative approach to examine their payrolls. Our findings suggest that the economic and geographical characteristics of the areas where they operated were crucial to their decisions. Firms located in populated areas developed channels of seasonal labour that supplied migrant workers through chain migration and kinship links. Conversely, firms in areas of intense landscape transformation pursued recruitment at origin in specific towns on mainland Spain or in foreign countries. This strategy played a key role in the development of new international tourism destinations.

**Keywords:** Hotel Chains, Labour Shortages, Labour Management, Balearic Islands, Mass Tourism, Business Internationalization.

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“There is a palpable excitement in the air. At last, the *califas* (Californians) have returned from *el Norte*, and people who haven’t seen each other for many months are together again: mothers and sons, wives and husbands, children and fathers [...] A party atmosphere prevails, as families, friends, and lovers try to pack a year’s worth of life into the short time that lies before them. Soon the men will be called back by work and wages in the North, but for now the plaza is full of frenetic exuberance”.

*-Return to Aztlan: The Social Process of International Migration from Western Mexico*, Douglas Massey, Rafael Alarcón, Jorge Durand and Humberto González.

## **1. Introduction**

During the Spanish tourism boom of 1959-1973, the Balearic Islands experienced a process of massive economic transformation based on tourism-related services, becoming the epicentre of the country’s tourism development (Manera & Navinés, 2018; Manera, 2001; Cirer, 2014b). In little more than a decade, Majorca and Ibiza developed the majority of their hotel infrastructure and became top international destinations. The transformation of the labour market was one of the key elements in their overall transformation. The high demand for labour driven by the explosion in tourism rapidly hollowed out the provincial labour market, triggering an intense process of migrant assimilation. Between 1950 and 1981, the total non-native population grew from 8.9% to 26.6%.

This process was also characterized by the genesis of Balearic Island hotel chains. As is well known, the majority of top Spanish tourism multinationals started operations in the archipelago during the period in question. The tourism boom opened a window of opportunity for business entrepreneurship, but not without posing major challenges for business expansion. To expand, the firms had to confront significant economic constraints, such as control of the value chain by tour operators, access to financial capital, and labour market pressures. In this regard, the capacity to recruit staff and thereby alleviate these pressures proved to be one of the key elements in their business growth. Positioning during the tourism boom was critical to weathering the economic slowdown and expanding both nationally and internationally in the wake of the 1973 oil crisis. In subsequent decades, the firms were able to grow into leading hotel chains in Spain and become top tourism multinationals (Cirer, 2014b; Buades, 2006).



The capacity to solve severe labour shortages is one of the key elements in the management of tourism firms and their success in the medium and long term. The literature on labour management points out that the labour-intensive, seasonal and low-skilled nature of hospitality jobs make this a central issue in the industry's business management and the quality of tourism work (Baum, 2015; Joppe, 2012; Marchante, Ortega & Pagán, 2006; Smeral, 2004). Thus, how firms deal with labour shortages becomes an important element in understanding their business trajectory as well as the labour conditions and geographical mobility of workers. However, despite the importance of these two topics, little is known about the past labour management of the tourism firms from a quantitative economic perspective, particularly their recruitment strategies (Walton, 2012; Ladkin, 2011; Zampoukos & Ioannides, 2010). In this paper, we analyse the labour management of the hotel firms in a context particularly well-suited to understanding firm behaviour in the face of severe economic constraints during a period of business expansion, namely the Spanish tourism boom, 1959-1973.

More specifically, we use a micro-comparative approach to examine the management behaviour of three leading hotel chains, Hoteles Mallorquines (Sol Melià), Barceló and Club Méditerranée (Club Med) in the period 1965-1970, when labour shortages and labour costs were especially intense. In this period, the three companies expanded their businesses while also facing important economic and spatial constraints. They operated in areas that were either sparsely populated, with low unemployment and high labour turnover, or far away from the main more populated municipalities. This procedure allows us to analyse the importance of location choice and business structure in shaping the different labour management strategies pursued in response to labour and housing shortages and the consequent labour costs. To carry out this analysis, we rely on a rich new micro-data set of 10,761 observations of workers in the Balearic Islands industry in 1969. Combining this data set with a broad range of complementary sources enables us to study the payroll of eight hotels owned by the firms in question.

Our findings point to the importance of geographical and economic characteristics related to the area where tourism industries operated as factors that conditioned starkly different labour recruitment strategies. Firms located in more heavily populated areas pursued passive labour recruitment, promoting chain migration and seasonal labour recruitment mechanisms in many municipalities on the Spanish mainland. This influx of labour was based on relationships of trust and kinship that helped to reduce

the effects of labour turnover. In contrast, the firms located in more isolated, sparsely populated areas undertook active labour recruitment, owing to greater difficulties in filling vacancies. In the latter cases, recruitment at origin became a key strategy to develop and expand tourism production. However, differences in business structure proved crucial. Firms owning a large number of hotels on the islands implemented a process of massive recruitment from specific municipalities on the Spanish mainland and then encouraged internal flexibility to alleviate labour shortages as and when they arose. Conversely, the firms with various tourism establishments outside the Balearic Islands utilized their internal, international infrastructure to develop their recruitment process. In both cases, however, our results suggest that the firms' recruitment strategies were a decisive factor in the initial development of areas characterized by massive, intense and rapid spatial transformation into top international tourism destinations.

The paper is divided into sections as follows. In the next section, we examine the development of the labour market during the tourism boom, highlighting the increase in labour costs and the subsequent increase in economic pressures on firm management. The third section sets out the materials and methods used in the paper, while the fourth section examines the economic and spatial conditioning factors that had an effect on the labour management strategies of the three hotel chains. The penultimate section analyses how the three chains dealt with these pressures by adopting different recruitment strategies; we use a micro-comparative approach to examine the main determinants of their decisions. We end with some concluding remarks.

## **2. Labour market behaviour during the tourism boom**

The liberalization process launched by the Plan de Estabilización in 1959 marked a turning point in the Spanish tourism industry. Until that moment, tourism had had a significant presence in the Mediterranean basin, especially in the Costa Brava, Catalonia, and the Balearic Islands (Vallejo & Larrinaga, 2019). However, the transformative effects of the measures brought in by the plan established tourism as the main engine of the Spanish economy from that point onwards (Balaguer & Cantavella, 2002). Tourist arrivals rose rapidly from a figure of two million in 1958 to one of 31 million in 1973, and the country became one of the world's top international destinations offering 600,000 thousand new hotel beds. An estimated 90,000 hectares were given over to tourism activities. The expansion of tourism took place in the Mediterranean axis and the

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archipelagos through the development of the sun and beach mass tourism model. Whereas in 1958 the provinces of Alicante, Barcelona, Balearic Islands, Canary Islands, Girona and Málaga had accounted for 31.1% of the total hotel beds in the country, by 1970, this figure had risen to 65.2%. Among these regions, the archipelago of the Balearic Islands was the epicentre of the Spanish tourism boom with 28.8% of the country's hotel beds (Almeida, 2013; Pack, 2006).

**Table III.1:** *Active population in the Balearic Islands by economic sector, 1960-1975.*

Year	Agriculture		Manufacturing		Construction		Services	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
1960	70,443	37.8	46,533	24.9	14,164	7.6	55,163	29.6
1965	53,676	25.6	44,277	21.1	26,586	12.7	80,016	38.2
1971	52,748	21.9	49,592	20.6	26,763	11.1	110,883	46.2
1975	37,830	17.0	45,181	20.3	31,303	14.1	107,750	48.5
60-71	-17,695	-25.1	+3,059	+6.5	+17,139	+88.9	+52,587	+101.0

**Sources:** Own calculations from I. Murray (2012: 1.592).

The tourism expansion in the Balearic Islands had its heyday between 1959 and 1970, when Majorca was the main centre of economic development. This early phase was characterised by an intense process of hotel production, which increased at a rate that reached 25%, driving annual GDP growth of 7.5%, two points higher than the national average. Unit wages tended to grow by 10% annually, exceeding the price index over the entire period. This process can be explained by high labour scarcity and spillover effects in the labour market, which were driven by the effects of tourism expenditure. This phase resulted in the solid formation and accumulation of hotel capital from which high profits could subsequently be generated. The externalities of tourism expansion led to a dynamic economy with a high component of urban growth marked by non-existent urban planning. Until the oil crisis, the number of hotels and pensions continued growing at an average rate of 114 openings per year, ultimately resulting in the construction of most of the current hotel infrastructure operating in the Balearic Islands. In 1992, 83% of the hotels in Majorca had been built prior to 1974 (Sastre, 1994; Reig & Picazo, 1998; Manera, 2009).

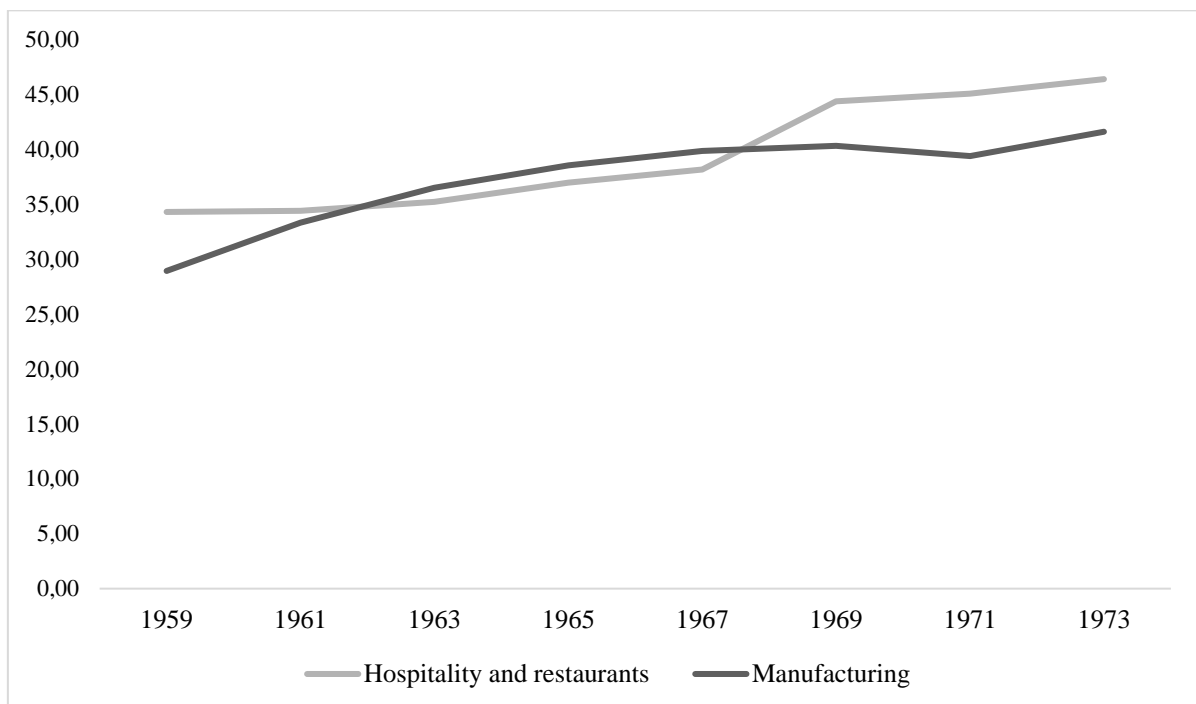
This process of rapid and intense specialization in tourism services changed the economic structure of the archipelago dramatically. Albeit with varying intensities on

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each island, the archipelago as a whole turned into a tourism economy in little more than a decade. As Table III.1 shows, the services sector went from 29.5% of the total active population in 1955 to 38.2% in 1965 and then to 50% in 1973 through a massive increase in the number of active individuals in the labour market. The key role of the hospitality industry is beyond dispute. It is even likely that the effect of seasonal migrations and labour demand has been underestimated. By the summer season of 1973, hospitality accounted for 37.6% of the total workforce.

**Figure III.1:** *Unit labour costs: Balearic Islands, 1959-73 (%)*.



**Sources:** Own calculations from Fundación BBV (1999).

Similarly, the spillover effects of tourism expansion drove up the number of jobs in the construction sector, which rose from 7.6% to 11.1% of the total active population. This effect on indirect demand also led to an additional expansion in jobs related to manufacturing, even though manufacturing lost relative weight in the labour market. Ancillary manufacturing activities related to construction in combination with the dynamism of some export sectors, such as the footwear industry, accounted for a rise of 6.5%. Conversely, agriculture entered into a rapid secular decline from 37.8% to 17.0%, a total reduction of 20.8 % after adjusting for the increase in the total active population.

The intensity of the development process led quickly to economic pressures in the form of severe labour shortages, followed by a scarcity of housing in the areas of tourism development. Low unemployment rates in the summer season and rising wages triggered

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a massive process of migrant assimilation that became decisive in determining the Balearic Islands' level of development. The migrants, who came mainly from the south of Spain, filled the high number of vacancies in the core industries, namely hospitality and construction. As a result, the non-native population increased from 8.9% in 1950 to 26.6% in 1981.

**Table III.2:** *Herfindahl-Hirschman Index for business ownership in Majorca tourism, 1966-1972.*

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Area	1966	1968	1972
Palma	186.6	194.6	201.3
Owners +1 hotel (%)	1.4	4.7	5.8
Calvià	360.0	537.7	360.2
Owners +1 hotel (%)	0	20.0	19.2
Platja de Palma-S'Arenal	236.7	197.3	117.7
Owners +1 hotel (%)	0.7	12.8	17.4
Llevant	482.2	481.2	173.1
Owners +1 hotel (%)	1.8	10.9	12.7

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**Sources:** Own calculations from M. Álvarez & L. Sainz (1967, 1969, 1973).

**Note:** Less than 1,500: very competitive; 1,500-2,500: moderately competitive; more than 2,500: highly concentrated.

However, the labour market was not fully able to bridge the gap between demand and supply, especially in relation to specific skilled workers. As a result, labour costs rose rapidly over the period. Following the overall dynamic of the Spanish economy (Maluquer de Motes & Llonch, 2005), real wages increased throughout the entire period, driving up labour costs in the absence of an equivalent rise in labour productivity. Figure III.1 shows the evolution of unit labour costs using the manufacturing sector as a benchmark for comparison. As the findings show, the intensification of the tourism process from 1967 to 1969 triggered a rapid increase in unit labour costs, sharply exceeding the regional manufacturing sector.

Increasing unit labour costs can be understood in terms of a combination of high labour shortages, tour operator control over price formation and the effect of the atomization of business ownership in tourism areas. As some authors have noted (Cirer,

2014b; Sindicato Provincial de Hostelería y Actividades turísticas de Baleares, 1971), the control of tour operators over the value chain and the financing of some hotel firms permitted them to exert deflationary pressures on prices, which ultimately affected the firms' overall cost structure. In addition, the atomized ownership structure encouraged deflationary competition among firms in all tourism areas, both to attract tourists and to recruit workers each season, prompting high rates of turnover each summer (see Table III.2).

### **3. Data and methodology**

To conduct this research, we rely on multiple and diverse quantitative and qualitative data. However, the main source for the study is the Labour Census of the Balearic Tourism Industry of 1969, a micro-data set which comprises a total of 10,761 observations of workers in the industry. To collect the data, interviews were conducted in a total of 200 hotels, 130 pensions, 200 bars or restaurants, ten discotheques, 13 travel agencies and one transport company. This kind of data is especially well-suited for the present study for two reasons. On one hand, the information was collected in 1969 and enables us to capture the effect of labour management in the years of higher labour shortages and wage pressures. On the other hand, it contains a wide variety of variables to better understand firm behaviour in the period, for example, personal information on employees, such as their municipality of origin, current place of residence, age and sex, and professional information, such as employees' seniority, years of experience, type of labour contract and the firm for which they worked.

Additionally, we supplement the above information with data on the structure of the tourism business in the Balearic Islands. To identify firm ownership and location, we use data from the Spanish Ministry of Tourism, the National Statistics Institute and reports produced by the former Francoist trade union Organización Sindical Española. To verify our results, we have also consulted the municipal registers of Calvià and Lluçmajor from 1965 and 1960, respectively.

The analysis adopts a comparative approach to examine three of the most prominent hotel chains in the history of tourism in the Mediterranean, two relying on Balearic Island capital, Sol Melià and Barceló, and one relying on French capital, Club Med. Table III.3 identifies the specific hotels studied in the three chains, together with their main characteristics. For Hoteles Mallorquines (Sol Melià), we study six hotels

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operating in Calvià, which comprise most of the chain's expansion in the area during the period. The six hotels were built or bought by the firm between 1967 and 1969. These hotels accounted for 485 workers in 1969 and were mainly 3-star and 4-star hotels with an average capacity of 263 hotel beds. In total, they cover 75% of the hotel capacity installed by the firm in Calvià. Conversely, the hotel El Pueblo Mallorca of the Barceló chain had been operating since 1966 as a 1-star charter tourism hotel with a capacity of 800 hotel beds. To serve its clientele, the hotel had 154 workers on payroll. Located in the east of Majorca, Club Méditerranée Porto Petro was opened in 1968 as a holiday resort with 950 beds and 143 workers.

**Table III.3:** *Characteristics of the hotels under consideration.*

Hotel chains	Hotels	Year of opening or acquisition	Category (median)	Mean hotel beds	Number of workers	Capital
	Jamaica Trinidad					
Hoteles Mallorquines (Sol Melià)	Atlantic Canaima Coral Playa Aquarium	67-69	3	263	485	Local
Barceló	El Pueblo Mallorca	66	1	800	154	Local
Club Méditerranée (Club Med)	Club Méditerranée Porto Petro	68	Holiday resort	950	143	French

**Sources:** Own calculations from Dirección General de Empresas y Actividades Turísticas (1970); INE. Censo de población y viviendas, 1960.

#### **4. Spatial and economic conditioning factors**

The literature on labour management in the hospitality industry has pointed repeatedly to labour shortages as one of the industry's main challenges. Such companies often face difficulties to recruit and retain labour and they must develop different strategies, either because they are affected by spillover effects on labour supply or they have low profit margins. Besides, the seasonal nature of tourism work in many tourism destinations represents a differential factor that may undermine firms' capacity to recruit and retain workers when faced by competition from other economic sectors (Joppe,

2012). Thus, labour management is one of the key decision areas in their medium-term performance. Historically, multiple strategies have been adopted in response to these constraints. Firms attempt to increase their recruitment capacity in the local labour market by improving wages and labour conditions or by focusing on attracting a specific labour supply, e.g. students in the summer season (Hjalager & Andersen, 2001). Typically, however, these strategies are combined with drawing on external sources of labour, developing formal or informal seasonal labour networks through public or private institutions or using intermediaries to recruit labour in other regions or countries. At the same time, the role of so-called pioneer migrants is also important in spreading information about job opportunities and attracting migration, which in turn affects the local labour supply and the labour recruitment strategies of firms (Janta, Brown, Lugosi & Ladkin, 2011).

However, the possibilities of carrying out these labour strategies depend on spatial and economic determinants that ultimately affect the implementation and success of these practices. Factors such as proximity to populous cities, the financial capacity to increase wages and improve labour conditions, the internal business structure of firms and the housing market features of the area have an important effect on firms' chances to attract and retain workers. In their analysis of the hospitality industry in Andalusia, Marchante, Ortega and Pagán (2006) suggest that the above factors are key determinants of the capacity of hospitality firms to fill vacancies. They highlight salary increases as the main mechanism by which Andalusian firms retained their workforce and were more effective in recruiting new personal. However, the strategy was influenced by two additional factors that constrained its effectiveness: the level of local unemployment and the proximity to populous areas. According to their analysis, the higher the economic activity, the lower the unemployment level was, and the more limited the firms' chances of filling vacancies were, regardless of the human capital requirements of the jobs. Their results also suggest that firms located in sparsely populated areas faced more serious problems, both in finding skilled workers and in filling low-skilled vacancies.

The geography and climate of islands and archipelagos can make them particularly vulnerable to these effects. Higher seasonality, low populations, longer distances from (and less connectivity to) the main economic hubs are important constraints for many tourism destinations (Baum, 2012; Bardolet & Sheldon, 2008). These geographical constraints can be intensified by the presence of other economic



sectors also vying for the limited local labour and housing supply. These adverse effects on labour supply and costs are particularly important when the tourism industry has to compete with high wage economic sectors not directly related to tourism demand, as is the case of the banking sector in offshore tourism islands (Hampton, & Christensen, 2007).

These conditioning factors characterise the massive spatial transformation in the early development phases of tourism destinations operating in previously unexploited areas. In these spaces, low population and housing scarcity can be initial constraints for the tourism expansion. We find significant examples in the literature such as Calvià in the Balearic Islands and Maspalomas in the Canary Islands during the Spanish tourism boom (Domínguez-Mújica, González-Pérez, & Parreño-Castellano, 2011) but also in tourism developments all over the world such as Bávaro-Punta Cana in the Dominican Republic (González-Pérez et al., 2016) or in Samui in Thailand (Pongponrat, 2015), both during the 1980s, and gambling tourism in Las Vegas in the 1950s (Kraft, 2010). The difficulties of relying on the local labour market in certain contexts are related to alternative strategies for overcoming the spatial and economic conditioning factors of firm location. While empirical research in this field is scarce, various authors have shown that the combination of labour market formation and firm location in sparsely populated areas has particularly encouraged the implementation of strategies related to active recruitment and seasonal migrant networks (Rosenbloom, 2002; Juif & Frankema, 2016).

During the industrialization of the United States at the end of nineteenth century, for example, Rosenbloom has demonstrated that firms confronted by these difficulties developed active recruitment strategies. Economic sectors such as hospitality, construction, certain manufacturing industries and agriculture faced severe problems in filling vacancies when they were located in sparsely populated areas, far from major cities, and their labour demand was seasonal. Under these constraints, firms pursued active recruitment strategies through agents who looked for workers across the entire United States, especially in areas marked by migrant arrival, and even in European countries as well. Firms also introduced economic incentives and offered accommodation to attract and especially to retain workers, thereby avoiding or alleviating high labour turnover.

In other scenarios, the economic pressures were resolved partly by establishing networks of seasonal migration. These operations involved channels of both public and

private institutions that helped in the recruitment effort and maintained a stable flow of labour each year. Especially well-known examples include the “Bracero Program” in the United States and “guest worker” programmes in Western Europe that were developed in the Golden Age as public institutionalized programmes for labour recruitment and seasonal migration (Jurgens, 2010; Massey & Liang, 1989). These programmes enabled employers to keep a large number of workers for seasonal purposes without being forced in periods of low unemployment and high economic growth to deal with the real wages in the local labour market or costs of settling a large proportion of migrant workers. While similar institutions have been established in current labour markets and have had a particular impact on the hospitality industry, the results have been uneven. In the United States, for example, guest visa programmes have been developed as a recruitment channel for seasonal work. However, from the perspective of employers in hospitality, these initiatives have proved inefficient in dealing significantly with labour shortages because of their low flexibility and high costs (Terry, 2016). From the perspective of employees, the programmes have been characterized by a high exposure to precariousness, especially in contexts where workers face severe difficulties in terms of housing quality and availability (Terry, 2018). In this regard, the level of involvement of public institutions may play a key role in improving the human capital and the level of supply of the migrant workforce while also helping to enhance workers’ labour conditions (Baum & Szivas, 2008; Liu & Wall, 2006). As Baum & Szivas (2008) show, higher government involvement can result in better matches both for employers and employees. These authors highlight the support for human resource development in tourism provided by the Irish government as a case in which public participation helps to compensate for labour market failures in labour recruitment and human capital acquisition. Through training programs and assistance during the job-searching process, the public institutions have favoured the enhancement of the human capital of the employees and also achieve better job-matching.

The opening of new tourism areas in Majorca enabled firms to take advantage of the economic opportunities of unexplored destinations, but it also confronted them with increasing difficulties in attracting and retaining a stable workforce. The situation was especially important for the present three hotel chains, which were undergoing a process of business expansion and consolidation as emerging local or international hotel firms. While the three companies grew to different extents, they all coped successfully with this

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period of increasing labour constraints while also decisively expanding the scope of their operations.

