University of Edinburgh
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Ecuadorian Immigrants: Agents or Victims of Development?

Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Msc International Development

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Abstract

Development and migration are intrinsically connected. The mainstream paradigms that explain their connection hold a contradicting discussion between an “optimistic” approach that recognizes migration’s potential for development of migrant-sending countries, and “pessimistic” views that explain migration as a consequence of capital structuralism and underdevelopment.

Under this contrasting conceptualization, the present project will discuss the role of migrants as both agents and victims of mainstream ideas of development, and on the impact of economic crises on their life plans, taking the case of Ecuadorian immigrants in Spain. The discussion will include ethnographic accounts of Ecuadorian immigrants living in the city of Madrid who left their homeland pushed by a financial crisis and are today encountered by similar economic struggles as they did before they left - unemployed, empty handed and confronting an uncertain future. However, instead of remigrating, Ecuadorians have chosen to settle. Economic crises become a paradoxical element that once pushed Ecuadorians to migrate and today pulls them to stay and start over in the destination country, their new home.
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<tr>
<td>CONADEE</td>
<td>Coordinadora Nacional de Ecuatorianos en España (National Coordinator of Ecuadorians in Spain)</td>
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<td>FENADEE</td>
<td>Federación Nacional de Asociaciones de Ecuatorianos en España- National Federation of Ecuadorian Associations</td>
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<tr>
<td>INE</td>
<td>National Statistics Institute (Instituto Nacional de Estadística)</td>
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<td>INEC</td>
<td>Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos</td>
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<td>IOM</td>
<td>International Organization for Migration</td>
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<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development</td>
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<td>PAH</td>
<td>Plataforma Afectados por Hipoteca (Affected by Mortgage Platform)</td>
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<td>SENAMI</td>
<td>Secretaría Nacional del Migrante (National Secretariat for Migrants)</td>
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Introduction

Migration, in the Ecuadorian context, is the result of underdevelopment caused by capitalist expansion, economic growth and urbanization. As internal migration increase to urban cities, an estimate of 10% of Ecuadorians (of 15 million) have departed to developed, more prosperous, countries. Underdevelopment and the idea of a better life is what have pushed the majority of them away from their home country.

By the end of the twentieth century, as a consequence of neoliberal practices, Ecuador experienced a severe economic crisis resulting on a massive exodus of Ecuadorians that immigrated to the North in the pursuit of better economic opportunities, mainly to Spain. The former colonial mother, despite the distance, did not have migratory restrictions and offered them plenty of job opportunities. The Ecuadorian community grew rapidly, there are currently 438,979 Ecuadorians living in Spain.

Interestingly, Ecuadorian mass of immigrants arrived during a time were Spain was experiencing accelerated economic growth at the expense of inexpensive labour from foreigners. At great sacrifice, Ecuadorians economically advanced in no time, promptly remitting to their families they left behind in Ecuador thus improving their well being. At the same time, they became agents of development for Ecuador and Spain alike as their economic remittances became key to stabilise Ecuador’s broken economy and their work contributed to the restructuring of the Spanish capital economy.

Their advantageous economic situation made it possible for many Ecuadorians to settle in Spain, as some were able to reunify with their families and to obtain Spanish nationality. Thus, changing their initial migratory project that was to save enough money to return home. Permanent settlement has shifted immigrants’ destination of consumption and investment. The amount of remittances has decreased as many Ecuadorians risked their savings in asset accumulation in Spain, mainly in the purchase of a home.

However, all of their efforts and investments were soon jeopardized when the global financial crisis hardly hit Spain in 2008. Increased unemployment has characterised the on-going economic recession affecting Ecuadorian migrants particularly as they occupied jobs from the most affected sectors. An outstanding majority of Ecuadorians are unemployed and struggling with debt. Once again, Ecuadorians have suddenly become victims of “global power” in the
form of another economic crisis caused by neoliberal practices. While the story seems to repeat itself, this time the majority of Ecuadorians don’t see migration as an option for escaping economic adversities and has rather chosen to stay by adopting different survival strategies with the pursuit of starting over in their new home.

This dissertation aims to analyse Ecuadorian immigrants as both agents and victims of mainstream approaches to development by highlighting the asymmetries of the impacts that two economic crises have had over their lives. More specifically the main discussion of this work will evolve around two main arguments:

1. Ecuadorian immigrants as agents and victims of development.
2. Economic crises as a paradoxical element for analysing international migration.

Besides the argumentation, the work will introduce empirical evidence that intends to provide a general understanding of the impact of the Spanish economic crisis over Ecuadorian immigrants.

Theoretical Framework

The present study will be discussed under migration-development paradigms that swing in between “optimistic” and “pessimistic” approaches for explaining migration and its intrinsic connection to development. The contrasting views contradict each other by either placing immigrants as potential agents of development (optimistic) or as victims of structural capitalism (pessimistic).

The most recent so-called mainstream migration-development nexus “mantra” promotes the optimistic assumption that migration has the potential for migrant-sending developing (underdeveloped) countries through economic and social transfers (Faist et al.,2011; Glick Schiller,2010; de Hass, 2012;Portes 2007). This transnational perspective “recognizes the emergence of a new agent in the development discourse called ‘migrants’” (Fiast et al., 2011) and assumes that these new agents have positive effects in development. Some will argue that the popularity of this approach is linked to a mainstream Neoliberal agenda that praise the remarkable increase of global economic remittances\(^1\) from 2000 and promotes their potential for

\(^1\) World migrants’ remittances to developing countries are estimated to have reached US$436 billion in 2014 (with an average of 6 % increase each year).
alleviating poverty and triggering economic growth (Delgado Wise and Covarrubias, 2009). However, this approach does not consider why international occurs in the first place.

In contrast, pessimistic approaches consider migration as a product of underdevelopment and dependency produced by the ongoing restructuring of mainstream development and capitalism. This views fall under what de Hass (2012) labels as “structuralist” social theory that will be discussed under the Ecuadorian migration context. This dissertation will argue that migration, in the Ecuadorian context has historically been produced by underdevelopment evidenced by the social and economic imbalances among society.

The opposing views that conceptualize the link in between migration and development fail to address immigrant integration to the receiving country and the influence of global capital over their migratory projects. As Glick Schiller (2009) points out, there is a need for a critical perspective that brings balance to the two opposing ideas, an approach that builds on the understanding of “global socioeconomic power” (ibid) and its influence over migration and immigrants. Migration (labour migration) is directly related to the restructuring of capital, immigrants’ role move beyond remittances as they also become key on the transformation of their receiving countries that are usually important contributors for economic expansion. Thus introducing a third critical approach of the development-migration nexus that will contribute to the analysis of immigrants as feeders of financial expansion and will explain the impacts of the global crisis over them.

Research Design

Research Aims
Initially, the main objective was to investigate the social and economic factors that promoted Ecuadorian migration to Spain and determine to what extent the Spanish economic crisis has produced voluntary return of immigrants to Ecuador. Additionally, it intended to determine the economic role of migrants in promoting development and how this role has shifted from one crisis to another.

Methodology and Methods
In order to better understand the present reality of the Ecuadorian community in Spain this work includes original research collected as empirical evidence during fieldwork completed in the city of Madrid during the months of May and June 2015. Conducting ethnographic fieldwork
was chosen as a research method in order to acquire “direct and sustained social contact” (Konopinski, 2014) allowing me to have a more extensive comprehension of the actual social experience of Ecuadorian immigrants in Spain, especially of those who have been affected by the on-going Spanish crisis.

The initial motivation to carry out primary research was driven by the interest of validating the limited existing literature regarding the current situation of Ecuadorian immigrants in Spain, the inconsistent data available regarding the effects of the global financial crisis over this immigrant community and the uncertain assumption that there has been a massive return of Ecuadorians to their home country as a response to this crisis.

Ethnographic research in Madrid was conducted using participant observation, twenty semi-structured interviews and numerous unstructured interviews known as conversational interviews (ibid), as well as field notes and gathering of secondary data such as newspapers (clipping) and other official documents from organizations and institutions as well as visual accounts such as documentaries. A total of five semi-structured interviews were conducted to organisations’ representatives, including a delegate from the Ecuadorian Embassy in Spain, who provided me with information and opinions in their official capacity. Unfortunately, not all of the findings and narratives will be shown in this study, as many of the data gathered cover issues that are beyond the scope of this dissertation.

Most narratives from immigrants were collected in casual and natural settings (Thomas, 2013) such as cafés or restaurants or while accompanying some Ecuadorians on their daily activities around Madrid, mostly in common Ecuadorian neighbourhoods in Madrid such as Pueblo Nuevo or Carabanchel. I used a variety of modes for meeting Ecuadorian immigrants in Madrid. For instance, through friends in common or by visiting Ecuadorian restaurants or bars were it was most likely to find them. Official interviews were formally requested through email or telephone.

As a non-immigrant Ecuadorian, my only limitation was to approach interviewees and contributors without them asking personal questions, mainly about my personal background in order to relate them to their own.

Interviewees’ narratives will be presented mainly in Chapter 2, but as a secondary manner, they will be embedded in the overall analysis and argumentation as form of evidence. Interviews
with Ecuadorians will be cited with a fictitious codename to protect their anonymous status. However, I will use real names of those interviewees that spoke to me in their official capacity. I will draw particular attention to Aida Quinatao’s story, an Ecuadorian activist that fights against evictions in Spain. Her story is particularly important for understanding the main issue that Ecuadorian immigrants are currently grappling with: debt.

