

CUBAN MIGRATION

The case of Cuban men that migrate through marriage



<https://steemit.com/meme/@sandrina.life/will-you-marry-me-i-need-a-passport>

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Introduction

“Will you marry me? (I need a European passport” is a quote written on a wall in London which shows a specific type regarding migration. Migration, a term that is greatly covered in academic research. There are many theories that attempt to define migration, as it appeared to be a complex study as no theory in itself explains the motivations behind migration. However, in contemporary literature on migration, labour migration is often prioritised over marriage migration, which is a subject that has received a lesser amount of attention when it comes to migration studies what may be caused by the diversity of these trajectories and the fact that it is unmeasurable in terms of the economic theories as well as the social aspects and policies (Kofman, 2004).

This thesis deals with the phenomenon of marriage migration focussing on Cuban men with foreign women. Cuba’s history since the revolution of 1959 has shaped the island to its contemporary situation where tourism has been booming in the last three decades. This happened after the collapse of the Soviet Union and gave rise to migration through marriage, a phenomenon that has become well-known on the island throughout the years. The main focus of this research is as follows: What aspects and to what extent has Cuba’s migration wave of the mid-90s led to marriage migration? By focussing on that question, the evolution of tourism and migration developed since 1991 and the link between them will be analysed. This thesis focuses on the impact of the break-down of the Soviet Bloc and the political and economic situation it has resulted in and to what extent these historical factors result in marriage migration.

It is a relevant theme as migration through marriage is a well-known topic in many underdeveloped countries, contextualised as a most socially acceptable way of social upwards mobility, where Cuba is no exception. There are Cubans who are looking for a better life for economic reasons, off the island through marriage with tourists. A subject in which the Cuban government plays an important role preserving their international image to ensure the tourism sector, which has more growth than others in the country. The research is relevant to understand the structure of emigration in the context of marriage, which is a subject that has been little investigated. In addition, the extent to which the Cuban Government tries to control these cases or prevent emigration would be interesting to investigate because it has to do with human rights, personal development prospects, and the quality of life in Cuba and among migrants.

In order to provide an answer to the given question, this thesis consists of three chapters. The first chapter provides an overview of multiple migration theories in order to understand the different motivations that are involved when it comes to the decision to migrate. Also, the migration networks that arise, migration as a culture, marriage migration and how migration can be influenced by governmental policies. Subsequent chapter provides background information on the history of Cuba since the revolution of 1959. The importance of Cuba-Soviet Union relations becomes clear when looking into the island’s economic situation it has been

and still is experiencing. Furthermore, the policies of the revolutionary government regarding tourism and migration are analysed in this chapter, and the relation between the fall of the Soviet Union and the tourist boom and migration waves. The third and last chapter will dive into Cuban marriage migration where statistics are provided and the Cuban culture of migration is analysed. By doing so, important factors such as sex tourism, stereotypes, motivations for both the bride and groom and the interference of the Government will be taken into account. This chapter aims to investigate the process of Cuban men that marry female foreigners and the reasons behind this phenomenon.

In order to be able to do this research, fieldwork has been carried out in December 2018 and January 2019 in the capital city Havana and another major touristic city, Trinidad. The analysis is based on primary and secondary bibliographical sources, and research results *in situ* consist of spontaneous conversations on the subject, an interview and an online survey. The focus of this issue is the set of mechanisms that potential migrants develop before emigrating to Europe. The potential desire of Cuban men for a better life and the obstacles they may encounter in the process towards emigration.

CHAPTER 1

International migration and human mobility

The term international migration is used to describe the process of people moving between countries and changing their accustomed residence to live permanently in another nation. There are several theories that try to explain this phenomenon; each theory proposes different reasons such as economic, social and political causes. However, the diversity of migration and its types, forms, actors, cultural and socio-economic aspects and motivations make it a complex study. Besides the fact that some of the above are difficult to measure, no theory by itself can explain why it occurs as the reasons behind migration often intertwine (Gómez Walteros, 2010). This chapter analyses various main theories behind migration such as that of the Neoclassical School of Economics, which makes a distinction between macro- and micro theories and individual choices, labour migration and marriage migration. Moreover, this chapter will also cover the idea that migration can also be embedded in a country's culture or can be influenced by the so-called 'push and pull' factors where push factors come from the country of origin and pull factors from the receiving country. Subsequently, the role of the state and government policies and their effects will be analysed.

1.1 Migration theories

When looking at the study of migration, there is no global, one size fits all theory. The complexity starts when trying to define the term 'migrant' as there is no universal definition and thus used differently. For example, the International Organisation for Migration defines a migrant as a person that is moving away from his or her location of accustomed residence without differentiating whether this is within the country of residence or across borders, for a short amount of time or permanently, legally or illegally nor the reasons behind the movement (IOM, n.d.). On the other hand, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees adds specifically that a migrant is someone that chooses to move, mostly with the purpose of life improvement whether that is finding work, family reunion or because of natural disasters (UNHCR, 2016) while the definition of United Nations makes no difference in whether a person chooses to migrate or not (UN, n.d.). Koser (2007) states that the complexity lays within the peoples' situation, the duration of their settlement and when the person stops being a migrant by becoming a citizen for example. This study will adopt a combination of all three, given the fact that migration through marriage applies to all of these definitions. Furthermore, regarding international migration, the definition is rather explicit. This study will use the one provided by the IOM, which sounds as follows: "The movement of persons away from their place of usual residence and across an international border to a country of which they are not nationals" (n.d.).

As mentioned above, there is a plurality of approaches and different perspectives that make it difficult to form a complete theoretical framework regarding migration. Arango (2000) notes that many scholars have attempted to produce universal explanations, which led to several models, theories, or frameworks that are rather unconnected instead of accumulating and contributing to previous research. However, he also states that it is unfeasible to explain migration by one theory as the phenomenon is too multifaceted and resistant to the building of a single theory.

Therefore, a good starting point in order to understand migration would be the roots of the theoretical body of migrations, which lay at E.G. Ravenstein, who introduced the main ideas of migratory research in the late 19th century. This German geographer, whose interest in writing his papers on migration, awakened by William Farr who said that it seemed that migration did not go by any law (Tobler, 1995). This being his motivation he established his “laws of migration”, an early framework of classical theories of migration in 1885 which still lasts today. By these laws, he concluded that migration is a consequence of push factors, being unfavourable conditions within the city or country of residence such as high unemployment rates, or pull factors, being more prosperous conditions in other regions such as job opportunities (García Abad, 2003). This framework provides a better comprehension of migration, when it happens and the reasons behind it. According to Ravenstein (1885; 1889), the laws of migration are as follows:

1. Most of the migrants prefer relocating in short distance.
2. Migration does not proceed all at once but systematically.
3. Every migration current brings about a compensating counter current.
4. Migrants that do go long distance predominantly prefer going to large centres of industry or commerce.
5. Town natives are less likely going to migrate in comparison to natives of rural areas of a country.
6. Females are more migratory than males. However, internationally, males are more migratory.
7. Adults are more likely to migrate beyond the country’s borders rather than families with children.
8. Migration is the main reason for the growth of large towns rather than natural increase.
9. The majority of the migration currents are from rural areas directed towards industry and commerce.
10. There will be more migration as commerce, industries expand, and transports improves.
11. The majority of the migrants have economic reasons.

These laws demonstrate the moving distance of migrants, the reasons behind it and the migrant’s characteristics. Nowadays, some of these laws still hold as others are criticized.

Grigg (1977) and Tobler (1995) note that Ravenstein based these laws on data collected from Europe, in particular England. Therefore, it might have been correct in this area; however, it does not mean that it is generally applicable. When looking at his tables regarding one's place of birth and place of enumeration, there are limitations as it does not point out when someone migrated from his or her place of birth to the, at that time, current location, nor does it indicate whether that person moved step by step or directly. Grigg (1977) also refutes the law that females migrate more internally. Whereas Ravenstein stated that females tended to migrate more because of marriage or job opportunities in the urban areas such as working as a domestic help, Grigg finds that since the late 19th century men started to migrate more towards upcoming of industrial areas. These findings support the laws that suggest that migration will grow as industries expand, the economic reasons that lay behind the migrant's relocation and the major contribution of migration to the growth of towns.

Arango (2000) adds that this framework and theories that have been drawn upon that of Ravenstein lack in providing a clear picture. He believes that existing theories focus mainly on the explanation of the reasons behind and what determines the size of migration. Cultural and social aspects should be taken into account as well, such as cultural adaptation. Moreover, he emphasizes that the migration theories such as the neo-classical theory, the dual labour theory and the push and pull theory all emphasize mobility when immobility has to be taken into account as well. He and Tobler (1995) write that a political dimension is also an important factor when it comes to migration admission policies and therefore should be part of contemporary theories. Most migration flows depend on legal entitlement, as it is clear that in order to enter and stay within a country a legal document from the government is needed. Any economically based theory has eventually to deal with states that intervene, one state more prominently than the other does, especially when it comes to the impact of the process on admissions and the restrictions a government implies. Arango (2000) ultimately states that a starting point is more about experience or common sense for theories to build upon and upgrade the empirical observations to a more formal academic status.

1.1.1 Neoclassical Economics

The origin of international migration is for the authors of the neoclassical economic theory of an economic nature. Writers of this theory mainly suggest that international migration is caused by a correlation between the reason why people migrate and the intercontinental supply and demand of labour markets. Differences between countries in levels of income and labour conditions, inequalities in social welfare and the costs of migration belong to the core of this theory as it describes international migration as a personal decision in order to search for well-being and to maximize their incomes (Massey et al., 1993; Gómez Walteros, 2010; Wickramasinghe & Wimalaratana, 2016).

Economic welfare was already recognized as a reason for (inter)national migration by the laws of Ravenstein in the 19th century. He also acknowledged the fact that there can be other reasons that lead to migration such as those involving climate matters or restraining laws but none of these can be compared to that of the longing of most migrants for better economic living

standards (1889). Moreover, when looking at the last decades of the 20th century, major events such as decolonization, the economic upsurge of third world countries and economic internationalization made not only internal increase but international migration as well (Arango, 2000). Hence, it does not come as a surprise that the majority of migration theories are based on economics.

1.1.1.1 Macro Theory

The oldest theory about migration and probably also the best known originates from the labour migration theory where Arthur Lewis (1954) formed his theoretical explanation of international migration in terms of labour in his work called *Economic Development with Unlimited Supply of Labour*. This model on the development of dual economies and the crucial part migration has in this process (Arango, 2000; Massey et al., 1993). According to the Macro theory, migration is influenced by existing differences in the availability of labour and capital in the countries of destination and origin. Meaning, countries with an abundance of labour force but short in investment capital have an outflow of migrants as they move to countries with limited labour endowment but high investment capital, such as market wages. On the other hand, the theory assumes that this process initiates a wage drop in the countries of destination as labour supply increases and a rise of wages in the countries of origin as labour supply decreases. Therefore, according to this perspective, the macroeconomic figures of the countries of origin will improve as the abundance of labour force moves to a country with labour force scarcity, ultimately leading towards a beneficial situation for both nations, as there would be an economic balance between them (Massey et al., 1993; Tornos Cubillo, 2006; Arango, 2000).

This theory proposes five hypotheses. The first suggests that the wage differentials between the countries is causing workers to migrate internationally. The second is about the movement of labour that will stop when wage differences were to be eliminated. The third relates to human capital and its international passages, assuming that highly skilled workers may have a different or even opposite migration pattern than that of less skilled workers. Furthermore, international labour migration is only caused by labour markets, as other markets do not have significant effects on migration on the international level. Lastly, in order to have influence on migration flows, governments tend to regulate the labour markets in the countries of origin and destination (Massey et al., 1993).

1.1.1.2 Micro Theory

Interrelated to the neoclassical macro theory model is the micro version. This model gives insight in the individual choices and reasons why disparities between countries are causing individuals to migrate. The scheme assumes that a potential migrant first calculates the costs and benefits of the process in order to find out whether it will be profitable, generally in financial terms, as the main reason for migration is the improvement of their welfare, implying that migration is correlated to investment of human capital. The actor will make a comparison between the current situation and the possibility of a future in another country, region or state, thereby looking into the likelihood of acquiring a job, the type of job, level of productivity given their skills, age and level of education and the earnings they will obtain with it. However, as mentioned before, the labour opportunities and productivity affiliated with the wages are not

the only factors that will be taken into consideration (Massey et al., 1993; Gómez Walteros, 2010; Arango 2000; Tornos Cubillo, 2006). With migration come certain types of costs such as material, immaterial and psychological. Material costs being for example that of the journey itself, insurances and sustenance when looking for employment and immaterial costs on the other hand being the effort they have to put into adjusting to the destination's language, climate, culture and the job market. Psychological costs include that of taking a risk, leaving friends, family and often a place called home behind (Massey et al., 1993).

De Jong et al. (1983) have studied this type of decision-making based on a value-expectancy model. For their study, they acquired information through surveys that included the expectation of a person's values and goals regarding migration. Respondents were asked about earlier mentioned factors as well as previous migration experiences, marital and household features and what they rated as most or lesser important. Results indicate that values expected to achieve in the place of origin are not of importance when deciding to migrate or not, and more important are the values that can be attained in the place of destination. Furthermore, networks of family or friends in both places of destination and origin appeared to be of great importance in terms of financial aid and help in finding accommodation and jobs. Another factor they found that is of importance in the migration decision making are the individual characteristics of human capital and marital status, most of the respondents were young single adults aiming for better human investment. Results showed that the cost and benefit calculation of the migration decision-making process is partly the weighting of possible achievement of important objectives in their lives.