**Table III.4:** *Evolution of hotel beds in the Balearic Island hotel chains, 1966-1975.*

Hotel chain	1966	1968	1972	1975
Hoteles Mallorquines	100	2,583	3,652	8,721
Barceló	820	1,170	1,418	3,221
Fiesta	0	0	1,236	2,695
RIU	216	556	1,156	2,176
Balearic Islands	42,426	67,186	148,869	177,752

**Sources:** The table does not include data on pensions. Own calculations from Instituto Nacional de Estadística. *Anuario/s Estadístico/s de España*, 1959-1975; M. Álvarez & L. Sainz (1967, 1969, 1973); Dirección General de Empresas y Actividades Turísticas (1973); and A. Sastre (1994).

In this regard, Table III.4 shows that the period was particularly important for Hoteles Mallorquines. Indeed, between 1966 and 1973, Hoteles Mallorquines became the leading Balearic Island hotel chain by expanding into an area of massive spatial transformation, Magaluf. The firm was a key agent in the development of Magaluf from an isolated, sparsely populated area into a top international destination. In six years, the firm acquired or built eight high-capacity hotels in Calvià, the vast majority of them in Magaluf and Palma Nova. As a result, the firm's hotel beds went from 100 to 3,500 by the end of the period. According to firm's biographers, Hoteles Mallorquines reached 33% of total business ownership in the area's hospitality industry, the highest percentage in the archipelago, earning it the moniker of "Lord of Magaluf" (Uriol, 2001).

While the other two firms did not grow to the same extent, the period was also important for them. Barceló, which originated in the travel agency sector, pursued growth through the opening of high-capacity hotels in a variety of areas. In contrast with the previous case, Barceló chose to diversify its areas of expansion, establishing its first hotel in Majorca in 1966 and then building on its success with new openings in Ibiza, Menorca and the Iberian Peninsula. This expansion allowed Barceló to double its hotel beds in the Balearic Islands in six years.

Similarly, Club Mediterranée had played an increasingly large role in international tourism since 1950, gradually opening establishments in a total of 12 villages on the

Mediterranean by the end of the decade. With the influx of Rothschild capital in the sixties, the firm consolidated its international position, increasing its level of operations, professionalizing its internal structures and expanding into new markets such as the United States and mountain and ski tourism. According to Furlough, Club Med became a multinational corporation during the period, turning itself into one of the main actors in the international leisure and tourism industry (Furlough, 2009).

Similar to the examples in the literature, the three firms were expanding in areas that faced many of the previously mentioned difficulties. In addition, they were opening high-capacity hotels that involved high labour requirements with a large number of job vacancies. Table III.5 sets out the main location characteristics of the areas where the three hotel chains undertook tourism development. As the table shows, the three firms were located in areas far from the main populated area of the Balearic Islands and a major entry point for migrants, Palma, in the south of Majorca. Limited access to the main source of labour supply was especially problematic for Club Méditerranée, which was located 63 kilometres from Palma, while Barceló had comparatively easier access.

**Table III.5:** *Location characteristics of the hotel chains.*

Hotel chain	Locations	Seasonality	Total population in 1960	Distance from the port of Palma (km)
Hoteles Mallorquines	Magaluf and Palma Nova, Calvià	Open year round	3,005	25
Barceló	S'Arenal, Lluçmajor	Open year round	10,366	21
Club Méditerranée	Porto Petro, Santanyí	Summer season only	48 (5,082, Santanyí)	63

**Sources:** Own calculations from Dirección General de Empresas y Actividades Turísticas (1970); Instituto Nacional de Estadística (1960).

Conversely, the two local firms were formally open all year round, whereas the French firm closed in the winter. Still, even though Hoteles Mallorquines and Barceló were open all year round, they were also affected by the seasonality of sun and beach tourism packages. In practice, therefore, the two local firms also had to cope with the high volatility of their labour demand and increasing difficulties in hiring local labour.

However, the main difference among the firms related to the location characteristics of their properties. In this respect, Barceló combined being closer to the

provincial capital with being situated in one of the most highly populated municipalities in the archipelago, Lluçmajor, which had up to 10,366 inhabitants. As a result, the firm had more chances to be supplied locally with labour through easy access either to unemployed natives or to resident migrants. In contrast, the other firms had to manage more serious problems, because they were located in sparsely populated areas and they were usually scattered around the territory. Both Calvià and Santanyi were municipalities with low populations and higher housing shortages, if we take into consideration that Porto Petro and Magaluf were practically uninhabited at the beginning of their transformation into tourism destinations. Indeed, the area of Calvià had the steepest housing growth in the archipelago, with the amount of registered housing rising by 137% between 1960 and 1970.

## **5. Managing labour and housing shortages**

While the previous section identified the significant economic pressures faced by the three firms in a period of remarkable business expansion, this section analyses the firms' response to these economic and spatial conditioning factors.

In theory, the three firms were more likely to be able to deal successfully with labour shortages than most other hospitality firms in Majorca. Hoteles Mallorquines, Barceló and Club Mediterranée all had previous management experience in the tourism industry and decades of accumulated know-how. While the French firm was a pioneer in developing tourism packages at the beginning of the Golden Age, the two local companies had participated in the recovery of the tourism industry after the Spanish Civil War, Barceló as a travel agency and the owners of Hoteles Mallorquines as experienced skilled workers and managers since the mid-fifties. In these decades, therefore, they were able to draw on their intangible knowledge of Majorca's tourism cluster, which had taken shape in the thirties and was now going through rapid transformation (Cirer, 2014a; Cirer, 2014b; Vallejo & Larrinaga, 2019).

As we have seen, however, they were not unaffected by spatial and economic pressures. According to the previously mentioned Organización Sindical Española, the firms with more establishments or hotel beds enjoyed a more advantageous position than other firms when it came to dealing with labour shortages. On one hand, the firms' greater size and lower seasonality enabled them to rotate their workers between hotels, thus alleviating labour shortages as and when they arose. On the other hand, their healthier

financial position permitted them to offer higher wages and thus enhance their capacity to attract and retain workers. However, when they acted to expand their level of operations through new hotel openings, their labour management problems became just as severe as the challenges faced by other firms (Sindicato Provincial de Hostelería y Actividades Turísticas de Baleares, 1970: 12).

Table III.6 sets out the main labour characteristics of the workers on payroll in 1969 for the three hotel chains. The table shows the percentage of workers on temporary labour contracts and the percentage who were given accommodation at the hotel or were seasonal. In this regard, workers are counted as “receiving accommodation” if they reported living outside the Balearic Islands or they gave the name of the hotel or the same address as the hotel for their current place of residence. In addition, we use the combination of the percentage of hired workers who were born in Majorca or were permanent residents as a proxy for the firm’s capacity to rely on recruitment in the local labour market.

Our findings suggest that the three firms’ labour management shared three main characteristics: an extensive use of temporary contracts, the provision of accommodation for workers within the hotels and a very limited capacity to rely on the local labour market. Due to the seasonal behaviour of tourism demand, employers largely implemented hiring through temporary contracts, which reached 70% in the documented cases. In the case of the two non-seasonal firms, employers established a highly segmented labour structure that was similar in shape to the one that has previously been described by some authors (Smeral, 2004). The workforce was divided into two segments: a core segment, which was comprised of workers with seniority, who had fixed-term contracts and opportunities for internal promotion, and a peripheral segment, in which temporary contracts were highly prevalent, labour turnover was common and there was little scope for internal promotion. In total, roughly 15-20% of workers were included in the core segment.

Severe housing shortages were a key constraint in attracting workers both from the archipelago and from specific areas of mainland Spain to locations with low rates of housing availability. In this regard, employers in the Balearic Island tourism industry implemented a common strategy, which consisted of offering accommodation in their hotels, generally in the basement, to avoid the higher costs for migrants of renting an apartment or pension or to overcome the total absence of available housing in some areas

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(Gaviria et al., 1974 and Chapter 2). Thus, more than 65% of the total workforce of the three companies received accommodation in the hotels.

**Table III.6:** *Main labour characteristics in 1969 (%)*.

Hotel chain	Temporary contracts	Receiving accommodation	Local labour market recruitment capacity	
			Balearic born	Resident migrant
Hoteles Mallorquines	78.1 <sup>a</sup>	66.3	21.6	11.3
Barceló	69.4	65.0	20.1	11.5
Club Med.	-	75.5	15.3	8.3

**Sources:** Own calculations from Labour Census of the Balearic Tourism Industry of 1969.

**Note:** <sup>a</sup> In this case we only have data from Atlantic Hotel.

The high level of accommodation of workers within the hotels is strongly related to the firms' very low capacity to recruit workers from the local labour market, either individuals born in Majorca or migrant residents already settled on the island. As expected, however, the greater the distance from Palma, the lower the capacity of a firm to recruit labour locally. Hotel Méditerranée had the lowest chances of hiring locally, while Barceló and Hoteles Mallorquines show similar rates. For Hoteles Mallorquines, the main handicap was related not to its distance from the most heavily populated area, but rather its inability to benefit from any previous settlement of migrants locally, given that its hotels were located in an area with a very sparse population.

By contrast, this was precisely the main advantage of Barceló's hotel El Pueblo. Table III.7 sets out the distribution of the majority of the hotel's migrant workers. We have selected the most representative cases based on their place of birth. In total, the selected workers account for 45% of the hotel's payroll. As the table shows, the firm's labour recruitment mechanism was "passive": the hotel benefited from seasonal migration as a way to recruit workers through relationships of kinship at origin and it relied on the effect of chain migration as an attractor of workers from multiple towns of the mainland Spain.

Table III.7 also shows how these two labour recruitment mechanisms operated. As the table indicates, there was an influx of workers with seniority (seasonal fixed-term workers) who had taken part in seasonal migration at least one year earlier, together with other workers from the same place of birth who were hired in 1969, mostly siblings and

other relatives (temporary seasonal workers). This is the case with the municipalities of Chinchón, Huétor Tájar and Medinilla. In all of these cases, the data suggest that the pioneers established a seasonal migration pattern with the hotel by sharing information and probably job offers for the next season when they returned to their municipality of origin. Importantly, this relationship seems to indicate that employers valued relationships of trust based on kinship ties as a kind of safeguard for recruiting trustworthy workers and as a mechanism to avoid labour shortages. Thus, relying on relationships of trust and kinship was a mechanism to retain workers in order to avoid the effects of turnover on labour costs<sup>34</sup>. Similarly, in other cases, the key recruitment factor was the presence of settled migrants in the vicinity. We can see this pattern in the case of a group of migrant women originally from Villapalacios and Hellín-Socovos, who appear to have ties to two residents. In the remaining instances, the workers did not have relatives working for the hotel, but in their case as well relationships of kinship and trust between employers and specific households migrating seasonally to the Balearic Islands were particularly important.

However, a heavy reliance on passive labour recruitment can have important disadvantages in contexts of intense business growth and reduced local recruitment capacity. As the Spanish boom spread and became consolidated, the capability of Balearic Island firms to shape labour migrations to the archipelago declined. Faced with higher travel costs, they found themselves in an unfavourable position compared to the hospitality industry in the Costa del Sol, Costa Blanca and Costa Brava. Under these circumstances, therefore, the Balearic Island firms had to make an additional effort to attract labour, especially in areas undergoing massive spatial transformations (Sindicato Provincial de Hostelería y Actividades Turísticas de Baleares, 1970: 32-33).

For Hoteles Mallorquines and Club Méditerranée, this constraint was a strong determinant of their labour recruitment strategies. Since they had limited scope to expand

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<sup>3</sup> The owner of Sol Melià, Gabriel Escarrer, remembers in his memories the negative impact of the atomisation of the tourism industry in some areas on labour recruitment, probably referring to the case of Ca'n Pastilla-S'Arenal (Durán, 2021, p. 244): 'Retaining talented workers has never been easy. In those years there were employers from hospitality – usually owners of hotels of low size firms – which offered to the new Meliá's employees a little more of money to go to work with them'.

<sup>4</sup> The biography of the owners of Hotel Barceló gives some insights about the value of a close relationship with the workers: "The workers had a high level of exigency, but aside of earning an adequate and fair wages, they had the incentive that, in the first line of the daily work, there were the employers and top managers of the firm. There was no a strange image seeing top members of the firms working hand in hand with the rest of workers in tasks of assembly or cleaning the days before an hotel inauguration [...]. The firm grew with the effort of everyone, but with example of Barceló brothers" (Serrano, 2006: 105)

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their operations by relying on the labour market and they faced increasing difficulties in shaping migrant flows passively, they were forced to implement more active labour strategies. In contrast to Barceló, which had established its hotel three years prior to the year in question, the other two firms opened new hotels in 1968 and 1969 and therefore faced greater recruitment problems both on the mainland and in the Balearic Islands. In this regard, a key element in the expansion of the two chains appears to be their practices of recruitment at origin in combination with their internal business structure.

**Table III.7:** *Hotel El Pueblo: labour recruitment mechanisms.*

Municipality of origin	Seasonal fixed-term (+0 years of tenure)	Temporary seasonal (0 years of tenure)	Balearic Island resident	Family members <sup>a</sup> (%)	Women (%)
Chinchón, Madrid	3	3	0	100	33.3
Huétor Tajar, Granada	2	17	1	64.7	35.2
Alcalá la Real, Jaén	0	9	0	100	33.3
Medinilla, Ávila	1	2	0	66.6	0.0
Villapalacios, Albacete	0	12	2	50	80.0
Pazos de Borben, Pontevedra	0	7	0	57.1	0.0
Socovos-Hellín, Albacete	0	4	2	100	100
Vélez Rubio, Almería	3	0	0	100	66.6
Valle del Zalabí, Granada	0	5	0	80.0	80.0

**Sources:** Own calculations from Labour Census of the Balearic Tourism Industry of 1969.

**Note:**<sup>a</sup> At least one shared surname or living at the same current place of residence.

The implementation of recruitment practices at origin was a shared mechanism to address labour shortages in areas of the Balearic Islands that were undergoing rapid tourism expansion. The reports of the Organización Sindical Española, the single corporatist union under Francoism, highlighted these practices as a mechanism to hire a massive labour force from a number of specific municipalities in order to avoid the difficulties of retaining labour and securing the labour needed to fill vacancies. As the regional planners of Organización Sindical Española recognized:

‘It is preferable to make a massive offer of employment in two or three municipalities on the mainland than go searching for a workforce of seasonal labour that is hard to locate and whose cohesion poses serious problems [...] On the contrary, [the employer] is not unreasonably misguided to plan a coordinated offer of a large

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number of jobs in a few municipalities on the mainland' (Sindicato Provincial de Hostelería y Actividades Turísticas de Baleares, 1970: 32-33).

In the same period, similar mechanisms have been documented qualitatively for other tourist destinations in Spain, such as the Costa del Sol, especially for the recruitment of young women (Galán et al., 1977).

In line with this description, Hoteles Mallorquines supplied its main workforce through a specific channel of recruitment in a specific municipality on mainland Spain. Unlike in the El Pueblo case, where recruitment took place through families in several municipalities on the mainland, Hoteles Mallorquines set up a channel of circular seasonal migration focusing only on a specific municipality and its neighbouring towns. This process of recruitment particularly took place in Algarinejo, a municipality of Granada that had 8,000 inhabitants in 1960. Interestingly, most of the other migrant workers on the firm's payroll were of heterogeneous origin. They were mostly either residents in Calvià or they had relatives already settled there. In contrast, an examination of the municipal registers for 1965 reveals no presence of migrants in Calvià from Algarinejo. This is highly significant if we take into consideration that they represent 2.4% of the total of 6,465 Spanish migrants registered in our main source and 93% of them are recorded as working in Calvià and 49% for Hoteles Mallorquines. The absence of any previous settlement of a household of migrants from Algarinejo in the period is consistent with the descriptions of contemporaneous regional planners and it allows us to suggest the likelihood of a recruitment process at origin. In this regard, the high presence of these workers, 21% of the total, in another hotel belonging to a different local hotel company, Heliopal S.A., could be explained by multiple and shared recruitment operations carried out in the same source municipality by the firms established in Magaluf and Palma Nova. Given the proximity of the different hotels, any information about areas of recruitment would be readily accessible and encourage similar recruitment patterns.

Table III.8 sets out the characteristics of this specific workforce for the six hotels of the firm examined. Our results suggest that this process of recruitment was important at two levels. Firstly, it enabled the firm to solve labour shortages in the two hotels where these workers were clearly a majority of the workforce. In Canaima and Aquarium, workers from Algarinejo and neighbouring towns accounted for 30-43% of the total payroll. Unlike the El Pueblo case, however, the proportion of women from the source areas of recruitment is low. While El Pueblo needed particularly to fill cleaning vacancies

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that locals were reluctant to take, the higher labour shortages faced by Hoteles Mallorquines in its drive to expand forced it to make greater efforts to recruit workers for a wide variety of tasks. The chain's requirements and the extent of geographical concentration of its recruitment would explain the high level of workers over 30 years old among the migrants. On average, 34.8% of the migrants recruited by the firm were older workers.

**Table III.8:** *Algarinejo workers in the hotels of Hoteles Mallorquines, 1969 (%)*.

Hotel	Share of the total number of employees <sup>a</sup>	Women	Relatives in other hotels <sup>b</sup>	Balearic residents	Over 30 years of age
Canaima	43.3	34.6	61.5	0.0	26.9
Aquarium	31.4	47.0	35.2	0.0	41.1
Atlantic	10.3	22.2	77.7	0.0	33.3
Trinidad	14.1	38.4	23.0	0.0	30.7
Jamaica	16.0	7.6	30.7	0.0	46.1
Coral Playa	10.0	27.2	18.1	0.0	36.3
Total	18.3	30.3	42.6	0.0	34.8

**Sources:** Labour Census of the Balearic Tourism Industry of 1969; Municipality registers of Calvià, 1965.  
**Note:** <sup>a</sup>Two workers at Canaima, six at Coral Playa, five at Jamaica and one at Trinidad have been included as migrants born in neighbouring towns. <sup>b</sup>At least one shared surname or currently living at the same place of residence.

Secondly, once the firm had established this recruitment channel, it was able to use the resulting workforce to fill labour requirements in its other hotels as and when they arose. In column 4 of Table III.8, we evaluate the number of workers who had family members in other hotels. As the data show, the remaining hotels also had more than 10% of their payroll from the same municipality and 18-77% of workers had at least one relative at another hotel of the same firm. Therefore, maintaining a stable workforce enabled the firm to take advantage of its business structure in accordance with the description given by the Organización Sindical Española. Hoteles Mallorquines was able to promote internal flexibility by moving workers among the firm's various hotels in order to alleviate labour shortages and avoid, at least temporarily, the effects of local recruitment on labour costs.

The owner of Hoteles Mallorquines corroborates these arguments made from the micro-quantitative analysis, remarking that these practices were important for its

management strategy and expanded during the period to other regions, particularly Galicia. Still, he notes the importance of the channel of recruitment established in Granada in the manner we find in the micro-data. In his memories he explained (Durán, 2021:243-244):

“In Mallorca [...] we did not find individuals willing to work in the emergent hospitality industry. In the seventies, in conjunction with the head of human resources [...], we planned an ingenious [...] system of attraction of talent and recruitment. [...] Aware of the lack of attraction of local labour and the necessity of finding workers, we selected some municipalities in Galicia and Andalusia (fundamentally, Granada), with the highest rates of unemployment in the country”

They detailed very carefully the functioning of this process of recruitment and the establishment of a network of circular migration (Durán, 2021:244):

“We proceeded to contact parish priests from these towns who became intermediaries between supply and demand of labour. Together we managed that most Galicians and Andalusians entered into the occupations of the tourism sector and left their homelands to establish in Mallorca, on many occasions as permanent [...] Some came for the summer season with their relatives. Sometimes, all of them worked, the husband, wife and older sons [...] as years increased more of them managed to become permanent residents in Mallorca”

The firm developed a process of rapid training of the basic skills required for the job positions in the hospitality industry which became important for the company in the long term (Durán, 2021:244):

“We offered them an intensive course of training on the basic skills that took place during a week [...]. Over the years this became one of the first schools of hospitality in the country. We launched similar schools in Granada [...], Seville, Málaga and Galicia”

The characteristics of each firm’s business structure played a differential role in shaping the strategies that it implemented. As an expanding multinational hotel chain, Club Méditerranée had an international infrastructure of holiday resorts and a parent firm located in France. These characteristics gave the firm greater flexibility and a capacity to recruit workers from other labour markets. Thus, the international business structure of Club Méditerranée permitted it to manage any labour shortages in the area of its property differently from the two local firms.

Table III.9 sets out the firm’s payroll structure at Hotel Méditerranée Porto Petro. As with the previous case, we select the two main source areas of migrant workers. The results point to the high impact of recruitment at origin as a mechanism to solve labour shortages. Unlike the other two examples, however, a decisive factor for the French firm was the internal recruitment infrastructure either at the parent firm, in France, or at other

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holiday resorts previously opened by the company on the Mediterranean. The two source areas accounted for almost half of payroll and the French workers were the most numerous group in the firm's entire workforce. Given that there were no kinship ties among the incoming French workers, the recruitment process did not take place in specific source areas, but was instead pursued through the firm's internal mechanisms in France. In contrast, the high level of kinship among the workers coming from Málaga points to both chain migration and recruitment at origin. Nonetheless, the presence of a similar holiday resort that belonged to the firm in the Costa del Sol, in Málaga (Galán, et al., 1977), could suggest the use of this infrastructure to recruit. The high weight of these two recruitment mechanisms among the workforce, therefore, points to the importance of recruitment at origin and the firm's international business structure as crucial elements in its capacity to solve labour shortages.

**Table III.9:** *Hotel Mediterranée: main labour recruitment scheme in 1969 (%)*.

Municipality/country	Family members <sup>b</sup>	Women	Over 30 years old	Balearic resident	Percentage of total number of employees
France <sup>a</sup>	0.0	21.0	28.9	0	26.5
Málaga	73.6	66.6	7.4	0	18.8
% of total	-	54.1	26.0	0	45.3

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

**Note:** <sup>a</sup> Five workers were born in Belgium and four in Italy, Germany, Switzerland and the Netherlands respectively. <sup>b</sup> At least one shared surname or currently living at the same place of residence.

The firm's ownership of different hotels on the Mediterranean provided an additional advantage. By recruiting through the parent firm or through French resorts, the firm was able to develop a product specifically targeted at a French-speaking clientele and provide a wide variety of complementary outdoor activities typical of all-inclusive packages, one of the main features of the tourism product offered by the firm. Unsurprisingly, most of the French workers held posts related to customer contact, such as working in sports and recreation or at the front desk, or they occupied skilled positions in other areas. Conversely, most of the migrants from Málaga, who were predominantly women, carried out cleaning and low-skilled cooking tasks.

## **6. Conclusion**

In this article, we have analysed an unexplored aspect of the genesis and early development of Balearic Island hotel chains: the management of labour recruitment. Using a micro-comparative approach that focuses on the payrolls of three firms, Hoteles Mallorquines, Barceló and Club Mediterranée, we have been able to study the behaviour of emerging hotel chains during the Spanish tourism boom, 1959-1973, specifically in relation to their labour recruitment processes, a key element in firm performance.

Our findings note the important effects of labour recruitment on firm performance both in the short term and in the medium term during the tourism boom. The strategies pursued by the three firms appear to be an important element for understanding their development and subsequent expansion after the restructuring of the tourism industry in the wake of the 1973 oil crisis. In this regard, we note the importance of the interrelationship between spatial and economic conditioning factors in combination with business structure in shaping the firms' approach to labour recruitment. The location of the establishments in areas with different socio-economic characteristics was a strong determinant of their strategies. In this regard, Barceló established itself in an area where the effects of labour shortages were less severe. The firm opened in a more heavily populated municipality in an area closer to Palma and therefore had a greater opportunity to rely on the local labour market. Conversely, Hoteles Mallorquines and Club Mediterranée expanded their operations in new tourism areas and this forced them to deal with higher spatial and economic pressures. These very sparsely populated areas, which were far from the main municipalities, resulted in higher costs to attract locals.