**Structure of the Dissertation**

The present work will be composed of two main chapters that will introduce the key debates following a chronological order setting the context and providing enough background in order to better understand the arguments. Both chapters will evolve around the two elements: the economic crises that affected the same group of Ecuadorians and their individual and collective responses to them. The connections of the two crises will gradually become evident throughout the text. The first chapter will be more historically and theoretically oriented while the second will rely mostly on empirical evidence obtained during field research.

The first chapter focuses on analysing the linkages between migration and development under the Ecuadorian context by discussing the history of Ecuador’s approach to development, which reflects on the subject matter and provides an explanation for its internal and international migration. It will do so under the framework of political economy drawing on both “optimistic” and “pessimistic” approaches to migration and development.

In the second chapter I will analyse what caused the Spanish economic recession and the severe and persisting effects that distinctly altered the Ecuadorian trajectories and migratory projects. Under this framework, I will examine the current situation of Ecuadorian immigrants in Spain, focusing on their issues and vulnerability, and will do so by presenting empirical evidence obtained in the city of Madrid during field research. Finally, the last section of this chapter will evaluate to what extent the crisis has produced voluntary return of immigrants to Ecuador and what are the roles that both the Spanish and the Ecuadorian governments play in this process. It will address the increasing belief that the crisis has generated significant return migration among this group and based on Ecuadorian views will demonstrate that despite this assumption, many Ecuadorians have not only prolonged their stay in Spain but rather opted for an indefinite settlement.
Chapter 1: Development and Migration in the Ecuadorian Context

Part I: Underdevelopment and Migration

In order to better understand migration as a consequence of social inequality and lack of economic progress, and to better comprehend the socioeconomic factors that pushed some Ecuadoreans out of their homeland, it is important to first contextualise historically Ecuador's political economy. During the past century, the social, political and economic transformations that Ecuador has encountered have been deeply influenced by mainstream approaches to development, mainly focusing on “catching up” (Payne and Phillips, 2013) and achieving economic progress based on practices and ideas that considered modernisation as its main objective. Ecuador, as many other developing nations, has fully followed Eurocentric mainstream development models.

Economic Dependency and Social Inequality

The various efforts towards the development of domestic industries have been marginalised by making the export of goods an industry itself (Acosta, 2009) evidencing the nation’s failed attempts to modernise, making instead its economy less independent and more reliable on the international market (ibid). For the past fifty years, Ecuador has based its economy on the production and export of oil. Foreign influence increased with the “oil boom” during the 1970s, which in turn created more economic dependency on the international market. In addition, a domestic “structural dependency” grew stronger, (Cardoso and Faletto, 1979) making the economy depend mostly on the exploitation of this natural resource, making it the only source for economic growth. The Ecuadorian colonial past had left a hierarchical economic and social structure, an unequal socioeconomic division in society characterised by capital accumulation of the elites at the expense of exploitation of peasants and other working classes. Before the oil boom, Ecuador’s economy was mainly based on agriculture supported by a feudal system that was installed during Spanish domination. The accumulation of capital was concentrated in landowners, who for a long time benefited from unpaid workers, mostly indigenous people that worked in farms in exchange for a piece of land. This unpaid work was known as “huasipungo”².

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² The “huasipungo” (in Quichua) was the debt that the peasant owned the landowner for their piece of land, a debt that had to be paid with work. Was established as “Encomiendas” or “Mandates” in the XVI century, where the landowner provided (according to custom at the time) a piece of land to their ‘huasipungueros’ in exchange for working their lands. The term “huasipunguero” refers to the indigenous worker that contracted a lifetime debt with the landowner in exchange for a piece of land. Debts were inherited. This form of employment persisted until the first half of the twentieth century.
Foreign penetration and influence worsened social inequalities and increased poverty levels by boosting the accumulation of wealth within the elites and those in power. This did not promote a fair distribution, thus perpetuating the enormous gap between rich and poor. In fact, it was during the neoliberal period when foreign investment proliferated and impoverishment increased significantly in the country. Under this note, it could be argued that the application of modernisation contributed to ‘the development of underdevelopment’ and not to development per se (Frank, 1967).

In order to further develop the oil industry, by 1982 the country had accumulated a significant amount of external debt that had increased twenty-two times (Acosta, 2000). This led to an inevitable economic crisis. As a consequence, Ecuador adopted fully neoliberal practices imposed by the Washington Consensus that suggested the implementation of a Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in order to recover the economy. The implementation of this programme mainly represented a limited role of the government, deregulation and ‘freeing the market’, which meant opening the market to foreign investment, making it easier for foreign oil companies to benefit from the industry. This and other economic reforms imposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, such as the strengthening of a banking system or limiting the role of the state, made possible the insertion of the country into global capital. This in turn created a monetary dependency that determined the collapse of Ecuador’s economy in 1998. The Neoliberal influence further damaged the Ecuadorian economy by increasing its dependency on primary commodity exports while enhancing social inequality and increasing poverty levels. By the end of the twentieth century, the wealthy elites accumulated 61% of revenues while the poorest sector was left with a 2.5% (Acosta, 2009).

The Ecuadorian Economic Collapse

The focal point of the present study is to analyse economic crises as a push factor that triggers migration, thus it is important to describe the 1990s Ecuadorian economic collapse, which caused a waive of massive international migration to Spain and the United States. Economic crises create inevitable and devastating social consequences, mainly increasing unemployment thus raising poverty levels.

The two decades of neoliberal practices produced an economic stagnation and deterioration that was dramatically aggravated in 1998 (Beckerman and Solimano, 2002) provoking a severe crisis
caused mainly by hyperinflation, an acute monetary instability and the collapse of the banking system. High inflation was produced by three factors: the loss of confidence in the former national currency, the sucre, a large fiscal deficit and by the stagnation of other economic activities such as commerce (ibid). Subsequently, the financial system bankrupted: more than 17 financial institutions closed, making the government intervene with an attempt to rescue them. Consequently, the banking crisis became also a monetary crisis, and did so with an expansion of monetary emission that shattered the exchange rate, thus producing hyperinflation and reducing the acquisitive capacity of the population. While the government intervention benefited bank owners, it affected the people, particularly the middle class. As a rescue strategy the deposits of the population were frozen. This decision meant that thousands of people lost their lifetime savings, pushing more people into poverty and augmenting political instability.

Additionally, a combination of other factors contributed to the economic collapse. These included a decline in oil prices, domestic governance issues and political instability, a sudden natural disaster in 1997 – the Niño Phenomenon – and the recession of international financial institutions. Additionally, the IMF had restrained from providing more loans to Ecuador due to the accumulated debt (Beckerman and Solimano, 2002). In order to stabilize the crisis and as a political strategy, in 2000 the government of that time, fully complying with neoliberal practices, decided to adopt the U.S dollar as the only way out of the crisis, hoping to restore the economy and regain political popularity. To allow dollarization, the government created a macro devaluation of the sucre. In less than five days the exchange rate went from 18 thousand sucres to 25 thousand sucres per dollar. With this change, the minimum wage turned to be worth the amount of 4 dollars (Dávalos, 2014). Although dollarization did contribute towards the stabilization of the economy later on, it did so in a structural manner and not fundamentally. With the increase of emigration, it was through monetary remittances that Ecuador was able to stabilise its economy.

The sharp paralysis of the Ecuadorian economy created an inevitable social breakdown that affected the entire population, fracturing society as whole. The collapse of the banking system, referred to as “bank holiday” aggravated the crisis in Ecuador to such an extent that between 1995 and 2000 the poverty rate increased from 34% to 71% (and extreme poverty from 12% to 31%). This increase contributed to the rise of unemployment and underemployment. In addition, the general economic welfare and income of the population were severely affected because real-wages were reduced due to the 60 % inflation rate, together with a 66 % currency devaluation rate (Acosta, López & Villamar, 2005). The crisis also encouraged bad governance
and enabled internal political instability to continue. Consequently, the economic and social collapse and the loss of confidence in the country and its political system promoted the international migration phenomenon, representing a deep transformation in the structure of the Ecuadorian society.

Although the crisis affected all socioeconomic classes, it was particularly felt by the urban middle classes, which had been gradually rising through the acquisition of higher education and training, thus getting better jobs or starting new commercial micro businesses. This sector of society had trusted the banking system with their lifetime savings and was progressively integrating into the economy, becoming a vital part of the consumer market. Individuals and families in this urban sector experienced a radical reduction in their living standards when the financial bubble burst in 1999. The middle classes were the main victims and the first to lose their jobs and their savings, and were confronted with the threat of poverty and a lack of economic opportunities (Herrera et al. 2005). The population belonging to these middle classes, living in urban settings that were already inserted into the economy, were those that started the migratory wave, escaping from a reality that they hadn’t experienced before.

As it has been demonstrated above, the severe Ecuadorian crisis that broke out in 1998 resulted from years of following foreign models of economic growth. It unveiled the long presence of neoliberalism that was responsible for building an unsecure financial system based on the global capital model of consumption (Escobar, 2010), a model that was, at the same time, responsible for its disastrous socioeconomic consequences (ibid). In terms of development performance, it represented two ‘lost decades’ (Payne and Phillips, 2013) that left the country more dependent on international markets and more vulnerable than before due to modernisation projects, foreign investment and dollarization.

The crisis also revealed the social and political reality of Ecuador, one that was characterized by unstable corrupted governments that for a long time ignored the outstanding social inequality and the pressing issues that affected the majority of the population (such as lack of access to basic services). After the crisis, the urban middle classes “understood what the neoliberalism adjustments meant since they were the most affected, which invariably they had watched from afar” (Dávalos, 2014:226).

