

THE IMPACT OF THE CRISIS ON THE INTEGRATION  
PROCESS OF ECUADORIANS IN SPAIN

El impacto de la crisis sobre el proceso de integración  
del colectivo de origen ecuatoriano en España

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**Suggested citation format:** Moreno Márquez, Gorka, Iglesias Martínez, Juan, y Fernández García, Mercedes (2017). El impacto de la crisis sobre el proceso de integración del colectivo de origen ecuatoriano en España. *Sophia: colección de Filosofía de la Educación*, 23(2), pp. 253-271

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### Abstract

This article aims to analyze the real impact of the economic downturn on Ecuadorians living in Spain, and how these effects have influenced their social insertion process and expectations of social mobility, both for the first and the second generation. For this purpose, data extracted from EPOERE, a quantitative survey on Ecuadorian population, have been used.

The main results of this study show how the downturn has bitterly bitten this population, producing a high increase in both unemployment and vulnerability. However, it is also noteworthy that in the same period there has been a high administrative and legal stabilization and the rooting process has improved and deepened. These last factors have played an attenuating role in the crisis and have enabled a response in better conditions than other groups. In this article, we also provide some reflections on public policies in the field of attention to the migrant population, both for the present moment and in a post-crisis context, for the medium and long term. In this second post-crisis scenario aspects such as the educational expectations of immigrants' offspring and the possibilities of upward social mobility through the school take great relevance.

### Keywords

International migrations, economic crisis, integration, Ecuador, Spain.

### Resumen

Este artículo pretende analizar cuál ha sido el impacto real de la crisis económica y financiera para el colectivo de origen ecuatoriano residente en España, y cómo han incidido dichos efectos en su proceso de inserción social y expectativas de movilidad social, tanto de la primera como de la segunda generación. Para ello se ha dispuesto de los datos de la EPOERE, una encuesta realizada a esta población.

Los principales resultados de este estudio muestran cómo el impacto de la crisis ha sido muy alto en el ámbito económico y material, de tal forma que se ha producido un elevado aumento tanto del desempleo como de la vulnerabilidad dentro del colectivo. Sin embargo, también es destacable que en el mismo periodo se ha dado una alta estabilización administrativa y legal y un mayor arraigo. Estos segundos factores han jugado a modo de atenuante de la crisis y han possibilitado una respuesta a la misma en mejores condiciones que otros colectivos. Asimismo, en este artículo se plantean algunas reflexiones en materia de políticas públicas en el campo de la atención a la población migrante, tanto para el momento actual y dentro de un contexto poscrisis, como también de cara al medio y largo plazo. En este segundo escenario poscrisis aspectos como las expectativas educativas de los hijos e hijas y las posibilidades de movilidad social ascendente a través del sistema escolar toman gran relevancia.

### Palabras clave

Migraciones internacionales, crisis económica, integración, Ecuador, España.

## Introduction

This article aims to analyze the real impact of the economic and financial crisis for the group of Ecuadorian origin living in Spain, and how these effects have affected their social insertion process and expectations of social mobility, both in the first and in the second generation.

For this purpose, the data of the Survey of population of Ecuadorian origin in Spain (EPOERE) has been made available, since it is a useful

tool to have a clear and precise photograph of the situation of this group, their needs and which have been the main changes occurred as a result of the crisis.

In the last twenty years, Spain became a recipient of immigration flows. Between 1998 and 2008, the foreign population increased by about 5 million people, a rapid increase coupled with an expansive economic cycle and a high demand for cheap and flexible labor, which is mainly directed towards sectors that are labor-intensive, such as agriculture, tourism, construction, hospitality and domestic service and personal care. As of 2008, the socio-economic context has varied greatly and the impact of the economic recession has included, among other things, the exponential increase in unemployment, job insecurity and an increase in situations of social vulnerability.