1.1.2 Dual Labour Market Theory

The dual labour market theory is not focused on individuals as rational actors like the micro theory but rather states that international migration is derived from the industrial societies in developed countries. The theory is mainly based on the work of Piore in 1979 called *Birds of Passage: Migrant labour and industrial societies* in which he argues that advanced countries and its enduring demand for labour are causing international migration (Massey et al., 1993; Gómez Walteros, 2010).

Gómez Walteros (2010) states that the constant labour demands are inherent to industrialized countries because of the workers in industrialized societies. These workers tend to refuse certain jobs because they are unstable, dangerous, low or unskilled, degrading and poorly paid. Moreover, such jobs have little promotional possibilities in the future, do not motivate and are an indication of a low social status. Massey et al. (2010) build upon Gómez Walteros and explain that it can be derived from underlying aspects of the economies of such countries. The first is about structural inflation and wages that also shows social status. Generally, people relate their social status to their professional status what means that wages cannot be raised freely as this brings problems in the vocational hierarchy. If the wages were to be increased at the lower level it would have to increase throughout the job hierarchy meaning it would be too expensive to attract native workers through wage raises. Moreover, labour markets can be divided in two sectors. The primary sector, also capital intensive, includes skilled jobs where employers invest

in the training of their workers, necessary to carry out the jobs. Therefore, it offers stability, because of the made investments in the workers they are valuable and it would be expensive to let them go. The secondary, labour intensive sector, on the contrary, contains unskilled jobs where no investments are made. This combined with little outlook on upwards mobility make it an unpopular sector for native workers and are immigrant workers requested to fill the gap who mostly seek income rather than social status (Massey et al., 1993; Brody, 2002).

This has led to the fact that certain jobs become labelled as ‘immigrant jobs’. If a particular job in a country is mostly done by immigrant workers, this job will be culturally labelled as ‘immigrant job’. The social status of that occupation has the tendency to decrease in the eyes of natives who become unwilling to fill these types of jobs, irrespectively of the amount of salary (United States Government, 2008; Massey et al., 1993). Massey et al. (1993) add that the bad reputation of these jobs is not due to the features of the job itself but to the immigrants that are present. Hence, the stigma is different in regional areas. For instance, in Europe automobile manufacturing is labelled as an ‘immigrant job’ whereas this is considered as a ‘native job’ in the U.S. In social terms, work is changing at the hand of immigration, which causes native workers to view certain jobs as unfitting to their culture. The situation where native workers are hesitant to fill particular jobs is creating a demand for immigrant workers, resulting in immigrant jobs that natives refuse to fill is strengthening the constant need for immigrants.

1.1.3 Migration and social networks

As mentioned earlier, social networks and family are of great relevance when it comes to migration. This idea has been introduced by Thomas and Znaniecki in 1984 in their book *The Polish Peasant*, where they touch upon families and broader communities as being forms of social organization that are showing effects related to migration. The migrants built a community that was bound together through social ties where individuals felt obligated to help one another (Sinatti, 2008). Migration networks are relationships between migrants, former migrants that have returned to their country of origin and non-migrants that reside in the country of destination and origin. Through these social networks, experienced migrants transfer information and provide financial aid as well as a place to stay, job recommendations and support. This social cooperation mechanism builds trust, reduces costs, risks, and can take away any last uncertainties and doubts one might have before deciding to migrate.

Besides the fact that the demand for foreign labour is strengthening migration, these networks also have a way of reinforcing migration; it is one of the key factors that explains migration. The migrant networks have a demonstration effect, many that move are those in contact with former migrants, for one thing, family reunion holds a significant share of migration flows but on the other hand social networks are increasingly important as it nowadays becomes more challenging to cross the threshold of destined countries. They are in various ways beneficial to such an extent that the likelihood of additional movement is increasing. This is also known as cumulative causation, which means that migration is self-perpetuating. It has a multiplying effect as every migrant forms a source of information, support for yet non-migrants what causes

an expansion of the networks, and will maintain the process (Massey et al., 1993; Gómez Walteros, 2010; Tornos Cubillo, 2006; Arango, 2000).

1.1.4 Marriage migration

Besides work and economic mobility, family reunion and marriage are also affiliated with international migrations. These migration types are a product of push factors from the sending countries that are mentioned before, now also including poor marriage perspectives, and are of increasing importance (King, 2012). These types of migration usually go with the term family migration. It is a subject that has not received a substantial amount of attention in migration studies due to the diversity of such trajectories and the fact that it cannot be measured in terms of the economic theories, social aspects or in terms of policies.

Kofman (2004) takes into account these types of migration and their changing dynamics such as the growing number of transnational marriages and federal regulations regarding these forms of entry. She argues that there are different types of family migration, the first being family reunification in itself where the first migrant brings over their parents, siblings, spouse, (grand)children and grandparents for permanent residence. This can be difficult, as several countries do not authorize the entry of family members of a non-permanent residency holder. The other, marriage migration or family formation, is often categorized under family reunification but should be treated as a different type of migration according to Kofman. This form of migration can also be divided in two categories. The first contains children of migrants, second and further generations, if they marry an individual from the country of origin of their parents and bring them in. As these generations have grown, so has this subgroup of marriage migration. The other subgroup is related to marriage as an outcome of a period abroad. It is composed of migrants that have obtained permanent residency or citizens that bring in their fiancé(e) or spouse whom they have met across borders.

These transnational marriages bring up advantages and disadvantages. It is an advantage to people as it opens up opportunities for a better life. For instance, for cultures with arranged marriages, the possibility of a mixed marriage has changed their future perspectives as it may obtain a certain extent of freedom, in particular for women originating from patriarchal cultures for whom migration also means social liberation. Because of the potential life improvement such a marriage can bring, strategies have up surged in order to achieve that goal. It is also known as marriages of convenience and has become a difficult matter for many countries (Kofman, 2004). One of these strategies is called 'Mail-order bride'. This social phenomenon exists for decades and has recently increased and developed into a matchmaking industry due to widespread of internet access and improvements in international mobility (Kojima, 2001). It owes its name to catalogues in which women, mainly from developing regions; list themselves as available for marriage with foreign men, who in turn mainly search for Asian, Latin American or Eastern European women. Moreover, the issue is the fact that false marriages arise with mainly economic objectives. This has led to policies in some states where couples have to provide evidence, for example in cases where there is a large age difference which is considered

a sign of fraudulent marriages, that their transnational marriage and migration does not have any other purposes besides love (Kofman, 2004).

Mail-order brides or grooms are usually advertised as highly sexual men and women, a trend that emerged together with the catalogues that 'sells' them, resulting in a notable linkage between mail-order brides and pornography. This relationship increased as pornography websites started to advertise mail-order marriage websites and vice versa, creating a negative development, stigmatizing the mail-order bride industry as a sexual market (Merriman, 2012). A more subtle way of finding romance is termed as romance tourism that also has a sexualised version, namely sex tourism. Romance tourism refers to those who are mostly interested in emotional relationships they cannot find at their current culture, whereas sex tourism refers to those looking for sexual relationships. Both of these categories involve the presence of highly sexualised exotic stereotypes. Therefore, sex tourism can also be referred to as ethno sexual, in which sexual images and fantasies such as Bangkok as a sexual Disneyland with Asian women that are sexually docile and Caribbean dark skinned and muscled men, are produced by and sold to consumers (Fitzgerald & Grossman 2017).

1.2 Migration as a culture

Migration being a self-perpetuating system, as noted earlier has underlying factors that are responsible for its continuation and the cumulative effect. One factor in particular is the establishment of a culture of migration and the development thereof in the last decades where globalization and improved infrastructure made international movement more facile (Arango, 2000). Many scholars argue that the demonstration effect plays a major role in migration. Cohen (2004) and Echeverría Victoria (2013) state that migrants who return home or pay a visit, show improvements in their purchasing power which is of great significance for the remaining youth in the community when deciding whether or not to migrate. Therefore, as migration increases within a certain community, so will the likelihood of migration in that community in the future. In addition, an individual may start with one short migration, however, once they gain grip on social mobility and a better lifestyle that they could not obtain in their country of origin, the probability of future migration is higher. To this matter, Cohen (2004) adds that there is always a large share of the community that stay in their community, this group often receives money that migrants send back.

The migrants that return are able to build new houses, buy consumer goods and have new clothing. This portraying functions as a 'window to the modern world' and compared with status, values such as providing for the family and narratives that are being told through transpersonal communication and the media, it introduces the community to an imaginary lifestyle for potential migrants. At this level, the behaviours, attitudes and values of the community's people become related to migration, what in time becomes to such an extent integrated in ordinary life and values of a community that a culture of migration is established. The values come to a point where migration is considered as a justifiable and suitable way for social and economic welfare and young people are viewed as unambitious and ineligible if they

do not pursue to uplift their social mobility through international migration. In the sending country, this culture can in time spread through more understanding of and experiences in the different countries of destination (Massey et al., 1990; Echeverría Victoria, 2013; Connell, 2008).

1.3 Push and pull factors

Push and pull factors have been shortly mentioned earlier in this chapter as forces behind international movement. However, there are scholars from the twentieth century that have proposed a theoretical viewpoint regarding the subject as migration thinking was dominated by the push and pull models during that time (King, 2012). Push factors refer to situations or elements in a country or region of origin that repel its inhabitants whereas pull factors draw people to a particular country, which becomes the country of destination. Everett Lee (1966) emphasized push and pull factors as being two out of four factors that influenced the decision whether or not to migrate, besides obstacles such as immigration laws and personal factors. He stated that there are numerous factors in every country that keep, attract or drive away individuals. Most of these factors are different for the countries of destination and origin and every migrant, for example, a good climate is mostly appealing to everyone while other factors such as a good education system may not be a pull-factor for families without children.

Even though Everett Lee was a decade earlier, Piore was one of the most influential writers regarding this theme. He argues that pull factors from the receiving countries, such as the constant need for immigrant workers in developed countries, are the main reasons behind international migration instead of a combination with push factors that are present in the countries of origin, such as high unemployment rates or low wages (Massey et al., 1993).

Stanojoska (2012) enhances pull factors as well. She states that migration has accelerated in recent years due to globalization. The level of people's consciousness of living standards in other parts of the world raises through television or the demonstration effect from returning migrants. When inhabitants from for example undeveloped countries become aware of their level of living standards, mostly in relative poverty, it is pushing them to seek a higher level of living standards elsewhere and are motivated to migrate to developed countries. As Lee (1966) stated, the country migrants are pulled to differ personally. Stanojoska (2012) suggests that there are migrants without a destined country of preference while on the other hand Pardo (2017) argues that historical links and cultural connections also play a part in push and pull factors. She states that migration between countries that are economically, socially and culturally connected or because of former colonial and empire ties, Latin America and Southern Europe being an example of these migration connections, where Europe, Spain and Portugal in particular, is a popular migration destination for Latin Americans. This trend arose not only because of the access to information of possible countries of destination is better, it also favours the obtainment of citizenship because of better integration conditions regarding cultural and language resemblances.

1.4 Government policies

Push-pull models dominated much migration thinking during the mid-twentieth century, until the 1960s if not later, and reflect the neoclassical economics paradigm, based on principles of utility maximisation, rational choice, factor-price differentials between regions and countries, and labour mobility. As Massey et al. (1998: 18-21) point out, the neoclassical model works at both the macro and the micro level. Macro economically, migration results from the uneven spatial distribution of labour vis-à-vis other factors of production, above all capital. In some countries and regions, labour is plentiful and capital is scarce, so the wage level is correspondingly low. In other countries, the opposite pertains: abundant capital, labour shortages and high wages. The result is that workers move from low-wage to high-wage economies. In doing so, however, they change the dynamics of supply and demand for labour in both places, leading ultimately to the elimination of wage differentials, and therefore of migration too.

Migratory patterns are changing. Examples for the shift in the character of the patterns are second-generation population, the rise in transnational marriages and state interventions where the government regulates and takes control of their borders and the migrants that try to enter the country (Kofman, 2004). These regulations are migration policies, a set of rules that include laws, procedures and measures in order to regulate the composition, direction and magnitude of migration, especially in affluent nations where immigration of for example low-skilled workers is considered as a problem. In the first decades of the twentieth century, migration policies were more restrictive due to nationalism, protectionism and passport systems at the time. From the 1950's on, limitations became more liberalized as reformation of migration regimes took place only to become more restrictive again in the 1990's. However, the restrictive migration policies do not exceed that of the liberal ones.

Contemporary migration policies are selecting the migrants that may enter which is based on their nationality, family background, riches and level of skills. Migrants that are less desired are from less developed countries and have a different culture, asylum seekers and those that are lower skilled and their family members except for those necessary to fill gaps in the labour market (De Haas et al., 2019). The latter group involve a set of policies that protect the country's native workers, which is difficult for governments to manage. As mentioned earlier this chapter, (labour) migration can have negative effects such as the cumulative causation and lower-skilled jobs that become labelled as migrant jobs, which native workers refuse to fill. Cumulative causation is a trend that is largely uncontrollable for the government, hence, in times of high unemployment rates it is complicated for authorities to restrain labour migration and fill these types of jobs with native workers (Massey et al., 1993).

Another restriction for immigration that is not formally part of migration policies is the use of visas. In terms of travellers and over stayers, many countries use travel visas to rein migration as visa restrictions are a rapid and effective tool in order to achieve that objective. The limitations were in the 70's already high and include since the 80's sanctions for passenger transportation companies that allow people without visa to board in order to prevent asylum

seekers or undocumented migrants from entry. Nowadays, around 73 percent of countries around the globe make use of visa-restricted entry, implying that visas prevail for decades rather than visa-free travelling (De Haas et al., 2019).