Under this scenario, the three hotel chains implemented similar management approaches in relation to the main features of their internal labour structures. In order to solve the seasonality of tourism demand, the firms structured channels of seasonal labour and migration, which accounted for up to 70% of their workforce. In an attempt to overcome housing shortages, the employers offered seasonal accommodation in their hotels. As a result, 60% of hotel employees received accommodation in the hotels during the high season. In contrast, the three hotel chains differed in their recruitment strategies. Barceló took advantage of its location to develop recruitment through relationships of kinship and trust. The firm set up channels of seasonal labour migration that relied not only on resident migrants but also on seasonal migrants to recruit relatives in their

municipalities of origin. As a result, the firm mostly recruited extended families from multiple municipalities on the mainland. In this regard, implementing seasonal migration based on strong ties allowed the firm to alleviate the effect of turnover, the main economic pressure related to labour in its location, which was characterised by highly atomized hotel ownership.

The development of Hoteles Mallorquines and Club Mediterranée in underexploited economic areas, such as Magaluf and Porto Petro, strongly shaped their recruitment strategies. In both cases, the firms relied on recruitment at origin in specific municipalities and then established networks of seasonal migration. In the case of Hoteles Mallorquines, the firm recruited massively from one municipality in Granada, while the French firm Club Mediterranée hired workers in France. Thus, the analysis suggests that this type of labour management played an important role in the development of tourism areas undergoing rapid and intense landscape transformation. Given the spatial and economic characteristics of these areas, the capacity to recruit a large number of workers from outside the Balearic Islands through this mechanism proved crucial to their transformation into international tourism destinations.

While they established themselves in similar areas, however, they implemented distinct strategies based on their different business structures. Hoteles Mallorquines was able to take advantage of its network of hotels operating in the Bay of Palma. Thus, once the firm had carried out massive recruitment, it promoted internal flexibility to alleviate labour shortages in its hotels as and when they arose. Conversely, Club Mediterranée was able to use its wide array of holiday resorts around the Mediterranean and the recruitment infrastructure of its parent company in France. By engaging in recruitment of this sort, the firm was also able to offer more personalized and expanded services to its clientele, who were mostly French speakers seeking all-inclusive packages.

These findings suggest that the different patterns of labour recruitment may go some way to explaining the short-term social and economic trajectories of firms and tourism destinations in different historical and contemporary scenarios. The configuration of a specific labour market and staff structure could pose advantages and obstacles in both the short and the long term. As this research shows, firms relying on active labour recruitment and seasonal channels of labour can avoid short-term rises in labour costs, thus permitting their own expansion and that of the tourism destination. However, it may harm the firm's long-term capacity to adapt to future changes in tourism demand. Thus,

massive labour recruitment at origin and rapid training of the workforce may lead to difficulties of adaptation in the long term. Similarly, for social planners, the mechanisms of recruitment may be particularly significant in evaluating tourism development. The characteristics of the migration process shaped by the mechanisms of recruitment can alter the dynamic of the social assimilation of migrants in the host society, with urban segregation and labour market opportunities as key drivers of the overall success of tourism destinations.

Future research should analyse the long-term consequences of the process of labour market formation during the Spanish tourism boom in the Balearic Islands. Particular attention should be paid to the levels of migrant assimilation achieved during the tourism boom in the short and long term. In this connection, members of our group are currently assessing the determinants of labour upgrading and residential segregation and inequality during the tourism era.

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# IV

## Mediterranean Crossroads: determinants of circular migration in Spain, 1955-1973<sup>1</sup>

### Abstract

In this paper, I study the determinants of circular migration in Spain during the rural exodus, 1955-1973. Using a unique and novel employer-employee micro-dataset of 10,761 observations, I analyse the factors explaining circular migration in Spain. By analysing this issue, I can unveil the factors behind its persistence throughout the XX century and shed light on the migrant location choice during the Spanish rural exodus. My results show that the socio-economic structure of the origin communities, skill requirements and migrant networks were key predictors of location choices. Migrants were more likely to migrate from rural towns where the peaks of labour demand were complementary to the tourism season and registered lower monopsony effects on local labour and land markets. By contrast, migrant networks were crucial in determining migrant location choices in the areas where the levels of attachment to the source area were lower. Moreover, other strong predictors were abrupt adverse shocks in labour demand in origin and lower human capital requirements in the destination. However, the factors that increased the persistence of circular migration patterns were associated with job and investment opportunities in origin and difficulties to move from circular to permanent migrant, linked with the seasonality of the host labour market, the institutional framework and housing shortages. These differential incentives played an important role in the heterogeneity of migrant location choices during the Spanish rural exodus. Thus, in these municipalities, migrants facing income and human capital constraints circular migration to tourism areas became a more optimal decision than in European countries and Spanish industrial hubs.

**Keywords:** Circular Migration, Determinants of Migration, Rural Exodus, Migrant Networks, Spanish Tourism Boom, Balearic Islands.

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“¡Las dulces golondrinas que en invierno se van  
y que dejan el nido abandonado y solo  
para cruzar el mar!

Cada vez que las veo siento un frío sutil...

¡Oh! ¡Negrasavecillas, inquietasavecillas  
amantes de abril!

¡Oh! ¡Pobresgolondrinas que se van a buscar  
como los emigrantes, a las tierras extrañas,  
la migaja de pan!”

*-Golondrinas, Alfonsina Storni*

## **1. Introduction**

Circular migrations constitute an important feature of historical and contemporary migrant flows. According to estimates, between 20% and 50% of migrants leave their host countries within five years of arrival (OECD, 2008). Circular migration plays a key role in many source and host countries such as Germany, China, and the Mexico-US corridor (Constant & Zimmermann, 2011; Hu, Xu, & Chen, 2011; Lindstrom, 2013). Historically, guest-worker migration in Europe and the Bracero Program in the US were crucial in shaping international migration after the Second World War (Massey & Liang, 1989). In Spain, circular migrations have been a secular feature of labour markets, especially in the south of the country (Silvestre, 2007).

Circular migration represents a distinctive pattern of location choice, migrant self-selection, and migrant behaviour. Recent research has shown that the investment and consumption preferences of temporary migrants differ from those of their more permanent counterparts. They can behave as “target earners”, selecting their areas of destination based on their initial remigration plans and with lower incentives to invest in host-specific human, social and physical capital (Dustmann & Görlach, 2016; Chabé-Ferret, Machado, & Wahba, 2018; Adda, Dustmann, & Görlach, 2022).

Understanding circular migration is important for three main reasons. Firstly, geographical choices are a crucial source of the heterogeneity in upward mobility among migrants (Abramitzky et al., 2019; Pérez, 2021). Secondly, the planned, intended length of stay significantly impacts migrants’ earnings profile: temporary migrants are likely to report lower income growth than permanent migrants, and may face negative

consequences if their remigration plans do not materialise (Chabé-Ferret, Machado, & Wahba, 2018; Adda, Dustmann & Görlach, 2022). Thirdly, circular migration can lead to a higher rate of remittances and become a mechanism for overcoming financial constraints (Dustmann & Mestres, 2010). However, some migrants may suffer occupational downgrading if the years spent abroad do not lead to an accumulation of skills, or if the skills learnt are not transferable to the source country (Lindstrom, 2013). Additionally, some authors have suggested that the circular or repeated migration of fathers can have negative consequences on children's educational attainment (Aradhya, Scott, & Smith, 2019). In this regard, in Spain, circular migration is rooted in the longstanding problems of the Spanish economy: in the south of the country, it has historically been associated with structural seasonal unemployment and high rates of school dropout (Defensor del Pueblo Andaluz, 1997; Florencio & López, 2000; Domenech, 2015).

Therefore, the capacity to predict circular migrant flows is crucial for the design of policies aiming to improve the integration and labour market outcomes of migrants in source and host societies<sup>2</sup>. However, as some authors have pointed out (Constant, Nottmeyer, & Zimmermann, 2013; Dustmann & Görlach, 2016), circular migration has received little attention from researchers, in large part due to the lack of available and suitable data. In this paper, I explore the determinants of circular migration by studying a relevant historical case study: the Spanish tourism boom in the Balearic Islands between 1955 and 1973. This historical scenario provides an analysis of an intense process of migrant assimilation based on an archetypical circular migrant flow between rural towns specialised in agricultural activities and tourism-related urban areas (Constant, Nottmeyer, & Zimmermann, 2013). However, it comprises a specific social and institutional framework shaped by intense internal and international migrations and the lack of political and associative freedoms under the Franco dictatorship. Thus, I contribute with evidence that can be particularly useful for similar historical and present episodes related to the role of circular migration in location choices and the factors which

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<sup>2</sup>See for example the case of circular migration of Moroccan women in Spain within the Cartaya migratory scheme, where securing the return of migrants has been a crucial objective for employers and local and national authorities. The low rates of return during the first years of implementation propitiated a change in the process of selection of migrants, including the typology of the selected migrants and their areas of origin. See Reigada-Olaizola (2011) and Hellio & Nieto (2017). Researchers have questioned the success of these programs if do not take into account the benefits and social conditions of migrants during the migratory process (Zapata-Barrero, Faúndez, & Sánchez-Montijano, 2012).

explain the difference between those who finally decided to stay and those who continued as circular migrants after arriving in the archipelago.

Exploring circular migration is also important to understand the persistence of these migratory flows in Spain during the XX century and the migratory strategies deployed during the Spanish rural exodus. By analysing this phenomenon, I hope to shed light on the determinants of location choice during the period, a field of study that has only very rarely been examined from an empirical micro perspective (De la Torre & Sanz, 2008; Sánchez-Alonso, 2010)<sup>3</sup>. More specifically, this paper attempts to explain why people from certain southern Spanish regions were more likely to migrate to internal destinations based on seasonal labour demand, to the detriment of European countries or Spanish industrial hubs.

This paper is structured as follows. Section 2 introduces previous literature on temporary migration. Section 3 describes the data and methodology implemented. Section 4 offers a brief historical background and qualitative evidence of circular migration during the period. Section 5 presents the empirical approach and econometric results, and Section 6 concludes.

## **2. Theoretical background on temporary migrations**

Literature on migrations provides some key insights into the characteristics of temporary migration flows and their determinants. Researchers have focused on the interaction between the differential behaviour of temporary migrants and the factors that shape initial plans, and the changing investment and consumption preferences during the time spent abroad.

Temporary migration could be part of a planned strategy in search of maximising the time spent abroad. In this case, migrants may have incentives to return even when wage differentials persist over time. The main objective of this migration would be the accumulation of capital to be invested in origin. By contrast, in the host country, the migrant would be less interested in investments in physical capital and host-specific human capital not transferable to the source country. For example, some authors show that temporary migrants in France tend to invest lower in physical and social capital while being more prone to make monetary and non-monetary investments in origin (Chabé-

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<sup>3</sup> Using a macro empirical perspective, we count with several although limited research from a macro-perspective. See: Núñez (2003) and Silvestre (2005).

Ferret, Machado, & Wahba, 2018). Similarly, Dustmann (1999) showed that migrants in Germany intending to return sooner are less likely to learn German. Likewise, these differential preferences would mean lower reservation wages to maximise savings over job searching costs. Temporary migrants would cluster in lower rewarded occupations and attempt to increase daily work hours (Adda, Dustmann, & Gørlach, 2022). The literature calls this behaviour a “target earner” behaviour, where the migrant prioritises savings while in the host country and postpones consumption and investment until return.

Thus, temporary migration could help overcome budget constraints in the source area. The “target earner” behaviour committed to prioritising savings would lead to entrepreneurial activities, land and real estate investments, and higher consumption (Mesnard, 2004). Furthermore, as a result of this maximisation, these migrants tend to remit more to their relatives in the source country than permanent migrants (Dustmann & Mestres, 2010; Carling & Hoelscher, 2013; Dustmann & Gørlach, 2016; Parella, Silvestre, & Petroff, 2021). In this regard, authors have noted that the higher purchasing power of the currency of the host country can augment the incentives to migrate temporarily to take advantage of the higher level of consumption in the source country (Kirdar, 2009). Therefore, migrants can respond to the higher purchasing power of the host-country currency, even when wage differentials are zero (Dustmann & Gørlach, 2016).

Still, temporary migration can also be the result of changing expectations. Unplanned return can occur if migrants received incorrect information about work opportunities or living costs (Borjas & Bratsberg, 1996). Migrants can also be affected by adverse economic shocks, such as economic crises, that would change the initial plans intended to stay permanently. For example, Ward found that many returns were unplanned during the early XX century in the United States (Ward, 2017). By contrast, changes in the migratory policy can affect drastically location choices incentivising migrants to become permanent migrants or return depending on the new legal framework. This change in the migratory strategy is associated with changes in the emigration costs and the labour markets. An increase in the risk and costs of emigration resulting from a more restrictive migration policy can cause temporary migrants to attempt to stay permanently. For example, during the 1973 oil crisis, Germany restricted migration from southern European countries pushing circular migrants to stop circular migration (Constant & Zimmermann, 2011). Similarly, the introduction of US quotas in the 1920s



led to an increase in the length of stay due to the increased cost of remigration and the lower competition in the local labour markets (Greenwood & Ward, 2015).

Initial plans intending to migrate temporarily are related to factors that would increase the utility of return migration over permanent migration. Researchers have pointed out factors associated with the source country's economic opportunities, household structure, and migrant networks. These variables would operate as mechanisms to overcome budget constraints and as indicators of higher attachment to the source area. For example, land ownership is frequently portrayed as an explanatory factor of return migration and circular migration in specific. Abramitzky, Boustan and Eriksson (2019) show that the migration of Norwegians to the United States in the Age of Mass Migration allowed poor rural migrants to overcome budget constraints, buy land, and make investments in their places of birth. Following the same argument, explanations based on higher attachment can be found in Hu et al. (2011). Focusing on Chinese circular migrants under the hukou system, they show that those migrants are more prone to remain circular migrants if they hold land and have children. Similarly, some researchers have found that more temporary migrants are more likely to hold assets in the source country during the migratory process (Dustmann & Mestres, 2010; Chabé-Ferret, Machado, & Wahba, 2018). Access to land can also be related to the possibility of combining two sources of income between source local and host country labour markets, such as seasonal agricultural labour occupations. As noted by Lindstrom (2013), temporary migration and particularly circular migrations can be an optimal option when working abroad is complementary to working in the labour market of the origin or when the skills acquired in the destination have a high level of transferability to the origin labour market.

However, social factors would also matter in the decision-making process. The key role of households and psychological factors in the migratory decision would also affect destination choices and initial migration plans (Dustmann & Görlach, 2016). A study based on contemporary Canary Islands, Spain, shows that higher attachment to the source area is related to more propensity to return. Thus, migrants having children, sending remittances, or undertaking previous migrations were more prone to return to the source country and be engaged in circular flows (León & Hernández, 2016). Other studies from Albanian migrants in Italy (Vadean & Piracha, 2010) and Mexicans in the United States (Li, 2016) corroborate that marital status and having children can be a predictor of a higher probability of return and repeated migration. All these results remark the

importance of taking into account consumption and location preferences depending on the stage of the migrant's life-cycle (Mesnard, 2004; Kirdar, 2009).

Networks of friends and relatives can have a differential effect on migratory decisions regarding self-selection, location choices, and the intended length of the migration. The migrant network can help its members by reducing the costs of information and uncertainty before the migration and by providing economic, psychological and social support to the newcomers to the destination (Arroyo & Sánchez-Alonso, 2018; Munshi, 2003). Thus, the literature has pointed out the role of chain migration as a major element in explaining the geographic and economic location of migrants (Wegge, 2008). These networks would also influence temporary migration and circular migration in particular, as Massey and Aysa-Lastra (2011) demonstrated in their study of migration to the United States from Latin America. Analysing both migration from Mexico, where circular flows comprise a significant share, and from Costa Rica and Peru, usually portrayed as permanent, these authors demonstrated that chain migration and social capital accumulation play a crucial role in promoting international migration across Latin America.

### **3. Sources and methodology**

To proceed with the analysis, I manually digitised a novel and rich retrospective cross-section micro dataset of a total of 10,761 individuals working in the Balearic tourism industry in 1969. Staff from 200 hotels, 130 hostels, 200 bars and restaurants, ten nightclubs, 13 travel agencies and one transport company were interviewed. Commonly, circular migrants took seasonal jobs in agriculture, construction and services, especially tourism-related services. These data allowed me to study an archetypical circular migrant flow between rural areas specialised in agriculture and tourism-related areas.

I combine these data with variables about the socio-economic structure of the areas of origin, labour demand, social capital and geography. In this regard, I follow recent work that pays special attention to the characteristics of the communities of origin to understand the determinants of migration (Connor, 2019; Boberg-Fazlic, Lampe, & Sharp, 2021). To study the socio-economic characteristics of the municipalities of origin I rely on multiple data about crops, land ownership structure, living standards and educational attainment. Firstly, I obtain data regarding the economic specialisation of places of birth using the Corinne Land Cover database of 1990, a satellite database that

uses a minimum mapping unit to show changes in land cover utilising a scale of 5 hectares. I complement these results with information on olive specialisation in Andalusia in 1962 from Infante-Amate (2014). Secondly, I use the average size of farms at the municipal level recorded in the Spanish agricultural census of 1962. Thirdly, to study the impact of human capital and living standards on decision-making, I consider the sociological characteristics of the municipality of origin: that is, the rates of illiteracy and low-income households in the district of origin in 1962 (CPDES, 1963).

Social capital also played an essential role in shaping location choices through the configuration of migrant networks. Therefore, I selected men and women over ten years old born in mainland Spain already living in the Balearics in 1960 and residing in a coastal tourism-related municipality in 1965. These areas account for 71.7% of the total non-native population included in the Labour census of the Balearic tourism industry in 1969 working in Mallorca.

Finally, the model includes variables about labour demand and geography. I study the effects of abrupt adverse shocks on labour demand by using an exogenous variable to assess labour demand in the period: the construction and inauguration of large dams in the municipality of origin by the Francoist dictatorship. Finally, I complete the group of explanatory variables by incorporating a dichotomous variable that controls whether the migrant migrates from a mountainous area or not using the classification established by Collantes (2004). Historically, these mountain communities have been more prone to engaging in circular migrations as a part of household strategies (Silvestre, 2007).

The empirical analysis uses two strategies. First, to study location choices and *intended* migration (those migrating to the Balearic Islands) proceeds using OLS regressions with the number of migrants from the same municipality of origin in logarithms as the dependent variable weighted by the total population. I alternate the analysis between the whole sample and only circular migrants to test the initial hypothesis. I use the address of residence as an indicator of circularity. I select as “circular” all migrants in the database who recorded an address of residence in mainland Spain or were living in accommodation provided by the firm. In these cases, working in a seasonal industry and having little attachment to the host area would be seen as an indicator of an initial intention to return to their place of origin. Second, to analyse those who *actually* came back to their places of origin and then returned to the Balearic Islands for at least one year, I utilise a LOGIT model. In this case, firstly I compare all migrants receiving accommodation or showing an address from mainland Spain with those who

have established permanent residence in the archipelago. Later, with these results as a benchmark, I compare those who have completed an entire year of circular migration with those with the same years of labour experience who have established permanent residence.

This procedure has two important shortcomings that need to be considered. Firstly, since the data about migrant networks from municipality registers are restricted to only 12 municipalities when I include these data in the model the dependent variable is the stock of migrants from the same municipality of origin working in the same tourism area. Secondly, the impossibility of capturing outmigration in the data is a key and characteristic shortcoming of single cross-section data (Lubotsky, 2007; Abramitzky & Boustan, 2017). If a considerable share of circular migrants changes their location preferences once returned home, the results would only show migration determinants of those who have become permanent migrants and those who persisted in being circular by 1969. To limit the effect of this bias, I alternate the analysis between all the migrants in the database and circular migrants for the year of the compilation of the census, 1969. Furthermore, given the dynamic of growth registered during the period, I consider that returns at a great scale were not probable before the oil crisis of 1973. Also, both the qualitative and quantitative evidence does not suggest that changes in requirements of human capital occurred during the period studied. Still, it is worth mentioning that this analysis focuses on those who persisted in being circular migrants in the tourism industry of the Balearic Islands in 1969.

## **4. Persistence of circular migrations during the rural exodus and the tourism boom in Spain, 1955-1973**

### **4.1. Persistence of circular migration in southern Spain**

Circular migration has played a key role in the labour markets of southern Spain. Before the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939, it was the preeminent feature of mobility in the region. Andalusia, Castile-la Mancha and Extremadura, were characterized by agrarian labour markets with high specialization in seasonal crops, such as cereals, vineyards and olives which conditioned intense peaks of labour demand during the harvest season. Thus, short-distance circular migrations between districts and provinces within southern Spain and other areas such as Galicia and Castille and Leon, to take advantage of different sources of income between different crops and industrial areas,

constituted the majority of migratory flows of the region (Florencio & López, 2000; Infante-Amate, 2014). According to Silvestre (2007), in Spain temporary migrations – mostly circular migratory flows – comprised one-third of total permanent migrants between 1877 and 1910, and were 24% of migrants in 1930. However, in southern Spain, these rates reached 75% in Andalusia and 93% in Castile-La Mancha in the same year.

**Table IV.1:** *Migration by main regions before and after the Spanish Civil War (%)*.

	Internal by 1920	Internal 60- 70	International by 1920	Europe 60-70	
				Temporary/ Permanent	Circular (Annual average)
<b>Southern Spain</b>					
Andalusia	9.06	11.10	3.16 <sup>a</sup>	4.10	0.64
Castile-La Mancha	12.02	17.10	1.28	1.74	0.26
Extremadura	7.14	19.21	0.90	3.90	0.08
Murcia	11.01	9.92	4.29	4.06	1.73
<b>Northern Spain</b>					
Castile and Leon	14.91	11.60	5.61	3.45	0.18
Galicia	3.79	4.32	21.52	7.97	0.05

**Sources:** Internal migration refers to migration to another autonomous community. Data from Fundación BBVA (2007). Permanent migration to Europe refers to migration coordinated by Spanish authorities the so-called *migración asistida*. Data from Núñez (2003). Circular migration refers to seasonal migration to France between 1961 and 1970, annual average. Information from Palazón (1998). Internal and international by 1920 corresponds to the stock of migrants from another province of birth or another country by this year. Data from Núñez (2003).

**Note:** <sup>a</sup>Mostly international circular migration to Algeria (Sánchez-Alonso, 2000).

Transportation costs and wage premiums during the harvest could help to explain the lack of pull of long-distance migration to industrial destinations. Thus, when maximum agricultural wages started to converge with unskilled urban wages, long-distance permanent migration increased consistently. The development of the industry and services in the main economic hubs of Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia and Biscay, in the twenties and thirties of the XX century, attracted more permanent and long-distance migratory movements by offering wages that could compete with harvesting wages, diversifying location choices in favour to industrial centres. However, by the end of this period circular migration still represented most of the migratory movements of the region.

Migration to foreign countries was an alternative migration choice that could represent a chance to experience upward economic mobility. However higher cost and access to information and income constraints meant that migration to foreign countries, mostly America, remained particularly low in southern Spain. Despite those very low levels of income per capita, high rates of illiteracy, low income and limited access to land, as a means to afford the migration, hampered migration to America. As a result, southern Spain migrants mostly migrated to America when costs of information and transport were considerably reduced: fundamentally by passage subsidies from foreign or when comprised short-distance and seasonal movement. Hence, international migration was mostly circular to Algeria and from coastal provinces, such as Málaga, Granada and Almería (Sánchez-Alonso, 1995, 2000).