The group of Ecuadorian origin is not alien to this situation. This group is incorporated into Spanish society in the late nineties, in full expansion cycle; after a period of strong vulnerability, began a process of establishment and substantial improvement of its situation, although always within margins of socioeconomic precariousness... In the first moment of the crisis, and to the extent that the economic and labor situation worsened progressively, it was advanced from various instances that return would be the main consequence or feature of the Ecuadorian community in Spain. However, after the crisis period, everything seems to indicate that the main option of Ecuadorians in Spain has been the permanence and the rooting, while the return has been only a minority option. Thus, if in 2008 there were 458,437 people born in Ecuador, this figure was 410 517 for 2016, 47 920 people less - 10.5%.

With regard to the structure of the article, a bibliographical review is first carried out and the main results of the analysis of the economic crisis on the immigrant group of foreign origin are presented on the one hand; and the general characteristics and profile of the Ecuadorean collective, in particular, before and after the crisis on the other. Subsequently, the methodology used to obtain the analyzed data in the results is presented, highlighting the main technical characteristics of the survey. In the results section two parts have been differentiated, one focused on the consequences of the crisis in the economic and material level of the collective; and another that has dealt with the process of establishment and social stability that has occurred precisely in this period of time. Finally, the conclusions summarized the main results, emphasizing the ambivalence of the integration processes and the process experienced by the Ecuadorian community resident in Spain. Also, some reflections on



public policies in the field of attention to the migrant population, which emanate directly from the main results obtained in this article, both for the present moment and in a post-crisis context as well as for the medium and long term. In this second post-crisis scenario, aspects such as the educational expectations and trajectories of the children and the possibilities of upward social mobility through the school system are very relevant, with the aim of not repeating the vulnerable social conditions of their parents.

## The process of integration of the Ecuadorian collective in Spain and the impact of the crisis

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The literature on international migration uses recurrently the concept of integration. A first feature to be highlighted is the polysemic character of this concept and a use of it which often shows a great terminological and theoretical indeterminacy (Hammar and Lithman, 1989). This lack of consensus makes the concept itself a controversial topic within the academic debate itself (Favell, 2005), although in general all have an impact on the impacts and effects of immigration on the receiving society (Schierup and Alund, 1986).

Traditionally, migration theory has distinguished between three models of integration (Blanco, 2000; López Sala, 2005): the assimilationist model (Gordon, 1964, Alba and Nee, 1997); the melting pot model of cultures (Lambert and Taylor, 1988); and cultural pluralism (Aguado, 1987, Rodríguez Rojo, 2006). These three models emphasize the cultural issues of integration, often neglecting the relevance of social, economic and labor aspects (Brah, 1996; Provansal, 1999).

In fact, in the last decades other models of integration have highlighted these shortcomings and have influenced the relevance of material issues in the processes of integration of the immigrant community. Within these theories it is interesting to emphasize that segmented assimilation (Portes and Borocz 1989; Portes, 2000), in which it is argued that the host society is segmented in terms of resources and opportunities and that the position in each social stratum determines in large part access to or not to these resources and opportunities. The integration processes are not linear and different factors influence the economic situation, as has been seen in recent years in Europe and the United States.

The global economic crisis that began in the financial sector and which later spread to other economic and productive sectors has had a

strong impact on the Spanish economy. In this sense, and for the Spanish case, along with factors common to the international crisis, there were also interactions with others of an internal nature and associated with its productive model or the hypertrophy of the real estate sector (Méndez, Abad and Echaves, 2015, p.50).

The economic crisis has not spread equally in all segments and collectives of society. In this sense, the immigrant group that was worse off in the labor market before the recession - greater temporality, greater concentration in occupations and labor-intensive sectors, lower wages - has been one of the most affected by the new situation, since much of the economic and productive adjustment brought about by the recession took place over the jobs they held (Foessa, 2014). In fact, the labor, economic and social differences between the autochthonous and foreign-born groups have intensified in these years, especially in the first period of the crisis, and then stabilized in the second period (Colectivo IOÉ, 2012; Godenau et al., 2014).

In this line, the labor market has been one of the areas of integration in which the impact of the economic crisis on the immigrant population has been most marked (Gómez, 2011). From being a collective fully incorporated in the model of previous growth in terms of activity and occupation; became one of the social groups that was most affected by the scenario of intense and accelerated job destruction (Carrasco and García-Serrano, 2015). As has already been pointed out, this decrease in the employed population occurs mainly in the period 2007-2010 and in the construction sector, destroying 2.1 million jobs of people of foreign origin in this sector, almost 53% of the total construction jobs in the period prior to the crisis.