Even though visa policies are seen as effective, other restriction policies are questionable whether they are as effective. Scholars do not seem to agree on this topic as some argue that such policies produce the opposite of the desired effects. For example, the US-Mexico border is argued in particular for portraying the insufficiency of migration policies. Furthermore, it can discourage migrants to return and settle permanently and encourage the so called 'now or never' migration in which case large numbers of migration flows may occur when more restrictions are in the near future. It may also increase migration through alternative legal or unauthorized channels. On the other hand, quantitative studies indicate, and scholars argue that, altogether, migration policies have had a substantial effect on migration flows. Most migrants travel through legal channels with the proper documentation. However, it is an inconclusive debate, there are limitations for evidence as migration policies are distinct per nation (De Haas, 2011; De Haas et al., 2019).

CHAPTER 2

Cuba towards new policies from 1959

Cuba history is rich in antecedents when it comes to their diplomatic relations with the United States, U.S. hereafter, and the Soviet Union. From a revolution to economic and migratory crises, all with a significant impact on Cuban politics, economy, society and population that has led to a complex political and economic situation, which still lasts today. This chapter provides a chronicle overview of Cuba's history and how its past had led to the current migration policies that Cubans have to take into account before leaving the island.

2.1 Cuba-Soviet relations

Cuba and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in the sequel Soviet Union, have a prolonged relationship that goes back to the Second World War. However, their ties were enhanced with the fall of the Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista in 1959 after the Cuban Revolution led by Fidel Castro who came to power from 1959 until 2008 (Fagen, 1979). U.S.-Cuba relations were on good terms as the U.S backed Batista for political and economic interest to which some scholars also add that the U.S supported dictators in order to prevent communist regimes, what would be in favour of the U.S.-Soviet rivalry of the Cold War during that time (Weyland, 2018; Benjamin, 1989). However, the rise of Fidel Castro signified the end of 100 years of interference of the U.S. in Cuban affairs. The new Cuban regime implemented new political and economic programmes, which included the nationalization of Cuban oil refineries that were owned by the U.S. These policies were expected to generate the monetary sources to increase salaries and ultimately leading to the elimination of poverty and a better lifestyle for Cubans (Fagen, 1979; Sosa, 2019).

2.1.1 The Cuban economic crisis and Soviet aid

As the U.S. refuted Cuba after the revolution, Cuba's economy suffered the effects of an economic downturn, which ultimately led to an economic crisis as their previous alliance and main trade market was eliminated. Fidel Castro needed new alliances and alternative trade markets which he sought with socialist countries of Eastern Europe, especially with the Soviet Union with whom Cuba established diplomatic relations (Sosa, 2019). Cuba's nationalization of U.S. owned companies, its approach towards socialist regimes was in conflict with U.S. strategic, economic and political interests and in response, the U.S. broke their diplomatic relations and imposed a trade embargo where Cuba was prohibited to export their products to the U.S. market or import U.S. products. The trade embargo was initially implemented in 1960 and excluded the trade of medicines and food; however, in 1962, it ultimately became almost a

total economic, commercial and financial embargo in which Cuba's access to credits and financial institutions were shut down as well (Fagen, 1979; Sosa, 2019).

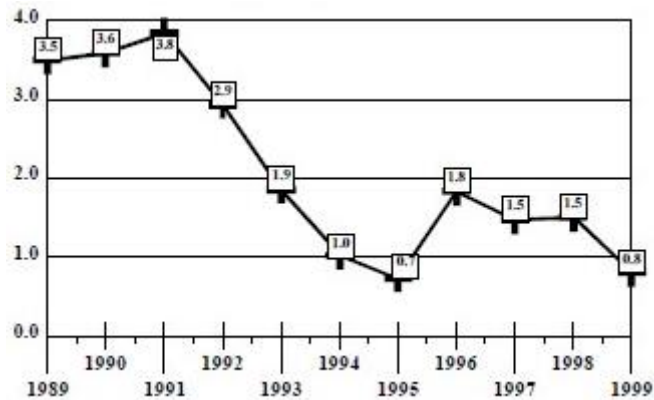
As a result, Cuban and Soviet Union ties strengthened, resulting in trade agreements in which Cuba obtained privileged treatment regarding imports and exports between them. The trade between these countries mainly consisted of Soviet petroleum and Cuban sugar where Cuba's access to export markets was guaranteed and their products received a higher price than that of the international market. On the other hand, Cuba was guaranteed an annual amount of oil that the country was in need of for their industrial development, for lower prices than that of the world market (Sosa, 2019; Walters, 1966; Binns, 1996).

These favourable agreements for Cuba generated a significant increase in the country's economic development, which allowed the improvement the living conditions of the Cuban population. Even though the results were highly positive until the late 80's and it generated extensive growth for the Cuban economy, it is important to keep in mind that the economic success of the trade agreements were inadequate to overcome the structural problems of the economy had. Cuba faces its previous problem it had with the U.S. where the country becomes highly independent of the market of another country, now combined with the model for their economic growth. The socialist development model was based on a monoculture and lacked diverse strategies for Cuba in order to become more self-sustainable. Eventually, it becomes clear that Cuba's dependence on foreign aid has major consequences in the long run. Their search for a socialist and sustainable economic model ended in 1990 with the collapse of the Soviet Union (Sosa, 2019).

2.2 The collapse of the Soviet Union

As is previously described, the socialist economic model worked for Cuba as they received sufficient oil for the development of their industry and financially received prices for their sugar that were higher than that of the world market and payed prices for oil that were lower than that of the world market. However, Cuba's dependency on the Soviet Union became visible when the socialist countries showed signs of the breakup at the end of the Cold War. The next figures represent Cuba's sugar and oil trade with the Soviet Union, from 1991 Russia, in order to provide a clear overview of Cuba's dependence on Soviet Union and the effects of the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991.

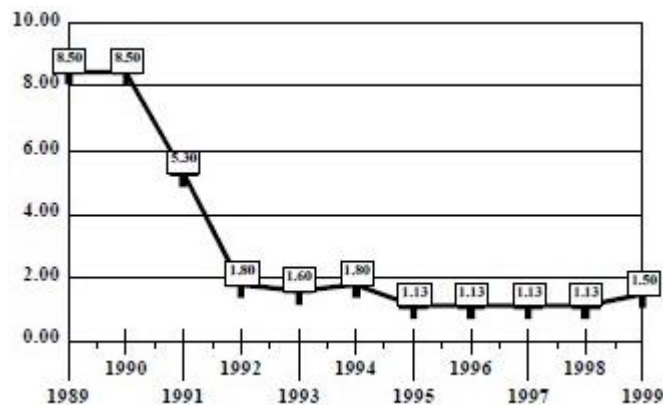
Figure 1: Cuba: Sugar exports to Russia 1989-1999



Source: Association for the Study of the Cuban Economy (1999).

Figure 1 projects Cuba's sugar exports to Russia in the period right before the collapse of the Soviet block and eight years after. It can be seen that it reached its highest point in 1991 from where it dropped straight toward the low water mark in 1995, a significant drop of 81 percent. By comparison, the production of Cuban sugar showed a sharp reduction of 60 percent between 1989 and 1998, causing the closure of 40 sugar mills and thereby unemployment. On the other hand, similar trend can be seen when looking at the oil imports from Russia (Alonso & Galliano, 1999).

Figure 2: Cuba: Oil imports from Russia



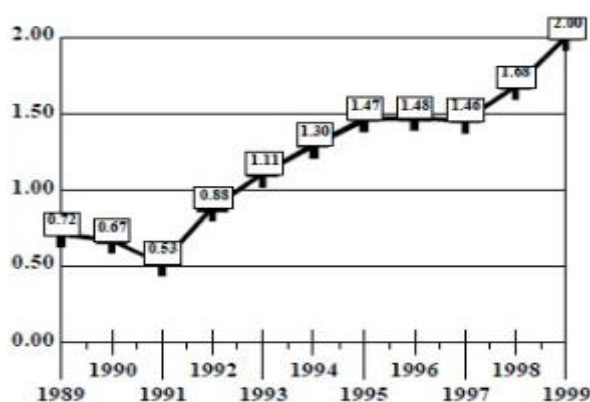
Source: Association for the Study of the Cuban Economy (1999).

In the early 80's, the amount of Soviet oil imported by Cuba was approximately 97% of the island's total requirements. However, from 1989 imports fell from 8.5 million tons to 1.13 in 1995 (Binns, 1996; Alonso & Galliano, 1999). Different from the decline in sugar exports, oil imports started to stagnate from 1989 and decline in the following years. This could be explained by a significant drop in Soviet oil production combined with fiscal problems in 1990 (Alonso & Galliano, 1999) followed by an announcement made by the Soviet Union in which it stated it would reduce their support for Cuba as they were unable to afford to subsidize the Cuban economy as it forms an economic burden (Farnsworth, 1988).

As Cuba's major oil supplier pulled back and in order to become more self-sufficient, Cuba had to improve its own oil production, resulting in an open attitude towards foreign investment in its state-owned oil industry since 30 years. Figure 3 shows an increase in Cuba's oil production; however, during the given timeframe the island was only able to produce between 10 to 22 percent of the country's oil necessities (Alonso & Galliano, 1999).

It is important to keep in mind that the economic agreements did not only exist of sugar and crude oil trade. Even though these products were the major ingredients of the diplomatic relations between the two countries, all of the domestic economic problems of Cuba appeared in Cuban-Soviet trade. Therefore, apart from the trade in sugar and oil, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries also exported food products, machinery and equipment necessary for industrial development such as metals and raw materials and imported tobacco. In fiscal terms, the bloc also represented aid in the form of credit agreements for Cuba's economic development (Walters, 1966).

Figure 3: Cuba: Oil production 1989- 1999



Source: Association for the Study of the Cuban Economy (1999).

2.3 The Special Period

With the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1990 came the withdrawal of the Soviet subsidies and with that Cuba's main export market and main oil supplier and billions of dollars of financial and economic aid came to a sudden halt. As mentioned before, Cuba was already in an economic crisis after the U.S trade embargo, which they could not overcome with the received Soviet aid, which was keeping Cuba's head above the water. The economic crisis combined with the collapse of the Soviet Union resulted in a prolonged crisis, which had gotten more profound as there was no domestic economic infrastructure they could resort to. The end of the year 1990 marked a new period for Cuba and its citizens, the so-called 'Special Period in time of peace'. This period is characterized by economic depression and daily subsistence, where the already rationed foods were reduced and severe scarcity of crude oil in the form of gasoline led to a society that turned to the use of human and animal energy such as bicycles and horse-

drawn carts, effects of the Special Period which are still notable in the Cuban society and economy up until today (Friedman, 1998).

The Special Period was in the first years of the 90's at its severest. The disintegration of the Soviet Union represented an 85% loss of commercial and financial ties with the rest of the world. The country's total export volume witnessed a decrease of 47% whereas its total import volume decreased by more than 70%. In addition, Cuba's commercial value for its domestically produced services and goods in that period, in other words gross domestic product, shrunk by 35% until 1993. Present military forces were returned to the Soviet Union and in terms of food scarcity, besides losing important food import relations with the Soviet bloc, the absence of fuel appeared to generate the gravest impacts as the country's agricultural sector was unable to fill the gap. This sector's production initiated to decline considerably, a process, which has continued until today (Sosa, 2019). On the other hand, U.S.-Cuba relations worsened as the U.S. tightened its economic and commercial embargo in the 1990's, where the U.S. implemented two new acts that made it more complicated for Cuba to obtain new trade partners. The Torricelli act sanctions affiliates of U.S. companies in third territories that have commercial relations with Cuba. The second is called the Helms-Burton act, which retains foreign companies to trade or maintain trade with the island through possible sanctions (Sosa, 2019; Salazar, 1994).

2.3.1 Cuba's foreign policy during the Special Period

After the Cold War the U.S. hegemony characterized the 'new world order'. The world system at that moment led to the situation where underdeveloped countries such as Cuba build their proper model that was alternative to that of the capitalist powers. The difficulties imposed by the U.S. become clear as most nations of the world were bound to the hegemonic powers. The economic strategy has led to emergency policies where the revolutionary regime could not fulfil their previous made promises of lifestyle improvements by providing basic needs and higher salaries, on the contrary, Cubans had to reorganize their lives to such a matter it had become a way of life, resulting in growing discontent among citizens (Salazar, 1994).

Due to these domestic and international circumstances, Cuba had to turn to new internal and external policies. The economic and social reforms were mostly adopted in 1993 to 1995 (Sosa, 2019) in which the main purpose was to reconstruct the country's economy and their threatened national sovereignty and to project and preserve socialism in order to build security in the new world order. Another priority was the survival and revitalization of their self-sustainability through new economic diplomacy, therefore the government relocated their financial, commercial and technical development corporations it had with the Soviet Union. The country sought to obtain economic benefits as well as political and military in a world with more multipolarity. Cuban and Russian ties were normalized and the country reinforced relations with other underdeveloped countries in Africa with whom Cuba obtained economic, technical and cultural ties, which it did with Asia as well, including military relations with the People's Republic of China, North and South Korea and Vietnam. Previous relations with Latin America in particular remained positive, especially with Venezuela. Furthermore, Cuba opened its

borders for foreign direct investment and obtained new and growing ties with non-governmental economic actors (Salazar, 1994).

Internal reforms have been carried out as well. Amongst these reforms are greater facilities for foreign investment, a positive attitude towards foreign currency, including the U.S. dollar, and the exchange thereof and more possibilities for self-employment. However, opening the borders for tourism from 1990 was one of the most important internal policies made. Tourism was considered by the government as the foundation of the Cuban economy to overcome the crisis. Researchers point out that tourism was a fundamental resource for the domestic economic development to such an extent that it enabled the restructuring of export markets and contributed to the basic, telecommunications and food and beverage industries (Sosa, 2019).

