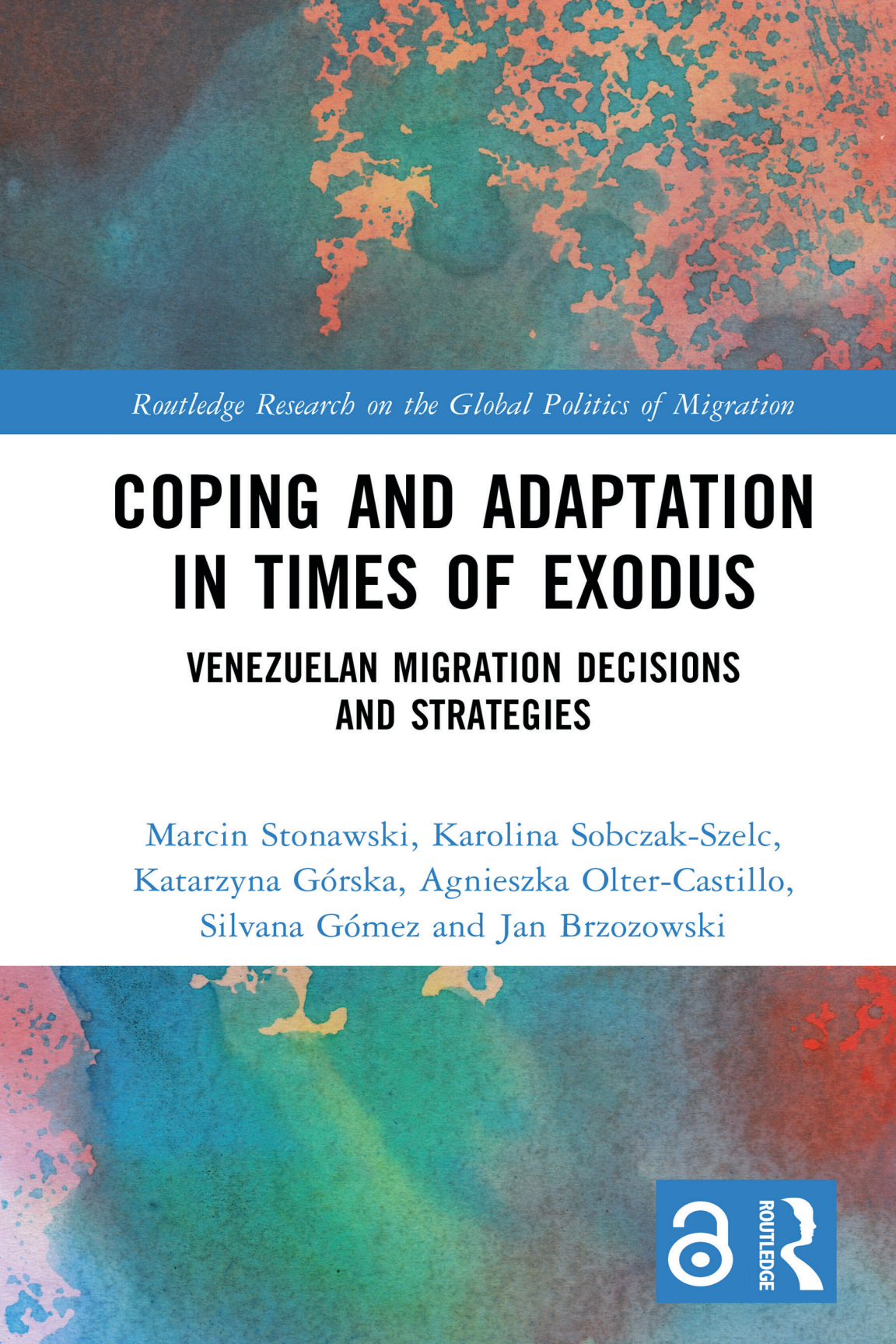




Routledge Research on the Global Politics of Migration

COPING AND ADAPTATION IN TIMES OF EXODUS

VENEZUELAN MIGRATION DECISIONS AND STRATEGIES

Marcin Stonawski, Karolina Sobczak-Szelc,
Katarzyna Górka, Agnieszka Olter-Castillo,
Silvana Gómez and Jan Brzozowski



Coping and Adaptation in Times of Exodus

Coping and Adaptation in Times of Exodus offers an in-depth, interdisciplinary exploration of the Venezuelan migration crisis – one of the most significant South–South population movements in recent decades. Drawing on the results of the MICLACAS research project, this book examines how Venezuelan migrants and their families navigate the challenges of displacement. Combining quantitative surveys and qualitative interviews with migrants, their families, host communities, and experts, the volume examines the decision-making process behind migration and immobility, the strategies migrants employ to cope and adapt, and the outcomes of integration across diverse socio-political contexts.

Its unique design links the perspectives of migrants in Peru, their relatives in Venezuela, and their neighbours in host communities, allowing for a multi-sited and relational understanding of migration dynamics. By engaging with theories of coping, acculturation, integration, and transnationalism, this book not only fills a critical gap in the literature on Venezuelan migration but also offers broader insights into the complexities of forced migration in the Global South. It will be of interest to scholars of migration, demography, sociology, Latin American studies, and public policy, as well as policymakers and practitioners working on migration governance and social integration.

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and Strategies**

**Marcin Stonawski,
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Declaration of generative AI and AI-assisted technologies in the writing process

During the preparation of this work, the authors used ChatGPT and DeepL Translator to improve readability and to shorten the text. After using these tools, the authors reviewed and edited the content as needed and take full responsibility for the content of the publication.



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1 Introduction

The recent decades have brought several challenges related to migration around the world. The global audience has observed media coverage of the migration of Syrians from their country, which is experiencing civil war; dangerous crossings of the Mediterranean Sea by migrants, triggered by political and economic changes in North African countries; and the exodus of Afghans due to conflict and instability. The Russian invasion of Ukraine has led to the displacement of a large population, with people fleeing the country. Each of these movements involved an estimated 5–7 million people. However, another huge movement in the contemporary world received less global attention and remains comparatively understudied: the exodus of around 7.9 million Venezuelans (estimated in November 2024; R4V, 2024), which is arguably the most significant South–South migration movement in recent decades. This has mostly attracted attention in Latin America and the United States, where many Venezuelan migrants wish to settle. Apart from images of the Darien crossing and the deportation of Venezuelans by the Trump administration, little global awareness has been raised about the situation of Venezuelan migrants and the possible consequences of this movement within the South–South migration system, not to mention the potential global impact if the system were to collapse. Even within the academic sphere, despite its magnitude, the topic has not been well researched, and there is a significant knowledge gap in the literature.

For nearly two centuries, Venezuela was a country that received immigrants, primarily due to its economic prosperity related to the extraction of natural resources. However, this dynamic changed dramatically from the late 20th century onwards. The introduction of an authoritarian political project known as the Bolivarian Revolution by Hugo Chávez in 1999 marked a turning point, exacerbating existing challenges and plunging the country into economic and social crisis. Despite rising oil prices, the government's mismanagement of resources led to inflation, currency overvaluation, and widespread economic instability. When global oil prices decreased, Venezuela faced the worst economic crisis in its history by 2018. The Central Bank reported a GDP decline

2 *Coping and Adaptation in Times of Exodus*

of nearly 20% and an overall loss of nearly 49% between 2014 and 2018. This economic collapse resulted in severe shortages of basic goods, including food, medicine, water, and electricity, and led to the impoverishment of 87% of the population by 2017. Consequently, Venezuela transitioned from being a country that received migrants to being a country that sends migrants, initiating an exodus that continues to shape migration patterns in Latin America and beyond. Venezuelans without migration experience or diasporic networks abroad were faced with the grim necessity of leaving their country. For many of them, this was the only way to cope with the harsh reality of Venezuela's collapse. They left the country unprepared, often heading towards other American countries on foot.

This book provides a unique insight into the decision-making process related to migration. It focuses on the coping and adaptation strategies employed by Venezuelan migrants and their families in different geographical locations, including their country of origin (Venezuela), the immediate destination (Peru), and the final destination (Europe). The study provides evidence on a number of factors, including the stepwise migration process among Venezuelan migrants, their perceptions, motivations, and decisions on (in)mobility, the application of coping and adaptation strategies in different localities, and the impact of neighbourhoods on their decision-making process.

The book introduces a new theoretical framework for understanding the decision-making process applicable to migration studies. It builds upon Lazarus and Folkman's concept of coping (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984), offering deeper insight into how individuals navigate stressful situations, specifically in the context of migration. Additionally, it draws upon Berry's bidimensional adaptation/acclulturation model (Berry, 1992), which explains how individuals adapt to a new society. The 'aspirations–capabilities' model, originally introduced by Carling (2002), is employed to analyse the phenomenon of Venezuelan immigrants who have remained in the country. To explain Venezuelan migration, the study also utilises the concept of integration proposed by Ager and Strang (2008). A comprehensive description of these models can be found in Chapter 2, which is dedicated to the methodology.

The book is based on the findings of the research project *Migration Crisis in Latin America – Coping and Adaptation Strategies of Venezuelan Migrants and Their Families and the Risk of Global Migration Crisis*, which was carried out by the authors and funded by the National Science Centre in Poland (2021/41/B/HS4/01680). The study's strengths lie in its comprehensive understanding of the decision-making process of migrants and their families, as derived from a multidisciplinary research perspective. This approach incorporates a mixed-methods strategy, integrating both quantitative (surveys, existing data) and qualitative (interviews) sources of data, collected from respondents during fieldwork conducted in all the aforementioned locations. It builds on a modified ethnosurvey methodology, originally developed by Massey (1987).

This volume contributes a unique empirical and analytical perspective by the integration of information from diverse sources, but primarily in the synthesis of data from multiple informants, namely: (1) migrants residing in Peru, (2) their Peruvian neighbours, and (3) families still residing in Venezuela. This knowledge is complemented by information from interviews with experts and Venezuelan migrants in Europe. This methodological approach facilitates the observation of the decision-making process related to migration, encompassing the initial challenges confronted by migrants in Venezuela, the utilisation of coping mechanisms and migration strategies, and the subsequent adaptation strategies employed by migrants and their families, extending beyond the observation period (e.g. future migration plans).

The book makes a significant contribution to the understanding of Venezuelan migration and to the general understanding of migration around the world. The book addresses a significant gap in the literature by offering an interdisciplinary approach, integrating insights from demography, sociology, psychology, and economics.

The book's structure comprises six thematic chapters, accompanied by an introduction and conclusion. Chapter 2 outlines the methodological framework that underpins the book's analysis of Venezuelan migrants' coping and adaptation strategies. It begins with an introduction to the research framework, which combines quantitative and qualitative studies in different locations to provide a comprehensive understanding of the decision-making process (coping with problems and emotions) at different stages of the migration process and in different geographical locations. The chapter describes the main concepts used in the book, with a particular focus on coping, which is based on the seminal work of Lazarus and Folkman (1984), Berry's (1992) bidimensional adaptation/acculturation model, and a concept of integration by Ager and Strang. The study also presents the methods and instruments utilised to measure concepts related to coping, adaptation, stress, optimism, intergroup relations, self-esteem, and xenophobia.

Moreover, the chapter describes the data collection process, including semi-structured interviews with experts, Venezuelan migrants and their Peruvian neighbours, their families living in Venezuela, and migrants in Europe. The text goes on to discuss the design and implementation of a survey of Venezuelan migrants and their neighbours in Peru. This survey covers several important migration-related issues. Considerations pertaining to limitations and challenges in both quantitative and qualitative research are addressed in order to facilitate a more profound comprehension of the study conducted and its background. The chapter is complemented by information on ethical issues related to data collection, archiving, and sharing.

Chapter 3 challenges the prevailing emphasis in Venezuelan migration studies on mobility and displacement by directing attention to those who opt to remain in the country, irrespective of whether this is a conscious decision, or

one imposed by external circumstances. Drawing on in-depth interviews with Venezuelans who have remained in the country, as well as their transnational family members residing abroad, the study explores the diverse reasons behind immobility in a context of prolonged crisis. While structural barriers such as poverty, legal limitations, and caregiving responsibilities are central to the analysis, it is also revealed that many choose to stay due to emotional, cultural, and moral attachments, reframing immobility as a form of situated and temporally extended agency.

Analytically, the chapter engages with and expands the aspirations–capabilities framework, highlighting its limitations in capturing the relational and affective dimensions of staying. The present study incorporates recent critiques that have called for a more contextual understanding of immobility and proposes an approach that sees immobility not as a static condition, but as a dynamic social practice. The present chapter employs an examination of both voluntary and involuntary immobility, incorporating the concepts of resistance and hope, in order to offer a nuanced account of the manner in which individuals navigate immobility during periods of crisis, and the manner in which migration processes reshape household structures and responsibilities from within.

Chapter 4 examines the decision-making processes behind migration, focusing on the structural and personal factors that shape individuals' choices. Drawing on a series of in-depth interviews with experts, migrants, and those who remained in Venezuela, the study explores the key conditions that prompted migration, including economic collapse, social instability, and political repression. The study also investigates the reasons why some individuals chose to stay, assessing the role of social ties, personal resilience, and perceived risks of migration.

The chapter goes on to explore the motivations behind migration to Peru, analysing the reasons why it emerged as a key destination and how historical, economic, and social linkages influenced these choices. Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that the reconstruction of migration trajectories is a key component of the research, with the routes taken, the challenges encountered along the way, and the role of social networks in shaping migratory paths all being described. The present chapter provides a nuanced understanding of the factors that influence migration decisions, thereby contributing to broader discussions on forced migration, coping strategies, and South–South mobility dynamics.

Chapter 5 provides a detailed analysis of the integration of Venezuelan migrants and refugees in Peru. This process is complex and multifaceted, influenced by a variety of legal, economic, and social dynamics. The present chapter employs Ager and Strang's integration framework to analyse key domains – namely education, housing, employment, and healthcare – drawing on both quantitative survey data and qualitative interviews. Venezuelan migrants, often young and educated, face obstacles such as unrecognised credentials, informal labour,

housing insecurity, and limited healthcare access. The obstacles experienced by this group include the potential unrecognition of their academic credentials, the undertaking of informal labour, the issue of housing insecurity, and limited access to healthcare services. Despite the evident barriers, the subjects demonstrate a high level of resilience by utilising community networks, informal learning opportunities, and alternative support systems to successfully navigate their new environment.

The chapter also explores how institutional support and social capital shape integration outcomes, especially in the labour market, where legal status and professional recognition significantly impact success. The presence of discrimination, legal challenges, and economic vulnerability acts as a barrier to migrants accessing stable employment and public services. However, migrants have been observed to adopt a range of adaptive strategies in response, including the pooling of resources, self-medication, and the utilisation of informal housing solutions. The chapter calls for inclusive policies to address systemic challenges, arguing that improved integration benefits Venezuelan migrants and contributes to social cohesion and national development in Peru.

Chapter 6 explores the relationship between Venezuelan migrants and host communities in Peru, focusing on social interactions, perceptions, and experiences that shape the integration process. The study employs a multifaceted approach to analyse both the opportunities and challenges faced by migrants, drawing upon in-depth interviews with migrants, Peruvian residents, and experts in the field. The study also utilises quantitative survey data to provide a comprehensive overview of the issues. A fundamental element of the analysis is the role of social media in shaping public perceptions of Venezuelan migrants, frequently serving to reinforce negative stereotypes and misinformation that, in turn, influence societal attitudes.

The chapter is divided into two primary sections. The study explores the perceptions of Venezuelan migrants regarding their interactions with Peruvians, and vice versa. It sheds light on the role of labour competition, social prejudices, and media narratives in shaping patterns of acceptance and rejection. Theoretical frameworks such as Berry's acculturation model and Ager and Strang's integration indicators are utilised to assess the impact of social engagement on migrants' sense of belonging and adaptation. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the ongoing challenges in fostering an inclusive environment for Venezuelan migrants in Peru.

Chapter 7 examines how Venezuelan migrants maintain emotional, cultural, and social ties to their homeland and how these connections influence their identity, sense of belonging, and attitudes towards return. The study investigates the role of family relationships, cultural traditions, community networks, and engagement with other Venezuelans abroad in sustaining transnational ties. Furthermore, the chapter shows the manner in which migrants' sustained engagement with news and information regarding Venezuela influences their

perceptions of the nation and shapes their perspectives on the feasibility and desirability of return.

This chapter employs qualitative interviews with Venezuelans residing in Venezuela, Peru, and Europe to evaluate the pivotal factors that influence return decisions. These factors encompass visits to the homeland, shifting conditions, and evolving transnational relationships. The text is organised around a number of themes, including media engagement, family ties, cultural continuity, and perceptions of Venezuela over time. The chapter concludes by identifying the motivations that encourage return, as well as the barriers – practical, emotional, and political – that lead many to postpone or reconsider the idea of going back.

The book concludes with syntheses of its key findings and reflections on the broader implications of Venezuelan migration, with a particular focus on Peru. The text revisits the factors influencing both mobility and immobility, the challenges of integration, and the complex relationships between migrants, host communities, and their home country. The conclusion further discusses possible future trends in Venezuelan migration.

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2 Methodology

2.1 Introduction

This book provides insight into the process of coping and adaptation of individuals during their migration movement. The focal point of this study is the decision-making process and its subsequent consequences, ranging from the initial coping mechanisms in one's country of origin to the long-term adaptation process in the host country. The present study focuses on Venezuelans who have migrated from their country of origin to either Peru, which is located a relatively short distance away, or Europe, which is located a long distance away. The study introduced a novel theoretical framework (see Figure 2.1) for the purpose of the investigation. The decision-making process is considered in its contextual framework, encompassing both the country of origin and the country of destination. In the country of origin, an act of migration is regarded as one of the potential coping strategies. The decision is not taken by the individual, but rather at the family or household level, as the new economics of labour migration suggests (Stark, 1978). The unit (individual, family) is confronted with a problem that is the result of push factors, which include economic, political, and social pressures. At the psychological level, the phenomenon has been shown to engender stress among family members (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). In light of the constraints imposed on the unit, a range of options is available, including international migration. On the one hand, the situation may increase the aspiration for migration, as people compare the situation in their country of origin with that in their possible destination. On the other hand, the capabilities of the family (e.g. knowledge, resources) may act as a limiting factor, as described by the aspiration-capabilities model (de Haas, 2021). In the context of Venezuela, it is important to understand the nature of this process and the reasons behind it. In a relatively short period of time, Venezuelan society has undergone a rapid transition from a "sedentary culture" to a "culture of migration", characterised by high aspirations to migrate. Nevertheless, it is crucial to investigate whether those who do not migrate do so solely due to low capabilities or whether their

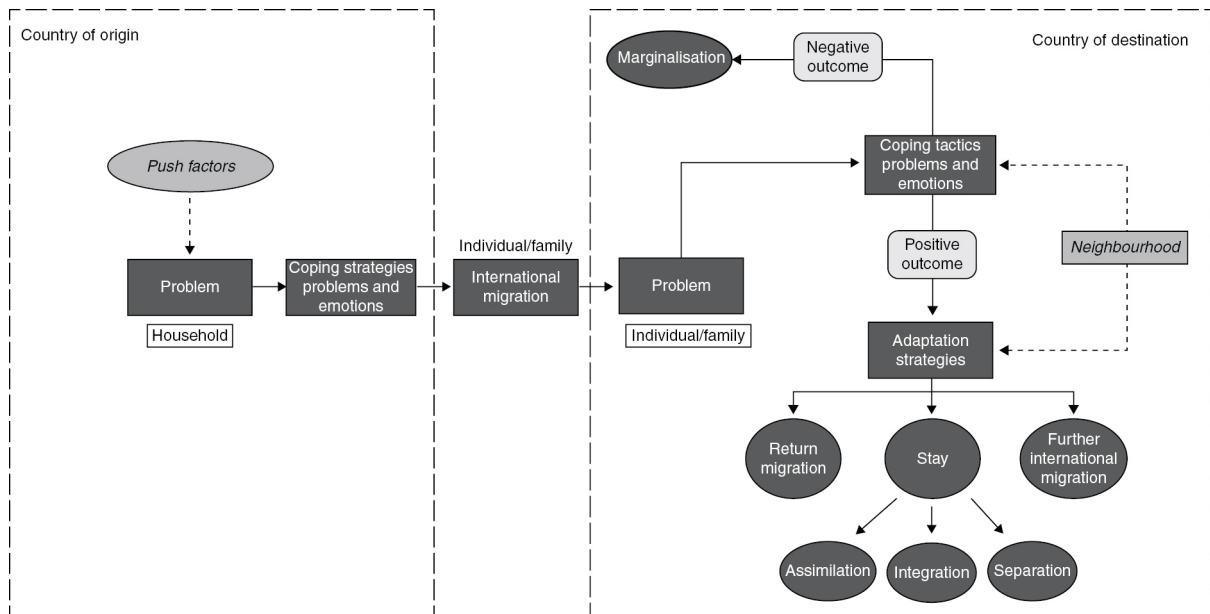


Figure 2.1 Theoretical framework of the book.

Source: Own elaboration.

decision is also influenced by low aspirations to migrate. The present study employs the aspirations–capabilities framework to investigate this phenomenon.

The act of migration invariably engenders a range of novel challenges and stresses for individuals and families, both in the country of destination and in the country of origin, particularly in cases where some family members are left behind. Consequently, analysis should concentrate on coping tactics, regarded as short-term actions, that are employed to ensure day-to-day subsistence for a migrant and their family in both locations. The consequences of these decisions and actions may be positive or negative in terms of long-term adaptation in the country of destination. According to Berry's typology of adaptation strategies (1992, 2006), unsuccessful decisions and actions result in *marginalisation* from the host society. Conversely, positive outcomes can lead to a greater number of strategic adaptation options in the long term, including return migration if the individual or family has accumulated the necessary resources to fulfil the original reasons for migration. Other options include remaining in the country of destination with options of *assimilation*, *integration*, or *separation*, or continuing the migration trajectory to another country. The decisions and actions of migrants and their families are inextricably linked to the socio-economic environment of the receiving countries. The successful integration of migrants is contingent on the interaction between migrants and the society that is hosting them. It is therefore evident that, within the context of the study of coping and adaptation, it is imperative to consider the surrounding environment at micro, mezzo, and macro levels. The study under consideration encompasses all relevant factors, incorporating an investigation of the neighbourhoods inhabited by Venezuelan migrants, in addition to a comprehensive analysis of the overall situation of the country of destination.

The chosen framework leads to the multidisciplinary and mixed-method empirical approach containing quantitative and qualitative studies conducted in the country of origin and the countries of destination. In this chapter, the methodology employed in the project is presented, along with its major concepts, operationalisation and instrumentation, and the execution of the empirical work.

2.2 Main concepts

2.2.1 Coping

Coping can be defined as “the behaviours and cognitive skills that individuals utilize in order to cope with internal and environmental demands that are perceived as stressful” (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). The level of stress is heightened when the individuals are confronted with significant life challenges (Benda-Beckman et al., 2000). One such challenge is migration, which creates a profound change in life and challenges for the individual. The decision to migrate and its subsequent implementation is a consequence of push factors present in

the country of origin which become stressors for the individuals and their families (e.g. lack of employment and income, low security, hunger, lack of access to health services, education). In this context, migration can be considered an answer and a coping strategy in response to the situation. However, the migratory experience on the individual level is accompanied with a significant level of stress at each step of the process (Hernández et al., 2011; Kuo, 2014; Cobb et al., 2016). Consequently, it can be considered a coping strategy that creates additional stress, which the migrant must then manage. Yakushko et al. (2008) identify a number of stressors associated with the migration process: (a) pre-migration stressors, which are associated with previous experiences from an origin area and include conflict, violence, trauma, fear associated with unknown future, and (b) post-migration stressors, which are related to changing place of residence, acculturative stress, health problems, loss of social status and contact with the family and already-built social networks, and oppression by the host society (e.g. discrimination). Berry (2006) introduces the concept of acculturation stress which refers to the stress experienced by immigrants as a result of their interactions with the host society. The ability to cope is of paramount importance for migrants in order to successfully navigate the challenges associated with integration and to facilitate their adaptation to the new culture (Ward & Kennedy, 2001). Upon arrival, immigrants are compelled to determine and execute coping strategies in order to subsist, survive, and flourish in an alien environment. The negative consequences of the chosen coping strategies may result in social and economic marginalisation of an individual or family unit that is isolated from both the local population and other immigrants. In the most extreme cases, this can result in a situation where the individual or family lacks the resources to return to their country of origin (Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998). A positive outcome of the aforementioned tactics enables the immigrant to select from a range of potential options. These include (a) remaining in the destination country, applying an assimilation, integration, or separation strategy, (b) successfully returning to the country of destination, or (c) continuing migration to another country (Berry, 2006).

In their seminal work, Lazarus and Folkman (1984) identify two distinct coping strategies: (a) *problem-focused*, which attempts to change or solve the problem, and (b) *emotion-focused*, which aims to regulate emotions associated with the problem. Furthermore, Tobin et al. (1989) propose a second-order division to Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) typology, distinguishing *engagement* coping strategies, which are active endeavours to manage stressful situations (e.g. problem-solving, seeking social support), and *disengagement* coping strategies, which are related to behaviours and thoughts that evade the modification of the situation (e.g. self-criticism, wishful thinking) (see Figure 2.2).

Individuals may employ a combination of coping strategies in response to stressful circumstances. There is no single effective coping strategy because one strategy can be effective in a specific situation but not necessarily in other

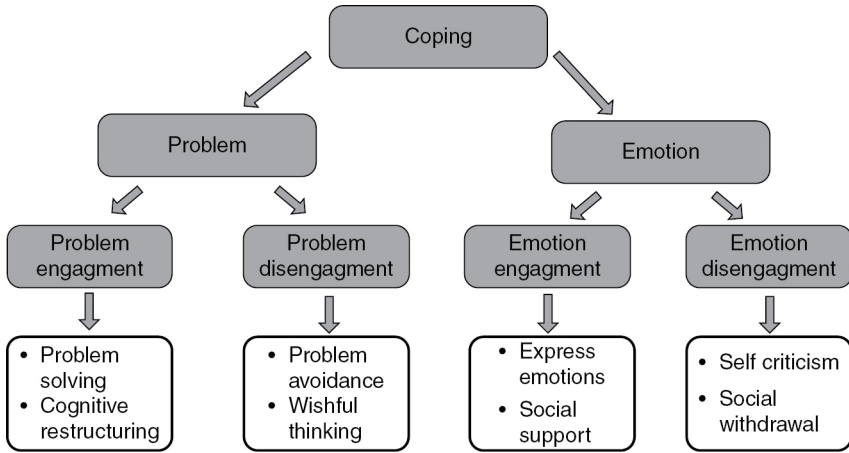


Figure 2.2 The hierarchical structure of coping.

Source: Based on Tobin et al. (1989).

situation (Tiwari et al., 2017; Liem et al., 2021). However, individuals may be inclined to utilise a particular combination of these strategies, with a tendency towards one or other dimension (emotional- versus problem-focused, engagement versus disengagement). Lazarus and Folkman (1984) suggest that individuals who are exposed to a similar stressor may experience and exhibit disparate physical and psychological reactions due to their individual predispositions. Empirical evidence indicates that there is also a cross-cultural variation in the preferences of coping strategies (Lazarus, 1993; Aldwin, 1994; Kuo, 2011; Wong et al., 2012).

As mentioned above, migration is a complex process that induces stress, impacting individuals and families who migrate and who stay in a country of origin. The stress can increase from various factors, among others economic challenges, social isolation, irregular legal status, xenophobia (e.g. Mak et al., 2021). In our study, we use definition of stress proposed by Aldwin (2009) in which “stress refers to that quality of experience, produced through a person–environment transaction, that, through either overarousal or underarousal, results in psychological or physiological distress”. We estimate level of stress of Venezuelan migrants in Peru using a broadly used instrument that we describe in the method section.

2.2.2 Adaptation strategies

This study is based on the bidimensional adaptation/acclulturation model proposed by Berry (1992), in which adaptation is defined as “the ways in which

an acculturating individual (or group) wishes to relate to the dominant society". The model identifies two dimensions of adaptation: (1) the maintenance of heritage cultural identity and (2) the maintenance of relationships with the host population. Based on these two dimensions, Berry identifies four adaptation strategies, as illustrated in Figure 2.3: (a) *integration*, in which the migrant population maintains its cultural identity but is highly interested in forming relationships with the hosting society; (b) *assimilation*, in which the group wants to lose its cultural identity and adopt a host country culture, forming strong relationships with this group; (c) *separation*, in which migrants want to keep their culture and do not want to have relations with the host society; (d) *marginalisation*, in which migrants refuse their heritage culture but do not want to have relations with the host society. In the literature on the subject, it is emphasised that in studies of acculturation, two perspectives should be considered: that of the immigrant or minority population and that of the host or majority population (Berry, 2001; Bourhis et al., 1997; Rohmann et al., 2008). Consequently, the acculturation expectations of host society members can be defined by the same dimensions that determine minority members' acculturation strategies (Berry, 2001). These include approval of immigrants' cultural maintenance and expectations of regular contact between minority members and the host group.

Another theoretical basis for the analysis of coping and adaptation of Venezuelan migrants and their families come from the *concept of integration*. We find this concept appropriate and relevant for analysis of Venezuelan immigrants' coping and adaptation strategies in Peru. The concept of integration proposed by A. Ager and A. Strang (2008) is an excellent complement to Berry's model. Their integration framework is based on empirical research conducted on a group of refugees and allows grasping the multidimensionality

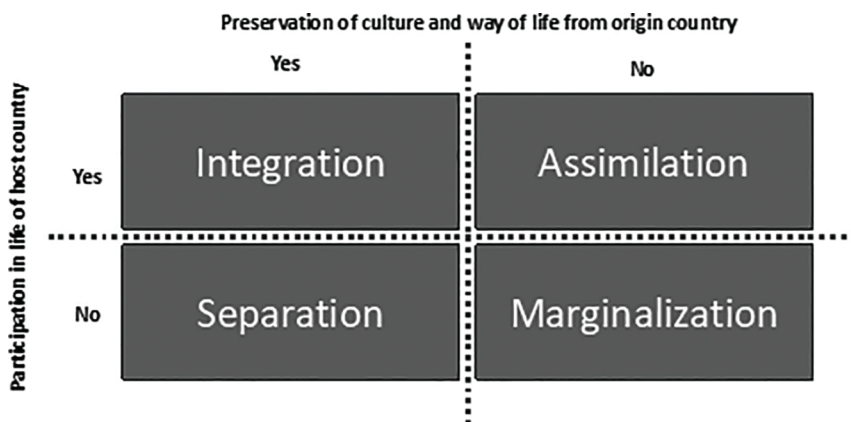


Figure 2.3 Adaptation strategies in Berry's model.

Source: Based on Berry (1992).

and complexity of this issue both in terms of individuals and groups. Ager and Strang (2008) identified ten domains that play a significant role in the immigrant integration process: (1) employment, (2) housing, (3) education, (4) health, (5) contacts with formal institutions of the host society, (6) connections with members of the dominant group, (7) intra-group relations, (8) linguistic and cultural competence, (9) stability and security, and (10) rights and citizenship. The first four are both means and determinants of integration, the next three are types of social connections, and the last is responsible for facilitating or hindering integration, while citizenship, according to the authors, is the foundation of the entire process discussed. These ten domains are elements central to the “successful” integration of migrants with host society and culture and if achieved give the basis for proper well-being. Therefore, in the book we apply this framework for the description of barriers, coping and adaptation strategies in given domains.

2.2.3 Mobility aspirations–capabilities

In the present study, the aspirations–capabilities model is employed to analyse decision-making processes concerning mobility and immobility. The model is rooted in Carling’s seminal article, which provides a comprehensive analysis of the role of aspirations and abilities in migration (Carling, 2002). Moreover, the development of the framework was further advanced by the contributions of de Haas (2003, 2006, 2014, 2021) and Schewel (2015, 2020). The salient characteristic of this approach is the distinction between the ability/capacity and the aspiration to migrate, which facilitates more detailed categorisation of possible outcomes in decision-making related to mobility types. Aspirations are defined as desires that are future-oriented and driven by conscious and unconscious motivations (Hart, 2016). De Haas et al. (2019) posit that aspirations to migrate are known to increase in instances where local opportunities are no longer aligned with evolving cultural preferences and rising material aspirations. Capabilities refer to actual ability and opportunities to migrate that can be shaped by economic, social, legal, and physical means (de Haas, 2021). The bidimensional aspirations-capacities model identifies four categories of immobility as follows: (a) *acquiescent immobility*, characterised by low aspirations and capabilities; (b) *involuntary immobility*, characterised by high aspirations but low capabilities; (c) *voluntary mobility*, characterised by high aspirations and capabilities; and (d) *voluntary immobility or involuntary mobility*, characterised by low aspirations coexisting with high capabilities (Figure 2.4).

2.2.4 Optimism

In our study, we investigate level of optimism among Venezuelan migrants and their Peruvian neighbours. The term “optimism” is defined as the perception of expecting positive outcomes of life events (Scheier & Carver, 1985). In line with

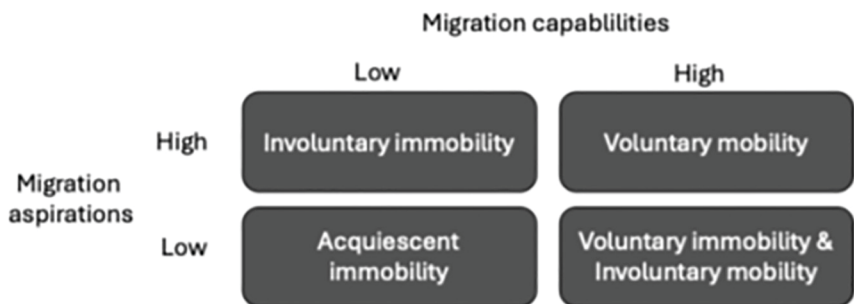


Figure 2.4 Aspirations–capabilities model.

Source: Based on de Haas (2021).

Carver and Scheier (1981), we employ a conceptualisation of optimism known as *dispositional optimism*, which is defined as a stable predisposition towards anticipating favourable outcomes. A substantial body of literature attests to the fact that individuals who are more optimistic tend to respond more effectively to stressful situations and adapt more readily to novel environments (e.g. Scheier & Carver, 1985; Scheier et al., 1986; Morales-Rodríguez & Pérez-Mármol, 2019). Research indicates a positive correlation between optimism and coping, which is a crucial aspect of implementing effective adaptation strategies (e.g. Carver et al., 2010). In this context, optimism serves to mitigate the adverse effects of stress associated with migration, thereby enabling individuals to persevere through challenging circumstances. M. Stonawski (2025) provides evidence that optimism plays a significant role in adaptation attitudes not only among migrants but also among the native population of neighbours of those migrants. A future-oriented optimism provides individuals with the motivation to invest in the realisation of their desired outcomes. However, as Odermatt and Stutzer (2019) have demonstrated, optimistic expectations may result in misprediction and negative life outcomes. The evidence suggests that an optimistic outlook could confer a range of emotional, social, and health benefits for migrants and the host population. For example, Scott and Scott (1987) demonstrate that optimism was a significant predictor of successful adaptation among migrants in Australia.

2.2.5 *Intergroup relations and xenophobia*

The crucial issue in a study on migrants’ coping and adaptation strategies is to evaluate intergroup relations between foreigners and natives in a host country – the way they perceive each other, think about, feel about, and act towards individuals from another group. Sherif (1962) states that intergroup relations refer to “relations between two or more groups and their respective members. Whenever

individuals belonging to one group interact, collectively or individually, with another group or its members in terms of their group identifications we have an instance of intergroup behavior". These relations may significantly vary in terms of extremity and can bring positive or negative outcomes in terms of adaptation of migrants in a hosting society, from mutual support, tolerance, via friendly rivalry to deep-seated hatred, intolerance, and violent conflict (e.g. Hogg, 2013). The outcome can be influenced by intergroup bias which is defined as "the systematic tendency to evaluate one's own group or its members more favourably than a non-membership group or its members" (Hewstone et al., 2002). The bias may be visible in attitudes (prejudices), cognition (stereotyping), and behaviours (discrimination) (Mackie & Smith, 1998). In case of native versus migrant relations, it can be also manifested in *xenophobia* which is, in short, a fear or deep dislike of foreigners (e.g. Barbarino & Stürmer, 2016). The social identity theory (e.g. Tajfel & Turner, 1986) states that one of the reasons for intergroup bias is related to a pervasive need of people to view the group to which they belong in a favourable way in terms of relative position of this group to other groups. In our study we evaluate intergroup relations in several dimensions using set of measures proposed by Piontkowski et al. (2000) including:

- *similarity* – perceived similarity between migrant and host populations in terms of culture, mentality, appearance, religion, family life, and people in general. We assume that higher perceived similarity may lead to greater acceptance between groups and better integration.
- *intergroup bias* – proxied based on one's own evaluation of culture of one's group and another group. The large gap between evaluation of the cultures may indicate potential conflict areas between groups and lead to tendencies against preserving the culture of a migrant group.
- *contact* – indicating the level of contact between members of migrant and host communities. According to the contact theory (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1971) the contact between individuals of the group in different spaces (residential, work, school) reduces intergroup conflict. However, more recent findings suggest that contact may lead to increased level of conflict, thus the main objective of contact is *pleasant* interaction to change intergroup images and attitudes (e.g. Wilder, 1984).
- *capability/ self-efficacy* – one's ability to navigate challenges and complexities arising from social interactions between migrants and host communities. It is assumed that those who believe that they have strong capabilities to deal with challenges related with integration would be more open to interaction with other groups.
- *vitality* – perceived development of migrant population in the future. If migrants predict that their diaspora will grow in the future, they are more likely to try to keep and protect its own culture. Otherwise, they can try to absorb the culture of the hosting society. In case of the hosting group,

prediction of more migrants may be considered as a threat to the majority. This belief can create more intergroup tensions and conflict (Piontkowski et al., 2000).

- *outcome* – perceived contribution of immigrants to a society from the perspective of the hosting population. If the hosting population evaluates positively the contribution of a migrant group to their country, they will be more likely to accept and integrate it. In the event of a negative assessment, the host society will tend to favour a policy of separation from immigrants (Bobo, 1983).
- *permeability* – perception of whether the migrant population can actively take part in the life of the hosting society. It is assumed that individuals that evaluate the impermeability of the host society are more likely to have separationist and integrationist attitudes.
- *identification* – evaluation how strongly individuals (migrant or non-migrant) identify with their own group, its culture and behaviours. Stronger identification may lead to more separationist and integrationist attitudes.

2.3 Methods

2.3.1 Quantitative research

MICLACAS Survey

In the MICLACAS project, data from a survey of 305 Venezuelans and 204 Peruvian nationals aged 18 and over, residing in Peru, was utilised. This survey was conducted as part of a research project entitled “Migration Crisis in Latin America – coping and adaptation strategies of Venezuelan migrants and their families and the risk of global migration crisis [MICLACAS]”, which was funded by the National Science Centre in Poland (UMO-2021/41/B/HS4/01680). The fieldwork was conducted between 25 April and 15 May 2023 using the face-to-face computer-assisted personal interview (CAPI) method. It is estimated that between 75 and 82% of Venezuelans residing in Peru live in an agglomeration around Lima, the capital city (Berganza Setién et al., 2021; INEI, 2022). Consequently, our sampling was confined to this geographical area, in consideration of the a priori knowledge available regarding the spatial distribution of Venezuelans in Lima and Callao (see INEI studies including ENPOVE 2018, 2022), as well as the objectives and costs of the study. The survey was conducted in all districts within the city of Lima, including Lima Norte, Lima Este, Lima Sur, Lima Centro, Lima Moderna, and Callao. The sample included respondents from 37 districts within this area. The fieldwork survey was commissioned by our research team to Datum International, a well-recognised survey company in Peru. During the fieldwork, the research team maintained regular contact with the company to oversee the progress and quality of data collection, which was conducted in accordance with the ISO norm 20252.

It is important to note that there is currently no comprehensive register or database of Venezuelan migrants residing in Peru or in the city of Lima. A significant proportion of these individuals reside in an irregular status, without registering with any public institution. Only approximate estimates and insights gleaned from surveys are available. As a consequence, it is not feasible to select a fully statistically representative sample for either Peru or Lima, given the absence of data regarding the size and composition of the Venezuelan population. In our procedure, we were able to utilise the most reliable source of information regarding the Venezuelan population in Peru: a comprehensive survey of approximately 10,800 individuals conducted by the Peruvian National Institute of Statistics and Information (INEI, 2022). In order to obtain a representative sample of Venezuelan migrants, a random spatial sampling was employed in areas with a high concentration of Venezuelan migrants (based on the grid level, following the ENPOVE-2022 study). Prior to the fieldwork, the estimated spatial concentration of Venezuelans in Lima was used to randomly select grid cells (100m x 100m squares on the map) for the fieldwork. This was done in order to ensure that areas with a high concentration of Venezuelans were included. In the event that no Venezuelans were found in a grid by the interviewer, the next grid was selected. In addition, quotas were set for age, sex, education, and district-based distributions, following the ENPOVE-2022 study. The procedure was implemented with the objective of achieving a representative sample in the context of the aforementioned information deficit. As the population structure of ENPOVE (the only reliable source of data) is reproduced by our procedure, no additional weights are used in the analysis. It is also possible that the applied procedure may result in the under-representation of migrants residing in areas with a low concentration of Venezuelans. Consequently, the findings related to integration and adaptation may be perceived as conservative due to the potential absence of individuals who may have achieved a higher level of integration within Peruvian society. In the case of the host population, Peruvian neighbours were selected based on spatial proximity to Venezuelan migrants, in accordance with predefined quotas. Consequently, the resulting group is not representative of the Peruvian population as a whole.

In the survey, we applied several instruments which were important to evaluate coping, adaptation strategies, and other characteristics of Venezuelan migrants and their Peruvian neighbours in Peru. Below we describe the instruments that were used for creating the following variables: coping, adaptation, stress, optimism, similarity, self-esteem, and xenophobia. The detailed information on construction of variables including wording of questions and answers, coding and recoding of scores and variables can be found in the Appendix.

COPING

In order to evaluate the coping strategies employed by Venezuelan migrants in Peru, we utilise the instrument developed by Addison et al. (2007) called the

Coping Strategy Inventory – Short Form (CSI-SF). This is a shortened version of the 72-item CSI scale created by Tobin et al. (1989) which was based on a seminal work of Folkman and Lazarus (1984) on the Ways of Coping Questionnaire (WCQ). The CSI-SF comprises of 16 items and exhibits a comparable structure to that the original CSI scale. It includes items from all four subscales, namely (a) *Problem-Focused Engagement*; (b) *Problem-Focused Disengagement*; (c) *Emotion-Focused Engagement*, and (d) *Emotion-Focused Disengagement*. The responses are quantified using a five-point Likert scale, which indicates the frequency with which respondents employ each coping strategy enumerated in the survey. Responses vary from *never* to *almost always*. The total score for a given subscale is calculated by summing the responses to all items within that subscale. In conducting a survey of Spanish-speaking respondents in the Latin American context, we utilise a Spanish version of the instrument that has been developed and tested by Tous-Pallarés et al. (2022). In the descriptive statistics presented in the book, the population is divided into three categories in each of the subscales: low (4–9 points), medium (10–15), and high (16–20). Overall alpha-Cronbach coefficient in the study of Venezuelan migrants was 0.63.

ADAPTATION

In the book, we use Berry's bidimensional acculturation model that enable to distinguish four groups of adaptation strategies/expectations: integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalisation, described before. We selected two dependent variables which is used for classification. The first indicator, entitled *keep culture*, measures the extent to which Venezuelans are willing to maintain their cultural heritage. If the respondent agreed with the statement – in the Venezuelan sample: *Venezuelans should try to live in Peru as they are accustomed to*, and in the Peruvian sample: *Venezuelans should be allowed to live according to their customs even though they are in Peru* – we coded it as 1, if they disagreed as 0. The second variable, entitled *social engagement*, is an indicator of acceptance of participation in Peruvian society. Responses indicating agreement with a statement – in the Venezuelan sample: *Venezuelans should try to participate completely in the Peruvian life*, and in the Peruvian sample: *Venezuelans should be allowed to fully involve themselves in the life of Peruvians* – were coded as 1, while those expressing disagreement were coded as 0. Based on answers to these two questions we classify respondents to one of four adaptation groups.

STRESS

To evaluate the level of perceived stress by Venezuelan migrants residing in Peru, we use a well-known instrument – Perceived Stress Scale (PSS) developed by Cohen et al. (1983) in its shortened version (PSS-10), proposed in Cohen

and Williamson (1988). The instrument evaluates a level of stress during the last month before a survey, and consists of ten items with a five-point response scale: *never*, *almost never*, *sometimes*, *almost always*, and *always*. The score is calculated by summing points obtained from each item. Each item is scored 0–4. Thus, the total score ranges from 0 to 40 points. The higher the score, the higher level of perceived stress. For descriptive purposes, we distinguish three groups: low stress (0–13 points), moderate stress (14–26), and high stress (27–40). The instrument also enables creation of subscales of *perceived helplessness* (six items) and *perceived self-efficacy* (four items) (e.g. Soria-Reyes 2023). In our Spanish-language questionnaire, we applied the already tested translation of instrument in Latin America (Mejia et al. 2019, Ramírez & Hernández 2007) and in Spain (Trujillo & González-Cabrera, 2007; Remor, 2006; Soria-Reyes, 2023).

OPTIMISM

We measure optimism using a well-accepted instrument proposed by Scheier et al. (1994) called Revised Life Orientation Test (LOT-R). It comprises ten items, divided into two subscales: optimism and pessimism. The optimism and pessimism subscales include three items each, while four additional serves as filler items. Each item is placed on a five-level Likert-type scale with the following answers: *I agree a lot*, *I agree a little*, *I neither agree nor disagree*, *I disagree a little*, and *I disagree a lot*. The optimism score is calculated adding points from six items (0–4 points). The score ranges from 0 to 24 points. The higher the score, the higher level of optimism of respondent. In our survey, we use a Spanish version of the test proposed by Otero et al. (1998) and tested in Spanish-speaking countries (e.g. Gustems-Carnicer et al., 2017; Castaño & del Barco, 2010).

SIMILARITY/INTERGROUP RELATIONS

In the analysis of intergroups relations between Venezuelans and their Peruvian neighbours residing in Peru, we use a modification of the similarity index proposed by Piontkowski et al. (2000). It includes seven domains: (a) culture, (b) mentality, (c) appearance, (d) religion, (e) family life, (f) attitude towards life, and (g) people in general. Respondents evaluate the similarity between their own group and the other group using four-point scale: *not at all*, *a little*, *somehow*, *very much*. Each question is scored from 0 to 3 points. The similarity score is a sum of scores in all seven dimensions. The similarity score ranges from 0 to 21 points, with higher scores showing higher assessed between-group similarity.

XENOPHOBIA

To assess attitudes and behaviours related to xenophobia among Peruvian neighbours, we use an instrument created by Symeonaki and Kazani (2011)

which includes 18 questions with a five-point Likert responses scale from *completely disagree* to *completely agree*. The xenophobia score ranges from 18 to 90 points, and the instrument does not have defined cut-off points related to levels of xenophobia. However, for presentational purposes, we divide population of neighbours into three xenophobia categories: low (18–42 points), medium (43–66), and high xenophobia (67–90).

The instrument also enables us to explore *xenophobia* in several dimensions:

- *rights* – if foreigners should have equal rights (general, labour market, schooling),
- *impacts* – evaluation of an effect of foreigners on a hosting country (criminality, unemployment, culture, economy, salaries),
- *general issues* – assessment of general attitude towards foreigners (generally good or bad people; if respondent would marry a foreigner, work with a foreigner, acceptance of foreign tourists), and
- *actions* – evaluation of attitudes towards integrational actions (organisation of multicultural events, training programmes, reception classes, permission to stay and work, help for foreigners, and border closing).

The instrument created by Symeonaki and Kazani (2011) related to all foreign populations residing in a hosting country. In our study, we were interested only in attitudes and behaviours towards Venezuelan migrants, thus we replaced a word ‘foreigners’ in the original wording by ‘Venezuelans’ in our questionnaire.

A full description of all above variables, including the wording of the questions and answers and the variable coding, can be found in the survey questionnaires provided in the Appendix.

2.3.2 *Qualitative research*

The qualitative component of the project aimed to gain a comprehensive understanding of Venezuelan migration, the integration processes of Venezuelan migrants in places of their current residence, the lived experiences of these migrants, and their future (im)mobility aspirations.

Expert interviews

To contextualise the complexities of migration and identify key patterns at the early stages of the project, we gathered insights from various stakeholders who are directly involved with or knowledgeable about the Venezuelan migrants in Peru. The information collected helped to highlight the challenges and opportunities Venezuelan migrants face, including socio-economic, legal, and cultural aspects of integration, which were crucial for shaping the subsequent stages of the research (see IDI scenario in the Appendix). During this

phase, we conducted 11 interviews with key experts from a diverse range of sectors to ensure a multidimensional perspective on the migration process. The interviewees included representatives from international organisations (2), public institutions (3), non-governmental migrant-based organisations (3), a religious organisation (1), an informal association of Venezuelan immigrants (1), and a think tank (1). This wide range of expertise provided valuable insights into the institutional responses to migration, the role of grassroots movements in supporting migrants, and the perspectives of organisations working directly with Venezuelan communities in Peru. Conducted interviews facilitated also organisation of further research within the project, both quantitative and qualitative.

Qualitative fieldwork in Lima

To explore the migration pathways, coping tactics and strategies, adaptation strategies, and migration aspirations of migrants residing in Peru, we conducted ethnographic fieldwork in the Metropolitan Lima area. This city was chosen because it is home to the majority of Venezuelan migrants in Peru. The fieldwork took place during August and September 2023 in the neighbourhoods of the six different areas of the Metropolitan Lima. The diversity of locations allowed us to investigate the influence of various urban contexts from central zones to peripheral districts (in Spanish *conos*) and their impact on the experiences of both Venezuelans and Peruvians. The selected neighbourhoods were characterised by various socio-economic profiles influencing access to resources that are crucial for adaptation and coping mechanisms.

We applied semi-structured in-depth interviews (IDI) which were complemented by non-participant observation carried out in the districts with a large number of Venezuelan residents. This method allowed us to gain supplementary information and contextualise the interviews' data, enabling us to observe everyday interactions between Venezuelans and Peruvians in their shared spaces. IDIs allowed for a profound investigation of migrants' and their neighbours' narratives, also providing flexibility for interviewees to include their own experiences.

The interview scenario for Venezuelan migrants was designed to capture their full range of migration experiences, including the situation in their country of origin, experiences during their journey, and various aspects of their integration in the host country (such as access to housing, the labour market, education, and healthcare). Additionally, it covered the situation of their families in Venezuela, and their social and cultural relations with both their home and host societies (see the Appendix).