After the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), long-distance rural-urban migratory movements recovered although did not reach their previous intensity until the fifties (Collantes & Pinilla, 2021). Between the mid-1950s and the oil crisis of 1973, the Spanish economy completed its process of structural change, registering rates of interprovincial migration never seen since then. This period witnessed the incorporation of southern Spain into the massive long-distance permanent migrant flows for the first time (Table IV.1). The development of the industry and services in urban areas of a small number of destinations in Spain meant a strong pull effect on southern Spain and other areas of the country. More than 15% of Spaniards changed residence, moving from rural agrarian areas to urban industrial centres of Madrid, Barcelona, Bilbao and Valencia (Ródenas, 2008). Similarly, as a result of high economic growth during the Golden years, migration to European countries also became important migrant destinations. Approximately two million emigrated to other European countries such as Germany, Switzerland and France. Still, this migration had an important temporary component: by 1973, 800,000 Spanish migrants had returned to Spain (Ródenas, 1997).

Although transportation costs had decreased and literacy increased in southern Spain, migrants from these areas still had to face considerable penalties to engage in foreign migratory movements. By 1955 the provinces of southern Spain started to recover living standards to pre-1936 levels and access to land ownership still was considerably limited. Moreover, temporary but non-seasonal migration to Europe meant higher skill requirements in comparison with internal destinations. Between 1964 and 1977, 64.3% of documented migrants declared themselves to be industrial workers (Babiano, 2004) and in a poll conducted in 1965, 22.4% were from large cities or provincial capitals

(Sánchez-Alonso, 2010). As some have suggested (Rubio, 1974; Sánchez-Alonso, 2015), these income and human capital constraints would help to explain why the intervention of institutions became key in triggering migration from the region. After 1955 southern migrants participating in the international flows to Europe were mostly migrants who were channelled by the Spanish authorities through the migration agreements between Spain and European countries.

In this context, circular migration to Europe was both a complementary and alternative mechanism that shaped international migration as was in the previous period. Each year around 100,000 migrants went to work in the harvests in Europe, especially in French vineyards but were allowed to work for only one or two months (Babiano, 2001). Switzerland also received circular migrant flows associated with occupations such as construction, agriculture and tourism. However, migration was more reduced in the context of the Spanish foreign migration and their origin was predominantly northern Spain (Calvo, 2008).

The greater pull of industrial areas during the period and the decline of agricultural labour demand suggest that circular migration decreased in southern Spain consistently during the period. However, diverse evidence suggests that circular migration still played a substantial role in location choices in southern Spain during the rural exodus and even after the oil crisis of 1973. In 1987 a study developed by a Catholic charity organisation quantified that interior circular migration in Spain accounted for 600,000 jobs and circular migration to foreign countries for 500,000 jobs (Tabares, 1989). Moreover, Spaniards continued to be the most numerous nationally among foreign circular migrants in France until the nineties. Despite these numbers could overestimate the actual share of migrants during that period this information highlights that circular migration continued to be a key factor in southern Spain<sup>4</sup>. For example, by the following year, the same author<sup>5</sup> noted that the number of circular migrants from Andalusia registered in some peak of labour demand in agriculture or tourism occupations in Spain reached 108,284 jobs, a total of 6.1% of the total working population of the region. If we assume that these figures are equal to one individual working in two different peaks of labour demand, they would be

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<sup>4</sup> A brief historical account of the transition from internal to international circular migration from the sixties until the end of nineties from the host regions can be seen in Zapata-Barrero, Faúndez, & Sánchez-Montijano (2012) for the case of Catalonia.

<sup>5</sup> Tabares, E. "Los jornaleros andaluces". *Noticias Obreras*, June.

55.7% of total migratory movements within and outside Andalusia, 93,751 individuals (Gálvez, 2008).

The persistence of these patterns had negative effects on the development of these areas, with a particular incidence in human capital formation. For example, by 1987 the mentioned study calculated in approximately 5,000 the number of kids of school age went to France to work in the vineyard harvest (Tabares, 1989). Still, in 1997 the number of kids that migrated with their parents during the agrarian peaks of labour demand to other municipalities within Andalusia – leaving seasonally the school – was estimated to be between 10,000 and 15,000 according to the authorities of the autonomous community of the region. Historically, this pattern implied lower school attendance, being out of school during the migratory period, premature school dropout and lower human capital attainment in general (Defensor del Pueblo Andaluz, 1997, p. 6).

#### **4.2. Tourism destinations as a new location choice**

The persistence of circular migration in southern Spain during and after the rural exodus obliges us to question the motivations behind the households who persisted in participating in circular migratory flows. To explore factors behind the persistence of these migrations, in this article I study the determinants of migration to circular-related alternative destinations to the foreign and permanent internal migration during the rural exodus.

In this regard, one key alternative to international non-seasonal migration or industrial-related interior migration was Spanish tourism destinations<sup>6</sup>. Since 1955 but particularly after 1959, in coastal Mediterranean Spain and the archipelagos, the growth of the Spanish tourism industry became an engine of structural change in coastal areas of the Alicante, Balearic Islands, Canary Islands, coastal Catalonia and coastal Andalusia<sup>7</sup>. In slightly more than a decade, the Spanish tourism infrastructure was transformed, as the number of hotels rise from 2,200 hotels to 9,200 and that of hotel beds from 115,000 to

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<sup>6</sup> A contemporary expert on Spanish tourism wrote in 1973: “A great number of jobs in the tourism industry required very low human capital, which made possible incorporate agricultural seasonal labour. It is scary to think which one would have been the magnitude of the migration to foreign countries [...]in absence of the tourism expansion” (Cals, 1974, p. 121).

<sup>7</sup> Oral testimonies described the particular effect of attraction of the tourism labour demand for determined typologies of municipalities of Spain: “One family called the other saying that there were a lot of jobs and that wages were higher than in the town [...]. I think that in Agramón [Hellín, Albacete] 50% of total population emigrated to S’Arenal [Llucmajor, Mallorca], the coast of Alicante and Costa Brava” (Servera, 2021, p. 18).



700,000, as the industry established itself as a key engine of the Spanish economy and social change (Balaguer & Cantavella-Jordá, 2002; Manera & Navinés, 2018). The epicentre of the Spanish tourism boom was the Balearics (Manera, 2001). Tables IV.3 and IV.4 show the main variables of the tourism industry in the archipelago. As we see, its capacity grew sharply during the period. The rising labour demand rapidly increased migration from mainland Spain intensively. As a result, the non-native population increased by 26.6% cent. By 1973, hospitality workers accounted for 37.5% of the workforce during the summer season.

**Table IV.2:** *Growth of jobs by the main sector of activity in Spain, 1955-1973 (thousands).*

	1955	1959	1967	1973	55-73	Growth
Tourism	200	235	328	405	205	202%
Industry	1742	2035	2568	2837	1095	162%
Total Spain	6835	7309	8300	9149	2314	133%

**Table IV.3:** *Main economic indicators of the tourism boom in the Balearics, 1955-1973.*

	1955	1959	1963	1967	1970	1973
Tourists (th)	188	321	677	1,402	2,271	3,571
Hotel beds	6,022	11,496	39,699	81,983	157,050	216,113
Hotels and pensions	112	215	697	1,1089	1,498	1,534
Tourism workers	7,215	17,190	24,342	38,550	57,304	59,405

**Table IV.4:** *Main demographic indicators in the Balearics, 1930-1981.*

	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	3,759	4,422	4,245	5,876	6,427	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 of tables IV.2-4:** Own calculations from Spanish Populations Censuses, 1950-1981; INE. Anuario/s Estadístico/s de España, 1955-1973; Fundación BBV (1999)

**Note:** Tourism and tourism workers only refer to workers in restaurants, hospitality and travel agencies. Annual average. Due to the seasonality of tourism occupations, information on jobs in tourism is likely underestimated. See Chapter 2.

This process meant a strong growth of new jobs with differential characteristics (Table IV.2). Firstly, in contrast to European destinations and Spanish industrial hubs, this emerging sector offered abundant employment based on seasonal and very low-skill requirements in services and construction mostly occupied by migrants (see Chapter 2). Empirical analysis (see Chapter 2) and information from ethnographic studies and oral testimonies, point out the importance of intra and/or interregional circular migration as a key element in these labour markets in this period as well in the long term in the main tourism areas of the country, such as Coastal Catalonia (Duocastella, 1969), Balearic Islands (Capellà, 1977; Ginard, 1998), Alicante (Valero, 1991), Canary Islands (Márquez, 2018) and Coastal Andalusia<sup>8</sup> (Galán et al., 1977). Secondly, they also represent a model of labour markets facing acute labour shortages, which resulted in low labour market competition. Thirdly, these destinations meant lower migration costs and offered seasonal work from April to the end of October. In comparison, the French vineyards offered only one or two months of work, while industrial occupations in Spain, sometimes had higher skill requirements for all-year-round activities (Paluzie, et. al., 2009).

**Table IV.5:** *Main origins of Spanish maids in Paris by 1966 and female workers in the Balearic tourism in 1969 by place of birth.*

	Maids in Paris	Balearic Islands
León, Castille and León	11.3	1.6
Valencia, Community of Valencia	9.3	1.9
Orense, Galicia	7.5	0.4
Lugo, Galicia	4.6	0.5
Navarra, Navarra	4.2	0.1
Oviedo, Principate of Asturias	4.0	0.4
Madrid, Madrid	3.8	1.6
Alicante, Community of Valencia	3.7	0.8
A Coruña, Galicia	2.9	0.7
Pontevedra, Galicia	2.7	0.8
Rest of provinces	46.0	91.2
Total	100	100

Sources: (Rubio, 1974, p. 339).

<sup>8</sup> Tabares, E. “Los jornaleros andaluces”. Noticias Obreras, June.

Lastly, it is important to note that these three potential factors of attraction could mean particular advantages for young women from some households of the areas of origin. Thus, in some households, circular migration could become a more optimal migratory decision for young women since migration in groups of relatives reduced the costs and risks of migration. This advantage from the view of the household could also be advantageous for rural women in which this migration could be perceived as a form of reducing the higher gender penalisation in rural areas (Collantes & Pinilla, 2011). As a matter of comparison, Table IV.5 depicts the great differences regarding the place of origin between similar feminized occupations, in a main European destination, the most significant one in France for Spanish women, and its alternative in the Balearics. It shows that the domestic service in Paris was comprised of women from very different origins in comparison with equivalent occupations in Spanish tourism destinations, such as chambermaid and laundress<sup>9</sup>.

### **4.3. Spatial analysis of migrant's source communities**

The migration to the Balearic Islands during the rural exodus was mostly comprised of women and men from southern Spain. Figure IV.1 shows that most of the migrants came from Andalusian provinces, such as Granada, Jaén and Córdoba; the provinces of Albacete, Ciudad Real and Murcia; and Badajoz in Extremadura. An important share of these migrants was circular. The dataset shows that 41% of migrants with at least one year of labour experience in the sector were living in accommodation provided by their employers or indicated an address in mainland Spain in 1969. Similarly, reports from the provincial government highlighted that in 1966 approximately 50% of migrants were circular. During these years a transition from circular to permanent migrants took place which would explain the increase of the non-native population during the period, from 8.9% in 1950 to 26.6 in 1981<sup>10</sup>. This migration could take place for some

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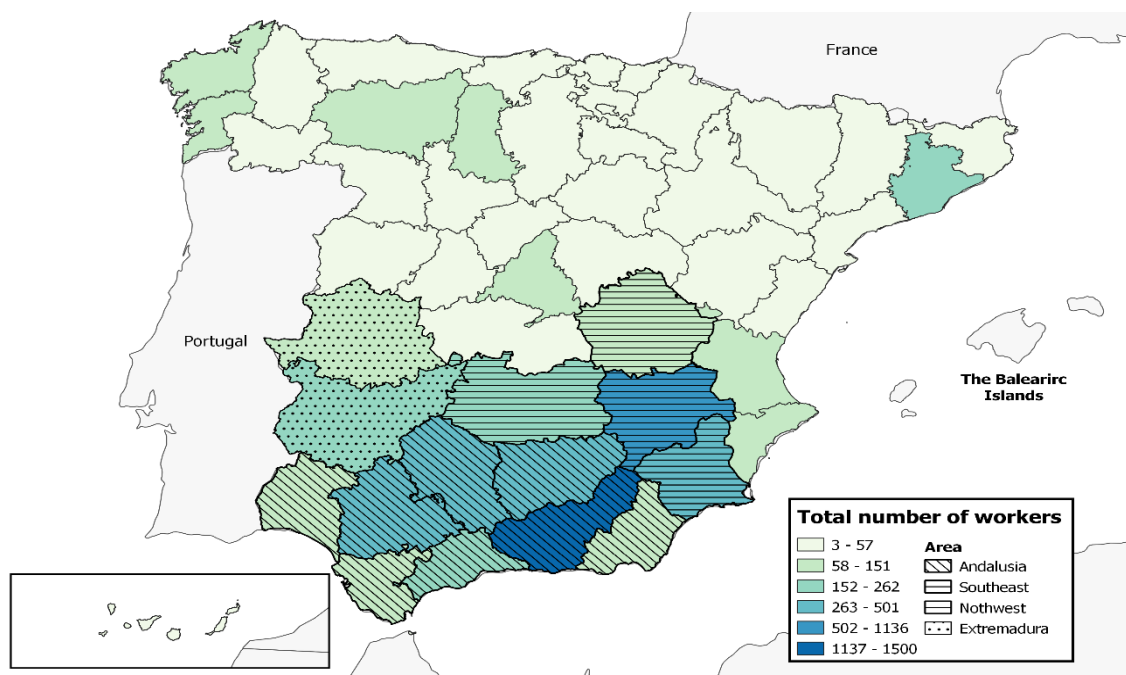
<sup>9</sup> We also have oral testimonies that suggest the same argument: “With only 14 years she migrated with her cousin from Nerpio, Albacete to Caravaca, Murcia [...]. There [Caravaca de la Cruz, Murcia, Spain], aside of spending two years working as a hairdressing I met my husband and my first contact in Mallorca: José [a circular migrant who worked seasonally as a taxi driver]. [...] After four years of relationship she migrated to Mallorca. “I had aspirations of move out, in my town I could not live there”. *Diario El Mundo: Una Isla de 'forasters' (III): 40 años cardando turistas*”. Retrieved from <https://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2010/08/10/baleares/1281465410.html>.

<sup>10</sup> Circular migration to Balearics became a characteristic feature of determined rural municipalities of south mainland Spain. As the priest of Iznalloz, Granada, one of these municipalities, declared in 1974: “We got other type of emigration, the migration to Mallorca, other years went a lot of people. This year, instead, few have emigrated due to the tourism crisis” (Lara, 1977, p. 179).

years before ending with a definitive return, remigration or a permanent residence in the destination. According to the Census, the majority of circular migrants in 1969 had accomplished between 1 and 4 years of circular migratory movement (see Chapter 2).

The seasonality of the labour demand, housing shortages and lack of labour regulations oriented to solve the seasonality of labour demand by the dictatorship such as subsidies or the regulation of fix-discontinuous contracts, played a crucial role in shaping circular migration between the archipelago and mainland Spain (see Chapter 1 and 2). However, the characteristics of some of the migrants' areas of origin also offered considerable incentives for the engagement in circular flows. A qualitative analysis of the land uses in these areas shows a predominant pattern of specialisation in olive groves (Figure IV.2), particularly in the case of the rural towns of Andalusia and southwestern Castile la Manche. In these crops, the peaks of labour demand occurred during the winter associated with harvesting, with the result that workers could migrate circularly by combining the olive harvest, where local agricultural employment and wages were higher, with employment in tourism for the rest of the year (Figure IV.3). Conversely, according to Fernández-Asperilla (2000), in areas of Valencia and Murcia where predominated orange crops, households were more prone to migrate seasonally to work in the French vineyards, as harvesting complemented in both regions.

**Figure IV.1:** Spanish non-natives by place of birth in the dataset, 1969.

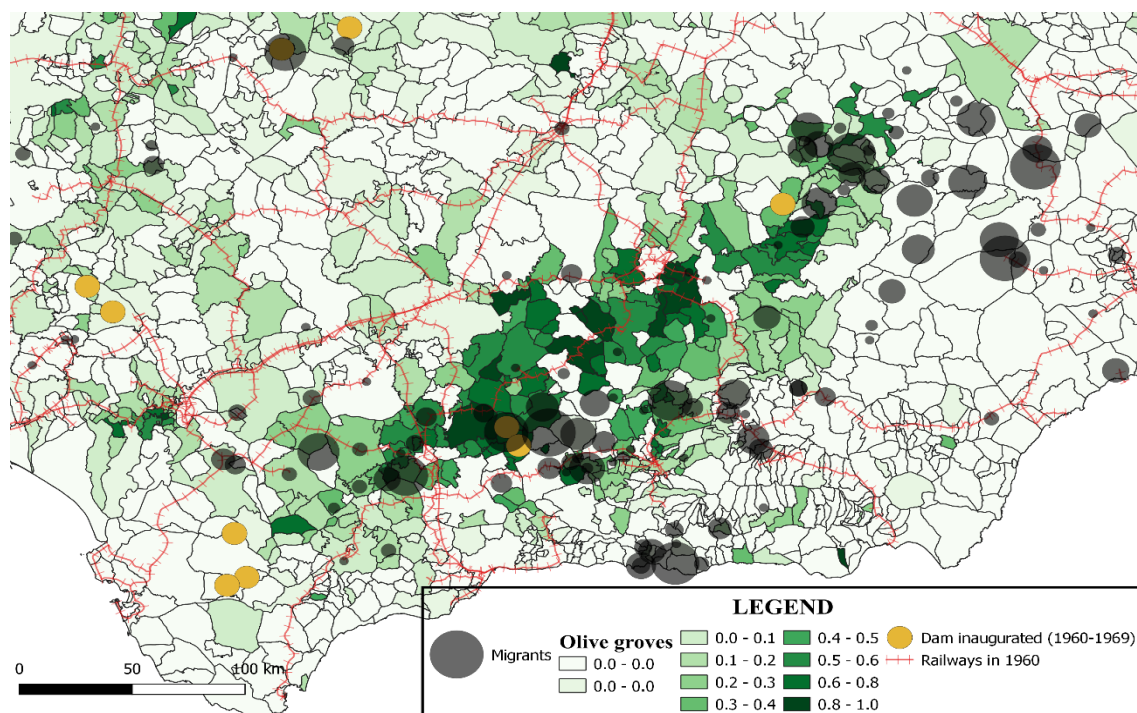


**Sources:** Census of the Balearic Tourism Industry of 1969.

**Note:** I have used the Jenks optimization method to determine the classification of values into different classes.

As some authors have shown (Florencio & López, 2000; Infante-Amate, 2014), in earlier times circular migrants from these areas moved southwards, mainly to Cadis and Seville, in the summer to work in the wheat harvest. This migration was seen as a way to climb the agricultural ladder. It provided the chance of learning basic farming skills, achieving a good reputation among employers and accumulating savings which could r in their future in renting and/or purchasing land during his or her life. In other cases, it was a source of complementary income to make future investments either in land ownership or other assets (Carmona & Simpson, 2003). However, from the mid-1950s onwards, the progressive mechanisation of cereal-related tasks significantly reduced the seasonal labour demand. In contrast, according to Cobo and Ortega (2004), in olive-related municipalities, the olive crops increased their size from the 40s until the 90s which resulted in higher production and labour demand due to the lower potential of mechanisation.

**Figure IV.2:** *Share of olive groves in 1990 and place of birth of rural southern Spain migrants in the dataset.*



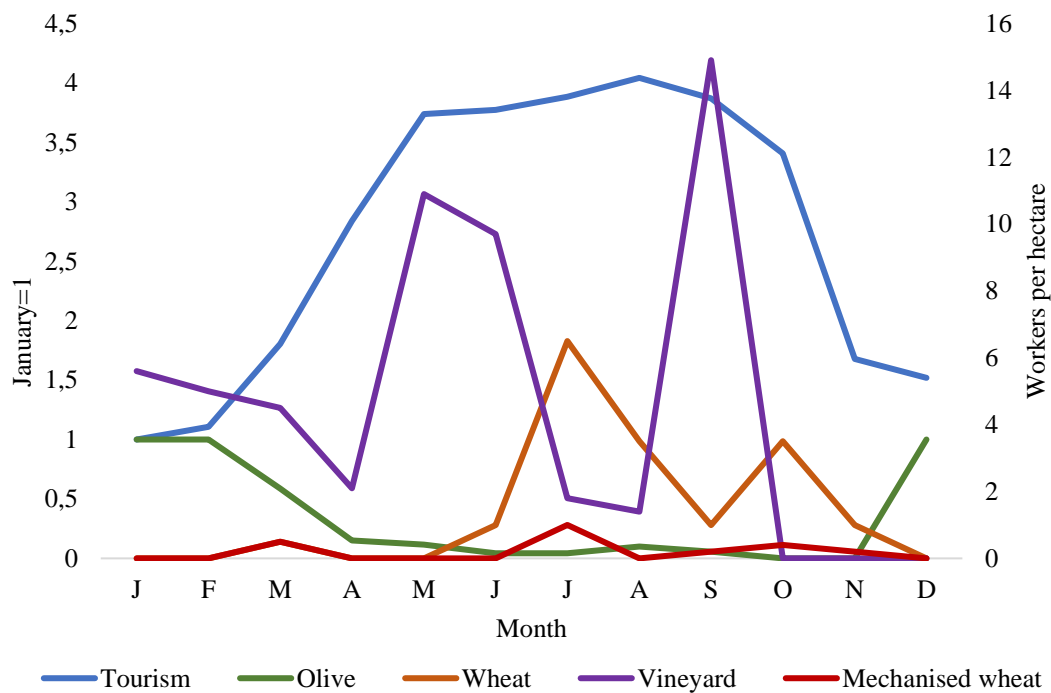
**Sources:** Corine Land Cover Database 1990 and Census of the Balearic Tourism Industry of 1969.

**Note:** It reports municipalities with more than 5 individuals. I have used the Jenks optimization method to determine the classification of values into different classes.

The strategies of these migrant households were also shaped by the land ownership structures in their areas of origin, which had important ramifications for local land and labour markets (Figure IV.4). The main areas of origin had a higher average

number of landowners and an average farm size smaller than the rest of the rural towns in southern Spain. Still, in most of the cases, these were small farms that maintained households in a situation of relative poverty where people lacked job opportunities to fully employ themselves and their families throughout the year (Cobo & Ortega, 2004; González de Molina, Infante-Amate, & Herrera, 2014). However, this pattern suggests that, in these municipalities, locals had greater access to land ownership and a more dynamic local land market. Similarly, the absence of large state ownership, *latifundios*, reduced the effects of monopsony on labour demand, and increased employment opportunities in the migrants' municipality of origin, especially during the peaks of labour demand (Infante-Amate, 2014a)<sup>11</sup>.

**Figure IV.3:** Seasonality of the labour demand in tourism in the Balearic Islands in 1969 and in the main crops in the mid-XX century.