The consequences of the crisis, as may be assumed, were very marked. Unemployment has increased exponentially, from 11.8% in the third quarter of 2007 to 39.2% in the first of 2013. The decline in employment has also been very marked and has declined in 25.2% for this group, whereas for the native population this decrease was 12.4% (Oliver, 2015, p.127).

As it can not be otherwise, the deterioration in the access to the labor market and its conditions for the immigrant collective has had a great relevance on the conditions of life. The crisis has thus led to an increase in the social and economic gap between the population of foreign origin resident in Spain and the native population (Mahía and de Arce, 2014). Thus, if the difference in the risk of severe exclusion was 5.4 percentage points for the moment before the crisis -2007-; in 2013 the distance between both groups is located at 14.8 points. (Foessa, 2014, p.184).

In short, we are in a scenario in which the process of integration of the immigrant group in Spain, which was upward and linear in the economic boom period, has been much deteriorated as a result of the economic crisis and its effects have been very marked in aspects such as occupation and unemployment or material living conditions.

However, there have also been other elements that have made the crisis not have had more dramatic consequences still on this group. These include the high administrative stability of the group or the limited extent of reluctant attitudes towards this group, which could have jeopardized the coexistence between the indigenous and immigrant groups.

With regard to the administrative situation, if the most precarious legal and administrative situations, such as irregularity or initial and temporary residence permits, were in the economic boom period; the years of rootedness and stability of the collective in Spain have meant that much of it has been able to enjoy much more stable situations during the recession period (Carrasco, 2014, Godenau et al., 2014), as well as permanent residence permits or including naturalizations. The latter have had a great relevance, especially in the case of the Latin American group that had been in Spain the longest - Ecuador, Colombia, Peru - (Álvarez, 2010). This greater stability, especially in the case of naturalization, has led to greater access to a whole range of rights, which, although they have not diminished the social and economic impact of the crisis as a whole, have served to mitigate the effects of it (Martínez de Lizarrondo, 2016).

In a second point of this section we will present the main features and characteristics of the immigration of Ecuadorian origin residents in Spain, in order to outline more precisely the object of study of this article.

The first migratory flows from Ecuador occurred in the late 1990s, in a context of political and economic crisis in the country of origin and a boom in the Spanish economy, coupled with relatively easy access to the country (Ramírez and Ramírez, 2005; Herrera et al., 2005).

As in the case of other groups, access to Spanish society occurs under criteria of high labor and administrative precariousness (Iglesias, 2010). Their employment insertion takes place, mainly through three sectors of activity. The first is domestic chores and personal care, which is mainly for women and in urban areas. The second, the construction sector, in this case male and in urban areas and related to tourism. The third sector is the agroexport, also male and concentrated in the Mediterranean area (Collective IOÉ, 2007).

The process of incorporation of this group has been marked by permanence and rooting in Spain (Sanz, 2015), which has meant a pro-

cess of social upward movement during the economic boom period and has been endorsed in aspects such as high legal stability and a strong impact of naturalizations and also by an intense process of family reunification (Gratton, 2007; Bear, 2011).

However, it has been one of the groups within immigrants that have suffered the most from the impact of the crisis, which has come precisely in the process of social and family roots and insertion. This dynamics has been reflected in a significant decline in labor and economic indicators more related to material living conditions (Iglesias et al., 2015).

## Data and methodology

The data used in this article come from the Survey of Population of Origin Ecuadorian Resident in Spain -EPOERE-. This survey was carried out during the last quarter of 2014 and the first one of 2015. The target audience of the survey was of people older than 16 born in Ecuador and resident at the time of the survey in Spain. The population surveyed must have Ecuadorian nationality, dual nationality - Ecuadorian and Spanish - or another third nationality. A random probabilistic sampling stratified by simple affixation (according to four zones of residence) and with quotas of sex and age was used, resulting in a final sample of 1,200 for the whole state, with a maximum sampling error of +/- 2.82 and a confidence level of 95% ( $\sigma = 1.96$ ) for the sample as a whole.