The interviews with Peruvian neighbours aimed to better understand the social environment in which Venezuelans create their coping and adaptation strategies. The in-depth interview scenario (see the Appendix) of those interviews sought to gather information on the situation of the host society

before and after the influx of Venezuelan migrants, the changes they perceived due to the migrants' presence in all previously mentioned dimensions (access to housing, labour market, education, and health) as well as the potential changes in attitudes towards newcomers.

Respondents for in-depth interviews with both Venezuelans residing in Peru and their Peruvian neighbours were selected based on the MICLACAS survey results conducted among both groups, as well as demographic data from INEI, specifically the ENPOVE survey. We aimed to ensure diversity among interviewees in terms of location within metropolitan areas, gender, age, education, and levels of xenophobia. A total of 30 Venezuelan migrants and 30 Peruvian neighbours were sampled, drawn from six areas of Lima (Lima Norte, Lima Sur, Lima Este, Lima Centro, Lima Moderna, and Callao). This geographical variation was essential for capturing diverse migrant experiences across different districts of the city.

Among Venezuelan immigrants interviewed, there were 16 women and 14 men. The participants were categorised into three age groups: 18–30 years ($n=8$), 31–45 years ($n=16$), and 46–65 years ($n=6$). In terms of education, 17 participants had received up to a secondary education, while 13 had completed undergraduate or graduate studies. Among interviewed Peruvians, there were also 16 women and 14 men, grouped into three age categories: 18–30 years ($n=6$), 31–45 years ($n=15$), and 46–65 years ($n=8$). For educational background, 12 participants had up to a secondary education, while 16 had completed undergraduate or graduate studies.

Online interviews with families of Venezuelan migrants

To capture the (im)mobility experiences across all stages of the migration journey, examine the role of migration in the adaptation strategies of those left behind, and assess potential future scenarios – whether return migration or further exodus – we conducted online interviews with families of Venezuelan migrants who remained in Venezuela. The scenario (see the Appendix) was structured to gather insights into the migration decision-making process, reasons for staying behind, and the impact of migration on remaining family members. This included exploring shifts in family roles, daily challenges, and the broad social, economic, and emotional effects on those who did not migrate.

The recruitment strategy was to include representatives of the families of migrants that were interviewed previously in Peru. The migrants helped in connecting us with their families in Venezuela. We conducted a total of 30 semi-structured interviews, including 21 women and 9 men, grouped into three age categories: 18–30 years ($n=7$), 31–45 years ($n=7$), and 46–65 years ($n=16$). Regarding educational background, 14 participants had up to secondary education, and 14 others had completed undergraduate or graduate studies.

Online interviews with Venezuelan migrants in Europe

In order to gather information on coping and adaptation strategies of immigrants in distant destinations, their expectations and realities, we conducted IDI with Venezuelan migrants residing in various European countries. This study included participants from Spain (Madrid and Barcelona), Portugal, Germany, and Poland (Krakow and Poznan), representing both established Venezuelan diaspora hubs and newer migrant destinations in Europe. The interviews took place between February and May 2023.

We applied a semi-structured IDI format (see the Appendix), with a questionnaire designed to capture a range of experiences, including life in Venezuela, reasons for migration, migration paths, and the challenges faced during both their journey and settlement in Europe. Participants shared insights on their integration in host societies, discussing their relationships with local communities, access to essential services such as healthcare, housing, and education, and experiences in the labour market. We also inquired about their future aspirations, such as intentions to return to Venezuela or remain in Europe, and their reflections on the overall migration experience.

Interviewees were selected through purposive sampling to ensure diversity in demographic and socio-economic backgrounds. Both men and women participated, with a slight majority of female respondents, ranging in age from 28 to 77 years old, representing different stages of life and migration experiences – in total 30 respondents. In terms of education, a significant proportion held higher university degrees, though some had technical or incomplete studies. Migration histories varied as well, with departure years ranging from as early as 2016 to as recent as 2023. Migration routes and reasons were diverse, with some migrants passing through multiple countries before settling in Europe. Regarding legal status and labour market integration, several participants faced challenges linked to irregular migration, particularly those who arrived recently or were employed in informal sectors.

All interviews were carried out in Spanish, recorded with consent, transcribed and translated into English. NVIVO software was used for data analysis and identifying patterns.

2.4 Limitations and challenges of qualitative fieldwork

The qualitative fieldwork presented several challenges related to safety, accessibility, and technological limitations, which could potentially influence the data collection process. Conducting in-depth interviews with Venezuelans and Peruvians in Peru involved logistical difficulties, as interviews took place in diverse and, at times, precarious settings such as private homes, workplaces, and public spaces in districts with elevated safety risks.

The online interviews with Venezuelans in Europe and the families of migrants in Venezuela were frequently disrupted by connectivity issues, including unstable internet connections and electricity outages, which interrupted the flow of the interviews.

A limitation of our sampling method during the fieldwork in Peru was the disproportionate representation of Venezuelan migrants from lower socio-economic backgrounds, particularly those residing in the peripheral and more impoverished areas of Lima Metropolitana. This bias was an outcome of our earlier quantitative survey sampling method, which primarily accessed respondents in these areas of higher numbers of Venezuelan residents. Consequently, our initial sample may have skewed the data towards the experiences of Venezuelans facing more severe socio-economic challenges, potentially limiting the broader representativeness of our findings. To address this, we purposively adjusted our sampling method for the last three interviews, employing a snowball sampling technique to reach earlier waves of Venezuelan migrants with higher levels of education and employment in skilled professions. This adjustment allowed us to diversify our sample, incorporating the perspectives of skilled migrants and creating a more nuanced picture of Venezuelan migration in Lima.

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3 Decision to stay

3.1 Introduction

Most research on the Venezuelan crisis focuses on the factors triggering migration decisions, as well as on the integration of Venezuelans in receiving countries or the struggles they face along the way. While mobility and displacement dominate the literature, studies on those who stay behind, whether by choice or constraint, remain limited (Weitzman & Huss, 2024; Rodrigues et al., 2024). These individuals form a crucial part of the migration process, often sustaining transnational households through social, emotional, and economic ties. In the Venezuelan case specifically, existing analyses seldom go beyond structural constraints to theorise the reasons for staying or examine how immobile individuals interpret and navigate their situation, both locally and across transnational family networks (Liberona & Piñones-Rivera, 2024). Understanding why people stay offers critical insight into the complexity of migration decision-making and the lived experiences of immobility in protracted crisis contexts. This knowledge can inform both national policies and international organisations assisting people in facing prolonged hardship.

Venezuela presents a particularly rich case for examining immobility. Once a country of immigration and regional prosperity, it has undergone a profound transformation into a context of mass emigration, social fragmentation, and economic collapse. Yet not all Venezuelans have left. Exploring why they remain and for how long, despite deep structural challenges, offers critical insights into the multidimensional nature of immobility.

Analytically, the chapter draws on the aspirations–capabilities framework (Carling & Schewel, 2018; De Haas, 2021), which conceptualises (im)mobility as an individual’s capability to choose where to live. Consequently, it conceptualises (im)mobility as the interplay between the desire to move and the capacity to do so. While analytically useful, this model tends to overemphasise individual volition and downplay the relational, affective, and structural dimensions that shape decisions to stay or leave.

Although the aspirations–capabilities framework has gained traction, the broader literature on immobility, particularly in political and economic crisis contexts, remains limited. Much of the existing research has focused on environmental immobility or approached the topic through development and migration management lenses (e.g. de Sherbinin et al., 2022; Mata-Codesal, 2018; Raghuram et al., 2024). Recent work by Transiskus and associates (2024) highlights the heterogeneity of immobility experiences, emphasising that staying can result from overlapping motivations and constraints rather than a singular condition. They distinguish between three key forms: voluntary immobility (those who have both the capability to move, yet also the aspiration to stay), acquiescent immobility (those who exhibit aspirations to stay, but are unable to move), and involuntary immobility (such as trapped populations who aspire to move but are unable to do so).

Building on this critique, the chapter develops an analytical approach that reframes immobility as a situated social practice shaped by relational interdependence, temporal patience, and moral reasoning. In doing so, it engages with recent critiques that call for a more relational and contextual understanding of immobility, particularly in the context of economic and political crises (Zickgraf, 2021; Tschakert & Neef, 2022). Immobility here is not treated as a static outcome, but as a socially embedded and temporally unfolding condition, influenced by everyday responsibilities, relational ties, and perceptions of risk.

Against this backdrop, this chapter examines immobility in Venezuela as both constrained and chosen, shaped not only by structural barriers but also by emotional, cultural, and ethical attachments. Such attachments reflect a mode of temporally extended agency grounded in care, endurance, and moral responsibility.

Drawing on in-depth interviews with Venezuelans who remained in the country, as well as with staying/immobile relatives of migrants in Peru or Europe, this analysis explores how and why people stay in Venezuela during a protracted crisis. It investigates both the structural barriers and the personal, emotional, and moral reasons behind their immobility. Ultimately, immobility is situated not only as a product of constraint but as a form of situated agency entangled in moral, temporal, and relational dynamics. The chapter addresses the following questions:

1. What are the main constraints that limit the mobility of Venezuelans?
2. Why do some Venezuelans choose to stay despite the mounting difficulties at home?
3. How has migration reshaped household structures and caregiving responsibilities among those who stay?

The chapter begins by examining voluntary immobility—cases where respondents express affective, cultural, or political attachments to place. It then

considers how staying can be framed as an act of hope or resistance. The final sections explore involuntary immobility: shaped by financial constraints, legal barriers, health issues, caregiving duties, and fear of migration. Across these cases, immobility emerges as both a constrained condition and a meaningful choice, embedded in relational ethics and everyday practices of care.

3.2 Results

For many Venezuelans, migration is not simply a choice—it is a complex decision shaped by deep-seated fears and uncertainties. While economic hardships and political instability push people to consider leaving, various psychological, financial, and cultural concerns prevent them from doing so. Many respondents expressed anxiety about the unknown, the risk of becoming cheap (and exploited) labour, and the difficulty of adapting to a different culture. These fears, combined with the belief that Venezuela still offers opportunities for those who fight for them, contribute to their decision to stay. What follows is an exploration of how immobility emerges both as a chosen stance and as a consequence of constraint, shaped by relational ties, practical limitations, and future-oriented commitments.

3.2.1 Voluntary immobility as a conscious life strategy

3.2.1.1 Staying for stability: Venezuela as the lesser evil

Although respondents were acutely aware of Venezuela's hardships, many expressed scepticism about migration as a solution, fearing that economic instability awaited them elsewhere. One woman reflected on her experiences outside Venezuela:

We are practically going through what we went through in Venezuela. [...] In Venezuela, we may go hungry, but nobody is going to throw us out on the street.

(VenVEN22F)

This led some to conclude that migration offered no guarantee of economic security. Staying in Venezuela, where they had at least partial support networks, seemed safer than facing new risks abroad. Others pointed out that finding stability within Venezuela further reduced the urgency to leave. For instance, one woman indicated:

Because of my job, and because there are no people who want to work as cooks. Because most people have emigrated.

(VenVEN20F)

Another woman explained:

I didn't leave the country because I was already in my home, more stable, and could help my mom.

(VenVEN27F)

Moreover, the widespread perception that economic hardship persisted abroad discouraged potential migrants. These accounts underscore that for some, remaining in Venezuela was not merely tolerable but preferable, particularly when tied to the caregiving of family member(s) or job stability. These accounts show how practical reasoning intersects with relational obligations, as caregiving and locally embedded livelihoods provide both material and emotional anchors to remain.

3.2.1.2 *Staying for belonging: cultural and emotional attachments*

I hate the government, but I love Venezuela.

(VenVEN22F)

This distinction between dissatisfaction with the state and love for the homeland was a recurring theme among respondents. Beyond economic concerns, some respondents rejected migration due to their strong attachment to Venezuelan culture.

Hey, 100% everything that I can give, that I have in my hands, to continue working and to continue to make sure that this is at least overcome. I will always do it.

(VenVEN04M)

Many respondents expressed a profound love and patriotism for Venezuela, distinguishing their feelings for the country from their dissatisfaction with the current government. Their emotional attachment played a crucial role in their decision to remain, as they saw Venezuela as an irreplaceable part of their identity. One of the interviewees explained:

My Venezuela, for me, is everything. [...] I love my country, and I would not want to leave.

(VenVEN03F)

For many, Venezuela is not just a geographical location but a fundamental part of their personal and cultural identity. They associate the country with their roots, childhood memories, and social customs. Another respondent claimed:

I really love my country. [...] Here, despite everything, I feel sheltered. [...] I feel good in my country because I was born here, I grew up here, and these are my roots.

(VenVEN07F)

Beyond cultural and emotional ties, many respondents highlighted Venezuela's natural beauty as a reason for staying. The country's beaches, mountains, and landscapes were described as irreplaceable:

Venezuela has many beautiful places. It has too many beautiful beaches [...].

(VenVEN01F)

The idea of leaving meant losing daily contact with the nature they cherished, reinforcing their emotional bond to the land. For them, place-based attachments were as powerful as family or cultural ties in anchoring immobility.

Such expressions reflect not only a sense of belonging, but also a form of everyday resilience—where staying is sustained by continuity, familiarity, and a sense of rootedness in place. Finally, there are some who perceived their country as superior to potential destinations, making the idea of adapting to a new culture undesirable.

I think we know more than Peru. We Venezuelans have a little bit, a little bit more developed level than Peru.

(VenVEN12M)

Or the others who claimed that adapting to another culture is simply too difficult:

To get to other roots, another culture would be like adapting, because it would be adaptation, because it would not be the same, but it would not be the same way of life.

(VenVEN04M)

These narratives show how national identity, pride, and perceived cultural incompatibility form part of the calculus of staying—framing immobility as a means of protecting one's sense of self and social worth.

3.2.1.3 Staying for hope: faith, optimism, and temporal endurance

Many respondents chose to remain in Venezuela due to their belief that the country's situation would eventually improve. Despite ongoing crises, they held onto the expectation that stability and prosperity would return at some point. As explained by many interviewees:

Well, in all things, I don't lose hope that this situation will really improve and change in our country.

(VenVEN02F)

Or another one:

Although we have lived through difficult situations, we have come out ahead and we keep on fighting [...].

(VenVEN16F)

Some parents believed that, despite economic hardship, the quality of childhood and family life in Venezuela still remained superior to that abroad. One respondent explained:

So that's why I keep believing that at any moment things could change here, and it's worth staying because, believe it or not, the love, the childhood that children experience here is very different from the childhood of kids abroad.

(VenVEN17F)

The fact that such optimistic attitudes correlate with the intentions to stay are also found in a recent study of Rodrigues and associates (2024). It is worth mentioning that in their study, the share of respondents who expressed positive views about the future was relatively high (60.6%). Yet in our case, for many individuals, hope was not just a passive expectation but a driving force behind their persistence. Religiosity also served as a source of strength and optimism, as one interviewee explained:

[...] putting everything in God's hands and having faith in God [...] that everything is going to improve [...] for God, nothing is impossible.

(VEN03F)

In these accounts, hope and faith operate as moral and temporal resources that sustain presence and justify waiting. They provide a framework through which immobility is understood not as failure, but as a patient and enduring commitment to place.

These expressions of faith and hope reflect not only emotional resilience, but also a sustained mode of presence—a way of remaining that involves waiting, believing, and enduring as forms of action. This form of temporally grounded endurance may be understood as “agency-in-waiting”, where staying is not passive resignation but an active, moral engagement with the future.

3.2.1.4 Staying as resistance: civic presence and future commitment

For some, staying is an active stance against the forces that have caused the crisis. They see their presence as a contribution to national renewal through

entrepreneurship and resilience. One interviewee described his commitment to Venezuela as follows:

staying here, continuing to believe in Venezuela [...] by starting a business and motivating young people...

(VenVEN17F)

Here, migration is not seen as the only path to a better life; instead, some respondents believe that through their actions, they can actively contribute to rebuilding the country. Some even framed their decision to stay as part of a generational duty to preserve their cultural and familial legacy:

because it's the place where I've lived my whole life. [...] just packing a suitcase and leaving out of the blue seems a bit more complicated.

(VenVEN17F)

Staying thus becomes a form of civic engagement and personal resistance, embedded in both political conviction and long-term vision. It reflects not only endurance but also the agency of respondents.

This form of voluntary immobility among Venezuelans is shaped by a complex interplay of practical reasoning, emotional bonds, cultural identity, and spiritual resilience. For many, staying is not a passive default, but an active affirmation of values, belonging, and commitment to their homeland's potential for renewal.

The following section explores how immobility is also shaped by structural barriers and personal limitations—showing that remaining can equally be an outcome of constraint, obligation, or fear.

3.2.2 Involuntary immobility as constrained choice

3.2.2.1 Staying due to barriers: legal and financial constraints

The decision to remain in Venezuela was shaped by a convergence of economic constraints and legal barriers, making departure structurally inaccessible for a significant number of respondents.

Interviewees highlighted the financial and administrative difficulties associated with migration, which made staying the only viable option. In particular, the financial burden of migration was prohibitive. Several individuals explicitly stated that their inability to afford migration expenses ultimately dictated their decision to remain in Venezuela. One woman emphasised the financial difficulty associated with renewing essential documents:

My passport has expired, so I need to renew it, which costs about \$200, and I don't have that money.

(VenVEN24M)

Similarly, another respondent reflected on how rising administrative costs derailed her plans:

I lost all that, so I said no, it was not up to him to go.

(VenVEN07F)

In addition to passport fees, respondents faced the broader challenge of financing a move to another country. Some described initial plans to migrate that ultimately failed due to financial shortfalls or the sudden withdrawal of promised support from hosts abroad. One man explained:

I was already planning everything [...] suddenly they told me: "Don't come because I will not be able to receive you."

(VenVEN19M)

The cost of necessary travel documents, transportation, and the uncertainty of finding stable employment abroad emerged as consistent concerns for many individuals. Even when such persons were willing to migrate, the bureaucratic process often delayed or prevented them from leaving altogether. For some, migration had to be a carefully planned and legally structured endeavour rather than a desperate act. As one respondent stated:

[...] I've always been very comfortable and calm. If I were to leave my school, I want to have a life plan [...]. I want to leave, but not feel like I'm fleeing from the crisis in Venezuela.

(VenVEN24M)

Legal and administrative constraints further compounded the difficulties of migration, as migrating without proper legal status was seen as too risky. Several respondents mentioned that they lacked the necessary documentation to migrate legally, and the costs associated with obtaining visas and renewing passports were prohibitive. As one man described:

Getting a visa for places like Colombia requires money, because you have to pay a lawyer or someone to process it. All of this involves costs.

(VenVEN24M)

These testimonies highlight how financial and bureaucratic entanglements, beyond simple lack of money, create immobility through layered exclusion—from legal systems, from mobility infrastructures, and from informal networks of support.

3.2.2.2 Staying due to vulnerability: health, age, and physical limitations

For many Venezuelans, age and health conditions were decisive in shaping immobility—not only limiting physical capacity to migrate, but redefining what a viable life project looked like.

Interviewees mentioned health concerns—whether due to ageing, chronic conditions, or the stress associated with travel—that played a pivotal role in the decision to stay in Venezuela. Rather than temporary inconvenience, health-related limitations became structural and temporal anchors—tethering people to place through fragility, fear, and routine. One of the interviewees explicitly described how her health issues, including migraines triggered by travel stress, discourage long-term migration, indicating:

I'm a woman [...]. My health is not very good [...]. I suffer from many things and attention and all those things. And then the stress of a trip gives me a migraine. No, no, no, no, I prefer to stay here.

(VenVEN16F)

For others, age and physical condition were barriers to migration, as in the statement of one of the interviewees who claimed that he is “already old to be travelling” (VEN14M). Although respondents considered migration, the diminishing physical capacity—especially when they grow older—ultimately limited the scope of plans, as in the testimony of one of the interviewees:

My husband is 61 years old and I am 41. So now, especially now that we are older, [...] we don't have that energy like before.

(VEN01F)

Migration was also difficult for women who were expecting a child. One interviewee explained that after becoming pregnant and giving birth, staying was preferable because healthcare is either free or more affordable locally, in contrast to the high costs abroad. The presence of her husband's family further reinforced the decision to remain:

I got pregnant and, [...] in that year, I gave birth to my daughter and health care is expensive over there, at least not here, at least one has free access as they say.

(VenVEN06F)

In these cases, reproductive time and bodily capacity intersected with logistical considerations, reinforcing immobility as a rational, temporal, and gendered decision.

The health issues also constrained mobility when respondents were responsible for ill or elderly relatives. Many of our respondents felt responsible for their elderly parents, as in the case of the lady who explained:

My mom and my dad, because they were practically alone, and among the females, I was the only one here. And then I started to think that if they got sick there, then if we all left, who would take care of them? [...] My father had a strong leg problem [...]. I was there with them and I was watching over them.
(VenVEN07F)

Here, immobility stems not only from personal fragility but from embeddedness in a web of intergenerational care—where proximity becomes both an ethical imperative and affective choice.

3.2.2.3 *Staying for others: care responsibilities and intergenerational roles*

Beyond age-related limitations, many respondents remained in Venezuela due to specific caregiving responsibilities. These obligations include taking care of elderly parents, supporting children through their education, and maintaining homes left behind by emigrated family members. Migration, in many cases, would mean abandoning these duties.

Staying, in this context, reflects not only structural constraint but an ethics of proximity—where decisions are made in relation to others rather than as expressions of individual autonomy. When others migrated, those who remained often found themselves assuming new roles within reconfigured households. Many respondents found themselves as primary caregivers for elderly parents, guardians of younger relatives, or financial providers, making migration an impractical option. One respondent illustrated this situation when describing her relationship with an older brother:

I have a brother who depends on me a lot. [...] He is older, much older. So, he depends a lot on me, both financially and medically and all those things. So, imagine if I decided to leave. Who would he count on?
(VenVEN16F)

Several respondents also noted that their ageing parents depended on them, making migration an unviable option. The weight of responsibility, combined with cultural expectations of caring for elders, prevents them from leaving. Another emphasised obligation towards adult children, as explained by one interviewee:

Why am I keeping my ship? I have my other children here. I have my family. I think my daughter needs me too. She needed me because she told me so.
(VenVEN16F)

In many cases, migration reshaped family constellations—redistributing responsibility and stretching care across borders. Grandparents, in particular, often assumed parental roles, as described by another participant who talks about her granddaughter:

She is like my daughter [...] I mean, due to so much migration, [...] first her mom left, [...] then they started leaving one by one. [...] when it was just the two of us left, the girl got depressed.

(VenVEN29F)

Providing care for grandchildren also became a crucial form of support for adult children who had migrated to countries such as Peru. This is a transnational strategy of entire families, who have diversified sources of income through migration. Grandparents who stayed with grandchildren allowed parents to support family at home through work in Peru or other foreign countries. Others were able to establish themselves abroad before reuniting with their children, as one interviewee explained:

I stayed here in Venezuela to be with the grandchildren so that my children could go and settle without having to bring the children along [...]. So, once they had settled, the children then joined them.

(VenVEN29F)

Here, immobility operates as a delayed mobility strategy—a form of collective planning where staying behind is not passive, but generative and preparatory.

While many respondents were firmly rooted in their responsibilities, others considered migration as a possibility, not as an immediate plan, but as a distant, conditional prospect. Even those who had seriously considered emigrating ultimately decided that family obligations in Venezuela were too important to abandon, as one respondent explained:

Look, you know that it [emigrating] [...] crossed my husband's mind and mine. What happened is that we didn't do it for our younger son.

(VenVEN01F)

Even when migration is discussed, it is framed as a last resort—something respondents might consider only if caregiving responsibilities eased or if living conditions worsened significantly. Until then, remaining in Venezuela was both an act of necessity and, for some, a gesture of hope.

In some cases, caregiving was not the only factor influencing the decision to stay. Some respondents remained because they were taking care of family assets, such as homes, or because they provided financial support to relatives, as illustrated by another interviewee:

At least the two boys have houses here, and I take care of the houses. I have someone staying there, but it's not the same.

(VenVEN29F)

Similarly, some respondents noted that their departure could jeopardise the financial stability of their family members who remain in Venezuela.

Education also emerged as a key concern. The parents interviewed who remained in Venezuela made a conscious decision to ensure the continuity of their children's education and to maintain a sense of stability. Migration could offer economic opportunities, but it also brought uncertainty, and many parents were unwilling to expose their children to such risks. As one participant explained:

It [is] mostly because of my daughter, because I'm more than anything else held back by her.

(VEN06F)

Support and stability were deemed particularly crucial during educational stages for both the respondents and their children. One interviewee highlighted his decision to postpone migration until his daughter completed her studies:

[...] when I thought about it, my daughter was already in college. [...] if we were going to leave the country or if she had to leave the country, she should leave with her degree in hand.

(VenVEN02F)

These testimonies point to immobility as a way of safeguarding children's future through continuity and presence, rather than disruption.

Family obligations functioned not only as emotional anchors but also as practical constraints to migration, arising from redefined caregiving roles, perceived moral duties, and the psychological impact of familial separation.

Rather than passive acceptance, immobility here reflects a deliberate stance rooted in care, obligation, and emotional endurance. These findings suggest that the decision to stay was deeply intertwined with efforts to maintain household stability, uphold intergenerational bonds, and fulfil socially expected caregiving roles.

These forms of caregiving—anchored in obligation, affect, and continuity—also reflect a mode of agency that unfolds over time. Remaining in place, it becomes a care-oriented practice shaped by presence, responsibility, and moral endurance.

3.2.2.4 *Staying out of fear: migration as risk and loss*

For many individuals in Venezuela, their home represents more than a place to live—it is a symbol of stability and a lifetime of effort. The prospect of losing it

through migration was not just a material risk, but a threat to the last remaining anchor of identity and continuity. Many feared their properties might be occupied or taken, leaving them with nothing to return to. Losing a home would mean abandoning the last anchor of stability many still possessed. One woman explained:

Well, first, I'm afraid someone might take over my house because it's the only thing I have. I worked my whole life for this house [...].

(VenVEN29F)

As she and others emphasised, the loss of home would mean not just financial insecurity, but also emotional uprooting.

In Venezuela, uncertain legal protection intensified concerns about property rights and the fear that unattended homes might be seized informally or through a legal loophole, as one interviewee described:

No, no, we don't want to leave our home alone because sometimes when one travels [...] you leave somebody in your home, and when you come back, you don't have it anymore because it's been taken away from you.

(VenVEN03F)

Migration, in this context, was not simply about new opportunities, but about endangering everything accumulated over a lifetime—materially, emotionally, and symbolically.

Imagine that he goes to work for so many years, and they take away his house, what he has already worked for, with his children, because of this.

(VenVEN20F)

For many, the home also served as a fallback option—its loss would mean complete displacement if migration failed.

The home, therefore, is not just a physical space but a relational asset—a repository of effort, memory, and dignity; its defence becomes a form of silent resistance.

Migration for these persons represents a major rupture: learning a new language, adapting to unfamiliar norms, and facing the risk of rejection. Several respondents expressed profound anxiety about uncertainty and discrimination in potential host countries, as in statements from the following interviewees:

Knowing whether they would accept her or not, because there was a lot, a lot of bullying towards Venezuelans when we started to emigrate.

(VenVEN00F)

Now I see xenophobia everywhere, and that scares me.

(VenVEN29F)

These fears—of exclusion, instability, and cultural dislocation—discouraged many from attempting to migrate. Remaining in Venezuela, though challenging, was perceived as emotionally safer and more predictable.

Some respondents saw migration as a step down rather than an opportunity for advancement. They feared becoming cheap labour or losing their professional or social standing, as in the words of one interviewee:

My mom would tell me that sometimes she'd work, and when it came time to get paid, they wouldn't pay her; or they'd pay much less than agreed, and they'd tell her that because she didn't have papers, she had to put up with it.
(VenVEN17F)

Such accounts, often relayed through returned migrants or relatives abroad, reinforced fears of exploitation and vulnerability. In contrast, staying was viewed as a way to preserve dignity, autonomy, and professional identity, however constrained.

The involuntary immobility of Venezuelans was shaped by a web of structural constraints, emotional obligations, and perceived risks. Legal and financial barriers, health conditions and care responsibilities limited people's ability to migrate, while psychological fears—of discrimination, exploitation, or loss of home—further anchored them in place. For many, migration was not only unattainable but also unattractive, unsafe, or morally unacceptable. In this context, staying became a form of protection, continuity, and silent resistance to forces beyond their control.

3.3 Conclusion

Hope for national recovery, deep family ties, and shifting responsibilities within households emerged as critical factors in the decision to stay in Venezuela. While some individuals considered migration, their belief in a better future, strong emotional connections, and newly assumed family obligations ultimately anchored them in their homeland. Among the most significant anchors were caregiving responsibilities towards children, elderly parents, or disabled relatives—forms of everyday care that required physical presence.

Another important aspect was the bureaucratic barrier: the process of applying for a Venezuelan passport is long and costly—although we will demonstrate in the following chapters that many individuals left the country without valid documents.

The fear of migration encompasses multiple dimensions—psychological, economic, and cultural. Many Venezuelans fear the unknown, worrying about discrimination, instability, and losing their sense of self in a foreign country. Others believe that migration would relegate them to low-status jobs, making

them feel undervalued. Additionally, strong cultural pride and attachment to Venezuela reinforce the belief that staying is a better choice. Ultimately, migration is not always seen as a guaranteed improvement, but rather as a risk that many are unwilling to take.

At the same time, this risk is often negotiated and redistributed within transnational family networks: many of our respondents who decided to stay in Venezuela relied on material and emotional support from their families residing in other Latin American countries, the US or Europe.

Staying, therefore, should not be reduced to the absence of movement or framed solely as constrained choice. It should be understood as a situated and socially embedded practice of life-making rooted in relational obligations, temporal endurance, and moral reasoning.

These decisions unfold in deeply relational contexts: shaped by caregiving duties, affective ties to place, and long-term hopes that crises may eventually ease. Rather than marking the end of agency, immobility—voluntary or involuntary—may constitute a distinct mode of acting through presence, endurance, and responsibility.

Ultimately, immobility can be viewed not as a passive condition, but as a situated response to systemic uncertainty: one that involves moral and affective labour, temporal patience, and everyday acts of care.

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4 Mobility decision-making process

4.1 Drivers of migration: “That’s how we survived, until we decided to leave”

Venezuela transitioned from a significant immigrant-receiving country to one expelling its citizens due to a combination of political, economic, and social collapse (Heredia & Battistessa, 2018). This profound shift was driven by rising uncertainty, distrust in the government’s development model, conflict, and the erosion of democratic institutions (Freitez, 2019).

This chapter explores the multi-dimensional crisis that transformed Venezuela from an immigrant-receiving to an emigration country, focusing on the factors that shaped migration decisions. Drawing on in-depth interviews with experts, migrants, and those who stayed behind, it addresses the following questions: What were the conditions in Venezuela that triggered migration? What ultimately drove so many of them to leave? How did the decision-making process unfold, and why was Peru chosen as a destination? Furthermore, the chapter examines migration trajectories, asking: What did the migration journeys look like, and what influenced the choice of routes?

By investigating these key questions, this chapter offers a deeper understanding of the drivers of migration, the resilience of those who remained, and the complexities behind choosing migration destinations and routes during Venezuela’s ongoing crisis.

Mass migration arose from increasingly dire living conditions, food insecurity, and severe shortages of essential goods and healthcare, turning emigration into a necessity rather than a choice (Doocy et al., 2019; Pérez & Ugarte, 2021). Initially, the deteriorating security situation triggered internal displacement, followed by large-scale regional emigration, ultimately leading to Latin America’s most severe migration crisis in recent decades (Posso et al., 2022; UNHCR, 2018).

Koechlin et al. (2019) identify four distinct waves of Venezuelan migration in the 21st century, which aligns with insights from expert interviews conducted within the MICLACAS project:

- **2002—Professionals and upper classes flee political turmoil:** The first wave was triggered by the petroleum strike, mass layoffs, and a coup d'état, primarily involving upper- and upper-middle classes, professionals, technocrats, and public officials. Economic push factors, often rooted in political instability under Hugo Chávez's government, were central to this wave. An expert described:

The first wave of Venezuelans, especially the upper-class people, [...] began to generate moorings in other countries due to these fears, [...] was very conscious in the more educated class.

(PeEx07)

- **2007—Business relocation and educational aspirations abroad:** Political repression and property insecurity prompted entrepreneurs to relocate businesses to the U.S. or Europe. Economic motivations combined with a desire for financial stability and access to education abroad fuelled this wave. One of the experts underlined:

You have an economic migration related to Venezuela and an educational migration [...].

(PeEx06)

Another expert emphasised the impact of currency depreciation:

[...] There is this emigration, especially with economic issues. I mean business outside. And even people who set up companies abroad to get into the financial circle of dollarisation or access to dollars.

(PeEx06)

- **2013—Economic recession and collapse of professional prospects:** After Chávez's death, the government faced not only a political crisis (Chávez was a charismatic leader and face of the Bolivarian Revolution), but also worsening economic conditions. Oil prices, the main source of Venezuelan export revenue, dropped from USD 97.5 per barrel to USD 84.5 in 2014. This fall in oil prices impacted government revenues and the subsequent recession, which drove skilled middle-class professionals to emigrate. This wave was characterised by the migration of individuals seeking improved economic and professional stability abroad, spurred by deteriorating prospects within Venezuela.
- **2015—Mass exodus amidst scarcity, repression, and violence:** This wave was driven by deepening food insecurity, critical shortages of essentials, political turmoil, and escalating violence. The oil price fell dramatically to USD 34.7 per barrel in 2016. Many lower-middle-class households saw

emigration as the only viable means of survival as conditions in Venezuela became untenable. An expert explained:

After a political and economic crisis [years 2016, 2017], let's say, much more sustained over time, that also started issues of scarcity, issues of inflation, issues of political persecution, certain, certain individuals who had opinions different from those of the governments. And the situation in Venezuela was getting worse.

(PeEx01)

Between 2012 and 2016, escalating economic hardship, insecurity, and political instability intensified the drivers of migration. Venezuelans experienced declining household income, hyperinflation, and rising crime, alongside intensifying political unrest (Vera, 2015). These overlapping crises made sustaining livelihoods increasingly difficult, forcing many to consider migration as a last resort.

Interviewed experts recalled these times with the following words:

I would put the year 2016. The first throes or the first signs of crisis. They started in 2015 due to the abrupt drop in oil prices, and Venezuela was a country that never managed to invest and not be so dependent on oil for oil revenues. And it came in a way that the entire population depended on that, on the oil economy. And so much so that income entering the country began to drop. And that directly affected the bolivar because it depends a lot... the devaluation of the bolivar greatly affected the income of Venezuelans.

(PeEx08)

By 2020, COVID-19 exacerbated the crisis, with hyperinflation and poverty affecting as much as 96% of the population (Abuelafia & Saboin, 2020). Despite border closures, many sought jobs in countries with stronger currencies (Acosta, 2021). By 2021, however, migration slowed due to early signs of socio-economic recovery in Venezuela and negative experiences among earlier migrants (Medina, 2022). Still, 32% of households reported intentions to emigrate, due to persistent challenges such as food insecurity, lack of health services, and crime (Posso et al., 2022).

By March 2025, nearly 7.9 million Venezuelans had migrated, with Latin America and the Caribbean being key destinations largely because of shared language and cultural proximity (IOM, 2025; UNHCR, 2018).

Attitudes towards emigration among Venezuelans shifted significantly in response to key political and economic developments described above. There was a marked increase after the death of Chávez and worsening of the economic situation, with a peak in 2018 when the majority of Venezuelans and their families considered moving abroad (Figure 4.1). In recent years, the share has

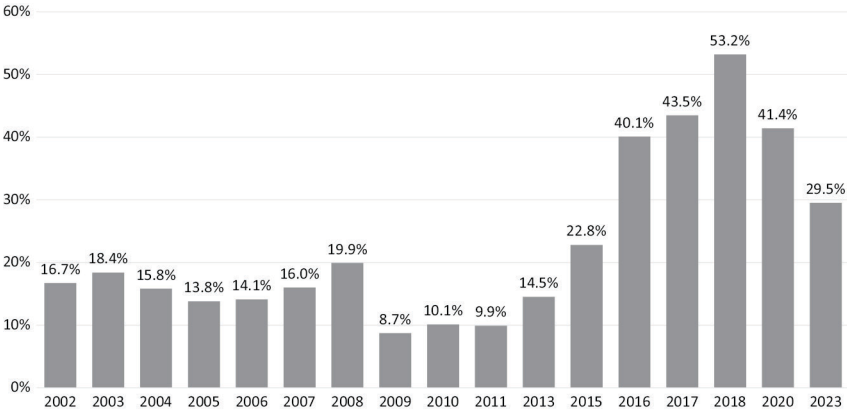


Figure 4.1 Share of population aged 18 and older who reported having considered living abroad in 2002–2023 in Venezuela.

Source: Own calculations based on Latinobarometro (2002–2023).

Note: Wording of the question: “Have you and your family ever considered going to live abroad?”

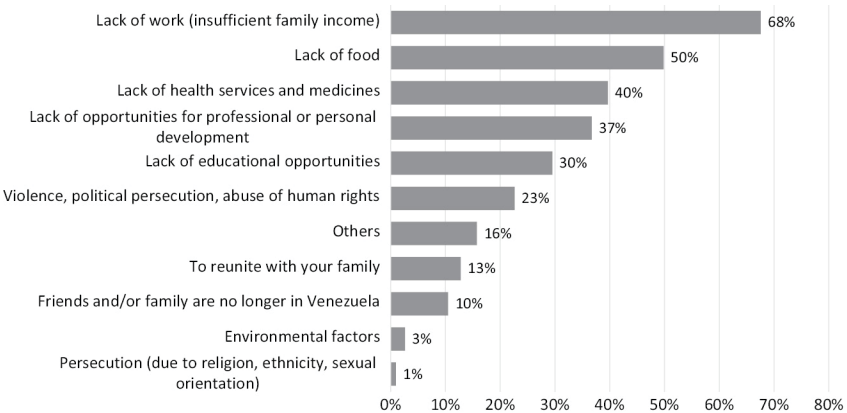


Figure 4.2 Share factors indicated by MICLACAS survey respondents as the main reason for departure.

Source: Own calculations based on the 2023 MICLACAS survey.

declined. However, it should be emphasised that the Latinobarometro survey is conducted among residents in Venezuela, and therefore excludes those who have already left the country.

Venezuelan migration is a complex phenomenon shaped by the intersection of economic, political, and social crises (Figure 4.2). For many, it represents a family-level survival strategy influenced by diverse individual and household

experiences. A full understanding of this crisis requires the examination of the interplay of structural factors, personal motivations, and policy—a dynamic explored in the following sections through in-depth interviews.

4.2 Drivers of migration—crime and hunger were the main reasons

4.2.1 Political factors

The magnitude of the crisis meant that migration was driven not just by the search for better living conditions or jobs but by political persecution and repressive government actions. Many Venezuelans were compelled to flee due to the severe political and humanitarian crisis. These individuals genuinely needed international protection, including those who opposed the regime and had to flee to ensure their safety and survival, as illustrated by the explanation of one of the experts:

[...] given the scale of the crisis and understanding that people were not just [...] leaving in terms of having a better life or finding their work opportunities, but they were actually leaving because of the scale of economic, political and humanitarian crisis in Venezuela. They actually were persons who were deemed to need international protection. [...] and this included also people who were clearly in opposition to the regime, and they had also to literally flee for safety and their lives...

(PeEx11)

Interviewees narrate experiences of confrontation with the government, such as protests and arbitrary detentions, highlighting the extent of political repression. The severity of experiences described below underscores the critical role of political factors in the decision to migrate. This account of arbitrary detention during a peaceful protest illustrates the brutality of state repression that forced many into exile. One interviewee recounted:

[...] the last of the protests [...] was at the shopping centre, near where my grandmother lived, and they stopped me there [...] because I was protesting. [...] [They] took me to one of the police stations. [...] They beat me quite badly, and my uncle [...] managed to get me out of detention. [...] They automatically detain you, put you in jail and do whatever they want. They did several, many things to me naked. They hit me a lot. I left very beaten.

(VenEu06M)

Another interviewee described a chilling encounter with armed, hooded individuals from Colectivos (paramilitary organisation which supports the government), who came to arrest them at work:

[...] I heard my name being shouted in the department where I worked. [...]. I looked out and said, "It's me!", and what I saw was a hooded person with a rifle [...]. Then he asked me to show him my ID card, I showed him my ID card, and he kept it, then he told me to come here, you are under arrest. [...]. And then I said, "Well, I'm leaving Venezuela".

(VenEu25M)

Whilst frequently designated a political crisis, Venezuela's situation is more precisely characterised as a profound humanitarian crisis marked by widespread human rights violations. One interviewee described the persecution they experienced as including being denied access to basic services as a form of political retaliation.

[...] a referendum was called to request the removal of President Chavez from the Presidency [...]. Those of us who collected signatures to request the recall of Chavez were excluded from everything. [...] The government offered some benefits to some people, but those of us who participated in that referendum were excluded from everything. Then we became a kind of pariah for the government, and we were left adrift in a situation where we needed support.

(VenPe03M)

Persecution hindered citizens' access to education, employment, healthcare, and food, forcing many to migrate for survival. An expert summarised this crisis:

There is a crisis of human rights, of the exercise of human rights in Venezuela, and that has promoted migration... a migration for the guarantee of their right to have access to education, work, health, food, right?

(PeEx02)

All these migration drivers are ultimately rooted in the political situation.

4.2.2 Insecurity

Rising danger and delinquency have become another driver of migration from Venezuela. Migrants' experiences reveal a deep sense of insecurity and fear that pervades daily life (Polga-Hecimovich, 2021), driving their decision to seek safer environments. The indexes of criminality in Venezuela are indeed very high: for instance, in 2021 and 2022, the number of violent deaths reached 4.9 and 35.3 per 100,000 persons. In 2023, this number fell to 26.8 (OVV, 2024), but was still higher than in Mexico (24.9, WPR, 2025).

If you go to an ATM, you're even nervous when you take out the money... So, I said no, I am not going to live with this stress. [...] that's when I decided to go.

(VenEu00F)

Another migrant elaborated:

[...] in [name of the city], there was a social outbreak; they looted everything. [...] I understand that people steal food, but will they feed themselves with a mattress? Then I felt very scared. [...] I said, where will we buy tomorrow? [...] one event after another kept telling me “go away, go away, go away”.
(VenEu14F)

And further:

We had to close down [the business]. [...] We received a call telling us we had to pay 500 bolivars because they would shoot us if we did not pay. We were scared. [...] They threatened us that if we didn't pay, they would kidnap our children.
(VenEu12F)

These testimonies illustrate how fear, intimidation, and direct violence became a part of everyday life, significantly affecting mental well-being and household decisions. This pervasive threat, ranging from intimidation to outright violence, has been a pivotal factor motivating Venezuelans to seek safety and stability elsewhere.

4.2.3 Economic drivers

Economic drivers played the most direct role in migration decisions, as “many were forced because they did not have the necessary economic conditions” (PeEx06). The deteriorating economic situation in Venezuela, mounting inflation and deteriorating purchase power of Venezuelans led many to seek better opportunities abroad, as highlighted in migrants' accounts of financial struggles:

We all had daily and existential problems before leaving Venezuela, such as finding and keeping a job... My ex-wife also worked, but it was impossible to live like that. And it took a lot of effort to find another job or do extra work due to our age...
(VenEu02M)

Experts noted that by 2015–2016, widespread scarcity, driven by economic mismanagement and lack of raw materials, forced many to leave Venezuela (PeEx07). In 2016–2017, long lines to buy basic goods like sugar or milk became a daily ordeal, with supermarkets often empty (VenEu04F). Many, like one interviewee, had to travel to Colombia weekly to buy groceries, because in Venezuela, queues lasted for days, often resulting in nothing but “a package of flour, bread, and sugar” (VenEu12F).

Sometimes we stood in line and didn't get anything; if there was [anything], you had to buy it double, triple the price [...] there was a moment that was an absolute crisis.

(VenPE25F)

This relation of a respondent reveals how daily survival under extreme scarcity shaped migration as an act of necessity. Frequent power outages and water rationing compounded the hardships. One respondent described also daily electricity rationing (VenEu04F), while another recalled enduring a three-day blackout and lack of water in 2019:

In 2019, the power went out in Venezuela [...] for three days, but in the rest of the country for much longer. [...] Every night, at nine o'clock, we had to collect water because there was no water until the next day.

(VenEu09F)

These failures in infrastructure—including electricity, water, and fuel shortages—intensified the already dire living conditions. For parents, the inability to provide for their children was particularly devastating, as one participant explained:

[...] the conditions were not the same as the ones I had at the time for my son, and that was one of the reasons I decided to emigrate. The quality of life in Venezuela was diminishing, and it was as if we were returning to the past that I did not even know.

(VenEu09F)

Shortages of food, clothing, and other essentials also undermined family dignity. One interviewee shared: “There is nothing to eat, to buy shoes. My daughters wore shoes with holes under the soles” (VenEu27F). Another recounted the pain of discovering her son’s broken shoes and his reluctance to ask for new ones because they couldn’t afford them:

He said, “No, Mom, because we don't have money; we must save.” I told him, “I would prefer to sell my tail [to be a prostitute], but he can't go around like that.”

(VenEu12F)

This emotionally charged account underlines how parents confronted impossible choices to preserve their children’s dignity.

Lack of accessible transportation further endangered families’ health and well-being. One interviewee explained:

[...] people didn't even have enough money [...] to pay for a ticket, because in Venezuela you could see a lot of people walking [...] they walked a lot

to go to the hospital, they walked to go to the grocery store. [...] She [my daughter] was malnourished because we did not have a good diet. [...] I did not even have enough to feed my daughter and my wife three meals. [...] I had to think of my daughter and my wife, and myself, my family. [...] that led me to [...] make the decision that I had to leave Venezuela.

(VenPE16M)

The testimony highlights how the lack of resources and transportation forced many Venezuelans into physically demanding situations, exacerbating malnutrition and health issues. According to the National Survey of Standard Living Conditions (ENCOVI, 2017), the nutritional crisis in Venezuela has significantly deteriorated food quality and variety, resulting in widespread malnutrition. Approximately six out of ten Venezuelans lost around 11 kg of body weight within one year due to severe food insecurity and hunger. This situation disproportionately affects vulnerable groups such as children, women of reproductive age, and the elderly, limiting life expectancy and undermining human development. The survey underscores that insufficient income for purchasing adequate food and the scarcity of nutritious food options have created a precarious dietary pattern, deficient in vital nutrients such as iron, zinc, vitamin A, and vitamin B complex, crucial for maintaining good health (Landaeta-Jiménez, Herrera Cuenca, Ramírez & Vásquez, 2018).

These quotes reveal a harsh reality of life in Venezuela, where even working individuals struggled to afford necessities. Personal testimonies depict a society collapsing under hyperinflation, widespread shortages, and decaying infrastructure, driving people to leave as a last resort. Financial insecurity and the inability to provide for families are recurring themes in these narratives, highlighting economic hardship as a significant factor driving migration from Venezuela.

4.2.4 Healthcare

The collapse of Venezuela's healthcare system emerged as a critical push factor driving migration. Severe shortages of medications, emigration of health workers, and deteriorating healthcare infrastructure created life-threatening situations, compelling many individuals to seek medical services and supplies in other countries. As early as 2016, experts noted how even treatable conditions became fatal due to a lack of basic care—for instance, people died from preventable conditions like allergic reactions due to the unavailability of antihistamines, even for those who could afford them (PeEx07). This crisis disproportionately impacted the most vulnerable populations, notably pregnant women fearing childbirth due to shortages of essentials like diapers, milk, and medical supplies (PeEx03). According to Page and associates (2019), the healthcare collapse significantly increased morbidity and mortality, exacerbating infectious disease outbreaks such as malaria and dengue. Malaria cases surged by 359% between

2000 and 2015 and further increased by 71% in 2017 alone. Moreover, 75% of health centres faced persistent shortages of potable water, and recurrent electricity outages caused the deaths of patients relying on essential medical equipment (Page et al., 2019). Such dire conditions have driven substantial migration, notably to neighbouring Colombia, where approximately 150,000 Venezuelan children have been born due to this exodus (PeEx07).

These health-related challenges underscore the fact that the humanitarian crisis in Venezuela has extended beyond economic hardships, serving as a compelling factor for migration as a survival strategy for individuals facing insurmountable threats to their well-being and safety. As one expert noted:

[many] of the Venezuelan[s] [...] [were] forced to leave because they no longer found supplies or health care in their country.

(PeEx03)

Ultimately, migration was often not a choice but a necessity—to escape a system that could no longer preserve life.

4.2.5 Education

The economic collapse in Venezuela not only limited access to basic needs but also severely disrupted the educational system. Underfunded schools, lack of teaching resources, deterioration of school feeding programmes, school closures due to power outages and reduced class schedules created significant obstacles to pursuing education, making it increasingly difficult (International Commission of Jurists, 2024). Limited access to education, combined with the urgent need to prioritise basic survival, was echoed in the words of a Venezuelan migrant in Lima:

[...] if you wanted to, you couldn't continue studying because the possibilities didn't allow you to. [...] you studied or worked. [...] having food in your house was one thing or the other. [...] education is worse now—three days a week of class, and studying is a sacrifice.

(VenPE25F)

According to the International Commission of Jurists (2024), the Venezuelan education system was already facing severe issues before the COVID-19 pandemic, including deteriorated infrastructure, lack of essential services like water and electricity, and inefficient school feeding programmes. The pandemic further exacerbated these challenges, causing extended school closures and the implementation of inadequate distance learning programmes. The lack of consistent internet access and electronic devices, alongside frequent electricity blackouts, severely limited effective remote education. Furthermore, the

decline in educational quality and coverage resulted in increased school dropout rates, with many children forced into child labour due to economic pressures, highlighting a severe humanitarian and educational crisis (International Commission of Jurists, 2024).

Beyond basic access issues, many Venezuelans were motivated to migrate by aspirations for higher education and professional advancement, which were becoming increasingly unattainable in Venezuela. The following quotations illustrate the aspirations for higher education and specialised training that were either unavailable or impracticable at home.

My main reason was mostly academic. [...] I was very interested in Europe, [...] being in Europe, learning a new language, [...] the academic aspect, those were the things that played the most important role for me in my decision to leave.

(VenEu16M)

Many interviewees saw education abroad as a way to secure better opportunities for themselves and their families, highlighting the role of education as a long-term investment amidst the crisis, as indicated by one of interviewees:

The reason for leaving was to study. [...] I said I would go to Europe and bring the knowledge with me. [...] I wanted to live that experience as in Erasmus, [...]. Typically, if you studied in Europe and come back, you get a better job.

(VenEu21F)

Interviewees expressed a strong desire for higher-quality education and better professional opportunities. These were viewed as pathways to personal growth and career advancement. Their pursuit of knowledge was a key driver of migration, highlighting the value they placed on education, even amidst adversity.

The accelerated collapse of Venezuela transformed living conditions into a daily struggle for survival. This context, characterised by uncontrolled inflation, shortages of essential services, and a deteriorating social environment, deprived citizens of the possibility of envisioning a stable future.