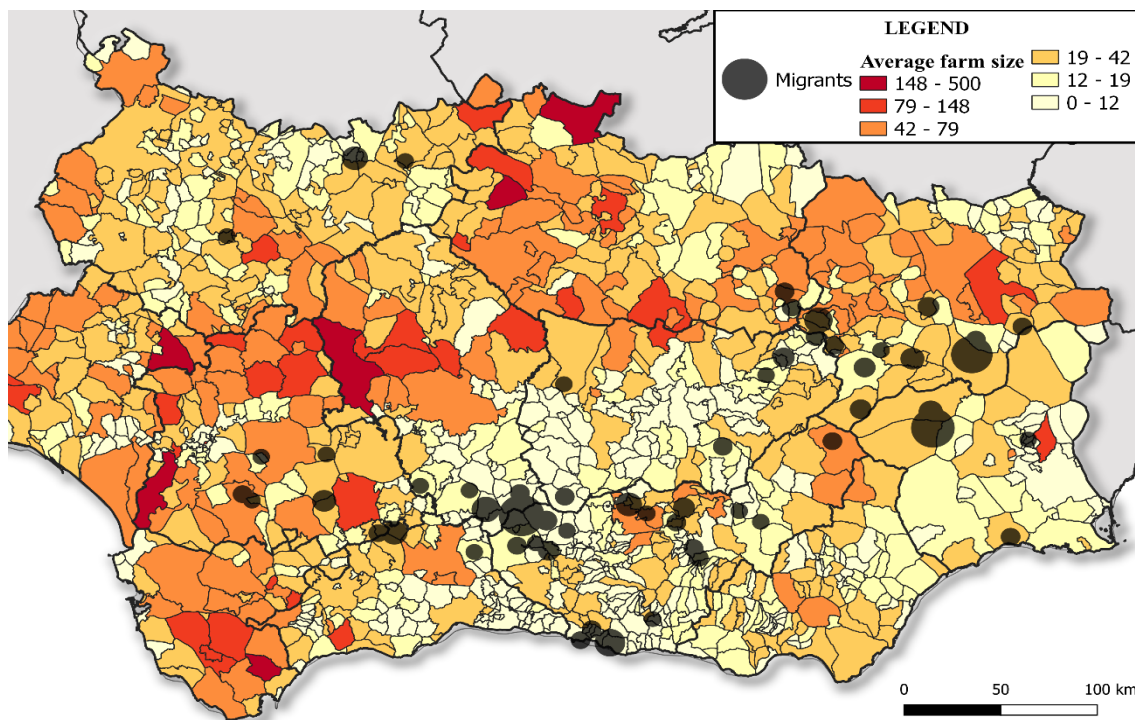


**Sources:** Tourism, monthly labour demand in the Balearic tourism sector in 1969 from Spanish Statistics Institute: Estadística del movimiento de viajeros en alojamientos hoteleros y campamentos turísticos. 1966-1970. Olive, monthly hours of work in olive groves in Baena, Jaén in 1950. Data from (Infante-Amate, 2014). Wheat and mechanised wheat, the monthly number of workers per hectare in 1945 in Spain from Carmona & Simpson (2003). Vineyard, the monthly number of workers per hectare in 1910 in Vilafranca del Penèdes, Catalonia, Spain from Carmona & Simpson (2003).

<sup>11</sup> A migrant from Agramón, Hellín, Albacete, described the key role of the combination of these factors when rememorated his migrant experience during the Spanish tourism boom: “Lots of neighbours only went to work [to Mallorca] during the summer season, both in airplane and ship, and then they came back to their towns to work during the winter in their land property, because the majority of them had lands and olive crops [...]. Each of one had their own land property, however mostly it was small property owned by each family” (Servera, 2021, p. 21).

Costs of information operated a substantial role in shaping migration flows. The large majority came from non-coastal towns and most cases mountainous areas. This corresponds to the regions and provinces which registered lower foreign migration to America before the Spanish Civil War, areas that were penalised by the higher costs of information and transportation (Sánchez-Alonso, 2000). These areas were characterised by their difficult access, where the main infrastructures and roads did not start to connect them with main lines of communication until the mid-fifties (González de Molina, Infante-Amate, & Herrera, 2014). As can be seen in Figure IV.2, by 1960 some of the main municipalities of origin were very distanced from the railway's infrastructure. This would help to explain the significant influence of recruitment of origin by firms both from tourism and foreign agrarian firms, sending staff to recruit workers and establishing networks of circular migration (see Chapters 2 and 3)<sup>12</sup>.

**Figure IV.4:** Average farm size in 1962 and place of birth of migrants from rural southern Spain in the dataset.



**Sources:** INE. Agrarian Census of 1962 and Census of the Balearic Tourism Industry of 1969.

**Note:** It reports municipalities with more than 5 individuals. I have used the Jenks optimization method to determine the classification of values into different classes.

<sup>12</sup> In another oral interview, a worker rememored his experience by highlighting the seasonal character of the migration, the role of recruiters and the vision of tourism as alternative to other migrant destinations (Aroca, 2018, p. 33): “The priests and majors of the municipalities recruited workers, hiring all the members of the household [...] They [migrants] came to work during the summer season as it was the agricultural harvest [...] And if they did not come by themselves they [employers] went to their towns to recruit them with the help of local authorities. [...] And there was a movement of workers willing to migrate to Germany that ultimately migrated during the summer to the tourism destinations”.

In other cases, particularly in areas of the coast or the north of Murcia and South of Albacete, where the incidence of olive groves was minor and the average farm size was bigger, the formation of migrant communities in the pre-tourism areas and proximity to networks of information in origin could reduce these costs. These networks would have started in the pre-tourism era as a result of individuals who arrived in the Balearics for doing the mandatory military service and acted as pioneers. In other cases, these migrants came from mining communities attracted to the labour demand in this sector before and after the Spanish Civil War (Bibiloni, 2004; Servera, 2021).

Migration could also be shaped by a sudden intense decline in the labour demand. Using oral testimonies, some local historians from the municipalities of origin have noted that in Extremadura migration to Balearics was triggered mainly by the negative effects on labour demand of large infrastructural projects introduced by the dictatorship, such as the construction of high-capacity dams (Figure IV.2) (González, 2017). According to these researchers, the construction of these infrastructures increased labour demand sharply but, once they were completed, the demand for construction workers disappeared and the agricultural sector was also far less labour-intensive than before. In some cases, these projects removed entire towns and the displaced populations to other nearby sites (Herranz, 1995). Thus, although in the mid-term irrigation could increase agricultural labour demand, in the short-term induced strong negative effects on job opportunities.

## **5. Determinants of location choice and circular migration**

In this section, I implement the empirical analysis to test the qualitative evidence shown above. I use two different methodological strategies. Firstly, in Tables IV.6 and IV.7, I present the results of estimating the determinants of higher migration from a municipality by regressing the number of migrants from the same municipality in logarithms weighted by the total population in 1960 as the dependent variable. In table IV.7, I analyse only Andalusian migrants using data on olive crops from 1962 to increase the robustness of the results. Secondly, in table IV.8 I show the results of analysing the likelihood of returning to the place of origin and coming back the next year to the host labour market, completing an entire year of circular migration. Column 1 and 3 reports the baseline specification; it does not include data on migrant networks from municipality registers, while Column 2 and 4 do include these data.



### 5.1. Determinants of location choice

**Table IV.6:** *Determinants of migration among southern mainland Spain migrants.*

	All		Circular	
<i>Ln</i> number of migrants from the same municipality / POP1960	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<b>Socio-economic structure</b>				
Olive groves at a municipal level (%)	0.0370*** (0.00417)	0.0348*** (0.00540)	0.0506*** (0.00589)	0.0381*** (0.00757)
Vineyards at a municipal level (%)	-0.0243* (0.0135)	-0.0702*** (0.0173)	-0.0984*** (0.0207)	-0.0899*** (0.0282)
Fruits and berries at a municipal level (%)	0.0571*** (0.0111)	-0.0537*** (0.0143)	-0.0231 (0.0168)	-0.101*** (0.0228)
Cereals and annual crops at a municipal level (%)	0.0460*** (0.00359)	-0.00163 (0.00463)	0.0185*** (0.00514)	-0.0169** (0.00665)
Average farm size ( <i>ln</i> )	0.255*** (0.0255)	-0.137*** (0.0331)	-0.000915 (0.0357)	-0.196*** (0.0471)
Low-income households in the district of origin (%)	0.00838*** (0.000805)	0.0102*** (0.00105)	0.0107*** (0.00117)	0.0116*** (0.00155)
Illiteracy in the district of origin (%)	0.0101*** (0.00188)	0.0293*** (0.00242)	0.0258*** (0.00269)	0.0294*** (0.00352)
<b>Labour demand</b>				
Inaugurated dam of more than 100,000 hm <sup>3</sup> (1960-1969)	0.807*** (0.0453)	0.338*** (0.0556)	0.153** (0.0638)	0.0698 (0.0803)
<b>Social capital</b>				
Relatives in the tourism area of destination in 1960	-	0.0116*** (0.000488)	-	0.00778*** (0.000785)
Relatives at a firm-level				
<b>Geography</b>				
Mountainous area (non-mountainous)	0.281*** (0.0198)	0.311*** (0.0250)	0.275*** (0.0283)	0.292*** (0.0364)
Proximity to The Balearics	0.0484*** (0.0154)	0.0942*** (0.0200)	0.0909*** (0.0219)	0.177*** (0.0285)
Proximity to an industrial hub	-0.195*** (0.0234)	-0.217*** (0.0300)	-0.293*** (0.0335)	-0.382*** (0.0431)
Proximity to a tourism destination	-0.312*** (0.0177)	-0.0316 (0.0233)	-0.125*** (0.0255)	-0.127*** (0.0334)
Source municipality fixed effects	Y	Y	Y	Y
Observations	4,745	3,291	2,149	1,644
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.356	0.576	0.523	0.574

**Note:** \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1. Standard errors in parentheses.

The analysis of the relationship between the socio-economic structure of origin and migration to tourism areas highlights the key role of the level of attachment in the process of household decision making. In this regard, the characteristics of the crops in the municipalities of origin were an important factor. The effect of belonging to a municipality offering seasonal employment complementary to the tourism season appears to be strong; Tables IV.6 and IV.7 show that a 10-point increase in the share of olive groves in the municipality increases the log number of migrants by around 5%. Meanwhile, other predominant and non-complementary crops have a negative or limited

effect on the stock of migrants, especially vineyards, fruit and berries. Table IV.6 confirms these results by using data from 1962 from Andalusia.

Another key factor in configuring the migratory strategy was the nature of land ownership. Municipalities with local land and labour markets that provided greater access to seasonal jobs and more possibilities for buying land were more likely to register a higher number of circular migrants: areas with smaller farms and more owners and employers. In columns 2 and 4 in table IV.6, which include the migrant networks variable, the results indicate that in 1969 an increase of one unit in the log farm size decreases the log number of all migrants by 3% and the log number of circular migrants by 10%. In table IV.7 this correlation reaches a log increase of 25%, indicating that the role of farm size was particularly important in Andalusia. In this regard, these results seem to confirm that households from these areas perceived the potential advantages – as a push and pull interrelated effects – of combining seasonal job opportunities in origin and destination where the monopsony effects on local labour and land markets were lower. Thus, in these municipalities, circular migration to tourism areas became a substitute for previous patterns of agrarian circular migration threatened by the mechanisation of cereal crops.

Costs of information and transport also played a key role. The results in all the tables suggest that being from a mountainous area correlates with a higher log stock of circular migrants in the Balearics. In this regard, external sources of information such as migrant networks and qualitative evidence of active employer recruitment in origin shown above could be crucial. For example, among southern Spanish migrants, an increase of 10 individuals from the same municipality in the tourism area of destination increases the log number of migrants by 11% and of circular migrants by 7%. These results suggest that migrant networks played a significant role, particularly in those areas where complementary seasonal labour was scarce and the labour and land markets were less accessible. For that reason, when I include this variable the explicative effect of non-complementary crops, especially cereal crops, declines considerably.

Costs of transportation could also be reduced by migrating in groups based on kinship where decision making as a household strategy would be crucial. According to analysts of circular labour in Spain (Florencio & López, 2000; Carmona & Simpson, 2003), these migrations were seen as a mechanism of capital accumulation in which young members could earn wages and human capital that ultimately allow them to have access to the ownership of land. These migrations used to comprise a group of relatives

of young men and women, a kind of migrant gang, the so-called “cuadrillas”. This typology of migration helped to increase security and reduce the risks and costs of migration. My estimates suggest that this form of migration continued to be important during this period. For example, having at least one relative working in the same firm was associated with an increase of approximately 30% in either the total log stock of migrants or circular migrants.

**Table IV.7:** *Determinants of migration among migrants from Andalusia.*

	All		Circular	
<i>Ln</i> number of migrants from the same municipality / POP1960	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<b>Socio-economic structure</b>				
Olive groves hectares per capita at a municipal level in 1962 ( <i>ln</i> ) (%)	0.0470*** (0.0115)	0.133*** (0.0162)	0.181*** (0.0181)	0.191*** (0.0236)
Average farm size ( <i>ln</i> )	0.00738 (0.0299)	-0.195*** (0.0422)	-0.123*** (0.0455)	-0.221*** (0.0614)
Low-income households in the district of origin (%)	0.00743*** (0.000991)	0.0131*** (0.00143)	0.0128*** (0.00150)	0.0179*** (0.00203)
Illiteracy in the district of origin (%)	0.0154*** (0.00202)	0.0236*** (0.00301)	0.0276*** (0.00310)	0.0267*** (0.00432)
<b>Labour demand</b>				
Inaugurated dam of more than 100,000 hm <sup>3</sup> (1960-1969)	0.554*** (0.0548)	0.353*** (0.0792)	0.0661 (0.0910)	-0.0171 (0.125)
<b>Social capital</b>				
Relatives in the tourism area of destination in 1960	-	0.0122*** (0.000651)	-	0.00821*** (0.000997)
Relatives at a firm-level	0.240*** (0.0195)	0.408*** (0.0270)	0.311*** (0.0283)	0.420*** (0.0370)
<b>Geography</b>				
Mountainous area (non-mountainous)	0.351*** (0.0238)	0.398*** (0.0330)	0.285*** (0.0354)	0.350*** (0.0456)
Proximity to The Balearics	0.164*** (0.0202)	0.0302 (0.0290)	0.0628** (0.0299)	0.128*** (0.0392)
Proximity to an industrial hub	-0.337*** (0.0366)	0.0408 (0.0522)	-0.0236 (0.0570)	-0.0509 (0.0753)
Proximity to a tourism destination	-0.310*** (0.0221)	-0.0662** (0.0329)	-0.156*** (0.0353)	-0.119** (0.0486)
Source municipality fixed effects	Y	Y	Y	Y
Observations	2,691	1,775	1,221	900
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.446	0.611	0.591	0.658

**Note:** \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1. Standard errors in parentheses.

Households also determined their decisions based on the human capital requirements in the destination. Some authors have hypothesized that this might be the key factor in the decision to migrate to European countries, where the skill requirements were higher (Sánchez-Alonso, 2010). In this regard, tourism destinations offered abundant seasonal job opportunities with very low barriers of entry in terms of skills. The equations show that migrants were more likely to come from areas with higher rates of

low-income households and illiteracy: an increase of one unit in the share of low-income households increased the log stock of migrants from the same municipality by approximately 10% (Tables IV.6 and IV.7), while an increase of one unit in the rate of illiteracy raised the rate of migrants by 20-30%

Other factors also contributed to configuring the heterogeneity of the migration flows. Quantitative data indicates that the negative shocks in labour demand as a result of the dictatorship's infrastructure projects, especially high-capacity dams, exerted an important exogenous effect. The results in tables IV.6 and IV.7 show that the inauguration of a high-capacity dam in the municipality has a strong correlation with migration to the Balearics and a lower – although still significant – correlation with circular migration. These estimates are in line with the qualitative evidence that suggests that these events generated an intense flow of permanent and circular migration from Extremadura from the early sixties onwards (González, 2017). Thus, the intense decline of the labour demand in these municipalities incentivised the search for destinations offering abundant and easily accessible jobs with low labour market competition and human capital requirements.

## **5.2. Determinants of circular migration**

Still, initial migrant intentions could not be materialised. Those who wanted to return and stay cannot correspond to actual circular, return or permanent migrants (Ward, 2017). Therefore, a second step in the analysis of circular migration is to analyse those who persisted in migrating circularly. Table IV.8 provides some evidence by analysing the profile of those who completed an entire cycle of circular migration i.e., arrived in the Balearics, returned to their places of origin and came back to the archipelago. More precisely, I compare those who persisted in being circular migrants in 1969 in comparison with those who were already permanent. To do so, I employ a control variable that only includes those migrants who have at least one year of experience in the sector. Since the majority of migrants had their first labour experience in this service sector and circular migrants were not usually recorded on population censuses of the host provinces, this variable constitutes an excellent proxy of the real year of arrival. However, to robust the results, I also include two additional controls. Firstly, I also employ a binary variable that distinguishes if the migrant in 1967 had been working in another area of Spain, using information from the social security records. Secondly, I linked those who were reported

in 1965 as a resident since 1960 in municipality registers utilised for the analysis of migrant networks. The criteria adopted for selecting these workers is the following: a linked observation shares the same name, the two surnames, date of birth, municipality of origin and has to work in the same tourism area that was registered in 1965.

Table IV.8 shows that in 1969 although some of the mentioned factors were significant predictors in terms of location choices lost the explicative capacity to understand those who remain circular. Moreover, these outcomes also remark that both voluntary and non-voluntary migrations shaped circular migration. On the one hand, the interaction between the average land size and the specialisation in olive groves shows that migrants were more likely to return if the average land size was smaller and higher was the specialisation in olive groves. Table IV.8 depicts a strong and significant association between a small average farm and higher specialisation in olives groves by 17-21% for all migrants from mainland Spain, while bigger average farms interact negatively or do not have statistical significance.

Therefore, lower monopsony effects resulted in greater access to land investment and job opportunities that incentivised strongly the return. Conversely, migrants coming from areas where this relationship was inverse were more prone to stay, which is consistent with the lack of chances of combining two sources of income and accomplishing investments. Table IV.8 suggests that migrants from a municipality with a high share of cereal crops – characterised by the lack of complementary seasonal job opportunities – were more prone to stay regardless of the characteristics of the land ownership. Similarly, migrants who came from areas that experienced the negative effect on local labour demand by the impact of the inauguration of a dam were more prone to stay. Concretely, they had 70-80% more chances to be permanent. Still, when I include data on migrant networks and migration before the tourism era it loses its level of significance to only 90%, which suggests that those coming from these areas could generate migrant networks which facilitate migration after becoming permanent.

**Table IV.8:** *Determinants of circular migration among southern Spain migrants.*

Logit model	Southern Spain migrants	
Permanent vs circular	(1)	(2)
<b>Socio-economic structure</b>		
1.Average land size#Olive groves (%)	0.173*** (0.0534)	0.215*** (0.0692)
2.Average land size#Olive groves (%)	-0.0493 (0.0376)	-0.0110 (0.0491)
3.Average land size#Olive groves (%)	-0.101** (0.0508)	-0.156** (0.0652)
4.Average land size#Olive groves (%)	-0.0424 (0.0660)	0.000841 (0.0890)
5.Average land size#Olive groves (%)	-0.132 (0.120)	0.247 (0.166)
1.Average land size#Cereal crops (%)	-0.0274 (0.0826)	0.0160 (0.0995)
2.Average land size#Cereal crops (%)	0.0187 (0.0468)	-0.0285 (0.0597)
3.Average land size#Cereal crops (%)	0.0458 (0.0474)	0.0649 (0.0662)
4.Average land size#Cereal crops (%)	-0.000528 (0.0359)	0.0228 (0.0462)
5.Average land size#Cereal crops (%)	-0.0432 (0.0321)	-0.109** (0.0433)
Inaugurated dam of more than 100,000 hm <sup>3</sup> (1960-1969)	-0.888** (0.424)	-0.790* (0.473)
Proximity to the Balearic Islands	-0.104 (0.113)	-0.338** (0.153)
<b>Social capital</b>		
Relatives in the tourism area of destination in 1960	-	-0.00807** (0.00367)
Relatives at a firm-level	0.746*** (0.122)	0.489*** (0.153)
<b>Personal Characteristics</b>		
Linked in 1960	-	-2.017*** (0.578)
Working in mainland Spain in 1967	0.191 (0.139)	0.288 (0.185)
Age	-0.0181*** (0.00510)	-0.0168** (0.00709)
Women (men)	0.137 (0.129)	0.140 (0.166)
Single (married)	0.561*** (0.114)	0.826*** (0.156)
Wage second quintile (1 quintile)	-0.361** (0.175)	-0.392* (0.222)
Wage third quintile (1 quintile)	-0.326** (0.150)	-0.183 (0.192)
Wage fourth quintile (1 quintile)	-0.0759 (0.162)	-0.272 (0.215)
Wage fifth quintile (1 quintile)	-0.340* (0.199)	-0.596** (0.264)
Observations	1,801	1,070
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.087	0.120

**Note:** Regressions also include data on geography and sociology of the districts, such as distance to Spanish industrial hubs and Tourism areas. Wages were obtained from Chapter 2. Results have been restricted to migrants with 1 year of labour experience or more. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1. Standard errors in parentheses.

On the other hand, results also suggest that circular migrations could be associated with the level of income earned by the migrant in the host society, which could lead to non-voluntary returns. Table IV.8 informs that migrants who were more likely to return were strongly correlated with the lower quintile of the wage distribution in the host labour market. These results are in line with qualitative and quantitative evidence from government reports shown in Chapter 2 that noted that housing shortages, the legal framework and lack of job opportunities represented key constraints for those willing to establish permanently. Similarly, costs of return could be another important constraint. Thus, migrants from more distanced places could develop different migratory strategies and would be more prone to stay. While the distance with the Balearics increases, the probability to return declines by 10-33%. In this regard, migrant networks could have a positive impact by offering greater access to information, housing and job-searching assistance, and psychological support that could be decisive. Hence, results suggest that migrants who could rely on migrant networks were more prone to stay. Although some migrants relying on migrant networks returned, an increase of ten migrants from the same municipality established in the pre-tourism decreased the probability of doing it by 8%.

Finally, the results confirm the strong role of households and gender self-selection in shaping circular migration. These estimates remark how migration in groups of relatives could be a significant factor that reduced costs and risks of migration. Having a relative at the same firm was associated with a strong and significant higher likelihood of return by 70-30% per cent. Besides, among those who return women appear to be more likely to do it. This type of migration would be mostly comprised of young women accompanied by relatives both young men and women, suggesting that circular migration to tourism areas could represent an advantage to the insertion into the urban labour markets of women. Still, results also suggest that this pattern would be related to the stage of the life-cycle that could be more likely to stop once the marriage period has started as results show.

## **6. Conclusion**

This paper analyses the persistence of circular migration during the rural exodus in Spain between 1955 and 1973. The results contribute to the literature on economic and economic history in two ways. Firstly, it provides an analysis of determinants of circular migration a field rarely explored empirically by literature on migration, particularly in

past periods. This study shows that the factors that incentivised households to migrate as circular migrants during this period are associated with the socio-economic structure of the area of origin, the characteristics of the labour demand in destination and migrant networks. Moreover, it shows that once the migratory process started, these factors could change its predictive effect by increasing or decreasing the likelihood that the circular migratory flow persists over time. In this regard, it is important to note those factors that could constrain the chances of transit from circular to permanent which could result in non-voluntary returns.

Seasonal complementary job opportunities and the lower effects of monopsony in the local labour and land markets favoured migratory strategies in which migrants returned to their places of origin and invested there. Migrants tended to move from rural towns specialised in olive groves and with a higher number of landowners, generally in areas with a previous tradition of engaging in short-distance circular migration. Human capital also shaped their decision-making. The Spanish tourism boom offered a high number of low-skilled job vacancies in labour markets with intense labour shortages. Thus, migrants from areas with lower levels of human capital found in tourism regions an optimal migrant destination. In this regard, tourism destinations and circular migration could be an attractive migratory strategy for young women from rural contexts although this migration would be associated with the stage of their life-cycle.

However, not all these migratory movements would be a result of the mentioned incentives. These migrants had to face an economy characterised by seasonal labour demand and intense housing shortages, an institutional framework characterised by the absence of an adequate legal framework aimed to alleviate the effects of seasonality and sometimes without relatives who could bring them assistance. As a result, some migrants could fail in their attempt to establish permanently having to return to their places.

Other factors also had a strong predictive potential to explain circular migratory movements. However, the lack of job and investment opportunities increased the incentives to establish permanently. On the one hand, the presence of relatives who had settled during the pre-tourism era attracted a large share of migrants from their municipalities of origin. In these areas, the lack of work and investment opportunities in the towns of origin was offset by the lower costs of information and job searching offered by the migrant networks. In some other cases, these migratory flows were triggered by the sudden and negative effect on local labour markets of the completion of large infrastructural projects such as the construction of dams. The sharp decline of job



opportunities in the construction and agricultural sector in the short term appears to be a key indicator, with a particular incidence among migrants from the region of Extremadura.

Secondly, these results contribute to the debate on the lag of migration in southern Spain during the process of industrialization and the persistence of circular migration in Spain. It provides evidence about the persistence of temporary migrations in Spain across the XX century, connecting temporary migrations before the Civil War with contemporary migrations at the beginning of the nineties when international permanent and circular migration started to increase considerably.