The survey questionnaire consists of 63 items, which deal with different thematic blocks: migration process; employment situation; life conditions; perception of integration and discrimination; future perspectives; and valuation of services and institutional programs promoted by different Ecuadorian institutions, such as the Government, the Embassy of Ecuador in Spain or the territorial Consulates. In the specific case of this article we have selected the items that show more relationship with the impact of the crisis and the integration processes in the destination country.

## Results: Impact of the crisis and integration of the Ecuadorian collective

The main data referring to the impact of the economic recession on the group of Ecuadorian origin resident in Spain and how it has influenced the integration process that occurred prior to the eruption of the crisis will be presented.

*Increased labor and material vulnerability with the crisis*

In the first place we will analyze aspects related to the labor market and what have been the main changes that have occurred for this group from the boom to the recession. As can be seen in chart 1, there have been important variations with respect to the labor situation of the population of Ecuadorian origin residing in Spain.

Chart 1  
Evolution of the labor situation of the population of Ecuadorian origin before and after the crisis, 2009 and 2014

|                     | 2009 | 2014 |
|---------------------|------|------|
| Formal employment   | 81,9 | 57,3 |
| Informal employment | 10,5 | 11,4 |
| Unemployed          | 7,5  | 31,2 |

Source: EPOERE

Thus, the first data to be highlighted is the significant increase in unemployment within the collective, from 7.5% in 2009 to 31.2%. This figure, logically, is linked to that of the formal occupation, which also markedly declines, from 81.9% to 57.3%. It is also noteworthy, although with a smaller weight, that the informal occupation, as opposed to the formal one, does not decrease and even increase slightly - from 10.5% to 11.4% -, which also points us to not only a quantitative deterioration of the occupation but also a qualitative deterioration of the jobs.

In this way, it can be seen, as a situation in which the unemployment rate of the Ecuadorian population was very low and even close to that of the native population; is passed to another in which the increase is much greater than this second group and is much closer to parameters of other groups of foreign origin.

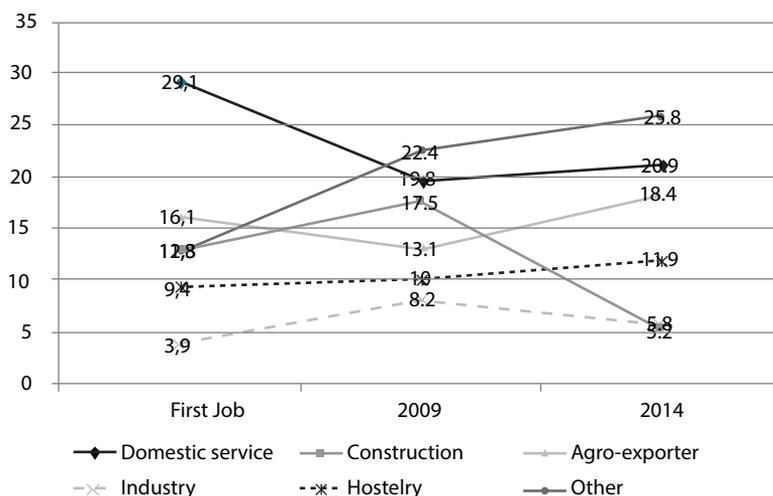
It is also of great interest to analyze the evolution of the weight of the different sectors of labor, to see what was the pattern in the economic boom period and which in the recession. In this respect, as can be seen in figure 1, there are important differences in the trajectories of the different labor sectors.

In the case of domestic service, it is the sector of access to the labor market most relevant at the time of arrival and obtaining the first job - 29.1% -, predominantly for women. With the economic boom period it loses great relevance -19.8% - and these women who initially gained access through this sector choose to transit to others with better working

conditions. This downward pattern is truncated by the crisis and even in this period increases slightly its weight within the employed population, to reach 20.9%, just below the other services sector. The fact that the domestic chores and personal care sector has not suffered the crisis as much as other sectors suggests that it has been able to become a shelter sector during this period and that in the case of women may have been transited in certain return travel to this sector.