Before the crisis, one had goals, wanted to study, work, own a house. But all of that disappeared when inflation started, and we couldn't even buy food.

(VenPE16M)

In sum, migration from Venezuela was not a single-issue decision but a response to an escalating, multi-layered humanitarian crisis. The political oppression and threats to personal safety created an environment of fear and instability, compelling many to seek refuge abroad. Concurrently, the scarcity of essential resources

like food, water, and electricity, along with the breakdown of the healthcare system, made daily survival increasingly difficult. While some saw education abroad as a way out, others fled out of necessity—to secure safety, dignity, and a future for their families. These interwoven factors illustrate how millions were ultimately compelled to leave.

4.3 Decision-making process

The migration process of Venezuelans to Peru can be analysed through the conceptual framework proposed by Migali and Scipioni (2018), who distinguish three dimensions of migration intentions: desire, planning, and preparation. This model provides a structured way to understand how migration develops from an initial aspiration to concrete action. In low- and middle-income countries like Venezuela, aspirations to migrate are often widespread—but turning those aspirations into action is not evenly distributed, as shown in the varied experiences of Venezuelan migrants to Peru. Another important conceptual framework is the aspirations–capabilities model of de Haas (2021), which highlights both the role of agency and structure in migration decisions. In this model, migration aspirations come from individuals’ dreams and desires influenced by perceived geographical factors. Furthermore, migration capabilities depend on positive and negative freedoms: that is, the ability to do certain things and the possibility of avoiding others.

Thus, the decision-making processes of these migrants varied considerably across social groups, particularly influenced by educational background and socio-economic status. Interview data from the MICLACAS project reveal that migrants with higher education levels generally approached migration with more structured and meticulous planning, often including detailed financial strategies, exploring legal options, and utilising professional networks to secure employment or housing upon arrival. In contrast, individuals with lower educational attainment or limited savings frequently described their migration process as a response to immediate survival needs rather than the result of extensive preparation. They often faced significant logistical barriers—including lack of documentation, inadequate resources, or unfamiliarity with migration procedures. Thus, while the aspiration to migrate was consistently high, the ability to act on it was stratified along socio-economic lines, highlighting the structural disparities shaping migration trajectories.

4.3.1 From desire to decision

The decision to migrate from Venezuela is often an act of resistance and survival in the face of collapsing socio-economic and political structures. As mentioned in the theory of migration aspiration–capability (de Haas, 2021), the choice of mobility frequently occurs without detailed planning, reflecting

a hybrid dynamic of necessity and aspiration. Migration decisions result from an interplay between compulsion (forced migration) and ambition (voluntary migration).

In the testimonies of Venezuelan migrants, the desire to migrate emerges as a natural response to economic, social, and political collapse. However, their decisions were not solely reactive, but also intentional efforts to pursue greater stability and opportunity, aligning with de Haas's theoretical perspective, as illustrated by one interviewee:

Leaving Venezuela was not easy. But I knew that if I stayed, my daughter would have no future. I migrated thinking of her.

(VenPE11F)

Venezuelan migrants' decisions thus embody a dual dynamic of urgency, rooted in deteriorating living conditions, and aspiration for a more secure future, as explained by another respondent:

Leaving Venezuela was not an easy choice, but staying meant accepting hunger and hopelessness. We left without a clear plan, with the hope of finding something better.

(VenPE08F)

These testimonies reflect a pattern of forced migration with aspirations for upward mobility, aligning with the concept of fluidity between forced and voluntary motivations in migration processes (Schewel, 2020). Migrants do not solely flee adversity; they also act on hope and desire for a better life, as demonstrated by one interviewee:

I knew that at least here I could work and move forward. It's not just about escaping; it's about trying to build something.

(VenPE16M)

However, this initial aspiration, often driven by a sense of urgency and lack of viable alternatives, does not always translate into a well-defined plan. This case confirms the issue of bounded rationality in migration processes: the individuals often do not have proper cognitive skills, nor enough time to process the necessary information and choose the best option available (Brzozowski & Coniglio, 2021). Across all cases, the decision to leave was marked by the conviction that staying was not viable, as illustrated in one testimony:

I woke up one day and said: We're leaving. It was something I had in mind, but it wasn't planned in detail.

(VenPE01F)

Or

I had always thought about leaving, but I didn't know how or when. Then one day, I woke up and said, "We're leaving."

(VenPE04F)

These brief testimonies show how urgency often overwhelmed planning, and departures were experienced as abrupt yet inevitable.

In several interviews, migrants describe how family discussions and agreements guided the decision to emigrate. This is a particularly typical feature of Venezuelan society, in which *familiarismo* is a crucial element of decision-making. *Familiarismo* emphasises the value of mutual support within society and the central role of familial bonds (Guanipa et al., 2002). Therefore, for many, leaving Venezuela involved a consensus within the extended family (including grandparents, but often also aunts, uncles, and cousins), with their members evaluating risks and possibilities together, as reflected by another interviewee:

We all sat down as a family and decided that Peru was our best option because we had a cousin there who could help us upon arrival.

(VenPE02M)

The importance of family is also reflected in the desire to keep it united. Some migrants delayed their departure until they were sure that all family members could travel together, as explained by one interviewed mother:

I couldn't leave and leave my children behind, so I waited until we had enough money for all four of us to travel.

(VenPE06F)

Many interviewees described their migration as a family-centred decision, often shaped by intergenerational migration patterns. In many cases, earlier migration within the family created a memory of mobility that informed current choices.

A notable aspect in the interviews is how the migration experiences of previous generations influenced current decisions. Several interviewees mentioned how their parents or grandparents had migrated to Venezuela in search of a better future, establishing a precedent they replicated in the opposite direction, as noted by one respondent who claimed:

My grandfather came to Venezuela from Spain, escaping the war. Now, I'm doing the same, but to Peru.

(VenPE14M)

This transgenerational connection shows that migration is not just an individual act but also part of a larger family narrative that spans across generations and contexts.

The decision-making process that underpins Venezuelan migration to Peru is a multifaceted phenomenon. It is driven by a combination of desperation related to the current life and aspirations for a better life in the future. However, it often occurs without a clear transition from desire to a concrete plan, with migrants often making decisions spontaneously, although these are informed by family discussions and a collective assessment of possibilities. The family unit has been identified as playing a pivotal role in the decision-making process, functioning both as a motivating factor and an organisational element, thereby influencing the timing and manner of departure.

4.3.2 Planning: the transition to concrete intention

The planning phase represents the transition from a general desire to a more defined intention. This change is often influenced by support networks, available information, and limited resources. Some migrants highlighted how family members or acquaintances facilitated this transition by guiding routes and procedures. One of them mentioned:

My cousin gave me a detailed map of the buses and borders. Without that information, I wouldn't have known where to start.

(VenPE02M)

However, planning was also constrained by practical barriers such as a lack of documentation, limited finances, and uncertainty about entry requirements. According to Migali and Scipioni (2018), this is a critical point where many aspiring migrants are forced to abandon their plans due to the inability to overcome these obstacles.

The level of preparation for the journey varied significantly depending on the migrant's resources. Those with more financial means could sell assets such as cars, motorcycles, or household appliances to fund their departure. Others depended on solidarity or informal loans to finance their migration, as indicated in the testimony of one interviewee:

My mom sold a plot of land she had to give me the money. It was a huge sacrifice, but she told me she couldn't bear to see me suffer in Venezuela anymore.

(VenPE06F)

For those lacking financial assets or family support, migration involved improvised and high-risk strategies, relying on informal economies or community assistance to gather enough resources.

I had nothing for the ticket, so I worked making desserts and selling them on the street until I gathered enough to leave.

(VenPE09F)

However, most departures were planned. In many cases, transnational and community networks facilitated the migration process.

We came because my brother was already here. He helped us with information and told us that there was work in Peru. That gave us the confidence to come directly here.

(VenPE05M)

Relatives abroad provided key information to reduce the uncertainty associated with the journey.

My cousin in Peru told me everything: where to take the bus, what documents I would need, and how to cross the borders. It was like a map that gave me the security to leave.

(VenPE18M)

These narratives illustrate the phenomenon of chain migration (Massey et al., 1993), where earlier migrant networks reduce risks and guide new arrivals.

4.3.3 Preparation

The final step towards migration involves active preparation, which includes acquiring documents, saving money, and organising the logistics of the journey. Testimonies confirm that this phase was often the most demanding, requiring determination, planning, and sacrifice.

The sale of personal belongings was a constant in migration preparations, enabling migrants to finance their trips. However, this material detachment also represented a symbolic break from their former life and identity, as in the story of one interviewee who described:

I sold my car, I sold my motorcycle, we sold the central air conditioner we had in the house. I sold many things, including a freezer, just to be able to leave—I practically sold everything. I mean, I sold everything for \$1,000. [...] With that money, I first travelled alone to assess the situation, adapt, and find a job. Then, I brought my family.

(VenPE14M)

This act, beyond being practical, reflected the painful process of leaving behind not just a place, but also a personal history tied to those objects and a lifestyle that was no longer sustainable.

Migali and Scipioni (2018) note that in all income groups, less than 1% of the population typically reaches the “active migration stage”, involving concrete preparation and action. However, the case of Venezuelan migrants underscores the exceptional nature of their exodus; despite severe economic, logistical, and legal barriers, Venezuelans managed to complete the migration process in exceptionally large numbers. Many Venezuelans transformed their migration intentions into concrete actions because the intensity of the humanitarian crisis left no viable alternatives. This highlights how extreme conditions can significantly alter established migration patterns. Family and community networks played a crucial role in overcoming planning and preparation obstacles, illustrating the pivotal importance of social capital in contexts of crisis. Thus, while Migali and Scipioni’s conceptual framework provides valuable insights into how migration intentions typically evolve, the testimonies of Venezuelan migrants demonstrate how acute crises can drastically modify this process, enabling a broader segment of people to act upon their migration desires despite substantial structural constraints.

4.3.4 Why Peru?

Peru emerged as an attractive destination due to its job opportunities, perceived to be better than other countries in the region, as indicated by one of the interviewees:

In Peru, we heard there were jobs in bakeries and construction, things I knew how to do. That motivated me to choose it as my destination.

(VenPE02M)

Additionally, interviewees mentioned that the relative economic stability of Peru, in contrast to Venezuela and neighbouring countries, offered a realistic path to rebuilding their lives, as illustrated by another respondent:

Venezuela no longer offered opportunities. Here, at least, you can work and save something, even if it’s a little.

(VenPE06F)

Another highlighted aspect was the cultural and linguistic proximity between Venezuela and Peru. Sharing a common language facilitated initial integration, particularly regarding access to employment and reduced social barriers. Additionally, Venezuelan communities provided practical guidance on legal procedures, job opportunities, and housing, significantly easing the transition, as explained by one migrant:

The fact that we speak Spanish and understand the customs made the cultural shock not as big as it could have been somewhere else.

(VenPE27F)

This dimension highlights how, although language serves as an advantage in migration, it does not guarantee seamless social integration, as cultural biases and prejudices may still pose challenges (see Chapters 5 and 6 in this volume).

The perception of Peru as a destination with well-established Venezuelan communities played a crucial role in shaping migration decisions. The sense of (Venezuelan) community in Lima, i.e. a location with a reliable network of supportive connections (García et al., 1999) was a very important factor in this aspect. These migrant networks provided greater confidence and security, mitigating the uncertainties associated with relocation. Venezuelan communities not only offered emotional support but also served as facilitators of integration by assisting with:

- **Legal and bureaucratic procedures:** information on migration permits, visa applications, and asylum procedures, helping new arrivals navigate administrative barriers.
- **Housing assistance:** providing temporary accommodation or connections to affordable housing options.
- **Labour market integration:** facilitating entry into the informal economy, where many Venezuelans found employment opportunities.

For many migrants, these networks reduced the risks associated with arriving in an unfamiliar environment. Migrants who had family or friends in Peru often relied on them as their first point of contact, easing the transition and providing a foundation for economic and social stability.

The presence of established Venezuelan communities highlights migration's role as a collective and network-driven process, where pre-existing social ties shape mobility patterns and adaptation strategies. Family networks emerge as fundamental pillars in migration decision-making, providing material support, guidance, and a sense of belonging. These connections not only facilitate mobility but also reinforce the resilience of migrants in facing the challenges of integration and settlement in a new country.

The interviews reveal that family connections and pre-existing support networks influenced the decision to migrate to Peru. For many migrants, these networks not only provided a sense of security but also helped them navigate the challenges of the journey, as explained by one interviewed woman:

My mother was already here, and because of that, I felt I had a place to go. It was a decisive factor in leaving Venezuela.

(VenPE01F)

The distribution of family members in different Latin American countries also played an important role. Some migrants explained how the choice of Peru

was determined by the presence of relatives who had migrated earlier, as in the statement below:

My brother was in Colombia, but he talked to me about other relatives in Peru who were doing better. That convinced me to come here instead of staying at the border.

(VenPE18M)

The decision to emigrate is, in many cases, a deeply collective endeavour, strongly shaped by family and social networks. In the interviews analysed, the presence, support, and guidance of family members and acquaintances repeatedly influenced the decision to choose Peru. These established family networks often provided both initial shelter and key practical information about jobs and legal procedures, as illustrated by one interviewee:

My brother told me that there was work in Lima and that I could stay with him for the first few months. Without that, I wouldn't have left Venezuela.

(VenPE01F)

In summary, the decision of many Venezuelan migrants to seek refuge in Peru was influenced by multiple interrelated factors. Primarily, this decision was driven by economic pragmatism, cultural familiarity, and, most significantly, the tangible support provided by family and community networks. These findings emphasise the pivotal role of social capital in migratory decision-making.

4.4 Migration trajectories

Geographical distance is a well-known determinant of migration, and migration decisions vary depending on distance (Niedomysl, 2011). With other factors held constant, the greater the geographical distance, the lower the intensity of migration, as the monetary and non-monetary costs of migration increase (Czaika & Reinprecht, 2022). In this context, it is striking that so many Venezuelans left their country for Peru, given the considerable geographical distance between Caracas and Lima, which is approximately 4,300 kilometres. Furthermore, the transportation route is costly both in terms of time and financial resources.

This section provides an overview of Venezuelan migration trajectories, analysing the factors that influenced the choice of specific routes and means of transportation. These trajectories are crucial for understanding the integration process of Venezuelans in Peru, as well as explaining their transnational practices, and other constraints.

4.4.1 Costs of migration

To understand the Venezuelan migration experience, it is essential to move beyond a Eurocentric perspective. The typical framework—free movement within the Schengen zone, highly developed transport infrastructure, and low-fare airlines—does not apply in Latin America, and even less so in Venezuela. For example, as of February 2025, no direct flights were available between Caracas and Lima.¹ Even when available, air travel was not fully reliable: Caracas airport had been closed repeatedly in the past five years, as recalled by one of our respondents:

Parallel to that situation, the international airport in Caracas had been closed for three months. So, when it opened in August, I said, “This is the opportunity to leave.” And that’s it. I grabbed my things, and I left.

(VenEu09F)

For instance, between 10 and 13 January 2025, all flights to Colombia—and by extension to Peru—were suspended. In July 2024, Venezuela had suspended diplomatic relations with several neighbouring countries following contested presidential elections, resulting in disrupted air traffic with Chile, the Dominican Republic, Panama and Peru. Even when flights operated, their cost remained prohibitive. The financial burden of this endeavour is evidenced by the one-way ticket cost at the time, which ranged between 800 and 1,000 USD. Such prices made air travel inaccessible for the vast majority of Venezuelans (see previous sections on drivers of migration in this chapter).

The challenges associated with air travel were further compounded by significant legal obstacles. Obtaining a Venezuelan passport was a complex process, involving numerous difficulties. The official fee was approximately 200 USD. However, expedited services on the black market reportedly cost as much as 2,000 USD in 2018 (Muñoz-Pogossian & García Tufro, 2020). Consequently, air travel remained largely inaccessible to the majority of the population. The share of Venezuelans who arrived in Peru by plane dropped from 39% before 2017 to just 6% in 2018.

Consequently, for the majority, travel by bus remained the only viable option, also because the Venezuelan IDs enabled them to cross the country borders in neighbouring countries until 2017 (World Bank, 2019). The conventional route traverses the Pan-American Highway (Mazzoli et al., 2020), commencing in Caracas and traversing the Villa del Rosario border into Colombia. From Cúcuta, migrants typically undertake a bus journey traversing Colombia to reach Guayaquil, Ecuador. The final leg of the journey, which lasts approximately 55 hours and costs between 250 and 300 USD, continues from Guayaquil to Lima.

Yet even this route was seen by many as a “luxury”. Many Venezuelans had to break the trip into multiple legs, making stops along the way, as reflected in the following testimony:

Mostly it was by bus. And we made stops in each country and each... state or province, as they say here. We mostly made transfers, but the whole trip was by bus.

(VenPe02M)

Others combined bus travel with walking part of the route, often in precarious conditions as illustrated in the testimony below:

We were forced to leave the country, because if we waited longer, we would have ended up starving ... I walked, some cars would stop and pick us up, or they wouldn't let us. A little further on ... we met a girl who was travelling with her daughter and her husband, and with them, we mostly went through the journey.

(VenPE18M)

The duration of the journey varied significantly, from a few days to up to 22 months, depending on circumstances (Alarcón et al., 2022). According to INEI (2019), 84.8% of migrants reached Peru within a month, while 10.8% required about a month, and 4.4% needed more than two. The IOM (2018) found that the majority of individuals completed their journey within one to seven days. Furthermore, 88% of respondents reported travelling directly to Peru, while 10% transited through Colombia and Ecuador. For 77% of respondents, Peru was the final destination.

Such a demanding journey would often be impossible without support from the Venezuelan diaspora, particularly in the form of financial assistance from family members residing abroad. Transnational networks played a vital role in connecting migrants to relatives in Latin America, Europe, and North America. These connections provided critical guidance and resources. In the interviews, many migrants described how these international connections facilitated their migration, as evidenced by the following statement:

My sister was in Panama, but my cousin in Spain also helped me. They sent me information on how to handle the paperwork and some money when I needed it.

(VenPE12M)

Nevertheless, the primary challenge of covering travel expenses was merely the first in a series of obstacles. Migrants still faced numerous structural and personal

challenges as they navigated their journey towards Peru. Understanding these complex trajectories reveals how migration is shaped by distance, infrastructure, legal barriers, and above all, the strength of transnational social networks.

4.4.2 Bureaucratic hurdles

One of the most common difficulties migrants reported was dealing with administrative bottlenecks. Authorities in transit countries—especially Colombia and Ecuador—struggled to maintain adequate border services during peak migration periods. This added further complications, as one respondent recalled:

We spent two days in a queue with a three-degree cold [...] to stamp the Andean card so that they would let us leave Colombia and enter Ecuador. [...] they write down your data and give you the Andean letter, which was like a passport [...]. There they stamp it at the exit, and at the entrance to Ecuador they stamp it again, and we also had to wait in line for [...] about 36 hours more or less in line again.

(VenPE03M)

These long waits created considerable uncertainty, physical exhaustion, and stress. Many migrants were unprepared for harsh weather or lengthy waits, with limited access to food and water. These conditions made them particularly vulnerable to crime and exploitation. One of the interviewees described:

In Tumbes [city in Peru at the border with Ecuador], they stole my suitcases, they stole my child's birth certificate, they took my shoes. I arrived with some flip-flops that they lent me over there, they gave me a pair of flip-flops, and we arrived here. But I arrived without clothes, and so did my girls. It was difficult because we were hungry, I didn't have enough food to feed my girls on the way, that's why my girls got sick because they couldn't stay hungry on the bus, those are hours and hours.

(VenPE11F)

The most critical issue, however, concerned documentation. As discussed earlier, access to Venezuelan passports is severely limited and prohibitively expensive. Most migrants travelled only with their national ID cards (La Cédula de Identidad). According to the MICLACAS survey (2023), just 14% of respondents held valid passports, and another 25% had expired ones. Alarming, 2% lacked any form of identification, increasing their risk of exclusion and marginalisation upon arrival.

Until January 2017, Venezuelans could leave with only ID cards and receive the Andean Migration Card (Tarjeta Andina de Migración, TAM), which allowed

mobility within the Andean Community of Nations (CAN—Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru), as explained by one of the interviewees:

I left with [...] the DNI. At that time, the emigrants who did not have a passport were given help, a facility to obtain a document called the Andean Card. And through this document, you can enter Colombia, Ecuador and Peru.
(VenPE16M)

Later, stricter regulations required passports for entry. While Colombia introduced more flexible rules in 2021 with the Temporary Protection Statute—allowing entry with expired passports—many Venezuelans were still unable to meet these criteria. Faced with these barriers, many Venezuelans resorted to irregular border crossings. One interviewee reflected on this shift:

[...] the years 2017 and 2018 were the highest until October; the criminal acts and [...] immigration controls began to be stronger, and each of the countries agreed to issue a visa. [...] because [before] the entrance was nothing more than showing your identity card, a Venezuelan document. Everything was much easier to cross [...] the border, but when each country imposed visas, Chile, Ecuador, and Peru, it ended up being counterproductive [...] people did not enter through migratory points but through irregular paths, and the migration was much worse.
(PeEx08)

The journey from Venezuela to Peru was not only defined by geographical and economic challenges, but also by a complex web of bureaucratic obstacles. The absence of accessible legal documentation, coupled with inconsistent migration policies across countries, often forced migrants to resort to irregular pathways. These experiences highlight the urgent need for more coordinated and humane migration frameworks in the region.

4.4.3 Migration industry

With growing bureaucratic hurdles, Venezuelan migration was often facilitated by the so-called “migration industry” (Hugo, 2004)—a system of intermediaries, transport companies, and recruitment agencies operating legally, semi-legally, or informally. As one of our experts explained:

In every migratory flow, some people, unfortunately, turn to other services of unscrupulous people who carry out these border crossings and who cross a border that is relatively long and where there is no, let's say, constant control.
(PeEx05)

It is therefore not surprising that many respondents turned to intermediaries for help during their migration. Some of these services operated in legal or semi-legal zones, without necessarily being linked to criminal activity:

No, the ticket was about \$300, and the consultant was \$350, something like that. But on the trip, the package already included a ladder, a lunch. [...] We had to cover the additional food, breakfast, buy cookies, [...] bread, juice for the transfer, to wait [...]. That was the journey.

(VenPE04F)

Some specialised agencies offered structured travel packages that included: transport, food, and occasionally accommodation. Some of these agencies were reliable, as explained by one of the interviewees:

I paid for a package, and those people were responsible. There were 30 of us [...] and all of us came to Peru, and only two people went to Chile. [...] So, they took very good care of us. [...] they took us to a residence, where they had breakfast and lunch for us. We even left on time, and they took us by cab to the terminal where they were going to pick us up. Everything was fine, thank God.

(VenPE13F)

Others, however, experienced fraud and abandonment, as in the testimony of another interviewee:

[...] the people with whom I paid for the package [...] to Peru abandoned us in Ecuador; they told us to come here because no, no, we can't go on because they won't let us pass you. In other words, they abandoned us. I mean, the package that was to Peru for \$180. It was already lost.

(VenPE14M)

Migrants without the required documents had to rely on illegal intermediaries, who helped them cross borders in irregular ways, for a fee, as in the testimony of one interviewee who reflected on his wife's experience:

there were people who came with an identity card, nothing else. And then they could not cross the border directly because they were not allowed to do so, so they used what they called "trocha". And then the "trocha" was a lot. Many people were robbed, had their belongings taken from them.

(VenPE22M)

Migrants who took this path became particularly vulnerable, as they could not seek help from official authorities, fearing deportation, as explained by an interviewed expert:

It is a very porous border between Ecuador and Peru. So people continued to enter in much more precarious conditions, much more dangerous, with the risk of human trafficking, exposing themselves to more risks. [...] The risks of these coyotes, as they are also called on the border, only increase. [...] That would be like trafficking, and obviously, if in an illegal activity, they are also prevented or scared so that they do not approach humanitarian organisations like ours.

(PeEx01)

The precarious and informal nature of irregular crossings exposed migrants to violence, theft, and extortion. Respondents frequently reported assaults, thefts, and abandonment, especially near border zones or during overnight stops in unfamiliar towns. The inability to access legal protection mechanisms further deepened this insecurity, as in the testimony of the interviewee:

The route that we had to take was a bit difficult in Colombia, in Palermo de Santander, I remember, because the migration was strong, the migration wanted to send us back, and we were practically fleeing so that they would not deport us to Venezuela.

(VenPE19F)

In such cases, migrants became dependent on smuggling networks and criminal intermediaries, exposing themselves to greater risks and exploitation. This increasing dependence on informal actors highlights the unintended consequences of restrictive migration policies—an issue explored further in the next section.

4.4.4 Exploitation and trafficking risks along Venezuelan migration routes

The crisis in Venezuela has contributed to the expansion of illegal transnational networks involved in various illicit activities, including the commercialisation of natural resources, currency, drugs, food, medicine, and even people, not only in Latin America but beyond (Van Roekel & De Theije, 2020).

According to the Mixed Migration Centre (2022), 69% of surveyed Venezuelans used smugglers to reach Colombia or Peru. The prevalence of such services increased significantly, from 60% in 2019 to 81% in 2021. Notably, 26% reported being exploited or abused. This was also confirmed by our interviewees, one of whom reflected:

Yes, it was quite dangerous because there were a lot, many mafias, many mafias who knew that as the migrant was leaving, they could have \$100 in their pocket. This \$200 was the amount they could have. And they took advantage of the immigrant to trick him and tell him that no, I'm going to help you, this way, this way, this way is going to be better. So they tricked,

tricked the immigrant and stole many women. It was seen that they had raped them. So yes, it was quite dangerous.

(VenPE16M)

This situation has intensified concerns over regional human trafficking. Reports have documented increasing cases of smuggling, trafficking, and sex exploitation (John, 2019), including in Peru (Freier & Luzes, 2021). Mazuera-Arias et al. (2020) estimated that 60% of Venezuelan migrants faced risks such as smuggling, forced labour, sex trafficking, or recruitment into armed groups. These risks were tied to migrants' irregular status and lack of protection. Many of the Venezuelans entered these networks unintentionally due to bad luck or were misled by false promises of deceptive intermediaries, as illustrated by one of the experts:

Some of them also deceptively bring them with the idea that they are travel agencies when in reality they are trafficking networks. [...] In our countries, Peru, Ecuador, have begun to grow networks of human trafficking for sexual exploitation, basically for the issue of Venezuelan women.

(PeEx03)

In Peru, many undocumented and vulnerable individuals, including unaccompanied minors, crossed the border. Between 2017 and 2018, 1,700 cases of human trafficking were reported, and 10% of the victims were Venezuelans. This vulnerability resulted from migrants' precarious situations (Moloney, 2019; UNHCR, 2018), as one expert explained:

[...] trafficking for sexual exploitation, especially the Venezuelan population and migration, has also been mostly female [...]. Peru is a country with a rather macho social characteristic. [...] It objectifies Venezuelan women a lot, and this, by objectifying them, puts them at even greater risk of being a victim of acts of gender-based violence, touching, and harassment. Trafficking risks. We have had people who [...] tried to kidnap them [...]. This added to the fact that many of the women [...] come alone.

(PeEx01)

In sum, Venezuelan migrants—particularly women—face heightened risks of exploitation, abuse, and trafficking due to their legal vulnerability and socioeconomic precarity. Their experiences underscore the urgent need for stronger protection frameworks and regional cooperation against organised abuse.

4.5 Beyond Peru: alternative destinations

Almost three-quarters of the MICLACAS survey (2023) respondents declared an intention to remain in Peru for more than one year (74.2%), while 18.4%

expressed a desire to settle permanently. For most, Peru was the first seriously considered destination.

This does not mean that alternative destinations were not considered, but they were often perceived as more difficult to reach, requiring resources that were generally unavailable to them. Some respondents highlighted not only the lack of proper travel documents, but also the relatively friendly migration and refugee policies of Latin American countries compared to European states, as illustrated in the testimony of one interviewee:

[...] from the information we had, migrate to another country, for example, a European country, there had to be a lot of bureaucratic paperwork, and [...] all the countries of Latin America, at that time, were opening their doors to us. Only with your passport or [...] identity card could you enter the country, and [...] regularise your migratory situation.

(VenPE22M)

Others pointed out that destinations such as Europe and the United States were more demanding. They required not only valid travel documents and higher travel costs but also greater qualifications on the part of migrants.

In summary, while Peru emerged as the primary destination due to accessibility and favourable migration policies, many Venezuelans viewed destinations such as Europe and the United States as aspirational but unattainable. Barriers such as documentation, costs, and qualifications influenced both short- and long-term mobility strategies.

4.6 Conclusions

Our detailed analysis of migration decisions and their subsequent realisations shows that the Venezuelan exodus results from a distinct blend of political and economic factors, confirming the need for a more sophisticated perspective in migration research—one that moves past the oversimplified divide between coerced and voluntary movement (Erdal & Oeppen, 2018). The recent debate on Venezuelan migration underscores the lack of proper terms to classify such a form of mobility, including even the terms “forced migration” or “refugees” that fit into the definition of the Cartagena Declaration (Stonawski & Brzozowski, 2025). However, we argue that the motivations behind this move are much more multifaceted and involve a range of actors not considered adequately in former studies.

In particular, the “aspiration–capability” theory of migration (de Haas, 2021) is a useful tool for explaining the migration decisions of Venezuelans. In a country that is slowly deteriorating in terms of economy, and socio-political stability, the aspirations of individuals were conditioned on the available opportunity structures and feasible migration destinations. The most attractive destinations

like the US or Europe (particularly Spain) were not available for most potential migrants, as they required more resources, including a Venezuelan passport.

Consequently, as the bounded rationality framework explains (Brzozowski & Coniglio, 2021), Venezuelans had to make suboptimal migration decisions, choosing the “second-best” destination. In this regard, the question of *familiarismo* (Guanipa et al., 2002) is crucial. Shared responsibility for all members of Venezuelan extended families implied that the process of mobility decision-making was taken collectively, and the first migrants sent from Venezuelan households were responsible for enabling family reunification through remittances and other ways of facilitating travel to Peru. In this aspect, Peru and in particular Lima metropolitan area, with well-developed Venezuelan communities which provided emotional comfort and (informal) institutional support upon arrival, was, as we mentioned in our recent article, “a good enough”, i.e. second-best, yet viable destination to settle (Sobczak-Szelc et al., 2025).

Note

- 1 The fastest connection available, at the time of writing (2025), is the air journey with a stop in Bogotá, which lasts between 17 and 30 hours.

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5 Venezuelans' integration in Peru

5.1 Introduction

The integration of immigrants into host countries is always a dynamic process (Maxwell, 2010; de Haas et al., 2019). In principle, it assumes that foreign-born individuals will gradually adapt to the new socio-cultural and economic environment. However, integration is a two-way process. It not only requires immigrants to progressively align with the cultural, economic, social, and political characteristics of the native population, but also requires the host society to be open to incorporating aspects of the newcomers' culture (Goñda et al., 2021). In this sense, integration involves both the inclusion of immigrants and their connection to the host society, while still allowing them to retain elements of their home culture and language (Penninx & Garcés-Mascreñas, 2016). The integration process is influenced not only by the characteristics of the host country, but also by the socio-economic and demographic traits of the immigrants themselves (Dustmann, 1996).

Therefore, a detailed examination of the demographic and educational composition of the Venezuelan diaspora in Peru is essential for understanding their integration, coping, and adaptation processes, and this is presented in the first part of the chapter. We aim to get a deeper understanding of which barriers Venezuelans face in the labour market, access to education, healthcare, and housing in Peru. We also investigate how they cope with these difficulties.

5.2 Characteristics of Venezuelans in Peru

The socio-economic, demographic, and psychosocial characteristics of migrants and refugees are essential for understanding their prospects for integration at their destinations. Immigrants are never a representative sample of the population they leave behind; migration inherently involves risk, preparation, and sufficient resources. Consequently, migration is always a selective process, with those who migrate differing significantly from those who remain (Brzozowski & Coniglio, 2021).

In the case of forced migration, the context differs significantly. The experiences of sending and receiving countries are highly diverse. For example,

political migration from the Soviet Bloc during the Cold War—such as the Hungarian exodus in 1956 (Kopyś, 2024), the migration of Polish Jews in 1968, or the departure of Poles in 1980—was predominantly composed of individuals with higher education (Kaczmarczyk, 2006). In contrast, war-driven forced migration tends to follow a general pattern: short-distance movements to neighbouring countries are often dominated by entire families, typically from poorer socio-economic backgrounds. Those who can afford to migrate farther are usually more affluent and better educated. This trend is evident across various cases, including Rwandan refugees moving to Congo or Belgium, Afghans fleeing to Pakistan or Northwestern Europe, and Syrians seeking refuge in Lebanon, Jordan, Türkiye, or Western Europe, particularly Germany (Spörlein et al., 2020; Welker, 2022). In the case of Venezuela, the exodus is not driven solely by political oppression, internal violence, or economic decline, but rather by a combination of these factors, without the presence of military conflict.

The following sections focus on the Venezuelan diaspora in Peru, highlighting its key demographic and socio-economic characteristics, including age, education, human capital, and professional experience.

5.2.1 Demographic characteristics

The Venezuelan population in Peru grew rapidly between 2018 and 2024, with the largest surge in 2018—from 33,000 in April to 648,000 in September. By July 2019, it reached 827,000. Although the COVID-19 pandemic slowed migration, numbers continued to rise, reaching 1.6 million by November 2024—about 21% of all Venezuelan migrants globally (7.9 million), according to R4V and UN estimates (Figure 5.1).

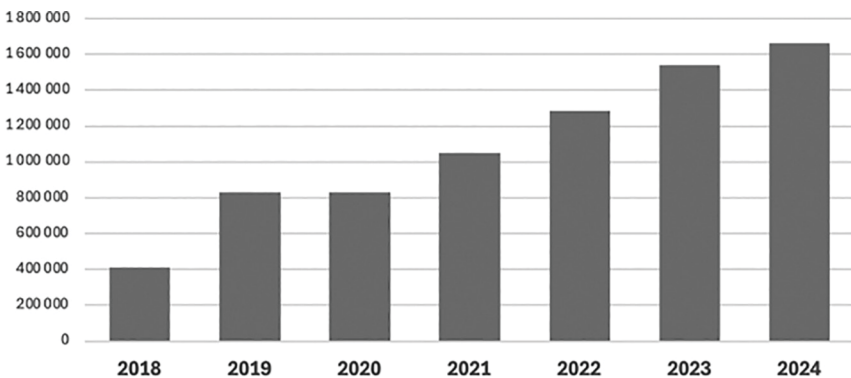


Figure 5.1 Number of Venezuelans in Peru in 2018–2024.

Source: estimates of R4V.

Note: Mid-year population stock (estimates from July–August).

According to the 2018 and 2022 ENPOVE surveys, the population of Venezuelans in Peru is generally balanced in terms of gender composition (Figure 5.2). In 2018, around 52% of the population was male. In 2022, the composition changed slightly in favour of women, who accounted for 51% of Venezuelan migrants.

The Venezuelan diaspora in Peru is notably young. ENPOVE data show the median age fell from 27 in 2018 to 25 in 2022, driven by a rise in children and youth (0–19), whose share grew from 25% to 37.5%. Meanwhile, the 20–34 age group declined from 52% to 38%. In 2022, 75% of Venezuelans in Peru were under 35. In 2018, 60.75% of respondents were younger than 30 years of age, and almost two-thirds (64.57%) were in the younger working age (18–39). Small children (age group 0–10 years) comprised 15% of the group, while teenagers accounted for almost 5% (Figure 5.3).

In this aspect, the gender differences in the younger groups were minimal; for the 30–39 age group the share of males (26%) is slightly higher than for females (21%), while for the 50–59 age category the percentage of female migrants (4.83%) is mildly higher than for males (3.1%). Due to the dominance of young persons in the Venezuelan population, the most numerous group in terms of their civil status were single persons (38.8%) followed by cohabiting couples (36.6%). Venezuelan males are more often single (41.76%) than females

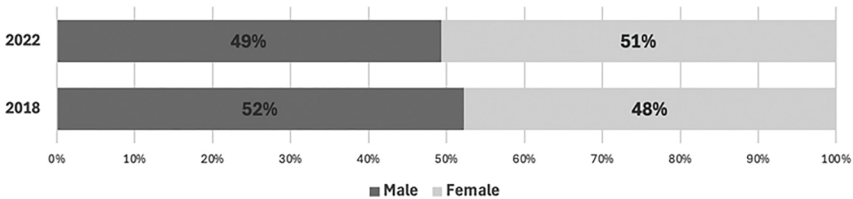


Figure 5.2 Structure of Venezuelan population by sex in 2018 and 2022.

Source: Own calculations based on ENPOVE 2018 and 2022.

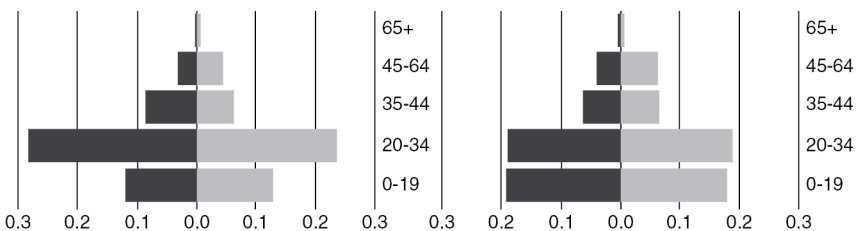


Figure 5.3 Venezuelan migrants by age and sex according ENPOVE.

Source: Own calculations based on ENPOVE 2018 and 2022.

(35.45%, Figure 5.4). Between 2018 and 2022, the share of single Venezuelans in Peru declined, while cohabitation increased. This shift reflects both family reunification—men bringing partners and children from Venezuela—and new relationships formed within the diaspora (see Figure 5.4).

The MICLACAS survey (2023) reveals that 57% of respondents reported living with their partners (or spouses) and/or children in Peru. Both trends suggest that Venezuelans are gradually shifting their personal lives to Peru, which enhances their prospects for successful integration. At the same time, however, this transition weakens their ties to their country of origin and reduces the likelihood of return migration.

5.2.2 Socio-economic and psychosocial characteristics

Human capital is key to migrant integration, making education levels among Venezuelans in Peru particularly relevant. In 2022, 31.8% of men and 39.2% of women aged 20–64 had post-secondary education. However, this marks a drop of about 20 percentage points since 2018, indicating that recent arrivals tend to have lower educational attainment (Figure 5.5).

Moreover, a vast majority of Venezuelans have acquired this education in their home country: the transferability of human capital into Peru might be problematic.

In 2022, 36% of Venezuelans aged 20–64 had higher education, including 1% with a Master’s or PhD, 15.5% with a university degree, and 9% with technical

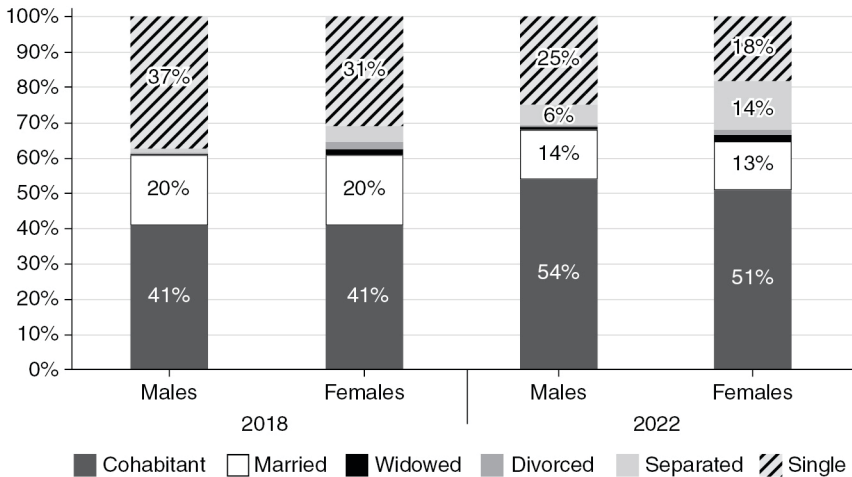


Figure 5.4 Venezuelans at age 18 and above by civil status in Peru in 2018 and 2022.

Source: Own calculations based on ENPOVE 2018 and 2022.

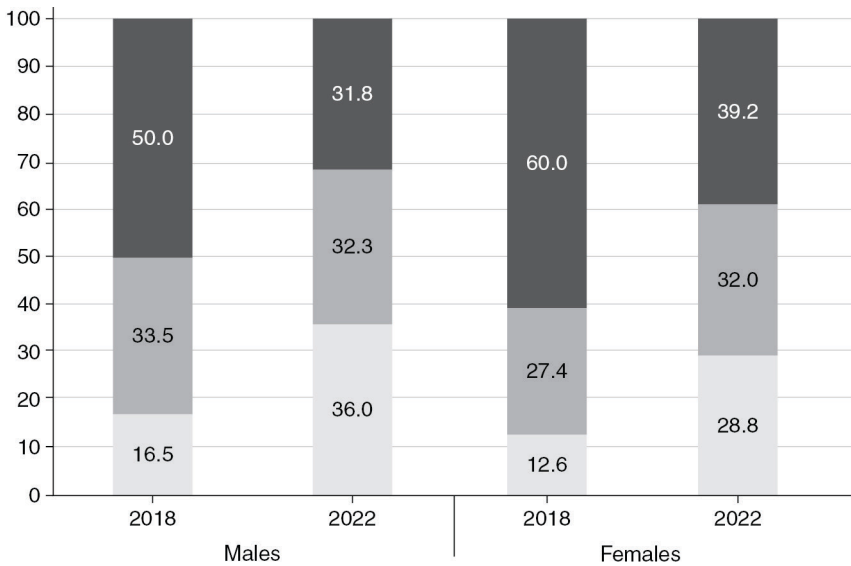


Figure 5.5 Educational attainment of Venezuelan immigrants (age 20–64).

Source: Own calculations based on ENPOVE 2018 and 2022.

training. However, 10% had dropped out of tertiary education, limiting their integration prospects. Only 3% completed their studies in Peru; 97% were educated in Venezuela, posing challenges in diploma recognition. Just 8.3% of tertiary-educated migrants had their degrees officially recognised. Moreover, only 23% held STEM degrees and 8.1% studied medicine or nursing—fields with higher international transferability. Finally, only 3% of surveyed individuals had completed their education in Peru, whereas 97% earned their diplomas in Venezuela. This might be not so problematic for persons with secondary and primary education (INEI, 2022).

A vast proportion of Venezuelans with university diplomas completed pedagogical education (19%), management (16.7%), law (5.9%) and accounting and finances (5.9%)—fields in which knowledge is often country-specific.

Pre-migration economic conditions significantly influence integration outcomes (Sbaa et al., 2025; Fokkema & de Haas, 2015). Migrants facing financial hardship often arrive with limited resources or debts to repay, forcing them into immediate, low-quality employment without proper job matching. Research shows such individuals tend to lag behind others in income and full-time employment even years after arrival (Brzozowski & Pędziwiatr, 2014; Fokkema & de Haas, 2015).

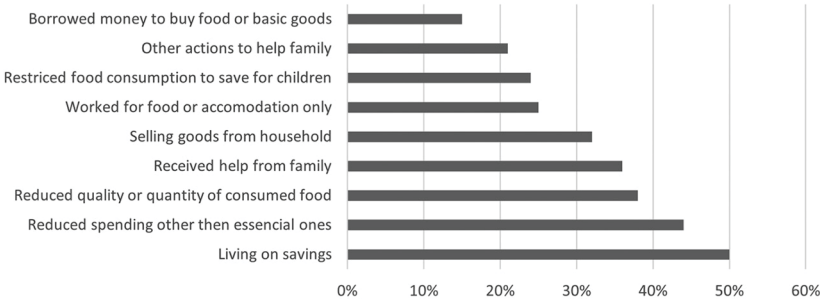


Figure 5.6 Economic situation of Venezuelans in Peru before migration.

Source: Own calculations based on the 2023 MICALACAS survey.

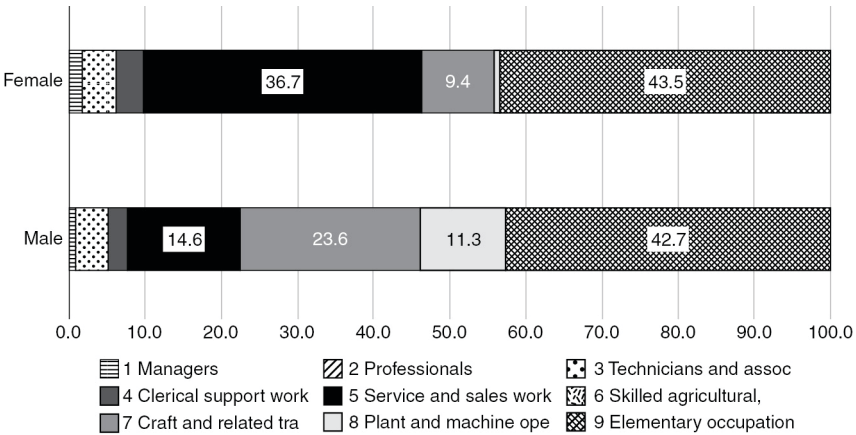


Figure 5.7 Venezuelans at age 20–64 by sex and occupations in Peru in 2022.

Source: Own calculations based on ENPOVE 2022.

In fact, many of our respondents had faced serious economic constraints before moving to Peru. Due to recession and inflation at home, 44% of individuals were forced to reduce spending to just essential goods such as food, and 38% of them had to save even on food spending. Some others were in even more desperate situations: 15% had to borrow money to buy food, and 21% reduced their own consumption to save food for their children (Figure 5.6).

Finally, the situation of our respondents before leaving Venezuela was often marked with lack of security on a daily basis. This in turn was a source of psychological hardships including stress: many Venezuelans could not afford to buy food, there were energy and water supply cuts.

Consequently, the precarious situation in the home country affected greatly the employment perspectives in Peru. Venezuelans were forced to take any occupation available, therefore the largest share of them pursued just elementary jobs. Also blue-collar positions were popular (plant and machine operators, craft and related trade and services—49% for males, and 46% for females), but a limited number of Venezuelans attained highly skilled occupations such as managers or professionals (see Figure 5.7).

Venezuelans with secondary or higher education were most affected by overqualification (see later sections).

5.2.3 Coping strategies

The MICLACAS study provides evidence of coping strategies that Venezuelan migrants are more likely to use when dealing with stress caused by migration. Application of the CSI-SF instrument (see chapter on Methodology) enables us to assess usage of four main coping strategies: (a) problem-focused engagement, (b) problem-focused disengagement, (c) emotion-focused engagement, and (d) problem-focused disengagement. The findings suggest that Venezuelan migrants tend to employ engagement coping strategies with greater frequency, as illustrated in Figure 5.8. This is particularly evident in the case of problem-focused strategies, as illustrated in the distribution on Figure 5.8a, which demonstrates a high frequency of scores above 15 points. A total of 61% of respondents exhibited high scores, indicating a proclivity for active problem-solving behaviours (e.g. planning, problem-solving).¹

It appears that *problem-focused disengagement* strategies are not a prevalent phenomenon among migrants. Figure 5.8b demonstrates that the majority of migrants exhibit low and medium scores on the scale. Approximately 28% of the sample is situated in the low group and only 21% in the high group, indicating that they engage in this kind of behaviour with a high degree of frequency (e.g. allowing the problem to be resolved by itself, avoiding thinking about the problem, or hoping for a miracle).

In the case of emotional distress, Venezuelan migrants in Peru frequently employ active coping strategies, such as discussing their feelings with friends and family or expressing their emotions to reduce stress. Approximately 37% of respondents exhibited high scores on the scale, with the majority situated at the midpoint of the distribution (Figure 5.8c). Only 12% of respondents indicated that they seldom or never utilise these strategies.

A notable proportion of Venezuelans refrain from disengagement strategies in the emotional domain, including activities such as spending time alone, self-criticism, and the isolation of emotions and thoughts (Figure 5.8d). One-third of the migrants surveyed did not employ these strategies or did so on an occasional basis, resulting in a low score on the scale.

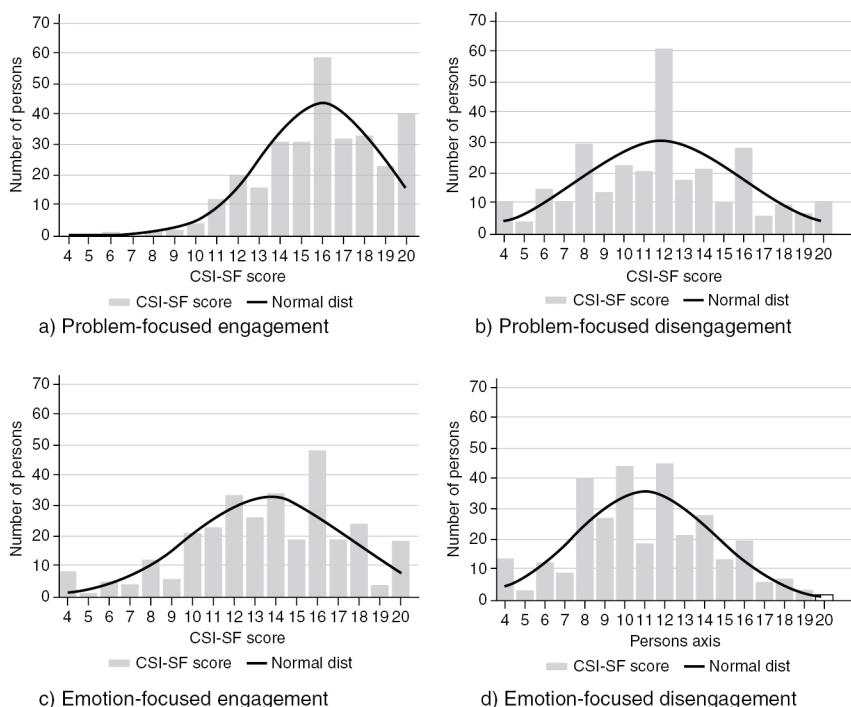


Figure 5.8 Distribution of CSI-SF scale among Venezuelan migrants.

Source: Own calculations based on the 2023 MICLACAS survey.

Table 5.1 Descriptive statistics of CSI-SF score subscales.

Indicator		Mean	SD
Problem-Focused	Engagement	15.97	2.77
	Disengagement	11.83	3.91
Emotion-Focused	Engagement	13.65	3.70
	Disengagement	11.08	3.47

Source: Own calculations based on the 2023 MICLACAS survey.

Table 5.1 presents the average scores for each subcategory of coping. Venezuelan migrants residing in Peru get the highest score in *problem-focused engagement* strategies—16 out of 20 points—which corresponds to high level. The next are emotion-focused engagement strategies, which have an average score of 13.6 points. The lowest scores were observed for disengagement strategies, both problem-focused and emotion-focused, with an average of 11.8 and 11.1 points, respectively.