Furthermore, these insights also may help to explain why location choices differed widely during the Spanish rural exodus. This article suggests that in some municipalities some households continued having circular migration as an advantageous migratory strategy. In this regard, it notes that in comparison with other destinations such as European countries or Spanish industrial hubs, the emerging tourism industry offered abundant low-skilled job opportunities and lower costs and risks of migration, the main economic constraints of the long-distance migration in the region. These characteristics turned out to be particularly advantageous for households that saw in circular migration the chance of combining two sources of income to be invested in origin. In other cases, migrant networks or abrupt and intense negative shocks in source labour demand had a decisive influence on migratory strategies. Thus, in some areas, the circular migration to tourism labour markets in Spain provided an attractive way to replace the agrarian labour markets eroded by the modernisation of the Spanish economy during the rural exodus.

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# V

## From circular to permanent: migrant occupational attainment during the Spanish tourism boom, 1955-1973<sup>1</sup>

### Abstract

Circular migration has played a substantial role in the assimilation process of rural-urban migrations in Spain across the XX century and still is considered important today. This paper analyses the short-term impact of the temporariness of this type of migration in the rate of occupational mobility of migrants during the rural exodus, 1955-1973. More specifically, I study this process in one key scenario during the period: the Spanish tourism boom. Using a novel micro-dataset of approximately 11,000 observations, results show that the temporariness was a key factor that constrained the capacity of migrants to achieve higher occupational mobility. Thus, the incentives to persist with circular migratory movements and the socio-economic constraints on permanent settlement, such as housing shortages, the lack of seasonal unemployment subsidies and labour market seasonality, 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, these 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 these migrants had fewer chances than natives of taking advantage of the intense 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, Social mobility, Return intention, Human capital, Social capital, Spanish Tourism Boom, Balearic Islands.

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“Even if you return, o Odysseus;  
Even if spaces close around you,  
and the guide is burnt to ashes  
in your bereaved faced  
or your friendly terror,  
you will remain a history of wandering,  
you will remain in a land of no return.  
Even if you return, o Odysseus”

- *Songs of Mehar the Damascene*, Ali Ahmad Said Ember, Adonis.

## **1. Introduction**

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 incentivised to invest in host-specific human capital (Dustmann & Görlach, 2016). Similarly, they tend to have a lower reservation wage, being more prone to accept lower wages and invest less in physical capital (Chabé-Ferret, Machado, & Wahba, 2018; Adda, Dustmann, & Goerlach, 2022). This pattern implies that the rate of acquisition of these significant drivers of social mobility is endogenous to the migrant's behaviour, i.e., 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 (Adda, Dustmann, & Goerlach, 2022).

Understanding the impact of the temporariness of migration is important for the comprehension of the process of migrant assimilation since most 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 to 75 in different periods and countries (Bandiera, Rasul, & Viarengo, 2013; Dustmann & Görlach, 2016). Circular migration has particular incidence in key scenarios of international migration such as the Mexico-US corridor (Lindstrom, 2013), the Persian



Gulf (Babar & Gardner, 2016), and the Mediterranean, where constitutes a significant share of total migratory movements (Vadean & Piracha, 2010). But it is also significant in total internal migratory flows, particularly in developing countries, such as internal migration in China under the *hukou* system (Hu, Xu, & Chen, 2011), sub-Saharan Africa (Beguy, Bocquier, & Zulu, 2010) and India (Constant, Nottmeyer, & Zimmermann, 2013).

Circular migration also constituted a substantial share of total internal and international migratory movements in the past both in 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, temporary work in jobs in urban industrial areas and the construction sector (Silvestre, 2007; Hatcher & Stephenson, 2018). Thus, for example, in France, 25-50% of the total working population worked seasonally in agriculture and the manufacturing sector in the late XVIII century, and still in the XIX century, 10% of the total agricultural workforce left their jobs in manufacturing to work during the agricultural harvest each year (Carmona & Simpson, 2003, p. 93). Although the industrialization process fostered more permanent jobs and migration patterns, it was still important by the mid-XX century. In northern Europe and the US, internal circular migration declined while international circular migration increased. The Bracero Program which promoted the migration of 4.6 million Mexican workers in the US and the Guestworker programs in Europe are paradigmatic examples (Massey and Liang, 1989). In industrializing southern Europe circular internal migrations persisted. Specifically, in Spain during the XIX century and the early XX century it constituted a substantial share of total migration (Silvestre, 2007), and remained substantial until the nineties in the south of the country (see Chapter 4).

Thus, the incidence of circular migratory movements in the past could help to explain living standards levels and social mobility achieved by differential groups of migrants. Unfortunately, empirical studies are limited by the lack of data or difficulties in fully capturing these migratory movements in official accounts (Constant, Nottmeyer, & Zimmermann, 2013; Solé et. al., 2016)<sup>2</sup>. This obstacle for contemporary analysis

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<sup>2</sup> As Constant, Nottmeyer, & Zimmermann noted (2013, p. 71): “the effects of circular migration on economic factors such as output, wages, or unemployment rates, or on “soft” factors such as integration, ethnic identification, or individual well-being are still unclear”. In a similar vein, Solé et. al., (2016, p.3): “While most studies dealing with circular migration have focused on its effects on the home or destination country, there are very few insights about the experience of circular migrants and their families.”

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 occupational mobility of migrants in Spain. This data comprises 10,761 observations of men and women working in the Balearic tourism industry in 1969. This information allows me to study an intensive process of migrant assimilation based on circular flows: the Spanish tourism boom in the Balearic Islands, 1955-1973. This constitutes a suitable historical case study to empirically analyse these effects. This context is particularly useful to understand internal migrations shaped by internal migrations under dictatorial regimes. During this period, social mobility and labour conditions were constrained by the rule of the Franco dictatorship which meant the suppression of political and associative freedoms. Under this context, the archipelago 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 eight to 26% of the population.

The results of this work contribute to the understanding of the migrant assimilation process during the rural exodus and the impact of circular migration in rural-urban migrations in Spain. It documents a large income gap between natives and the main groups of migrants. After taking into account the key role of occupational mobility for human capital accumulation and gender discrimination, I show that migrants from southern Spain had lower income growth. Furthermore, my work suggests that these income differences cannot be attributed solely to these factors but also to the temporariness of the migration. The importance of circular migration flows associated with the willingness to return and socio-economic constraints on establishing permanent residence were key in shaping wage differentials. Circular migrants had lower incentives and access to host-specific human and social capital, key drivers of occupational mobility. Moreover, these migrants had lower reservation wages, being more prone to accepting low-income occupations. As a result, the income gap between circular migrants and similar permanent migrants widened as years of circular migration increased, which had negative consequences once the migrant transitioned from circular to permanent.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 examines the literature on the implications of temporary migrations on migrant behaviour and socio-occupational performance. Section 3 shows the sources and methodology implemented. In Section 4 I

study the economic constraints that shaped the process of assimilation of the migrants during the period studied. Section 5 conducts an econometric analysis to assess the level of the income gap between natives and migrants. In Section 6 I continue this analysis by examining the impact of the temporariness on migrants' wages. Section 7 summarizes the findings and offers some concluding remarks.

## **2. Conceptual considerations**

The literature on migrant occupational mobility 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 specialisation 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 (Chiswick & Miller, 2008; Silvestre, Ayuda, & Pinilla, 2015; Abramitzky, Boustan, & Eriksson, 2020; Pérez, 2021). This process is shaped by the costs and benefits of migration, which alters 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 (Greenwood & Ward, 2015; Abramitzky & Boustan, 2017). Once arrived at the destination, self-selection among those who return within the following years after arrival changes the socio-economic characteristics of the different groups of migrants through the assimilation process (Borjas, 1987; Lubotsky, 2007).

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 their member 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 (Bentolila, Michelacci, & Suarez, 2010; Munshi, 2014; Arroyo & Sánchez-Alonso, 2018; Eriksson,

2020). Conversely, some evidence has noted that lower levels of segregation and generation of networks with natives could be associated with higher social involvement and occupational upgrading (Abramitzky, Boustan, & Connor, 2020).

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 the 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 (Dustmann & Görlach, 2016; Adda, Dustmann, & Görlach, 2022).

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 (1993,1999) showed an association between the declared intention of the length of the stay and human capital acquisition, particularly host-specific such as the German language, among Turkish, Yugoslavian, Greek, Spanish and Italian migrants who arrived in the sixties to Germany. Similarly, in studies devoted to recent migratory movements in the context of migrant assimilation in France (Chabé-Ferret, Machado, & Wahba, 2018) and across European countries (Janta et al., 2019), the authors demonstrate that migrants who intended to return earlier are less likely to be involved in the host society and to invest therein. Chabé-Ferret, Machado, & Wahba (2018), for example, show that more temporary migrants have lower probabilities of buying a house and are more interested in home country politics. Conversely, they are more prone to invest in housing, develop projects and send remittances at home. In a similar vein, other studies show that temporary migrants are less prone to reading local newspapers, have feelings of attachment or generate strong ties (León & Hernández, 2016; Adda, Dustmann, & Görlach, 2022).

Intending to return early also alters reservation wages and consumption patterns. In his seminal work, Piore (1979) stated the effect of temporary migrations on migrants' behaviour in the context of the guestworker programs during the Golden Age. 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, this money to be spent at home. Thus, temporary migrants would have lower reservation wages and as result would accept jobs that are less acceptable for permanent migrants or natives. Recent research corroborates this argument. Recent research corroborates this argument. Adda, Dustmann and Görlach (2022) show that the preparedness of migrants to accept specific jobs changes substantially in identical migrants depending on their intended length of stay. Thus, more attachment to the host country could be related to higher and growing wages. By contrast, the intention to return is associated with a “target-earner” behaviour. 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 (Kirdar, 2009; Hu, Xu, & Chen, 2011; Adda, Dustmann, & Görlach, 2022). 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 (Meng & Zhao, 2018; Abramitzky, Boustan, & Eriksson, 2019). Thus, more temporary migrants would postpone consumption in the host country to be invested after returning home.

However, location preferences can change during the migratory process due to imperfect information or the cost of living, having key consequences on the rate of assimilation achieved by migrants. Thus, initial remigration plans can change leading to unplanned returns and stays (Ward, 2017). This has two main consequences. For one thing, 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 (León and Hernández, 2016). 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 (Constant and Zimmermann, 2011). More recently, Adda, Dustman and Görlach (2022) 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%, changed their initial prospects significantly, staying for longer. In these cases, the 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 him or herself permanently (Chabé-Ferret, Machado, & Wahba, 2018)

Following these arguments, in Table V.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 mentioned 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 (Constant, Nottmeyer, & Zimmermann, 2013; Dustmann and Görlach, 2016). As a result, they could experience lower incentives and face lower chances to acquire host-specific human and social capital. This pattern would affect negatively their propensity to build networks with natives and other migrants. 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.

**Table V.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

**Sources:** Author based on Dustmann & Görlach (2016), Constant, Nottmeyer, & Zimmermann (2013) and Munshi (2014) schemes.

### **3. Sources**

#### **3.1. The Census of the Balearic Tourism Industry**

The lack of research on repeated and circular migration is generally attributed to the difficulties of capturing these phenomena in statistical accounts (Dustmann & Görlach, 2016). 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 digitised giving a vast range of demographic, professional and business variables for each individual. Staff from 200 hotels, 130 hostels, 200 bars and restaurants, ten nightclubs, 13 travel agencies and one transport company were interviewed. The observations of 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. The most important characteristic of this data is that allows us to differentiate between circular and permanent migrants by the year of the census. Thus, it constitutes the best available information to empirically approach 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. They took place at end of the year and therefore they do not include most of the circular migrations and seasonal occupations, including those related to the majority of crops and the tourism season (Silvestre, 2007). Furthermore, they substantially misreport women's labour participation given that aside from being more associated with occupations' seasonal and irregular job activities, they are often more difficult to be included and captured by these records; bureaucrats, enumerators and householders tended to assign them occupations related to the reproductive economy (Humphries & Sarasúa, 2012).

However, it is important to draw attention to the main potential shortcomings of retrospective cross-section data (Borjas, 1987; Lubotsky, 2007; Abramitzky & Boustan, 2017). Firstly, our source 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. I include cohort control variables, such as year 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 are interested in the effects of circular migrants who stayed, those whose willingness to continue as circular migrants could have considerable consequences if they finally decided to establish a permanent residence later. Moreover, the rapid increase in the native population between 1959 and 1973 would suggest that most returns mostly took place after the beginning of the oil crisis.

Secondly, cross-section data do not account for all potential changes in skills of the different cohorts of migrants. In this regard, researchers have shown that country-origin composition is crucial for understanding the level of assimilation across generations (Abramitzky, Boustan, & Eriksson, 2014). For that reason, besides the multiple individual information on human and social capital as well as personal information, I also take into account the macro-region of origin of the migrant, and the province and the human capital characteristics of the source district. 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 her labour performance. However, it is important to remark that this labour market was the main sector of occupation of migrants during the period. 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 (see Chapter 3).

**Table V.2:** *Characteristics of the workers in the Total sample by place of birth, 1969.*

	%						
	Male	Female	Avg. Age	Rural	Single	Foreign lang.	Total
Balearic Islands	2,885	661	34.9	66.5	46.7	25.9	33.8
South of Spain	3,200	1,670	28.6	85.0	64.2	0.5	46.4
Rest of Spain	1,152	461	29.6	62.5	68.2	19.7	15.4
Foreign-born	173	124	31.3	43.7	67.3	84.1	2.8
Total	7,541	2,977	31.2	74.0	58.9	15.2	100

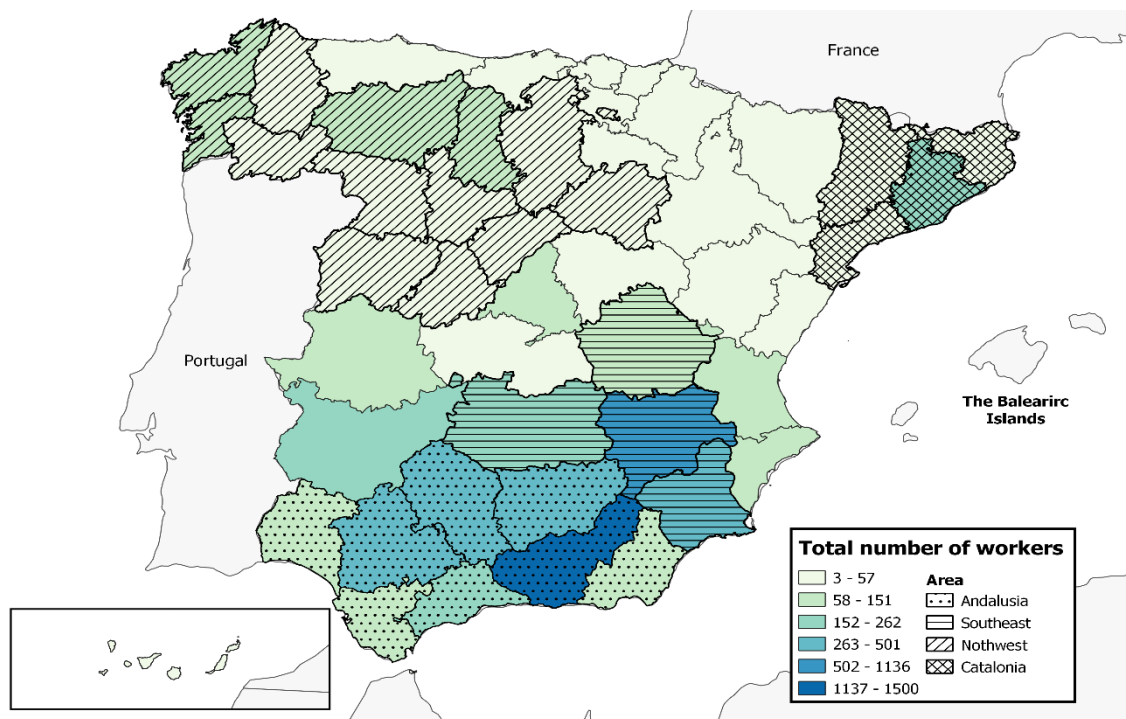
**Sources:** Census of the Balearic Tourism Industry of 1969.



*V. From circular to permanent: migrant occupational attainment during the Spanish tourism boom, 1955-1973*

Despite having 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 (2008) devoted to the study of human capital transferability in Australia during the late XX twentieth century. Similarly, others have utilised 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 (Reher & Requena, 2009) or pay specific attention to factors such as returns of source country schooling in the host country (Simón, Ramos, & Sanromá, 2014) or location choices (Silvestre & Reher, 2014). From a historical perspective, researchers have used these datasets to study factors such as the occupational attainment of internal migrants (Silvestre, Ayuda, & Pinilla, 2015) and the impact of migrant networks in this process among distinct groups of international migrants (Arroyo & Sánchez-Alonso, 2018; Arroyo, Maurer, & Sánchez-Alonso, 2020). Others like Pérez (2021), have implemented a mixed approach working with two linked cross-section databases in combination with one cross-section database linked to a passenger list to obtain the year of the arrival of migrants.

**Figure V.1:** *Spanish non-native workers by place of birth in the Labour Census of 1969.*



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

**Note:** I have used the Jenks optimization to determine the classification of values into different classes.

In Table V.2, I present the main characteristics of the workers in the sample and Figure V.1 their geographic distribution for the Spanish non-natives. The most important features are the high share of migrant workers, reaching 64.1% of the total labour force. Significantly, rural workers coming from Southern Spain became the main employees of the tourism industry, registering the higher share of women and youth workers. In contrast, natives and those born in the rest of Spain show higher rates of urban origin and foreign language knowledge. Finally, it is interesting to remark the participation of workers born in other countries, mainly European, reaching 2.8% of the total workforce.

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 southeast, which comprises the provinces of Albacete, Ciudad Real, Murcia and some municipalities of Cuenca. Moreover, in terms of differential features, I also highlight 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 industrialised area and a great attractor of migrants, which shares common cultural links with the Balearics.

### **3.2. Social networks and linked data**

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 from municipality registers. I collected and manually digitised those born in mainland Spain living in one of these municipalities in 1965 who were residing at least since 1960 on the island. 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 5,182 observations. These areas account for 71.7% of the total non-native population working in Mallorca included in the Labour census of the Balearic tourism industry of 1969, a total of 4,341 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 following criteria: shared the same first and the second surname, were born in the same municipality of origin, have the same date of birth and were working in the same tourism area of the correspondent municipality register.

### 3.3. Assigning occupational income

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 (2019) for a better estimation of real wages. 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.

**Table V.3:** *Summary statistics.*

Variable	Obs.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
<b>Personal</b>					
Age	10,507	31.05	13.01	0	83
Sex	10,761	0.28	0.45	0	1
Civil State	9,221	1.62	0.52	1	3
Rural-Urban	10,761	0.27	0.44	0	1
Resident-No resident	10,761	1.33	0.47	1	2
Area of birth	10,624	1.63	1.82	0	6
<b>Professional-Human capital</b>					
Literacy	10,761	0.006	0.08	0	1
Foreign language	10,761	0.15	0.36	0	1
Working in mainland Spain in 1967	10,761	0.12	0.32	0	1
Seniority	10,761	2.04	6.95	0	40
Labour experience	6,534	4.82	6.00	0	59
Contract	7,737	0.42	0.49	0	1
Wage	10,474	8587.2	3971.1	3420	31,770
Wage (log)	10,474	8.97	0.37	8.1	10.3
Seasonal migrant	7,762	0.07	0.26	0	1
<b>Networks</b>					
At a firm level (%) (log)	5,615	-1.33	0.45	-2	0
At a municipal level (%) (log)	4,342	0.39	1.15	-1	2.3
<b>Firm</b>					
Supervisor place of birth	10,518	0.33	0.61	0	2
Firm size (log)	10,425	5.00	0.74	2.39	6.6
N. Workers at a firm level	10,761	56.31	45.14	1	192
Firm type	10,756	6.97	9.73	0	34
<b>Area</b>					
Area of tourism growth	10,761	0.62	0.48	0	1
Tourism district	10,761	3.03	2.09	1	10

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 22 firm categories are divided between hotels, pensions, restaurants, bar and pubs (e.g., “Hotel” is divided between 5 to 1 star). Therefore, I could use an income score from a very disaggregated occupational category and adjusted 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 utilising the real wages reported by contemporaneous geographers during the same year (Gaviria et al., 1974). 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 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, 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 V.3 I summarise the result of implementing this methodology.

## **4. Labour market and migrant assimilation**

### **4.1. An exploding industry**

One of the key scenarios of the rural exodus in Spain was the development of mass tourism and as a consequence the formation of the 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 here 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 services activities. Between 1955 and 1973, the number of hotels rose from 2,200 to 9,200 and hotel beds from 115,000 to 700,000, as the industry became a key engine of the Spanish economy and social change (Balaguer & Cantavella-Jordá, 2002; Navinés & Manera, 2018).

High demand for low skilled workers rapidly reduced unemployment in tourism destinations producing labour shortages during the high season and a constant shortage

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of skilled labour. In this context, migration started to increase, attracted to job opportunities and higher 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 the areas of origin of migrants 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 (see Chapter 2).

**Table V.4:** *Main economic indicators of the tourism boom in the Balearics, 1955-1973.*

	1955	1959	1963	1967	1970	1973
Tourists (th)	188	321	677	1,402	2,271	3,571
Hotel beds	6,022	11,496	39,699	81,983	157,050	216,113
Hotels and pensions	112	215	697	1,1089	1,498	1,534
Tourism workers	7,215	17,190	24,342	38,550	57,304	59,405

**Table V.5:** *Main demographic indicators of the tourism boom in the Balearics, 1950-1981.*

	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	3,759	4,422	4,245	5,876	6,427	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 of tables IV.4 and IV.5:** Spanish Populations Censuses, 1950-1981; INE. Anuario/s Estadístico/s de España, 1955-1973; Fundación BBV (1999). Tourism and tourism workers only refer to workers in restaurants, hospitality and travel agencies. Annual average.

**Note:** Due to the seasonality of tourism occupations, information on jobs in tourism is likely underestimated. See Chapter 2.

In the Balearic Islands, the area where tourism had a higher incidence in its economy, from 1955 until the oil crisis of 1973 the capacity of the tourism industry skyrocketed from 112 to 1,534 hotels and pensions, and from 6,022 to 216,113 hotel beds. The increasing labour shortages quickly triggered intensive migration from 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% of the provincial workforce during the summer season, with the hospitality sector amounting to a total of 37.5%. As a result, the non-native population increased from 8.9% to 26.6%, between 1955 and 1981 (Tables V.4 and V.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 (Garcias et al., 1990). 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 pensions were built annually, expanding the number of new labour vacancies. The intense transformation of the tourism industry and its spill over effects on the provincial economy increased the competition for workers, especially those with specific human capital. The atomisation of the business structure, characterised by the predominance of small, single-owner, firms aggravated this pattern (see Chapter 3). As contemporary regional planners claimed in the Balearic employer's association newspaper<sup>3</sup>:

“In the middle of the tourism season, once implemented the regular mechanisms of labour recruitment (. . .) the diverse firms without category distinction compete among themselves to attract the labour force to fill their vacancies, a recruitment process which often involves offering higher remunerations, usually considerably superior to those earned in other tourism destinations of mainland Spain where the tourism industry is less dynamic.”

#### **4.2. Economic constraints for migrant upward mobility**

Although the rapid process of structural change opened a context of opportunity, migrants arriving in Balearics had to face important economic constraints posed by the characteristics of the economic process. They had to deal with a seasonal labour market, intense housing shortages and in some cases a lack of host-specific information due to being recruited at the origin by the employers<sup>4</sup>. Also, some migrants could be incentivised to return to their places of origin if they had complimentary and easy access to land markets and job opportunities there. Thus, both willingness to return and difficulties in staying shaped and constrained transition from circular to permanent migration. As result,

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<sup>3</sup> Buchens, P. & Costa, P. “La formación profesional en la Hostelería balear: Problemas - Soluciones.”. *Economía Balear*, December.