The agro-exported sector, which was the second most important at the time of arrival, shows a similar pattern and loses strength during the boom period (from 16.1 to 13.1%), and then have a greater weight in the period of recession -18.4%. In this case, it is an eminently masculine sector and it seems to be observed that they have followed the same trend as in the case of women with the sector of domestic tasks and personal care.

**Figure 1**  
Evolution of labor sectors throughout the migration project.  
Time of arrival, 2009 and 2014



Source: EPOERE

Finally, leaving aside the sectors with less weight-shelter and industry-or which encompass a large number of occupations -other services-, it is interesting to briefly describe the evolution of the construction sector, monopolized by men. In this case, the pattern is fully reversed, increases during the boom period - from 12.8 as a first job to 17.5% -, then

plummeting to 5.2%, becoming a minority sector, when in the boom period it was the most important.

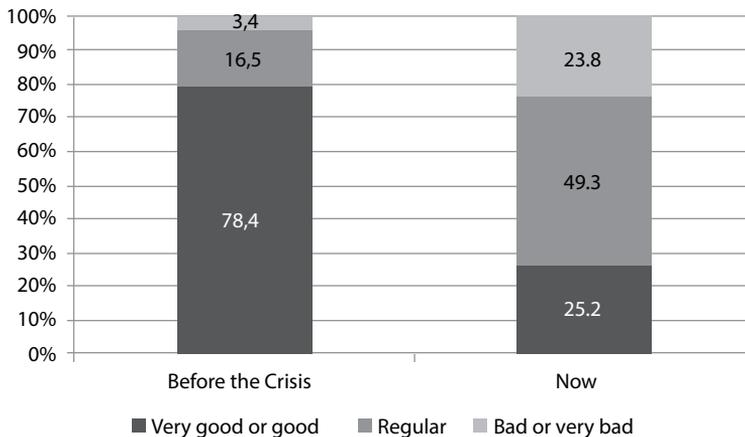
As it cannot be otherwise, the labor situation, and more in a collective in which employment is the main axis of integration, has had a significant impact on the economic and material situation of the Ecuadorian collective. Thus, if one analyzes the economic perception before and after the crisis can be seen how the situation has drastically mutated.

In the period prior to the recession almost three quarters of the population of Ecuadorian origin - 74.8% - estimated that it was in a good or very good economic situation. After the period of crisis, this figure drops to 25.2%, passing almost half of the collective to a regular economic situation -49.3%. Similarly, there is a significant increase in the population that believes to be economically bad or very bad, since this figure goes from a low 3.4% to 23.8%. A descending scenario is drawn in which, with the exception of a quarter of the population, the rest are - or perceived to be - in a situation of precariousness and economic hardship.

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**Figure 2**  
Perception of the economic situation before and after the crisis



Source: EPOERE

The economic perception has been contrasted through the analysis of the expenses and monthly income that are realized during a month, both before the crisis and for the moment of recession. The data only corroborate what was already stressed in the subjective item.

**Chart 2**  
**Monthly expenses and income before and during the crisis**

|                  | <b>Now</b>    | <b>Before</b>  | <b>Decline</b> | <b>% Descenso</b> |
|------------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|
| Housing          | 351           | 512,14         | 161,14         | 31,5              |
| Food             | 247,96        | 287,86         | 39,9           | 13,9              |
| Saving           | 80,95         | 257,18         | 176,23         | 68,5              |
| Send remittances | 87,45         | 181,93         | 94,48          | 51,9              |
| Other expenses   | 106           | 114,97         | 8,97           | 7,                |
| <b>TOTAL</b>     | <b>873,36</b> | <b>1354,08</b> | <b>480,72</b>  | <b>35,5</b>       |

Source: EPOERE

If the pre-crisis monthly income amounted to € 1,354, they stood at € 873.36 in the crisis period, a decrease of € 480.72 and a loss of revenue of 35.5%. With respect to the particular items of expenditure, the largest decreases are in savings capacity, which decreased by 68.5% and in remittances shipments -51.9%. In this second section, together with the loss of income, it should be emphasized that the phenomenon of family reunification within the Ecuadorian group resident in Spain has had a great relevance in recent years and this fact also influences the decrease of this item.