Increased poverty due to the crisis victimized those who made plausible a financial system in the
first place, the working classes that became consumers and creditors, and the middle classes. The supposedly growing economy was masked by increased consumption and development of a banking system. Interestingly, as it will be discussed later, the same thing would happen during the 2008 financial crisis where the victims were primarily the middle classes that had become key feeders of the capital global economy.

**Ecuadorian Migration**

The massive emigration wave that occurred in Ecuador could only be understood by revising its own context and history. As Massey et al. explain, “human migration is rooted in specific historical conditions that define a particular social and economic context” (1998:1). As in many other cases, the interesting feature about migratory flows in Ecuadorian history is that they have evolved in congruence with the economic and political situation of the country. At a macro-level, the changing economy and development pursuits and inequality have been what defined both, internal migrations, first locally, and then internationally.

Accordingly, at a micro-level individual decision-making processes for migrating have been mainly based on limited labour opportunities, wage differences and the desire for accumulation of capital. Therefore, migration under the Ecuadorian context could be analysed both as a cause and consequence of mainstream development influences. Still, the factors that have influenced the phenomenon of migration in Ecuador including its earlier stages; do fall under multiple theories of migration, mainly those associated with migration and development paradigms. The study of migration in itself is fundamentally identified with the problems arising from development and from underdevelopment (Kearney, 1986).

Explanations as for why people migrate have been widely theorized, early theories focused on both the economic factors that push and pull people to move, whereas more contemporary approaches have placed more interest in the social influences of human mobility. The push and pull factor framework of migration has sometimes been considered insufficient, as it was initially constructed during the modernisation period in order to understand labour migrations of the past. Hence, it “[does] not reflect the reality of the majority of migrants” (O’Reilly,2012: 41). Many consider that they do not take into account other social aspects that influence human mobility, such as family and community dynamics (ibid). Nevertheless, since the purposes of the analysis focuses on migration and its links to development, it is only logical to use this neoclassical economic approach as it coincides with this specific case study. However, while the
push and pull factor framework will be employed to explain the inducements of population transfers in the Ecuadorian context, other migration theories will also be utilized as tools for analysis.

Early neoclassical thought, in general terms, describes migration as the effect produced by the uneven spatial distribution of labour and capital (Todaro, 1976); it is the product of structural inequalities. It combines both the micro-level motivations of individuals that decide to move with macro-level factors that determine the economy. Micro-level economic theory determines migration as the result of an individual decision taken by actors who seek to increase their welfare by moving where the reward for their work is greater than what they get in their country or place of origin, i.e.: a salary that can be sufficiently high as to offset the tangible and intangible costs that derive from displacement (ibid).

Bringing development into the discussion, the so-called structural inequalities are a product of development efforts, which in turn have caused what can be interpreted as underdevelopment (Portes, 1997). Imbalances generated by the penetration of models such as industrialization and capitalism in developing countries have pushed individuals to migrate either to urban cities or to ‘more developed’ countries (Kearney, 1986).

In the Ecuadorian case study, even before the crisis, structural inequalities on the labour market determined the movement of individuals. In developing countries like Ecuador, “the causes and consequences of continued internal as well as international migration lie at the heart of contemporary development” (Todaro, 1981: 151). Before the economic collapse that started in 1998, in a process of urbanization, the percentage of rural to urban migration increased dramatically (Herrera, et al. 2005). The same logic applies: from ‘underdeveloped’ to more ‘developed’, from the city to the countryside (Kearney, 1986). The development of the oil industry affected the agricultural sector, reducing the labour demands on the countryside, pushing villagers into the cities. Many peasants living in villages or indigenous communities started to migrate to the major cities, mainly to the capital Quito, to Guayaquil and Cuenca with the purpose of finding other types of labour. Subsequently, the less the economy depended on agriculture and local subsistence, the more the needs of households increased. Therefore, the need to migrate to urban settings in order to cover those needs increased as well. It is also important to mention that until 1980 the figure of the “huasipungo” (explained earlier) was still present. However, in 1970 an agricultural reform and the oil boom caused a dramatic decline in agricultural production decreasing the demand of land labour, which in turn induced more unemployment in the countryside. The social consequences of migration became evident as
family disintegration started to escalate. In addition, it was also during this point in history where women started to get integrated into the labour force. (Acosta, Lopez and Villamar, 2005).

**The Migration Wave**

Before the Ecuadorian economic system crushed, emigration to other countries was relatively low. International migration of Ecuadorians began in the early 1960s as a result of a crisis originated in the southern part of the country, which depended on the Panama hat industry (Carpio Benalcázar, 1992). Most existing literature on Ecuadorian emigration agrees that there are two main historic periods of international migration. The first period occurred from 1960 to 1995. Its main characteristics, besides the Panama hat crisis, were that emigration mostly happened from southern provinces of Ecuador and rural southern provinces (Azuay and Cañar) to the United States predominantly and, to a lesser extent, to Canada and Venezuela. As the ideals of modernisation and the effects of underdevelopment arrived, the idea that the north was more ‘developed’ and prosperous proliferated. In the same way, as ‘traditional’ peoples migrated from the countryside to cities, they started to move from a ‘less developed’ country to more developed countries where better labour opportunities could be found (Kearney, 1986: 334).

In addition, the majority of emigrants were male individuals from rural areas that left the country for short periods of time seeking short-term jobs or commercial transactions in order to meet traditional life objectives, as it became increasingly difficult to do so. Thus, the return was a matter of fact. Most migrants had limited education and occupational skills that found in the United States the ideal place to work and accumulate capital (ibid).

The second period, recognized as the massive wave of migration, spanned from 1996 to 2007. The social and economic panorama entirely shifted once the economic crisis arrived, producing a massive exodus of Ecuadorians. As the crisis escalated, so did the number of Ecuadorians leaving the country. Until 1995, the number of migrants reached a stable number of 250,000 per year, most of them returning to the country. In 1997 the number of departures was already increasing, and by the year 2000 the country experienced the highest number of departures in its history: 560,000 people left Ecuador (INEC, 2010), which represented about 4 % of the population at the time (Herrera, Carrillo and Torres, 2005).

In times of economic crisis, unemployment and poverty levels rose, thus pushing individuals away from their place of birth or origin, demonstrating that economic adversities had a greater impact on Ecuadorians’ life plans than previously thought. The migration characteristics
radically changed from the first period of emigration to the second, namely the overwhelming numbers, the class and origin, gender, place of destination and the radical increase in economic remittances. It is likely that, because of the crisis, the number of migrants tripled: the total net emigration between 1998 and 2007 was 954,396 people, which represents 16% of the economically active population (INEC, 2010). As discussed previously and unlike the first period of emigration, migrants were mainly from the urban middle classes, a large percentage of which had an education, work experience and a general idea of the world (Herrera, Carrillo and Torres, 2005). As explained before, this social group was particularly affected by the financial collapse of 1998, as they lost their lifetime savings and were left unemployed; poverty grew faster in the same urban sectors that once were becoming wealthier (ibid).

Moreover, since the crisis, a change on gender roles in migration has also been identified, referred to as the ‘feminization of migration’, a global term used to refer to the continuous increase in the number of women migrants, which now exceeds the number of men (Han, 2003). In general, sending women into the workforce has been recognized as a common household strategy for covering increasing economic needs, to contribute or compensate for the husband’s employment or unemployment (Beckerman and Solimano, 2002). Although the present analysis will not focus on describing gender-specific migration, it will cover it quite amply as the Ecuadorian immigration in Spain is characterized by it. In fact, Ecuadorian women are acknowledged as the pioneers that began the migration process to Spain. By 1997, over 58% of Ecuadorian immigrants in Spain were women. They took the role of household supporters, taking the difficult decision to depart leaving their children behind.

Given the background, assertive optimistic framework for grasping the characteristics of massive emigration of Ecuadorians that occurred from 1995 onwards is then understood under the theoretical framework of the ‘new economics of labour migration’ developed by Oded Stark (1991). While it follows the neoclassical tradition, it covers some of its limitations, such as reducing the dominant importance to wage disparities, which are not necessarily decisive determinants for migration. This theoretical approach recognizes more relevant factors such as the decisive role that families and household decisions play in migration strategies, the specific context in which migration occurs, and the attention paid to remittances, the exchange of information and complex transnational relations (Stark, 1991) that will be discussed next.
Spain as the new destination

The most prominent factor that differs from the first period of Ecuadorian migration, is that Spain suddenly becomes the main destination for Ecuadorian emigrants. Before 1995, emigration to Spain was minor in contrast to the United States, where 65% of the total migrants went that year (Herrera et al. 2005). However, with the crisis, Spain became the preferred destination. According to the Ecuadorian National Census, the year 2000 witnessed a massive exodus, 49% of Ecuadorians went to Spain, 165,000 Ecuadorians, whereas just a 27% did so to the United States.

The Ecuadorian community in Spain was formed rapidly, given the acceleration of migration that occurred from 1998 to 2005. By 2003, the number of Ecuadorians with permanent residence had incremented radically to 387,565 (compared to the 13,000 that were registered in 1999 (INE, 2003)), which corresponded to 15% of the foreign population and constituted the second largest foreign group in Spain (after Moroccans migrants). Though some Ecuadorians have returned to their home and some others have emigrated to different locations, the most recent data revealed that there are currently 438,979 Ecuadorians living in Spain.