<sup>4</sup> Contemporary observers noted an excess of labour supply during the rest of the year. In the construction sector, many workers used to concentrate in squares and well-known places waiting for employers to appear and where they would select some of them for day labour. See Serra (1971). See Serra (1971). Also see Chapter 2.

migration to the archipelago was characterised by the large share of circular migrants, who comprised between 40-50% of total migration where most ended up establishing themselves permanently after years of circular migratory movement (see Chapter 4) .

Furthermore, the institutional framework imposed by the Franco dictatorship shaped their process of insertion into the host labour market and the whole society. The regime significantly restricted political and associative freedoms where unions were prohibited in favour of the only legal State union, the corporatist single party *Sindicato Vertical*, and political dissidents were persecuted. During this period the Dictatorship implemented a labour policy shaped by a very low minimum wage aimed to control wage growth and labour agreements were supervised by the single-party union. Moreover, the housing policy of the Regime did not respond adequately to the growing housing shortages (Chapter 2) and labour legislation was shaped by employer-friendly policies and no adaptation to the characteristics of the tourism industry. It is particularly representative of this political behaviour, the lack of labour regulations such as fix-discontinuous contracts and subsidies for seasonal workers that could have facilitated the attraction of local workers and permanent migration to tourism areas (Chapters 1 and 2).

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 difficult the social and labour assimilation of the migrants. According to previous research (see Chapter 4), those who were circular migrants in 1969 were more prone to be among the very-low-income occupations which would suggest constraints for low-income workers willing to establish permanently. 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 fifties and early sixties led to severe housing shortages. In 1962 tourism destinations were among the areas with higher housing shortages, the western region of Mallorca being the third worst in the country among migrant recipient areas (see Chapter 4) 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 (Ginard, 1998, pp. 59–60):

“There are authentic problems when it comes to the immigration of nationals in our province where 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

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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”.

As a result, employers implemented housing practices consisting mainly of accommodating migrant workers into the hotels, to avoid the effect of housing on labour costs, and on established circular migration flows. Still, it is worth mentioning the existence of slumps in the outskirts of the main municipalities noted by contemporary journalists (Serra, 1971). Among those who were circular migrants from mainland Spain in 1969 registered in the Census of the Balearic Tourism Industry of 1969, most circular migrants had accomplished between 2 and 4 years of migration by this year, while a few migrants still were circular after more than five years (see Chapter 2).

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. Migrants who return were more likely to come from areas where monopsony effects on local land and labour markets were lower. They were more prone to migrate in groups, the so-called *cuadrillas*. 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 summer season. Moreover, these areas were characterised by lower land inequality than the rest of southern Spain. These two factors gave migrants a strong incentive to see their time in their host society as temporary (see Chapter 4). As a result, these migrants could be more likely to have a lower reservation wage, lower incentives to acquire host-specific human and social capital and to postpone consumption in the host society, and invest in land and consume in their place of origin.

Additionally, the high degree of labour scarcity and its subsequent labour costs motivated employers to establish channels of seasonal migration by implementing recruitment at the origin to alleviate the cost of hiring and the difficulties of settling a large workforce (Chapter 3). 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. These firm strategies took particular importance in areas of rapid transformation and low population. As the director of the Escuela de Turismo de Ibiza during the sixties noted in his memoirs (Ramón, 2001):



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“In the years 68, 69 and 70 there was such a high labour demand that the employers of Ibiza came to recruit workers to the villages of Extremadura and Andalusia. The employers were so desperate to find workers that, for instance, the employers of the hotel Ibiza Playa, rented a plane to go and recruit carpenters because they have already sold all the rooms and had to finish the construction of the hotel at any price”

As a result of these migratory patterns and migrant networks, large concentrations of migrants from the same municipalities can be found at the firm and municipal level. Large concentrations of individuals from the same source districts in the main tourism areas became the predominant pattern (Table V.6).

**Table V.6:** *Herfindahl-Hirschman Index for non-natives working at the same tourism area and hotel by judicial district, 1969.*

Tourism area	% most represented judicial district in the area	Average index <sup>a</sup>
Calvià-Andratx	La Loja, Granada (12.7)	1,363
Platja de Palma-S'Arenal	Hellín, Albacete (12.2)	992
East of Mallorca	Alcaraz, Albacete (11.9)	1,277
Pollença	Antequera, Málaga (37.0)	2,225
Palma	Granada, Granada (08.0)	680
Northeast of Mallorca	Trujillo, Cáceres (14.5)	1,102
North	Guadix, Granada (21.9)	1,412
Menorca	Lora del Río, Sevilla (13.0)	1,072
Ibiza	Morón de la Frontera, Sevilla (17.0)	1,617

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

**Note:** Less of 1,500: very competitive; 1,500-2,500: moderately competitive; More than 2,500: highly concentrated. A judicial district comprises a territorial unit for the administration of justice which involves one or more municipalities bordering from the same province. The Herfindahl-Hirschman Index has been recently used to analyse labour market concentration. See for example Azar, Marinescu, Steinbaum, & Taska (2020).

<sup>a</sup>I calculate the index only including hotels with more than 10 non-native workers.

## 5. Who advances in the low wage labour market?

Given these factors which posed differential and heterogenous capacity issues regarding taking advantage of the process of structural change, in this section, I am going to analyse the factors that shaped occupational upgrading. To do so, I study differences between groups of migrants and natives taking into account the main drivers of occupational upgrading. I implement OLS regressions using the individual-occupation-

based income score 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 if the worker was registered as working in 1967 in another province of Spain. Table V.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 in occupational upgrading 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 occupational upgrading. It is important to remark that gender penalisation increased with the accumulation of years of experience. While being a woman women meant on average 13% lower wages in comparison to men, this disadvantage increased to almost 20% 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 occupational mobility. Thus, host-specific human capital such as foreign language proficiency was associated with an average of 10% higher wages, as well as general human capital such as coming from an urban area, literacy and getting a fix-term 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 occupational upgrading. One additional year of labour experience was rewarded with 0.9% higher wages while increasing tenure by 0.5%. Thus, by accumulating both factors, a low skilled migrant could achieve a 15% log wage increase after ten years in the same firm. If in this process, the worker had been rewarded

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with a fixed-term contract and acquired host-specific human capital, the wage increase would reach up to 30%.

**Table V.7:** *Determinants of occupational upgrading (OLS).*

	(1)	(2)	(3) +3 years
<b>Personal characteristics</b>			
Age	0.00150*** (0.000237)	-0.00156*** (0.000432)	-0.00297*** (0.000720)
Urban (Rural)	0.0461*** (0.00693)	0.0624*** (0.0101)	0.0514*** (0.0156)
Women (Men)	-0.135*** (0.00669)	-0.137*** (0.0104)	-0.191*** (0.0194)
Single (Married)	-	-0.0758*** (0.0108)	-0.0994*** (0.0171)
Windowed (Married)	-	-0.0775*** (0.0287)	-0.0750* (0.0437)
<b>Occupational characteristics</b>			
Illiterate (literate)	-0.0888** (0.0346)	-0.0454 (0.0493)	-0.0696 (0.110)
Foreign language (No)	0.132*** (0.00901)	0.101*** (0.0122)	0.0501*** (0.0176)
Tenure	-	0.00519*** (0.00156)	0.00494** (0.00194)
Labour experience	-	0.00949*** (0.000973)	0.00809*** (0.00131)
Fixed-term contract (Temporary)	-	0.126*** (0.0122)	0.0849*** (0.0170)
Working in a formal job in mainland Spain in 1967	-	-0.0213 (0.0146)	-0.00336 (0.0269)
Firm size ( <i>ln</i> )	-	0.0490*** (0.00976)	0.142*** (0.0161)
<b>Place of birth (Native)</b>			
Andalusia	-0.165*** (0.00811)	-0.103*** (0.0126)	-0.0978*** (0.0238)
Southeast	-0.143*** (0.00981)	-0.0839*** (0.0156)	-0.0635** (0.0260)
Northwest	-0.133*** (0.0125)	-0.0664*** (0.0192)	-0.0354 (0.0338)
Catalonia	0.00223 (0.0192)	0.0173 (0.0266)	0.0791** (0.0380)
Rest of Spain	-0.124*** (0.0104)	-0.0883*** (0.0158)	-0.0724*** (0.0272)
Foreign born	-0.00247 (0.0172)	0.120*** (0.0260)	0.0912** (0.0422)
Obs.	9,528	4,396	2,104
Area fixed effects	N	N	N
Firm fixed effects	N	Y	Y
Cohort fixed effects	N	Y	Y
R <sup>2</sup>	0.183	0.302	0.236

Robust standard errors in parentheses. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.

**Note:** Apprentices and bellboys are excluded.

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% lower wage in some cases. Migrants from Andalusia, the Southeast, the Northwest, and the rest of Spain, where those from Extremadura are the most important group, registered a substantial income gap with natives. These migrants mostly came 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 information and social capital. In contrast, other groups of migrants who came from Northern Spain and foreign countries registered higher wages than natives. These migrants came from urban and industrialised regions with more growth and enjoyed considerable advantages. Thus Catalans, Basques or some migrants from Madrid 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>5</sup>. Similarly, but to a greater higher 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.

Although results demonstrate learning by doing was a mechanism of human capital accumulation that helped to achieve occupational mobility, most migrant groups still were at a large disadvantage more than three years after arriving. Column 3 shows this pattern. Castilians, those coming from other areas of Spain and particularly, Andalusians registered low rates of convergence. Therefore, although migrants could have improved their living standards by migrating to the Balearics, the most numerous groups could have experienced a lower rate of occupational mobility once they arrived in the archipelago in comparison with natives and other groups.

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<sup>5</sup> Ethnographic contemporary work in the Costa del Sol, Málaga-Cádiz, developed in 1974, also remarked on the high-income profile of the majority of north urban Spanish industrial workers in the tourism industry of the region. See (Galán et al., 1977). It is also worth mentioning that the analysis of surnames of Catalans shows that some were sons of southern Spain migrants that had previously migrated to Catalonia. Same analysis in the municipal census data shows some migrants who arrived from Catalonia had born in other areas of Southern Spain, particularly those from Almería and coastal Murcia. Lower competition in tourism labour markets and job opportunities for skilled workers could explain this pattern among migrants from Catalonia.

## **6. The impact of circular migration on migrant outcomes**

The persistence of the native-migrant income gap among southern migrants, and particularly Andalusians, 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 (Aradhya, Scott, & Smith, 2017; Chabé-Ferret, Machado, & Wahba, 2018; Adda, Dustmann, & Görlach, 2022). As was previously explained, most migrants from southern Spain faced considerable constraints to permanently establish themselves as well as incentives to return to their places of origin. As a result, they could have had lower incentives and chances to accumulate host-specific human and social capital and were more prone to accept very low-income jobs. Thus, the prominent role of circular migrations may have had a key part in shaping the differential earnings profiles indicated above, once the human and social capital differential is taken into account (Adda, Dustmann, & Görlach, 2022). To test these assumptions, I used a double approach. Firstly, in Tables V.8 and V.9 I analysed whether circular migrants experienced less occupational upgrading than migrants from the same source areas and with similar characteristics. Secondly, Table V.10 examines the impact of keeping a circular path in terms of the rate of human and social capital acquisition.

Table V.8 shows the baseline regressions by regressing the log individual occupational score taking into account whether the migrant is circular or permanent from the rest of Spain. 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 added new variables of control to increase the robustness of the cohort effects. In the first place, 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. Secondly, in columns 4 to 6, I also 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.

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**Table V.8:** Direct effects of the temporariness of migration on migrant outcomes (OLS).

	Non-linked in 1960			Linked in 1960		
	(1) Men	(2) Men (+1)	(3) Men (+2)	(4) Men	(5) Men(+1)	(6) Men(+2)
Non-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)
Circular	-0.045*** (0.017)	-0.076*** (0.025)	-0.079** (0.031)	-0.067*** (0.022)	-0.107*** (0.034)	-0.111** (0.043)
Area	N	N	N	N	N	N
Firm	N	N	N	N	N	N
Categ.	N	N	N	N	N	N
Cohort	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Source area	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Obs.	3,802/ 2,446	1,030/ 1,303	1,023/ 823	1,805/ 1,055	443/ 354	324/ 265
R <sup>2</sup>	0.077/ 0.091	0.136/ 0.144	0.111/ 0.113	0.062/ 0.078	0.169/ 0.194	0.145/ 0.159

Robust standard errors in parentheses. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.

**Note:** Apprentices and bellboys are excluded. Migrants from the rest of Spain. 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.

Table V.9 corroborates the results by using a more in-depth analysis that exclusively takes into account southern Spain and migrants from the Northwest and includes women. To do so, I employed additional control variables. As I do not have more precise data on individual human capital, income, and wealth, I included dummies about the province of origin and 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 origin of the migrants. A similar procedure can be found in Hui and Kambhampati (2021) to deal with similar data problems. 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 V.8 and V.9 show that circular migrants had substantially lower wages than equivalent migrants from the same source areas. Moreover, it suggests that this penalisation would increase as circular years accumulated. They show that circular migrants registered between 3 and 6% lower wages than permanent migrants. Similarly, column 2 of Table V.8 includes years of experience and firm category of the workplace

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of the migrant, suggesting that circular migrants clustered more in lower-paid occupations than more permanent migrants, indicating a lower reservation wage. Thus, in as far as his or her location preferences are associated with returning, this migrant would accept lower-paid jobs in comparison with a migrant intending to stay.

**Table V.9:** *Direct effects of the temporariness of migration on migrant outcomes (OLS).*

	Non-linked in 1960				Linked in 1960		
	(1) Men	(2) Men	(3) Men (+2 years)	(4) Women (+2years)	(5) Men	(6) Men (+2 years)	(7) Women (+2 years)
Non-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)
Circular	-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)
Area	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Firm	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Categ.	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Cohort	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Source	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
area							
Obs.	2,680/ 1,735	1,440/ 1,088	681/ 547	298/ 242	1,325/ 790	316/ 188	123/ 09
R <sup>2</sup>	0.053/ 0.066	0.168/ 0.194	0.160/ 0.155	0.166/ 0.176	0.065/ 0.091	0.216/ 0.267	0.628/ 0.606

Robust standard errors in parentheses. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.

**Note:** Apprentices and bellboys are excluded. Migrants from Andalusia, Southeast, Northwest, rest of Castilla-La Mancha and Extremadura. 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.

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

These results suggest that the incentives to return and/or the difficulties to move from circular to permanent had a considerable impact on the rate of occupational upgrading of migrants in the host society. While between 2 and 4 years of circular

migration was a shared trajectory for most of the migrants during the period, these results show that the temporariness of the migration sharply affected migrants' chances of occupational 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 (Chabé-Ferret, Machado, & Wahba, 2018; Adda, Dustmann, & Görlach, 2022). In this regard, Table V.6 already suggested that host-specific human capital such as foreign language proficiency was particularly important in this labour market.

Circular migrants could be additionally penalised if other host-specific factors were important to achieve occupational upgrading both in terms of human and social capital accumulation. One key factor could be the rate of knowledge of the host labour market. Accordingly to contemporary analysts, in the Balearics, the areas of higher tourism growth were those registering higher labour shortages and wages<sup>6</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 rewarded with better job opportunities<sup>7</sup>. Circular migrants used to migrate in groups (see Chapter 4) the so-called *cuadrillas*, that could favour concentrations at a firm and district level of migrants from the same origin with similar host-specific skills and information (Table V.6) where the incentives to create networks outside the relatives could be lower. In this regard, segregation would lead to lower human capital accumulation and lower access to job opportunities outside the enclave, particularly when social capital becomes an influential factor in the decision of employers (Bentolila et al., 2010; Eriksson, 2020; Abramitzky, Boustan, & Connor, 2020).

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<sup>6</sup> Buchens, P. & Costa, P. "La formación profesional en la Hostelería balear: Problemas - Soluciones.". *Economía Balear*, December.

<sup>7</sup> We also have documental evidence about the important role of social capital and ethnicity in the process of recruitment of workers. For example, workers and members of the *Sindicato Vertical* from the Costa Tropical, Granada, used to complain about the favouritism in favour of North European workers in hotels managed by employers from these countries. Thus, in the meeting report of the *Junta Económica del Sindica Provincial de Hostelería y Similares de Granada* of 1969 we can find the following fragment: "Took the lead, Mr Robert, to respond to the allegations about the anomalies that are happening on the coast in the hotel industries managed by foreigners who only recruit foreigners for work and do not follow the current labour laws". A.H.P.G. Actas de la Junta Económica del Sindicato Provincial de Hostelería y similares. "27 de abril de 1969". L-5505. Similar patterns of recruitment by foreign managers can be seen at a micro-level in Chapter 3.



**Table V.10:** Indirect effects of the temporariness of migration on migrant outcomes (OLS).

	(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>ln</i> )	-	-0.080*** (0.027)	-	-0.040* (0.0235)
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 (0.0254)
Area	Y	Y	Y	Y
Firm	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cohort	Y	Y	Y	Y
Source area	Y	Y	Y	Y
Obs.	1,854	1,005	1,455	1,365
R <sup>2</sup>	0.207	0.210	0.217	0.226

Robust standard errors in parentheses. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.

**Note:** Apprentices and bellboys are excluded. Migrants from Andalusia, Southeast, Northwest, rest of Castilla-La Mancha and Extremadura.

To capture these effects, in Table V.10 I used three new variables. Firstly, I utilised 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 occupational mobility, I include a dummy variable that compares wage growth when the supervisor of the workplace was born in mainland Spain or a foreign country in comparison to when he or she was born in the Balearic Islands. 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 penalised by these aforementioned factors. Wage differentials were significant between tourism areas representing in some cases up to 6% and 10% 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. 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 and 8%. 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% higher wages in comparison to a native supervisor. Therefore, these outcomes indicate that the capacity of building networks with other groups of migrants and natives was a significant driver of occupational upgrading.

## **7. Conclusion**

Circular migration has been one of the factors that shaped internal and international immigration in Spain across the XX 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 of circular migration in Spain: the process of occupational mobility during the Spanish tourism boom. The main results show that the low level of occupational mobility 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 occupational upgrading in a process of rapid social mobility.

The Spanish tourism boom represented an intense process of occupational mobility. However, under the institutional framework established by the Dictatorship, I find that not all groups could take advantage of this at the same level. I find that male natives, north urban Spanish migrants and foreign workers achieved considerable occupational upgrading during the period. By contrast, women and rural southern Spain migrants achieved significant lower occupational mobility. On the one hand, women were

penalised for having 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* acquire host-specific human capital, such as foreign language proficiency, which was a key driver of higher wages. 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 substantial lower wages in comparison to permanent migrants with similar characteristics. More importantly, as years in the host labour market increased the penalisation of this migratory path was incrementally higher. It is important to note that the gaps between groups shown in this analysis would have been altered considerably in another institutional setting. Political and associate freedoms and a different labour policy in regards to regulatory wages and seasonal labour could have reduced inequality among groups. However, these results go further by demonstrating that among migrants sharing similar characteristics the temporariness of migration played a key role to explain their different levels of occupational mobility.

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, lack of seasonal unemployment subsidies and adequate regulation and assistance by relatives. These two factors shaped the behaviour of the migrants and their capability to achieve occupational upgrading. 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. In line with the scant but growing literature on temporary migrations, results suggest that circular migrants had lower reservation wages, being more prone to accept very low-income jobs at arrival. Besides they had lower incentives to acquire host-specific human and social capital, factors that were key to climbing up the occupational ladder. However, in comparison with temporary non-circular 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 difficulted the formation of networks with other groups of migrants and natives with a negative impact

on human and social capital acquisition. Thus, migrants able to establish permanently sooner were more able to promote 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 XX century in Spain. Given that circular migration and short 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 analyses have shown lower social mobility in migrants from southern Spain during the first part of the XX century in Barcelona (Silvestre, Ayuda, & Pinilla, 2015). 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. It adds some evidence that stresses the importance of considering the intended length of stay when analysing earnings profiles in the processes of migrant assimilation (Dustmann & Görlach, 2016; Chabé-Ferret, Machado, & Wahba, 2018; Adda, Dustmann, & Goerlach, 2022). Besides it contributes to the state of art in this field by providing an analysis of the impact of circular migrations, a field little explored in the literature (Constant, Nottmeyer, & Zimmermann, 2013). In this regard, this paper has suggested that circular migrations could potentially have a differential impact on migrants' occupational mobility within temporary migrations, given that both the intended time of stay and the characteristics of its socio-economic insertion in the host society differ considerably from other temporary migrations. Thus, although circular migration has been noted to be beneficial in different aspects for host and source societies, to overcome financial constraints, foster human capital acquisition or increase flexibilization of host labour markets, these migration strategies could have negative effects on the migrant occupational mobility and level of assimilation.

Thirdly, this paper also proposes some lines of investigation in terms of migration policy. Previous research (see Chapter 4) has suggested that key influential factors in the decision to re-migrate were the seasonality of the labour demand, housing shortages, lack of an adequate institutional framework and, sometimes, the capacity to rely on social

networks. Recent research is suggesting, with evidence for the period 2008 to 2018, that granting residence to circular migrants could increase the attachment of these migrants to the host society (Buechel, Gangl, & Huber, 2021). Therefore, the results found here are in line with recent papers (Wright, Groutsis, & Kaabel, 2022) 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 via adequate regulations, job assistance and subsidies aimed to alleviate seasonal unemployment could enhance migrants' transition from circular to permanent and labour market outcomes and social integration in host societies.

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# VI

## Conclusiones

“And above, in the light  
Of the star-lit night,  
Swift birds of passage wing their flight  
Through the dewy atmosphere.

I hear the beat  
Of their pinions fleet,  
As from the land of snow and sleet  
They seek a southern lea.”

*-Birds of passage, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.*

Esta tesis doctoral ha intentado arrojar luz sobre la persistencia e impacto de las migraciones temporeras y su interrelación con el desarrollo turístico, ambos campos escasamente explorados empíricamente por la literatura en historia económica. Para realizar este trabajo, se ha seleccionado el caso de España durante el éxodo rural y el *boom* turístico español, con particular foco en las Islas Baleares. Este caso de estudio se caracteriza por un proceso de formación de un mercado de trabajo altamente ligado a la capacidad de atracción de migraciones circulares en un contexto de alta movilidad interna e internacional donde una gran parte terminaría estableciéndose permanentemente. Además, se sitúa dentro del contexto propio de migraciones internas campo-ciudad y un marco socio-político condicionado por la falta de libertades políticas y sindicales y una política laboral marcada por la contención salarial. Todo ello, lo convierte en un escenario singular y a la vez excepcional para contribuir al estudio de esta tipología y sus consecuencias en perspectiva histórica. Paralelamente, a través de este enfoque ha sido posible analizar uno de los eventos cruciales del período que habían recibido menor atención por parte de la literatura: el desarrollo turístico en España desde una perspectiva social, sector clave durante el período y con importantes ramificaciones a largo plazo.

El enfoque metodológico en esta tesis doctoral ha buscado combinar un acercamiento eminentemente cuantitativo y empírico con información de carácter cualitativo, tanto documental como desde testimonios orales. Este apartado constituía uno

de los grandes retos para lograr los objetivos inicialmente planteados. Como se ha señalado a lo largo de esta tesis, la escasez de fuentes y la falta de adecuación de las informaciones y las principales metodologías disponibles para el estudio de la migración circular y del empleo turístico suponía importantes barreras de entrada (Ladkin, 2011; Malo, 2011; Walton, 2012; Constant, Nottmeyer, y Zimmermann, 2013; Dustmann y Görlach, 2016; Solé et al., 2016). Por tanto, una de las contribuciones clave de esta tesis doctoral ha sido la aportación de nuevas fuentes de carácter inédito a través del trabajo de archivo. Estas fuentes, de entre las que destaca una base de datos de registro individual, han sido indispensables para llevar a cabo esta investigación. Al mismo tiempo, el trabajo de localización y creación de una base de datos a partir de este conjunto de documentación histórica aporta a la disciplina nuevas y ricas fuentes de información para el conocimiento de la historia del turismo, los mercados de trabajo de servicios y las migraciones durante el Franquismo. A un nivel menor, también se pueden destacar contribuciones significativas en esta misma línea a la historia de la empresa y a la historia agraria y rural del período.