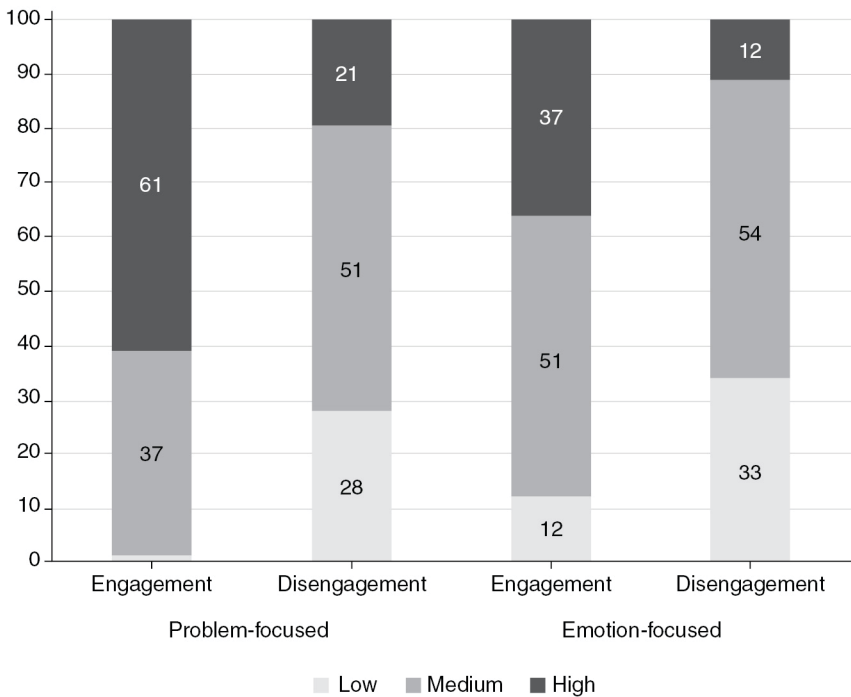


Figure 5.9 Distribution of Venezuelan migrants by CSI-SF subgroups.

Source: Own calculations based on the 2023 MICLACAS survey.

Level of stress

The application of the Perceived Stress Scale instrument (PSS-10) revealed that only a small fraction of Venezuelan migrants in Peru perceived high levels of stress. The distribution of respondents by PSS score approximates a normal distribution, with a mean score of 15.1 points on a scale ranging from 0 to 40 points (Figure 5.10). It is noteworthy that a considerable proportion of respondents exhibited very low scores, indicative of minimal stress, while none of the respondents attained scores above 33 points.

Utilising the three-level typology of stress (0–13: Low, 14–26: Medium, 27–40: High), it can be observed that approximately 2% of the respondents from the MICLACAS survey perceived their stress levels as high (Figure 5.11). The data indicates that six out of ten Venezuelans exhibited a medium level of stress, while approximately four out of ten demonstrated a low level of stress. This suggests that, despite the challenges associated with migration, movement, and

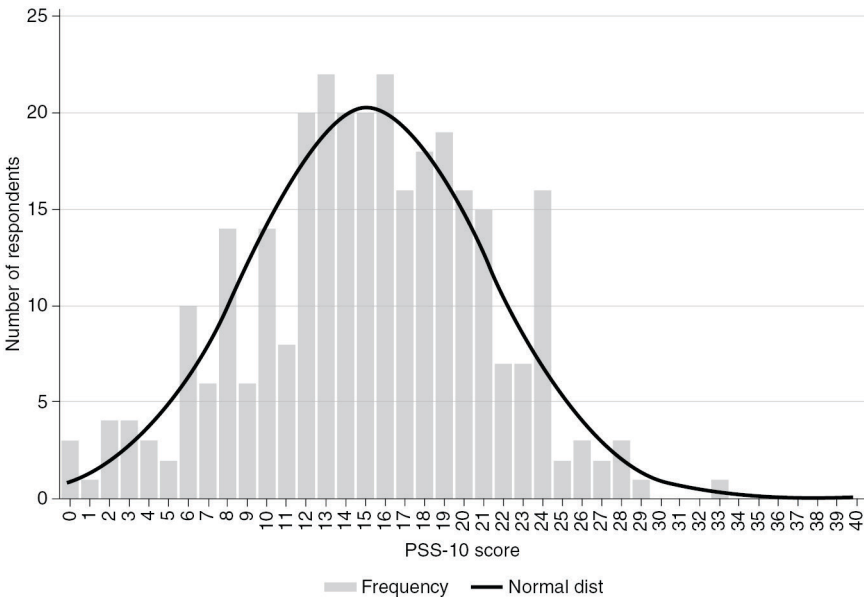


Figure 5.10 Distribution of Venezuelan migrants by PSS-10 score.

Source: Own calculations based on the 2023 MICLACAS survey.

life in Peru, Venezuelans experience a moderate level of stress, which is notable given the circumstances.

The distribution of scores of Venezuelan migrants from the LOT-R instrument shows that they are prone to optimism (Figure 5.12). The mean and median scores equal to 16 points which is above the middle of scale (0–24 points). The LOT-R score seems to follow normal distribution (Kolmogorov-Smirnov test of normality).

In comparison, the average score LOT-R score among Peruvian neighbours is lower by one point and equal to 15 points (as well as median), and the score follows normal distribution. However, using the statistical testing there was no evidence to reject the hypothesis that the distributions are significantly different from each other (Kolmogorov-Smirnov test).

The analysis reveals that both populations are generally prone to optimism, this the dominant group that we classify as moderate optimists. In case of the Venezuelan sample, the share of this group was nearly 51%, among Peruvians 47% (see Figure 5.14). High optimism was detected among approximately 27% of Venezuelans and 17% of Peruvians. Moreover, there is a significant difference in the proclivity of pessimism. This type was visible among 23% of Venezuelans and 34% of Peruvian neighbours.

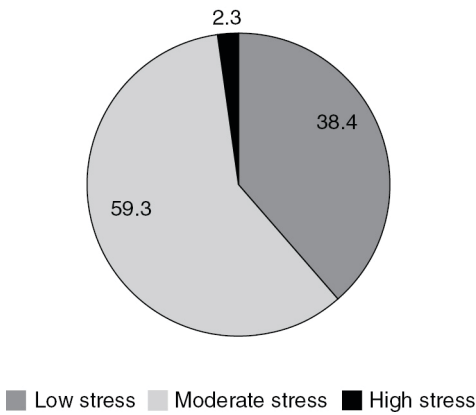


Figure 5.11 Share of Venezuelan migrants in Peru by level of stress.

Source: Own calculations based on the 2023 MICLACAS survey.

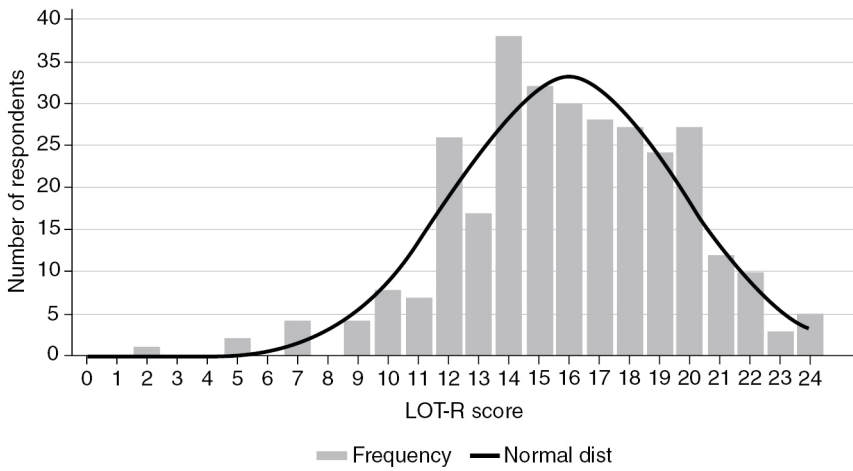


Figure 5.12 Distribution of Venezuelan migrants by LOT-R score.

Source: Own calculations based on the 2023 MICLACAS survey.

Note: Number of observations standardised to 100 for both populations.

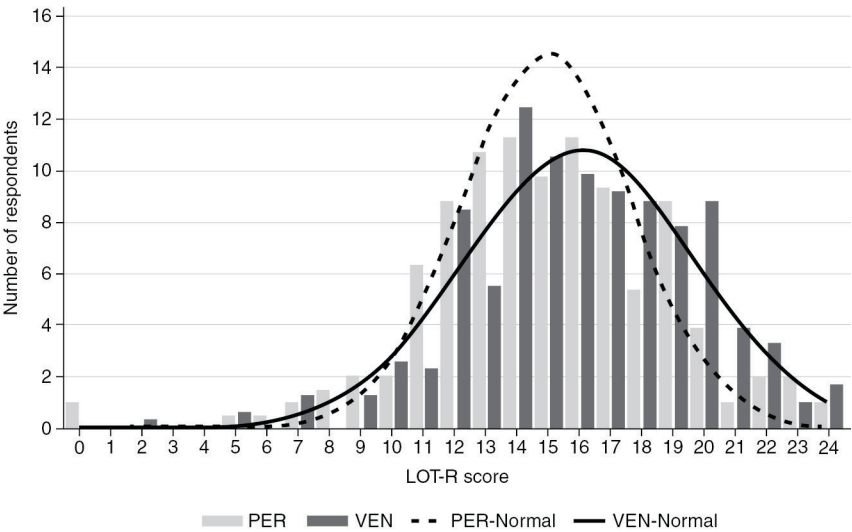


Figure 5.13 Distribution of Venezuelan migrants and their Peruvian neighbours by LOT-R score.

Source: Own calculations based on the 2023 MICLACAS survey.

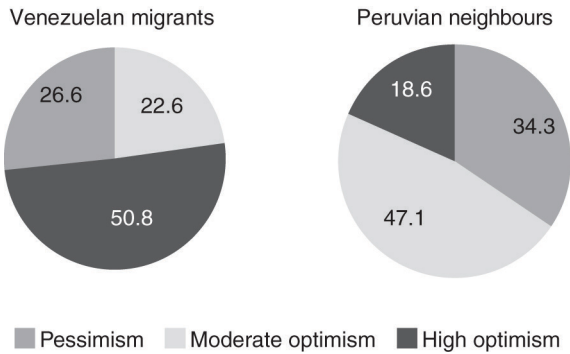


Figure 5.14 Share of Venezuelan migrants and their Peruvian neighbours by level of optimism.

Source: Own calculations based on the 2023 MICLACAS survey.

5.3 Access to education

5.3.1 Legal and formal aspects

Access to education is a key dimension of migrant integration, recognised both as a fundamental right and a driver of inclusion. UNICEF (2022) highlights its long-term benefits to host societies, while Ager and Strang (2008) list it among core integration indicators, alongside employment, housing, and health. Educational attainment also shapes migrants' social participation, with more educated individuals engaging more broadly (de Palo et al., 2006).

In Peru, Article 17 of the Constitution guarantees free and compulsory basic education through secondary school (*Constitución de la República del Perú*). Ley no. 28044 outlines its three stages: initial (ages three to five), primary (six years), and secondary (five years), which includes scientific, humanistic, and technical tracks (Ley General de Educación, 2003; MINEDU, 2022).

Migrant children have the same right to basic education as nationals. Legislative Decree No. 1350 affirms foreigners' access to services such as health, education, and work under equal conditions (Decreto Legislativo no. 1350: Artículo 9). Yet, as Berganza and Blouin (2019) note, these rights are not backed by sufficient state programmes.

According to enrollment guidelines, schools must accept various identity documents, including PTP and refugee applications (*Norma sobre el proceso de matrícula en la Educación Básica*, 2022). Still, Venezuelan parents have reported being asked to provide a DNI, and in some cases, their documents were rejected (Pariahuamán Aronés et al., 2020). Another barrier is school capacity—especially in Lima—where demand outpaces supply (Save the Children & Equilibrium, 2022).

Regarding higher education, Peru introduced reforms in 2014 through the Ley Universitaria (Ley no. 30220), establishing SUNEDU to regulate and validate foreign degrees (Robles et al., 2015). Degrees from institutions ranked in the top 500 globally (e.g. QS, ARWU, THE, SIR) are eligible for recognition. Currently, only two Venezuelan universities meet this threshold (SUNEDU, 2023).

Recognition is also possible under bilateral agreements, such as the 1996 Cultural and Educational Integration Agreement between Peru and Venezuela, which allows for degree validation, subject to national regulations (Pariahuamán Aronés et al., 2020). Required documents include a passport, immigration card, PTP, or identity card.

Alternatively, migrants can apply for revalidation (*homologación*), which compares their studies with similar Peruvian programmes. This is granted if 80% or more of the course content matches; otherwise, supplementary coursework is required. Procedures and costs vary by institution (SUNEDU, 2023).

In the case of Peru, Article 17 of the Peruvian Constitution guarantees compulsory and free basic education in public institutions up to the secondary level, underscoring the state's obligation to promote national integration.

According to expert interviews, laws and regulations in Peru grant access to education institutions for foreigners' children:

There is access for children to the educational system [...] here in Peru it is very different from Venezuela [...] here the student, since he is in the nest, in preschool [...] they give him [...] an identification number, and that number will stay throughout his school life [...] that number and the school, the Ministry of Education, have agreed to give that number to Venezuelans to integrate them into schools.

(PeEx08)

Access to education is one of the fundamental rights, and theoretically, even if the child has an irregular status or lacks Venezuelan documents confirming previous education, should be approved:

[...] primary, and secondary. Yes, they have access to the educational system in Peru, they can enter to study even if they are irregular. Still, in the process, they can be regularised and receive all the documentation. On the side of the State, to call it in some way, there is no such thing as a barrier.

(PeEx10)

Despite the clear legal provisions ensuring access to education for migrant children, including those with irregular status or lacking Venezuelan documents, significant barriers persist in practice. These include inconsistencies in the enforcement of enrollment, bureaucracy, and infrastructural limitations, which will be developed in the following part.

The MICLACAS survey reveals that enrollment to the Peruvian education system was not very difficult for Venezuelan who arrived in Peru (Figure 5.15). Around 27.5% have an opinion that it is difficult or very difficult to enroll in the system, while 33% claim that it is easy or very easy. However, looking only at respondents who have children in Peruvian schools, the persons who really have experience with the educational systems, shows that majority (54.7%) indicate that it was easy or very easy to enroll their children. Around 35.3% had difficulties in the process.

5.3.2 Barriers

Later waves of Venezuelan migrants to Peru tend to be poorer, less educated, and more vulnerable than earlier arrivals (Aron Said & Castillo Jara, 2022; Freier & Vera Espinoza, 2021), which affects their integration prospects. Research on Venezuelan children highlights that, while many are relatively well-educated, disruptions in schooling increase their vulnerability. Access to education is seen as key to their integration and long-term contributions to Peruvian society (McCaffrey et al., 2020). Despite being registered, many asylum seekers still face barriers to education and full integration (UNHCR, 2018).

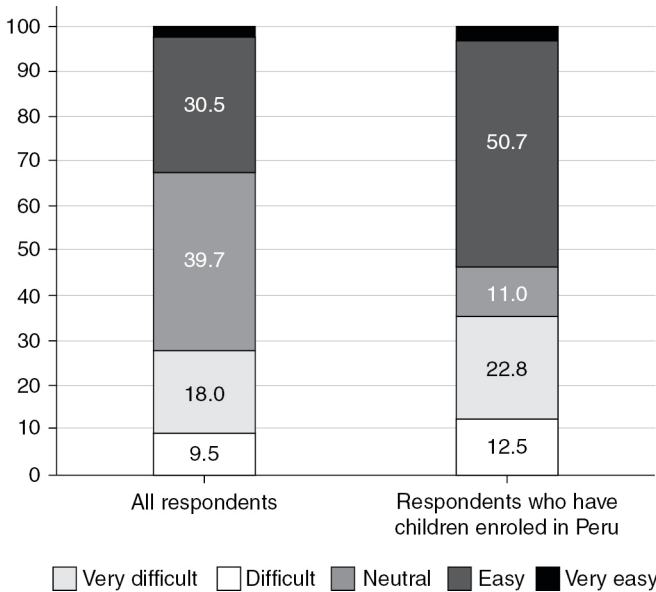


Figure 5.15 Distribution of answers to the question: When you arrived in Peru, how difficult it was to enroll in education?

Source: Own calculations based on the 2023 MICLACAS survey.

Other research focusing on Venezuelan children in Peru indicates that the migrant population is mostly educated, although interrupted formal education has a significant impact on their vulnerability. At the same time, the authors suggest that access to education is a primary factor that would potentially contribute to the integration of children and adolescents from Venezuela and therefore to the development of Peru (McCaffrey et al., 2020). UNHCR (2018) also analysed the situation of asylum seekers in Peru in 2018, and declared that even when registered, Venezuelans struggle to access the educational system and therefore encounter barriers to achieve full integration.

Even if access to education is guaranteed, in reality there are certain obstacles that limit many Venezuelans from being integrated into the education system. As our expert explained:

At a legal level, no, here is the premise that is respected that every boy or girl has the right to access studies on access to education, but at a case-by-case level, problems can arise, right?

(PeEx03)

Although the Ministry of Education (MINEDU) began promoting migrant access to education in 2018, communication gaps meant many schools remained

unaware of the new regulations. Lacking official academic records, Venezuelan students were supposed to take placement tests, but some institutions still demanded Venezuelan certificates, preventing enrolment (Save the Children & Equilibrium, 2022: 15).

A study found that 27% of migrant children in Lima and La Libertad were not enrolled in school. Non-attendance was highest among children aged three to five (39%) and six to eleven (34%). Even among those enrolled, 25.5% did not attend daily, often due to lack of digital access, household responsibilities, or caregiving duties (Save the Children & Equilibrium, 2022: 14). The results of our investigation confirm this finding, as an expert claimed:

There is talk about a gap of 600,000 children in Lima, Peruvians, who are not in the school system. It is estimated that there will be at least 120,000 more who are immigrants.

(PeEx07)

In Lima, the Regional Directorate of Education oversees seven Local Educational Management Units (UGELs). Neyra López (2020) documented disparities in enrolment, staffing, and infrastructure across these units. UGELs 01 (San Juan de Miraflores), 02 (Rímac), and 06 (Ate)—which host many Venezuelan migrants—face the most severe overcrowding and infrastructure shortages, issues that predated the recent migration wave:

There is a lot of need for public schools and a lot of demand. So right now, we are seeing an issue with UGEL two, so UGEL two is talking about infrastructure problems.

(PeEx07)

Thus, despite the guarantee of access to education, schools often lack support and are not able to deliver materials for their students. This problem became more repeated with the enrollment of Venezuelans in the schools of Lima, especially in the marginalised districts:

There are schools, especially these schools that are located in popular districts where breakfasts or lunches are distributed that come from the social assistance programmes of the Ministry of Development and Social Inclusion. The issue here is that you know, there is a rationing schedule. [...] Changing an entire annual schedule of rations, because that also implies not only a bureaucratic train but also explaining why there are now so many rations and the budget is scheduled to be exceeded.

(PeEx05)

Another important limitation refers to documentation issues, either to irregular migrant status, or lack of up-to-date certificates confirming the level of education:

[...] my son, for example, at that time he arrived without papers, because as I said, they practically came illegally and then the director of the school allowed him to attend classes, but he was not registered because he had no documents.

(VenPE22M)

Even if Peruvian law guarantees education to young migrants also with irregular status, in reality their parents need to be regularised in order to enrol children as school directors are not aware of that regulation.

[...] there may be cases where there are schools or directors who do not know the legislation, but in reality it is not necessary to be in Peru regularly for a minor to access education.

(PeEx09)

Lack of documentation is also seen by migrants themselves as an obstacle to access education, as one of the experts expressed it:

[...] in the migrant population, we have found more in those who do not go [to school]. And one of the things they told us because they didn't go was that they didn't have the papers.

(PeEx06)

Another obstacle that plays a crucial role is the problem of discrimination, which can take various forms. One of them is the discriminatory approach of the school management, which does not want to accept Venezuelan students:

[...] even though there is this policy of universal access, school authorities sometimes do not comply with that. It could be that they just have prejudices against the Venezuelan population.

(PeEx11)

As in the below case, which highlights a failure in the enforcement of educational rights for migrant children and exposes how discriminatory attitudes among school authorities can intensify barriers. The director's demand for payment as a condition for enrolment directly violates Peruvian law.

And I went and got the director and he told me Well, I'm telling you, please support me, my daughters can't go without studying. I have been here for two years. And he asked me how old are you? I told him she is nine and she is 13. And he said Well, bring her when she is nine, but you have to give me 60 soles.

(VenPE06F)

These instances of xenophobia among students reflect broader social prejudices that are often transmitted intergenerationally and perpetuated by media. What was observed by one of the experts as a reason for such discriminatory treatment is the attitude of Venezuelan students and cultural differences in communication.

[...] discrimination occurs in all areas of education from teachers to children. The Venezuelan child often can speak, to express himself and this can be a bit difficult for an average Peruvian teacher to contain, because the normal Peruvian, let's say a normal Peruvian child, is not going to express to you that way.

(PeEx01)

It is also worth noting that Venezuelans in Lima arrive in different moments of the school year and often change their place of residence, which affects the schooling process.

The issue of many of these children arriving from Venezuela at a different time, especially because of the issue of education there and here, they have been losing months or a year of studies that are not compensated with any type of reinforcement.

(PeEx01)

Another crucial limitation in granting access to Peruvian educational system is the economic issue. Even in public schools, where education is theoretically free, hidden costs for materials, uniforms, and additional fees pose significant challenges for families in vulnerable economic situations. Venezuelan families often struggle with expenses linked to schooling as in the cases below:

I count because it cost me a ticket, it was 5 soles a day. Now it is 30 soles a week. So it's not a lot of money, but it cost me a lot of money every day, the snack. What they ask for... That they ask for a lot, that they ask for a notebook.

(VenPE11F)

Yes, they ask you for, not for school, they ask you for fixing the classroom, and monthly you have to pay something for an assistant, you have to pay for the copies, here the school is open, even if it's public, they ask you for money.

(VenPE20F)

In addition to the economic issue, we have found child labour among Venezuelan youth in Peru as another obstacle. Either children have to work alone, usually

in the central parts of Lima, or they have to stay with their parents while they are at work:

In Metropolitan Lima, for example, in the capital you see many Venezuelan children asking for money, not only from them, but from their parents, even asking for money in the streets and in some shopping centres or markets, large Peruvian markets or popular markets. [...] And they accompany their parents at work and also assume a responsibility with them.

(PeEx02)

[...] we are beginning to see already in children who are in secondary school, where indeed, well, many of them are forced to work and generate income above going to high school, right?

(PeEx09)

Another challenge limiting access to education was the COVID-19 pandemic. Remote education during the pandemic resulted in greater engagement of mothers in their children's learning process and fewer opportunities to work and earn a salary.

Education during the pandemic has had a very strong effect on increasing, even more, the burden of mothers [...] It's like the impact that... that the pandemic had on the impossibility of mothers to generate income and dependency, the obligation they had, let's say, to cover the space of the role of educator in homes.

(PeEx09)

Also, the post-pandemic return to schools turned out to be challenging, as integration of Venezuelan and Peruvian students became more difficult than before. The return to school proved that remote education and lack of face-to-face contact intensified the conflict between two groups, because:

the absence of two years of interaction between children was influenced, sometimes even by home education, to repeat stigmas and paradigms that they hear at home without any filter or the possibility of catalysing from, say, a school for two years. It raised the conflict, the return.

(PeEx07)

When it comes to higher education, experts observe that it is easier to integrate younger children as they have the fundamental right of access to education that in Peru is obligatory and free up to the secondary level. However, it is more difficult to achieve at the higher level of education, as:

adolescents who end up school are very difficult for them to integrate into higher education. That is to say, they are integrated directly into work because there are no policies within the universities that allow them to facilitate admission.

(PeEx01)

Although from the migrant interviews, we know that the procedure of recognition of foreign university or technical degrees is complicated, according to experts whenever there is needed documentation, the process is smooth:

For the recognition of a foreign title. We have a National Education Superintendency called SUNEDU [...] In the case of the Venezuelan people. What they ask for is always a passport or an identity card, right? And there is no problem recognising the foreign degree, as long as it is from a university accredited by the Peruvian State.

(PeEx02)

Another obstacle in access to higher education is the cost of tuition fees at Peruvian universities, as our expert observed that:

there are also many young Venezuelan migrants, who have left their studies in Venezuela halfway through and have not been able to resume them here precisely because university education here in Peru is expensive, the good one is expensive.

(PeEx08)

Apart from the cost, obtaining higher education is not common among Peruvians, who prefer to run their own businesses and be entrepreneurs, and therefore commercial occupations and activities are preferred instead of professional education in jobs that require quality post-secondary education.

Peru is a commercial country culturally, and many think of having their own business. So more than anything, they want to be trained but to have their own business, that is, the culture of the Peruvian. Then, to prepare for a professional career, to get a quality job, it goes more on the Venezuelan side, so it is sought to be achieved, but that is it; the cost of public and quality education is vital, it is high.

(PeEx08)

Another expert was highlighting the issue of professional practice which is crucial for certain professions and which in Peru is controlled by national organisations that can limit the access for foreigners, as:

there are professional associations, which in the case of Peru are the professional associations that have enormous power over the capacity of

professionals to practice the profession. So, for example, validating the degrees for migrants has become something that the State has made a very significant effort to make possible, but achieve tuition, which is what allows you, in theory, to practice, especially in professions such as engineering, medicine, education itself is something extremely complex and expensive.

(PeEx09)

5.3.3 Coping strategies and tactics

Coping strategies help individuals manage immediate stress. For Venezuelan migrants in Lima, securing education for their children is both a practical need and an emotional challenge due to systemic barriers and discrimination. Drawing on Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) typology, coping is defined as short-term responses—either problem-focused (addressing root causes) or emotion-focused (managing stress). This section examines how migrant families use these strategies to access education.

Among the most common problem-oriented strategies we have seen a persistence in enrolment as migrants actively seek enrolment opportunities without getting discouraged by bureaucratic obstacles, travelling long distances, and constantly engaging with school authorities.

I went all the way to the Ministry of Education and they didn't answer me either. But there in the school I had to go to Comas, far, far away. She went there because there was... There was room. But I said well, it doesn't matter if it's far away from here to China. But my daughter studies.

(VenPEIIF)

This approach underscores the proactive engagement of parents to counteract systemic barriers. However, it also reveals the systemic failures that force families into such drastic measures. We have also seen seeking immediate help from social networks as a recurrent coping strategy. Venezuelan families often rely on personal networks to overcome challenges, asking their connections for information, guidance, and advocacy, as in the case below:

No, in other schools yes [we did have problems to enrol the children], but not in that school. Why not? Because in that school the son of a friend of ours studied in the same area where we lived in Venezuela. She was friends with the director. [...] Well, and if he got us, we went, we talked to the director, we had an interview and he gave us the option, he gave me the option for when they were here, they had their vacancy assured.

(VenPEI4M)

While effective in individual cases, this reliance again reflects systemic gaps, as fair access to education should not depend on the availability of social connections. Similarly, Venezuelan migrants in Lima often appeal to NGOs and national or local institutions. They engage NGOs and authorities to advocate for their rights, often filing formal complaints or seeking support for specific cases.

I went to the institution here and they did not want to give me a place and I went to the UGEL. And at the UGEL I filed a complaint, I wrote a letter and took the complaint to them. Because I believe that every child has the right to. To their education. They gave me a place. He is studying nearby. It doesn't cost me the fares anymore.

(VenPE11F)

This strategy highlights the role of civil society in responding to systemic issues and achieving greater access to education opportunities. This help to Venezuelan migrants is delivered by both Peruvian and Venezuelan-led NGOs.

To cope with insufficient information and communication from Peruvian education institutions and schools, Venezuelans also use technology, as communication apps and social networks to get information also on education access and opportunities:

I do believe that all of these, from WhatsApp groups, Facebook groups, streaming groups, and influencers within the Venezuelan community itself, have led to a greater flow of information that can penetrate more, that they also understand a little what the culture of Venezuela is like, the countries to which they are arriving the forms of adaptation that they may have as well.

(PeEx01)

Emotion-focused strategies often respond to the stress caused by limited access to education. For migrant parents, this lack of opportunity is a major source of anxiety. Additionally, educational integration is particularly challenging for children, who migrate involuntarily and may struggle with the loss of familiar social networks:

let's remember that children and adolescents do not migrate of their own free will, that is, they are brought from the countries by the adult and the child and adolescent facing a situation of uprooting [...] The school is different, the way of speaking is different, and the culture means that many times in schools they are perceived differently. He doesn't have his friends, the house is different, and many added precarious conditions.

(PeEx01)

Therefore, strategies to overcome emotional challenges related to education are equally important for the adaptation of migrants. One of the most common is the seeking of emotional support from community networks, which again underlines the importance of social relations for migrant populations. In Lima, Venezuelans turn to friends and community for emotional reassurance and guidance, reducing stress and fostering a sense of solidarity. As in the cases below:

Several Peruvian people helped me [...] I have many friends, to be honest, I have many friends. And they helped me and nothing.

(VenPE06F)

While this strategy does not directly resolve structural issues, it serves an important role in easing stress. Another strategy would be the positive reframing of current challenges. Venezuelan parents adopt a positive outlook to cope with the stress of a new educational system, focusing on their children's opportunities rather than barriers.

I always emphasise to my son, that he should take advantage of this opportunity [...] to absorb everything you can from here. The knowledge. It is the most valuable thing.

(VenPE10M)

Cognitive reframing helps parents cope with emotional stress but may inadvertently normalise structural barriers. Another common emotion-focused strategy is emphasising children's achievements. Parents derive emotional fulfillment from their children's educational progress, viewing it as a validation of their sacrifices and a symbol of hope. The contrast between problem- and emotion-focused strategies highlights the multidimensional nature of coping among Venezuelan migrants. While the former addresses systemic obstacles, the latter alleviates the psychological toll, together reflecting both the resilience and vulnerability of the migrant experience.

However, the integration of young migrants into the educational system is not solely a responsibility of the migrants themselves, it also relies on the actions of Peruvian teachers, school administrators, and institutions. Recognising the pivotal role of education in fostering integration, many Peruvian educators and institutions have engaged in problem-solving to address barriers faced by Venezuelan students. For example, in response to a lack of materials, teachers and students collaborated to ensure that limited resources were distributed fairly. Teachers often took the initiative to divide rations, originally intended for fewer students, among the growing number of Venezuelan children.

But what did the teachers do? They saw the best way to divide those 30 portions into 40 and the boys who could bring something additional, bread, fruit, or whatever, and thus made a distribution.

(PeEx05)

Schools play also role of spaces of integration, where students or teachers out of their own will encouraged activities to share culture and integrate with Venezuelans.

In Peru, we have the custom on Mondays, the famous formation—the students line up in front of the flag, the flag is raised, the director gives a few words. [...] I recently read that there are schools where there are, let's say, Venezuelan students, that the anthem of Venezuela is sung and the anthem of Peru is sung in the formations. Yes. Many times they came out as their initiative, that is, not institutional, but from the kids themselves or teachers.

(PeEx05)

In addition to these social activities, sports emerged as a valuable tool for integration. Teachers recognised the potential of physical activities to build relationships between Venezuelan and Peruvian students:

teachers who noticed that the kids were very active, very restless, they like sports. So they promote sports to integrate, they are already cases that are taking place daily and that later we have been getting to know them within all this pilot programme that the Lima Regional Office did.

(PeEx05)

These problem-solving actions not only address immediate barriers but also create inclusive environments that benefit both migrant and local communities.

5.3.4 Adaptation strategies

Adaptation strategies represent the long-term, sustained adjustments that individuals or communities make to improve their resilience and functionality in the face of ongoing challenges. Unlike coping strategies, which are immediate, short-term responses to specific stressors, adaptation strategies involve transformative changes in behaviour, attitudes, or ways of living.

For Venezuelan migrants in Lima, adaptation strategies encompass a wide range of actions, including sustained engagement with educational systems, the cultivation of long-term social networks, and the adoption of new cultural practices. These strategies are not only reactive but also proactive, reflecting migrants' agency in shaping their futures. This section explores the adaptation strategies employed by Venezuelan migrants in Peru to secure educational access for their children. It examines how these long-term adjustments reflect resilience and resourcefulness in overcoming systemic barriers.

One of the most common strategies involved participation in extracurricular cultural activities, such as sports and dance, which served as effective tools for social integration. This adaptation reflects the dual nature of integration strategy within Berry's model of acculturation, wherein migrants adapt to

their host society while preserving elements of their own culture. As in the cases below:

Yes, they do Peruvian dances, all Peruvian and she has participated and won awards. She won a small radiecito in a Peruvian dance.

(VenPE06F)

Thank God, in his school they take it into account in everything. Well, I think he knows more about the lives of the heroes here than those of Venezuela, because that's what they give him here [...] There's no discrimination because sometimes they ask them or in meals they tell him that he brings something from Venezuela and it's something different. Everything is coexistence.

(VenPE25F)

These activities foster a sense of belonging and may serve as solutions to xenophobia; however, they often depend on individual schools' willingness to implement inclusive practices. Then there is the strategy of long-term academic planning in which we have observed families' commitment to aligning with new educational systems, including understanding local curricula and bureaucratic requirements. This reflects their prioritisation of long-term integration over immediate relief. As explained by one of our respondents:

Well, the youngest one didn't cost me much at first because she was just going to preschool. But yes, they kept telling me about the DNI, the DNI, how could I get her a DNI if she was not Peruvian? [...] Now with my eldest I had to send for papers [from Venezuela] [...] And I already enrolled.

(VenPE09F)

This strategy underscores the economic strain on migrant families, as achieving integration often requires challenging financial, bureaucratic, and cultural factors. Similarly, migrants are practising enrolment in supplemental educational programmes. Some Venezuelans in Lima utilise these programmes to compensate for educational gaps, reflecting a proactive approach. These programmes bring support but are often underfunded and inconsistently available.

They are in [the practices in Peruvian schools to help children integrate faster] right now they have a programme called knowledge reinforcement or where they see that they are a little weaker. There. They, mine, I enrolled them. They go on Saturdays and on weekdays.

(VenPE17F)

Moreover, among adaptation we should also indicate the institutional help of NGOs in supporting integration among school children. Our expert explained:

We had a migration campaign, that is, advocacy and migration, which was entitled. "My friend was born elsewhere" [...] we seek to influence, especially in childhood, the importance of integrating this population and not seeing it as another.

(PeEx06)

In conclusion, while Venezuelans in Peru are legally entitled to access education, their actual participation is often hindered by institutional barriers. The most common obstacles include documentation issues, discrimination based on nationality, and a lack of resources and infrastructure. Both migrants and the host society have developed creative coping and adaptation strategies to address these challenges. However, these efforts must be supported by comprehensive state and international policies and programmes.

5.4 Access to housing

Access to housing is a key factor in migrant integration, influencing access to services, social inclusion, and health outcomes (Asselin et al., 2006; Jia et al., 2024). Housing can either support or hinder integration (Walther et al., 2020), yet migrants often face challenges such as high costs, discrimination, and bureaucratic hurdles, leading to precarious rental situations (Brown et al., 2022; Bosswick et al., 2007). In Peru, Venezuelan migrants are particularly affected by discriminatory practices and informal rental arrangements, increasing their risk of eviction (Pereyra et al., 2022). Similar patterns are seen elsewhere, such as in Germany, where discriminatory allocation limits access to adequate housing (Hanhörster & Lobato, 2021). Poor housing can also restrict access to jobs and education, reinforcing exclusion (Arranz, 2023). Migrants respond with short-term coping strategies (Lu & Burgess, 2023; Snel & Staring, 2001) and long-term adaptations to secure stable living conditions (Leszniewski, 2022; Kuo, 2014).

This subchapter analyses the housing situation of Venezuelan migrants in Peru, focusing on structural barriers, coping and adaptation strategies, and the broader implications for their integration.

5.4.1 Legal and formal aspects

Peru's legal framework for housing access provides limited avenues for migrants seeking adequate accommodation. Although Peru has signed international agreements that recognise the right to decent housing for all individuals, such as the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the legal provisions that govern access to housing for migrants do not explicitly guarantee this right. The Peruvian Constitution does not explicitly recognise the right to housing, nor do the migration law and its regulatory framework consider housing a fundamental right for

migrants. The Law on Sustainable Urban Development² states that “everyone has the right to decent and adequate housing,” formally recognising this right for all, including the Venezuelan population in Peru (El Peruano, 2021). In 2024, Supreme Decree No. 011-2024-IN introduced additional restrictions that have significant implications for migrant housing access. The decree mandates that landlords and lodging establishments should verify the immigration status of clients before offering housing or services. Moreover, these entities are required to report identification details and the immigration status of migrant tenants to the National Immigration Superintendency. Framed as a measure to enhance public security, these requirements risk exacerbating the housing challenges migrants already face by creating additional barriers to accessing stable accommodation (Chávez, 2024). Furthermore, the Ministry of Housing, Construction, and Sanitation administers programmes aimed at supporting economically disadvantaged groups, and while these programmes do not restrict applicants based on nationality, they do require proof of residency and compliance with specific criteria. According to Blouin & Freier (2019), such requirements often pose significant challenges for migrants, who may lack stable income or permanent residence, thus making it difficult for them to access these resources.

5.4.2 Spatial distribution and housing conditions of Venezuelan migrants

The Sociodemographic Characteristics of Venezuelan Migration in Peru report (Superintendencia Nacional de Migraciones [SNM], 2020) shows that 82.4% of Venezuelan migrants in the country reside in Metropolitan Lima. Just eight of Lima's 50 districts hold 51.3% of the Venezuelan population, highlighting concentrated settlement areas. The Venezuelan population in Lima tends to settle in semi-peripheral districts (Olter-Castillo & Górska, 2024), which are marked by high population density and frequent overcrowding (Vega Centeno et al., 2022). According to Pereyra et al. (2022), migrants often select these areas based on access to the labour market, making housing not only a basic need, but also a link to specific neighbourhoods and social networks. Concentration in these semi-peripheral, often segregated zones provides some benefits, such as access to support networks and proximity to employment. However, these areas also present drawbacks, including limited job opportunities (primarily in low-skilled work), poor-quality schools, higher crime rates, and social stigma. Over time, residence in such segregated locations may restrict social mobility and integration with Peruvian society.

5.4.3 Barriers and challenges

This section presents findings from the MICLACAS study, combining survey data on Venezuelan migrants in Peru with qualitative insights from experts, migrants, and local residents. Although finding housing in Lima is not especially

difficult, financial constraints often push migrants into overcrowded and unstable conditions within the informal rental market, heightening the risk of eviction. Poor-quality housing and limited access to basic services further exacerbate their vulnerability. In the absence of state-provided alternatives, many are forced to settle in unsafe, underserved areas, where discrimination, social exclusion, and security concerns pose additional obstacles to securing stable and dignified accommodation.

Venezuelan migrants have increasingly moved into smaller, shared living spaces—a trend accelerated by the COVID-19 pandemic. In 2018, 41.3% shared a room with two or three others, and 26.6% with four or more (INEI, 2019). By 2022, 52.6% of migrant households lived in single-room units and 23.1% in two-room units, while only 8.2% had access to four or more rooms (INEI, 2023).

Interviewees reported that due to ongoing economic hardship, most migrants can only afford small, overcrowded accommodation, as illustrated in the examples below:

The room was the cheapest I could get. [...]. We had no resources and we only bought a small mattress and slept three of us on that mattress. [...]. On the floor where we were there were like five rooms and only one bathroom. In those five rooms, there was a family living there. In other words, there were about 15 people and one bathroom.

(VenPE22M)

Economic constraints are also related to frequent relocations. One expert explained it as follows:

In Peru, Venezuelans rent rooms, for six months, a year. And in those rooms—that are usually for one or two people—there can live up to five or six people.

(PeEx02)

A Peruvian interviewee further explained that Venezuelans often relocate due to economic constraints as well as differences in living habits:

Venezuelans [...] come and go. They don't stay in one place. [...]. I think it's because they don't pay or don't get used to the place or because of the rules imposed on them.

(PePE15M)

The COVID-19 pandemic further worsened the situation of migrants, leading to increased overcrowding, as noted by another expert:

I do believe the pandemic has generated greater overcrowding of Venezuelans. They began to live in larger groups. In a room that would fit four people,

eight or ten people entered. And that has generated a series of infections and a very strong spread of COVID-19, given the lack of social distancing.

(PeEx02)

Additionally, as many Venezuelans did not pay for utilities in their home country, adjusting to the costs of services in Peru has been challenging, often leading to conflicts with landlords over issues like excessive electricity or water use (Dávalos, 2020), as echoed by one of our Peruvian interviewees:

We lived in this small apartment with a Venezuelan girl. She always complained about why they had to pay for water, electricity and all that, because everything is free in her country.

(PePE23F)

Conversely, while rental remains the dominant housing option for Venezuelan migrants, a gradual shift towards home ownership may indicate improving housing stability. According to the ENPOVE survey, rental rates slightly declined from 95.7% in 2018 to 93.1% in 2022, while home ownership increased from 1.7% to 3.3% during the same period. Similarly, findings from our 2023 MICLACAS survey suggest that renting is still the overwhelming norm, with more than nine out of ten Venezuelans renting and only 1% owning a home or apartment, highlighting that despite slight changes, ownership remains rare.

The housing market in Peru is highly informal. Nearly 75% of Venezuelans rely on verbal rental agreements, which provide minimal legal security. The absence of formal contracts increases the risk of arbitrary eviction, leaving tenants without legal recourse in case of disputes (Zambrano-Barragán et al., 2020). This was confirmed by one of our Venezuelan interviewees, who explained:

Sometimes they [landlords] come out of nowhere and tell you that you have to vacate or they'll throw you out. That has happened here, my countrymen used to live here, and overnight they threw them out. Because there is no contract. They don't give you a contract, they don't give you anything.

(VenPE01F)

Additionally, García (2020) highlights that the informal rental market is often expensive and discriminatory, further exacerbating housing instability for Venezuelan migrants.

Pereyra et al. (2024) observe that poor living conditions are common among Venezuelan migrants, who often face financial difficulties in securing deposits, rent, and utility payments. Similarly, interviewed experts highlighted

the severe housing challenges in Lima's peripheral areas, describing conditions characterised by substandard housing quality and inadequate services, often failing to meet basic living standards.

In Lima, not all houses meet habitability standards. This is seen mainly in the peripheral areas where the Venezuelan population has access to rented housing. They live like the majority of Peruvians who find themselves in situations of extreme poverty. The precariousness is hard.

(PeEx03)

Pariahumán Aronés et al. (2020) argue that the prevalence of renting over homeownership, driven by limited financial resources, results not only in frequent instability, but also in precarious living conditions. One Venezuelan interviewee elaborated on her housing conditions:

I lived in a small room for eight months with my brother-in-law. Three of us lived there. [...]. It was a little uncomfortable because it was a very, very small room and we had to cook there, we had to make our own needs.

(VenPE16M)

In Peru, state-led initiatives are lacking (Osorio Angulo, 2019). Only 2% of Venezuelan refugees and migrants have actually stayed in shelters or refuges (Acción contra el Hambre, 2022). Interviewed experts highlighted the lack of state-provided shelters for migrants.

Until today, the Peruvian State has not built any shelters specifically for Venezuelans.

(PeEx02)

And further:

Before, there were a few more organisations that built shelters or promoted support network for migrants, but now all have merely disappeared.

(PeEx03)

Our quantitative findings show mixed perceptions of safety among Venezuelan migrants—while most feel secure in their neighbourhoods, others remain uncertain or unsafe (Figure 5.16). This suggests safety conditions vary among newcomers.

A deeper exploration during the qualitative phase of the project revealed that some migrants express concerns about neighbourhood safety, as illustrated in the following examples.

If I am honest, right now, in Peru, I feel very insecure. There is extortion, there are hired killings. Now they take away a phone and they are not satisfied with that, so they shoot you. So I am scared.

(VenPE24F)

Some migrants even expressed a desire to move due to pervasive drug activity in their neighbourhoods:

It's dangerous there because there's... well, I can't say too much... There are a lot of guys selling... drugs. All around the corner of the house there. That's why we don't go out. We're locked up here. We avoid problems and we avoid that bad contamination for the children.

(VenPE11F)

Housing challenges for Venezuelans in Peru are further intensified by experiences of discrimination and social exclusion. As noted by Pereyra et al. (2024) and Pariahuamán Aronés et al. (2020), despite some improvements, Venezuelans still face significant barriers due to the lack of targeted housing programmes and pervasive discrimination that limits their access to quality housing, which reflects their

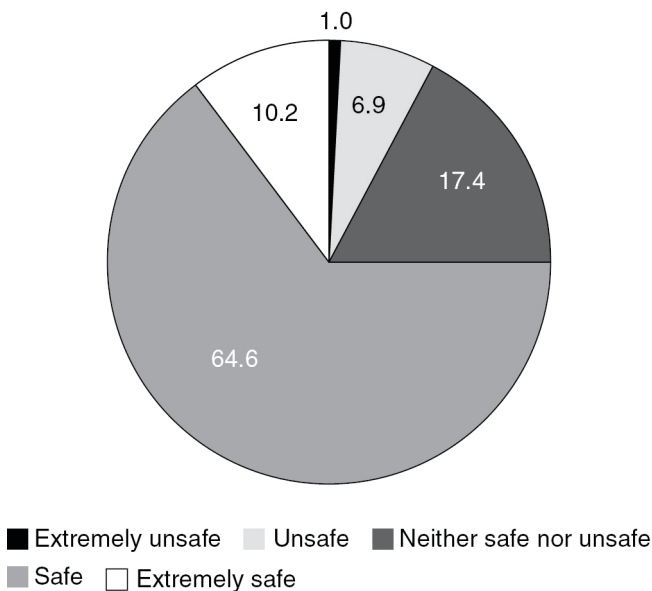


Figure 5.16 Distribution of answers to the question: Do you feel safe in the neighbourhood where you currently live?

Source: Own calculations based on the 2023 MICLACAS survey.

marginalisation. According to ENPOVE 2022 (INEI, 2023), 9.6% of Venezuelan refugees and migrants have faced discrimination within their neighbourhoods, a slight improvement from the 10.9% reported in 2018. However, this figure underscores that a significant portion of the migrant population still encounters prejudice and social exclusion in their immediate environment, which can negatively impact their sense of safety and belonging within local communities.

Our findings largely align with existing literature, confirming that Venezuelan migrants in Peru face and discrimination in housing:

Venezuelans move a lot. [...] It's because of xenophobia. [...]. In fact, it happened when we rented the first room. Some people made arrangements in the house and because of that, the owners put up a notice that they were renting a room but only to Peruvians.

(VenPE10M)

The prevalence of informal rental agreements, overcrowded living conditions, and limited access to formal housing support reflect broader patterns observed in migrant housing research (Zambrano-Barragán et al., 2020; R4V, 2021). These findings underscore the persistent structural barriers that limit Venezuelan migrants' access to secure and adequate housing.

5.4.4 Coping strategies

Coping strategies help individuals manage immediate stress and adapt to difficult conditions. For Venezuelan migrants in Lima, securing housing is both essential and emotionally challenging, given systemic barriers and discrimination. Drawing on Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) framework, coping includes problem-focused strategies—addressing challenges directly—and emotion-focused strategies—managing emotional responses.

Our findings show that Venezuelan migrants primarily rely on problem-focused strategies, such as using social networks to find housing, pooling resources to afford rent, and actively seeking better accommodation. Some receive support from NGOs, while employer assistance is rare.

Many Venezuelan migrants arrive in Peru with family, friends, or relatives who help secure housing. The MICLACAS survey shows mixed experiences—while some struggle, most find accommodation easily (Figure 5.17), reflecting diverse housing realities.

Family and kinship networks often provide immediate housing solutions, such as temporary shelter or shared living arrangements, which are vital during the initial settlement phase (Pandey et al., 2022). Similarly, our interviewees confirmed that migrants did not face major difficulties in securing housing upon their arrival in Peru, largely due to their reliance on migrant networks, as illustrated below:

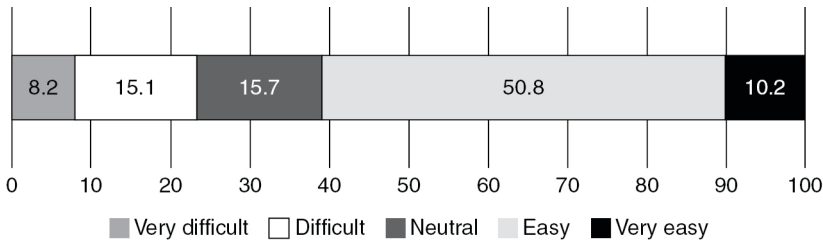


Figure 5.17 Distribution of answers to the question: When you arrived in Peru, how difficult was it to find accommodation?

Source: Own calculations based on the 2023 MICLACAS survey.

When we came, we stayed with my wife's cousin who was already here. They received us, they already had the rent. Thank God, we didn't get lost.
(VenPE02M)

While relying on migrant networks is common, it can also lead to new challenges:

During the pandemic [...] my aunt invited me to her house. We lived as three families in one house. But later, I decided to leave because I didn't want my daughters around the arguments and drinking that happened on weekends.
(VenPE09F)

Migrant families also pool resources to collectively rent better housing or to share living spaces to reduce costs, as shown below:

We paid for an apartment together with my brothers and my nephew, we were four families in one apartment, all with children.
(VenPE13F)

Additionally, close personal connections play a crucial role in covering rental costs, with over 20% of migrants relying on loans from relatives to afford housing. Unlike other Latin American countries such as Brazil, Ecuador, and Colombia, Peru lacks government or NGO support programmes to assist migrants with housing expenses (R4V, 2021).

According to Nardon et al. (2021), migrant organisations play a significant role in connecting newcomers with housing providers and local authorities, facilitating access to housing services and legal advice. In Peru, private and informal efforts, such as temporary shelters, have emerged to address the housing needs of Venezuelan migrants (Osorio Angulo, 2019).

Experts interviewed in our study highlighted that housing assistance for Venezuelan migrants primarily comes from civil society and religious organisations:

What we do have are civil society organisations, of Venezuelan people, human rights organisations, but above all—the Church. Pastoral organisations or NGOs have promoted shelters for Venezuelans.

(PeEx02)

Sometimes, however rarely, corporate support plays a role in facilitating a smoother transition and providing access to higher-quality accommodation:

The company brought me here, rented me a hotel for three months. Then, I moved out. The company gave me the money for the rent. When my wife came, I moved to a bigger apartment. After that, I bought an apartment.

(VenPE29M)

Venezuelan migrants in Lima employ various coping strategies to navigate housing challenges, primarily relying on problem-focused approaches such as actively searching for better accommodations, pooling resources, and leveraging migrant networks. While family and social connections play a key role in securing housing and covering rental costs, the absence of formal support programmes from the government or NGOs further exacerbates their reliance on informal arrangements. Though some receive assistance from local communities or non-governmental organisations, corporate support remains rare, leaving many migrants to adapt through resource-sharing and community-based solutions.