The primary reason for choosing this new destination involves the tightening of US borders, which started enforcing restrictive migratory policies making this route riskier and more costly. However, other “pull factors” marked Spain as the main destination for new migration, mainly: (1) need for foreign and inexpensive labour in Spain, (2) no entry visa requirements until 2003, (3) easy access to the Spanish labour market and easy access to work permits, (4) high and continuous demand for low-skilled type of labour, mainly on the agriculture sector and the construction for men, and domestic and care services for women, (5) shared language and (6) opportunity to obtain Spanish nationality in the long-run (León, 2001; López-Sala, 2013; Herrera, Carrillo and Torres, 2005). In short, the exodus of Ecuadorians to Spain was determined by the Ecuadorian crisis which, not only pushed them out of Ecuador, but also were deeply influenced and encouraged by the need of cheap labour in this destination country. Spain was non-coincidently experiencing a sudden expansion of its economy, influenced by global capitalism. Most literature on Ecuadorian migration to Spain agrees that most Ecuadorian women joined the Spanish labour market mainly through the domestic and care sectors, together with the tourism industry, and most Ecuadorian men through the construction, agriculture and transport sectors.
The Spanish economy experienced an accelerated growth, an economic boom from 2000 to 2007, with an average GDP growth of 3.5% (Éltető, 2011). By joining the European Union (EU) in 1986, Spain began an economic acceleration process through modernisation and liberalisation of its economic structure (Royo, 2009). During the 1990s and the first years of the new century, with the neoliberal wave and the EU rising, the Spanish economy developed to its fullest, mainly through foreign loans channelled to private firms that had accumulated debt for years (Suarez, 2010). This expansion was mainly driven by private consumption and by a speculative real estate bubble. To make things worse, the economic growth did not go hand in hand with a restructuring of the internal economy, influenced by neo-liberal practices. This did not increase either Spain’s international competitiveness, nor its local productivity, but rather it strengthen its financial and capitalist system.

The expansion of Spain’s economy can be mainly attributed to the further development of low-intensity industries and internal economic sectors such as construction and other services sectors associated with finance, housing, tourism and domestic services (Royo, 2009). Interestingly, the linchpin of Spain’s economic growth and production model was to rely on labour-intensive and temporary jobs for these sectors (reaching 33% of the labour market in 2006), jobs that were occupied for the most part by immigrant workers (Parella, 2013). Thus, the economic success of Spain was largely due to a reliance on immigrant cheap labour that could be then understood under another structuralist approach to migration and development: Wallerstein’s worlds’ systems theory. This centres on the idea that economies unavoidably need foreign labour to occupy underpaid jobs in certain production sectors in order to succeed, and that migration (in general) is the product of structural inequalities of a strongly unequal international order (Wallerstein, 1974). Although this theory focuses more on the imbalances generated by the penetration of capitalism in less developed countries, it explains the need of inexpensive labour as a structural requirement for a strong capital economy (Delgado Wise and Covarrubias, 2008) like in the case of Spain.

**Ecuadorian Migrants as Agents of Development**

The so-called “neo-optimistic” (Hass, 2012) approach to the development and migration nexus assumes that migration promotes development for the sending country (developing country) represented by remittances (economic and social) and by a potential “brain gain”, considering that migrants will return with knowledge to contribute to their home country’s welfare. These views promoted by neoliberal institutions, namely de World Bank and the IMF, consider...
remittances economic stabilizers and poverty alleviators, thus placing immigrants as potential agents for development.

In the case of Ecuador, remittances from migrants that left during the migration wave contributed to the economic recovery of this country during a short period of time. While migrants took on jobs with less advantageous remuneration, the high job availability and the wage difference in between Ecuador and Spain contributed to their success allowing them to promptly remit to their families. In 2001 the value of remittances rose to US$1.41 billion compared to US$643 million in 1997. In no time, Ecuador became a remittances-importer country supporting its balance of payments and thus stabilising its broken economy: remittances became the second largest source of income after oil exports (Jokisch and Pribilsky, 2002) and by 2005 they represented 5% of the country’s GDP (Fajnzylber and Lopez, 2008). This confirms that the massive migration phenomenon had a major impact on its economy. It was not until 2008 that the contribution of migrants were only acknowledged by constitutional reform and by creation of the National Secretariat for Migrants (SENAMI) with the objective of recognizing migrants’ rights and controlling their impact on local development.

At a micro-level, remittances initially represented an overall improvement of living conditions and well being of migrants’ families in Ecuador. They were mainly used to cover basic commodities and household goods and, as they increased, the majority of migrants’ families used those remittances to invest in Ecuador by purchasing either property or land (Ospina, 2010). In some cases, but to a lesser extent, remittances have also been used for co-development community projects. On a social level, economic remittances became the most important element of “transnational relations and ties” (Bauböck and Faist, 2010) for Ecuadorians in Spain. With a sudden oil boom in 2007 in Ecuador and the effects of the Spanish crisis the significance of remittances have decreased at the macro-level, but they have continued to be transcendental for migrants and their families.

Ecuadorian immigrants became transnational agents of development, since they contributed to Ecuador’s economic stabilization, provided for their families in Ecuador and at the same time secured the Spanish economic expansion. However, as their migration projects evolved, migrants’ role on Ecuador’s overall development diminished. In the long-term migration has not produced any significant socioeconomic changes but rather it has undermined development, hindered economic equality because there is not an equal distribution of remittances (Bertoli and
Marchetta, 2014) among Ecuadorians and has rather caused the country to loose human resources (“brain drain”) and other social problems such as family disintegration. Furthermore, the change of immigrant life trajectories has not contributed to a “brain gain” for Ecuador as the majority of Ecuadorians have rather resettled in Spain. In addition, as it will be discussed later, with the Spanish economic crisis the value of remittances have reduced considerably.

**Push Factors and Migratory Plans**

Although the predominant push factor, which caused the massive emigration wave to Spain, was indeed the economic downturn and financial collapse in Ecuador, about 41% left solely because of the economy (Embajada del Ecuador, 2015). However, there are several other economic, cultural and social aspects that either relate to the economic crisis or influenced individual decision-making processes for migrating to Spain. Among these other factors are: (1) family migration, (2) wage differences between Ecuador and Spain, (3) social capital, (4) word of mouth, and (5) debt (Herrera et al. 2005). An important feature of the massive migration to Spain is that it evolved as a product of collaboration between family and friends, creating transnational networks and contributing to boost the migratory process (Herrera et al. 2005). This collaboration included basic aspects such as funding, field experience or “know how”, accommodation, and help finding jobs. Thus social capital (Portes, 1998) is a key element that determined the initial success of the immigrant lives in Spain and of their families in Ecuador.

Another important element was the overall perception among Ecuadorians of Spain as a “developed” country from the Northern hemisphere, with better opportunities to work and to succeed (Interview Ortega, FENADEE 2015). The stereotype of migration is that departing to the North automatically leads to wealth and prosperity (Shurr and Stolz, 2010), despite the initial hardship it represented to migrate from Ecuador (working for many hours, living in poor conditions and leaving family behind). The first years of the immigrants’ life trajectories in Spain were also characterised by their economic accomplishments and success. In general, most immigrants managed to improve their living conditions and that of their families in Ecuador, they were able to move their families forward, thus achieving their initial goal. Accordingly, “significant increase in migration flows, especially those from South to North, is one of the many current expressions of the growing asymmetries that characterise contemporary capitalism” (Delgado Wise and Covarrubias, 2008:1360).

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3 Official Interviews are cited as following: (Interviewee Surname, Organisation or Institution, Date).
The initial migratory plan for the majority of Ecuadorians, particularly for women, was to stay in Spain for a limited amount of time, enough to enable them to provide for their families back home and save enough money to return. However, with the economic boom in Spain, Ecuadorians experienced an advantageous economic progress that made them rethink their plans. Labour opportunities and high salaries allowed Ecuadorians to generate sufficient income to both save and send high economic remittances to Ecuador, and also to consider the possibility of reuniting their families and settling in Spain. The economic success of Ecuadorians in Spain is characterised by the value of remittances and savings that was later reflected on the increase of consumption and asset accumulation both in Ecuador and in Spain. Some adventurous individuals even invested their savings and starting their own small businesses in Spain. They were prosperous; they didn’t think they were at big risk so many bet everything they had in order to purchase property. This aspect will be amply covered on the next chapter.

Although the main approach to migration and development focuses on the value of remittances for the country’s economy, “there has been an undervalue of the real, day-to day contributions migrants make to improve well-being, living standards and economic conditions in origin countries “ (Hass, 2012:9). Analysing Ecuadorians’ initial migratory projects in Spain, migration produced micro-level development and strengthened the Spanish economy, rather than attain sustained development for Ecuador’s economy. Development and migration then can be understood through a lens of global power perspectives, one that address the neo-liberal restructuring of localities of migrant settlements, and their on-going connections (Glick Schiller, 2010).