It is also interesting to analyze expenditure and income taking into account other variables, such as length of stay and differences in saving capacity - Chart 3-.

**Chart 3**  
**Saving capacity before and during the crisis according to the year of arrival in Spain**

|                  | <b>Now</b> | <b>Before</b> | <b>Decline</b> | <b>% Descenso</b> |
|------------------|------------|---------------|----------------|-------------------|
| More than 10     | 83,43      | 278,87        | 195,44         | 70,1              |
| Between 5 and 10 | 80,51      | 148,33        | 67,82          | 45,7              |
| Less than 5      | 50         | 80            | 30             | 37,5              |

Source: EPOERE

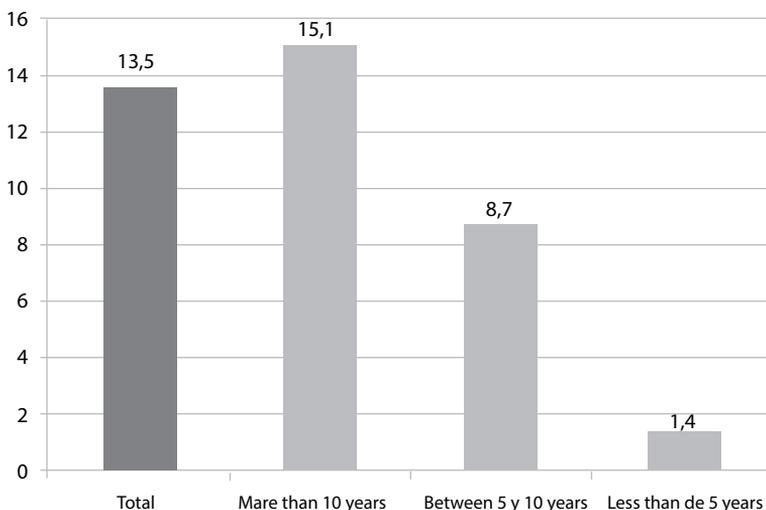
Both in the recession period and in the boom period are those people of Ecuadorian origin who have been in Spain the longest, have greater capacity for savings. However, the decrease in this variable is very uneven. While this group saves 70.1% less than it did before, these percentages are 45.7% and 37.5% for those who are respectively between five

and ten years and less than 5 years. In fact if the difference between those who were better and those who were worse at the time of boom was of 189,87 euros; at the moment stands at 33.43 euros.

All this seems to indicate that those people who took more time and who traditionally have a greater capacity of resistance to the economic crises in the case of the Ecuadorian collective has not been completely fulfilled and that the crisis to a large extent has attenuated significantly the time factor, which during the period of economic boom did function as an element of marked differentiation.

Part of this pattern can be explained on the basis of a peculiarity of the crisis in Spain, the housing crisis and the effects of it on the living conditions of those most vulnerable, as we have pointed out in the theoretical section, have been very marked for the immigrant collective in general and for the Ecuadorian in particular.

Figure 3  
Court order for abandonment of housing  
or cash eviction according to length of stay in Spain



Source: EPOERE

In fact, the phenomenon of evictions, with a significant social and media impact in Spain throughout the years of economic crisis has affected very strongly the Ecuadorian collective - 13.5% - that arrived in the late 1990s and early 2000 and at the height of boom had high in-

grainment that made it consider moving from rent to purchase of housing. This group has been the one who has suffered the most - 15.1% -, paradoxically, who had greater social and economic stability during the boom period.

Those people who arrived later and did not want to purchase housing, because they did not yet have sufficient stability, it seems that they have suffered with less intensity the phenomenon of evictions -8.7% and 1.4% for those who are between 5 and 10 years and less than 5 years in Spain, respectively - and the impact of the crisis, as we have seen in Chart 3.

In conclusion, there is a general worsening of the economic and material conditions of life of the group of Ecuadorian origin resident in Spain, mainly due to a deterioration of the labor situation, which in turn have been reflected in a decline in income and in many cases, in serious difficulties to be able to defray the expenses emanating from the payment - mortgage - or rent of the habitual residence.