5.4.5 Adaptation strategies

Adaptation strategies involve long-term adjustments that strengthen resilience and help individuals navigate ongoing challenges. Unlike short-term coping mechanisms, adaptation requires sustained changes in behaviour, mindset, and daily practices. This section examines adaptation strategies through the lens of Berry's acculturation model, which identifies assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalisation as key approaches migrants adopt in a new society. Among Venezuelan migrants in Peru, housing adaptation strategies follow both integration and separation pathways. Integration is evident in the rise of mixed Peruvian–Venezuelan households, the use of local contacts to secure housing, and the preference for living near workplaces and schools to enhance stability and interaction with the host society. Conversely, other migrants adopt separation strategies, settling in Venezuelan-dense districts, where entire streets are predominantly inhabited by fellow nationals, reinforcing ethnic clustering.

ENPOVE 2019 and 2022 data show that mixed households—including individuals from Venezuela, Peru, and other countries—increased from 9.2% to 17.6%, indicating gradual social integration (INEI, 2019, 2023).

Our interviews confirmed that some Peruvian–Venezuelan families adopt intergenerational or extended household arrangements, sharing housing with

Peruvian relatives as a strategy for economic stability and social support, exemplifying integration. As one interviewed Peruvian spouse mentioned:

We have been living here for more than two years now. [...] I live here with my mom, my [Venezuelan] partner and my little daughter.

(PePE23F)

Others secure housing through local contacts, including religious organisations, which provide support and facilitate social connections:

We live with brothers from the church where I congregate. I am the only Venezuelan in the whole building. The rest of the residents are families of the owners.

(VenPE05M)

Another adaptation strategy is selecting housing near workplaces and schools, ensuring daily convenience and enabling interaction with the host society. This strategy reflects an effort to integrate into the host community by improving long-term stability, reducing commuting costs, and facilitating access to essential services:

Where we live, we're all close to everybody's work and the kids' schools.

(VenPE08F)

These trends likely align with ENPOVE 2018 and 2022 findings (INEI, 2018, 2023), which suggests a shift towards proximity to jobs and services or broader urban integration, as indicated by a decline in independent house residency from 81.2% to 38.7% and a rise in apartment living from 18.0% to 57.4%.

In contrast, other Venezuelan migrants adopt separation strategies, clustering in specific districts where entire streets are predominantly Venezuelan. While these migrant-dense neighbourhoods provide a strong support network and a sense of cultural continuity, they may also reinforce social segregation and limit broader integration opportunities. Expert interviews highlight this trend:

Venezuelan people rent [...] not only rooms but many times they manage to rent entire houses. There are already entire streets where basically families of Venezuelan nationality live. This happens in Comas, in Lima, in Los Olivos, in San Martín de Porres.

(PeEx02)

Venezuelan migrants' housing strategies in Peru reflect both integration and separation, as described in Berry's acculturation model. Economic needs, social networks, and structural barriers shape these dynamics. Some migrants settle

near workplaces and schools, encouraging integration, while others concentrate in Venezuelan-dense areas, reinforcing ethnic enclaves. Mixed households and local contacts point to gradual social inclusion, though segregation persists. Despite these efforts, challenges remain. Economic hardship, informal rentals, and discrimination continue to limit access to adequate housing. Without state support, migrants rely on civil society and religious groups, underscoring the need for targeted policy measures.

While coping and adaptation strategies provide short-term relief, they cannot overcome deep-rooted structural barriers. Sustainable integration requires comprehensive housing policies, formalised rental systems, and improved access to credit and social support.

5.5 Access to labour market

The labour market integration is a key aspect of immigrants' integration in a host country, as it affects the other dimensions of integration, including social, cultural, and political ones. The recent study on Venezuelans in Peru clearly shows that in spite of a relatively large share of full-time employment, unregistered and/or part-time work remains a serious issue for successful economic integration. Moreover, the qualification mismatch and work below formal qualification remains a key obstacle in upward mobility (Stonawski & Brzozowski, 2025). In this section, we focus on specific factors that influence the access of Venezuelans to the Peruvian labour market.

5.5.1 Legal and formal aspects

The Peruvian Constitution (1993) guarantees the right to work for all, and Article 9 of the Migration Law grants migrants equal working conditions as nationals. Article 11 assigns the Ministry of Labour and Employment Promotion (MTPE) and the National Authority of the Civil Service (SERVIR) to protect these rights in the private and public sectors, respectively. Migrants' labour rights must be upheld regardless of legal status (Ministry of Foreign Affairs [MRE], 2018). Peru has also ratified key international treaties, including the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (ratified in 2005), which protects against exploitation and discrimination and ensures access to essential services (OHCHR, 1990; RIDH, 2015; Serrano Díaz, 2021).

However, specific national regulations impose limits on migrant employment. Legislative Decree No. 689 (1991) and Supreme Decree No. 014-92TR (1992) restrict foreign nationals to 20% of a company's staff and 30% of its payroll. In addition, Supreme Decree No. 179-2004-EF subjects non-domiciled migrants to a 30% income tax—whether self-employed or on payroll—making formal work financially burdensome. These restrictions push many, especially

Venezuelans, into the informal sector, where earnings are higher and remittances possible (Berganza & Solórzano, 2019).

Moreover, informality is widespread in Peru, with the informal economy averaging 38% of GDP between 1995 and 2016 (Boitano & Abanto, 2019). Thus, informal work is not only common but socially accepted—particularly among migrants in more vulnerable positions.

5.5.2 Barriers and challenges

In Peru, informal employment remains a widespread challenge, affecting a significant share of the workforce. In 2022, the informal employment rate reached 75.5%, with even higher levels among workers with primary education or lower, where it stood at 85.6% (MTPE, 2023). In this context, between 79% (MICLACAS survey) and 81% (Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática, 2022) of Venezuelan migrants in Peru are engaged in informal work.³ In this context, Venezuelan migrants in Peru encounter multiple barriers to integrating into the labour market. These challenges often stem from difficulties with obtaining documentation and legal restrictions on employment, challenges related to diploma recognition, underemployment, low wages and exploitation, discrimination, limited access to local networks, and absence of reliable childcare. As a result, many migrants are pushed into informal or precarious jobs, frequently earning low wages under exploitative conditions.

One of the primary obstacles for Venezuelan migrants in Peru is the difficulty in obtaining work permits and legal residency, which severely limits access to formal employment (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], 2024). In our MICLACAS Survey (2023) ca. 16% of the respondents admitted not having an immigration permit.⁴ Since legal documentation is often a prerequisite for securing stable jobs, many migrants struggle to enter the formal labour market. As Vera and Jiménez (2020) highlight, migratory status is crucial in determining whether Venezuelans can work legally, further exacerbating their vulnerability to informal and precarious employment. This is reinforced by evidence showing that immigrants with a valid work permit tend to earn more per week than those without one (Torres & Galarza, 2024), underscoring the economic impact of legal employment status on migrant workers.

In that context, one interviewee shared his experience:

Initially, I couldn't find a job because of the document issue.

(VenPE07M)

Other institutional barriers and tax policies further push Venezuelan migrants and local businesses towards informal employment, discouraging companies from hiring them altogether (Vera & Jiménez, 2020). Legal restrictions limit foreign employees to 20% of a company's workforce and restrict their total

earnings to 30% of the payroll. Additionally, non-domiciled migrants face a 30% withholding tax on their net income (Castillo Balarezo, 2000). The aforementioned constraints reduce employers' willingness to hire Venezuelan migrants, further reinforcing their exclusion from the formal labour market (Blouin et al., 2019). This was echoed by one expert:

There are a series of bureaucratic processes that you have to go through to hire a foreigner, which is a total disincentive to do so. In other words, a very large company has very few incentives to hire a migrant in Peru.

(PeEx09)

Many Venezuelan professionals face difficulties in having their qualifications recognised due to high costs and complex bureaucratic procedures (Koechlin et al., 2019). As noted by Chaves-González et al. (2021), these financial and administrative barriers prevent many migrants in Peru from validating their credentials and accessing formal employment in their professional fields, thereby limiting their economic opportunities and preventing host communities from fully benefiting from their skills. One interviewee highlighted the significant financial and procedural burden of diploma validation:

This year, I just wanted to enter my area as a teacher. I am in the process of recognising my degree, but the economic part doesn't let me, so I either do it or I starve to death.

(VenPE04F)

Another elaborated on the bureaucratic obstacles:

I left my original diploma in Venezuela. [...] I would need to do the whole legalisation there in Venezuela, [...] to apostille it, which was difficult, they put obstacles in your way.

(VenPE24F)

One of the interviewed experts also highlighted the significant challenges migrants face in obtaining professional accreditation, particularly in fields that require additional licensing:

Receiving a license which allows you, in theory, to practice, especially in professions such as engineering, medicine, education itself is something extremely complex and expensive.

(PeEx09)

The quantitative studies on Venezuelans' economic integration in Peru are consistent with these findings: in 2018 almost 49% of individuals had experienced

negative skills mismatch in a workplace, whereas in 2022 the share remained relatively high—at 45.4% (Stonawski & Brzozowski, 2025).

Research shows that bureaucratic obstacles and costly validation processes prevent many migrants from working in their trained professions, pushing them into lower-skilled employment. Studies in Peru (Koechlin et al., 2019) and Colombia (García-Suaza et al., 2024) have found that, often due to credential recognition barriers, skilled Venezuelan migrants are pushed into low-wage, informal jobs. According to the MICLACAS survey (2023), 43% of respondents earned less than 1,026 soles (282 US dollars) per month, and an additional 21% had achieved between 1,026 and 1,390 soles of monthly income (between 283 and 383 US dollars). These jobs are characterised by exploitative conditions, with immigrants frequently subjected to unpaid labour and poor working environments (Groeger et al., 2024; Torres et al., 2024). According to the World Bank (2023), Venezuelan migrants with tertiary education experience a significant decrease in their income compared to native workers. Similar patterns of labour exploitation have been documented among Syrian refugees in Türkiye, where employers take advantage of migrants' legal vulnerability to impose excessive workloads (Zetter & Ruaudel, 2018).

Aligned with that, one of our interviewees highlighted how labour expectations differ across countries, noting that in Venezuela, job roles tend to be more clearly defined, whereas in Peru, migrant workers are often required to take on multiple responsibilities beyond their official job title:

In Venezuela, if the contract is for a waitress, you work as a waitress. Here, you have to do other activities to earn even a small salary for the week. I have worked mostly in restaurants, and as a waitress, I have had to wash dishes, clean toilets, and do general cleaning. And well, you work 12 hours here.

(VenPE27F)

Another woman described how her job expectations far exceeded what had been agreed upon:

In previous jobs, I had bosses who, for the same salary were making me do more things. In other words, there was a kind of abuse there.

(VenPE19F)

In some cases, employers refuse to pay workers altogether:

They did not recognise our work during two months. We didn't receive the payment for our work.

(VenPE12M)

Women are particularly vulnerable to exploitation, as highlighted by an interviewed expert:

Some issues of labour abuse are mainly linked to women. [...]. There are many cases where identity documents are confiscated by employers to keep control over the employee and pay whatever.

(PeEx09)

Another major barrier to Venezuelans' integration into the Peruvian labour market is widespread discrimination and xenophobia. Over time, xenophobic attitudes towards Venezuelan migrants became prevalent (Koechlin et al., 2019). The ENPOVE survey from 2022 (INEI, 2023) found that 29.6% of Venezuelans reported discrimination, with 38.3% of cases occurring in the workplace, highlighting the significant challenges in securing fair employment. This finding is consistent with Cequea and associates' (2024) study, who found that 28% of the Venezuelans surveyed in Lima faced discrimination. This trend was echoed in our interviews, where several participants shared their experiences. One migrant recounted:

They started to discriminate against us. I had problems with Peruvians where I worked, they humiliated us quite a bit. They insulted us just for being Venezuelan.

(VenPE07M)

Another person reported being treated unfairly compared to their Peruvian colleagues, being assigned more work for lower wages:

They made me do more things than the Peruvians, they paid me a little less than the Peruvians, I worked [...] more hours than the Peruvians.

(VenPE16M)

Beyond workplace treatment, hiring discrimination was another major challenge, as employers often refused to consider Venezuelan applicants solely based on nationality:

What happens is that sometimes discrimination goes under the table. I mean, they don't even say that they do not hire Venezuelan people, but they say that they are looking for people with an ID card.

(VenPE22M)

In some cases, discrimination was more overt, with employers explicitly rejecting applicants once they learned they were Venezuelan:

I was walking the street to look for a job. I went from shop to shop. Many people told me: "Where are you from? Venezuela? No, boy, no." [...]. They were afraid of having a foreigner worker. [...]. Now, we have our small company. People are writing to us to fix the refrigerator, washing machine, they give us the address. We arrive and they say: "Ah, but you Venezuelan no, no, no," and they lock the door.

(VenPE14M)

This interviewee described exclusion from workplace activities, reinforcing the "us vs. them" dynamic that creates a hostile environment for Venezuelan workers:

I did feel a discrimination in my previous job. I was very little invited to the activities, not because I didn't fit in or couldn't be part of it, but there was like an us and them.

(VenPE29M)

One expert summarised the reality of Venezuelan migrants in the labour market, emphasising the role of discrimination in shaping their employment opportunities:

I believe that in the labour space, there is discrimination, marginalisation, and exclusion of Venezuelan people and that they are withdrawn, they are pigeonholed into some spaces of almost free labour, a very precarious space. If we talk about job opportunities, promotions, or a company, they usually do not choose Venezuelan people [...]. And within that they are paid little, Venezuelan people are also prioritised for certain jobs where there is very large exploitation.

(PeEx02)

According to Sánchez Barrenechea et al. (2020), the situation of greater vulnerability, discrimination, and harassment in employment affects Venezuelan women more. In our study, one of the interviewed experts noted:

Many of the women [...] cannot access decent jobs [...] even in the "normal" job employers harass them. There are issues of... "I keep you at work, if you have sex with me."

(PeEx01)

One of the interviewed experts pointed out that Venezuelan migrants face additional challenges due to their limited access to local social and professional networks, which are crucial for securing stable employment:

In a country like Peru, much depends on support networks, referral schemes, and others that migrants do not have access to. They do not have the same support networks as the local population. So their ability to achieve sustainable income is very low.

(PeEx09)

The group most exposed to exploitation and precarious working conditions are Venezuelan female migrants, who often had additional problems in reconciling childcare with a need to secure income for their entire family (Pérez & Ugarte, 2021). For some migrants, the absence of reliable childcare limits their employment opportunities and forces difficult decisions about their children's safety. One mother explained her situation:

I work at a stoplight selling candy, little candy bars. It is difficult for me, because I don't trust anyone to leave the children with. [...]. I have been very afraid, so sometimes they stay locked up in the room. I take the little one with me because she still needs to... breastfeed.

(VenPE11F)

Venezuelan migrants in Peru face barriers that hinder their economic integration. Diploma recognition challenges prevent skilled professionals from working in their fields, while informality and legal restrictions push many into low-wage, exploitative jobs. Discrimination and xenophobia further limit employment opportunities, and migrant women face added risks, including workplace harassment and lack of childcare. The absence of social and professional networks also restricts access to better jobs. These challenges not only undermine migrants' economic stability but also prevent Peru from fully benefiting from their skills. Addressing them requires policy reforms to improve credential recognition, reduce hiring restrictions, and promote fair labour conditions.

5.5.3 Coping strategies

Venezuelan migrants in Peru primarily employ problem-focused engagement coping strategies, which involve active efforts to overcome labour market barriers. Among the activities, we identified leveraging Venezuelan social networks for employment, actively seeking job opportunities, adapting to new professions, dominating specific sectors, developing new skills, frequently changing jobs to meet market demands, capitalising on cultural characteristics, building a livelihood through entrepreneurship, and seeking institutional help. Similar coping mechanisms have been observed among Syrian refugees in Jordan, where informal work and self-employment serve as primary survival

strategies (Ratha & Shaw, 2007). Below, we provide a more detailed description of each coping strategy adopted by Venezuelan migrants in Peru to navigate the labour market.

Social networks play a vital role in helping migrants secure work opportunities. These connections often provide initial job leads or guidance, as in these cases:

I found a job through my Venezuelan friend.

(VenPE07M)

Another migrant noted the support from friends he received upon arrival:

My friend here received us, he had already found me a job. I started the job where I am now. I'm in a store selling detergents and all that, and I'm in charge of the warehouse.

(VenPE22M)

Some migrants independently search for job opportunities by exploring local advertisements or online platforms. One person described his approach:

I got the information, it was through the internet. Mostly through Marketplace. They were looking for guys to work in a cheese company that they were forming. Since I had sales experience in Venezuela, I went to the interview. That's where I ended up.

(VenPE12M)

Many Venezuelan migrants adapt by working in industries unrelated to their qualifications, often taking up roles in service or manual labour (International Labor Organization [ILO] & United Nations Development Program [UNDP], 2021), resulting in loss of human capital (Cequea et al., 2024). It is important to note that many Venezuelans left their home country in a critical economic situation: according to the MICLACAS survey (2023), 15% of respondents were borrowing money to buy food prior departure. Consequently, once arriving to Peru, they had no time to actively look for employment that matched their skills, but were forced to take any employment that would secure even the basic level of income. In their study on the situation of Venezuelan migrants in Lima, Blouin and Freier (2019) found that the majority of this population is engaged in informal employment, with street commerce accounting for 46% of their main economic activity. This was echoed in our interviews:

When I arrived here, I couldn't find a job. I got depressed. It was quite complicated those first months and then what I decided to do was to go out and sell their chicha, ice cream, lemonade. Imagine that I was in an office in

Venezuela, working as engineer, and I came here to Peru, I was selling chicha at a traffic light, something I never in my life thought I was going to do.

(VenPE22M)

Other examples of professional downgrading as a coping strategy to navigate labor market challenges include:

What I do is very different from what I did in Venezuela. I graduated as an electronics technician and then I took courses to become a computer technician, which was what I developed there in Venezuela. Here I developed all this experience of cooking.

(VenPE12M)

The experience of transitioning into entirely different fields was echoed by others:

My first experience, well it was a hard shock, because in Venezuela I was working as an education director. When I arrived here [...] I had to work in the street first, selling chocolates. I sold chocolates at the traffic lights. Then my work was to take care of the elderly. And I had never taken care of an elderly person before. I had to give him wet baths, I had to change his diaper. Oh, Lord, at least I learned how to do something new. Then I worked in a restaurant. I had experience in how to manage a dining room. [...]. Then, I had to peel the potatoes, I had to chop the onion. Well, I currently take care of the babies.

(VenPE24F)

During the COVID-19 pandemic, Peru's labour market faced severe disruptions, with job losses disproportionately affecting the most vulnerable workers. First, the tourism and gastronomy sectors were seriously affected and they were disproportionately relying on immigrant work. Second, many migrants who relied on public transport while commuting could not reach their working place (Sönmez et al., 2020). In 2020 alone, approximately 6.7 million jobs were lost, primarily impacting self-employed individuals and micro-, small-, and medium-sized enterprises (World Bank, 2023). In response, many workers, including Venezuelan migrants, were forced to adjust by changing occupations, often shifting to lower-skilled jobs to sustain their livelihoods (Olter-Castillo & Castillo-Sanchez, 2024). Several interviewees shared how the pandemic altered their employment trajectories and forced them into difficult survival strategies:

My wife worked in a store before the pandemic, but lost her job when the store closed. I worked in construction, but there was also less demand. We

had to look for any opportunity, even day jobs or informal sales, to make ends meet.

(VenPE03M)

For professionals, the crisis was particularly devastating, as they saw their careers disrupted and had to take on completely different jobs to survive:

Before the pandemic, I had a job in the legal sector, but with the crisis related to the pandemic, the office closed, and I was left without a job. I had to look for anything, from cleaning to informal sales. It was a huge blow because it's one thing to work in something different by choice, and another to work because there are no other options.

(VenPE24F)

It was observed that migrant networks play a crucial role in enabling Venezuelan migrants to establish a strong presence in specific economic sectors. This type of sectoral dominance among immigrant communities was observed by Light (so-called ethnic enclave economy, cf. 2000). One of the interviewed experts highlighted how Venezuelans have come to dominate the food delivery industry in Peru:

The large number or majority of people who deliver food home are Venezuelans. It is a market that has been taken over by a majority of Venezuelans and I believe that this application [Rappi] has generated job opportunities for Venezuelans.

(PeEx02)

Other Venezuelan-dominated occupations include trade on open-air trade fairs, small grocery and tobacco shops, and other types of street trade.

Venezuelan migrants in Peru actively seek to improve their skills to enhance their job prospects. Some gain experience through hands-on training in new industries, while others independently pursue courses to expand their opportunities. One person described his progression:

I started to work in a bakery during the COVID-19 pandemic. They passed me to the bakery workshop and I was learning to make bread. Later, I started in another bakery. Where I am now, I am the master baker, I already make the bread well and that's it. I have been working in that bakery for two years now.

(VenPE02M)

Yet another woman emphasised her efforts to upskill independently:

I've taken courses on my own. I've been taking eyelash courses, I was going to take a nail course, too. [...]. I would like to finish all these courses to be able to grow.

(VenPE08F)

Faced with economic instability and limited access to formal employment, many Venezuelan migrants in Peru adopt a highly flexible approach to work. Unable to secure stable, long-term jobs, they frequently shift between occupations, taking on whatever opportunities arise to sustain themselves and their families. This job mobility is often not a choice but a necessity, driven by fluctuating market conditions, informal labour arrangements, and the pressing need for immediate income. As one migrant explained:

I didn't have an easy time looking for a job. I mean, I had to walk, sell coffee, cigarettes, all those things. In the province, I worked in construction, and it was a little tough, and from there I worked in a grocery store.

(VenPE02M)

And further:

When I arrived, I worked in a sawmill. Then I went to work driving a moto-taxi. Then a construction helper. Then, there was no work, so I started cutting hair.

(VenPE18M)

This person focused on quickly finding income-generating opportunities, as part of his efforts to build stability and support his family:

When I arrived, really the first thing I had to do was start looking for a job and obviously establish myself legally here. At the beginning, I started doing several minor, punctual jobs to gather money. In 2018, I sustained myself giving private classes in mathematics, physics, chemistry. With that, I gathered the money to bring my wife and my son here.

(VenPE28M)

Similarly, another migrant emphasised her willingness to take on any available work to survive:

Right now I work as a cleaning operator, but I have taken care of the elderly, I have been a cleaning operator, I have been a collector. Here, whatever job I can get. When my baby was born, I worked on the streets. I was getting on the buses and selling sweets. That's what I had to do.

(VenPE04F)

Several interviewed experts pointed out that Venezuelan migrants take advantage of their cultural characteristics, which allow them to reach customers more effectively than their Peruvian counterparts. In that way, the charisma and communication skills of Venezuelans allow them, for instance, to assume jobs in sales even without previous experience working in that sector and become successful.

Their character [...] it gives them business opportunities, because they attract a greater number of people, customers. They have a greater predisposition towards people. And in fact, people like them, because they have a quite friendly character [...], which brings better results. You see a lot of Venezuelan population in different businesses of all kinds.

(PeEx04)

Entrepreneurship provides an avenue for immigrants to create their own livelihoods, often through micro-scale ventures. Many Venezuelan migrants identified business opportunities and started their businesses with relative acceptance in the local market (Koechlin et al., 2019). One of our interviewees described his strategy:

Even when I was looking for a formal job, I was already selling on the street. [...] I spent the day looking for work and then late at night, around 6:00 in the afternoon I went out to sell [...]. The next day, the day after arriving in Peru, I started selling on the street.

(VenPE03M)

Another migrant shared his experience:

I arrived with the opportunity to set up my business. I started with a small cart with the junk food, which is hamburger, hot dog bread, etc. I managed to expand a little bit. We opened our page, promoted ourselves on Facebook, we were looking for clients. I was in charge of the cooking part. My brother, as he had his motorcycle, he took care of the deliveries.

(VenPE12M)

Yet these entrepreneurial activities are mostly necessity-driven, and thus their long-term sustainability is problematic. To develop more meaningful and profitable businesses, the institutional support has to be exploited, as outlined in section below.

Venezuelan migrants seek institutional support from intergovernmental organisations, national non-governmental organisations, and the private sector (Schmitt et al., 2023; Tincoso, 2022). Our study confirmed that some migrants benefit from NGO support, which helps them develop entrepreneurial skills and

access resources to start small businesses. One immigrant explained how such support enabled him to create a livelihood:

I was selected for an entrepreneurship course. I also got a monetary incentive. I couldn't buy food or pay rent for it. It was only for the labour part. So, I rented a compressor for 50 soles a day. I work with washing machines and stuff, and people would ask me, "Paint me on my fridge, my freezer, my washing machine, my kitchen." So I would put two or three items together and rent my compressor for 50 soles.

(VenPE14M)

Venezuelan migrants in Peru adopt various problem-focused coping strategies to overcome labour market barriers. Many rely on social networks to secure initial jobs, while others independently search for opportunities or shift to new professions when their qualifications are not recognised. To sustain themselves, migrants often juggle multiple jobs, frequently change roles, acquire new skills, or turn to entrepreneurship as a means of financial stability. Some also seek institutional support from NGOs to access training and resources, helping them navigate an uncertain labour market.

5.5.4 Adaptation strategies

Adaptation strategies, as outlined in Berry's (1997) acculturation model, refer to long-term adjustments that enable migrants to achieve stability in a new society. Over time, Venezuelan migrants in Peru adopt various approaches to navigate the labour market, reflecting their growing integration. Those who follow an integration approach actively engage with the host society while maintaining aspects of their own culture. In the labour market, this may involve seeking mentorship from locals, adapting communication styles to better connect with Peruvian employers and customers, pursuing entrepreneurship as a means of economic inclusion, and adjusting their offer to fit local demands. The following examples illustrate these strategies in practice.

One migrant described how he proactively acquired new skills to integrate into the local labour market through informal mentorship from his Peruvian boss:

Before I left my job at the car wash, I would go to the Lord's house to learn how to make bread. I worked there for a few weeks, learning for free and then when I left the car wash, I was ready to start making bread. I was making bread there for several, several months. And then there was the opportunity that the Lord was selling bread on his motorcycle, and I saw that working with the motorcycle I could earn more and I worked on my own. And then I decided to buy a motorcycle. I started selling bread on the motorcycle. I did well.

(VenPE22M)

Some migrants adjust their communication styles to facilitate better social and professional interactions. Adapting to local language norms allows them to strengthen workplace relationships and enhance customer interactions. As one migrant explained:

We communicate with people online. We try to write with their dialect, to adapt to their dialect to make them understand us.

(VenPE14M)

Venezuelan migrants adapt their businesses to local market demands by blending their cultural offerings with Peruvian preferences. This approach not only fosters economic integration but also strengthens community ties. One expert highlighted how this fusion strategy has become a successful coping mechanism:

[Venezuelans] go through the act of becoming a community [...]. They try to create some spaces [...], such as the sale of some Venezuelan products with Peruvian fusion. It's been one of [their] successful coping mechanisms.

(PeEx03)

Entrepreneurship has become a key strategy for Venezuelan migrants seeking economic stability and integration in Peru. In our MICLACAS survey, 44% of respondents indicated that they were self-employed. Although for many of these individuals self-employment is a hidden form of precarious work, small-scale entrepreneurship indeed becomes a principal form of economic activity for Venezuelans in Peru. Many leverage their skills and experience to start businesses, often within Venezuelan networks while integrating Peruvian workers. This fosters financial security and cross-cultural collaboration. One migrant described how he and his relatives successfully established a marble workshop, adapting to local market conditions while maintaining ties to their trade from Venezuela:

I'm working in a marble workshop, making marble dining tables. We, back in Venezuela, worked the same way, we made marble tables, but when we arrived here in Peru, back then, that type of work couldn't be done because it was too expensive. Some cousins of my wife found out how to get the raw material cheaper and they started doing that. I started working with them. It is a, so to speak, family job. So the whole family, two Venezuelans and four Peruvians, work there.

(VenPE07M)

Some migrants start small businesses from home and rapidly expand by leveraging their social networks and cultural adaptability. One expert highlighted how entrepreneurship has facilitated their economic integration:

Many start working from home and they grow very fast. They seek to strengthen a network of contacts. Due to the same characteristics of that population, cultural characteristics, it is quite easy for them [...] to form links. So in that way they receive more clients, and form alliances faster. I believe that entrepreneurship has been the door, the trigger to achieve a much stronger and sustained economic integration in the Venezuelan population.
(PeEx01)

To navigate labour market challenges in Peru, Venezuelan migrants employ various adaptive approaches that facilitate both economic stability and social integration. Some actively seek mentorship from locals, learning new skills through informal training that allows them to transition into different professions. Others adjust their communication styles to better connect with employers, colleagues, and customers, improving their professional interactions. Entrepreneurship has also proven to be a key pathway to integration, with migrants establishing businesses that leverage their existing skills while adapting to local market demands. Many start small ventures within their Venezuelan networks but expand by incorporating Peruvian workers or blending cultural influences to attract local customers. These strategies not only help migrants secure livelihoods but also enable them to carve out a stronger economic presence in Peru, fostering both resilience and long-term stability.

5.6 Access to health care

5.6.1 Legal and formal aspects

Health is recognised as a second-generation human right, requiring state action to ensure universal access. According to the IOM (2009), all individuals—regardless of immigration status—are entitled to the highest attainable standard of health. In Peru, Article 7 of the Constitution guarantees the right to health for all, and Article 11 affirms access to healthcare through public or private entities (Constitución de la República del Perú). The General Health Law (Ley No. 26842) further defines health protection as a public interest. Enforcement is overseen by the National Health Superintendence (SUSALUD) under the Ministry of Health.

Peru's healthcare system includes two major public insurance schemes: Seguro Integral de Salud (SIS), covering around 60% of the population, and EsSalud, serving 25% of those in formal employment. The remaining population depends on private care (SIS; EsSalud). The 2009 Universal Health Insurance Law (Ley No. 29344) aimed to expand coverage to all residents, regardless of nationality. A 2013 reform reinforced healthcare as a right and introduced automatic SIS enrolment for uninsured newborns (Velásquez et al., 2016). Despite progress, gaps remain. In 2022, 86.9% of Peruvians had health insurance, with higher

coverage in rural areas (INEI, 2022). Since most Venezuelan migrants live in urban areas, they are more affected by these gaps.

Peru's migration law (Legislative Decree No. 1350, Art. 9.1) guarantees migrants access to healthcare on equal terms with nationals. However, as Berganza and Blouin (2021) note, these rights are not always supported by implementation. Only migrants with a *Carnet de Extranjería* can freely access SIS (Naciones Unidas, 2021), while others may qualify through formal employment (EsSalud) or must pay privately. In response, Peru's immigration authority introduced expedited SIS access for holders of the Temporary Stay Permit (CPP) and refugee applicants (Rostros Venezolanos, 2021). Peru's efforts to expand healthcare coverage have been reflected in legislative measures such as the Universal Health Insurance Law (Ley No. 29344) enacted in 2009. This law aimed to guarantee health protection for all residents in Peru, irrespective of their nationality or immigration status. In 2013, a health reform package was introduced to emphasise healthcare as a right protected by the state. This reform sought to eliminate barriers to accessing healthcare and expand insurance coverage. A key measure under this framework was the automatic enrolment of uninsured newborns into SIS (Velásquez et al., 2016). Despite these efforts, insurance coverage remains uneven. The OECD reported that as of 2017, healthcare insurance reached 83.2% of the population (OECD). More recent data from the Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática (INEI) show that by the last quarter of 2022, 86.9% of the population reported having some form of health insurance. However, coverage was higher in rural areas (91.9%) than in urban areas (85.7%). The majority of insured individuals were covered under SIS (61.0% nationwide, 54.7% in urban zones, and 86.7% in rural areas) (INEI, 2022). Given that most Venezuelan migrants reside in urban centres, they are disproportionately affected by the gaps in healthcare access.

5.6.2 Barriers

Venezuelan migrants in Peru face persistent health disparities (Bernabe-Ortiz & Carrillo-Larco, 2022). The ENPOVE 2018 survey reported that 6.3% experienced stress, anxiety, or anger (INEI, 2018). By 2022, health insurance coverage among migrants had risen to 27%, up from 8.5% in 2018, yet 73% remained uninsured (INEI, 2023). Additionally, 13.6% reported chronic illnesses—more common among women (18.0%) than men (9.1%).

ENPOVE 2022 data show that 24.4% of Venezuelans needed medical attention in the four weeks prior to the survey, and 72.8% sought care. However, 27.2% did not, citing reasons such as the condition not being serious (37.3%), lack of money (31.7%), absence of a safe facility (19.3%), or time constraints (11.3%) (INEI, 2023).

A 2021 Equilibrium CENDE survey found that 70% of Venezuelans lacked any health insurance, despite 36% reporting a COVID-19

infection. Financial barriers (57%) and lack of ID documents (30%) were the main obstacles to accessing care (Equilibrium-Centro para el Desarrollo Económico, 2021: 37).

The COVID-19 pandemic worsened access: even those with immigration cards and SIS coverage often went untreated due to resource shortages. Additionally, delays in the Socioeconomic Classification (CSE) process and in issuing immigration cards disrupted many migrants' access to the public health system (Naciones Unidas, 2021: 11).

In general, health access was not considered by our study participants as a major issue. Only some Venezuelan migrants struggle to access public healthcare due to bureaucratic obstacles, lack of documentation, or restrictive eligibility criteria. While some manage to obtain public health insurance (SIS), others are excluded, forcing them to rely on private healthcare, which is often unaffordable. This structural barrier creates a healthcare gap that disproportionately affects migrants, particularly those in precarious economic situations. This was expressed by one of our respondents:

If you don't have SIS, you cannot enter any clinic. In the hospital, you have to go in, ask for an appointment, and then they send you from one place to another. The whole process takes too long.

(VenPE09F)

Consequently, while healthcare access is legally available to migrants, systemic barriers such as documentation requirements, long wait times, and low quality of public services significantly undermine its effectiveness. As a result, access to healthcare for many Venezuelan migrants remains precarious, reinforcing broader patterns of social exclusion and vulnerability.

Several interviewees report experiences of mistreatment, neglect, or discrimination in healthcare settings, with some believing this is due to their Venezuelan nationality. Migrants face indifference or even outright hostility from medical staff, particularly in public hospitals. As our interviewees stated:

Since I started my pregnancy, I was monitored here at the Vineyard Hospital. Since I started there was always a kind of rejection towards me because I don't know if it was because I am Venezuelan, but they treated me terribly, they didn't attend me. Once I arrived with pains, I don't know if they were contractions and they didn't attend to me. I had to go to the hospital there in Villa María. Here they did not attend me. There was always a rejection towards me. They treated me badly.

(VenPE01F)

This account illustrates that discrimination and poor treatment by healthcare providers constitute significant barriers to adequate medical care for Venezuelan

migrants. Experiences of rejection, neglect, and lack of empathy—particularly in public health facilities—reflect underlying xenophobic attitudes and reinforce feelings of exclusion, further discouraging migrants from seeking necessary medical assistance.

Due to the inaccessibility of public healthcare, many migrants are forced to pay out of pocket for medical services. This situation creates additional economic strain, often making medical treatment a last resort rather than a guaranteed right. As claimed by a few respondents:

And really everything that has been going to the hospital we have to cover out of our pocket because the aid [was not free for us].

(VenPE03M)

The inaccessibility of public healthcare forces many Venezuelan migrants to rely on out-of-pocket payments for medical services. As a result, healthcare becomes a costly last resort rather than a guaranteed right, exacerbating economic hardship and exposing migrants to severe health risks when timely and affordable care is not available.

Public opinion on Venezuelan migrants' access to healthcare is divided. A survey by IDEHPUCP and Equilibrium SDC found that 68.5% of respondents supported access to public healthcare for Venezuelans regardless of status, while 23.7% opposed it and 7.8% were undecided. Support was higher in Lima and Callao (75%) than in other regions (Boletín No. 03, 2021).

During the COVID-19 pandemic, perceptions worsened. A comparative study found that only 12% of Venezuelan migrants in Peru believed they could access care for COVID-19 symptoms, compared to 49% in Colombia (Mixed Migration Centre Latin America and the Caribbean, 2021). These findings highlight the need for policies that ensure both formal rights and effective access through institutional and social support.

5.6.3 Coping strategies and tactics

Folkman and Lazarus (1980) showed that context influences coping style: health-related stress tends to elicit emotion-focused coping (linked to anxiety, fear, and low self-esteem), while work-related stress favors problem-focused strategies (pp. 230–231). Their research also found that women report health-related stress more frequently than men, and older adults experience more health than work-related stress (p. 233).

Coping supports mental well-being, but its effectiveness may vary. Among undocumented Hispanic immigrants in the US, problem-focused coping was associated with higher levels of depression, suggesting it may be maladaptive when challenges—such as fear of deportation or job insecurity—are beyond one's control (Cobb et al., 2016: 867).

Many Venezuelans turn to private clinics, churches, friends, or other migrants for support when facing health crises. Faith-based organisations and informal networks often play a crucial role in providing financial aid or emotional support. As in the quotes cited below:

But that was when he was hospitalised and I was also hospitalized. But in the consultation or office area, I have always dealt with it privately, because it is a total hassle to make an appointment, to go to a specialist.

(VenPE04F)

Well, I am asthmatic and six months ago I had a very strong crisis. [...] And for lack of money we had to go to my husband's church, Karmate, to see if it was going to happen to me, I was giving myself my shots, I have my inhalers.

(VenPE06F)

My mother also, she had been ill and was hospitalized for a while, about a week, and she did receive financial support from my boss and my colleagues and me too.

(VenPE17F)

Well, as you know here, if you do not have SIS, you cannot enter any clinic. But well, in the hospital you had to go in, ask for an appointment. [...] But nevertheless, yes, I... And I also had a great support, we got a Venezuelan doctor friend and he was very supportive to a large group of us.

(VenPE09F)

So, when I get sick, I go, I pay for the clinic and they take care of me. Obviously I can say that the clinic was excellent because I got off the mule, because I gave them money.

(VenPE27F)

Due to difficulties accessing formal healthcare, some migrants rely on self-medication or alternative health practices to manage illnesses instead of seeing a doctor or visiting a hospital. This includes purchasing medicine at the pharmacy or using home remedies instead of seeking professional medical care as in the following example:

And even when I was sick with COVID, I had to go out to work. [...] Unfortunately, I looked very, very, very bad. But I didn't get to be in the hospital. [...] The economic situation made me go back out selling like that, feeling bad, still dizzy, still feeling very weak. In fact, once I fainted on a bus.

(VenPE03M)

Many explained that in fact they didn't need to use the healthcare system as they only experienced minor issues, as in this case:

I thank God that I haven't gotten sick. Normally, if I have a little headache or something, my husband goes to the pharmacy and gets me some medicine.
(VenPE23F)

Testimonies show that limited access to formal healthcare has led many Venezuelan migrants to rely on self-medication, pharmacies, or home remedies. Some dismiss their health issues as minor, while others endure serious illness without care due to financial constraints, fear of rejection, or work obligations. These informal practices reflect both resilience and vulnerability, often becoming maladaptive and underscoring how structural exclusion forces migrants to manage health in precarious ways, risking long-term well-being.

To cope with limited healthcare access and broader hardships, many Venezuelan migrants rely on psychological strategies to maintain emotional well-being. Common methods include prayer and religious faith, which offer hope and comfort during uncertainty. Family support provides emotional stability, while everyday distractions—like music, social media, or television—offer temporary escape. Though these emotion-focused strategies don't resolve structural problems, they help migrants endure adversity and maintain a sense of normality. As expressed by our interviewees:

I get very depressed, I really do. [...] I feel helpless because what I earn is not enough for me. I feel helpless and I pray, and I pray alone. But you see them, I outgrow them.
(VenPE06F)

I always talked about it on the phone with my mom or my cousins, the ones who were there. [...] I mostly take refuge in kind of sleeping to clear my mind, because music doesn't either, going out either.
(VenPE08F)

Normally, when I'm stressed, it goes away on its own ... Normally, with work, I distract myself doing work. I'm more focused on that, at work. [...] I carry it at home and talk to the children. I play with them for a while.
(VenPE18M)

These responses reflect Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) concept of emotion-focused coping—strategies used to manage emotional distress in situations seen as uncontrollable. Instead of addressing root causes like exclusion from healthcare or economic insecurity, Venezuelan migrants turn to coping practices that ease psychological strain. Testimonies highlight prayer, family support, and

everyday distractions (e.g. work, sleep, conversation) as key tools for emotional balance. While these methods don't alter structural conditions, they help sustain mental resilience and underscore the often-overlooked emotional burden of displacement and exclusion.

5.6.4 Adaptation strategies

The IOM asserts that health is a requirement for the full realisation of migration's benefits for the migrants and for the states of origin and destination (IOM, 2009). Health is a key issue in the relationship between migrants and their host society. Ager and Strang (2008) identify it within markers and means of integration, along with other basic domains of employment, housing, and education. Therefore, access to the healthcare system indicates the level of migrants' integration and can potentially contribute to successful integration.

With a long-term perspective that also considers the significance of creating migrant-sensitive and people-centred health systems, IOM's Migration Health Division (MHD) advocates for health policies and measures that aim to address the important health needs of migrants and displaced populations and public health emergencies including sexual and reproductive health and rights, menstrual health management, and the provision of mental health and psychosocial support (IOM, 2021).

Moreover, as Berganza and Solórzano (2019) highlight in their analysis of the challenges for the state to successfully integrate Venezuelans in Peru, access to basic rights such as healthcare and education is the main objective of the state in the dimension of social rights and citizenship. The authors observe that the issue of healthcare access is of the most sensitive considering that many Venezuelans left their country because of the collapsing healthcare system and lack of medicine (Berganza & Solórzano, 2019: 60).

One of the key long-term adaptation strategies adopted by some Venezuelan migrants in Peru involves accessing healthcare through formal employment—although it only refers to those few who are privileged and manage to enter the formal labor market. Employment-based healthcare coverage, either through private insurance or employer-facilitated enrollment in the national public system (SIS), can provide a measure of stability and protection against medical vulnerability. This pathway reflects a broader pattern of structural integration, as formal employment not only improves economic security but also facilitates access to essential public services.

However, this strategy is limited in its reach. Formal employment among migrants remains relatively low due to barriers such as irregular status, lack of credential recognition, and labor market informality. As a result, only a subset of Venezuelans, often those with higher qualifications or legal residency, are able to benefit from this type of coverage. One respondent noted:

I just now, because of my job, I do have insurance, but only mine. My mother also, she had been ill and was hospitalised for a while, about a week, and she did receive financial support from my boss and my colleagues and me too.

(VenPE17F)

Another described that he is in the process of obtaining documents to insure his family members thanks to health insurance he got through his employment:

I currently have EPS insurance. The problem is that at least to insure my wife because of work reasons, I can't because I must bring, I mean, I must have the marriage certificate legalised and apostilled.

(VenPE28M)

These testimonies suggest that while employment-based coverage can be an effective adaptation strategy, it reproduces existing inequalities among the migrant population by linking access to healthcare with one's ability to secure formal work. This reinforces the need for more inclusive, rights-based healthcare policies that decouple access from labor market participation and address the systemic exclusion of migrants working in precarious or informal conditions. In line with IOM's (2021), call for migrant-sensitive health systems, such reforms would ensure that healthcare access becomes a universal guarantee rather than a conditional privilege tied to economic integration.

A key long-term adaptation strategy among Venezuelan migrants in Peru is learning to navigate the local healthcare system. Despite initial barriers—such as lack of information and complex bureaucracy—many gradually acquire the knowledge needed to access services. This process, driven by experience, informal networks, and trial and error, reflects resilience and agency in response to systemic exclusion. Migrants learn what documents are required, where to go for help, and how to manage delays—crucial skills in a system not tailored to their needs. As our interviewees explained:

And when they got sick, so he would get a fever or the flu if he needed it over there. But I didn't know about the SIS. That the SIS is insurance. I didn't know about that. And he would take her; of course, he paid. [...] we do count now.

(VenPE11F)

I do not know. Well, as you know here, if you do not have SIS, you cannot enter any clinic. But well, in the hospital you had to go in, ask for an appointment. I mean, what I see here is that the whole process here is very slow, they send you from one box office to another; from here to do something there, it takes a long time.

(VenPE09F)

These narratives reflect functional integration, where migrants gradually learn to access public services and exercise their rights. However, this adaptation depends on personal resources, social networks, and available information. It also exposes gaps in institutional support, forcing migrants to rely on informal solutions. Without accessible procedures and culturally sensitive guidance, the burden of adaptation unfairly falls on already marginalised individuals.

In the absence of reliable and accessible healthcare, some Venezuelan migrants in Peru adopt proactive, health-conscious behaviours as a long-term adaptation strategy. These adjustments, which include changes in diet, physical activity, and self-monitoring of health, reflect both a practical response to stress and an effort to maintain physical and emotional well-being through personal agency. While these behaviours are often rooted in necessity rather than choice, they reveal how migrants strive to preserve their health in the face of systemic healthcare limitations.

Such lifestyle adaptations are particularly significant given the financial and bureaucratic barriers to accessing formal medical care. For many migrants, illness not only threatens their physical condition but also their economic survival, particularly for those in informal market with no access to paid sick leave. As a result, the prevention of illness becomes a survival strategy, and health maintenance is prioritised in everyday routines. One respondent shared:

I am currently going to the gym. I am totally going to the gym, but only to do velo therapy because I was forbidden to do exercises, because I had to undergo surgery for a disc in my cervical spine. Yes, but to get out of the routine and that.

(VenPE09F)

Another noted that walking and exercises at the open-air gym were incorporated into a broader effort to stay healthy:

Of course, as I said, they inaugurated a viewpoint here and there you have exercise belts and so on. Sometimes we go for a walk, to get some air, and I think that is a bit healthy.

(VenPE19F)

These testimonies show that adaptation includes self-managed health practices, highlighting how healthcare responsibilities have shifted to individuals. While such strategies show resilience, they also reflect systemic inequalities. Normalising self-care as a substitute for formal services risks obscuring structural barriers. Venezuelan migrants' lifestyle adjustments reveal both their adaptability and the ongoing inadequacies of the healthcare system.

Venezuelan migrants in Peru face structural barriers to healthcare, leading many to rely on informal support, self-care, or community networks. While

some adapt over time or gain access through employment, healthcare remains uncertain for many. These challenges underline the urgent need for more inclusive health policies and stronger institutional support.

Notes

- 1 For illustrative purposes in the book, the population is divided into three categories in each of the subscales: low (4–9 points), medium (10–15), and high (16–20).
- 2 The Law No. 31313 published on July 25, 2021.
- 3 Whereas only 47% of their Peruvian neighbours indicated to have been working irregularly (MICALACAS survey 2023).
- 4 In reality, due to fear of legal problems or even deportation, the share of immigrants with irregular status could be much higher.

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6 Relations with host community

6.1 Introduction

The large-scale migration of Venezuelans to Peru represents one of the most significant demographic shifts in Latin America in recent years. While Peru has a history of emigration, large-scale immigration from neighbouring countries is an unprecedented phenomenon in its modern history. As migration flows have increased, the interactions between Venezuelan migrants and Peruvian society have become complex, shaped by both moments of inclusion and tensions stemming from socio-economic pressures, cultural differences, and shifting public perceptions. While many Venezuelan migrants demonstrate optimism and a strong willingness to integrate, they frequently encounter discrimination and socio-economic barriers (Stonawski, 2024). However, narratives of resilience and successful adaptation highlight their efforts to establish themselves within Peruvian society (Grundy-López et al., 2024). These mixed experiences illustrate the uneven nature of integration, which depends on both individual agency and broader socio-political context.

This chapter explores the evolving nature of these relations by analysing both Venezuelan migrants' perceptions of the host community and Peruvians' attitudes towards Venezuelan migration. Additionally, it examines the role of the media in constructing public narratives about migration, which in turn influence social integration processes. Drawing on qualitative and quantitative data, including 30 in-depth interviews with Venezuelan migrants and 30 interviews with their Peruvian neighbours as well as survey findings from the MICLACAS project, this chapter provides a multidimensional perspective on the factors that shape migrant–host interactions in Peru. A comprehensive approach that acknowledges both the challenges and contributions of Venezuelan migrants is essential for strengthening social cohesion and fostering mutual understanding (Cabieses et al., 2024; Irons, 2022). It shows that integration is a dynamic process shaped by structural inequalities, the agency of migrants, and shifting social attitudes. The chapter contributes to a deeper understanding of the complexities of large-scale migration in Latin America.

A central objective of this chapter is to examine the interplay between hospitality and exclusion, exploring how Venezuelans experience social integration while also encountering structural and interpersonal barriers. Theories of integration and acculturation (Berry, 1997; Ager & Strang, 2008) serve as key analytical tools for understanding the diverse strategies migrants adopt in response to these interactions. While some Venezuelans form meaningful social and professional connections with Peruvians, fostering a sense of belonging, others report discrimination, labor exploitation, or difficulties stemming from cultural and linguistic differences. The process of integration, though fraught with difficulties, also presents opportunities for mutual enrichment and strengthened social cohesion (Grundy-López et al., 2024).

To provide a broader view of mutual perceptions, the MICLACAS survey included a set of questions answered by both Venezuelan migrants and their Peruvian neighbours. These questions explored how each group evaluates the other's culture and the extent to which they perceive similarity between populations. The results offer a valuable entry point for understanding the social distance or proximity perceived on both sides.

As shown in Figure 6.1, Venezuelans report significantly more positive views of Peruvian culture than Peruvians do of Venezuelan culture. While the majority of migrants express high appreciation for the host-society culture, Peruvians appear more ambivalent. It is also worth noting that more Venezuelans than Peruvians perceive Peruvian culture as positive, which may reflect migrants' efforts to adapt to host society norms as a strategy of integration, whereas Peruvians' more reserved views could indicate underlying cultural distance that can hinder integration.

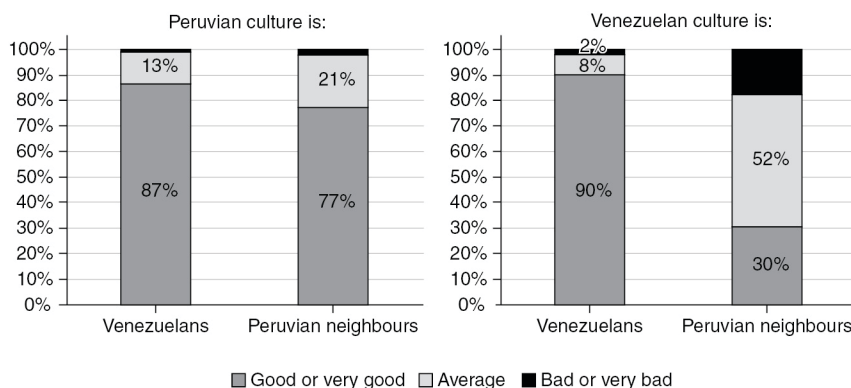


Figure 6.1 Perception of Peruvian and Venezuelan culture by Venezuelan migrants and their Peruvian neighbours.

Source: Own calculations based on the 2023 MICLACAS survey.

To complement these evaluations, the survey also asked both groups about their perceived similarity across a range of domains (see Figure 6.2). These micro-level comparisons show which aspects are seen as shared and which as different.