Conclusios- Chapter One
Ecuador has based its intentions of development on Western ideals of increasing capital that consequently produced a collapse of its financial system at the expense of those who made it possible in the first place: the middle classes. Ecuadorians became victims of a capital system that lured them into consumption and then left them without their lifetime savings. Thus the massive emigration exodus that occurred in the late twentieth century was clearly the consequence of neoliberal restructuring, underdevelopment and dependency that agrees with “pessimistic” views of both development and migration. Ironically, what pushed them to migrate, neo-liberal restructuring, is also what pulled them to Spain. They became key players of the “more developed” country the immigrated to as they were

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4 A 6% of Ecuadorians are small-business owners in Spain, who mainly own restaurants or services providers.
needed for assuring greater economic expansion through the provision on inexpensive labor. Ecuadorian immigrants not only became contributors of Spain’s economic growth but also played an important role for stabilizing Ecuador's broken economy, thus becoming agents of development for their own country.
Chapter 2: Surviving, Again

The aftermath of the 2008 global financial crisis has produced deep structural economic changes altering the dynamics of international migration. The economic, social and human consequences of the crisis have been greater for immigrant communities, since they are more vulnerable in the labour market (Martin, 2009). Receiving countries, mostly in the developed world, have become more resilient to migration. This is evidenced by governments creating restrictive migration policies and societies becoming less tolerant towards migrants (Ghosh, 2012). Furthermore, given the tendency of immigrants to work on those sectors more affected by the crisis, they have become the first victims of unemployment and poverty. In general, global financial crises have generated major impacts on international migrants, as they have been more susceptible to their effects.

The 2008 Spanish economic crisis has placed many Ecuadorians in a similar position of economic vulnerability to that they were before arriving to Spain. The crisis has meant lower incomes, unemployment and debt for the majority of Ecuadorians who, despite their increasing vulnerability, are willing to start all over again.

Part I: A Second Crisis

The Spanish Economic Crisis

The Spanish crisis was produced by domestic economic imbalances combined with the impact of the global financial crisis that harshly hit the country. As what happened in other parts of the world like the US, a total collapse of the Spanish financial system was prevented by economic rescue of the national government and by the European Union. However, the government could not prevent the impact of the severe global stock market drop on its own market, or the breakdown of their domestic economic sectors that resulted in prolonged unemployment. The downturn was first signalled by the sudden decline of the construction sector in 2007, which later turned into the collapse of the real estate sector, also known as the ‘property bubble burst’ of 2008. Since then Spain has been experiencing their worst economic recession in half a century.

On a macro-level, the crisis caused a GDP drop of 3.8% in less than one year affecting all the economic sectors and the entire population. Moreover, the downturn has produced an
unemployment crisis that, after eight years, has not been solved: the unemployment rates reached 19% of the economically active population, affecting almost five million people (Pajares, 2010). Spain, along with Greece, has reached the highest unemployment rates in the European Union (ibid). Furthermore, the recession has also been characterized by the ‘indebtedness’ of the population, especially of the middle classes and of immigrants who, during the economic boom became active consumers and targets of the housing market that was channelled to the banking system. With the housing market as that most affected, many were left not only without a job, but also facing debt, foreclosures and, in some cases, inevitable evictions. As a result, there have been thousands of individuals affected by mortgage and other sorts of debt (Suarez, 2010). Among the most affected, we find the Ecuadorian community and the immigrant population in general, who in their attempt to settle in Spain invested their assets. They are now confronting debt, payments of high interest for mortgages, and evictions as the consequence of the crisis. This latter aspect will be fully discussed later on this chapter.

Crisis and Immigrants

It has been argued that although economic crises affect workers in general, it affects immigrant workers and non-immigrant workers differently. According to Ghosh (2012), the global financial crisis has affected immigrant groups more than non-immigrant populations, as they are generally more vulnerable. Before the global economic crisis, the OECD noted that, in general, immigrant workers are more exposed to cyclical economic downturns than locals (Moser and Horn, 2013). The consequences of the crisis have shed light on these differences and inequalities. In most of the OECD countries affected by the crisis, immigrant workers became those who suffered most, becoming the first ones to lose their jobs, mainly because of the high concentration of migrants in the most affected economic sectors (Ghosh, 2012:69-74).

In addition, migrants usually have occupied low-skilled and temporary jobs, which are usually the first to be cut off by employers, as they can be easily replaced. In the case of Spain, the most affected sectors employed the larger number of immigrant workers; the construction sector, for example, was heavily affected by the crisis. In addition, as the labour market has become more competitive, it has also created more discrimination against immigrants, affecting their employment status (ibid). Finally, the impact of the crisis on migrants has also brought negative consequences for the transnational families, who benefitted from economic remittances, thus affecting not only the economy of migrants’ families in the country of origin but also the economy of their home country, together with the institutions and networks that are somehow
involved in the process of sending and receiving remittances (Herrera, 2012).

In the last two decades Spain became an immigrant country, its demand for low-cost and low-skilled labour resulted in Spain having the second highest number of immigrants in the OECD after the United States (Éltető, 2011). Foreigners still account for more than 12.2 % of the Spanish population (5 million); most of them are migrant workers that entered the country during the years of economic expansion, taking on less advantageous jobs: “immigrants were popularly perceived as occupying the jobs that (most) locals ‘did not find attractive’ for themselves” (Suarez, 2010: 3). From 2000 to 2007, foreign workers occupied about half of the jobs created during the years of economic growth in Spain. The overall dependence on immigrant employment increased from 1 to almost 15 % during those years (Pérez Infante, 2009). It was not about taking on available jobs, but taking those jobs that were badly remunerated: wages for immigrants were about 30 % lower than for local workers (ibid).

Consequently, when the crisis arrived in 2007, the first affected group was the immigrant workers since they occupied the most vulnerable jobs available in the market; temporary employment among foreigners was 60.6 % of all temporary jobs in the market (ibid). For example, with the crisis the construction sector, which mainly employed migrants, lost 1 million jobs in one year (Pajares, 2010). Moreover, both for Spaniards and immigrants, unemployment rates are higher among those with less skills and lower education (ibid). By 2009, the overall unemployment reached 18.8% with 29.7% (16.8% among Spaniards) among foreigners, demonstrating that immigrants are more vulnerable than non-immigrants. The current crisis has been frequently labelled as an unemployment crisis.

Besides high unemployment, the crisis has generated social consequences for the migrant community in Spain such as discrimination and inequality, consequences brought by changes in migratory policies that have become more restrictive, coupled with the reduction of public governmental funds destined for integration purposes (Moser and Horn, 2013). This includes return programs promoted both by the Spanish government and the European Union that provide incentives for immigrants to return to their country of origin as a strategy for dealing with their increasing economic vulnerability.

Although, there are recent signs of an economic recovery in Spain, it has been sluggish, and even tough migrants and migrant communities have developed a number of survival strategies, they remain the most vulnerable group dealing with the Spanish economic recession. According to
Parella (2013) “the immigrant population's perception is that the crisis ‘will last for long’ and that much of their survival strategies deployed in recent years are no longer sustainable, especially for people with irregular status or suffering from heavy debts” (Parella, 2013: 197).

A large number of Ecuadorians living in Spain have been dealing with the economic consequences of the crisis as well as the common social prejudices that immigrants tend to experience during economic downturns, as the vast majority of them are considered migrant workers. Besides presenting more macro-economic indicators, this section will provide qualitative accounts gathered during fieldwork research in Madrid that will illustrate the effects of the crisis over this diaspora.

**Ecuadorians in the New Spanish Labour Market**

“I came here because I wanted a better life for me and my family, with the expectation of succeeding, and now, now we are worse than when I left”

(Yesenia, Loja)

Although immigrants do not tell a homogenous account of the crisis, there is a general perception that “things are complicated over here”. The dramatic decline in spending and savings agrees with this subjective perception and also indicates a significant deterioration in the overall living conditions of the Ecuadorian community in Spain. And even among the Ecuadorians, the crisis affected the most vulnerable. Even for those that have been able to economically advance by opening a business (6 % of the group), getting higher education or having a steady job, agree that things are not as prosperous as they used to be.

The shock of the crisis and the on-going economic recession are evidenced among Ecuadorians primarily by their persistent rates of unemployment and by the number facing debt or being affected by mortgage payments. In fact, by 2009, Ecuadorians represented 14% of unemployed foreigners in Spain, becoming the most affected group among the Latin American immigrant population (Herrera, 2012). Employed or unemployed, the majority of Ecuadorians recalled having had a better economic situation before 2008 when the crisis began to swing the Spanish market. Most interviewees, if not all, recalled those times, especially when they first arrived to Spain and generally tend to compare it with how much worse they are living today. As Jose Antonio illustrates vividly, he remembers never having trouble finding a job and earning a good amount of money:
Finding a steady job or making a decent living has turned to be really complicated. When I first got here, I didn’t have any problem finding a place to work and I actually made good money, you know, it was really easy in that time. I mostly worked as a builder, in many parts of Spain (…) In a good month I was able to earn up to €3,000, sometimes even more, when they paid me by the hour or sometimes even, per meter. Today, I have to find all sorts of camello (jobs) in order to make it, but I roughly earn €1,000 or less per month.

Jose Antonio is a 47-year-old man originally from Guayaquil who has lived in Madrid for almost thirteen years; he worked in the construction sector for about seven years, where he was able to save and remit prosperously. He further explained to me that his economic situation has turned very difficult during this recession. However, Jose Antonio has found his way to subsist informally; he has been making a living as a musician, playing the guitar in the Metro or in private events for more than five years. He, like many other Ecuadorians with whom I held conversations, arrived to Madrid during the economic boom period and found a job in less than a week. Like him, there are many other Ecuadorians in Madrid and throughout Spain who haven’t found a formal job since 2009.