### *Increased ingrainment and perception of integration during the crisis*

Along with the trend set forth in the previous section, positive elements and the improvement of certain indicators of integration during the period of economic recession, which, more than being related to the crisis, have also, occurred during this period.

In this respect, it should be stressed that a large part of the Ecuadorian community has been living in Spain for over ten years. Specifically, 77.7% came between 1998 and 2003. This made that the ingrainment in the receiving society is very high and can be detected in different fields or areas.

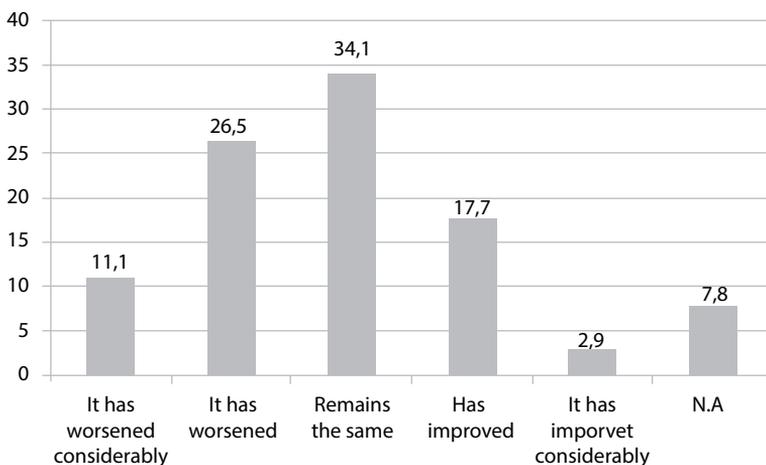
Among them, it is possible to emphasize the high administrative and legal stability of the collective. More than half -52.8% - has obtained Spanish nationality and also owns the Ecuadorian. This offers several advantages. On the one hand, a total legal and formal equity with respect to the native population, which makes the legislation of foreigners have no effect on these people and that influences aspects such as the possibility of leaving the country and return without any time limit at any time or the right to vote, which is also a vital element. On the other hand, it cannot be overlooked that the possession of a Spanish passport in practice implies possession of a Community passport, which means that there is free movement within the Schengen area of the European Union.

But this stability is not only reflected in the number of naturalizations, among those who are still legal foreigners, the vast majority have a

permanent and stable authorization to stay in time. Specifically, 24.5% of the total. These data situate around 80% of the population of Ecuadorian origin in a situation of great administrative stability. In fact, only 2.9% would be in an irregular administrative situation.

Another factor that affects this integration of the Ecuadorian group resident in Spain is the degree of discrimination suffered as a consequence of their status as an immigrant. Almost three quarters of the total - 73.7% - said that it has never suffered this type of discrimination, compared with 25.1% who say that it has suffered. Taking into account the segmentation according to different variables -sex, level of studies, age, year of arrival, administrative situation, etc.-, no significant differences are observed in this regard.

Figure 4  
Evolution of discrimination (general) since 2008 (during the crisis)



Source: EPOERE

In fact, and although it might be thought that with the onset of the crisis the perception of situations of discrimination by immigrant status could increase, it does not appear that the data would support this thesis. It is true that 37.6% believe that the situation has worsened, a very similar percentage believe that it is equal to the previous period - 34.1% - and there is even a 20.6% that it believes has improved and that give in the period of crisis fewer situations of discrimination.

These two elements affect the degree of integration of the collective, which is also supported through variables such as the intention to

return, which in the case of the Ecuadorian collective has had an important impact both at the media level and in the own public policies implemented by Ecuadorian institutions in Spain.

In this regard, those people who plan to return to Ecuador definitely represent 18.1% of the total, compared to 26% who say they want to stay in Spain and 36.1% who are not clear what their future will be. The more distance is placed other types of options, more or less related to the possibility of return.