2.4 Effects of Cuba's new policies

The implemented policies to alleviate Cuba from the economic crisis, affected the island in different ways. Embracing tourism was fundamental for the development of the domestic economy; however, a socioeconomic situation was created that was characterized by inequality.

2.4.1 The tourism boom

The new policies in the tourist industry have led to a major increment in the number of tourists that visited the island since 1990, also called the 'tourist boom'. This number increased eight times while the gross income of this industry increased four times and exceeding 2.800 million euros between 1989 and 2005 (Sosa, 2019). On that note, tourism was represented as a new component of the Cuban economy, showing annual growth rates of 20 percent, resulting in scholar comments that the tourism sector has grown to be the leading factor of the country's economic development (Pérez-López, 1998; Binns, 1996), and up until today remains one of the key elements (Sosa, 2019).

However, tourism in Cuba can be described as a double-edged sword. It is argued that even though tourism has been beneficial to Cuban citizens as it helped the national economy survive the collapse of the Soviet Union combined with the U.S. embargo; it has some down sides to it as well. In particular, Cubans that have benefited from the boom are those that operate in tourism. These micro entrepreneurs offer goods and services to tourists which include owning a so-called 'casa particular' and have rooms for rent, artwork and a small percentage of gastronomic services. This group of entrepreneurs are in particular benefited as the foreign visitors pay with foreign currency, which was, after a couple of years, worth around 20 times more than the national currency, the Cuban peso (CUP).

To present an overview of income in foreign currency generated through tourism is that it exceeded that of sugar in 1997, forming 43% of the country's GDP (Wilkinson, 2008). The excessive increment in the availability of the U.S. dollar has caused a devaluation of the national currency, which had a direct effect on the Cuban population as it was divided in two sectors,

and created inequalities. One that had access to foreign currency and the other that was obligated to survive on governmental salaries in CUP, which is around 15 until 20 dollar per month (Sosa, 2019), for example, medics gave up their job to employ themselves in the tourist sector. Nonetheless, it is important to note that it is not solely tourism that is responsible for the devaluation of the Cuban peso nor the inequalities, as, for instance, remittances have a significant role in this matter as well since the legalisation of the U.S. dollar in the 1990s (Wilkinson, 2008).

Furthermore, regardless of being already present on the island, prostitution and sex tourism have experienced a negative effect of the boom as well, as these sectors increased and Cuba emerged as a tropical destination related to sex-tourism. As mentioned in chapter one, scholars have different opinions when it comes to approaching this phenomenon. In addition, on that note, stating that apart from being defined as only sex in exchange of money it can also include numerous other factors besides the motivation to travel with the intention to acquire sexual services, it can also include business trips for example. Moreover, some scholars argue that not all sex tourism is part of victimization. Therefore, it is safe to say that sex tourism is mostly undetermined (Cabezas, 2004). This is in particular difficult in the case of Cuba where there is no state nor illegal organised sex industry as it takes place in a more casual and personal manner. However, the link with the upsurge of tourism and sex related activities is undeniable (Wilkinson, 2008).

2.4.2 The migration crises

The situation has essentially not changed for the ordinary Cuban, especially in political terms. In spite of the measures taken by the government, the generated process of social stratification and differentiation led to the re-emergence of inequalities and new social groups where the majority of the Cuban population had no access to foreign currencies and to whom the impact of the economic crisis on Cuban daily life has been reflected in areas such as work, health service and daily subsistence such as food and personal hygiene above all. Through tourism and remittances, it became visible that daily life of the Cuban population is based on survival, nor is it satisfying their basic needs as salaries became insufficient to cover minimum needs. Many Cubans, started to search for alternative solutions, migration being one of them which has become considered as a project of a family's life to escape from poverty.

Migration has been a significant trend that emerged with the Cuban revolution in 1959. From that date, there have been several migratory waves and even though these movements differentiated in magnitude, patterns and motivations, it became a phenomenon that is close to all Cubans. From this moment Cuba became a sending country of great amounts of migrants (Sosa, 2019). The first migration wave was also the largest with an estimated amount of 520.604 Cubans (Aja Díaz, 2000). This migration flow was characterised by political motivations. These people were closely linked to the Batista regime, represented mostly the upper and middle class and been motivated such as escaping the revolutionary justice system, loss of property because of the nationalisation process or fear for radicalisation of the revolution and communism. When taking a look at reasons for other migration waves that took place in the last two decades of the

20th century, it can be noticed that they are entirely different. The migration wave of the 1980s was characterized by motivations such as family reunification as the Cuban government opened its 'Port of El Mariel' for Cubans that already reside in the U.S. could pick up their relatives, this particular migration flow is also known as 'los Marielitos'¹. Other motivations were political confrontation, low economic growth and the familiarisation of Cubans with the 'American way of life' projected by visits from former Cuban migrants (Sosa, 2019).

The other increase of Cuban migration occurred in the 1990s and was a direct result of the collapse of the Soviet Union, the deepening of the economic crisis, the structural changes that came with it, the impact on individual level that created contradictions and the significant number of visits from already migrated Cubans through which a different lifestyle was projected. The migration flow during these years is distinguished by the motivational reasoning of the Cubans as the main motivation was based on economic reasons, the combination of definitive and temporary migration, legal or illegal migration and the countries of destination that was until that time mainly the U.S. and Spain to a lesser degree (Aja Díaz, 2000).

According to Aja Díaz, (2000), the migration of the 90s mainly existed of young Cubans around the age of 30 with the vast majority residing from the capital city Havana, Villa Clara, Pinar del Rio, Camagüey and Matanzas. As research on this subject in this period shows was the search for other geographical area one of the population's exits to resolve the daily struggles, levels of dissatisfaction on personal and professional level and to satisfy their personal, material and professional needs and new future perspectives. Therefore, the reasons behind this migratory wave are predominantly of economic nature, including labour mobility. Other motivations were of political nature, the distrust people had in the social project of the revolutionary government and the ability it had to overcome the at that time current situation and to a lesser extent than in the 1980s, family reunification.

The number of Cubans that migrate legally is significantly lower than that of those who move via illegal ways. Those who migrate illegally fundamentally go to the U.S. whereas those who use the legal way are recipient countries more diverse, even though the U.S. is still the country that receives the most migrants, others tend to move to Latin American countries and Spain. Temporary migrants mostly head to Germany, Spain, Italy, Russia, Mexico and Chile (Aja Díaz, 2000). One of the biggest unauthorized migratory flows during this decade is known as the Balseros crisis in 1994 where in one month more than 35 thousand Cubans intended to reach U.S. territory by self-made crafts (Aja Díaz, 2000). This event has led to new policies between the U.S. and Cuba regarding this type of migration, called the wet feet dry feet policy where Cubans who were caught on U.S. waters were to be returned to Cuba whereas those who make it to shore may pursue U.S. citizenship. Contrary to previous policies where migrants were able

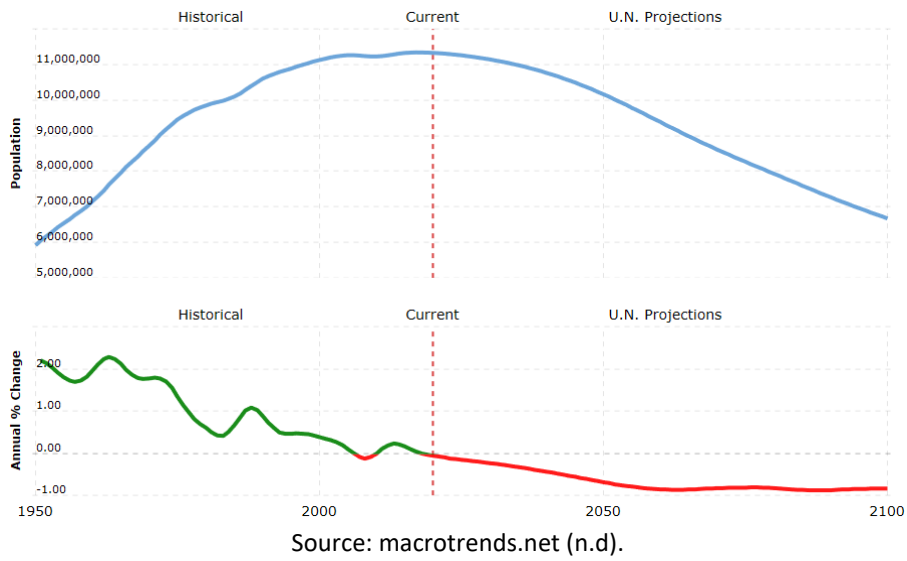
¹ This migration flow started with few Cubans seeking asylum at the Peruvian Embassy in Havana. An event that ultimately resulted in a situation where more than 10.000 Cubans did the same. Castro announced that they could leave from a small port called El Mariel, leading to approximately 130.000 migrants who were, due to the large number, granted refugee status in the U.S.. Among these migrants was a group of criminals and mentally ill that Fidel obligated to leave, causing problems in the U.S. (Coughlin & Clark, 1991).

to stay when picked up in U.S. waters, making it more difficult to travel undocumented (Henken, 2005; Gomez, 2017; Goldstein, 2015).

The Cuban government practiced deep regulatory control when it came to migration policy and the entry and exit of the country. However, there was some flexibility in terms of residence permits abroad that created loopholes for Cuban migrants (Sosa, 2019). For instance, according to Cuban law 989, the act of migration was considered betrayal of the nation and implied the sanction of losing all properties the individual owned as they were confiscated by the government, including the goods and the rights as a Cuban citizen, including the right to return to Cuba if the permitted amount of time abroad was exceeded (Piñero Sierra, 2015). In the first years of the 90s, Cubans that could profit from this opportunity were only those who obtained a labour contract abroad or those who are personally invited by a foreigner with the condition of visiting the island every 11 months in order to prevent losing citizen rights and owned properties. One side effect was the migration of many professionals as the salaries were higher abroad. The second effect was related to those without a foreign labour contract or the outlook thereof in the future, namely the initiation of a practice to marry a foreigner which was often used to leave the country without being considered as a definitive migrant and losing the owned possessions, with the opportunity to return. Furthermore, Aja Díaz (2000) states that the number of migrants from previous mentioned cities might be linked to the number of tourist visitors of these touristic cities and provinces, moreover in the next paragraph.

Overall, Cuban migration has had major impacts on Cuban society and its population, as many Cubans have migrated throughout these several migration crises. Up until 2020, around 1.6 million Cubans have left their country, which counts for approximately 14.5% of all Cuban citizens (Datos macro, n.d.; Radio Televisión Martí, 2019). Over the last decades, the annual growth rate of Cuba's population of 60 years and older has increased while at the same time the annual growth rate of young Cubans until the age of 40 has decreased and is expected to continue to decrease in the future (Albizu-Campos Espiñera, 2015). Moreover, statistics show that the Cuban population has stagnated from 2017, a trend that is also foreseen to endure in future prospects, as is projected by United Nations in figure 4 (UN, n.d.).

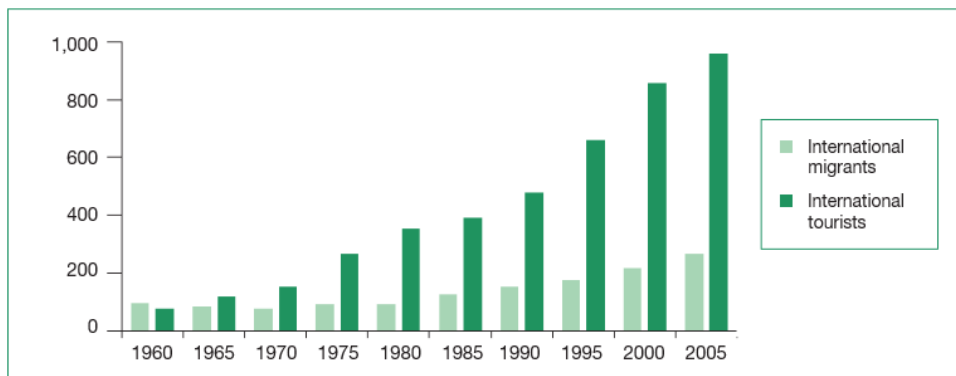
Figure 4: Cuban population 1950-2020



2.5 The relationship between tourism and migration in Cuba

As noted by Aja Díaz (2000), there is a link between tourism and migration. The World Tourism Organization (2009), or UNWTO, has studied these two global phenomena and the relation between them. They demonstrate an increase in international tourists and growth of international migrants in the last four decades, which can be seen in figure 5.