According to a recent study conducted by the Ecuadorian Embassy in Spain\(^5\), the percentage of unemployment among the Ecuadorian community in Spain rose from 7.5 % in 2007 to 31 % in 2014. The crisis affected the amount of income per capita in general, but this study revealed that the average income, among Ecuadorians, dropped from €1,355 to €874 per month. Correspondingly, today 64% of Ecuadorians earn less than €1,000 per month. This wage difference indicator agrees with similar amounts shared by various interviewees like Jose Antonio. Accordingly, the same study reveals that 11.5% of Ecuadorians depend on informal work for survival. Interviewees’ statements have been confirmed with the available reports and literature that support the claim that finding a job has become increasingly difficult, specially for those with less education or training. For those who do have jobs, besides grappling with diminished earnings, they also have to deal with uncertainty, as most available jobs are usually temporary. Mayra, a 34-year-old woman originally from Quito, works in a hair salon in a southwest neighbourhood in Madrid. She shared the following with me:

One has to be careful with work, try to do the best and be responsible. But, still, you never know. See, I started [working] here less than two months ago and I am not sure for how long I’ll be able to keep it. It has been like this, you know, from job to job but

\(^5\) The study ¿Cuál es la realidad de la comunidad ecuatoriana en España? 100 Respuestas conducted by the Ecuadorian Embassy was released on June 2015. Obtained on the filed, the study has not been officially published.
mostly doing this [hairdressing] and having to work up to 10 hours per day. But it is what it’s available now (…) so I can’t complain much, you know.

Ecuadorian immigrants who have managed to stay in the labour market usually occupy the lowest positions available, having been severely affected by the crisis, making job security more uncertain. Studies conducted in recent years such as Immigration and the Labour Market (Pajares, 2010:95) confirm that, out of the total number of Ecuadorian paid workers with legal status, 43% of them work for the low-skilled service sector and 36.5% as unskilled workers. Accordingly, Ecuadorians occupied jobs in the services or construction industries, which usually require low or no skills (Herrera, 2005). Therefore, undoubtedly, Ecuadorians are among the most affected by economic decline in the Spanish society, having to adapt to the dramatic changes in the labour market that today depends even more on low salaries, shorter shifts and temporary jobs.

This dependency on exploitative labour can be illustrated in the domestic work and care sectors, both of which have particularly changed since the crisis. Many women who used to work as domestics on a single household, earning a fixed salary and benefiting from social security, now have to clean multiple houses in order to make a decent amount per month. This is the case of Yesenia, an Ecuadorian woman who worked providing care and domestic service to a family for almost eight years. In response to the question of where she is currently working, she explained:

The truth is that I no longer have a steady job, I used to though. At the moment, I am cleaning a couple of houses in the city centre. I have to go here and there in order to make our [her family’s] living, is a lot more sacrificed. In the house that I used to work, I had longer shifts and had to do a bit of everything, including raising their kids. It was hard work but worth it.

Whilst the domestic sector has not been severely affected because there is still a high demand for it, the conditions of employment have changed, affecting mainly Ecuadorian women. Moreover, this has become a “refugee sector”, a setback for many women that were starting to advance in their employment trajectories before the economic downturn (Parella, 2013). With the crisis, low-skilled jobs have become not only more cyclical but also more competitive, making the struggle even more difficult. Moreover, the continuing economic recession is not only echoed in their employment status, but on everything else that it involves having lower or insecure incomes (such as in the capacity to cover basic expenses or, inevitably, in the value of remittances). Despite the crisis, Ecuadorians who still have families in their home country have continued to remit money frequently. However, the average value of remittances and their frequency have dramatically reduced from €320 monthly to €237 every two or three months (Embajada del Ecuador, 2015).
Survival Strategies and Rethinking Life Plans

In most cases, the crisis marked an important shift on Ecuadorian immigrants’ trajectories and life plans, since they have had to reconsider their long-term life projects again. In fact, most narratives gathered through interviews, including those done through informal conversations, emphasize how their lives radically changed since the crisis hit Spain. Additionally, the conversations with Ecuadorian immigrants revealed a general sense of struggle, of having to ‘start all over again’ (Herrera, 2012), a generalized feeling that is reflected upon the survival strategies they have adopted in order to subsist in Madrid. From taking multiple jobs to having to move to less expensive neighbourhoods, share-accommodation, or lowering the amount of remittances, immigrants have had to adopt a wide variety of actions in order to subsist in their host country. The types of responses are typical of immigrants in other parts of the world also affected by a crisis (Ghosh, 2012).

Another frequent survival strategy among some Ecuadorian immigrants that are unemployed or depending on informal jobs involves using the social services: unemployment compensation that comes from the Spanish government (Interview Vega de la Cuadra, Embajada del Ecuador 2015). Although this allowance covers the unemployed for no more than six months, it has been an alternative and a form of rescue for many Ecuadorians. Due to the massive increase of immigration to Spain during the first years of the century, the Spanish government started to develop a number of migratory regulation programmes with the objective of both integrating and controlling immigrant populations. Although migration policies have transformed because of the crisis, they have played an important role on the Ecuadorian migratory trajectories and have been, in general, advantageous for this group. The most relevant migration programme was launched in 2005, before the crisis started, were the Spanish government enforced a regularization process granting one-year residence permits for immigrants that could prove registration, accumulated contributions to social services and a clean police record. This gave Latin Americans the opportunity to obtain Spanish nationality by proving long-term employment.

The fact that most Ecuadorians arrived in Spain more than ten years ago has contributed to the convenience of obtaining either a residence status, or the Spanish nationality; their long trajectories as migrants have granted them that (López-Sala, 2013). For those who hold residency, the residence card has to be renewed each year and under the same conditions, which has become a problematic process since long-term unemployment means losing affiliation to the
social security system. Therefore, not having a formal job for more than six months means 
Ecuadorians loose access to the system that provides them not only with an economic 
compensation, but also with other benefits such as retirement plans and other types of 
allowances for health-related issues. According to the Ecuadorian Embassy in Spain, 7,500–
15,000 of Ecuadorians in Spain are at risk of losing their social services card, meaning that they 
could be denied access to health care, except for emergencies and maternity (Vega de la Cuadra, 
2014).

In this regard, it is important to mention that alternatives for survival of this kind have been 
more attainable for Ecuadorians than for other immigrant groups due to their legal residency or 
citizenship status. According to the INE (Instituto Nacional de Empleo, 2014), out of the 
438,979 Ecuadorians who currently live in Spain, 207,909 individuals have acquired Spanish 
citizenship, accounting almost for 50% of the community. Additionally, there is an increasing 
population of Ecuadorians born in Spain that is about 16,000. Holding European citizenship has 
encouraged free mobility among some Ecuadorians, giving them the opportunity to circulate 
more easily within Europe and other parts of the world. Consequently, having Spanish 
citizenship has also provided some Ecuadorians with the option to try international labour 
mobility or onward migration as alternate survival strategies. 7.3% of the Ecuadorian community 
in Spain has already migrated onwards to other European countries with better economic 
conditions and with available jobs. They have done so mostly to the United Kingdom, Germany, 
and France, and to a lesser extent to other countries within the European Union, and even to the 
United States (Schuster, 2005; Embajada del Ecuador, 2015; Interview Ortega, FENADEE 
2015).

This will be recognised as a type of ‘non-regulated circular migration’ (Vertovec, 2007) that 
involves the migration or onward migration of individuals that have already engaged in some sort 
of migration process before, and they do so in order to work usually for short period of times. 
For many Ecuadorians, this has been the case, as they already have families settled in Spain but 
the economic recession has pushed them to move for periods of six months or one year in order 
to save some money. Unlike their first migratory trajectory, from Ecuador to Spain, few have 
actually settled in the new destination. Another characteristic of this new form of migration is 
that it is usually done through ‘transnational ties’ (Faist, 2000), that is, social connections with 
family, friends or compatriots that live in the new destination country as they did when they first 
moved to Spain. In the Ecuadorian case, migratory networks and transnational ties have played
an important role in securing success for new migration projects since they usually facilitate job searches and initial accommodation, providing them with the necessary ‘know-how’ (Interview Ortega, FENADEE 2015). All of these factors and knowledge is what Vertovec (2007) calls ‘migration-specific capital’: “the more you have of this, the less risk you face moving, the lower the costs and the better the chances of success... all factors encouraging circular migration” (Vertovec, 2007:5).

Regardless the fact that Ecuadorians with dual citizenship hold a privileged position compared to others immigrant groups (such as Moroccans) they still remain vulnerable and more affected by the crisis compared to the native Spaniards. In the Spanish social imaginary and especially in the labour market they are still considered and recognized as Ecuadorian migrants, mostly based on their race, accent and background, making them still more vulnerable in the current economic recession (Interview Vega de la Cuadra, Embajada del Ecuador 2015). Moreover, racism and xenophobia and social discrimination in general has become visible during the recession, since the labour market has become more competitive and in many cases employers prefer to hire immigrants over native Spaniards (ibid).

The majority of narratives from Ecuadorians with Spanish citizenship, who I interviewed in Madrid, confirmed that their citizenship has definitely benefited them, most importantly those who have children because they can access subsidized education, health contributions and other social benefits for their families. Also, their naturalization status has saved them both time and money in bureaucratic duties such as not having to worry about getting their residence card renovated. However, having the citizenship has not made a relevant difference at the moment of looking for a job because, as previously explained, the demand for inexpensive and temporary labour has increased during the current recession. Additionally, nationalization has also meant having easier access to asset accumulation which, on the one hand has integrated Ecuadorians into the Spanish economy, and on the other it has made it easier for them to get in debt.

**Victims of Mortgage**

The most relevant finding of the present study is the generalized indebtedness among the Ecuadorian community, which contributes to explain the effects of the crisis. All the empirical evidence collected for this work in Madrid, including interviews, agrees with the fact that difficulties managing debt have been the primary element increasing Ecuadorian vulnerability in the on-going economic crisis. This debt is mainly acquired through mortgage payments. As it will be shown, Ecuadorian immigrants also became victims of the liberalisation of financial
institutions, the essential element that triggered the global financial crisis. Thousands of Ecuadorians have become victims of a ‘real estate fraud’ that promised them a secure home but that instead has left them without savings, in debt and, in many cases, without a home.