The results reveal an interesting asymmetry: Venezuelans consistently perceive greater similarity in values, attitudes, and lifestyles with their Peruvian neighbours, whereas Peruvians are more reserved towards Venezuelans, particularly in relation to outward characteristics such as appearance and religion. To synthesise these detailed assessments, an overall similarity score was constructed (see Figure 6.3). This helps to summarise the general sentiment of cultural closeness or distance perceived by each group.

The aggregate measure confirms the previous pattern: Venezuelans express a stronger sense of cultural proximity than Peruvians do, a finding that likely reflects migrants' greater motivation to integrate and establish common ground.

This chapter continues with an examination of how Venezuelan migration is perceived and experienced by both migrants and the host society, focusing on three dimensions. First, it explores Venezuelan migrants' views of their relationships with Peruvians, including both supportive and discriminatory experiences. It then turns to how Peruvians perceive Venezuelans, highlighting how these attitudes are shaped by social, economic, and cultural factors. Finally, it analyses the role of media representations in influencing public opinion and shaping the context in which integration takes place.

6.2 Venezuelan perceptions of their relations with the host society

The way Venezuelan migrants perceive their relationship with the Peruvian host community is deeply intertwined with their emotional well-being and overall integration experience. Migration inherently presents psychological and social challenges, and the degree of support migrants receive from their surroundings significantly influences their ability to adapt. Research indicates that social support networks play a crucial role in mitigating stress and fostering resilience among migrants (Sereke & Drzewiecka, 2025; Yue et al., 2024). Compared to Peruvian internal migrants, Venezuelans rely on distinct emotion regulation strategies, family connections and close personal relationships, serving as vital protective factors in their adaptation process (Del Carmen Espinoza et al., 2021).

However, perceptions of social support vary, and Venezuelan migrants in Peru often report feeling less welcomed by the host society than in other regional contexts, such as Brazil, where integration policies and social attitudes may be more favorable (Bartels et al., 2023). Despite these challenges, many migrants successfully cultivate support networks and express appreciation for aspects of Peruvian culture, which in turn fosters a sense of belonging and identification with their new environment (Cequea et al., 2024). This section explores the diverse perceptions Venezuelans hold regarding their interactions with

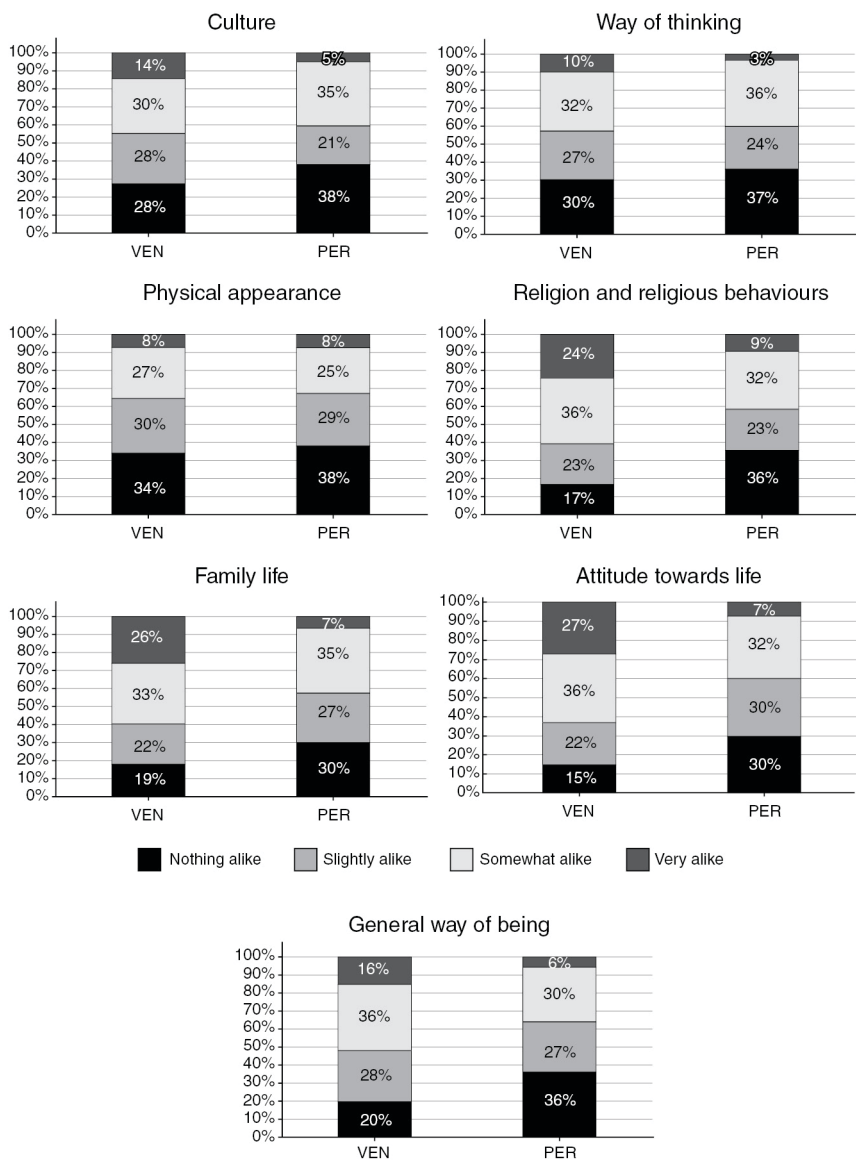


Figure 6.2 Perception of Venezuelan migrants and their Peruvian neighbours regarding dimensions of similarity (Question: How similar do you think Peruvians and Venezuelans are in their...?).

Source: Own calculations based on the 2023 MICLACAS survey.

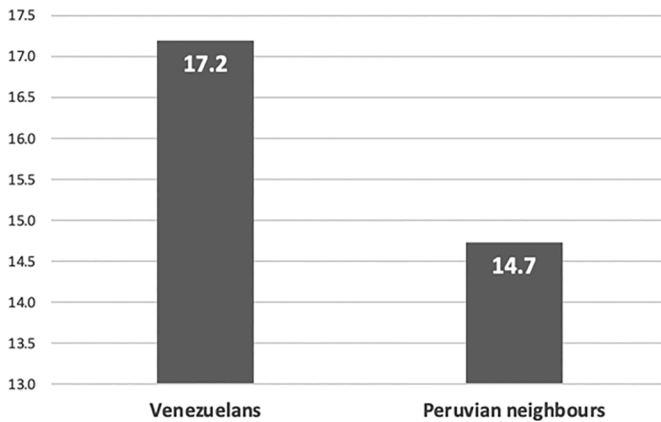


Figure 6.3 Overall similarity score.

Source: Own calculations based on the 2023 MICLACAS survey.

Peruvians, highlighting both positive experiences of hospitality and friendship, as well as instances of exclusion and discrimination. Through the voices of Venezuelan migrants, this analysis provides insight into the complexities of their social integration and the factors that shape their perceptions of life in Peru.

6.2.1 Friendly interactions and hospitality

To explore how Venezuelan migrants experience social integration at the neighbourhood level, this section focuses on their interactions with Peruvian residents. Figure 6.4 offers an overview of these experiences, which range from positive and supportive relationships to more neutral or negative ones. A notable share of respondents describe friendly and welcoming interactions, often emphasising acts of hospitality, mutual support, and cultural exchange in daily life. These findings correspond to qualitative accounts from the interviews, where many Venezuelans emphasise the kindness and openness they reported receiving from some Peruvians, particularly within their local communities. However, the distribution also reveals that a substantial number of migrants experience more distant or strained relationships with their neighbours, indicating that integration is not uniform across all social contexts. Some migrants mention a lack of meaningful interaction, while others face indifference or even exclusion. These mixed responses reflect the broader complexities of migrant–host relations, where factors such as economic conditions, neighbourhood composition, and individual attitudes influence the extent of social cohesion.

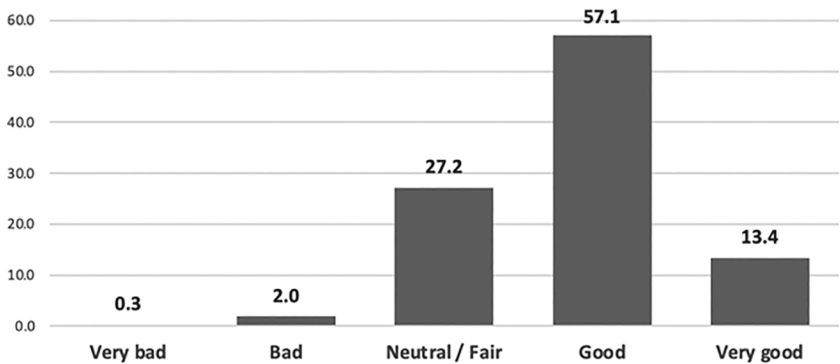


Figure 6.4 Distribution of answers to the question: How do you evaluate your relationship with your Peruvian neighbours?

Source: Own calculations based on the 2023 MICLACAS survey.

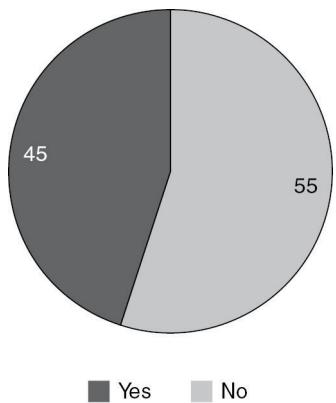


Figure 6.5 Distribution of answers to the question: Have you received help from your Peruvian neighbours since you arrived?

Source: Own calculations based on the 2023 MICLACAS survey.

Moreover, our data reveal a varied landscape of support, with some migrants reporting acts of kindness, such as sharing food, offering guidance on navigating local systems, or providing employment opportunities (Figure 6.5). These findings align with qualitative testimonies in the following paragraphs, which highlight the presence of hospitality and solidarity in certain neighbourhoods, particularly where social ties have developed over time.

The same data reveal that many respondents did not receive help from their Peruvian neighbours, pointing to uneven or limited support within the community. These differences highlight the complex nature of migrant integration, where access to help often depends on local attitudes, economic realities, and personal connections.

Moreover, according to the MICLACAS survey, 70% of respondents stated that establishing relationships with Peruvians was easy or very easy upon arrival, making it the least challenging aspect of their initial experience—easier than securing housing or employment. In line with this, more than 67% reported having good or very good relationships with the Peruvian population, while over 31% described these relations as regular. Additionally, 65% of respondents said they would feel comfortable or very comfortable if a family member married a Peruvian partner. These quantitative patterns are confirmed by interview data, which provide deeper insight into the lived experiences behind the numbers.

Many Venezuelans who we interviewed reported positive relationships with Peruvians, forming friendships and feeling welcomed. Some describe Peruvians as kind and helpful, especially in workplaces and neighbourhoods. Friendly interactions and hospitality play a crucial role in the integration of migrants, affecting not only their experiences, but also their ability to establish a sense of belonging in the new country. Migrants' social experiences vary depending on whether they form weak ties such as casual interactions with neighbours or work colleagues or strong ties rooted in close friendships and family-like bonds, which are more difficult to establish but essential for integration. As highlighted in Ager and Strang's (2008) framework, bridging connections with host population are central to the integration process, enabling both emotional well-being and practical access to opportunities.

These varied accounts align with Berry's (1997) acculturation model, which posits that migrants adopt different strategies for engaging with the host society. While some Venezuelan migrants show a tendency towards separation by maintaining ties within their own community, the predominant pattern reflects an integration strategy, which is the most adaptive and conducive to long-term well-being. Stonawski (2025) found that Venezuelan migrants in Peru often favour the integration strategy, seeking to preserve their cultural identity while forming relationships with the host society. This tendency was evident in many of the interviews, where participants described instances of friendly interactions and mutual support. As one interviewee noted:

So far I have been well received. I have not had any kind of inconvenience here in Peru, with anyone. [...] I even have many Peruvian friends who have received me very well.

(VenPE12M)

As another interviewee explained when describing her relationships with Peruvians:

[...] it feels good because they make you feel like you are at home, they give you confidence and kindness.

(VenPE08F)

The presence of positive interactions with Peruvians, as reflected in the above narratives of Venezuelan migrants, suggests a degree of social inclusion that can facilitate long-term adaptation and integration. However, such interactions do not occur uniformly across all contexts; rather, they are shaped by pre-existing social attitudes, economic conditions, and political discourses surrounding migration. While some Venezuelans report forming meaningful friendships with Peruvians and being welcomed, others note a more cautious or conditional acceptance. Chaves-González et al. (2021) emphasise that the socio-economic integration of Venezuelan migrants in Peru is influenced by various factors, including access to employment, education, and social services.

Thus, the presence of hospitality does not necessarily indicate structural inclusion, as positive interpersonal relationships do not always translate into broader integration. The warm reception many Venezuelans initially encountered in Peru, often mentioned in our interviews, gradually shifted as migration flows increased, revealing the fragility of acceptance when confronted with economic pressures and shifting public perceptions perpetuated by media.

6.2.2 Experiences of discrimination and xenophobia

By the end of the 2020s, discrimination against Venezuelan migrants in Peru had become a visible concern. A 2018 national survey found that 35.6% of Venezuelans had experienced some form of discrimination since their arrival, with slightly higher rates reported by women (36.6%) than by men (34.6%) (INEI, 2019). These experiences ranged from derogatory remarks and social exclusion to systemic barriers such as difficulties in renting accommodation or securing employment. Nearly two-thirds of reported incidents occurred in public spaces, followed by workplaces and public transportation. By 2022, the figure had declined slightly, with 30% of respondents still feeling discriminated against, almost always “por su nacionalidad” (in English: because of their nationality) (INEI, 2022). Discrimination in Peru has long been shaped by deep-rooted social inequalities and racial hierarchies. Internal migrants from rural provinces, particularly those of Indigenous descent, have also historically faced xenophobia and marginalisation in urban centres like Lima. This broader context of racialised social stratification provides an important foundation for understanding the treatment of Venezuelan migrants, who are entering a society already deeply marked by patterns of exclusion.

While significant, data from the national survey also suggest that the majority of Venezuelan migrants did not report personal experiences of discrimination. Interview data from the MICLACAS project confirm that only some Venezuelans described being insulted, excluded, or verbally attacked, often citing the influence of negative stereotypes. Several noted a rise in xenophobia due to negative stereotypes. Such experiences of discrimination and xenophobia significantly hinder the integration of migrants, reinforcing social divisions and limiting their access to key resources in the host society. As emphasised in Ager and Strang's (2008) integration framework, social bonds and bridging ties are essential components in fostering a sense of belonging among migrants. However, when xenophobia and discrimination are present, migrants face increased marginalisation and a diminished capacity to integrate.

Importantly, several Venezuelan respondents in Peru reported experiences of verbal harassment, workplace exploitation, and systemic prejudice, indicating that, beyond individual acts, discrimination manifests structurally, affecting access to employment, housing, and social mobility. These patterns reflect a broader global dynamic in which migration flows often trigger nationalist and protectionist sentiments within host societies.

Berry's (1997) acculturation model provides further insight into how discrimination shapes migrant adaptation strategies. When xenophobic attitudes are prevalent, Venezuelans may find integration difficult. In response, some migrants turn to separation, strengthening intragroup networks as a means of protection and solidarity. In this context, others may feel pressured to adopt assimilation by attempting to minimize their Venezuelan identity, which is often visible through linguistic and cultural markers. The following testimony captures the emotional toll of discrimination:

[...] when I was working in the street, in my house, they shouted at me like that, "go to hell", as they say. And I felt so bad that I even started to cry, because as I was just arriving, now that I have been here for a while, I don't stop, I don't even give them any importance.

(VenPE01F)

These accounts reflect broader sociological theories, such as group threat, which posits that native populations perceive migrants as economic and cultural threats, intensifying xenophobic attitudes. As the initial wave of Venezuelan arrivals was met with relative openness, later migration flows, accompanied by media narratives linking Venezuelans to crime and job competition, changed public perceptions. As one of our experts explains:

[...] what I consider to be a before and after of the perception of Venezuelan migration by Peruvians [...] was an event that had never happened before, an assault by Venezuelan criminals, and they found dismembered bodies in a

place in the north of Lima. And that for the Peruvians was so shocking that the perception of the Venezuelan migration changed utterly. [...] And, what was said in the media, the news, everything was super negative, super negative against Venezuelan migration.

(VenPeEX08)

The Venezuelan experience in Peru reveals the dual nature of xenophobia: while it manifests in direct and individual acts, it is also embedded in institutional practices and public discourse, shaping the conditions under which migrants either integrate or remain on the margins of the host society.

6.2.3 Social and cultural differences

Social and cultural differences play a central role in shaping migrant–host interactions. Within Ager and Strang’s (2008) framework, social bridges with the host community are essential for fostering a sense of belonging. However, differences in communication styles, social norms, and attitudes towards hierarchy can act as barriers. In our interviews Venezuelans were described as expressive, sociable, and informal, while Peruvians were seen as more reserved, hierarchical, and formal. Although these differences are not inherently conflictual, they can generate tensions and slow the integration process.

Berry’s (1997) acculturation model helps explain how migrants experience these cultural differences. Venezuelans who adapt to Peruvian customs while maintaining their own traditions follow an integration strategy. However, some migrants express frustration with perceived Peruvian formality, which can lead to separation, where Venezuelans primarily associate with their compatriots. This pattern is reinforced by differences in socialisation as some Venezuelan interviewees reported struggling to form deep friendships with Peruvians, who they perceive as cautious or distant. Such experiences suggest that despite cultural and linguistic similarities, integration is not automatic; rather, it depends on mutual openness on both sides and structural opportunities for interaction. Below, two main areas of difference are described.

6.2.3.1 Openness vs. reserved attitudes

Differences in social openness versus reserved attitudes mainly shape interactions among Venezuelans and Peruvians, influencing their ability to form deep connections. Many Venezuelans describe themselves as naturally outgoing, expressive, and eager to engage in social interactions, while they perceive Peruvians as more cautious, formal, and initially distant. This contrast reflects deeper cultural patterns: Venezuelan social norms, shaped by the more autonomous colonial structure of the Captaincy General of Venezuela and influenced by Caribbean cultural traits that tend to emphasise spontaneity and warmth. In

contrast, Peruvian social interactions, particularly in urban and Andean settings, often emphasise discretion, respect for social hierarchies and personal boundaries. This cultural difference was described by our interviewees:

Because I know a lot of Venezuelan people, we have more fun than all Venezuelans. Yes, the Venezuelan is more open, more open-minded. But the Peruvian is more closed, more proud.

(VenPE01F)

What I am telling you is that they are not very sociable. Well, Venezuelans are more sociable, they are a little more, more attentive. It may sound ugly, but I feel that we are a little more polite in those things of good afternoon, good morning.

(VenPE16M)

The observed differences in social openness between Venezuelans and Peruvians, as highlighted by our interviewees, align with existing cultural analyses (Evason, 2019; Scroope, 2018). This cultural divide is also supported by quantitative cross-cultural research. According to Hofstede's country comparison tool, the most striking difference between Venezuelans and Peruvians lies in the dimension of indulgence, Venezuela scores a maximum of 100, while Peru scores just 46 (The Culture Factor, 2023). Indulgence refers to the extent to which people try to control their desires and impulses. Venezuelans tend to emphasise enjoyment, leisure, and spontaneity, placing high value on fun, optimism, and living in the moment, whereas Peruvians are more restrained in expressing desires and prioritising personal gratification. These findings resonate with the MICLACAS project data, reinforcing the idea that lifestyle orientation and attitudes towards pleasure and social expression are key cultural elements shaping migrant–host interactions. Understanding these differences is crucial for developing strategies that promote mutual understanding and effective communication between the two groups.

6.2.3.2 Differences in language and communication

Differences in language and communication play a crucial role in shaping the integration experiences of migrants, influencing their ability to build relationships, interact with local institutions, and access opportunities. While Venezuelans and Peruvians share the same language, interviewees frequently highlighted significant variations in wording and phrases, tone, and communication styles that can create misunderstandings or discomfort. In Ager and Strang's (2008) framework, language and cultural knowledge constitute a fundamental domain that influences both social bridges (interactions with the host community) and social bonds (relationships within migrant networks). When linguistic

differences provoke exclusion, frustration, or misinterpretation, they can hinder Venezuelans' integration into Peruvian society.

Berry's (1997) acculturation model helps explain how migrants respond to these challenges. Some Venezuelans adopt integration strategies by adjusting their speech and learning Peruvian expressions, while others express resistance towards perceived over-formality or indirectness in local communication. Interviewees often described Peruvians as more reserved and serious in conversation, whereas Venezuelans saw themselves as spontaneous, expressive, and emotionally open. This reflects broader regional patterns: Andean societies often value structure, hierarchy, and respectful distance, while Caribbean and tropical cultures like Venezuela's tend to emphasise warmth, informality, and expressiveness. This quote reflects the perception of this cultural difference:

[...] their way of talking, of wanting to be them all the time, does bother me sometimes. There are many who are kind of overbearing. That's the only thing I don't like about some Peruvians.

(VenPE01F)

Venezuelans are often characterised as expressive and open in their communication styles, frequently engaging in conversations accompanied by expressive body language (Evason, 2019). In contrast, Peruvians tend to exhibit a more reserved communication style, often communicating indirectly to avoid conflict and maintain composure (Scroope, 2018). These linguistic differences also intersect with power dynamics, as language becomes a marker of in-group and out-group status. Linguistic othering occurs when differences in accent, vocabulary, or tone are used to subtly distinguish migrants from the native population, reinforcing social hierarchies. Venezuelans in Peru experience this when their accent immediately identifies them as foreigners, sometimes exposing them to discriminatory remarks or assumptions about their background. Additionally, non-verbal communication manifested through gestures, proximity, and physical touch plays an important role. Venezuelans often come from a high-contact culture, where hugging, casual touch, and physical closeness are common expressions of friendliness. For many Peruvians such behaviours can feel uncomfortable, making intercultural relations more challenging.

6.2.4 Workplace dynamics: respect, hierarchies, and exploitation

Within Ager and Strang's (2008) framework, employment constitutes a key domain of migrant integration, offering both material stability and opportunities for social interaction. However, for many Venezuelan migrants in Peru, access to fair and secure employment is shaped by broader labour market conditions, cultural expectations, and legal status. While some experience exploitative labour practices or unequal treatment, others successfully integrate into Peruvian

workplaces, developing positive professional relationships and mutual respect with Peruvian colleagues.

Research has shown that many Venezuelans face deskilling, lower wages, and employment discrimination due to prevailing stereotypes (Groeger et al., 2024). These dynamics are compounded by widespread labour informality and weak enforcement of worker protections (Torres et al., 2024). Drawing on Berry's (1997) acculturation model, workplace adaptation reflects both integration, where migrants adjust to hierarchical structures while maintaining elements of their cultural identity, and separation, wherein migrants preserve their own work styles within predominantly Venezuelan environments.

A central challenge identified in our study is the difference in work ethics and attitudes towards authority. Many Venezuelan migrants come from professional cultures that value flexibility, improvisation, and egalitarian relationships, whereas Peruvians are often perceived as favoring formality, hierarchical norms, and deference to authority. This contrast can lead to misunderstandings, particularly when Venezuelan workers expect more autonomy or informal communication with supervisors, while Peruvian employers may interpret such behaviour as undisciplined or disrespectful. As one interviewee explained:

Work-wise, maybe they're exploiting me, but it passes when I talk to the lady, my boss speaks, she shows a little humility. I feel that maybe they are like that. They call humility to one, that one has to listen to them. That if they speak to you in a certain tone, you have to stay quiet. They call that humility because my colleague answers in a way that he doesn't retaliate and they say that's not humble. I don't know if they think that.

(VenPE26M)

These workplace dynamics also reflect the contact hypothesis, which suggests that sustained, cooperative interactions across cultural groups reduce prejudice and facilitate understanding. However, when cultural differences become sources of tension or markers of superiority and inferiority, such as stereotypes about Venezuelans being overly assertive or Peruvians being excessively reserved, they may reinforce social divisions rather than bridge them.

6.2.4.1 Positive adaptation and collaboration

Despite these challenges, many Venezuelan migrants report positive experiences in the workplace, where respect, support, and a shared sense of responsibility contribute to successful adaptation. Some migrants have developed strong bonds with Peruvian colleagues, describing work environments as inclusive and even familial. These cases illustrate the possibility of meaningful integration through employment and reflect the role of social bridges in facilitating a sense of belonging:

At least in my case, I run a restaurant, the only Venezuelan is me, the owner is Peruvian, the other waitress is Peruvian and with me I see them as a family. And that for me is a joy. Why? Because the atmosphere is good.

(VenPE27F)

Mostly, the boss or the company owner supported us a lot [...] And the boss did, why? He helped us a lot with that, even legally, because they wanted to put complaints and everything.

(VenPE07M)

These accounts demonstrate that professional integration is not only possible but is actively occurring in some sectors. Supportive relationships can mitigate cultural tensions, providing migrants with access to stable employment and legal protections while enabling cross-cultural solidarity.

6.2.4.2 Exploitation and abuse

However, many Venezuelan workers find themselves in exploitative or precarious employment arrangements, often in the informal economy, where labour protections are minimal and oversight is weak. Although, labour informality is not exclusive to migrants in Peru, a large share of Peruvians also work without formal contracts or legal protections, which means that the exploitation reflects broader systemic practices rather than targeted discrimination against migrants. Our interviewees reported cases of unpaid wages, verbal abuse, sexual harassment, and job insecurity. These conditions undermine migrants' rights and obstruct their ability to achieve integration. As noted by our respondents:

Here, my wife has had bad experiences in the sense that [...] she has worked in stores and on a couple of occasions she has not been paid. All of a sudden she works a week and they say, We are done with your service, but they don't pay her for her week's work. It's happened to her at least twice. And it's also happened here that she's had to withdraw from a couple of jobs because the bosses have verbally abused her.

(VenPE03M)

In the first job, I was told that the man was bad, that the man was this, and I did feel a little scared at the end. At the beginning, I did feel a little scared, they told me No, every Venezuelan woman who comes in here has to be with him and that's a little bit, but it depends on the woman. If you behave yourself, they have to respect you. But as I say, it was just one day because he exploited me too much and he didn't pay for it in the end. But that's all right.

(VenPE06F)

The interviews also reveal the sexualisation of Venezuelan women in the Peruvian labour market, where gendered and xenophobic stereotypes often frame them as sexually available or less respectable, leading to heightened vulnerability. These accounts reflect the precariousness of many migrants' working conditions and the imbalance of power between employers and undocumented or economically vulnerable workers. The gap between positive and negative workplace experiences highlights the deeply stratified nature of Peru's labor market and the uneven context in which Venezuelan migrants seek to adapt.

6.2.5 Neighbourhoods and social spaces

The neighbourhood is another important setting for migrant integration, shaping everyday interactions and influencing migrants' overall well-being. For Venezuelans in Peru, neighbourhood experiences range from inclusion to isolation. While some interviewees described friendly relationships with Peruvian neighbours, others reported a lack of interaction or even hostility. The role of social spaces such as public gatherings, religious institutions, and NGOs is equally significant in determining the extent to which migrants can find support.

6.2.5.1 Interaction in neighbourhoods

The degree of interaction between Venezuelans and Peruvians in shared neighbourhoods varies widely. According to the MICLACAS survey, over 70% of respondents rated their relationship with Peruvian neighbours as good or very good, while more than 27% described it as regular. However, in some cases, migrants reside in Venezuelan-dominated areas, reinforcing Berry's (1997) concept of separation, in which migrants rely primarily on intragroup ties rather than integrate into the broader community. Our interviews also indicated the existence of xenophobic sentiments in certain neighbourhoods, which results in exclusionary practices. This uneven distribution of social interactions underscores how neighbourhood dynamics influence migrant experiences as in the statement of one interviewee who explained:

We don't have much communication because we don't go out much. There, well neighbour how are you, how are you neighbour, normal greeting, good morning and good afternoon, but until there.

(VenPE11F)

Other migrants form strong relationships with Peruvian neighbours, sharing social activities and daily interactions that facilitate integration. Another interviewee shared such positive experience:

[...] sometimes, when I arrive from work, like late, I arrive while they bring me lunch, I start chatting with them, I go downstairs, go out to the store, chat

with the neighbour, They ask me things about Venezuela, I show them how it is, I go and also learn from them how things are here.

(VenPE26M)

These neighbourhood experiences illustrate how everyday interactions, whether limited or meaningful, can either hinder or strengthen the formation of social bridges, a key domain in the integration framework.

6.2.5.2 Integration through NGOs, state and religious institutions

Beyond informal neighbourhood interactions, institutions such as NGOs, state programmes, and religious organisations play a significant role in supporting Venezuelan migrants and fostering integration. Many migrants turn to religious spaces where they find solidarity and acceptance, demonstrating the role of faith-based networks in migrant adaptation. NGOs and civil society organisations also contribute to integration by offering legal assistance, employment support, and advocacy.

From Berry's (1997) perspective, migrants who engage with these support networks may experience integration, but where institutional barriers persist, they risk marginalisation. As explained by one of the interviewees, who, when asked about his relationships with Peruvians, said:

There is an NGO here, but it fights against discrimination and seeks benefits for Venezuelans.

(VenPE24F)

Neighbourhoods and social spaces play a defining role in shaping the integration experiences of Venezuelan migrants in Peru. These dynamics highlight the importance of both informal social relationships and institutional support. The Venezuelan experience in Peru thus reflects broader patterns of migrant adaptation in Latin America, where inclusion is negotiated at multiple levels from the local to the institutional.

In sum, Venezuelan migrants' perceptions of their relationship with the Peruvian host society reveal a dynamic interplay between openness and exclusion, support and discrimination, cultural proximity and social distance. While many migrants report experiences of welcome, solidarity, and integration, some encounter significant obstacles shaped by prejudice and cultural differences. These perceptions are not uniform but vary across social contexts, neighbourhoods, and individual experiences.

6.3 Peruvian perceptions of Venezuelan migrants and the dynamics of their mutual relations

This section explores how Peruvians perceive Venezuelan migrants and their interactions with them, with particular attention to the drivers of negative

stereotyping and the contexts that enable positive engagement and integration. The analysis draws on data from the MICLACAS survey and 30 in-depth interviews with Peruvian residents who have had contact with Venezuelan migrants in various everyday settings. These interviews provide crucial insight into how direct, personal encounters shape attitudes, revealing a more complex and often more positive view than public discourse suggests. In addition to drawing on Berry's (1997) acculturation framework and Ager and Strang's (2008) model of integration domains, this analysis also engages with the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954), which posits that prejudice can be reduced through interpersonal interaction under specific conditions, such as cooperation and equal status. In the Peruvian context, workplaces, schools, and neighbourhoods often serve as key sites where such contact occurs and where more positive attitudes towards Venezuelan migrants may emerge. However, the effects of contact are not always straightforward. While studies show that contact often helps reduce prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), other scholars caution that positive encounters do not necessarily translate into structural or attitudinal change when exclusionary narratives persist (Dixon et al., 2005).

Public perceptions of Venezuelan migrants in Peru have shifted significantly over the past decade, particularly following the mass influx in 2018. Survey data from Metropolitan Lima reflect this shift. In 2018, nearly three-quarters of respondents described Venezuelans as very pleasant and hardworking, but by 2019, this figure had dropped to nearly half (IDEHPUCP, 2020). At the same time, negative stereotypes intensified—those who believed that many Venezuelans engage in criminal activities rose from 55% to 80%, while the share expressing fear of Venezuelan migrants more than doubled, from 24% to 52% (Willer et al., 2021).

By 2021, public perceptions of Venezuelan migration had hardened significantly. Around 70% of Peruvians viewed it as having a negative impact, while only about 10% held a positive view (IDEHPUCP, 2021). This marked a stark contrast to the initial response, which was shaped by solidarity and hospitality, with many Peruvians recalling their own country's emigration history (Willer et al., 2021). As arrivals increased, however, concerns over crime, job competition, and cultural differences fueled a shift towards rejection and fear. The dominant perception became one of threat rather than contribution—a shift described in studies as the consolidation of a “strongly negative” image of Venezuelan migration (IDEHPUCP, 2021). Amaya and Elguera (2023) found that eight in ten Peruvians opposed having more Venezuelans in their immediate family or friend group, reflecting rising social distance and reluctance to form close bonds. This transformation may also stem from a growing realisation that Venezuelans are not temporary refugees, but are likely to stay as Venezuela's crisis endures. While caution and skepticism dominate public discourse, a portion of the population continues to express empathy and support for integration efforts (Grundy-López

et al., 2024). These more favorable attitudes often emerge through personal contact in workplaces, schools, and neighbourhoods.

In comparison with other countries in the region, Peru stands out for both the intensity and the recent growth of anti-immigrant sentiment. Between 2020 and 2023, the share of Peruvians who believed that immigrants increase crime or are harmful to the country rose significantly, placing Peru among the most migration-sceptical societies in Latin America. This trend is reflected in Latinobarómetro data (see Figures 6.6 and 6.7), which show that Peru consistently ranks at the top of the regional scale in terms of negative public attitudes towards immigration. These findings echo patterns observed in national surveys and media portrayals, suggesting a broader normalisation of xenophobic discourse.

In the MICLACAS survey, the instrument to evaluate xenophobia among Peruvian neighbours of Venezuelan migrants, as proposed by Symeonaki and Kazani (2011) was applied (described in Chapter 2). The study reveals a generally medium level of xenophobia among the surveyed neighbours. Seventy-five per cent of respondents have a medium level of overall xenophobia towards Venezuelans, around 5% have high level and 20% low level (Figure 6.8). These findings suggest that while overt hostility is not widespread, a significant portion of the population maintains moderate xenophobic attitudes, which could still hinder meaningful integration and reinforce social distance.

However, there is a significant difference in level of xenophobia across dimensions: rights, impact, general issues, and actions. Half of Peruvian neighbours were very positive about granting rights to Venezuelan migrants, but only 14% were positive of economic impact (Figure 6.9). This disaggregation

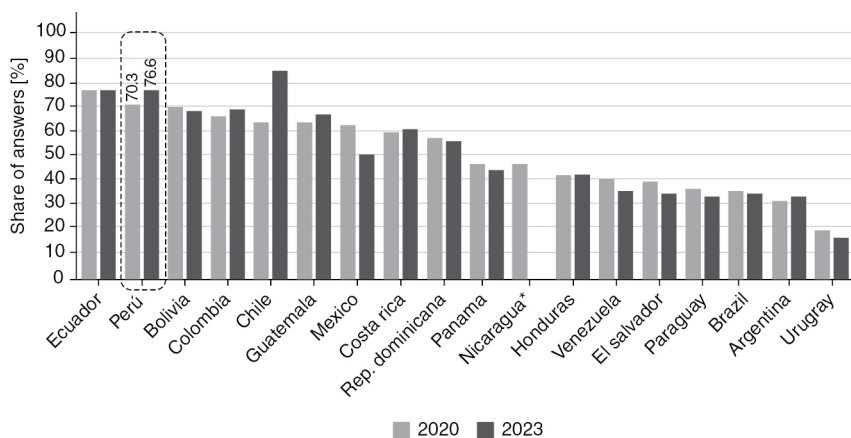


Figure 6.6 Percentage of respondents agreeing that “Immigrants increase crime rates”, selected Latin American countries” (2020 vs. 2023).

Source: Own calculations based on Latinobarómetro 2020 and 2023.

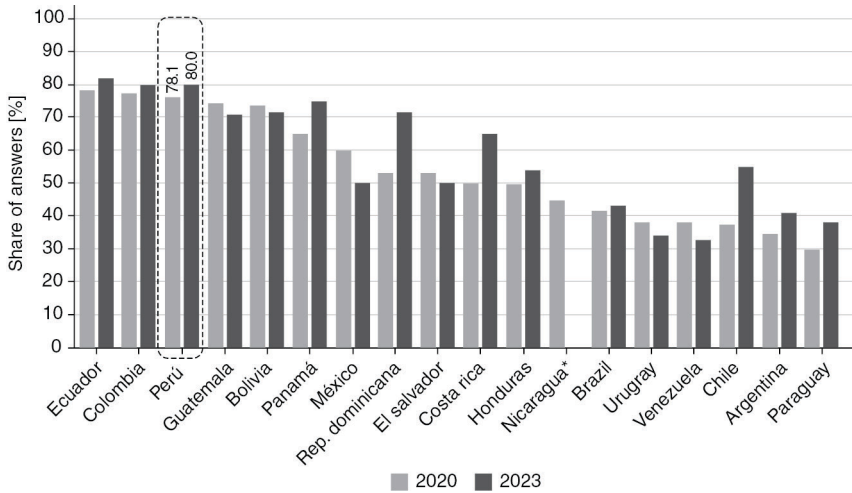


Figure 6.7 Percentage of respondents agreeing that “The arrival of immigrants is harmful to the country”, selected Latin American countries (2020 vs. 2023).

Source: Own calculations based on Latinobarómetro 2020 and 2023.

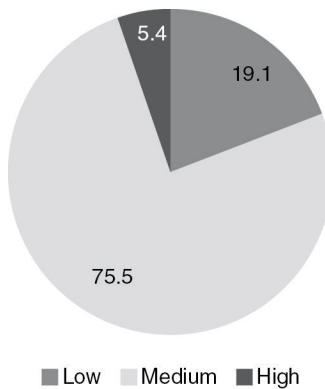


Figure 6.8 Overall xenophobia levels of Peruvian neighbours.

Source: Own calculations based on the 2023 MICLACAS survey.

reveals a more complex attitudinal structure: while many respondents support granting rights to migrants, possibly reflecting humanitarian values, they remain sceptical about the perceived consequences of migration, especially in economic terms. This divergence highlights the coexistence of normative acceptance and instrumental resistance.

Together, Figures 6.8 and 6.9 demonstrate that xenophobia among Peruvian neighbours cannot be understood as a monolithic attitude; rather, it is

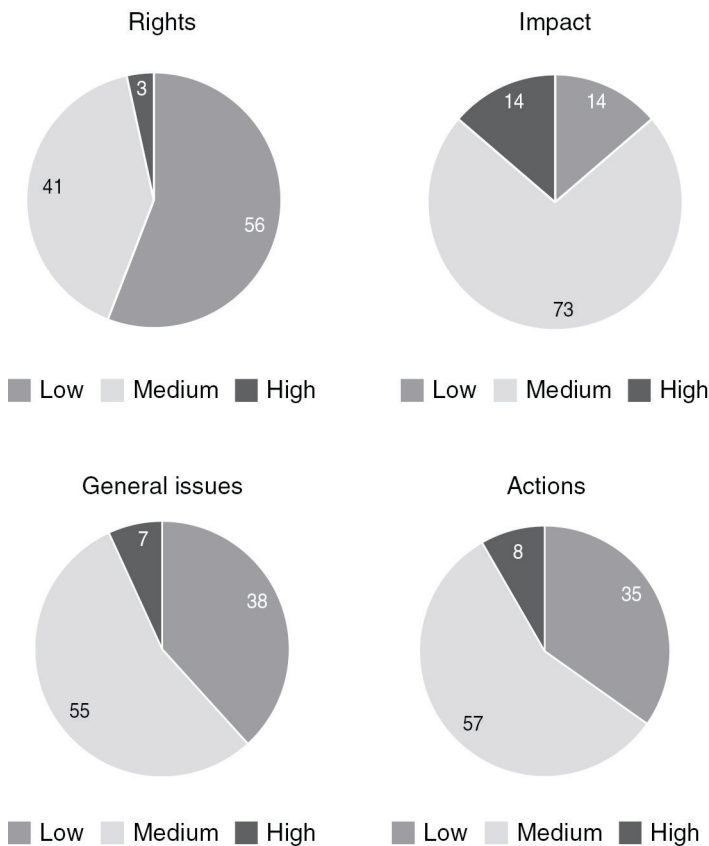


Figure 6.9 Xenophobia levels of Peruvian neighbours by dimension.
Source: Own calculations based on the 2023 MICLACAS survey.

differentiated across various domains of migrant–host relations, with significant implications for integration policy and local community dynamics.

The findings from the qualitative component of our study suggest that, although public discourse often portrays Venezuelans in negative or stereotypical terms, many Peruvians describe positive personal experiences with migrants—highlighting moments of cultural exchange, collaboration, and friendship. These relationships commonly emerge in professional settings, commercial interactions, and everyday social environments such as schools, workplaces, and local markets. Venezuelans are frequently described as sociable, open, and approachable, with some Peruvians even adopting elements of Venezuelan culture. However, these experiences are context dependent, and the nature of interaction significantly shapes how migrants are perceived and the degree to which they are socially integrated. In what follows, we explore these dynamics in more detail.

6.3.1 Perception depending on place or sphere of interaction

In certain spaces, such as workplaces and friendships, relationships are often described as warm and friendly. However, in domestic settings, some Peruvians report tensions, particularly regarding cultural differences in social behaviour, noise levels, or perceived arrogance. In some cases, people acknowledge both positive and negative aspects of their interactions with Venezuelans.

6.3.1.1 Home and friendship

Attitudes towards Venezuelan migrants vary significantly depending on the degree of personal proximity. Surveys suggest that many Peruvians are uncomfortable with Venezuelan migrants entering their intimate social circles. Early studies indicated that many Peruvians who had met Venezuelan newcomers found them to be friendly and approachable, contributing to the initially welcoming attitude (Blouin et al., 2019). However, as migration flows persisted, public perceptions became more contentious (Amaya & Elguera, 2023).

Direct personal interactions, however, often complicate or challenge such generalisations. Our interviews reveal a wide range of experiences in domestic and friendship settings—from close relationships, in which Venezuelans are viewed as cheerful and sincere, to tensions in shared living spaces, often related to noise levels or personal habits that may reflect underlying cultural differences. These narratives illustrate how interpersonal encounters influence the way Venezuelans are perceived in Peru.

In general, Venezuelan migrants are perceived as joyful, open, and caring friends, as described by one of the respondents:

They are quite cheerful people, quite extroverted, dynamic, and quite liberal. [...]. Very funny, very nice people.

(PePE03F)

Another interviewee described the strong bonds he developed with Venezuelans, emphasising mutual respect, trust, and a sense of camaraderie:

I have Venezuelan friends, very dear friends. Even the one who shaves me, the barber, is Venezuelan. [...]. And if he has ten clients and tells me to wait for him, I wait for him, because he generates trust.

(PePE26M)

Another woman appreciated the cultural exchange and the opportunity to learn skills from Venezuelans:

I met this couple with their little boy. [...]. They taught me to cook things, and I did the same. [...]. There are beautiful things, sharing and exchanging

cultures. They taught me to make things like wire with alpaca, necklaces, earrings, painting, tattooing.

(PePE08F)

On the other hand, some individuals report rather negative experiences, such as the woman who shared her experience of living in a predominantly Venezuelan housing situation, where differences in social behaviour led to discomfort:

Just before the pandemic, we started to live with my partner in a place where everyone was Venezuelan and I was the only Peruvian. [...]. I don't usually like people who are very boisterous, invade your privacy or bother you. My partner does not like it either, being Venezuelan. [...]. But there, everyone was making a lot of noise and the loudspeaker was at full volume.

(PePE23F)

Taken together, these accounts reveal that personal proximity plays a decisive role in shaping how Venezuelans are perceived. While many Peruvians describe Venezuelans as cheerful, generous, and trustworthy, especially in friendships and everyday interactions, tensions may emerge in shared domestic spaces, where cultural differences in behaviour and lifestyle become more pronounced. These mixed experiences underscore the ambivalent nature of host–migrant relations in Peru: interpersonal warmth often coexists with discomfort or perceived incompatibility, suggesting that integration at the household level may be more fragile than broader expressions of social openness imply. Such dynamics echo Berry's (1997) view that intercultural contact can lead to both enrichment and strain, depending on the degree of mutual adaptation and the context in which interactions occur.

6.3.1.2 *Work*

Perceptions of Venezuelan migrants in the workplace are often shaped by broader economic anxieties. As Venezuelans entered Peru's labor market, mainly in commerce, services, and informal sectors, many locals expressed concern over job competition. By 2021, 83% of Peruvians viewed Venezuelan immigration as a "threat to Peruvian jobs," fearing displacement or wage cuts (Amaya & Elguera, 2023), a sentiment reinforced by public discourse and officials (Yalta-González & Lovón Cueva, 2023). Meanwhile, perceptions of Venezuelans' work ethic have declined: in 2018, 73% of Peruvians saw them as hardworking and entrepreneurial, but by 2019, this had fallen to 52% (Blouin et al., 2019). Stereotypes of Venezuelans "stealing jobs" or accepting lower pay have spread, contributing to workplace discrimination and resentment (Santos Alvarado, 2021; Loayza, 2020).

Despite public anxieties and negative stereotypes, individual interactions at the workplace often reveal a more nuanced reality. Our interviews highlight

both positive and negative workplace interactions between Peruvians and Venezuelans. Many Peruvians recognise Venezuelan workers' professionalism, dedication, and strong work ethic. However, others expressed reservations about certain Venezuelan workers' attitudes or, in some cases, articulated fears related to crime.

Several interviewees emphasised that Venezuelans in the workforce are generally perceived as well-prepared, disciplined, and courteous. One respondent described:

There are quite a few Venezuelans who I know are very well prepared, they have good training and good conduct. [...]. They are very compliant, they try to do everything well.

(PePE20M)

Another reflected on the cultural contrast in workplace behaviour, highlighting Venezuelans' higher level of education and sense of organisation.

I worked with many Venezuelans. They are, of course, different from Peruvians because they are more polite, educated, and organised.

(PePE24M)

Beyond professional qualities, some Peruvians appreciated the strong personal connections they developed with Venezuelan colleagues, emphasising ongoing communication and mutual support, as one interviewee shared:

Communication is always constant with them. [...]. They are good when you meet them, they are very friendly, they are very helpful, they try to help.

(PePE20M)

Others appreciated the positive energy and enthusiasm of their Venezuelan colleagues. One woman recounted:

I worked with two Venezuelan people. Good people. Good workers. [...] they were cheerful, they were dancers—we liked that. [...]. We teased each other, laughed, and sometimes we even danced with them. [...]. There was one Venezuelan woman—her joy was contagious. So, we followed her rhythm.

(PePE11F)

Similar sentiments were echoed by others, who emphasised Venezuelans' charisma and their ability to energize the work environment.

Finally, another interviewee emphasised cultural exchange and mutual respect that can flourish even across national and hierarchical lines:

I have a Venezuelan boss, we get along very well. [...] He keeps his cultures, he eats his arepita, I invite him [to eat] ceviche. [...] He is very willing to help.

(PePE17M)

Another interviewee shared that while her experience with Venezuelan workers has been positive, she is aware of cases where employers avoid hiring Venezuelans due to crime concerns:

I have given them informal work. I did not have problems like other people. Many do not want to hire Venezuelans because they have been robbed. [...] In my closest circle, friends, and other entrepreneurs, they had these problems. Some no longer want to hire Venezuelan people.

(PePE28F)

One respondent expressed frustration with certain individuals, describing instances of rudeness and a lack of appreciation for customers:

I have seen Venezuelans who are very despotic. [...] When a passenger takes your cab service, I think you should thank the passengers for taking your service. But there are some people who are rude, they just close the door.

(PePE26M)

Taken together, these accounts show that on the individual level, many Peruvians appreciate their Venezuelan colleagues' professionalism, strong work ethic, and sociability, often describing them as hardworking, polite, and well-prepared. Friendly and respectful relationships frequently develop, with Venezuelans' charisma and positive attitude fostering integration.

Nevertheless, these personal experiences often coexist with broader public anxieties shaped by narratives of job competition, criminality, and social tension. While some Peruvians report negative experiences related to certain workers' attitudes, and some employers hesitate to hire Venezuelans due to security fears, most testimonies highlight mutual respect and successful professional integration despite prevailing anxieties. These findings illustrate the disconnect between lived interactions and collective perceptions, where daily cooperation is possible despite persistent stereotypes.

6.3.1.3 Neighbourhoods and local spaces

At the community level—across neighbourhoods, schools, and other local spaces—daily interactions between Peruvians and Venezuelan migrants have become more frequent, producing both positive and challenging outcomes.

In Lima and Callao, the percentage of residents with Venezuelan neighbours more than doubled, from 13% in 2018 to 27.5% in 2019 (Blouin et al., 2019). This growing proximity has often fostered familiarity and reduced prejudice, with friendships formed among children contributing to greater trust among parents. Community organisations and churches have served as important spaces for cultural exchange, further promoting more tolerant and inclusive attitudes. However, in areas with high migrant concentration, concerns about overcrowding, pressure on public services, and security have emerged (Willer et al., 2021). Ultimately, neighbourhood and school interactions have been a double-edged sword: while proximity has humanized Venezuelan migrants for many Peruvians, communities experiencing rapid demographic shifts often respond with concern. Whether local integration fosters empathy or amplifies xenophobia depends largely on how these changes are managed.

To better understand how Venezuelan migration is perceived at the neighbourhood level, the MICLACAS project explored residents' experiences and observations of local demographic shifts (see Figure 6.10). An overwhelming majority (91%) acknowledged the presence of Venezuelans in their neighbourhoods. Among them, 27% stated that most or all of their neighbours were Venezuelan, while 64% reported the presence of some Venezuelan residents. Only a small minority (8%) indicated that there were no Venezuelans in their area. These findings underscore the widespread visibility of Venezuelan migration across neighbourhoods, shaping everyday interactions in local spaces.

Qualitative accounts further illuminate how the Venezuelan presence is experienced in everyday local settings, revealing both inclusive practices and moments of tension. Schools, in several cases, served as spaces of integration, with Venezuelan students actively participating in cultural and academic activities.

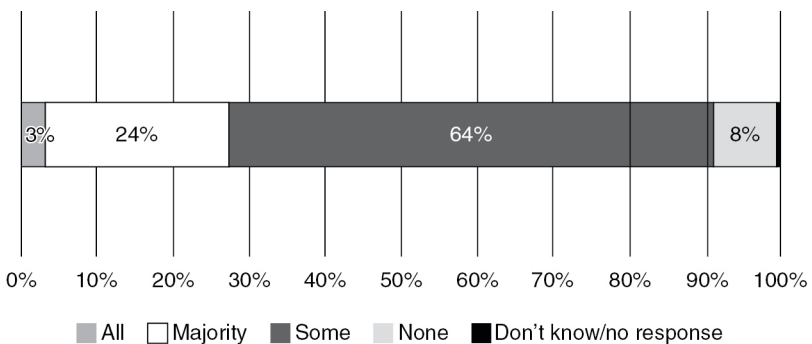


Figure 6.10 Distribution of answers to the question: In the neighbourhood where you live, how many of the residents would you say are Venezuelan?

Source: Own calculations based on the 2023 MICLACAS survey.

Many respondents described positive forms of neighbourhood interaction and mutual support. One interviewee illustrated integration through joint participation in communal food programmes in economically disadvantaged settlements:

We have seen, in the human settlements, where there are both Venezuelans and Peruvians—they are organising together communal pots or community kitchens. In each settlement, there is a communal pot, sometimes two. [...]. People help each other. It is seen as a family; it is no longer about nationality. They treat each other equally, as they provide food for all equally.