Figure 5: Comparison of tourism and international migration by amount of arrivals (million)

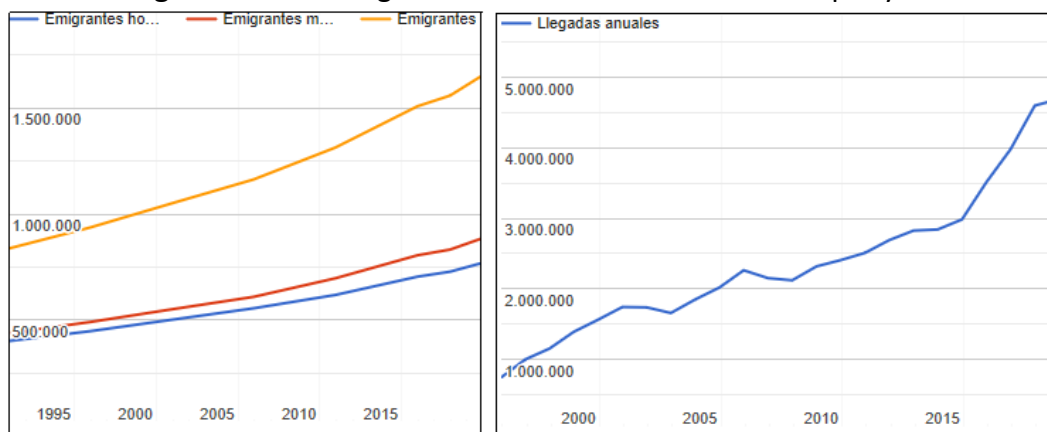


Source: World Tourism Organization (2009)

The organization found two different types of linkages, the first is defined as ‘Tourism-led Migration’ which implies for instance that the expansion of international tourism causes employment gaps in the tourism industry or pensioner migration where people decide to migrate after traveling to a certain country. On the other hand, migration has a direct and indirect link to tourism, which the organization defines as ‘Migration-led Tourism’. This concept includes the development of new infrastructure in both destination and origin countries and the visits

paid by family and friends. The latter being mostly the case of Central American countries, where in some countries 70% of incoming tourism is build up from ‘home’ visits.

Figure 6: Cuban migrants and number of tourist visits per year



Source: Datos macro (n.d.)

In the case of Cuba as a sending country that emits a high number of its population in international migratory flows, the relationship between international migration and tourism becomes relevant. Figure 6 shows the annual growth of Cuban migrants and that of tourist visits. Even though the drops in the number of tourists is not as significant reflected in that of migration, they both show substantial growth throughout the year. When looking at ‘home visits’ from migrated Cubans, it can be seen that a significant number of tourist visits is paid by the Cuban community abroad (Perelló Cabrera & Llanes Sorolla, 2015). Table 1 shows the number of international visits in January of 2019 and 2020. This table is one of many from the National Statistics Office Cuba that project the trend of the amount of Cubans from abroad that visit the island is significantly high in the last 12 years, remaining in the top 3 of the country’s visitors (ONEI, 2020; Perelló Cabrera, 2012).

Table 1: Cuba: number of international visits per country, in January (thousand)

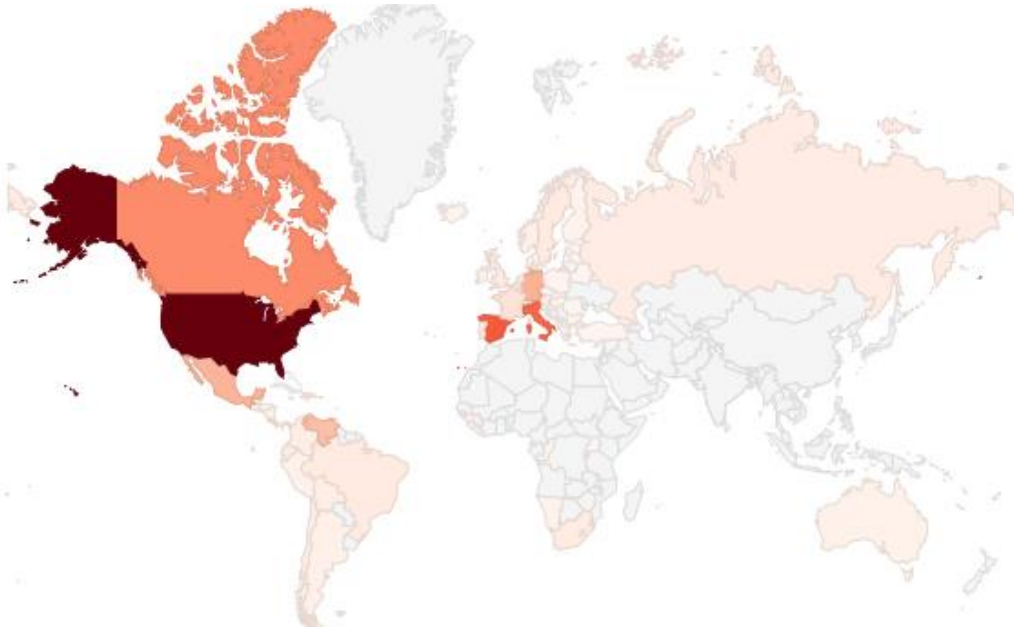
Países	2019	2020	2020/2019 (%)
Visitantes	489 618	393 762	80,4
Canadá	159 022	162 307	102,1
Comunidad Cubana en el Exterior	42 945	37 394	87,1
Federación Rusa	16 742	24 842	148,4
Estados Unidos de América	62 416	19 464	31,2
Francia	22 354	16 871	75,5
Alemania	20 891	14 679	70,3
Italia	16 522	13 129	79,5
México	10 951	10 580	96,6
España	9 485	8 910	93,9
Inglaterra	15 945	7 989	50,1
Otros	112 345	77 597	69,1

Source: National statistics office Cuba (ONEI, 2020)

Coming back on the note of Aja Díaz (2000) and the link between the percentage of Cuban migration and that of tourists in certain geographic spaces on the island, adding the link between the countries of origin of tourists and the destination countries of Cuban migrants. Statistics from ONEI, the official Cuban statistics and information office, provide a quick overview of inbound tourists according to country or geographical region. The trend that has developed over several years are shown in numbers is the fact that most visitors are from North American and European soil. The main tourist sending countries are Canada, U.S., France, Germany, England, Italy, Spain and Mexico. Another country that sends a significant number of tourists is Russia (ONEI, 2019). When these countries are compared to the countries in which reside most Cuban migrants, there is great similarity. This can be seen in figure 7, where it becomes clear that the destination countries of most Cuban migrants match with the countries that send most tourists. The figure also corresponds to previous paragraphs in which came forth that most Cuban migrants headed to the U.S. Following the U.S. are Canada, Spain, Italy, Germany, other European countries to a lesser extent, Russia and Latin American countries, Mexico and Venezuela in particular. Latter country and other Latin American countries besides Argentina, Chile and Colombia are not main tourist sending countries. This can have political reasons, especially in the case of Venezuela, geographical or linguistic reasons (ONEI, 2019; Datos macro, n.d.).

As we have seen in chapter one, tourism can also include those who are looking for sexual relations, being the phenomenon sex tourism, which is a sub-sector of global tourism. This global industry is not unknown to Cuba for many years now. Before the revolution in 1959, tourism and prostitution were highly linked, to which Fidel Castro tried to make an end by offering education, housing and employment to sex workers and protecting them from foreign travellers. However, this was without lasting results as Castro failed to endure the curtailing prostitution when their economy turned to mass tourism as one of the primary sources to overcome the economic crisis. Thus, coinciding with the tourist boom, Cuba became a sexual playground again, since the 1990s, and began to compete with other major havens for sex tourism such as Thailand and the Philippines. This still lasts until today as Cuba is known as “paradise of sexual tourism” and was rated five stars for its “general erotic level” by a magazine. Together with internet sites, travellers are guided to places where they can find such services, for example resorts and nightclubs, and individual workers of this industry. Clancy (2002) states that in order to survive, Cuban women and men are forced to sell their bodies as socialism is failing on the island and forty years of economic blockade by the U.S. which has suppressed the Cuban economy.

Figure 7: Cuban migrants according to country of destination (until 2019)



Source: Datos macro, Cuba - Emigrantes totales (n.d.)

Moreover, another factor that has contributed to the island's image is Cuban advertising and the way in which the island is projected to the world. During the 1990s, Cuban companies started to advertise in tourism by using the stereotype sensual Cuban woman, when this was not necessarily related to the product of the advertisement (Blanco Borelli, 2016). Combined with the development in which Cubans found that tourists are an important source of income, it has led towards the situation where Cuba has become a popular destination for sex and romance tourism. In Cuba's case, this type of tourism does not only include brief encounters in exchange for money but can also be based on long term commitment in return for gifts in the form of products as these are scarce and expensive on the island, such as makeup, jewellery, clothes or kitchen appliances for instance, where some of these particular relationships turn out to become love and marriage (Babb, 2010).

2.6 Law 302/12, Cuba's new migration policy

Because of Cuba's history, which led to a difficult political and economic situation for its citizens, migration became part of their daily life. However, this was not the case when it comes to the country's migration policy. These policies have developed slowly in terms of flexibility, up until when migration regulations were loosened. As mentioned before, Cuba's migration law 989/61, implemented by Fidel Castro's regime in 1961, basically prohibited Cubans to travel in and out of Cuba. This law held few exceptions, that is to say a labour contract abroad or by personal invitation. Those who are granted to travel have a limited amount of time abroad, in case these 11 months were to be exceeded or an individual chose to travel illegally their owned properties were confiscated, including their Cuban Citizenship and the right to return to Cuban territory both permanent and visits, including cases of emergencies.

Even though this law was modified in 1976, it did not include significant adjustments and remained highly restrictive for Cubans to travel abroad. However, in August 2011, Raul Castro who substituted his father announced new modifications of the migration law. Until the publication in October 2012, Cubans awaited as it had become a vital issue in their society, which is highly transnational (Dilla Alfonso, 2012). This reform, implemented in January 2013 marked a milestone in Cuban history regarding migration policy; however, the reforms were disappointing for many (Martín Fernández & Bárcenas Alfonso, 2015). As the results were positive, the fundamental problems stayed in place (Dilla Alfonso, 2012).

Since 2013 Cubans have, four legal ways to travel abroad, these are as follows:

- with a residence permit broad. This is an exceptional status, which allows the following individuals to enter and leave the country freely with the government's option to revoke if the person in question behaves unacceptable to the regime: those who married a foreigner, authorized officials, political and intellectual elite and their family members.
- with a definite exit. This is the migration status of most Cubans. In this case, the individual loses all citizens rights and is not permitted to return to live in Cuba. Since 2011 they cannot own property in Cuba, however, they can sell their possessions before their departure, in contrast to law 989/61. Also new was the allowed time of visit, which was one month per year and got extended to three months.
- with a temporary departure. Before, these individuals had a limited amount of 11 months abroad, which is now extended to 24 months. They also were required a personal invitation and an exit permit, both costing money, which is not necessary with the new legislation. Previously, the state could deny requests of Cubans who had technical skills or had a critical opinion towards the regime, now the regulations do not clarify certain criteria regarding this passport.
- through the official channel. This concerns those who leave on government missions or those who have to travel because of work such as academics, technicians and artists. However, the individual is not able to return to the island up to five years and loses its citizens rights if he/she does not return to Cuba, or a 'deserter'. In addition, their family is not allowed to leave the island for mentioned amount of time.

As can be noted, the migrants can nowadays return to their country of birth, visit their families, and leave the country without invitation as any other world citizen, both for a certain period. However, migration remains restricted and the bureaucratic processes of the permits are key components in order to achieve political obedience in and outside of its borders (Dilla Alfonso, 2012; Aja Díaz, Rodríguez Soriano, Orosa Busutil & Albizu-Campos Espiñeira, 2017; Cuba legal (n.d.). The regulations push Cubans that wish to relocate their residency into three options, temporary migration and return to Cuba in the given amount of time, transfer all possessions to family members that remain on the island, give up citizens' rights and visit three months per year or marriage with a foreigner (Sosa, 2019).

Martín Fernández and Bárcenas Alfonso (2015) note that due to these regulations, temporary migration is preferred, as many Cubans prefer to maintain their citizens' rights. This type of migration is characterized by the satisfaction of economic needs, academic and professional projects and family visits. Even though it has become a possibility, travel or (temporary)migration remains out of the question for many Cubans as a result of the absence of money or family members abroad, even though they desire to. A well-known phrase of Cuban migrants is “a mí la política no me interesa; yo vengo a lo mío”, meaning “I am not interested in politics, I make my own”, resulting in the upcoming of a significant group of Cubans that choose to marry a foreigner, which allows them the most beneficial situation regarding their citizens' rights and travel to and from the island (Sosa, 2019).

It is difficult to show characteristics of Cubans that migrate, let alone of those who move through the channel of marriage. However, this chapter has shown that the migration wave of the 1990s, primarily based on economic reasons and the satisfaction of basic needs, coincided with the rise of tourism. Combining that information with the fact that the Cuban population with the age of 40 and younger is continually decreasing and professionals that have the opportunity to migrate through work, it might be safe to say that the characteristics of Cubans who migrate through marriage are relatively young people who do not have the purchasing power to survive in the economic situation of the island. Using sex and romance tourism as a strategy to survive which may also function as a channel for their path to migration. A link that will be broader analysed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 3

Cuba's marriage migration

Previous chapters have shown the existence of a phenomenon, which is about strategic marriage commitments with various underlying motivations. Latter chapter briefly showed the presence of this type of marriage in Cuba and the historical antecedents that have taken place, which led to the situation where Cubans have to survive on daily basis, causing them to search for a better life outside of the island. This chapter analyses Cuban migration of men in the context of marriage with a foreign woman and their motivations behind this movement, based on information gathered by two months of fieldwork in Cuba's capital city Havana and Trinidad, and online surveys and interviews/conversations. Furthermore, this chapter also analyses the transnational marriage from the point of view of the spouse, the role of stereotypes, how this type of migration is received by Cuban society on the island and the role of the government. An important note is that even though this analysis is solely about Cuban men, it does not imply that it does not take place the other way around with Cuban women and foreign men. That occurs as well; however, that is a different study.