Family reunification is crucial for understanding massive housing indebtedness of Ecuadorians in Spain. Besides the regularization of their immigration status, the change on their migratory plans can be mainly attributed to these two important factors, which are directly interconnected (Vega de la Cuadra, 2014; Herrera, 2012; CONADEE, 2011; Moser and Horn, 2013). The reunification process of Ecuadorian families was made easier through one of the migratory programmes employed by the Spanish government that took off in 2005. The migration policy allowed the reunification of families of immigrants under certain conditions such as proving they had secure housing and sufficient means of subsistence. Thus, becoming a homeowner became the new objective for many Ecuadorians.

Accordingly, buying a home became very accessible due to attractive real estate offers created by a number of Spanish financial institutions that recognized a market opportunity in the increasing migrant population. They offered housing credits tailored to the new migrants, using the government’s prerequisite for family integration as a marketing strategy to capture thousand of immigrant costumers, mainly Latin Americans. In between 2005 and 2007, a large number of Ecuadorians settled for the attractive offer of having a home, although that meant using almost all of their savings for the down payment, and getting in debt by acquiring mortgages of twenty-years or more. However, as Aida Quinatoa, president of the National Committee of Ecuadorians in Spain (CONADEE), explained to me:

“We as immigrants became new targets for real estate speculation created during the housing bubble. The banks’ marketing schemes painted us a different story, offering us the chance to have a decent home with the long-term possibility of even generating profit, and of course they did not explain the abusive conditions and exaggerated interest rates that were hidden behind the promised benefits”.

Indeed, the Spanish financial institutions offered Ecuadorian immigrants the possibility to purchase their home through a system of mortgage securitization and cross-guarantees, meaning that in order to do so, the person had to also pay an insurance plan that would secure the asset, or else have a guarantor that would secure instalments and minimize the risk for the bank. Problematically, in this system of cross-guarantees, the banks not only permitted but also
endorsed guarantors to be otherwise mortgaged, rather than individuals with a reliable credit history. In fact, in the majority of cases the guarantors and mortgaged did not know each other in advance until signing a contract, since the financial institutions also did the matching (CONADEE, 2009; Mancero, 2012; Mayoral, 2009).

For example, Aida herself, with whom I maintained various conversations, has been confronting this situation. Living in Madrid for more than eight years, she was determined to purchase a ‘decent’ flat and did so through Caja de Ahorros del Mediterraneo (CAM), a bank that gave her, and many other migrants, loans telling them that they could obtain a profit of 120 per cent from its value and could bring their families to live in Spain. Aida signed a mortgage putting all of her savings as a down payment and without knowing the consequences. Soon after, she was told by CAM that she was obliged to put her home as collateral to another Ecuadorian family following the system of cross-guarantees. Two years later, as the crisis arrived, CAM called Aida to repossess her home because the other mortgaged family who had cross-guaranteed her, had stopped paying their debt. With the aggravation of the crisis, low income and unemployment has provoked individuals to miss their mortgage instalments. Among Ecuadorian homeowners with a mortgage, half of them were using 75% of their total income in mortgage payments (Colectivo IOE 2010: 142). Consequently, the reaction of banks has been to start an aggressive pressure on the mortgaged as well as on guarantors to pay, augmenting their interest rates and starting foreclosure processes that in many cases, due to lack of payment, have resulted in unavoidable evictions, forcing people out of their homes.

This was the case of Rosa, a 48-year-old woman from Cuenca that after two years of missing payments, received an eviction order. Her mortgage debt increased from €2400,000 to €300,000 in less than two years. Although she tried to pay her debt by borrowing some money and selling some assets in Ecuador it wasn’t enough to cover it. “I had to decide in between feeding my kids or paying the debt so I ended up offering my flat in return of my debt, but it was not enough for covering the entire amount so I ended up without a home and still with the mortgage that had increased because of the high interests”. As Rosa, some Ecuadorians have made the attempt to cover their debt by returning the purchased property as a ‘method of payment’ (‘dación de pago’) but financial institutions have been resilient to accept this. This is because the appraisal companies have depreciated property values and the interest rates have increased the outstanding value of the mortgage, thus perpetuating the debt. Problematically, the Spanish legislation has permitted and protected this sort of financial practices that allow evictions to happen leaving people homeless, in debt (Colau and Alemany, 2012) and without any option of legal defence.
The first cases of Ecuadorians having to confront legal threats were absolutely helpless because they had limited awareness of their rights and in many cases were denied the right for legal support; many couldn’t even afford it.

In response to the increasing number of Ecuadorians affected by mortgages Ecuadorian organizations such as CONADEE AND FEDAFEE, as well as the Ecuadorian Embassy in Spain, have turned to tackle this issue specifically, creating support groups and providing free legal advise and support to counter the foreclosures and prevent more evictions to take place. By 2014, 40.7% of Ecuadorians living in Spain are known to be dealing with an issue related to mortgage payments and 5% with a judicial order, evidencing that the indebtedness to mortgages is a generalised problem among this group. It is important to mention that before this situation took place, the Ecuadorian diaspora in Spain was rather disarticulated, the associative participation was low, few Ecuadorians joined Ecuadorian organisations in Spain.

Interestingly, the mortgage issues have strengthen the Ecuadorian community, bringing it together due to their shared struggle (Interview Ortega, FENADEE). In 2008, CONADEE with Aida as their president, led the first march in Madrid to protest against evictions, without knowing the domino effect and the seed she was planting for the social collectives that emerged after (Gálvez, 2015).
Immigrants are known to be the first affected by evictions and mortgage-related issues due to their economic fragility and limited access to legal aid. However, with the on-going crisis, the ‘victims of mortgage’ (PAH, 2008) are not only Ecuadorians or immigrants, but also an overwhelming portion of the native Spanish population that is also in debt for buying property during the intense expansion of the Spanish housing bubble. With the raising number of affected individuals, the so-called ‘subprime’ mortgages have been publicly categorized as a fraud and as a mechanism of looting individuals by inducing them to purchase homes under dishonest promises and hidden abusive terms. In response, the problem has collectivised creating a number of social movements, notably the social group Plataforma de Afectados por Hipoteca (PAH) that has dynamically fought and demanded justice for the affected by pressuring the Spanish government to take action (Colau and Alemany, 2012). Their continuing confrontation has already achieved the prevention of many expulsions and has made the issue visible to the media and to the world. Aida’s fight through CONADEE has been recognised to be “the first stone of the PAH in the capital” (Gálvez, 2015). Aida also became spokeswoman for PAH Madrid, and has been recognised as a key figure in ‘pushing things forward’ and making justice. She currently represents PAH Madrid in national and regional forums. Although the fight against subprime mortgages and forced evictions has been collectivised, the central debate has missed immigrants’ struggle that still remain on the margins even if they were the first to protest against them.

Part II: The Myth of Return

Not returning

There is the increasing belief that the Spanish economic shock has created massive remigration to Ecuador. Therefore, to investigate migrants’ prospects of a return was my primary focus of research, however on the field I found that the majority of Ecuadorian immigrants were more concerned with getting on with their migratory project in Spain, surviving and solving their economic frustrations, rather than returning to Ecuador. Nevertheless, the majority of Ecuadorians whom I spoke to revealed their rooted desire to return home “some day”.

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6 PAH is a grassroots organization that fights against evictions in Spain. Social activist Ada Colau, recently elected mayor of Barcelona, founded it in 2009. Today, it has 150 branches across Spain.

7 The study ¿Cuál es la realidad de la comunidad ecuatoriana en España? 100 Respuestas recently revealed that 36% of Ecuadorians have not decided if they want to return or not, 18% will want to and 26% have decided to permanently stay in Spain.
Returning was the entire purpose of immigrants’ initial migratory project, but after family reunification and asset acquisition, the idea of homecoming has gradually faded. While the economic crisis does have an impact on Ecuadorians’ plans to return, social, emotional and cultural factors is what really determines their decisions not to return home, shifting their plans to imagining their futures in Spain, and no longer in Ecuador. The most important aspect is family; in general, family influences remigration decisions. In their study of return female migrants in Ecuador, Shurr and Stolz (2010) found that women that are mothers either return because of their children or decide to stay for the same reason. The children of immigrants or the so-called “second generation” play an important role on the decision-making process of a return. The majority are either born in Spain or arrived at a younger age, and so they feel more socially integrated than their parents. Also, young Ecuadorians have to grapple with issues of dual identity usually feeling more Spanish than Ecuadorians (Embajada del Ecuador, 2014), thus rooting the Ecuadorian family to their host country. Furthermore, literature on family reunification of Ecuadorians and my own empirical evidence confirmed that acquiring property with a purpose of family reunification had a direct influence over the Ecuadorians’ overall migratory projects. By unifying the transnational family, the migrant’s desire of returning systematically decreases, contributing rather to permanent settlement in the host country. This way return migration becomes a less probable idea (Portes, 2007).

As explained earlier, settling in Spain has required getting in debt, and this has become an important factor that immigrants consider in their returning decision-making process. Some people who are in debt have actually returned as an option to escape from their debts. However, the majority have stayed in Spain permanently, even sold their assets in Ecuador that physically attached them to their homeland in order to pay their debt. Many others think that returning because of debt will be considered a failure and will represent a lack of accomplishments (Boccagni, 2011). As Mayra said to me: “If I failed once, why should I go back, to fail again?” In fact, the fear of returning “empty-handed” is frequent among Ecuadorians who initially left Ecuador in pursuit of economic advancement. “We got used to having a better lifestyle and now its difficult to go back with nothing”, another interviewee remarked.