(PePE07F)

Others echoed this sentiment, recalling informal gatherings, shared celebrations, and supportive relationships with Venezuelan neighbours. These everyday practices of cooperation and conviviality contribute to a sense of shared community despite national differences.

Beyond informal neighbourhood interactions, schools also emerged as structured environments where intercultural relationships are forged and reinforced. One of the interviewees highlighted mutual respect and learning in daily interactions during school activities:

In my son's school, there was a Venezuelan mum who was a good person, very attentive. [...]. We learn from them, just as they can also learn something from us. We learn something from each other.

(PePE01F)

Another respondent emphasised how Venezuelan students are included in cultural activities.

Venezuelan children integrate well, they participate equally in performances and events, and they are treated equally. There are events where they can exhibit typical dishes from their regions. [...]. They have integrated, definitely.

(PePE28F)

Together, these accounts highlight how local institutions and everyday interactions foster opportunities for intercultural exchange and social cohesion.

However, alongside these positive impressions, several respondents voiced more mixed or critical views, pointing to frictions in everyday coexistence. One interviewee recounted his experiences living in a multi-family house, noting both respectful neighbours and problematic tenants:

The house I have is multifamily. There are people who are very good, punctual, responsible, do not bother the neighbours, live well. They work to support their families, without bothering or harming anyone. But I have also

encountered others who stay for a month and the next month they say, “I don’t have money for rent.” They want to live for free. Maybe in their country they live for free, but here they can’t.

(PePE13M)

Noise disturbances were a recurrent theme in critical accounts, particularly concerning social gatherings, as one respondent expressed:

Here in front, there is a place that on Saturdays and Sundays is always rented by Venezuelans. When they have their meetings, it is until very late and it is very, very loud.

(PePE20M)

In sum, experiences with Venezuelan migrants in Peru range from positive cultural exchange to challenges in coexistence. Friendly interactions, communal support, and shared school activities suggest meaningful forms of integration. Yet concerns about noise disturbances, unpaid rent, and disruptive behaviour reveal ongoing tensions in shared spaces. While integration is evident in many aspects of daily life, tensions persist in shared spaces, illustrating both successful adaptation and areas of conflict.

6.3.2 Discrimination and xenophobia

6.3.2.1 Discrimination against Venezuelans

A key factor labour the migrant experience in Peru is social stigma, driven by perceptions of labour competition, criminality, and strain on public services (Duche-Pérez, 2023). In the labour market, a correspondence study found that Venezuelan applicants had a 4% lower probability of receiving call-backs, amounting to a 43% difference in response rates compared to Peruvian candidates (Torres et al., 2024). Discrimination is also widespread in the informal sector, where many Venezuelans are employed (Groeger et al., 2024). Media and public discourse frequently portray Venezuelans as economic threats—accused of taking jobs and overburdening public services—which further reinforces their marginalisation. Their precarious legal and citizenship status deepens this exclusion (Cañizález & Jiménez, 2023).

Social rejection remains a major barrier to the integration of Venezuelan migrants in Peru. This rejection is often rooted in prevailing stereotypes—particularly those linking migrants to crime—which contribute to their social isolation and limit opportunities to form local networks and adapt to the host environment (Acuña-Choque et al., 2023). Notably, reluctance towards Venezuelan migrants tends to be strongest among individuals with little or no direct contact with them. For instance, 83% of Peruvians who strongly disapprove of Venezuelan immigration have never interacted with a Venezuelan,

suggesting that much of the distrust is shaped by indirect perceptions rather than lived experience (Vera Delzo, 2023). Conversely, studies show that direct contact with Venezuelan migrants or having relatives who recently migrated abroad is associated with more empathetic and less xenophobic attitudes (Amaya & Elguera, 2023).

Discriminatory attitudes towards Venezuelans are not limited to interpersonal encounters, as they also manifest within public institutions. By 2019, nearly 60% of surveyed Peruvians reported hearing public officials make discriminatory remarks about Venezuelans—up from 36% the previous year (Blouin et al., 2019). Human rights observers have described xenophobia in Peru as reaching “alarming levels,” urging authorities to take concrete action against discrimination directed at Venezuelans (Maeda et al., 2021).

The institutional dynamics were reflected in our interviews, which revealed how Venezuelans frequently experience exclusion in employment, housing, and routine social interactions.

One respondent described discriminatory hiring practices in the informal sector:

When I was passing by restaurants and stores, I saw job ads where they only wanted Peruvians. Some directly put: “No Venezuelans”.

(PePE03F)

Another interviewee expressed the view—common in the xenophobic discourse—that some Venezuelans’ behaviour contributes to the prejudice they face:

There are many people who discriminate against them and mistreat them, but it is because they bring it upon themselves with their haughtiness, with their arrogance.

(PePE13M)

Venezuelan women, in particular, face intersecting layers of discrimination rooted in socio-racial hierarchies, placing them in vulnerable socio-economic positions (Pérez & Ugarte, 2021). They are often hyper-sexualised and criminalized (Irons, 2022). Their migration experience is shaped by a triple marginalisation—nationality, gender, and precarious legal status (Pérez & Freier, 2022b). However, despite these systemic barriers, Venezuelan women demonstrate resilience, actively resisting socio-racial hierarchies and challenging xenophobic narratives (Pérez, 2023).

This intersectional vulnerability was also evident in our interviews, particularly in accounts of workplace harassment:

I have a Venezuelan colleague, who worked with me as a waitress. [...]. The boss wanted to go overboard with her, because she was Venezuelan and he thought that, as he gave her the job, he could take advantage of her situation.

[...]. She denounced sexual and labour harassment, but Peruvian policemen did not pay attention to her; because the boss denied it and because he was Peruvian, the policeman believed the Peruvian more than the Venezuelan.
(PePE29F)

Taken together, these accounts reveal how discrimination against Venezuelans in Peru operates at multiple levels—structural, institutional, and interpersonal. While public discourse often focuses on migration in economic terms, everyday experiences show how xenophobia is sustained through unequal power relations, legal precarity, and deeply entrenched social hierarchies. Gender and race further compound these dynamics.

6.3.2.2 Perceptions of reverse discrimination: against Peruvians by Venezuelans

While Venezuelans are the main targets of discrimination, many Peruvians feel negatively impacted by the influx—a sentiment driven by the belief that migrants receive unfair advantages at the expense of locals. This perception is widespread: for example, Rivero (2019) found that 64.3% of Peruvians agree that Venezuelans “benefit much more than they contribute.” Such views often stem from a sense of competition over scarce resources. Some Peruvians express frustration that NGOs or the government provide support, such as food, shelter, or healthcare, to Venezuelan families, while vulnerable locals remain underserved. This perception gains traction in a context where nearly 28% of Peruvians still live in poverty, and over 5% in extreme poverty (INEI, 2024). Other voices are concerned that employers favor migrants willing to accept lower wages, thus displacing the local labour force. Indeed, over 80% of the population believe that Venezuelans threaten local employment (Amaya & Elguera, 2023).

While these perceptions do not constitute formal discrimination, they fuel a broader sense of exclusion and resentment, particularly among low-income Peruvians who feel “pushed aside” in their own country.

Our interview findings add further nuance to this dynamic. Although Venezuelans experience significant levels of discrimination, some Peruvians also described feeling disrespected or looked down upon by Venezuelan migrants. These accounts suggest a perceived sense of superiority on the part of some Venezuelans, based on differences in education, social status, culture or even race. One participant commented on how Venezuelans viewed Peru as lacking in development:

They see Peru as a backward country, economically and socially.
(PePE19M)

Another person described derogatory terms used by Venezuelans to refer to Peruvians:

They call us Incas, Indians. They think we have feathers on our heads. Well, maybe because we are not white, we are mostly brown-skinned.

(PePE10M)

These experiences, though not widespread, reinforce tensions between the two groups and contribute to mutual distrust and social fragmentation. Such perceptions were voiced explicitly by some respondents.

6.4 Role of media

Media narratives have played a pivotal role in shaping how Venezuelan migrants are perceived in Peru. Since 2018, local news outlets have disproportionately focused on crime and social issues associated with Venezuelans, often framing them in negative and alarmist terms (Willer et al., 2021). Sensational headlines and television segments frequently link migrants to robberies and gang activity, despite official data showing that foreigners account for only a small proportion of those involved in crime (Blouin et al., 2019). Such disproportionate focus has distorted public perceptions and contributed to a climate of anxiety and mistrust (Groeger et al., 2024).

Political discourse has further amplified this criminalising narrative, with public figures reinforcing stereotypes that portray Venezuelans as inherently dangerous—thieves or murderers—thereby deepening xenophobic sentiment within Peruvian society (Pérez & Freier, 2022a; Aguilar, 2024; Blouin & Zamora Gómez, 2022).

Social media has further reinforced negative narratives. Platforms such as Facebook and WhatsApp circulate misinformation and xenophobic content, with over half of the surveyed Peruvians reporting exposure to such commentary (Maeda et al., 2021). These messages often portray Venezuelans as criminals or undeserving of public assistance, fueling resentment and discriminatory attitudes.

Willer et al. (2021) observed that while early media coverage occasionally featured empathetic stories of families fleeing crisis, these have largely been overshadowed. Positive contributions, such as entrepreneurship, professional achievements, or community engagement, receive limited attention, as “success stories don’t garner as much attention as negative news.” Nevertheless, media influence is not inherently negative. A shift towards more balanced and inclusive reporting is widely seen as essential to counter xenophobia and foster more informed, empathetic attitudes among the Peruvian public.

These observations were echoed in many testimonies collected through the MICLACAS project. Numerous Peruvian interviewees noted that media coverage overwhelmingly focuses on crimes involving Venezuelans, reinforcing negative stereotypes and heightening social tensions. Several also acknowledged that the media tends to selectively highlight negative incidents while overlooking

positive contributions of Venezuelan migrants, often portraying them primarily through the lens of crime and violence. As one respondent explained:

The worst news. That of the hitmen, of the murderers, of the thieves. [...]. It makes people think that all Venezuelans are like that.

(PePE02F)

The same respondent also criticised the selective nature of news coverage:

They maximize the thief, the murderer and they minimize the good professional, the good worker. And those things tarnish all the achievements of these good Venezuelans. [...]. They never bring out the good Venezuelan doctor who has come to make a difference here.

(PePE02F)

Another interviewee acknowledged that, although crime stories dominate, there are occasional positive news stories:

There are news that they killed, that they murdered [...], that they are going to rob us. [...]. But also that they set up a business, as a result of what they saved.

(PePE25F)

Our interviews show that Venezuelan migrants are aware of how media narratives shape public opinion and impact their daily lives. Many expressed a desire for more balanced reporting that acknowledges their positive contributions, as exemplified below:

There is a message and I think that unfortunately it has been favored by the media, where they are highlighting the bad and not the good. I know many Venezuelans are giving a lot for our country and this is not being recognised.

(VenPE30F)

In sum, the media—both traditional and digital—plays a powerful role in shaping public attitudes towards Venezuelans in Peru. Our Peruvian interviewees recognised that the news disproportionately focused on Venezuelan crime, reinforcing stereotypes and social divisions. While there are occasional reports of Venezuelan entrepreneurs or professionals, these stories are often overshadowed by negative portrayals. Addressing media bias is, therefore, crucial for fostering social cohesion and more informed, balanced public discourse.

6.5 Discussion and conclusions

This chapter contributes to migration scholarship by unpacking the dual and often contradictory nature of migrant–host relations in Peru, where solidarity at the interpersonal level contrasts sharply with stigmatising public discourse. This dissonance—between interpersonal realities and collective narratives—emerges as a recurrent theme throughout our findings. Although existing literature (e.g. Duche-Pérez et al., 2023; Irons, 2022) has identified the importance of public narratives and their impact on migrant integration, there is a lack of studies that systematically analyse this tension from the dual perspective of both migrants and host communities in the Peruvian context. This chapter contributes original empirical insights by juxtaposing the lived experiences of Venezuelan migrants with the perceptions of their Peruvian neighbours, thus offering a perspective that is still underexplored in existing migration scholarship on Peru.

Peruvian public discourse, strongly shaped by media portrayals, often casts Venezuelans as associated with crime, job competition, and social disorder (Willer et al., 2021; Blouin & Zamora Gómez, 2022). Yet, at the interpersonal level, both migrants and host community members report experiences of solidarity, respect, and cultural appreciation, particularly in workplaces, neighbourhoods, and schools. This tension reflects what Duche-Pérez et al. (2023) have described as a fragmented public imagination of migration, wherein mediated representations overpower everyday encounters. Our findings align with this diagnosis but deepen it by demonstrating how Venezuelan migrants navigate these contradictory signals not only strategically but also emotionally and symbolically.

The interviews reveal that Venezuelans perceive Peruvians as generally respectful but emotionally distant, particularly in social and workplace interactions. Venezuelans tend to value expressiveness, spontaneity, and horizontal communication, and they often feel that their warmth and openness are misunderstood as inappropriate or excessive. Interestingly, many Peruvians express parallel sentiments, describing Venezuelans as loud or overly informal. As summarised in Table 6.1, both groups draw on distinct cultural reference points that, while not overtly antagonistic, frequently lead to misrecognition and reinforce mutual stereotypes. We acknowledge that the table offers a simplified view and cannot fully reflect the nuance and internal diversity within each group—it should therefore be understood as an analytical approximation. Shared language does not eliminate cultural distance; in fact, it can obscure underlying differences in norms and expectations, leading to misrecognition in daily encounters.

This table reveals that both groups interpret similar interactions through different lenses, often filtered through cultural assumptions, class positions, and exposure to media. For example, what Venezuelans view as friendliness

Table 6.1 Diverging perceptions in migrant–host relations.

<i>Theme</i>	<i>Venezuelan perspective (on Peruvians and Venezuelans' own experience)</i>	<i>Peruvian perspective (on Venezuelans)</i>	<i>Result</i>
Cultural differences	Peruvians perceived as more reserved, formal, and emotionally distant. Venezuelans value expressiveness, spontaneity, and horizontal communication. They feel their warmth and openness are sometimes misread as inappropriate or intrusive.	Venezuelans often seen as informal, loud, and overly direct—traits which some Peruvians interpret as a lack of respect for local norms of discretion and hierarchy, while others view them as signs of sociability, openness, and joy.	Cultural misalignment is a key site of friction; behaviours seen as normal by one group are misinterpreted by the other, affecting integration strategies.
Workplace experiences	Peruvians viewed as formal, hierarchical, and sometimes exploitative in work settings. Venezuelans see themselves as hardworking, competent, and proactive, yet underpaid and underappreciated.	Many Peruvians acknowledge Venezuelans' strong work ethic and professionalism, though some express fears about job competition or cite isolated negative behaviours.	Workplaces are ambivalent spaces—offering both opportunities for cooperation while also reinforcing structural inequalities and discrimination.
Neighbourhood relations	Peruvians often described as friendly in individual interactions, but distant or indifferent in community life. Venezuelans appreciate small acts of kindness but often feel isolated or stereotyped.	Some Peruvians enjoy good relations with Venezuelan neighbours, others express frustration related to noise, large gatherings, or lifestyle differences.	Integration in neighbourhoods is highly context-dependent—local social dynamics can either foster belonging or entrench social distance.
Gender experience	Venezuelan women report harassment and hypervisibility, especially in informal labour settings.	Some Peruvians stereotype Venezuelan women as provocative or opportunistic.	Gender amplifies social exclusion; women face multi-layered discrimination.
Media portrayal	Peruvians seen as heavily influenced by media narratives, which Venezuelans believe portray them unfairly. Migrants are frustrated by the dominance of crime-focused coverage that ignores their positive contributions.	Media shapes public opinion significantly. Many Peruvians internalize negative portrayals but may still hold nuanced views based on personal interactions.	Media acts as a structural barrier to integration, reinforcing stereotypes and shaping perceptions beyond personal experience.

Source: Own elaboration.

and emotional openness may be interpreted by some Peruvians as disruptive or exaggerated. Likewise, what Peruvians consider respectful formality may be seen by migrants as coldness or social exclusion. These interpretive gaps help explain the persistence of misrecognition despite frequent contact.

Theoretical insights from Berry (1997) and Ager and Strang (2008) offer a framework for understanding how migrants navigate such asymmetries. While many Venezuelans express a desire for integration, retaining their cultural identity while building ties with the host society, experiences of exclusion, prejudice, and structural vulnerability often push them towards separation or selective engagement. Moreover, integration trajectories are not only shaped by migrant choices but also constrained by institutional arrangements and public narratives that migrants themselves cannot easily influence. These findings support what Grundy-López et al. (2024) describe as the “unevenness” of integration, which emerges not only across space but also through relational dynamics.

Our results also provide further empirical grounding to observations made by Pérez and Freier (2022b) and Irons (2022), who emphasise the intersectional nature of discrimination, particularly in how Venezuelan women are subjected to both hypervisibility and social marginalisation. In our data, the tension between being welcomed in some interpersonal settings but simultaneously rejected in institutional or public spaces reflects this dual process of inclusion and exclusion. It also reinforces the argument by Duche-Pérez et al. (2023) that stigmatisation is not merely episodic, but structurally embedded.

Moreover, our findings support Allport’s (1954) contact hypothesis: interpersonal interaction often reduces prejudice, especially in workplaces and neighbourhood settings where Peruvians report more positive attitudes towards Venezuelans after direct contact. However, this effect is not uniform. Positive encounters often coexist with negative group-level stereotypes, suggesting that contact can humanize individuals but may not entirely override broader narratives. This aligns with Pettigrew and Tropp’s (2006) meta-analysis, which emphasised the role of social context in shaping outcomes, and with Dixon et al. (2005), who caution that contact does not automatically lead to broader social change when exclusionary discourses persist.

Finally, by foregrounding both Peruvian and Venezuelan voices, this chapter contributes to a relational and multidimensional understanding of integration in South–South migration contexts. It underscores that integration is not a linear process, but one shaped by the lived experiences of both migrants and host communities as they navigate cultural differences, perceptions, and shifting social dynamics in the host society.

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7 Venezuelans' relations with their home country

7.1 Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to identify the factors that shape the attitudes of Venezuelan migrants towards the prospect of returning to Venezuela. This objective will be achieved through an analysis of the emotional, cultural, and social ties they maintain with Venezuela through family connections, the preservation of traditions, and relationships with other Venezuelans living abroad. The chapter also explores how migrants engage with information about Venezuela and how this influences their sense of identity, belonging, and potential decisions about returning. Furthermore, it examines the significance of the possibility of visits to the homeland in shaping perceptions of the country and the sustainability of transnational relationships.

This inquiry is grounded in the recognition that return is not merely a logistical or economic decision, but one embedded in complex social imaginaries, cultural attachments, and emotional geographies. Migrants' relationships—with people, places, and practices—serve as symbolic and material reference points in the way return is perceived and negotiated.

To fulfil the aim mentioned above within this chapter, we are going to answer the following research questions:

1. How do Venezuelan migrants sustain emotional, cultural, and social ties with their homeland through family connections, culture and religion, and interactions with other Venezuelans abroad?
2. How do Venezuelan migrants perceive and engage with information about their home country, and how does this influence their sense of identity, belonging, and potential decisions about return?
3. What factors shape Venezuelan migrants' attitudes towards returning to Venezuela, including personal visits and plans of future return, evolving perceptions of the country, and the role of transnational relationships?

The chapter is structured as follows. It begins with a brief theoretical background that contextualizes the analysis. The second section explores how Venezuelan migrants maintain relationships with family and friends who remain in Venezuela. The third section focuses on the media and other sources of information about the country of origin. The fourth section examines the role and perception of traditions and customs that are continued in the host country. The fifth section investigates how the image of Venezuela is shaped while living abroad. Finally, the sixth section discusses the significance and emotional weight of visiting Venezuela, including the perceived feasibility of such trips.

Each of the sections—as well as the concluding part—considers how these emotional, cultural, and informational dimensions influence migrants' imaginaries and intentions regarding return.

7.2 Literature review

In recent decades, scholarship on migration has emphasised the persistence of transnational ties and their role in shaping migrants' identities and their ongoing relationships with countries of origin (Levitt & Schiller, 2004). Many migrants do not cut connections with their home upon departure, instead, they often remain embedded in complex transnational networks that include kinship relations, information, remittances, emotions and affect, and politics (Vertovec, 2009; Itzigsohn & Villacrés, 2008). They manifest their attachment through financial transfers, cultural practices, interpersonal communication, and diaspora engagement, all influenced by social, economic, and political factors. Migrants frequently balance their adaptation into host societies with the maintenance of emotional, symbolic, and material ties to their homelands, a process influenced by both individual motivations and structural conditions (Ryan, 2023).

This is particularly evident in the case of Venezuelan migrants, whose displacement since 2015 is not only the largest in recent Latin American history but also driven by systemic collapse of their home country rather than classic economic migration driven mostly by voluntary motives (Chaves-González & Estrada, 2020). Their transnational ties are frequently marked by ambivalence, emotional intensity, and structural vulnerability.

One of the most prominent and measurable forms of transnational engagement is the sending of remittances. Migrants contribute to the economies of their countries of origin through these transfers, which provide essential support for families and, in some cases, finance community development projects (Orozco, 2005). Recent research on Venezuelan migrants in Chile and Argentina proves how conditions in the country of origin reshape remittances. Rather than enabling upward mobility, remittances are increasingly perceived as a measure to secure relatives' basic survival, revealing a shift in migrants' perceptions from hope to resignation (Martínez Franzoni & Sánchez-Ancochea, 2023).

Furthermore, Faist (2000) highlights that transnational social spaces play a critical role in facilitating ongoing interactions and maintaining migrants' identities. These spaces allow individuals to remain connected through various activities, such as cultural events, family communications, and participation in diaspora networks, reinforcing their sense of belonging and identity tied to their homeland. In addition, migrant organisations play a vital role in sustaining transnational ties. These organisations serve as cultural and social bridges, facilitating integration in host countries while maintaining active relationships with the country of origin. Migrant organisations have been shown to support humanitarian causes, advance political and religious agendas, and strengthen collective identities across borders (Pries & Sezgin, 2012). In the Venezuelan case, such organisations often compensate for the vacuum left by state institutions, offering legal support and advocating for migrant rights.

On the emotional level, Al-Ali and Koser (2002) argue that nostalgia and idealisation often coexist with feelings of frustration and disappointment regarding homeland realities. This emotional duality emerges clearly among migrants who face contrasting living conditions abroad, shaping their evolving perceptions of home. Migrants often retain selective cultural practices that enhance their sense of belonging and community cohesion within diaspora contexts, reinforcing their emotional attachment to their homeland (Alba & Nee, 2003). Newer research on transnationalism highlights this individually perceived emotional and affective dimensions, including nostalgia, longing, and the trauma of migration (Boccagni, 2017; Wise & Velayutham, 2017).

On the psychological level, Bhugra and Becker (2005) emphasise that cultural identity plays a critical role in migrants' psychological well-being, highlighting how disconnection or negative perceptions of the homeland can generate psychological distress. This notion supports the idea that sustained cultural practices and regular communication with the home country are vital in maintaining psychological and emotional balance among migrants. The experiences of many Venezuelan migrants have been ambivalent, and the newest research highlights mental health as a significant concern, with factors such as discrimination and hostile reception contributing to elevated risks of depression, anxiety, and post-traumatic stress (Salas-Wright et al., 2022). These affective experiences shape how migrants imagine the possibility of return and negotiate dual attachments. For Venezuelans in particular, studies show how collective memory and idealised pasts become central to the emotional response to the exile (Aufseeser, 2024; Duque-Thüs et al., 2023).

The maintenance of transnational social networks particularly through digital platforms also allows migrants to preserve relationships and cultural practices. These networks facilitate emotional continuity and allow for the circulation of news, memories, and social obligations. However, over time, especially as migrants grow older or settle more permanently, their strongest social ties often shift towards host-country institutions and communities (Ryan, 2023).

Regarding migrants' decisions about returning home, Cassarino (2004) suggests that factors such as political stability, economic opportunities, and personal integration experiences significantly influence return migration. Such decisions are multidimensional and shaped by both structural constraints and personal aspirations. Research on return migration has shown that reintegration outcomes are significantly shaped by migrants' pre-departure experiences and conditions during migration, including prior sense of community belonging, reasons for migration, type of host country, and whether they return to their original community (Koser & Kuschminder, 2017).

Transnational dynamics are also deeply shaped by policy and governance frameworks. Governments in origin countries seek to engage with their diasporas, encouraging investment, promoting cultural diplomacy, or attempting to gain political support. However, these efforts often create tensions, particularly when diaspora associations pursue agendas that diverge from official state narratives (Bakewell et al., 2007). Policies that protect migrant rights and promote inclusive governance are crucial to sustaining constructive forms of engagement (Atar et al., 2024). In the Venezuelan case, the institutional dimension of transnational relations is marked by a profound disconnection. The politicization of consular services, the lack of reliable documentation, and the limited capacity of the Venezuelan state to provide assistance abroad have all contributed to widespread disillusionment and a sense of abandonment among migrants (Bolívar, 2021). This institutional invisibility is particularly striking given the economic impact of remittances for many Venezuelan families.

The host-country context also mediates the nature and intensity of migrants' connections to their origin countries (Levitt & de la Dehesa, 2017). Venezuelans in Peru, due to relative geographic proximity and the needs of family members still in Venezuela, tend to maintain stronger affective and economic ties. In contrast, those residing in Europe often display a more permanent orientation and a lower expectation of return.

Also, drawing on decolonial theory and interviews with Venezuelan migrants in Peru, Aufseeser (2024) examines how migrants negotiate complex and sometimes contradictory notions of identity, solidarity, and modernity, revealing how shared Latin American identity can coexist with radicalised hierarchies and internalised discourses of development shaped by colonial legacies.

In sum, the literature suggests that migrants' relationships with their countries of origin are not static, but rather continually negotiated in response to personal experiences, political transformations, and socio-economic contexts in both host and home countries. By grounding the above conceptual frameworks in the lived experiences of Venezuelans in Latin America and Europe, this chapter analyses transnational ties in the context of the migration crisis. Migrants' narratives reveal a striking ambivalence, while many express frustration, anger, and grief towards Venezuelan institutions, they also retain affective ties with the nation and the culture, and with the relatives left behind. These contradictions

underscore the need for analytical approaches that integrate both emotional aspects and cultural belonging.

7.3 Contact with family

Relationships with relatives and friends left behind in Venezuela constitute one of the primary factors shaping migrants' emotional and social ties with their country of origin. Therefore, in our interviews, we asked respondents about how they maintain contact with their family members in Venezuela, explored the role of digital communication in preserving familial bonds after migration, and finally, investigated how migration has affected the emotional and financial dynamics of these relationships. The answer to these questions is very important, particularly given that the majority of our respondents left close family members such as parents and siblings in Venezuela. The data shows that a large proportion of respondents' parents (66%) and siblings (55%) remain in Venezuela, underlining the continued relevance of transnational family ties. By contrast, children and partners (57% each) are predominantly based in Peru, which reflects patterns of nuclear family reunification following migration (see Figure 7.1).

The picture that emerges from the interviews indicates that Venezuelan migrants sustain strong and consistent relationships with family members and close friends who remain in the country. These ties are expressed through

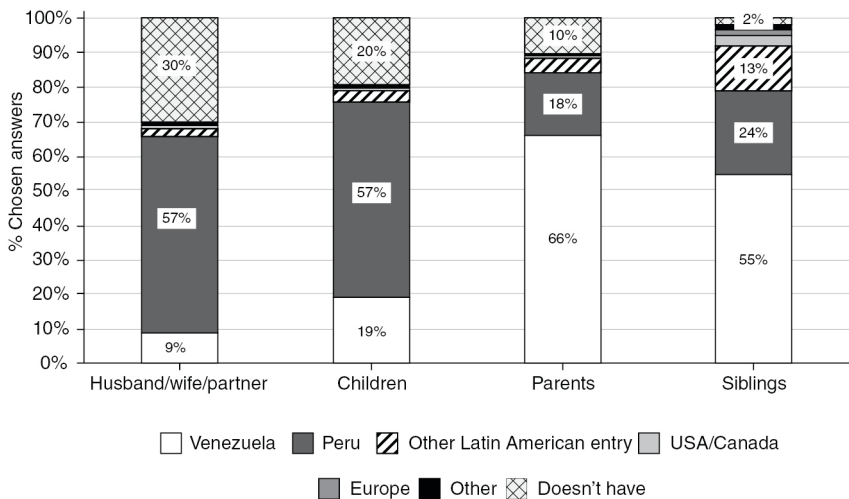


Figure 7.1 Distribution of answers to the question: Where do your family members live?

Source: Own calculations based on the 2023 MICLACAS survey.

regular—often daily—communication. Most of our respondents shared experiences similar to the man who declared:

Yes, I call my mom almost every day via WhatsApp, I call my dad almost every day, I call my brother more than anything else, but with cousins, with very few people.

(VenPE05M)

These regular interactions reflect not only emotional closeness, but also a commitment to maintaining family relationships despite technological or economic barriers.

Social media and other communicators such as WhatsApp, Facebook, and Instagram are essential for maintaining personal relationships. This was echoed by another interviewee who explained:

There is a family group in WhatsApp where they keep non-daily communication.

(VenPE03M)

These technologies allow not just for maintaining contact but also for sharing daily life—children's school events, TikTok videos, or updates on family routines. Such digital interactions help to reduce the emotional distance created by physical separation and enable migrants to remain actively involved in the everyday lives of their loved ones.

However, for some interviewees, these connections are disrupted by infrastructural challenges such as lack of signal, power outages, or limited access to technology. One participant illustrated these difficulties as follows:

When [...] there is no signal, when the power goes out, they take away the Internet. [...] the power goes out, four, five hours, sometimes two days. But we are always alert, sending a message or making a video call. We are always on the lookout. Well, right now I am mostly with my mother and my children, almost every day.

(VenPE11F)

If not external disconnection, then digital exclusion may play a role in isolation—particularly in the case of older adults and persons with disabilities. This form of exclusion can significantly hinder communication with relatives in Venezuela. One respondent described the challenges he faced when trying to stay in touch with his mother:

The thing is that my mom doesn't know anything about technology. [...] even when the phones were button phones, my mom refused. [...] she was always

[...] very technology averse. So, the only way for me to [...] get in touch with my mother, would be through the relatives.

(VenPE03M)

Digital relationships are often filled with nostalgia and concern, reflecting a persistent sense of emotional attachment and a continuing moral—and sometimes financial—responsibility. Despite geographical distance, technological barriers, and the precarious conditions in Venezuela, many migrants actively sustain contact with their loved ones. These ties remain central to their transnational lives and reflect the reconfiguration of care and solidarity across borders.

Physical distance has not weakened family ties but has reshaped the dynamics of support between migrants and those who remain in Venezuela. For many, sending remittances is a way to care for relatives from afar, as one interviewee explained:

I always send money to my mum. It's my way of still taking care of her, even though I can't be there with her.

(VenPE18M)

At the same time, communities in Venezuela often express solidarity with those who have left, reinforcing emotional connections across borders.

The interviews demonstrate that migrants maintain strong bonds with relatives in Venezuela. This relationship is frequently challenged by technological vulnerability and limited resources. Some respondents describe their contact as marked more by longing and helplessness than by effective support, as distance, poor infrastructure, and digital exclusion create barriers to sustained closeness.

These transnational bonds—though emotionally meaningful—are often constrained by infrastructural and digital inequalities, which can limit their transformative potential. As a result, they do not always foster a concrete sense of co-presence or provide the psychological stability needed to envision a feasible return to Venezuela (which will be developed further below).

7.4 News from Venezuela: sources and perception

The influence of information conveyed through media on the attachment to one's country of origin and the likelihood of return migration has become a significant area of scholarly inquiry. In particular, the rise of social media and the internet has transformed the landscape of migration, extending the range of potential destinations and altering perceptions of home and belonging. Therefore, this section examines the sources Venezuelan migrants use to stay informed about their country, their perceptions of the reliability of these sources, and the impact of Venezuela's political and economic situation on their engagement with

information. It also considers the role that such information plays in shaping their attitudes towards return.

Venezuelan migrants in Peru access news about their country of origin primarily through social media, conversations with family members, and alternative digital media. Perceptions of the reliability of these sources vary, but there is a clear distrust of official Venezuelan media, which are considered unreliable due to the current political context, as explained by one of the interviewees:

The Venezuelan channels that have opinion programmes, that have political programmes, that have news programmes, well, all those people are sold to the Government. [...] They do not show that reality that we all know because we have our relatives. [...] Then those newscasts. [...] they want to distort the truth, since they are so kowtowing to the government. [...] What they are is a narco government in reality.

(VenPE10M)

These accounts highlight how Venezuelan migrants in Peru rely on informal and alternative channels—such as family members, social media, and independent digital platforms—for staying informed about their country of origin. State-controlled outlets are widely distrusted and perceived as manipulative and disconnected from lived realities, often replaced by more credible testimonies from relatives or news presented by sources outside Venezuela.

No, I avoid it. The little I know is what my grandmother tells me. But I avoid the rest.

(VenPE17F)

This critical attitude towards official information reflects a phenomenon widely documented in the literature, where diasporas tend to distrust state-controlled narratives due to past experiences of censorship and information manipulation by authoritarian regimes (Waisbord, 2018). As a result, there has been a growing dependence on independent and decentralised digital sources, which are perceived as more credible and authentic. This tendency is clearly illustrated by the testimony of one interviewee watching a variety of news:

I follow the ones there and the ones here, and I make the comparison. I mean, I like to see the news. I like to be informed daily from there and from here and from the world as such.

(VenPE24F)

And another one who indicated the role of social media:

Yes, and I have [news] on Facebook. I watch, and on Instagram, I follow the news pages of Noticiero Venezolano, and that's how I find out about a lot of

things. In the city where I live, there is a reporter called Pedro Lucas, and he has his Instagram page on Facebook. I also have him on WhatsApp. And in the statuses, he posts news about the city, what has happened, the run-ins, the fires, everything, everything, and he posts all those things. The cost of the food basket, the cost of meat, the cost of this.

(VenPE14M)

This dynamic reflects the emergence of digital transnationalism (Dekker & Engbersen, 2014), whereby migrants maintain strong emotional and informational ties to their country of origin through constant online communication, personalised news flows, and alternative media. These everyday exchanges shape perceptions of Venezuela's situation and influence decisions related to remittances and potential return.

The skepticism towards news from the origin is accompanied by emotional fatigue and even avoidance of news, as following the situation in Venezuela can evoke feelings of sadness, frustration, and helplessness, as illustrated by one of the interviewees:

I see something on Instagram and I skip it because it depresses me, I don't like it, it makes me angry that everything remains the same.

(VenPE17F)

The political and economic situation in Venezuela directly impacts migrants' interest in staying informed. Most interviewees indicate a selective interest in staying updated on specific aspects of the country's economic and social crisis, but they still prefer to stay informed about the situation in the country:

I follow them, and sometimes it bothers me and stresses me out. [...] Sometimes I say to myself, sometimes I receive criticism, "Oh, but I don't watch the news because it makes me sick." And I say, No, but one has to watch the news, one has to be updated and aware of what surrounds us. How can you be immune in a place where you don't even know what's going on. The country is falling down, where you are or where you are from and you don't know, it can't be.

(VenPE24F)

This interest reflects what Brinkerhoff (2009) has pointed out: migrants tend to maintain transnational ties with their country of origin despite the emotional toll of receiving negative news. As a result, they adopt selective information consumption habits that allow them to protect their emotional well-being without completely disconnecting from national affairs.

Perceptions of the current situation in Venezuela, shaped by the news received, have a direct effect on migrants' decisions about possibly returning to the country. Negative information about the economic crisis, insecurity,

and difficulties in meeting basic needs frequently discourages return. As one respondent explained:

[...] because it depresses me, I don't like it, it makes me angry that everything stays the same.

(VenPE17F)

For some migrants, news consumption becomes emotionally taxing, leading to selective avoidance of political or economic updates. Another participant commented:

I prefer not to watch. So, because I know the situation myself, because if Venezuela were good, I wouldn't be here. I wouldn't have my family out of Venezuela or my children out of Venezuela, I would be there in Venezuela. So, since I know how the situation is, I prefer not to watch. Yes, I watched and that's because, with the joke of the elections now, I was following María Corina Machado. But when my son told me, No, auntie, it's that she held a campaign in Caracas. And it had so many people, auntie, it had a crowd like Juan Maduro. She closed the campaign. The next day they disqualified her for 15 years. So I said we already know where everything is going.

(VenPE23F)

Such testimonies highlight how the persistent negative portrayal of the Venezuelan crisis in the media acts as both a psychological and material barrier to return.

The research reveals that news about Venezuela plays a crucial role in shaping identities, perceptions, and decisions within the Venezuelan diaspora in Peru. Migrants commonly turn to independent digital media or interpersonal networks rather than official state-run outlets, reflecting a deep-rooted distrust of government-controlled information. The decision to stay informed or to disconnect from current events entirely is often a strategy of emotional self-preservation.

7.5 Relations with other Venezuelans

The way Venezuelans form and sustain relationships with other compatriots in Peru—and the role these networks play in preserving cultural identity abroad—is one of the key factors that may influence decision-making regarding future mobility, including the possibility of return. These relationships range from close daily interactions within tight-knit migrant communities to more distant or even non-existent contact. While some migrants actively participate in informal gatherings and community events, others remain detached—often due to demanding work schedules, fatigue, or limited personal interest.

Such diversity reflects broader dynamics observed in migrant communities, where interpersonal ties constitute informal infrastructures of belonging, care, and resilience. In the case of Venezuelans in Peru, even in the absence of formal organisations, everyday practices—through shared meals, caregiving, or mutual assistance—can provide both practical and emotional support. These patterns contribute to what Coe and Groes (2016) term *affective circuits*: emotionally sustained and morally charged relational spaces that help migrants maintain a sense of continuity and social regeneration.

These connections are neither uniform nor universally experienced. They are shaped by life stage, gender, employment conditions, and personal inclinations. Nonetheless, even sporadic moments of sociability—like communal celebrations or mutual help during crises—can serve as symbolic anchors. As noted in broader studies on transnational care (Baldassar & Merla, 2014) and diasporic attachments (Boccagni, 2017), such ties may evoke a sense of home and subtly influence how return is imagined, even in the absence of concrete plans.

Interpersonal relationships within the diaspora thus not only reflect individual circumstances, but also shape imaginaries of belonging and return—preserving both cultural identity and emotional connections to Venezuela.

The following analysis explores how such dynamics materialise in the lived experiences of Venezuelan migrants in Peru, based on interviews conducted for this study.

The formation and maintenance of interpersonal relationships with other Venezuelans in the host country emerged as a dynamic and multifaceted theme across the interviews. For some migrants, these relationships are deeply embedded in their daily lives and form an essential part of their emotional and social infrastructure, as explained by one participant:

Yes, we have a place where we always meet some of them and we have some connection with our compatriots.

(VenPE29M)

Others noted that they maintain daily contact with Venezuelan neighbours, suggesting the emergence of informal neighbour networks, that serve as everyday sources of solidarity and help. One interviewee stated:

Once Venezuelans are here and form groups of people, yes, they are very united. I even know Venezuelan people who are not known from there, but here, and really, in any problem or something, we all come to help.

(VenPE07M)

Yet many participants reported limited or no contact with fellow Venezuelans, often citing time constraints, work obligations, or a general lack of interest in organised community events. As two participants explained:

I would love to participate, but I am always involved here.

(VenPE17F)

I don't go to those places very often. As I said, sometimes I get tired and I don't take it seriously.

(VenPE27F)

For some, life stage was a decisive factor in community engagement. One migrant, for instance, did not feel compelled to engage in events often tailored to families or children, as she mentioned:

Oh, yes, there are [Venezuelan gatherings], but they are kids. [...] but I don't get together.

(VenPE20F)

Despite these limitations, moments of cultural reproduction and social cohesion do occur—especially around communal Sunday gatherings involving food, music, sports, and informal commerce. As one participant recalled:

They play softball, they have soccer games [...] they barbecue, they buy their houses, everyone sells their things.

(VenPE14M)

These informal gatherings act as cultural anchors, preserving elements of Venezuelan identity while adapting them to the socio-economic realities of the host country.

Additionally, relationships among Venezuelan migrants are often activated through shared challenges, such as during the pandemic or in daily life, where mutual support manifests through shared childcare responsibilities, cooking arrangements, and access to basic resources like gas:

Yes, when I don't have gas, we cooperate with each other, we help each other.

(VenPE11F)

Yes, you have children, you help each other. And in pandemics even more.

(VenPE08F)

These experiences of cooperation and solidarity contribute to a sense of belonging that, while not necessarily institutionalised through formal organisations, fosters emotional resilience and identity continuity.

7.5.1 The role of social ties in shaping attitudes towards return

In terms of return intentions, the influence of the diaspora community is often indirect but nonetheless meaningful. While few participants explicitly link

their local Venezuelan networks to their future return decisions, shared cultural practices and mutual support tend to reinforce nostalgic attachments and an enduring identification with Venezuela. This contributes to a symbolic horizon of return, where even occasional interactions evoke a collective memory and emotional connection to the homeland.

Relationships between Venezuelan migrants in Peru range widely—from close, daily interactions to infrequent contact or complete detachment. While Venezuelan communities and cultural initiatives do exist, participation in them is often limited by the practical constraints of migrant life, including work demands, time scarcity, and life stage. Nonetheless, interactions with fellow migrants can foster solidarity and reinforce cultural identity, which in turn shape migrants' perceptions of return—particularly on a symbolic and emotional level rather than through concrete plans.

7.6 Traditions and customs

7.6.1 Preserving Venezuelan traditions and customs

For Venezuelan migrants, cultural practices such as food, religious traditions, music, and holidays serve not only as a connection to their homeland but also as strategies for resilience, cultural identity preservation, and community building in the context of migration. The interviews from MICLACAS project reflect an effort to sustain these practices, though the scope and visibility vary by context and geography. In both Peru and Europe, food emerges as a crucial form of cultural identity and continuity. In Peru, food is often prepared at home but also shared within small networks, offering comfort and a means of everyday cultural reproduction in a family setting. Migrants express it:

December most of all in December. We make our ham bread. Hallaca, that if as we say alla cochino horneado, and the baby Jesus brings gifts to our children, we still, we still keep them.

(VenPe02M)

In Europe, the importance of food is equally evident but often extends into public or intercultural spaces. Venezuelan cuisine becomes a marker of cultural diplomacy, used to share and communicate identity in a more diverse or unfamiliar host environment:

There used to be a store where a Venezuelan was, and he brought the ingredients to make that typical Christmas dish. [...] I always make my arepas, my typical food, here they love arepas, and they love them. They eat it like they love arepas here.

(VenEU01F)

My girlfriend is super Venezuelanised in every way, even the way she talks, the food. Here in my house we eat Venezuelan all the time. In terms of food and gastronomy, very much so. The music too. At Christmas, all the Christmas dishes.

(VenEU28M)

In both contexts, food serves as a medium of memory and identity. However, while in Peru culinary traditions tend to be performed in family or neighbour circles, in Europe they often gain broader social context of intercultural dialogue. Considering the centrality of food in Latin American culture (Sammells, 2024), these culinary practices not only preserve a sense of national belonging but also function as forms of migrants' cultural adaptation and cultural recognition in host societies. This resonates with scholarship on "gastropolitics" (Appadurai, 1981) and culinary memory in migration (Sutton, 2001), which emphasises how food mediates belonging, nostalgia, and the negotiation of cultural boundaries. Food thus becomes both a symbolic anchor and a flexible tool for cultural positioning—allowing migrants to assert continuity while engaging with new socio-cultural environments.

Music also plays an important role in connecting to the culture of Venezuela. Especially in Peru, December is recalled as a culturally celebrated period where traditional music, especially gaitas (bagpipes), is listened to and performed in domestic or close group settings:

And every time it is December here I sit down with my wife, my son and some of my brothers and we start doing that tradition over there listening to typical Venezuelan music.

(VenPE05M)

These musical performances help migrants reproduce a sense of home. The emphasis on music in migrants' experience underscores how sound can serve in ritual practices that reinforce collective identity, especially in the absence of a broader diasporic connections.

Religious customs and symbolic celebrations, particularly surrounding Christmas, also remain significant for many migrants, especially in Peru. December traditions typical for Venezuelan culture are frequently mentioned as moments of emotional and cultural engagement:

December is lived to the fullest, from the beginning to the end, which are the cultures, the type of music, the family relationship that everyone goes out, shares. [...] Even Epiphany arrives and for us it is still December. There is a lot of celebration there, the tradition of December is very, very attached.

(VenPE12M)

Another respondent in Peru described the strong religious culture, originating from his youth back in Venezuela, illustrating how early traditions continue to be part of cultural identity

We had the habit of going during Holy Week, to attend a very Venezuelan tradition, which is the seven temples... which is on Good Friday, to visit seven churches and at night we ended up in the church where I made my first communion and they did the Stations of the Cross.

(VenPE03M)

In contrast, our interviewees claimed that fewer religious customs are preserved among Venezuelans in Europe. This may reflect a more secular cultural landscape in host countries, but also practical limitations and more fragmented migrant networks. It may also suggest a shift in priorities or a form of cultural negotiation where religion becomes more private and less performative in the public sphere. This aligns with Berry's (1997) model of acculturation strategies, particularly selective integration, whereby migrants retain certain cultural elements (e.g. food or language) while letting go of others, such as communal religious practices, that are harder to maintain in secular or institutionally different contexts.

Overall, these observations suggest that the preservation of Venezuelan cultural traditions is both adaptive and relational. Migrants maintain specific cultural practices—particularly food, music, and religious celebrations—not only as a means of emotional continuity but also as a response to their surrounding socio-cultural environment. The intensity and visibility of these practices differ and is shaped by individual preferences, community support, and host society context.

7.6.2 Changes in Venezuelan traditions and customs

Some Venezuelan migrants in Peru also recall food as a central element of preserved tradition, though often limited by logistical barriers. As one participant described:

But at least in Venezuela there is the custom of making hallacas. That was traditional in my family. [...] And here we have followed it, but buying the food already made, not making it at home. So the tradition is lost because much of the tradition is not eating it but making it.

(VenPE03M)

This observation underscores a broader pattern among migrants: traditions are not only about outcomes, but about the social process of their creation. When

a shared preparation is no longer possible, the cultural meaning may weaken—even if the final dish remains.

A similar process occurs with the music.

Yes, always Venezuelan music. And of course, also sharing, obviously with Peruvian music, which is also quite interesting, quite varied. Yes, yes, as it were, fusing the two. The two customs, of course, because there is no other way to play. So you have to adapt, you have to adapt.

(VenPE10M)

Here, the respondent describes a process of cultural fusion or syncretism, which should not be understood as a passive, but rather as an active and creative construction. The need to adapt emerges as a practical response to new social contexts, where migrants blend home and local cultural forms. This kind of musical hybridity is common among migrant communities and resonates with broader patterns in the Latin American musical landscape, where traditional genres often evolve through connection with new rhythms and influences.

Other respondents observed that in Peru, some major Venezuelan celebrations are either not observed or less significant, generating a sense of cultural displacement. One participant contrasts the Carnival in Venezuela with its absence in the Peruvian context:

[...] in Venezuela it is very traditional Carnival. Not here. You don't even notice when Carnival happens. Even though it does exist as a date. But it does not exist as a tradition, as a celebration, like in Venezuela, for example, Carnival week is Carnival week and there are carnival groups and people dress up and there is a party and so on.

(VenPE02M)

This reveals how absence of collective and public celebrations in culturally significant events can lead to feelings of loss or alienation. Carnival is not just a party, but a communal ritual that reaffirms collective cultural identity.

In the European context, respondent also noted the changes in most important cultural anchor which is the celebration of Christmas:

I mean, here it has nothing to do, in Europe or in Spain at least, it has nothing to do with our Christmas. [...] And those things, well, I mean, they cannot be changed because there is no point of comparison.

(VenEU23F)

This quote reflects a common theme in the testimonies that cultural practices are often transformed due to environmental and social barriers. Migrants may

attempt to recreate traditions, but the broader societal context often lacks specific resources that give those traditions their original meaning.

In both Peru and Europe, changes in cultural traditions among Venezuelan migrants appear shaped by a combination of structural constraints, socio-cultural context, and the migrants' own adaptive strategies. These changes reflect a broader trend in migration studies that cultural practices are not fixed but are continually redefined through processes of cultural negotiation and social liminality (Simich et al., 2009), as migrants actively reshape their identities in response to new environments and psychosocial challenges.

7.6.3 Transgenerational transmission and other challenges

For many migrant parents, preserving cultural identity is closely linked to raising their children with an awareness of Venezuelan heritage. In Peru, several parents expressed intentions to pass on traditions:

[...] we teach them respect at home and at school as well. Venezuelan values are taught with our food, with our music, which is also our music. With that. We are always there like telling them Venezuela, this is Venezuela and the other is. You know it doesn't rain here, right? In Venezuela it rains a lot and that. We tell them that a lot, that excites the children.

(VenPE08F)

Such statements reveal a multidimensional approach to cultural transmission, combining everyday practices and oral storytelling about the homeland. It is a strategy of symbolic reconstruction that enables children to form affective ties to a country they may not have known personally.

Even in intercultural relationships Venezuelan parents try to pass on the cultural heritage from their country and still attempt to maintain connections through storytelling, music, and media consumption:

Well, with the matter; as I say, I mean, we have a combination of Venezuelans and Peruvians in the same family. Since it's daily life, they gradually get used to both cultures. Okay. Talking to them, showing them videos.

(VenPE07M)

In those cases the transculturative process of children identity formation is evident. Is it well described in the literature, where second-generation migrants form hybrid identities influenced by both host and heritage cultures (Barros & Albert, 2020; Pelliccia, 2017).

Yet this transmission is not always successful or desired. A small number of respondents in Peru expressed a lack of connection to traditional practices, indicating personal disengagement:

Honestly, I don't, I don't have this culture of transmission. I mean, it's not like in Venezuela where I lived for a long time, I think even before I left, it was already fading away because religious traditions are mostly religious traditions.

(VenPE28M)

This detachment suggests that the erosion of cultural traditions may not only be a result of migration, but also reflect broader patterns of cultural secularisation or individual alienation experienced before departure. In this sense, migration may accelerate a pre-existing trend of cultural disengagement. Moreover, as shown in studies on second-generation migrants (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001), a lack of sustained cultural transmission in the family can lead to identity dissonance or even rejection of heritage culture, especially when children face conflicting messages between home and school environments.

This pattern seems to be even more evident in the European context, where cultural transmission in general appears weaker, particularly beyond the culinary sphere. One migrant openly stated:

The only Venezuelan custom I have is occasionally, I like to make hallacas in December.