Another important note that I would like to draw upon before reading is what my experiences were doing fieldwork and online gathering of information regarding the willingness of Cubans to participate in this study as I found out there is a tendency amongst the people I have spoken with. Many of them expressed concerns when it came to participation. On the island, Cubans were open to talk about the subject, however, when participation in an anonymous interview was mentioned most of them were not open to do so. I have received similar reactions in reference to the online survey. Since it covers a political subject and even though explained thoroughly, I was yet to receive many questions regarding the purpose and its anonymity. The main reason was fear for the government and potentially get in trouble when returning to Cuba. As is noted in previous chapter, Cubans desire to return to visit their home country and family, however, they could lose this granting from the government if the migrant were to be behaving inadequately according the government and as Ramírez Frías et al. (2017) also point out the fear that Cubans in general have for communism. On a final note, I would like to point out that findings of this research are not meant to be in any way negative and do not apply to all Cubans, it serves only to analyse the phenomenon that is present on the island.

With the notion of the difficulty of finding participants, this chapter is based on multiple sources such as secondary and tertiary sources as well on a primary source of an author that has researched the subject for many years. The source in particular has conducted semi-structured interviews with migrated Cubans who reside Spain. During my fieldwork in Cuba, I managed to converse casually with many ordinary Cubans I encountered, obtaining a profound synopsis on the Cuban culture of migration through many personal experiences, and an image of the phenomenon of Cuban men that try to indulge with tourists. One Cuban lawyer who was

married to an Argentinian woman and visiting Cuba agreed to a semi-structured interview where after the government interfered, leaving me unable to conduct more interviews. Because of the sensitivity of the subject, being a political theme and fear for the government, the need for absolute anonymousness and the situation of COVID-19, the decision to conduct a survey was made as this is also a more trusted form of anonymity. Through this survey I managed to gather 20 respondents, from which one answered through a different communication channel. The profiles of the respondents are notably distinct, from the age of 26 to 67, men and women that mostly are (75%) Cubans who migrated to Europe through marriage but also respondents with other backgrounds such as living in Cuba, the U.S. and Uruguay or a Cuban student who studies in London or on the other hand a woman who is working for the ministry of foreign affairs that experienced such a marriage herself. The analysis is structured by findings in academic sources, which are for most part identified by my own research findings.

3.1 Statistics of Cuban marriage migration

In chapter two, we have seen that the fall of the Soviet Union had a serious impact on the political and economic situation of Cuba and its citizen's daily life. New politics made it possible for Cubans to migrate under certain circumstances. One of them being a labour contract, causing the so-called brain drain effect, which essentially means that highly qualified individuals leave their less developed country to higher developed countries and better living conditions, and is a negative aspect of migration (WTO, 2009). In the case of Cuba, it is brain expulsion, as salaries are insufficient to meet the minimum needs to survive, that has caused the brain drain effect. Many professionals used their title to migrate, even though it was for a limited amount of time to prevent losing citizenship and possessions, in order to obtain a better lifestyle for themselves and their family (Sosa, 2019).

For those who also desired to migrate but lacked a professional title was another way to migrate with the same conditions, namely through marriage with a foreigner. As was shown in chapter two, the new policies gave rise to a tourist boom; increasing numbers of tourists visited the island and almost a simultaneous rise of migrants that left the country. It is difficult to say what percentage of migrants has taken place through this marital channel; however, there are some scholars that offer some insights.

Previous chapter showed the relation between Cuba's open-up to tourism in the 90's and the increase in the number of migration that occurred around the same time. This is also noted by Martín Quijano (2007) who states that the number of marriages between Mexicans and Cubans are significant, in the years 1996-2000, 1,767 Cubans migrated to Mexico through marriage whereas a study of 2004 showed almost the same results where almost one quarter of total Mexican marriages was between a Mexican and a Cuban. He also states that tourism and transnational marriages are directly linked, showing an increase in marriages from 1993 and stating that most marriages took place in the most touristic place of Cuba, Havana. Also is mentioned that regarding these specific countries, the earlier mentioned mail-order bride

phenomenon has led to many of these marriages as there was a marriage catalogue where Cuban woman offered themselves as ‘eager to have love relationships with a foreigner’.

We have seen that areas with high migration numbers are also areas with high amounts of tourist visitors. Pérez Gallardo et al. (2010) link these numbers to marriages between a Cuban man or woman and a foreigner. They also state that the number of transnational marriages of latter named composition have increased since the end of de 20th century. Furthermore, between 2003 and 2007, around 25,000 Cubans got married to a foreigner, which is an average of 5,000 per year. The partners of these Cubans had Spanish, Italian, Mexican, Canadian, German and French nationalities, which are, according to previous findings, also the same countries as where many tourists come from. These countries count for an estimated amount of 75% of the marriages between a Cuban and a foreigner. Spanish partners are particularly popular; between 1995 and 2004, almost 11,000 Cubans migrated to Spain through marriage, which is a 37% of all Cubans that migrated to Spain during this period.

When looking at the fieldwork results, 75% of all respondents agreed that the collapse of the Soviet Union and the tourist boom created possibilities for Cubans to migrate through marriage, as well as the fact that this phenomenon is better known in the last few years on the island. Regarding this subject, no respondent answered that this was not the case as the other 25% answered that they did not know. This can be explained by the age of these respondents as latter group was of relative younger age and not old enough during that time to be able to answer the question. Furthermore, when asked if the respondent noticed this type of marriage in his social contacts, whether this is family, a friend of neighbours, almost 80% responded with yes, indicating that almost every respondent knows a Cuban that has migrated by marrying a foreigner.

3.1.1 Migration in the Cuban culture

As noticed in chapter one, migration can become part of a culture as a community is introduced to different lifestyles by home visits from migrants and the media, where behaviours and values are becoming related to migration and integrated in the daily life of the community. This also the case for Cuban culture as the mass tourism displayed a different lifestyle and subsequently Cubans that have migrated who pay home visits. In the first years of the 90s, Cuban life was exceedingly rough resulting in a majority of Cubans that was dependent on family abroad. ‘Tener FE’ which literally also means ‘to have faith’ has obtained a different meaning in Cuba, namely to have family abroad: *familia en el extranjero* (Brenner et al., 2008; De la Fuente, 2008). This indirectly means receiving remittances, having the ability to consume more, leading to a higher social status. On this note, I noticed on my fieldwork trip that friends made during an earlier visit to Cuba in 2018, who live on the island, have great expectations on bearing gifts and invite the whole family to introduce you to.

Moreover, over the years, this has become a vital aspect of Cuban culture. This also became very clear when doing my fieldwork in Cuba, where Cuban mothers, friends of my bed and breakfast hosts, often came over asking me to meet their sons who would be good boyfriends

in spite of our age difference; they were overall 10 years younger than me and to invite me to come over for dinner. This is also something Simoni (2019) noticed when doing his research on tourism and migration. He explains that his interlocutors, who have migrated, clarified that on the island, life abroad is perceived as a normal life with a normal job, friendship, family and love and therefore the social relationships were increasingly intervened with economic interests and choices of friends or partners were based on materialistic thoughts and possibilities. The integration of migration in Cuban culture can be in some cases obsessive where some adapted a way of thinking, in terms of “there” more than “here”. In addition, they point out that they, together with many other Cubans, spent their time attempting to engage with tourists in which they analyse and compare each other’s skills to communicate with them. Lastly, his respondents add that some do get “there” in the end, mostly through marriage migration with a partner they met while engaging with tourists. Setting out that when returning for a visit, someone else has migrated or as they only have to say ‘se fue’ or ‘está allá’ mostly referring to Spain, Italy, England, the Netherlands and Canada.

3.1.2 Motivations for migration

The three major migration waves since the Cuban Revolution had different motivations. The first was more political oriented which can be categorised as “exiles”. The second wave was aligned to family reunification, also categorised as “the children of the Revolution” and the third wave from the mid-1990s can be categorised as “the migrants” and have mostly economic reasons, with the object to improve their economic conditions, their life and that of their relatives in Cuba, by doing so maintaining the opportunity to enter and leave Cuba freely. Moreover, Cubans do not feel, as they are a member of a global society, which is something they aspire (Simoni, 2019). As is mentioned earlier, scholars state that the main reasons for recent Cuban migration are obtaining a better life for themselves and their family in Cuba, information that corresponds to my obtained information which can be seen in figure 8.

Figure 8: Factors that explain the desire to migrate to a developed country

11. ¿En su opinión, qué factores pueden explicar este deseo de emigrar a Europa o a los EE.UU. por ejemplo?	
Category	Response count
Familiares	11
Económicos	17
Profesionales	8
Políticos	7
Otros, a saber	1

Source: Survey (2019)

Regarding the question what factors might explain the desire to migrate to a developed country, there were four options with the option of giving multiple answers, being family, economic, professional and political reasons. Figure 8 shows the results which are as follows: almost every

respondent answered economic reasons, almost 90%, and second comes family with more than half of the respondents. Other result is that the other two options, professional and political reasons, were chosen by less than half of the respondents, that is to say around 40% which implies that these factors are less of a motivation for migration, the latter to a lesser degree. There appears to be other issues that can explain why one would migrate, however this is not mentioned when the individual filled in the survey. At the same time, when asked what kind of issues one could value when living abroad, we see almost the same outcomes (see figure 9). One could choose, again multiple answers, between work and or professional performance, freedom, improvement of the quality of life and lastly to be able to help relatives in Cuba. The outcome to what one values when living abroad is 100% quality of life improvement and almost 70% the ability to help relatives on the island and repeatedly, professional and freedom/political reasons were significant less valued which matches the earlier made categorisation of the recent migration flow, which started mid-1990s.

Figure 9: Issues one could value living abroad

6. ¿Cuáles son los aspectos que alguien pueda valorar de vivir en el extranjero?	
Category	Response count
Empleo/Desempeño profesional	10
Libertad	8
Mejora del nivel/calidad de vida	19
Poder ayudar a familiares en Cuba	13
Otras cuestiones, a saber	0

Source: Survey (2019)

The way in which migrants help their family members that is most used is in the form of money which is sent back to Cuba, or remittances which is, as noticed earlier, one of the most important factors when it comes to daily survival for most of Cuba's citizens. The WTO (2019) states that remittances for sustenance are considered as primary value of migration for the countries of origin. Therefore, a large amount of respondents valued the option to help family. We have seen that this form of income creates inequality and confirms that Cuban state salaries are insufficient to provide the basic needs. Even though it is unfair for those who do not have contacts abroad, it is of great importance of a major group on the island, especially since the legalisation of the dollar on the island which made it possible to receive money from family in the U.S. Sosa (2019) states that remittances play such an important role in the Cuban economy that the amount of money sent by relatives all over the world exceeds the state salaries paid to the country's labour force and the country's income of sugar and tourism. Data on remittances are not published by Cuba, however central banks in other countries do, which is why the numbers are estimated amounts. In 1994, roughly 400 million dollars were sent to the island in the form of remittances which increased to around 600 million dollars in 1997, 800 in 2001 and an estimated amount of 3,575 million dollars in 2017, including an estimation of in-kind remittances brings this number to 6,565 million dollars, which are non-registered remittances

such as a place to stay when family visits and cash brought by those who visit relatives on the island (Luis, 2019).

However, Cubans see also several downsides when it comes to migration and integration. Respondents were asked what aspects of Cuba they would consider better than they are abroad. Remarkable is that only 10% answered that nothing is better in Cuba than it is abroad, however, the other 90% expressed that they miss certain aspects in their life abroad. Most frequently is mentioned the interpersonal relations that Cubans have amongst each other, the quality of these relations and people's solidarity in general and the feeling of security that comes with it, which is better in Cuba. Cubans are very social, form friendships easily and take the time to talk to each other, respondents notice that this is not the case in foreign countries; most of them reside in Europe, as the lifestyle is more hectic with more obligations and much time is spent on mobile phones. These are matters that bother most of the migrated Cubans. Another factor mentioned is the quality of education, as the University of Havana is one of the 500 best universities worldwide and healthcare; both are free and universal on the island. Other factors that were mentioned with less frequency are Cuban food, the environment and paid jobs. The latter being explainable by the amount of migration through marriage, as this is the best option when a Cuban has not obtained an educational degree. Combined with language obstacles it might be difficult for one to be employed in the country of destination.

These findings are similar to that of the research of Simoni (2019). Interlocutors of his research mention that new friends in the country of destination do not understand the difference between friendship and business as some request unreasonable favours. In addition, they mention the security system one has in Cuba. Even though there are shortages in Cuba, but the people, friends and family, help each other resulting in a feeling of security whereas abroad some state that if you do not have a job, you have no safety, "Cuba is the best country in the world to be poor!" (p. 757). Regarding the cultural and social themes, in contrast to what happened to various Cubans who have migrated; Cuba is seen as a place that has important social and cultural values, with friends, family, warmth, joyfulness and social solidarity where no Cuban would leave another abandoned on the street. Emphasizing the Cuban way of life where people are cheerful, fun-loving and supportive people, which is to some people what matters most. Therefore, Cuban migrants consider returning to the island and some already have returned.

3.2 Cuban sex tourism

When researching Cuban marriage migration, it is important to take into account the concept of sex tourism, which is present on the island. We have seen that sex tourism can also be confused with romance tourism, where sex is not necessarily part of these relations, which is also the case of Cuba what is considered a country where both tourisms exist (Alcázar Campos, 2009; Wilkinson, 2008). On the island, there exists a certain phenomenon that is called 'jineterismo'. This term is something that is discouraged to research as many Cubans are embarrassed by the phenomenon and portrays a negative image of Cuban people, where one stated "This is not the real Cuba; these people are not the Cubans you should meet!" (Simoni,

2019: 755). However, in my opinion it is an important aspect when it comes to Cuban migration through marriage and is therefore part of this analysis.