Those who haven’t reunified their families or that have a complicated family situation are reluctant to return due to emotional or cultural reasons. For example, Jorge, a 50-year-old divorced man who enjoys the sense of liberty and easy going-ness of the Spanish society, does not want to return because in Spain he feels free from social responsibilities: “Here I no longer
agree with traditional beliefs” he said. The Spanish society is more accepting of single mothers or single women, divorced men, homosexuals, or any other social circumstance that breaks with the more conservative social paradigms of the Ecuadorian society (Interview Sanchez, 2015).

On a subjective sense, the majority of them were able to “make it” once, and prefer to stay and keep trying rather than returning home empty handed, with an uncertain future, “it will be like doing it all over it again” Rosa said to me. The return means that the victories gained would be nullified. There is generalised fear to return due to uncertainty and a lack of trust in the political system of the home country, together with a general perception of lack of socioeconomic opportunities. Despite unemployment or burdensome jobs, living in Spain has allowed Ecuadorians to access social benefits, and secure a better future for their families. In addition, those who have acquired the Spanish nationality have access to a number of social benefits that in Ecuador are not guaranteed, such as education for children and health services. As pointed out earlier, the nationality has allowed Ecuadorians to try remigration to other countries that have a better economic situation than Spain or Ecuador.

For those that still dream of returning, there is always an “unfinished business” that keeps postponing their plans. For example, Aida dreams of returning to Ecuador, as most of her extended family has either returned or never left. However, unemployment and her collective fight against evictions have made her postpone her return for more than five years. Aida who was also an indigenous activist back in Ecuador, said to me that “here I have been able to push social causes forward”.

While some Ecuadorians have decided to return, the majority has found ways to ‘keep going’ and surviving despite the economic situation. Many of the interviewed have already settled down, identifying Madrid as a new home, afraid of the idea of a return without anything.

**Spanish Return Programme**

In response to the increasing vulnerability of immigrants due to the crisis, the Spanish government also launched a return programme, financed by the EU Return Fund. It promotes the voluntary return of migrants to their home countries through local organisations. Initially the programme supported only legal migrants who were part of the formal labour market by giving them the total amount of their unemployment benefits if they decided to return. However, this modality of the programme represents limited support at great sacrifice for immigrants, because
there is a number of conditions in order to have access to it, such as having to give up their residence cards, having to leave within 30 days of receiving the first part of their unemployment benefit, and not being able to return to Spain to undertake any sort of economic activity in three years (Interview López, Rumiñahui 2015). Other modalities of the programme include humanitarian aid for irregular immigrants that are living under extreme conditions by covering their return journey and reinstallation expenses. Also, there is the modality of “productive return” that also covers the journey expenses, providing the migrant with aid for starting a micro-business.

According to Juan José López from Asociación Rumiñahui, an Ecuadorian-Spanish association that manages the Spanish return programme for migrants in Madrid, the majority of Ecuadorians that have used the Spanish return plan have been the most vulnerable, those who decide to return “out of desperation”. Since most of them have worked for many years, they have chosen the unemployment aid modality. This programme has not been effective nor popular among the Ecuadorian community because of the sacrifices it represents and because the aid does not support Ecuadorians who already hold Spanish nationality, which is half of the diaspora. In five years, from 2009 to 2014, only 1,653 Ecuadorians voluntarily returned using the Spanish programme (Ministerio de Empleo y Seguridad Social, 2014). Although many request information and think about it, very few have actually used it. López also explained that the majority that do return end up regretting it “but then, is too late to change their mind because they have already lost their rights”.

Some will argue that the Spanish return programme is only a strategy that disguises social exclusion and the government’s desire to have immigrants out. Interestingly, the plan has been promoted while at the same time Spanish migratory policies have become more restrictive. Now that the capital model of Spain has collapsed, they no longer require immigrant labour to make their economy work and are rather looking for ways to address unemployment.

Return and Development

Going back to the migration and development discussion, another assumption of the optimistic approach is that return migration is considered to promote development under the idea that labour migrants will potentially return to their countries bringing back new knowledge and capital to invest, thus developing the country (Faist et al., 2011). International organisations such
as the International Organisation of Migration (IOM) and governments have specially identified remigration as potential for local development.

Following the mainstream approach, and considering that 10% of Ecuador’s population has emigrated overseas and their potential impact on development, the Ecuadorian government created a return plan to actively encourage migrants to go back to their country. The Plan de Retorno Voluntario, Digno y Sostinible Bienvenid@s a Casa launched in 2008, aimed at supporting and guiding Ecuadorians in the process of remigration. The programme provided immigrants who returned a number of benefits that helped them reintegrate economically and socially. The benefits included: tax exception for transporting household goods, housing subsidies, funds for micro start-ups and opportunities to access the labour market (Interview López, Rumiñahui 2015). In addition, and to further promote development the plan included “the foundation of a specialized bank (Banco del migrante) to invest migrants’ financial resources in a ‘productive’ way” (Shurr and Stolz, 2010:63). The program was clearly designed to use returning immigrants as agents of development beyond remittances, expecting them to reinvest their funds in the country and stimulate the country’s production.

However, the plan did not consider the context of immigrants at that time (mostly in debt) or their social reasons for not wanting to return. Although the plan did generate an interest among the Ecuadorian migrant community in Spain, very few immigrants actually made use of it. The Ecuadorian’s expectations of using immigrants as agents of development through the return programme have been gradually diminished, as they have realized that each year less and less Ecuadorians decide to return, and that they require other sort of assistance, such as legal assistance for people who are dealing with mortgage payments (Interview Vega de la Cuadra, Embajada del Ecuador 2015).

Conclusions - Chapter 2

The impact of the Spanish economic recession for the Ecuadorian migrant community is an example of how migrants, in some cases, are victims rather than agents of economic development. Ecuadorian immigrants allowed Spain “to meet the rising labour demand, restrain wage-push inflation, boost consumption and place the economy on an upward swing” (Ghosh, 2012). This resulted in a prosperous economy, which they also benefited from, until the global

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4 Plan de Retorno Voluntario, Digno y Sostinible Bienvenid@s a Casa was originally launched by the former National Secretariat for Migrants (SENAMI). Due to low interest, the plan is temporarily being redesigned though some benefits that are available for migrants through the Ecuadorian Embassies or Ecuadorian Consulates around the world.
crisis crushed affecting them the most.
The findings presented in this chapter show how the liberalization of the financial system in Spain allowed immigrants to join the consumer market and induced them to get in debt. Ecuadorians that migrated to Spain looking for a better and more prosperous life are yet again facing a similar reality than when they left and, ironically, the financial institutions are the ones to blame for. However, many Ecuadorians still long for those prosperous times to come back, and hope that they can still make it in Spain. As, one of my interviewees told me: “If I did it once here, why not again?”.

Conclusion

The intrinsic link in between migration and development goes beyond the mainstream optimistic and pessimistic views of study that have overlooked the impact that capitalist restructuring of migrant-receiving countries have on immigrant settlement plans (Glick Shiller, 2009). The connections in between the Ecuadorian economic collapse in 1998 and the global financial crisis that hardly hit Spain in 2008 demonstrate that Ecuadorians who migrated as a consequence of underdevelopment are now facing the same economic struggle caused by in a country that was supposed to be “more developed”.

Interestingly, the cause of both crises is essentially the same: the collapse of a system dependent on financial institutions that established by Neoliberal influence that has affected particularly the most vulnerable. Thus, Ecuadorians that lost their lifetime savings to the financial system and where left ‘empty handed’ are today left without homes do to the same reason. I have intended to highlight this point by reconstructing the narratives of Ecuadorian immigrants living in Madrid who have been affected by the Spanish economic crisis mainly by subprime mortgage, which becomes very clear with the generalised indebtedness of Ecuadorian immigrants. Ecuadorians immigrants, who most of them belonged to the Ecuadorian middle class, have contributed to the development of both Ecuador and Spain by becoming victims of Neoliberal practices, of the process of creation and destruction of capital. As Aida expressed in an interview to a British magazine:

“For more than a decade, many of us have taken the toughest jobs: we have worked in construction, in cleaning, in transport, in agriculture, cared for the children and elderly of other people… we have clearly contributed to the enrichment of this country while, at great sacrifice, we sent most of our income to our country, also contributing to and strengthening of our economy” (European Cultural Foundation, 2013).
However, what differences the two crises is how Ecuadorians have responded to them thus making it a paradox. What once made them migrate today is what roots them to Spain the most: the idea of economic advancement and household provision. The Spanish economic expansion created “new forms of desire” making immigrants reconsider their migratory projects. Moreover, the assumption that the on-going Spanish crisis is pushing Ecuadorians back to their home country has proven to be a myth. Instead migrants have adopted a number of survival strategies and rethink their plans but in the same location.

Finally, it is important to mention that while it has been recognised that immigrants are particularly vulnerable in the global crisis, government responses of migrant-receiving countries like Spain have turned to promote return schemes to push immigrant back to their home countries. Immigrants that once were beneficial for supporting the economic advancement of developed nations now are further excluded as ways of dealing with the employment shortage. Thus, the individuals who have migrated to most developing countries become victims of not only development but of growing strict migratory policies.
**References**