De la misma forma que las fuentes inéditas que se incorporan en este trabajo, el conjunto de estas metodologías podría ayudar a impulsar nuevas agendas de investigación. Valiéndonos del análisis crítico de las fuentes censales y padronales (Silvestre, 2007; Humphries y Sarasúa, 2012), así como de las recientes aportaciones conceptuales y metodológicas en el campo de las migraciones temporales y la geografía de las migraciones (Dustmann y Görlach, 2016; Chabé-Ferret, Machado, y Wahba, 2018; Connor, 2019; Abramitzky, Boustan, y Eriksson, 2019; Adda, Dustmann, y Görlach, 2022), se han implementado toda una serie de metodologías que pueden ser útiles para futuras investigaciones en estos campos. Se pueden establecer tres aspectos principales de especial interés. En primer lugar, siguiendo las recomendaciones para una mejor estimación salarial individual de Inwood, Minns y Summerfield (2019), se ha propuesto el uso combinado de los convenios colectivos provinciales, fuentes de registro individual y encuestas contemporáneas para soslayar algunos de los principales problemas que se achacan al uso de códigos ocupacionales. En este sentido, este ejercicio metodológico corrobora las impresiones de estos autores mostrando la importancia de tener en cuenta la desigualdad interna dentro de las ocupaciones vinculada a la tipología de las tareas y de los lugares de trabajo, así como otros factores como las trayectorias de los trabajadores dentro y fuera de la empresa, los pagos extraordinarios y factores socio-culturales, para

estimar de forma satisfactoria la estructura salarial y social de mercados de trabajos y sociedades. Además, se ha utilizado de forma novedosa la Encuesta de Presupuesto Familiares 1973/4 para contextualizar estos resultados dentro de la estructura socio-económica de las sociedades y mercados de trabajo analizados (véase capítulo 2).

En segundo lugar, otra contribución metodológica importante es el estudio de los procesos de contratación y creación de canales de trabajo temporero. Para ello, se implementó un análisis micro de las plantillas de las empresas que, posteriormente, se contrastó con datos provenientes de padrones de población, documentación sindical de archivo y testimonios de los jefes de personal y empresarios de las mismas. El alojamiento por parte de la empresa de grupos de migrantes con mismo origen y la ausencia de éstos en los padrones municipales se consideró un indicio que se corroboró con el resto de fuentes (véase capítulo 3). En esta misma línea, en los capítulos 4 y 5 se utilizan el lugar de residencia y los años de experiencia en el sector como *proxys* con los que diferenciar entre migrantes circulares y permanentes. Para reducir en la medida de lo posible potenciales sesgos y aumentar el rango de causalidad, se ha acudido al cruzado y uso de información de tipo comarcal, municipal e individual a nivel micro proveniente de múltiples fuentes, muchas de las cuales eran inéditas o no habían sido empleadas para este tipo de acercamientos y/o para este período histórico.

Siguiendo la división en bloques propuesta en la introducción, los resultados del primer apartado de esta tesis doctoral que comprende los capítulos 1 y 2 se pueden dividir en cinco puntos:

1. El boom turístico supuso la formación de un nuevo mercado de trabajo. Los niveles de profesionalización, concentración e impacto a nivel regional, diferían considerablemente de las tipologías previamente establecidas. Asimismo, en las provincias con cierta especialización previa, el boom turístico tendrá especial protagonismo en localidades y áreas distintas a las del turismo “tradicional”, generando una radical transformación urbana, social y paisajística.
2. La regulación laboral establecida por la dictadura Franquista no implementó medidas que ayudaran a paliar las externalidades del turismo de masas basado en la tipología sol y playa. La ausencia de estas regulaciones y en ocasiones su falta de adaptación, agudizó las externalidades negativas del nuevo modelo.

3. La migración circular jugó un rol clave en la formación del nuevo mercado de trabajo. Con todo, asistimos a dos patrones de formación del mercado de trabajo en función de la capacidad de atracción de mano de obra local por parte del subsector central de la expansión turística: la hostelería y los restaurantes.
4. La estacionalidad de la demanda de trabajo, la escasez de vivienda, el reducido tamaño de las redes de migrantes y la falta de un adecuado marco legal por parte del Franquismo condicionaron este proceso. Los distintos agentes, principalmente empresas, migrantes e intermediarios, implementaron estrategias para paliar estos efectos sobre la atracción de mano de obra temporera. Debe destacarse el desarrollo de la contratación en origen y generación de canales de migración temporera, el alojamiento y manutención para los trabajadores estacionales por parte de las empresas, así como mecanismos para el abaratamiento de los costes de transporte y contratación.
5. Poniendo el foco en las áreas de escasa capacidad de atracción de la mano de obra local, en particular en las Islas Baleares, se observa que el impacto a corto plazo de la migración circular dentro de este proceso estuvo en línea con algunos de los postulados de la *Triple Win Theory*. Sin embargo, la inserción intensa de estos migrantes, todo ello en un contexto de contención del salario mínimo y de falta de libertades sindicales, produjo un incremento de la desigualdad en el mercado de trabajo en alza que pudo transferirse al conjunto de la región de destino. Asimismo, a largo plazo este tipo de crecimiento pudo suponer dificultades para adaptarse a cambios en la demanda turística internacional y haber generado crecientes externalidades que pudieron y pueden suponer una importante restricción para su expansión futura.

A partir del estudio de las características del proceso de formación del mercado de trabajo, en el segundo apartado los capítulos 3, 4 y 5 analizan empíricamente algunos de los interrogantes que emanan de los dos anteriores. Seis principales conclusiones pueden señalarse:

1. Las migraciones circulares contribuyeron de forma clave a la expansión empresarial durante el período. De esta forma, a corto plazo beneficiaron a las empresas y los locales que pudieron aprovechar el crecimiento de vacantes tanto en la hostelería como en los sectores de arrastre. Su desarrollo formó parte de la emergencia de cadenas hoteleras nacionales e internacionales en el

Mediterráneo. Sin embargo, el tipo de estrategias empresariales llevadas a cabo para impulsar estas migraciones difirió según las características espaciales y socio-económicas de las áreas de implantación de las empresas.

2. Determinados hogares del sur de España pudieron considerar como una estrategia migratoria más adecuada la migración a destinos turísticos estacionales dentro de España en lugar de alternativas migratorias como núcleos industriales dentro de España o la emigración al extranjero. Los factores que determinarían esta elección estarían vinculados a las características socio-económicas de las áreas de origen –relacionadas con la tipología de la demanda de trabajo, la estructura de la propiedad de la tierra y a factores exógenos como la construcción de infraestructuras– los requerimientos de capital humano y las cadenas migratorias. Con todo, debe enfatizarse que el rol activo de reclutamiento por parte de los empresarios pudo jugar un rol crucial en combinación con los mencionados factores.
3. Muchos de estos hogares podrían tener incentivos para persistir durante años como temporeros, siendo particularmente importantes las posibilidades de acumulación e inversión de capital en origen a través de la migración circular. Sin embargo, algunas migraciones podrían ser el resultado de las dificultades para establecerse permanentemente en las áreas de destino. La escasez de vivienda, la estacionalidad de la demanda de trabajo, la ausencia de subsidios y un marco regulatorio adecuado por parte de la Dictadura, así como la falta de redes de apoyo podrían estar detrás de este patrón. Por tanto, existieron incentivos y factores limitantes que favorecieron la persistencia de las migraciones circulares durante el éxodo rural que probablemente no declinaron completamente hasta la década de los noventa.
4. No todos los grupos de trabajadores se beneficiaron por igual del proceso de profundo cambio estructural. Los diferenciales de capital humano y social, así como la discriminación socio-cultural de género, explican en gran medida que los migrantes del sur de España y las mujeres lograran menor movilidad ocupacional en un período de gran movilidad laboral ascendente.
5. Los migrantes temporeros registraban un salario inferior que los permanentes por lo que reducían la competencia laboral para los locales y los migrantes de larga estancia.

6. La movilidad ocupacional no sería únicamente el resultado de los diferenciales de capital humano social y de la discriminación socio-cultural de género, la temporalidad de la migración también jugaría un rol clave para entender los diferentes niveles de ingreso y la brecha entre grupos. Esto se explicaría por los menores incentivos y capacidad para la acumulación de capital humano y social de los migrantes temporeros respecto de los migrantes permanentes y los locales. De esta forma, la persistencia de la migración circular a lo largo de los años significaría el incremento de la brecha de estos migrantes con los locales y migrantes de similares características pero permanentes.

Estos resultados ponen de relevancia la importancia de la temporalidad de la migración a lo largo de los procesos migratorios en el pasado. En esta tesis se ha evidenciado que allí donde la migración circular jugaba un rol significativo, el tiempo previsto de la migración y la duración realmente realizada de la migración tenían un impacto diferencial. Todo ello, tenía una influencia en aspectos clave que son preocupaciones puntales de las ciencias sociales y las políticas públicas como son los niveles de vida, la desigualdad y la integración sociocultural, así como también la estructura de los mercados de trabajo o la gestión laboral de las empresas. A partir de una conceptualización que recoge los postulados de una reciente literatura empírica en este campo (Adda, Dustmann, y Görlach, 2022), y que los adapta al contexto de migraciones circulares en un determinado período histórico, se ha mostrado la naturaleza endógena y dinámica de algunas variables clave para comprender las trayectorias individuales y colectivas de individuos y mercados de trabajo.

Así, la temporalidad ha sido importante para comprender de forma diferencial las actitudes hacia y la capacidad de la adquisición de capital humano, social y físico por parte de los migrantes. Sin embargo, también las estrategias migratorias de los migrantes y las decisiones individuales y colectivas de los agentes implicados en los mercados de trabajo y el proceso migratorio han estado marcadas por el distinto impacto de la migración circular y su temporalidad vinculada. En la medida que el conjunto de fuentes recopiladas lo ha permitido, se ha buscado enfatizar cómo estos incentivos y capacidades interactuaban de forma dinámica, y por tanto cambiante e interactiva a lo largo del tiempo, con los agentes de las sociedades de destino dentro de un marco laboral y migratorio determinado.

Por tanto, esta tesis enfatiza la importancia de incluir variables micro y macro vinculadas a la temporalidad de la migración, tanto de tipo endógeno y, por tanto, *ex ante* –tiempo de migración prevista por el migrante –, y exógeno, de tipo *ex post* –tiempo de migración realmente realizado. De la misma forma, también cabe señalar que el análisis cualitativo de la corriente migratoria puede permitir un acercamiento complementario que ayude a entender el comportamiento y respuesta de los diferentes agentes. Con todo, adaptar las fuentes históricas y contemporáneas a este marco conceptual no siempre es posible y, además, obliga a un notable esfuerzo en términos metodológicos. Sin embargo, los trabajos aquí presentados subrayan la importancia de este acercamiento para alcanzar una mayor comprensión histórica de interrogantes clave como los niveles de desigualdad, de capital humano o integración social y cultural en sociedades del pasado íntimamente vinculadas al hecho migratorio.

Este estudio también demuestra la importancia de comprender qué impacto diferencial tienen esta tipología de migraciones dentro de la gestión empresarial y la especialización productiva sectorial y regional. Como parte de los costes relativos entre trabajo y capital en un contexto institucional y tecnológico determinado, las implicaciones de la inserción de migrantes temporeros son diferenciales en comparación a otros tipos de mano de obra. Como han enfatizado algunos autores (Dustmann y Görlach, 2016; Liu y Portes, 2021), las características de la estructura empresarial y los niveles de capital físico pueden estar íntimamente vinculados a la disponibilidad y coste relativo de este tipo de fuerza de trabajo.

A través del estudio de la formación del mercado de trabajo turístico en España hemos evidenciado que la migración circular, intra e interprovincial, a veces incluso internacional, ocupó un rol significativo y distintivo en la estructura del mercado de trabajo, el comportamiento de los agentes y la expansión empresarial. De esta forma, las consecuencias a corto y largo plazo del desarrollo turístico en España estuvieron vinculadas a la inserción diferencial de estas migraciones circulares en estos emergentes mercados de trabajo y sus economías regionales. En el corto plazo, estas migraciones ayudaron significativamente a solventar las restricciones al desarrollo de la infraestructura turística. En el largo, el modelo turístico y el marco de relaciones laborales implementado, y que luego se buscaría replicar en otras áreas del Mediterráneo y el Caribe, pudo tener considerables dificultades para adaptarse a los cambios de la demanda turística internacional a partir de la década de los ochenta. Asimismo, su constante

crecimiento a lo largo de diferentes posteriores *booms* turísticos en las siguientes décadas puede haber evidenciado las limitaciones de este modelo en términos demográficos, económicos y ecológicos.

El interés de las instituciones políticas en las migraciones circulares se ha enmarcado en las coordenadas del concepto de *Triple Win* (Constant, Nottmeyer, y Zimmermann, 2013; Solé et al., 2016; Rahim, Rayph, y Ruysseend, 2021). Desde un contexto de migraciones internas, este trabajo sugiere dos principales líneas de actuación en clave de política migratoria y económica. En primer lugar, este trabajo propone líneas de actuación política adaptadas a esta tipología de migraciones. Las experiencias legislativas a través de acuerdos bilaterales de migración han demostrado la importancia de comprender la lógica detrás de estas migraciones para el logro de sus objetivos. Además, como muchos autores señalan estos logros no deberían incluir únicamente la perspectiva de los beneficios para los países o regiones de origen y destino sino también de los migrantes mismos (Zapata-Barrero, Faúndez, y Sánchez-Montijano, 2012). Por tanto, siguiendo trabajos recientes (Aradhya, Scott, y Smith, 2017; Adda, Dustmann, y Görlach, 2022), esta tesis doctoral pone de relieve la importancia de políticas migratorias y de integración que adopten actuaciones específicas que partan de una mayor comprensión de las migraciones temporeras y en tengan en cuenta sus diferenciales consecuencias sobre los migrantes y las sociedades de origen y destino.

En este sentido, el segundo punto radica en lo emanado de los capítulos 2, 4 y 5, los cuales corroboran los argumentos de algunos autores que enfatizan la importancia de las políticas públicas ligadas al mercado de trabajo, de vivienda y el sistema educativo para lograr una mejor inserción migratoria de los migrantes temporales. En concreto, esta tesis doctoral ha ido en la línea de trabajos como los de Constant, Nottmeyer, y Zimmermann (2013) y Wright, Groutsis, y Kaabel (2022) que subrayan la necesidad de enfoques institucionales que implementen políticas que atenúen el impacto negativo de la estacionalidad en el mercado de trabajo sobre estos migrantes y mejoren la disponibilidad y acceso a la vivienda con el objetivo de lograr una mejor inserción en el corto plazo de las migrantes circulares.

La recopilación de fuentes de carácter inédito, la elaboración de nuevas metodologías y la contribución a campos escasamente explorados abre la puerta a diversas líneas de investigación futura. Desde el punto de vista del estudio de la migración circular durante el éxodo rural y, en específico, en el contexto del boom turístico español,



el estudio del impacto diferencial de estas migraciones tiene prometedoras aplicaciones en diversas vías.

Una de las incógnitas clave que arroja este trabajo de cara a futuras investigaciones es el impacto a largo plazo de este proceso sobre las trayectorias laborales. La creación de bases de datos que rastreen a lo largo del ciclo de vida a esta tipología de trabajadores y migrantes puede generar contribuciones muy significativas dadas las transformaciones tanto políticas, como económicas, que devienen a partir de 1973. Las tasas de retorno y reemigración, el impacto de las medidas reguladoras en el mercado de trabajo y el Estado del Bienestar a partir de 1977, así como la movilidad interna y a otros sectores en el largo plazo, pueden llegar a explorarse a través de la creación de bases de datos longitudinales. Los análisis que estudian estos efectos en largo plazo en el contexto de la migración temporera son escasos (Silvestre, 2007; Adda, Dustmann, y Görlach, 2022), por lo que se pueden abrir vías fructíferas de investigación que ahonden en la comprensión del impacto de estas migraciones en el pasado y, al mismo tiempo, proporcionen evidencia a fin de formular políticas migratorias en el presente. En esta misma línea, algunos autores en economía laboral e historia económica, expertos en la temporalidad del trabajo en España, han reclamado este tipo de informaciones para el análisis del empleo en el turismo contemporáneo (Malo, 2011).

Con todo, otras líneas de investigación se abren de cara a una plena comprensión del impacto sobre los niveles de vida, la desigualdad y la movilidad social de las migraciones temporeras y el desarrollo turístico en el corto plazo en España. En este sentido, potenciales trabajos pueden surgir a través de análisis que pongan el foco en el efecto diferencial de las migraciones circulares en cuanto a la segregación y desigualdad socio-espacial urbana durante el éxodo rural en la línea de trabajos para otros contextos y períodos como los de Tammaru, Strömngren, van Ham y Danzer (2016). Otros trabajos podrían surgir en materia de provisión educativa durante el período, mostrando el efecto diferencial de la capacidad de los organismos públicos para hacer frente al aumento de población y a la tipología de los mercados de trabajo turísticos en relación con pautas residenciales de locales y migrantes.

Estudios comparativos de la migración circular vinculada al boom turístico con otros procesos migratorios tanto contemporáneos como de otros períodos históricos pueden ser particularmente fecundos. Por ejemplo, el trabajo de Pérez (2017) compara la elección migratoria entre Estados Unidos y Argentina durante la Primera Globalización

demostrando la importancia de la elección de destino y su dispar efecto en función de si el énfasis se coloca en el corto plazo o en los resultados intergeneracionales. El estudio de la formación del mercado de trabajo turístico resulta particularmente pertinente dada la multiplicidad de elecciones migratorias, tanto circulares, temporales y permanentes, como internas e internacionales, que tomaron los hogares durante el éxodo rural en España. Como Sánchez Alonso ha señalado (2010), los estudios comparativos de este tipo podrían arrojar luz acerca del singular patrón migratorio de España con respecto de otros países de vocación emigratoria del Mediterráneo, como Italia o Portugal, a lo largo del siglo XIX y el XX.

Finalmente, el estudio de las migraciones circulares en contextos turísticos tiene potencial para arrojar luz acerca de las ventajas y desventajas de la especialización turística, un tema de alta relevancia actual tanto en países desarrollados, como en vías de desarrollo (Capó, Riera, y Rosselló, 2007; Scott y Gössling, 2015; Li, Chen, Li, y Goh, 2016; Alam y Paramati, 2016). En esta línea, estudios de caso y de tipo comparativo que analicen desde los mercados de trabajo las consecuencias del desarrollo turístico sobre otros sectores de la economía, particularmente de sectores industriales y servicios intensivos en capital, serían de enorme interés. Algunos autores como Hampton y Christensen (2007) han realizado contribuciones en este sentido.

Otros trabajos podrían analizar los efectos de *path dependence* provenientes de la exportación de modelos de gestión del trabajo por parte de las cadenas hoteleras en países en vías de desarrollo. La importancia de las cadenas hoteleras baleares en la especialización turística de áreas del Mediterráneo y el Caribe sugiere un fecundo caso de estudio (Andreu, Claver, y Quer, 2017). En qué medida el turismo promueve o condiciona negativamente el desarrollo de otros sectores de la economía, cómo afecta al crecimiento económico a largo plazo y qué políticas públicas pueden promover un crecimiento turístico sostenible son cuestiones de gran calado y que se encuentran entre las preocupaciones de académicos, políticos y ciudadanos.

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# VII

## Glosario de fuentes

### 1. Archivos consultados

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- Arxiu del CRAI Biblioteca Pavelló de la República
- Arxiu Històric de Comissions Oberes a les Illes Balears
- Archivo de la Delegación Provincial del Instituto Nacional de Estadística de las Islas Baleares
- Archivos municipales de los siguientes municipios de la isla de Mallorca: Alcúdia, Andratx, Calvià, Capdepera, Deià, Felanitx, Lluçmajor, Manacor, Pollença, Santa Margalida, Sóller y Son Servera
- Arxiu Històric del Regne de Mallorca
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### 3. Encuestas

**Cuadro VII.1:** Encuestas utilizadas según características.

Nombre	Año	Entidad	Muestra
Censo de la Industria Turística Balear	1969	Sindicato Nacional de Hostelería	N=10.761 (trabajadores a nivel de empresa) N=554(empresas)
Encuesta de Presupuestos familiares	1973-1974	Instituto Nacional de Estadística	N(España)=24.151 (miembros de un hogar) N(Baleares)=1.565 (miembros de un hogar)
Encuesta a los braceros del turismo de Baleares, Costa Blanca y Costa del Sol	1973	Seminario de Sociología Urbana, Rural y del Ocio/ Fundación Juan March	N=157(trabajadores)

### 4. Estadística

- III Plan de Desarrollo Económico y Social. Turismo e Información y Actividades Culturales. Comisaría del Plan de Desarrollo. 1975
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- Corinne Land Cover Database. European Environment Agency. 1990
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- Mallorca Turística. Catálogo de Empresas, Profesiones y Actividades Turísticas. Años 1967, 1969 y 1973
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### **5. Reportes y legislación contemporánea**

- I Consejo Económico Sindical Insular de Ibiza y Formentera. Boletín Informativo de la Delegación Provincial de Sindicatos de Baleares. 1965
- Análisis socio-económico de la hostelería en Baleares. Sindicato Provincial de Hostelería y Actividades Turísticas de Baleares. 1970
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- Convenio Colectivo de Hostelería de la provincia de Baleares. Boletín Oficial de la Provincia de Baleares. Años 1962, 1965, 1967, 1969, 1971, 1973 y 1975
- Defensor del Pueblo Andaluz. El fracaso escolar entre los hijos de trabajadores temporeros: un problema para el desarrollo futuro de Andalucía. Defensor del Pueblo Andaluz. 1997
- Dossier sobre los problemas de actualidad relacionados con la industria hotelera en Baleares. Febrero y septiembre, 1967
- El paro estacional campesino. Sindicato Vertical del Olivo. 1946
- Jornaleros y temporeros. La Acción Social. Cuadernos de Formación de Cáritas Española, 14, 1989

- Memoria de la Cámara de Comercio de Mallorca. Cámara de Comercio de Mallorca. Varios años
- Reglamentaciones Nacionales de Trabajo en Hotelería, Cafés, Bares y Similares y Balnearios. Ministerio de Trabajo. Años 1942, 1958 y 1961
- Salarios de contratación colectiva. Oficina Central de Convenios Colectivos. Organización Sindical. 1968

## 6. Prensa

- Archivo Linz de la Transición Española. Fundación Juan March.
- Hemeroteca del Museo Casa de los Tiros de Granada
- Hemeroteca del diario Última Hora en la Biblioteca de Can Sales
- Hemeroteca de la revista Cort en la Biblioteca Cort de Palma
- Hemeroteca digital de la publicación Economía balear editada por la asociación empresarial A.S.I.M.A.
- Hemeroteca digital del diario El Mundo

## 7. Testimonios orales

**Cuadro VII.2:** *Testimonios orales recopilados a través de bibliografía.*

Año	Nombre	Entrevistado/s
1973	(Gaviria et al., 1974)	Trabajadores y trabajadoras de la industria turística de sol y playa en España
1974-1976	(Lara, 1977)	Población migrante y agentes vinculados a la migración en municipios andaluces y áreas de destino
1975	(Galán et al., 1977)	Trabajadores y trabajadoras de la industria turística de la Costa del Sol
1976	(Capellà, 1977)	Trabajadores y trabajadoras de la industria turística, la construcción y el sindicalismo de Mallorca

**Nota:** Se incluyen exclusivamente obras utilizadas durante el estudio en las cuales se ofrecen en bruto o con escasa modificación testimonios orales recogidos por los entrevistadores.