3.2.1 Jineterismo

Jineterismo is a localism which is derived from the Spanish word *jinete*, ‘rider’, ‘horseman’, and is generally translated as the ‘riding on the back of tourists’ as it is a strategy to obtain material purposes. It raises prostitution, hustling, exploitation and commercialised forms of relationships (Alcázar Campos, 2009; Wilkinson 2008). The story of Cuban writer José Miguel Sánchez, *La causa que refresca* (2007), does a great job of explaining *jineterismo* concisely. The narrative is about a young Cuban who waits for a western female tourist at the airport or hotel, to be her tourist guide. He seduces her and pretends to be interested in her but is in fact only interested in her money. This phenomenon or “social fact” as Alcázar Campos (2009) refers to it, is noticed especially in the 90s after the fall of the Soviet Union and the open-up to mass tourism and makes scholars question the supposed egalitarian success of the Cuban government, as this paradigm shows inequality in gender, class and historical-political positions.

As said before, this term may or may not include sexual relations, however, this is an assumption often automatically made. When using the term, it relates to both genders and despite that both genders have in common that it implies a profitable relationship with a tourist, there is often made a difference between them. Females, which are called “*jineteras*” are associated with prostitution while on the other hand, males, which are called “*jineteros*”, are associated with being a ‘*luchador*’ or fighter. While Cubans are mostly forced into *jineterismo* due to lack of jobs, hence income, the idea of a *jinetera* is often perceived on Cuba as being a preferred choice as a woman’s role in the authentic Cuban society is mainly taking care of the household and children and that of a man to provide for his family (De la Fuente, 2009; Alcázar Campos, 2009).

Even though the revolutionary government strived for equality in Cuba’s society, it has failed to do so when it comes to equal opportunities in employment and dismantling the racist culture and let Afro-Cubans access the middle-class. Despite the many efforts and progress that was initially made to diminish racial inequality, the Special Period left many Afro-Cubans in extreme poverty. In this racially layered society, blacks have less access to jobs and are disadvantaged, for example, in the tourist sector only 5% is represented by the Afro-Cuban society, resulting in a turn to jobs in the informal economy that are legal or illegal, that include hustling and prostitution. Activities that De la Fuente (2009) understands under *jineterismo*. To many, such developments create prejudices that these people are naturally linked to crime and corruption, and are for example shaping the views of the public on interracial couples.

It is because of few job opportunities and scarcity of products that Cubans, both men and woman, are forced to indulge in this informal sector, when necessary, which makes its nature more casual. Besides including luxurious gifts, money and or sexual actions, there are also other forms of *jineterismo* besides the best-known affective one, such as scientific and religious

jineterismo. The first indicates close relationships between Cuban and foreign professional colleagues and the latter being for instance spontaneous cultural experiences with authentic Afro-Cuban religion groups and their customs. To give an example, when doing fieldwork on the island, an Afro-Cuban woman offered a religious healing, not in exchange for direct payment; however, the tools needed for this healing that she would buy were exceedingly expensive.

Moreover, Wilkinson (2008) adds that it is not just these motivations that make these people choose to get involved. Research partners of Simoni (2019) mentioned they did not prefer temporary and greedy connections but favoured long-term relations and developing a friendship and intimate connections that ultimately might evolve in a romantic relationship and migration. This also has the additional advantage of portraying their intentions in a distinct, more positive manner to the authorities, instead of being strategic and making the tourist feel as being in a real relationship.

In order to achieve such a connection with tourists, *jineteros* have to indulge with tourism in a casual manner. When asked the question which mechanisms *jineteros* use to achieve this, the findings were apparent. 50% of the respondents said that they are located in highly touristic places such as hotels and bars. Examples are Hotel Inglaterra in Havana, where there is dancing on the rooftop, 1830 in Havana and Disco Ayala in Trinidad. Another 21% said they work in the touristic sector, which can be a tourist guide to those who are looking for the “authentic” Cuba or dance teacher amongst others, however, the dance sector appears to be most frequent mentioned, both when putting themselves in touristic places as working in the touristic sector, as for example a salsa teacher. Unfortunately, the remaining 29% did not know or failed to fill the question in.

3.3 The question of real intentions

Regarding the possibility to migrate through marriage, *jineterismo* and erotically characterised encounters, there have been developed prejudices when it comes to the real intentions of Cubans who marry a foreigner, of the Cuban looking for a more dignified life but also the foreigner when taking into account there can be other intentions than just holiday visits, being sex and romance tourism. My research focuses on Cuban men in particular who marry a foreigner; therefore, it is this group and female foreigners that will be analysed in this matter.

3.3.1 Sex and romance tourism

Sex tourism is hard to define. When thinking of a stereotypical sex tourist, the first that comes to mind is a man of western origin in Thailand that pays for sexual interactions with prostitutes. Moreover, a scholar defined sex tourism as the traveling with the purpose of purchasing such services of local women, stating that it is by definition men who can be defined as a sex tourist. Academic literature finds it more of a dilemma to define sex tourism when it comes to females who visit for named purposes, as in this case the behaviour is interpreted differently than when

it comes to men. Argued is that a woman is experiencing a 'romance' and even mentioned is that they are 'used' by men who are actively searching money, a ticket to a better life and sometimes love, offering a holiday romance. Resulting in a different interpretation of the definition, where "prostitution is not the right concept to characterise these relationships and love is not the right concept either" (Sánchez Taylor, 2001: 750). More information on the expectations of the women provided later in this chapter.

As mentioned before, Cuba has no brothels or in other forms organised prostitution. On the island, sex tourism takes place in a more ad hoc and spontaneous way, often in exchange for sustenance and material goods. Therefore, it is difficult to research this phenomenon in Cuba's case. O'Connell Davidson (1996) finds different types of sex tourism in Cuba, namely the sex tourists that purposely seek for cheap destinations for their desires and those who do not necessarily look for it but find it anyway. On the island, you find prostitution that includes tourists actively looking for these services and more subtle services where Cubans can offer a room, food and companionship in exchange for few dollars and expenses made. She states that the 'situational' sex tourists find themselves in such situations, loving the kindness of Cubans, dance abilities and their appearances. Given this situation, it is generally thought to be a good person to help these people out by not paying for such services but as a gesture of help and compassion.

3.3.1.2 The role of stereotypes

The role of stereotypes is of great importance with regard to sex and romance tourism as most sex tourist have obtained a certain fantasy of a stigmatised image before entering the chosen country of destination. In order to provide a good example, I am once more referring to *La causa que refresca* as the story opens with the typical stereotype:

"Welcome. Yes, I am always here, at the entrance of the airport or hotel, waiting for you. I can see from your smile that you recognised me right away, too. I am just who you have been looking for, everything you have always dreamed of. I've got the eyes of a half-blood and a skin tanned by the sun and salt, untameable hair and muscles from actual labour, not just from the gym. Or at least, what is left of those muscles, because, as you know, it's a difficult situation here. I have the face of a self-taught intellectual and of a party man, all in one go. Of course, cute and semi ragged. Do you see? The danger is written on my features, the delicate risk of theft or venereal disease, Rousseau's *noble savage*. Welcome, Yes I'll be your guide" (Timmer, 2006).

As was mentioned, the stereotype forming started in the 90's by eroticising advertisement campaigns. Authors argue that the advertisement of such racial stereotypes, women being eroticised and primitive wild males, each of these stereotypes luring tourists to the country, is linked to the inducement of the Caribbean as a holiday destination where sex is almost naturally a part of. Here, we can see that perceptions that are created on Cubans are linked to sexuality, where Cubans are seen as uncontrollable passionate, especially when compared to men in the tourists countries, hence explaining sex tourism in Cuba (Simoni 2013). Moreover, studies imply that these elements are used by advertising tourism as it may raise tourist interest (Reimondo Barrios & Reis, 2019). This can be explained by the 'otherness' of tourists as

Cubans are shaped into a tourists mind as racialised and sexualised people (Alcánzar Campos, 2009).

In addition, when looking at the paragraph from *La causa que refresca*, these stereotypes are well known by Cubans and may be used by them in their favour when having such objectives. Doing so by making jocular comments on stereotypical sex with Cubans, such as: “What? You’ve never tried [sex with] a Cuban? You don’t know what you’re missing my friend” (Simoni, 2013, p. 185) which often come with a wink. On the contrary to what we have seen earlier where some *jineteros* prefer more profound relationships, there are also some who explained that they do not mind short “hook-ups” with tourists for the sexual experience but when getting older, they are looking for something more serious (Simoni, 2013).

3.3.2 motivations for marriage

Honest motivations behind interracial couples are often questioned. Especially when it comes to Cuba’s economic situation, migration culture and *jineterismo*. Social sciences question whether there are clear boundaries between relationships for love or money, as there are favourable conditions in tourist encounters for the initiation of relationships. It is hard to distinguish one that is solely based on sex or romance tourism where one might hope for an engagement and a ticket off the island or one that is based on true love from both sides and marriage (Alcánzar Campos, 2009). Results obtained through the survey can be seen in Figure 10 and 11.

Figure 10: Intentions of Cuban men regarding marriage with foreign women

9. Algunas teorías indican que la migración como resultado del matrimonio es a menudo la forma más eficiente y socialmente aceptable para lograr un mayor nivel de movilidad social y económica. ¿Qué piensa usted sobre las intenciones de hombres cubanos, son verdaderos enamorados o tienen la migración como objetivo final?	
Category	Response percentage
Verdaderos enamorados	0
Objetivo final	15,8
Una mezcla de ambos	84,2

Source: Survey (2019).

Outcomes of my research have ambivalent outcomes. Respondents were asked about the intentions of these men with regard to marriage with a tourist (Figure 10); no one responded that they all were truly in love, in a small contrast to 16% that responded that marriage serves as a means for their final objective, migration. Most frequent was answered the mix of both, namely 84.2%, indicating that not every Cuban is truly in love nor are his intentions solely based on migration. However, the question if the respondents though there were more marriages for convenience, with the objective to migrate, or more marriages for real love showed different results which can be seen in Figure 11. Almost 58% responded that there were more marriages

for convenience in contrast to 16% that agreed there are more marriage for real romantic motivations. No one believed that there are no marriages for convenience and the remaining 26% did not know. Hence, even though the outcomes may seem contradictory as the percentage of final objective is lower than that of marriages for convenience, these results show that there is in fact a great number of total marriages that has convenience purposes but there are also marriages that are based on real romantic feelings.

Figure 11: Intentions Cuban men regarding marriage with foreign women

10. En caso de que usted opine que hay matrimonios por conveniencia, ¿cree que hay más matrimonios por conveniencia que matrimonios de amor verdadero?	
Category	Response percentage
Más por conveniencia	57,9
Más por amor verdadero	15,8
No lo sé	26,3
No hay matrimonios por conveniencia	0

Source: Survey (2019)

Moreover, when analysing honest motivations in a situation where indulging with tourists is a way of survival or a way out, it seemed logical to incorporate the question if the respondents in their everyday life noticed if there were many men who interacted with tourists in a romantic way, and if these were the same each time (figure 12). 53% responded yes and yes, they are the same, whereas 12% answered that they did not notice it or that it are not the same Cubans. 35% answered yes on noticing many Cubans interacting with female tourists but that they are unaware of the fact if these Cubans are always the ones who act this way. In addition, an interviewee in Trinidad said “siempre son los mismos”, meaning that it is always the same Cubans he sees indulging with tourists in a romantic way. He added “you just have to take a seat at *La Casa de la Música* and observe, you will see the same faces every night, with different tourists as they come and go to the city”, which is what I did. I encountered a group of Cubans, half of them were already married to English and Spanish women and waiting for their papers to migrate permanently, not enthusiastic in trying to converse compared to the single individuals, only to assist as a translator as some of them already learned some English. Later when I asked why, they responded they wanted to give them a chance too as they already obtained a life outside the island. I noticed the married ones were also still indulging with tourists, when I asked if that meant they were not in love with their wives they said, “She is a good woman, but I’m not in love”. This is not to say that all transnational marriages between a Cuban and a foreigner are for convenience, only to indicate that it forms a big part of the intentions and how it can be intertwined in such social groups.

Figure 12: Amount of same Cubans indulging with female tourists

8. ¿En la vida cotidiana, ves a muchos hombres cubanos saliendo con mujeres turísticas de manera romántica?	
Category	Response percentage
Sí, son los mismos	52,9
Sí, no sé si son los mismos	35,3
No	11,8

Source: Survey (2019)

3.3.3 Reasons of the tourists

Reasons of female tourists that coincide with marriage are difficult to define, as there are two different findings when it comes to female tourists. Literature suggests that there are many sexual reasons for women to travel to the island and others for romantic interests and then there is always those who do not particularly travel with such aspirations but do find it on their paths. Weichselbaumer points out that money, sex, romance and love are not easy to separate, not for people with similar backgrounds nor for different social backgrounds. However, she finds through interviews that many female tourists, intentionally coming as a sex tourist or not, enjoy the looks of Caribbean men, their sensuality and passion. Also stating that for ‘poor, uneducated, black men’ these women are sexually available but also emotionally as some claim to be honestly in love (2012).

The general trend in scholarly works on erotic encounters between locals and tourists is more sexual highlighted when it comes to male tourists with locals and more romantically important with regard to female tourists and male locals. On the other hand, there is also research that shows that men can also be searching for sentimental experiences, also called the “girlfriend experience” and western women that are not looking for romance but are looking for the men’s sexual performances. However, scholars tend more towards the general trend, as testimonials from both parties point to that direction. By doing so, they state that female tourists that establish relationships are returning several times or may invite them to immigrate to their residence country (Gravary-Barbas et al., 2017). This indicates that *jineterismo* can lead to migration through marriage when a tourist ultimately becomes emotionally involved.