**Chart 4**  
**Intention of returning to Ecuador**

|                                                                                      | %    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| I intend to stay and settle in Spain                                                 | 26,3 |
| I do not have a predetermined plan; It's open                                        | 36,1 |
| Right now I live and work seasonally in both countries                               | 0,5  |
| I'm going to return to Ecuador definitively                                          | 18,1 |
| I will return to Ecuador for a time while the crisis lasts and then return to Europe | 2,5  |
| I'm going to return to Ecuador for a time to try my luck                             | 6,9  |
| Only one part of the family will return and the rest will remain in Spain            | 0,7  |
| I am going to migrate to a third country (Europe, USA, etc.)                         | 5,3  |
| Other                                                                                | 0,9  |
| N.A                                                                                  | 2,7  |

Source: EPOERE.

These data on expectations and future prospects have a new impact on the stability of the collective in Spain and also on the intention to take root of a large part of the people surveyed.

## Conclusions

Through this article we have seen how the impact of the crisis on the process of economic and material integration of the population of Ecuadorian origin resident in Spain has been very marked and has been noted in aspects such as a high increase in unemployment and precariousness, a worse economic situation - lower income - or a considerable increase in the problems associated with housing - mortgages and evictions.

However, in the same period of time, and together with a long stay of the collective in Spain, there has been an important process of legal and administrative stabilization - naturalization and obtaining permanent residence permits. At the same time, the impact of discrimination on the collective does not appear to have been high. In some cases, it seems to be perceived that those persons and families who have been in a longer period of time and who have had greater stability have suffered the crisis more intensely than others who have arrived later, especially as a consequence of the residential issue.

In this way, this second dynamic seems to have served to counteract and mitigate the impact of the crisis and has made it, although in a situation of high social vulnerability, a large part of the Ecuadorian collective has been able to cope with the effects of the economic recession, discarding the option of return and re-migration to third countries, which have occurred to a lesser extent than was assumed at the beginning of the crisis period.

In other words, it seems that those processes that have taken place during the period of crisis - loss and social stability - have made those others that emanate directly from the crisis have had a lesser effect than initially expected. Likewise, it shows us an ambivalent and paradoxical integration process in which different factors interact, neutralizing and relativizing the effects of each one of them.

The Ecuadorian collective comes out of the crisis in a worse economic and labor situation than the one that entered, and therefore, with less immediate expectations of social mobility. However, this is a group that has continued to bet strongly on the permanence and the roots and integration in Spanish society, putting in place all kinds of resistance strategies in the face of recession, and boosting their naturalization processes. A scenario that contains lessons for the relationship between economic crisis and immigration, showing that migration projects and the processes of incorporation into host societies, are not determined solely by labor and income variables.

Finally, we do not want to leave aside the implications that the results of this article emanate with respect to the public policies directed to this group. If we focus on the case of Spanish public policy, the choice seems obvious. Given the combination of permanence, entrenchedness and precariousness that arises from the crisis, it seems sensible to regain the momentum of the social integration policies of the PECE 2011-2014, based on the promotion of social cohesion and the management of diversity, with the aim to promote a better integration of the collective in Spain.

In this regard, alongside support policies to deal with the crisis, actions must also be taken so that the sons and daughters of these immigrants can have opportunities to ascend socially and have the option of better social and economic integration. In this sense, measures in the field of education that offer these opportunities take force and can work so that the economic vulnerability of fathers and mothers does not result in lower expectations and opportunities of these young people. In other words, within the public policies of integration for this group it is essential that the school can function as a social elevator.

In the case of the Ecuadorian institutions, if measures to promote return were initiated at the outset, even at a considerable expense, research data show that this policy does not seem the right choice at the moment. Therefore, we believe that it may be interesting to reflect on these data, which point us to the ingrainment and not to the return and to see how, from these Ecuadorian institutions - without neglecting the role that Spanish institutions have to play - programs can be activated of action that focus on addressing the socio-economic consequences of the crisis and on offering better expectations in this crisis exit scenario. Logically, without forgetting the policies of return and relevance that may have for some people, but placing them in their rightful measure and not as a cornerstone of the Ecuadorian public instances.



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Date of receipt of the document: March 26, 2017

Document revision date: April 20, 2017

Date of acceptance of the document: May 10, 2017

Date of publication of the document: 15 July 2017