On the other hand, there is a possibility where the tourist is more in love with their sexual fantasies performed by their Cuban partner, as the relation potentially started based on such experiences in which the Cuban might be seen as a sex toy. Results from my research showed that some indeed answered that this is the case when asked about the intentions of the women that marry a Cuban man. Some respondents mentioned the passion in bed where one mentioned they take advantage of their poverty. However, most respondents mentioned the intentions were genuinely being in (or blinded by as one states) love and want to start a family. As one adds: “Even though we have marriages for convenience, Cubans are very romantic and we would do everything for our partner”. One in particular answered another option, namely the acquirement

of a property on the island that is relatively inexpensive compared to European properties for instance.

Moreover, a interviewee mentioned a sort of *jineterismo* also happens the other way around, where tourists who do not have another way to obtain Cuban papers, find an alternative which is searching for a Cuban citizen and offer themselves to get married and obtain Cuban permanent residency for personal benefits such as buying a house on the island, to do business and to benefit from free medical care and education. Once obtained residency, a situation is possible in which the foreigner pays the Cuban to each go their separate ways. He states that there are many foreigners who desire to do so as “Cuban permanent residency has more advantages than disadvantages” (Anonymous, 2019, interview with the author).

3.4 Marriage migration received by Cuban society on Cuba

How marriage migration is received on the island has appeared to be difficult to analyse, also with results from the fieldwork. Earlier we have seen that the Cubans who have family members abroad have an important source of income, a situation that became integrated in the Cuban culture to such an extent that it becomes desirable to have connections in a foreign country. However, migration through marriage might not be the best way to do so as we have also noticed that there exist prejudices when it comes to interracial marriages, as well as the fact that Cubans are discontent with *jineterismo* that might be linked to marriage migration. When looking at results from fieldwork, it seems that this form of migration is quite accepted by the Cuban society that remains on the island, as no respondent answered that it is not received well (figure 13). 42% answered that it is well received and another 42% said that it is more or less well received. The residual 16% did not know. Because of the significant numbers that state that this phenomenon is more or less or well received and no clear answer is given that this is not the case, I presume that one might say it does not raise negative attitudes towards this type of migration. However, this is different when it comes to the Cuban government.

Figure 13: Marriage migration received by the Cuban society

14. ¿Es bien recibido en la sociedad cubana esta forma de migración?	
Category	Response percentage
Sí	42,1
Más o menos	42,1
No	0
No lo sé	15,8

Source: Survey (2019)

3.4.1 The Cuban government

When it comes to the attitude of the Cuban government regarding migration overall, we have seen that this is not a favoured movement. Cuban laws make it difficult for its citizens to migrate, as there are many conditions and restrictions. Only marriage migration is one of few options that gives Cubans the most advantages. This is not to say that the government encourages its population to do so. Earlier is mentioned that because of racial prejudices, Afro-Cubans are more expected to be violent or to break the law. These prejudices also result in the police frequently targeting young Afro-Cuban males, to stop them in the streets and asking them to show identity papers as suspects of illegal behaviour. This is also the case when the police sees interracial couples, when they can also ask for marital papers (De la Fuente, 2009).

Figure 14: Avoidance of marriage migration by the Cuban government

13. He visto que la policía puede pedir a las parejas transnacionales, un cubano y una turista, identificarse en la calle. ¿Puede decirse que el Gobierno está tratando de evitar este tipo de migración?	
Category	Response percentage
Sí	36,8
No, no es así	21,1
No lo sé	42,1

Source: Survey (2019)

Results from fieldwork, survey results which can be seen in figure 14, are not clear whether the police is trying to avoid such marriages or has other reasons for such checks, as most respondents did not know if this was the case. 37% said that this is true whereas 21% stated that it is not true and that there are other reasons. Two interlocutors told me it is their way of controlling and protecting the tourists. Where one added that if the police sees a Cuban seven days of the week every evening at festive places indulging with tourists, they come talk to him. After that the Cuban is afraid as the police can take him to prison for 24 hours. Here, it is mentioned that this is an arbitrary law, as going out during the weekends is not a problem; however, it is a problem when someone does this every day. The police might think that the Cuban is making a living out of it as *jineteros* do or trying to rob the tourist. He also mentioned that, in Trinidad, they have placed security cameras in the old city centre, if a Cuban draws attention regarding such activities they can expect a house visit from the police instead of showing paper works. The other told me that it is also for political reasons, as the government is afraid the Cubans will talk negatively (Anonymous, 2019, interview with the author).

After these results, it is probably not marriage migration that the government is trying to avoid, but it has a more protective significance, towards tourists and in their own interest as *jineterismo* or a robbery project negative images to the world, possibly affecting Cuba's high tourism inflow which they want to avoid as tourism is one of the country's most important

income source. They also might protect the image of the government as a Cuban might talk negatively concerning the government, what would have the same effect.

Conclusion

Migration and human mobility are clearly topics that remain important for social science and geographic studies. It is a key component of globalization and international relations and is expected to grow in the coming decades. Massey et al. (1993) affirm that, although international migration has emerged in recent years, it remains a relatively low topic that has not been much investigated as a theoretical framework. In addition to a set of theories that have been developed in recent years, there is no coherent theory of international migration. In their research, they analyse different models, such as neoclassical economics and macro and micro theory, which offer possible explanations as a process of personal economic development. In this context, it is argued since 1885 starting by the laws of Ravenstein and further, that immigration is caused by push factors in sending countries, such as low wages or high unemployment, and by attractive factors in host countries such as family, the need for foreign workers or the accumulation of social status and upward mobility.

In general, there are several socioeconomic factors that can affect transnational migration, such as income distribution, the distribution of human capital, and social aspects, including that of work. It is also affirmed by several scholars that migration is usually motivated by the desire for greater social mobility and better economic opportunities. As most migration theories such as the neo-classical theory, the dual labour theory and the push and pull theory all emphasize mobility, it is also important to take immobility into account as well, as people might not have the sources to migrate. For those people there are other paths to migrate, for example marriage. There are different types of marriages that ultimately lead to migration, including forced or arranged marriage, the so-called 'mail-order bride or groom', and 'false' marriages in order to obtain visa cards. It is argued that migration as a result of marriage is often the most efficient and socially acceptable way to achieve a higher level of social and economic mobility.

Furthermore, when a country becomes a sending country of migrants it is likely that the country does not provide sufficient development to its citizens, making them decide to seek this elsewhere. These migrants also pay visits to their home country where the residents become aware of a different lifestyle. This process generates a self-perpetuating social network in which possible migrants have amongst other things financial help. When this reaches a certain point, cultures can become integrated with migration to such an extent that it becomes a culture of migration in which values become associated with migration and future migration is more likely to happen.

Also, international migration is influenced by government policies and economic changes. Bearing this information in mind when analysing the case of Cuba, we can see that the migration wave of the 1990s was during a time where many economic and policy changes have taken place. Cuba found itself in a tough situation after the 1959 revolution, being economically blocked by the United States in many ways. Combined with the fall of the Soviet Union, an area of which Cuba had become severely economically independent, led to the Special Period

in which scarcity stood central. Simultaneously, the Cuban government turned to tourism in order to overcome its deep economic crisis. On that note, we have seen that the migration wave is linked to the tourist boom, as high rates of migrant come from touristic areas as well as Cuban migrants who move to destinations that are the main sending countries of tourists. This rise of tourism led to sex and romance tourism, as stereotypes and the advertisement thereof create imaginary images, where tourists come looking for sexual or romantic relations. This is a phenomenon that Cubans have anticipated on, both men and women, adapting to a lifestyle to survive, in which they know tourists are looking for authentic connections and in some cases affection.

That being said, in order to further answer the research question ‘What aspects of and to what extent has Cuba’s migration wave of the mid-90s led to marriage migration?’ the fieldwork research and surveys have provided necessary information. We have seen that Cuban marriage migration has increased as it became a possibility due to the economic situation and new policies implemented. As this further increased, a culture of migration was developed, where remittances and connections abroad uplift ones social status and living abroad would mean a normal life as well as providing that to relatives. Even though there are aspects of Cuba that are seen as best to Cuba and are not provided by any other country, the aspiration of this lifestyle exceeds these feelings.

Furthermore, Cuban sex and romance tourism combined with the necessity of survival and the fact that tourism is a great source of income, have led to the upsurge of *jineterismo*, a phenomenon in which both Cuban men and women indulge with tourists for mentioned objectives. However, we have seen that it may also lead to marriage migration. With regard to this situation, where mostly unskilled poor Cuban men marry western women, the honesty of their intentions are being questioned. Results from fieldwork and the survey have demonstrated that there are indeed marriages for true love, however, marriages for convenience with the objective to migrate are more frequent.

Even though the survey was not conducted by a great amount of respondents, the results were mainly coinciding as the main part of the group mostly responded in the same way. However, the part where the Cuban society and government are analysed on whether this form of migration is accepted have less certain results. That section would need more research in order to provide an answer in the case of the Cuban society as well as the government aspect. It appears that the government is trying to protect one of their main important sectors, tourism, however, results were not significant enough to claim that outcome. An overall note on the amount of respondents would suggest more extensive research on the subject. Outcomes of this topic cannot be based on such a relative small amount of respondents, when it comes to the sensitivity of the subject, even though some outcomes seem convincing.

In concluding marks, we can see that all of the incidents that led to the migration wave of the 90s, economic crisis and new migration policies, are intertwined just as they are regarding marriage migration. New migration policies authorised visits from former migrants that obtained more purchasing power, together with the open-up to tourism created images of other

lifestyles, combined with the dollarization, through which differences in income became more clear, a culture of migration was formed. In this culture we have seen that international contacts or migrating themselves has become important to such an extent that a lifestyle has up surged in which indulgence with tourists is central in order to create these contacts, which can eventually lead to marriage and migration.

Annexes

Annex 1: List of interviews conducted

Interviewed	Role	Theme	Place and date
Anonymous	Lawyer	The collapse of the Soviet Union; marriage migration; barriers for Cubans before migrating; jineterismo	Trinidad, 21-01-2019

Annex 2: Survey form

1. ¿Cuál es su sexo?			
2. ¿Qué edad tiene usted?			
3. ¿En qué país vive usted?			
4. Después del colapso soviético y la nueva política extranjera que dio lugar al boom turístico había como consecuencia la posibilidad de emigrar de cubanos a través del matrimonio con turistas extranjeras. ¿Puede decirse si este fenómeno es más conocido en los últimos años en Cuba?			
<input type="radio"/> Sí	<input type="radio"/> No	<input type="radio"/> No lo sé	
5. ¿Usted mismo nota algo de esta tendencia, por ejemplo, entre familia o amigos, vecinos?			
<input type="radio"/> Sí	<input type="radio"/> No		
6. ¿Cuáles son los aspectos que alguien pueda valorar de vivir en el extranjero?			
<input type="radio"/> Empleo/Desempeño profesional	<input type="radio"/> Libertad	<input type="radio"/> Mejora del nivel/calidad de vida	
<input type="radio"/> Poder ayudar a familiares en Cuba	<input type="radio"/> Otras cuestiones, a saber		
7. ¿Qué aspectos puede alguien considerar que son mejores en Cuba que en el extranjero			
8. ¿En la vida cotidiana, ves a muchos hombres cubanos saliendo con mujeres turísticas de manera romántica?			
<input type="radio"/> Sí, son los mismos	<input type="radio"/> Sí, no sé si son los mismos	<input type="radio"/> No	
9. Algunas teorías indican que la migración como resultado del matrimonio es a menudo la forma más eficiente y socialmente aceptable para lograr un mayor nivel de movilidad social y económica. ¿Qué piensa usted sobre las intenciones de hombres cubanos, son verdaderos enamorados o tienen la migración como objetivo final?			
<input type="radio"/> Verdaderos enamorados	<input type="radio"/> Objetivo final	<input type="radio"/> Una mezcla de ambos	
10. En caso de que usted opine que hay matrimonios por conveniencia, ¿cree que hay más matrimonios por conveniencia que matrimonios de amor verdadero?			
<input type="radio"/> Más por conveniencia	<input type="radio"/> Más por amor verdadero	<input type="radio"/> No sé	<input type="radio"/> No hay matrimonios

			por conveniencia
11. En su opinión, ¿qué factores pueden explicar este deseo de emigrar a Europa o a los EE.UU., por ejemplo?			
<input type="radio"/> Familiares	<input type="radio"/> Económicos	<input type="radio"/> Políticos	
<input type="radio"/> Profesionales	<input type="radio"/> Otros, a saber		
12. ¿Cuáles son los mecanismos que los hombres cubanos (los que tienen este objetivo final) emplean para lograr contraer matrimonio con extranjeras para emigrar a Europa?			
<input type="radio"/> Trabajar en el sector turístico	<input type="radio"/> Estar en lugares donde hay muchas turistas (Hotel Inglaterra u otros bares por ejemplo)		
<input type="radio"/> Otros, a saber	<input type="radio"/> No lo sé		
13. He visto que la policía puede pedir a las parejas transnacionales, un cubano y una turista, para identificarse en la calle. ¿Puede decirse que el Gobierno está tratando de evitar este tipo de migración?			
<input type="radio"/> Sí	<input type="radio"/> No, no es así	<input type="radio"/> No lo sé	
14. ¿Es bien recibido en la sociedad cubana esta forma de migración?			
<input type="radio"/> Sí	<input type="radio"/> Más o menos	<input type="radio"/> No	<input type="radio"/> No lo sé
15. ¿Qué piensa usted que son las intenciones de las mujeres extranjeras que quieren casar con hombres cubanos?			

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