(VenEU09F)

These observations suggest that the maintenance of cultural practices may be more challenging in European contexts, likely due to the differing socio-demographic profiles of migrants and the greater geographical and cultural distance from the country of origin. In Europe, acculturation strategies oriented towards cultural transmission appear less prevalent, with migrants more frequently engaging in selective adaptation or integration. The relative absence of vibrant Venezuelan community life and the secular nature of many European societies may further reduce the opportunities for intergenerational cultural exchange. By contrast, in Peru, despite existing cultural tensions, the relative geographical proximity and shared regional references provide a more organic environment for the continuity of cultural traditions.

The relation to traditions and customs of Venezuelan migrants illustrates the complex relation between cultural continuity and transculturation. While traditional practices like preparing hallacas or celebrating December remain powerful markers of identity, they are reshaped by host-country context and individual choices. Migrants experience this process with a strong affective attachment to their heritage, but also a pragmatic openness to transculturation or hybridisation. From the interviews, several key patterns emerge: food is the most resilient cultural marker, sustaining intergenerational bonds and collective memory. Moreover, music, religious and holiday rituals continue but often become individualised or adapted to fit the local environment.

7.7 Visions of Venezuela after migration

How do migrants' relationships with their countries of origin evolve after departure? This question in migration studies is often explored through the concepts of belonging, family and social networks, visits, remittances, and transnational engagement. However, scholars such as Ogden and Mazzucato (2022) have argued that the homeland is not simply a place left behind; it is continuously reconstructed in migrants' perceptions, practices, and narratives. This approach, rather than viewing the homeland as a static background, calls for its analysis as a dynamic element of the migrant condition.

For Venezuelan migrants who have resettled in countries such as Peru, Poland, Germany, Spain, and Italy, the idea of Venezuela forms a dynamic construct. As individuals and families adapt to new social and economic environments, their perceptions of the homeland shift in complex ways. This subchapter explores these transformations, drawing on in-depth interviews conducted in the MICLACAS project. The analysis centers on how migrants imagine Venezuela after having left it, how nostalgia and disillusionment emerge or fade, and how personal experiences abroad shape expectations for the country's future. These evolving visions are shaped not only by political realities and economic instability, but also by experiences of parenting, education, labor, healthcare, and community life in exile.

7.7.1 *The evolution of perceptions*

One of the most salient findings in migrants' perceptions of Venezuela is how Venezuela transforms in the minds of migrants from a place of belonging and pride to a more abstract, complicated space marked by loss, distance, and uncertainty. In many interviews we have observed the shift from feelings of national pride to a more distanced, sometimes embittered, view of the country as a failed state. As in the case of the respondent for whom Venezuela was once a place of potential, a home where one could return, yet this vision changed over time. As he explained:

I always thought of making my life in Venezuela. To grow up in Venezuela. As far as my limits were, because we all have limits [...]

At this moment I would not go back to Venezuela. [...] And I was one of those who thought that I was going to contribute to make my country great, but let's not say my country did not give me the opportunities to contribute to it.

(VenPE03M)

Some interviewees described their pre-migration identity in deeply patriotic terms, rooted in family, culture, and emotional connection to the homeland.

However, after years abroad, this emotional tie has frequently evolved into something more complex, marked by betrayal, anger, and a loss of trust in state institutions. This dissonance between past expectations and current realities contributes to a fading of the imagined homeland as a space of possibility. Even among those who still identify with the country, perceptions often reflect a sense of helplessness or resignation. Thus, what was once envisioned as a personal and national project becomes a symbol of frustration and disillusionment.

This is confirmed by others who initially imagined migration as temporary. Yet as the crisis in Venezuela deepened, such hopes were replaced by a recognition that the political and economic conditions required for recovery were absent. Another participant reflected on this emotional rupture in generational terms:

My son... would take a train... something that in Venezuela he would not go out if I did not take him. Then he told me he was very happy I had decided to come to Germany.

(VenPE09F)

Here, Venezuela becomes a symbol of insecurity, a place where life, especially childhood cannot unfold with dignity. What was once a place of belonging becomes, over time, a place migrants can no longer imagine as livable. Distance from home does not always end in idealisation or romanticisation, but a clearer, often more critical view of the country's failures.

7.7.2 Nostalgia and disillusionment

According to the interviews in Peru and Europe, many migrants continue to experience deep emotional attachments to Venezuela, often expressed through nostalgia. However, this nostalgia is rarely straightforward. It is not a longing to return, but rather a longing for what once was or what could have been. Migrants' emotional attachments are often ambivalent, suspended between pride and disillusionment. As one woman noted:

Yes, I will always feel proud. Of course, Mommy, I will always feel proud of my country. And I will always want to go back to my country. But as long as the situation continues like this, nothing happens.

(VenPE01F)

This emotional connection also extends to the imagined future in which nostalgia manifests through a continuation of traditional rituals of burial. One participant declared:

I would like to be buried in Venezuela. [...] If God keeps me here until God tells me to leave. A miracle. Let's go home.

(VenPE11F)

Here, the traditional burial in Venezuela becomes a metaphor for the national identity. This form of existential attachment illustrates how nostalgia is rooted in desire for reencounter and return to the home country.

In several cases, emotional connection is reinforced by a generational lens; parents express willingness that their children get to know Venezuela firsthand:

I want them to come back. I do want her to go back to that. I want them to know their country, their culture, to live, to love, to love what I left behind one day.

(VenPE17F)

For some, nostalgia manifests in deep symbolic ways through imagined futures, conversations with children, or even end-of-life wishes. Others process their nostalgia through acts of remembrance or storytelling, especially around cultural identity. Yet this sentimental connection often clashes with the stark realities of Venezuela's current social and economic crises:

[...] three vaccinations for the baby were \$100 a month. I wouldn't! no, no, no, no, no, no, no, no, no, no, I wouldn't do it. I would not go in that situation. And if I don't have it here, imagine back in Venezuela. I would not leave.

(VenPE01F)

Her words reveal a split between affection and growing disillusionment. This cognitive dissonance is a recurring pattern in the interviews. Migrants speak of music, food, landscapes, and family rituals with affection, but also recall memories of crisis, lack of resources, and violence.

7.7.3 *Changing expectations*

Living abroad reshapes how migrants envision Venezuela's future, not only for themselves, but for the country as a whole. For many, the experience of stability, rights, and opportunity in the host country changes what they see as acceptable in a functioning society. These new benchmarks often lead to a critical reassessment of Venezuela's situation. As one participant in Spain reflected:

As long as the political issue in Venezuela is not resolved, it is very difficult for me to invest there tomorrow. [...] If a person has a little more than normal, the person is in the eye of the crosshairs of crime for kidnapping, extortion, or something.

(VenEu06M)

His emphasis on political resolution and personal security points to how migrants' exposure to new contexts—public security, democratic protections, health systems, developed labor markets—raises expectations. These experiences

abroad serve not only to diminish hope for Venezuela's immediate recovery, but to redefine what a livable society should look like. Experiences in host societies serve as a critical lens through which Venezuela is judged. Access to healthcare, education, and security were frequent reference points for imagining what Venezuela should be, but is not. This quote reflects that:

If Venezuela changes the government and improves everything, if there is a chance to live again, if you are not going to have problems with electricity and water, and your rights are respected, of course, I would go. I love my country, I love my home.

(VenEU09F)

Others emphasise security and the guarantees of property rights:

How does one invest in Venezuela nowadays, if there is no legal security, there is no economic or political security. Rather, right now, if they can expropriate you, they expropriate you of what you have.

(VenPE24F)

Migrants also frame their expectations for Venezuela in terms of governance and justice. Many refer to the instability of the national currency and lack of institutional trust as obstacles to imagining a viable future there:

The sol is the most stable currency in Latin America, so I am not willing to change from the most stable currency in Latin America to the most unstable currency in Latin America. At this moment I am not willing to make that change.

(VenPE03M)

In contrast, life abroad often brings with it a sense of agency and future planning, accessing education, more reliable healthcare, and the possibility of socioeconomic advancement. These experiences reframe what many feel they can expect from Venezuela. Even when political change is hypothetically imagined, it is no longer sufficient to restore trust and convince people to return:

Not until it is certain that Venezuela will change. When I see a possibility of change, yes. Not until now.

(VenPE01F)

The conditional phrasing “when”, “if”, “not until” reflects a distancing. Change is imagined, but always deferred, suggesting a homeland whose future exists more as hope than probability. In this sense, migrants' visions of Venezuela are shaped by ongoing comparison, reflection, and reinvention.

Venezuelan migrants' visions of their homeland after migration are deeply personal and conditioned by their life trajectories, family situations, and lived experiences in the host societies. While some still dream of return, for many, Venezuela remains a place of emotional significance but diminished real possibility. Their imaginations about Venezuela are both nostalgic and realistic based on hope for political change but shaped by the security and stability found abroad.

7.8 Visits to Venezuela

Temporary visits to the country of origin are often imagined as a natural part of migrant life. Yet in reality, they are neither common, nor easily undertaken. Among Venezuelan migrants in Peru, such visits have become particularly rare, constrained by a combination of emotional, social, cultural, and economic factors. Although many migrants express a strong emotional desire to reconnect with their homeland—whether to see loved ones, revisit familiar places, or transmit cultural memory to the next generation—the actual act of visiting Venezuela is shaped by numerous limitations. Migration experiences inevitably influence how individuals relate to their place of origin, shaping whether and how they consider returning, even temporarily.

In the case of Venezuelan migrants, these dynamics are particularly pronounced, involving not only emotional ties and cultural obligations but also acute economic hardships and socio-political insecurity. Visits to Venezuela are frequently embedded in a broader narrative of longing, ambivalence, and risk, making them a valuable lens through which to understand the complexity of transnational attachment in this specific context.

While the prospect of return is a frequently discussed theme in the field of migration studies, temporary return, especially among Venezuelans, remains relatively understudied. Moreover, the experiences of Venezuelan migrants in Peru indicate that visiting Venezuela is not only an emotionally loaded but also structurally complicated endeavor. As one interviewee highlighted, “there is always the illusion of returning,” particularly during periods when public discourse in Venezuela highlights signs of economic recovery. The question posed by the same respondent, “Is Venezuela fixed?”, reflects a persistent emotional connection and ongoing curiosity about the possibility of return that accompanies migrants in their new places of residence (PeEx08).

Nonetheless, visits to Venezuela are largely constrained. The majority of migrants are not in a position—financially, legally, or emotionally—to undertake return visits. While some maintain strong emotional ties to family members left behind, including aging parents or children, the act of visiting is shaped by multiple deterrents. A recurring theme is fear of exploitation and state corruption. One interviewee recalled:

When you arrive in Venezuela [...] The police, the security forces, the forces of law and order [...] think that you come from these countries full of money and then they want to take advantage of that situation [...] they ask you for \$3, \$4, \$5.

(VenPE10M)

This sense of vulnerability is further exacerbated by the fear of not being able to return to Peru. Many migrants lack the necessary documentation or have signed the “Vuelta a la Patria” agreement, which legally bars re-entry to Peru for up to 15 years. One of the experts explained:

The people who go back to their homeland are repatriated. They have to sign a repatriation paper. And here in Peru, repatriation forces you not to return to the country for 15 years. [...] Venezuelans tried to return because they took advantage of the free flight, and now they will try to return. And imagine, they couldn't get in, but they had stuff here.

(PeEx08)

Therefore, the risk of being trapped in Venezuela without recourse to return is real and paralyzing. This resonates with broader patterns of how return is moralised and politicised in the context of Venezuelan migration, with states using symbolic and legal mechanisms to reframe migrants' decisions as acts of loyalty or failure (Freier & Parent, 2019). Similar dynamics are visible in Spain, where the diaspora has become a subject of political instrumentalisation affecting both national and international policy (Maresca, 2023).

Additionally, logistical obstacles such as prolonged power outages, poor internet connectivity, and lengthy overland travel—up to 36 hours—further discourage such visits, even among those who remain emotionally and cognitively connected to developments in Venezuela.

Yet, despite these limitations, some migrants do undertake return visits. These are often driven by urgent personal or family needs—caring for ill relatives, attending funerals, or spending time with elderly family members. Some may return during holidays, such as Christmas, but always temporarily (often under 90 days). One participant described:

[...] we want to go there to visit [our grandparents] before it is too late. As it has happened with many Venezuelans who have left or are here, and they can't even bury them all.

(VenPE19F)

These return visits, while emotionally significant, rarely alter the broader calculus of permanent return; instead, they tend to reinforce migrants' awareness of the risks and hardships they initially fled.

In sum, visiting Venezuela is a deeply ambivalent experience for many migrants—rooted in emotional obligation and nostalgia, yet constrained by structural insecurity, financial limitations, and legal restrictions. While temporary visits offer moments of reconnection, they seldom pave the way for permanent return, but rather underscore the fragility and ambivalence of transnational belonging.

7.8.1 Return visits and their influence on perceptions of permanent return

Return visits do not typically catalyze permanent return among Venezuelan migrants in Peru. On the contrary, these temporary returns often reinforce the very reasons that initially prompted migration. Personal experiences with corruption, insecurity, and social pressure upon returning home are cited as key deterrents. As one respondent recounted:

I am not moved because it is difficult to go there because of all that I am explaining, because of all those bribes that they want to charge you over there. They think you are becoming a millionaire when the reality is obviously different, and they want to take advantage of that.

(VenPE10M)

Rather than reigniting a desire to resettle, visits frequently remind migrants of the social and institutional decay that pushed them to leave. Encounters with systemic corruption, such as being extorted at security checkpoints or being expected to financially support extended family members, deepen the conviction that Venezuela remains inhospitable.

Even when visits are positive on an emotional level, they seldom translate into plans for permanent return. Migrants often speak of these trips as ways to “recharge emotionally” while reaffirming their decision to stay abroad:

Even if it is just to recharge my batteries for my reality, I have to satisfy the emptiness I have there and return to reality.

(VenPE05M)

As one expert also explained:

What some people do is that they go back and then they move again, they go out again. They don't stay longer than 90 days in Venezuela, and then either they return to Peru or they go somewhere else.

(PeEx11)

Only a minority—typically those who have achieved some measure of financial security—view return visits as precursors to potential reintegration. According to one expert, this mirrors patterns from previous Latin American migrations:

Those who have managed to develop here... want to buy something in Venezuela... Many Peruvians also returned home once they had planted the fruits of what they had done outside.

(PeEx08)

Such an approach is exemplified by one interviewee who had already begun renovating his house in preparation for a potential return that will allow him to go back when the situation allows. For the same reason he visits with his daughter who left the country in her early childhood:

[...] if I want to go to Venezuela, I am making some arrangements to my house there to see if God allows it [...]. Next year we will go to Venezuela to return, but only for a visit. We want to come and go and for my daughter to get to know Venezuela too, because she came when she was two years old.

(VenPE05)

The decision to return is shaped not only by the situation in Venezuela, but also by conditions in the host country. One of the experts underlined that during times of political instability or economic decline in Peru, some migrants considered return visits or even permanent return. An expert explained:

Many said they were thinking of returning to Venezuela or migrating to Chile [...] especially before elections when fear of a leftist government was high.

(PeEx06)

This illustrates how the political landscape of the host country can temporarily shift migrants' perceptions of return, even if such intentions rarely materialize. However, in the end, only a few decide to return, as further explains another expert:

In the long term, there is a 15%, and 20% that would already have the intention of moving to another country, eh? But only less than 10% say they have an intention or plans to return to Venezuela. So that return phenomenon is still overestimated. In other words, a lot of noise has been made about it, but not really in practice it is still much inferior to the other two processes, the process of leaving Venezuela, as more people continue to leave.

(PeEx08)

Thus, while the idea of return may persist as a long-term aspiration, actual return remains rare and often symbolic.

Ultimately, return visits reveal the depth of emotional connection to Venezuela, while simultaneously exposing the structural barriers that continue

to hinder any meaningful prospect of permanent return. These journeys, though momentarily fulfilling, rarely translate into reintegration, but rather highlight the complexity and contradictions of living between two worlds.

7.9 Conclusions: possibility of return

The motivations and obstacles for people visiting their homeland often involve a complex mix of emotional, social, cultural, and economic factors. Migration experiences shape how people relate to their place of origin, influencing whether and how they think about returning, even temporarily.

In the case of Venezuelan migrants, these dynamics are especially pronounced, involving not only emotional ties and cultural obligations but also severe economic hardships and socio-political insecurity. Visits to Venezuela are often part of a broader narrative of longing, ambivalence, and risk, making them a valuable lens through which to understand the complexity of transnational attachment within this specific context.

Venezuelan migrants generally maintain strong emotional ties with relatives who remain in Venezuela, and these connections serve as a vital anchor to their homeland. However, such relationships are often hindered by limited technological infrastructure and financial constraints. Instead of providing consistent emotional support, these interactions can sometimes be marked more by longing and frustration. Despite their deep emotional significance, transnational family ties are often shaped by structural inequalities—such as unreliable internet access, power outages, and digital illiteracy—which obstruct regular communication. Consequently, these bonds do not always foster a sustained sense of co-presence or the psychological grounding necessary to envisage a realistic return to Venezuela.

Most of the interviewed migrants access information about Venezuela primarily through social media, messaging platforms, and conversations with relatives and friends who remain in the country. Official Venezuelan media are widely regarded as unreliable or politically biased, which leads many to rely instead on informal and decentralised sources. This information landscape, though fragmented, serves as a crucial link to the homeland.

The way migrants engage with news about Venezuela significantly shapes their perceptions of the country and influences how they imagine the possibility of return. Their media consumption is embedded in a broader framework of emotional attachment, pragmatic concerns, and identity negotiations. As observed in prior research, persistent exposure to negative portrayals of the home country can contribute to solidifying migrants' orientation towards long-term settlement abroad (Sayad, 1999). In this context, expressions of return often remain aspirational—rooted more in sentiment and longing than in concrete plans or realistic expectations.

In summary, the interplay between media information and the expatriate experience fundamentally impacts one's attachment to their country of origin

and the likelihood of return. Exposure to diverse narratives, whether supportive or critical, conveys essential cues that shape migrants' perceptions and choices, making the role of media in these transnational dynamics impossible to ignore.

This dynamic resonates with the broader framework of social transnationalism described by Levitt and Schiller (2004), which highlights how migrants sustain emotional and social ties to their countries of origin through regular interaction and information exchange. While their work predates the rise of social media, it captures the continuity of transnational practices now amplified by digital platforms, through which migrants remain informed and engaged with everyday realities in Venezuela.

The nature of relationships among Venezuelan migrants in Peru varies considerably—from strong, everyday connections to sporadic contact or complete disengagement. Although Venezuelan cultural spaces and community initiatives are present, active participation is often limited by the daily realities of migrant life, such as work obligations, limited free time, and personal circumstances. Still, interactions with fellow migrants can play a meaningful role in sustaining cultural identity and a sense of belonging. These exchanges, though not always frequent or formalised, contribute to a shared emotional landscape that helps keep the idea of return alive—not necessarily as a concrete plan, but as a symbolic possibility.

Importantly, while migrants rarely cite their local diaspora networks as direct drivers of return, these relationships subtly reinforce a nostalgic connection to Venezuela. Shared traditions and mutual understanding among compatriots create a collective memory that sustains identification with the homeland. In this way, the diaspora community supports a symbolic horizon of return, in which even fleeting encounters can evoke the emotional pull of home.

Cultural practices such as food, music, religious rituals, and festive celebrations emerge as key vehicles through which Venezuelan migrants maintain emotional ties with their homeland. These practices are often adapted to the constraints and opportunities of each local context. In Peru, where relative geographic and cultural proximity allows for greater continuity, Venezuelan traditions are more commonly practiced within the domestic and neighbourhood spheres. In Europe, by contrast, migrants must often negotiate their customs in more secular, diverse environments, and food becomes an especially visible and symbolic marker of identity. Across all contexts, maintaining traditions serves not only as a coping strategy but also as a way to transmit cultural knowledge to younger generations. However, this intergenerational transmission is challenged by logistical limitations, mixed cultural households, and children's socialisation in host societies. Still, the persistence and adaptation of Venezuelan customs illustrate how culture can be both a source of continuity and transformation in contexts of migration.

Migrants' representations of Venezuela are shaped by a complex interplay of memory, loss, and political disillusionment. As shown in this chapter,

many respondents express a deep emotional connection to their homeland, often evoking nostalgia for cultural practices, landscapes, and family life. However, these sentiments coexist with narratives of betrayal, abandonment, and frustration with the Venezuelan state. The symbolic image of Venezuela is frequently detached from its political institutions and reconstructed as a cultural and affective homeland rather than a viable place for return. This emotional ambivalence reinforces the diasporic condition of being both “from” and “outside” the nation, and reflects broader patterns observed in forced migration contexts, where home becomes a place imagined rather than inhabited. As time abroad extends, particularly in Europe, the idea of returning to Venezuela fades into the background, replaced by a more permanent orientation towards integration elsewhere without necessarily implying a loss of national identity.

While the prospect of return is a frequently discussed theme in the field of migration studies, it remains a relatively understudied area concerning Venezuelans. Moreover, the experiences of Venezuelan migrants in Peru indicate that visiting Venezuela remains emotionally loaded. The continuous portrayal of economic instability and societal challenges serves as a psychological and practical barrier, reinforcing migrants’ tendencies towards permanent settlement abroad rather than return.

Moreover, migrants often condition their return on profound structural and political changes in Venezuela, many of which seem increasingly unattainable over time. The longer migrants remain abroad, the more they consolidate their lives and roots in the host country, progressively diminishing the practical likelihood of returning.

Venezuelan migrants’ possibilities of returning are conditioned by a complex interplay of information, emotional management, cultural adaptation, and practical economic considerations. These factors collectively influence their ongoing evaluations of return feasibility, resulting in a sustained tension between maintaining transnational ties and negotiating new identities within the Peruvian context. Ultimately, however, the probability of return diminishes over time, as conditions initially deemed necessary for returning remain unmet and migrants increasingly integrate into their host communities.

Return considerations may also be influenced by state initiatives. The Venezuelan government’s main programme aimed at promoting return migration, the “Plan Vuelta a la Patria,” launched in 2018, sought to repatriate migrants through state-sponsored flights. Official narratives describe it as a humanitarian and patriotic project to counter anti-migrant sentiment abroad and recover national talent. According to government sources, more than 300,000 Venezuelans had returned through this programme by mid-2022, though these numbers lack verification. Migrants view the programme with skepticism, regarding it more as a propaganda tool than a policy aimed at structural reintegration of migrants. Moreover, the programme does not address the root causes

of migration as economic collapse or insecurity issues. As such, “*Vuelta a la Patria*” functions more as a discursive strategy than a practical alternative for most migrants.

Return visits among Venezuelan migrants in Peru are shaped by a complex interplay of emotional attachments, familial obligations, and structural constraints. These visits often function as symbolic gestures of connection rather than exploratory steps towards reintegration. They can be read as emotionally meaningful acts that momentarily reaffirm migrants’ attachments to Venezuela while acknowledging the challenges of return. As documented in other migratory contexts, such as among Moroccan and Tunisian migrants, return trips may offer a form of emotional renewal or a means of maintaining transnational ties, without generating a concrete intention to repatriate (de Haas, 2006; Boubakri, 2013).

At the same time, the Venezuelan case exemplifies a broader disjuncture between the desire and ability to return, a distinction articulated by Carling (2004). Migrants may express strong emotional ties to their homeland, yet face persistent structural barriers—ranging from insecurity and economic collapse to weakened public services—that render return practically unfeasible. This tension—between symbolic desire and material impossibility—emerges as a key thread running through migrants’ narratives.

Cassarino’s (2004) framework further deepens this understanding by highlighting that return is not merely a physical relocation but a process requiring intentional preparation, accumulation of resources, and supportive institutional conditions. Among many Venezuelan migrants, such preparedness remains low, making visits a form of temporary emotional engagement rather than a precursor to repatriation. Rather than linear or conclusive, the return process appears as fragmented and provisional, shaped by shifting affective and structural conditions.

Recognising these layered dynamics allows for a more nuanced reading of return not as a single act, but as a fragmented and ambivalent process negotiated across emotional and structural terrains.

These ambivalent attitudes towards return are not unique to Venezuelan migrants but reflect broader patterns observed in diverse migratory contexts. Across various regions, return visits are often charged with emotional meaning yet rarely translate into durable repatriation. Rather than signaling concrete plans to resettle, such visits frequently serve as opportunities to reaffirm identity, reconnect with kin, or momentarily relieve the psychological pressures of displacement. Studies on Latin American and African diasporas show that temporary returns may offer emotional reassurance while simultaneously reinforcing migrants’ decisions to remain abroad. In this light, visits function less as preparation for return and more as acts of emotional continuity across borders.

The question of return migration has become increasingly complex for Venezuelans as the crisis endures and as their lives, families, and identities become

rooted in host societies. Early in the diaspora, many migrants envisioned their stay abroad as temporary—a “pause” until conditions improved in Venezuela (de Haas et al., 2015; Crasto & Álvarez, 2017). Over time, however, the horizon of return has shifted from concrete plan to distant hope or symbolic gesture. This evolution reveals how migrants’ orientations towards home are continually renegotiated, shaped by memory, disillusionment, and the social embeddedness of everyday life abroad.

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8 Conclusions

This concluding chapter synthesizes the main findings of the book, contextualizes them within broader regional and political dynamics, and outlines implications for policy and future research. The Venezuelan exodus represents the largest migration crisis in Latin America's modern history. By the end of November 2025, Latin America and the Caribbean hosted at least 6.9 million displaced persons from that country (the actual number could be higher, as many governments in the region do not monitor Venezuelan stocks, cf. R4V 2024).

The most pressing issue is the gradual shift in migration and refugee policies among major destination countries—from relatively liberal frameworks to increasingly restrictive ones. A significant turning point occurred in the 1990s, when many Latin American and Caribbean countries transitioned from right-wing authoritarian regimes to liberal democracies. As part of this shift, several countries adopted the Cartagena Declaration, which introduced a broader and more inclusive definition of a refugee.

This liberal stance was evident during the initial wave of the Venezuelan exodus (2015–2018), when countries such as Colombia, Peru, Ecuador, and Brazil implemented ad hoc and flexible measures. These policies allowed Venezuelans to move relatively freely and access local labor markets. However, since 2018—particularly during the COVID-19 pandemic—governments across the region began tightening their migration regimes. New policies introduced stricter mobility controls, criminalised irregular border crossings and unauthorised work or residence, and ultimately reduced the level of protection available to Venezuelan forced migrants (Espinoza, 2024).

Brazil remained an exception by taking a more humanitarian approach and extending the Cartagena Declaration's broader refugee definition to include Venezuelans. On the opposite end of the spectrum, Chile's "Visa of Democratic Responsibility" effectively restricted Venezuelan mobility, as it required both a valid passport and proof of a clean criminal record—documents that are extremely difficult to obtain in Venezuela (Espinoza, 2024).

In this regard, the country that was the primary focus of our research was not significantly different from the Chilean case. The initially liberal policy introduced by President Kuczynski's government—the Temporary Permanence Permit (PTP), which granted Venezuelans access to healthcare, education, and employment for two years, along with a potential pathway to legal residency—was later replaced by a more restrictive Humanitarian Visa, mirroring Chile's approach. To obtain this visa, Venezuelans were required to present a valid passport and a certificate of a clean criminal record.

In 2020, the Temporary Protection Card (*Carnet de Permiso Temporal de Permanencia*) was introduced, which must be renewed annually. This policy evolution reflects a clear trend: Peruvian elites continue to view Venezuelans as temporary guests, anticipating their eventual return home. This perception is further reinforced by growing societal fatigue and declining tolerance towards hosting nearly 1.7 million Venezuelans in a country of only medium size and income within the Latin American context.

These trends are confirmed by the findings of our study. Our survey among Venezuelans in Peru and their Peruvian neighbours combined with qualitative interviews exhibits a complicated mix of discrimination and acceptance. In this aspect it is particularly interesting to see how Venezuelan women experience both hypervisibility and social marginalisation—in line with Pérez and Freier (2022b) and Irons' (2022) studies. In our data, this duality is evident in the contrast between being welcomed in certain interpersonal settings, while simultaneously facing rejection in institutional or public spaces, reflecting a simultaneous process of inclusion and exclusion.

Another extremely intriguing finding is the perceived cultural differences. Both Venezuela and Peru are Spanish-speaking countries, dominated by Christians and Roman Catholics in particular. Moreover, in classical study of Hofstede on culture dimensions, Venezuelans and Peruvians both exhibit high uncertainty avoidance and power distance and a small degree of individualism and long-term orientation, suggesting cultural proximity (Hofstede, 2025). Yet, in our survey, around one-third of Peruvians found their Venezuelan neighbours as culturally distinct, and so did 20–30% of Venezuelans, depending on the question asked. More worrying finding was that only 30% of surveyed Peruvians rated Venezuelan culture positively, showing lower readiness to accept immigrants' culture, which might constitute a significant obstacle in further integration. From the migrants' perspective, Peruvians are generally perceived as respectful yet socially distant, which hinders deeper social integration. Cultural differences in communication styles, social norms, and work attitudes often lead to misunderstandings and symbolic misrecognition, despite the shared language. These tensions arise not from overt conflict, but from differing interpretations of seemingly similar behaviours.

Our study underlines that integration is neither a linear process nor an assured outcome. Drawing on Berry's (1997) acculturation framework, it illustrates how

Venezuelan migrants oscillate between integration—maintaining their cultural identity while forging connections with Peruvians—and separation, relying primarily on their own migrant networks. According to Ager and Strang's (2008) model, key domains such as social bridges, employment, and linguistic and cultural knowledge play a central role in shaping these trajectories. While some migrants succeed in building meaningful relationships and accessing supportive systems, others encounter structural barriers—such as workplace discrimination or inadequate institutional support—which lead them to adopt more self-protective or community-centered strategies of adaptation.

Our research, combining survey data, in-depth interviews, and comparative policy analysis, provides a unique insight into both the lived experiences and structural conditions of Venezuelan migrants and those who remain behind.

How permanent is the immigration of Venezuelans? Our study does not bring a comprehensive answer: the largest share of respondents (41%) still want to come back to Venezuela, 32% want to stay in Peru, while 26% intend to move to other destinations. Yet the vast majority of interviewees (74%) declared willingness to stay in Peru for more than one year. Additionally, previous research shows that migration intentions are only mildly fulfilled as real moves (Brzozowski & Coniglio, 2021), therefore it is highly likely that many Venezuelans will stay in Peru for longer.

Our previous empirical analysis has shown that for them, Peru and Lima “are good enough” (Sobczak-Szelc et al., 2025), and within the aspiration-capabilities framework, such a destination, if not the most optimal, is still acceptable. About two-thirds of our respondents were content with their economic situation and current occupation in Peru. This demonstrates that Venezuelans are relatively satisfied with their economic circumstances in Peru; also, living mostly in Venezuelan-dominated districts in Lima or Callao provides them with greater psychological comfort and a sense of belonging. We argue that for Venezuelans, staying in Peru is becoming a long-term adaptation strategy. Many attempt to bring their families from their home country, while others start new families in Peru. The precarious nature of their occupations is problematic, but Peru has a long tradition of a large informal economy. Consequently, for many Venezuelans, the economic situation may not be ideal, but it is satisfactory and comparable to that of many of their Peruvian neighbours.

Despite being physically distant from Venezuela, many migrants still have strong emotional, familial, and cultural ties to the country. Daily phone calls, WhatsApp messages and participation in family group chats are vital for maintaining relationships and a symbolic connection to the homeland. While these interactions often foster a sense of belonging and emotional closeness, they are also tinged with nostalgia and worry, especially given the ongoing challenges facing the country. These emotional attachments do not necessarily translate into concrete plans to return; rather, they are often expressed through a desire to visit, recharge emotionally, or introduce their children to Venezuela.

For many, returning home seems an unlikely or distant possibility, yet the idea remains a powerful symbolic reference point in their vision of the future. Thus, the identities and transnational relationships of Venezuelan migrants are shaped by the dynamic interplay between their current lives abroad and their enduring connection to their homeland.

Finally, our research also included left-behind Venezuelan relatives. It is important to underline that immobility in Venezuela is not simply the result of structural constraints, such as poverty, legal barriers, or health conditions. Rather, it often reflects a complex combination of care, attachment, fear, and hope. For many people, staying put is an active, morally grounded strategy linked to caregiving responsibilities, cultural identity, and emotional resilience.

The analysis also shows that immobility is relational and temporally embedded. Some individuals stay to support transnational family strategies, maintain continuity for children or elderly relatives, or preserve homes and legacies. Others remain due to fears of exploitation, xenophobia, or loss of dignity abroad. In this sense, staying is not a passive absence of mobility, but rather a form of agency that is rooted in presence, responsibility, and endurance.

By reframing immobility as a meaningful social practice rather than merely an absence of movement, our research contributes to a more nuanced understanding of mobility in crisis contexts.

Our empirical analysis ended in 2023 and has been followed by at least two events that shape the reality for Venezuelans in diaspora and their home country. First, the Maduro regime consolidated power in presidential elections in 2024 and parliamentary and regional elections in 2025, despite opposition protests. This implies that for Venezuelans who still remain in their home country, the socio-economic situation will not improve, at least in the short term. Another event is the re-election of Donald Trump as the president of the United States and his extremely restrictive anti-immigration rhetoric, including the harsh deportations of Venezuelan citizens to El Salvador in March 2025. This second event signals that for even most resourceful Venezuelans who have families in the US, the doors to America are shutting. It also implies that the exodus of Venezuelans will probably continue: from May 2023 to May 2025, the stock of Venezuelans in the LAC region increased by 400,000 persons. These findings highlight the need for more sustainable and inclusive integration policies across the region, as well as better coordination among host countries to avoid protection gaps.

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Appendix

Qualitative interview scenarios

In-depth interview scenario with local actors in Peru

Location:

Field work period: July 2022/August 2022

Interview code:
Date and time:
Place of interview:
City/locality:
Language of interview:
Translator used or not:
Number of people present in the room:
Name of interviewer:
Duration: Started: _____ /Ended: _____
Interview recorded: Yes / Yes partially
Type of consent – oral signed

The aim and structure of the interview and project

The interviewer starts by introducing the project and the topic of the interview.

We are here on behalf of the MICLACAS project. Its full title is 'Migration Crisis in Latin America – coping and adaptation strategies of Venezuelan migrants and their families and the risk of the global migration crisis'. The project is undertaken at Krakow University of Economics and financed by the National Science Center in Poland. Our interdisciplinary team is built by researchers from Poland, Venezuela, and Peru.

The interviewer begins by introducing themselves, if necessary. This section may be completed before the interview (preferably during interview preparation) and/or at the beginning of the interview:

We aim to investigate the coping and adaptation strategies of migrants and forced migrants who left Venezuela during the last decade and currently live in Peru. We aspire to get a deeper understanding of the migration process and determine whether the contemporary coping tactics of Venezuelans will lead to a more long-term settlement in new near destinations or whether they are just short-term survival tactics aimed at accumulating the resources needed to finance subsequent re-emigration into more attractive destinations. We highly appreciate your knowledge in this area, therefore we invite you to share with us your knowledge and experience.

The questions raised are centered around the themes of Venezuelan migration to Peru, and the situation of Venezuelans, especially regarding how they function in the host society. We will begin with the history and characteristics of Venezuelan migration in Peru as well as the needs, challenges, and facilitations for Venezuelans. Then, we will continue with the access of Venezuelan migrants and forced migrants to the labor market, housing, education, and healthcare. We also would like to know about the relation of Venezuelans with the host community, the coping strategies they use as well as their plans for the future.

We want to ensure that information obtained from you is handled with care and will be used only for scientific purposes. Your contribution is important, and we really value your willingness to share your experiences with us. Remember, you are free to answer as you please and have no obligation to answer any question you don't want to. Likewise, you may withdraw your participation from the interview at any given moment. We estimate the whole interview may take up to one hour and a half.

Please make sure that all information obtained will be anonymized and any personal data or facts that may link to your person will be removed, unless you declare that you would like your name to be directly mentioned.

Finally, we would like you to give permission for recording of this interview. The recording will be used just for transcription and analysis purposes.

[Informed consent]

I have received and understood the information about the MICLACAS project and the conditions of my participation, including information about the use of my personal data and my rights. I have had all my questions answered satisfactorily. I consent:

- to participate in the interview.
- to have the interview recorded.
- to have my personal data stored for follow-up studies after the project ends.

I consent to my personal data being processed until the project ends, approximately by 31.03.2025.

The typology of respondents

Practitioner (profession, area of experience in migration, district management and years of experience in the field of migration, governance)

Scholar (academic discipline and area of experience in migration research and years of experience in the field of migration studies)

Other roles ... (local actors – leaders of local community, local authorities)

I would like to start by asking you to tell us a little about yourself and your experience in this area.

- What is your experience, and can you tell us a little about how long you have been involved in... (to be adjusted for each respondent)
- How long have you been aware of or involved with Venezuelan migrants in Peru? When did you first become interested in the situation of Venezuelans in Peru?

Venezuelan migration (history and characteristics)

Could you describe the migration of Venezuelans in the 21st century?

- When did it begin and under what circumstances?
- What were the reasons that prompted Venezuelans to migrate?
- Why do Venezuelans choose Peru as their destination?

What most characterized this migration and the migrants?

- Was there a main group?
- How were Venezuelan households composed?
- Were there any vulnerable groups among these migrants? Which ones? (Indigenous people, Afro-Venezuelans, LGBTQ migrants, women and children, unaccompanied minors, older adults, and other vulnerable communities?)

How did the different groups migrate?

- Individuals versus families,
- Routes and means of travel, irregular border crossings, smugglers,
- Human trafficking.

Considering the above, how has Venezuelan migration changed over time in terms of gender, social class of migrants, occupational groups, etc.?

- Can you divide the time since the first significant influx of Venezuelan migrants into sub-periods?
- Was it voluntary or forced migration? Did this change over time?
- What was the role of new technologies in migration?

Where have they chosen to live in Peru?

- Is there a specific area they have chosen to live in Peru, and in Lima in particular?
- Why are there such concentrations?

How has the COVID-19 pandemic influenced the migration of Venezuelans to Peru?

Venezuelan migrants in Peru

What are the main needs of Venezuelans in Peru?

- Are Venezuelans in Peru marginalized? If so, in what areas?
- What is your opinion of the current situation of Venezuelan migrants in Peru?
- Who plays an important role in helping Venezuelan migrants in Peru? Both from a political and practical standpoint.

Do you work with Venezuelan migrants? If so, in what capacity and where?

- Which groups do you consider most vulnerable upon arrival?
- Do you provide special services for vulnerable groups?

What are the biggest challenges faced by Venezuelans in Peru?

- Do these challenges change over time after their arrival?
- How do they overcome them?

Do they have access to public services (health centers, schools, etc.) in the same way as Peruvians?

What is the legal situation of Venezuelan migrants in Peru?

- What are the reasons for this situation?
- Are there differences between the different groups mentioned above?
- Has this changed over time?

What kind of facilities can they count on?

- What role do 'migrant houses' play?

Venezuelan migrants in the labor market

What types of jobs do Venezuelans typically do?

- Are these formal or informal jobs? Do these jobs match their qualifications? Do they also work in Peruvian public institutions and services?
- How does each person's legal status (irregular, permanent resident, citizen) affect their rights and working conditions? Please explain.
- What are their working conditions? Do they face sexual exploitation and prostitution, illicit trade, or child labor?

What are the biggest obstacles for Venezuelan migrants entering the labor market and in the workplace?

- What are the reasons for these obstacles (e.g. legal limitations, language, recognition of qualifications, cultural differences, discrimination)?

Do they receive assistance in accessing the labor market? From whom? What kind?

What role does their entrepreneurial spirit play in accessing the labor market?

How do they usually finance themselves in an emergency?

Access to housing

To your knowledge, where do most Venezuelan migrants reside in Peru?

- Can they decide where they are located?

What can you say about the quality standards of housing conditions for Venezuelan migrants in Peru?

What is the impact of the presence of Venezuelan migrants in different spatial environments (e.g. the labor and housing markets, the education system, the health sector)?

Access to education

Do Venezuelan migrant children have access to the education system in Peru?

Is there any type of vocational or other training provided to Venezuelan migrants? If so, please give some examples.

- How would you assess its effectiveness? Is it in line with the labor market situation?

Access to health (physical and mental support)

What is your opinion of the health conditions of Venezuelans in Peru?

Do they face many stressful situations?

- What kind? How do they deal with them?
- Are there addiction problems?

What does your institution offer in terms of psychosocial health for Venezuelan migrants in Peru?

Are there obstacles to Venezuelan immigrants accessing social benefits?

- Similarly, are there obstacles to accessing health benefits? If so, could you elaborate?

Do you believe there are specific cultural needs for the effective provision of these services?

- If so, how does your institution address them? Is support available (internal or external)?

Relationship with the host community

What do you think of Venezuelans' attitudes and behaviors compared to Peruvians'? What personality traits do they have in terms of pride, self-confidence and self-esteem, sense of control, competitiveness, predisposition to anxiety or optimism or pessimism?

What is the relationship between Venezuelan migrants and their neighbors?

- What facilities do public institutions, NGOs, networks, and self-help organizations, etc. provide to help Venezuelan migrants integrate?

Do they face discrimination?

- In what areas? How does it manifest itself?
- Are there Peruvians/organizations fighting against it?

How are Venezuelan migrants changing Peru?

- How are they contributing to society and culture? To the economy? To interculturality? Are there any positive/negative effects?
- How have Venezuelans changed the city of Lima?

Coping strategies

How do Venezuelan migrants in Peru tend to face and overcome the aforementioned challenges?

- Can you give an example of self-help mechanisms among migrants and their associations?
- Has this changed over time?
- Could you give examples of how challenges are faced and overcome at the individual, family, and community levels?

Do Venezuelan migrants in Peru still have a relationship with their country of origin? How would you describe it?

How do Venezuelan migrants deal with problems? Are they active – making a great effort to find a solution, passive – doing nothing to solve a problem and waiting for a change in the situation, or evasive – trying to avoid or flee from a problem/situation and its consequences?

Future

How do you think the situation of Venezuelans in Peru will evolve?

- Will their situation in Peru improve, deteriorate, or remain unchanged?
- Will they remain in Peru?
- For those who remain, will they assimilate, integrate, or separate themselves from native Peruvian society?
- What new paths might they choose?
- Will they return to Venezuela?

- What will the attitudes of host/Peruvian communities be like in the future? Will they change?

What is the future of the current Venezuelan migration crisis? Will its magnitude decrease or increase? Could it lead to a greater crisis in the future, even on a global scale? What circumstances could lead to an escalation of the crisis? And what circumstances could bring an end to the crisis?

Other recommendation

Do you know any professionals/experts working in the government, non-governmental organizations, or other areas who are familiar with Venezuelan migrants in Peru and would be willing to talk with us?

Could you share with us some contacts with Venezuelan migrants who could be interviewed as part of our research?

In-depth interview scenario with Peruvians in Peru

Location:

Field work period: August 2023/September 2023

Interview code:
Date and time:
Place of interview:
City/locality:
Language of interview:
Translator used, or not:
Number of people present in the room:
Name of interviewer:
Duration: Started: _____ /Ended: _____
Interview recorded: Yes / Yes partially
Type of consent – oral, signed

The aim and structure of the interview and project

The interviewer starts by introducing the project and the topic of the interview.

We are here on behalf of the MICLACAS project. Its full title is 'Migration Crisis in Latin America – coping and adaptation strategies of Venezuelan Migrants and their Families and the risk of the global migration crisis'. The project is undertaken at Krakow University of Economics and financed by the National Science Center in Poland. Researchers from Poland, Venezuela, and Peru build our interdisciplinary team.

The interviewer follows by introducing herself.

We aim to investigate the situation of Venezuelan migrants around the world. As you interact with some of them daily, you have become an expert in that issue; thus, we highly appreciate your knowledge and invite you to share your experience with us. The questions are centered around issues such as the situation of Venezuelan migrants that settled in Peru concerning the labor market, housing, education, and healthcare and the impact on the local population. We also would like to know about the relationship of Peruvian people with Venezuelan migrants.

Your contribution is extremely important to our project, and we value your willingness to share your experiences with us. We want to emphasize that you are

free to answer as you wish and have no obligation to answer any question you don't want to. Likewise, you may withdraw your participation from the interview at any time. We estimate the whole interview may take up to ... (time).

We want to ensure that your information is handled with care and will be used only for scientific purposes. All information obtained during our interview will be anonymized, and any personal data or facts that may link to your person will be removed unless you declare that you would like your name to be directly mentioned.

Once again, we are researchers, not representatives of any NGO or authorities.

Finally, we ask you for permission to record this interview. The recording will be used only for transcription and research purposes.

Consent information and request:

I have received and understood the information about the MICLACAS project and the conditions of my participation, including information about using my data and my rights.

I have received a satisfactory answer to all my questions. I give my consent

- to participate in an interview.
- for the interview to be recorded.
- so that my data is kept once the project is finished for follow-up studies.

I consent to my data being processed until the end date of the project, approximately 31.03.2025.

The person/the family/the household

I would like to ask you to tell us a little bit about yourself and your family members.

Please tell us something about yourself. How old are you, do you have any education, what is your social status, what describes you, what do you do for living? You do not need to tell us your real name.

- How would you prefer to describe yourself (regarding religion and/or ethnicity)?

Please tell us about your close family. Here in Peru and in other regions in the world.

- **Are you married or in a relationship?** Where does your close family (husband/wife/partner/children) live? *If someone is living with a family, ask about the partner (in the case of more than one family member, we are interested in the main one). Ask also about the social and educational situation of the partner.*
- **Do you have children?** Are there other people living with you?
- Are you and your ancestors from Lima? If not, where is your family from?

Life before the migration crisis

Now I would like you to tell me about your life here before 2016 when most of the Venezuelans came to Peru. I would like to better understand your background and previous habit/experience.

What did your life look like before 2016?

- How did you earn your living?
- What did you do and what was your overall economic and social situation?
- Did you have any contact with Venezuelans before 2016? If so, what kind of contact was it? Did it affect your everyday life?

Time just after the Venezuelan influx in 2016/first memories, experiences

Now I would like to ask you about the situation early at the beginning of the increased influx of Venezuelans to Peru and Lima particularly.

What were your first impressions after the start of the crisis in Venezuela in 2016?

What were your first impressions when the first Venezuelans started to approach Peru in 2016 and 2017? Both positive and negative.

- How did you perceive the situation of those who arrived? Did it change in time?
- Were you or your family and friends somehow involved in supporting migrants? If yes, how and why did you or your relatives and friends decide to help?
- What does it look like nowadays – what changed and why?
- Did this influx impact your life or that of your relatives and friends? If so, how? If there were difficulties, how did you manage to overcome them?

Did you or your relatives or friends receive any support from the state, NGOs, religious or other institutions upon the arrival of the migrants? If relevant – what support and from whom?

General impressions about Venezuelan migration

Please tell us a little bit about the Venezuelan population in Peru.

What does your contact with the Venezuelan population in Peru look like now?

- What is your general impression of Venezuelan migration in Peru?
- Did your everyday life change because of the influx of migrants? What did you have to change/how did you adapt to the new situation?

Do you think that Venezuelans should have or should not have the same rights as Peruvians? Why?

Do you think that Venezuelans face any discrimination practices?

- In which areas? What does it look like?
- Has it changed during the last decade?

Situation in the labor market

Now, I want to ask you specifically about the situation in the labor market.

Do you work now, or have you worked earlier? If yes, please describe your job/s and what it is like to work there.

Did you have an opportunity to work with Venezuelan migrants? Please describe that experience.

- Did it influence your working possibilities and conditions? If so, how have those conditions changed?
- How have those changes influenced your personal living conditions and livelihood security?
- Has it influenced your attitude toward your current working place? If, so how? Please elaborate.
- How are those Venezuelans, with whom you are working, treated at work compared to you and your Peruvian colleagues? What is your opinion about this?

- Are you aware of any discrimination against Venezuelan migrants in the labor context? Does it differ for men and women?

Housing situation

Now, I want to ask you specifically about your experience in regard to housing rental.

Where do you live, and why do you live there?

- How long have you been living there? What is it like to live there?
- How do you feel walking around in this neighborhood? Has it changed since the last five–six years? If so, how?

What are your housing conditions?

- Do you rent a house/flat/room? From whom? Has it changed during the past six years? How?
- Do you know who lives next to you? Do you have contact with your neighbors? Who are your neighbors?
- Are there any Venezuelans among your neighbors? Do you have any contact with them? Have you been in their place of living? Can you describe it?
- Considering the current housing situation, would you consider moving or changing neighborhoods?

Do you rent a house to others? If so, to whom?

- Do you face any challenges regarding renting the house/flat/rooms? Have you observed any changes in this domain during the last six years?
- Do you or did you rent a space to Venezuelans? If so, what is your experience in this domain? If not, would you be open to renting your property to Venezuelans? Please elaborate.
- Are there any housing-related challenges or problems that Venezuelan migrants face in your community?

Education – situation and practices

Now, I want to ask you specifically about education. (Just for those who have children).

Are your children in the education system? What kind? Which year?

Are your children studying alongside Venezuelan students? If so, for how long? Can you describe their experience?

- How would you describe the relationship between your child(ren) and their Venezuelan classmates? How do you react to this?
- Are there any good practices in the education system that help Venezuelan children integrate with local students?
- How do you perceive the impact of interactions between your child and their Venezuelan classmate on their overall school and educational experience? What is your opinion about this?

Healthcare – situation and practices

I would also like to ask you some questions about healthcare, your access to this service as well as any changes in this domain during last six years.

When you or your family members require medical assistance, where do you usually seek help? Do you visit an EsSalud establishment, a private clinic, or other healthcare facilities? Why?

Have you met any Venezuelans in these establishments? If so, how they were treated in comparison with Peruvians?

Has the healthcare sector and access to delivered services changed during last six years? How have these changes impacted you, your family, and the community? How did you deal with this?

What are your experiences in access to healthcare during COVID-19 pandemic? Did you meet any Venezuelans seeking help at that time? What did you observe?

- Considering the current situation in the healthcare sector, would you consider switching your healthcare provider or the facility where you and your family receive medical attention? What are the main reasons behind this?

Are you aware of the presence of Venezuelan doctors working in Peru? If so, what is your opinion of Venezuelan doctors working in Peru?

Have you ever been attended to by a Venezuelan doctor?

- If so, could you share your experience and satisfaction with their medical care?

- If not, would you be open to receiving medical attention from a Venezuelan doctor? Please elaborate.
- Did any of your friends describe to you his/her experience with Venezuelan doctors? Could you share it with us?

Relations with migrants

In this part, I would like to know more about your personal relations with people from Venezuela and how you are building the relationship with your neighbors.

- How often do you come into relation with Venezuelan neighbors? What kind of relation is it? Do you like those contacts? Why?
- **What is your relationship with your neighbors?** Have you ever helped or received any help from a Venezuelan person?
- How do Venezuelan neighbors behave in everyday contact? Is it different from Peruvians? Can you describe some situations that you faced? Has it changed in time? How?
- Have your friends reflected on situations from everyday contacts with their Venezuelan neighbors? Can you provide some examples?
- Do you have Venezuelan colleagues, friends, or close friends? How would you describe those friendships?
- Have you changed your habits and/or way of living during last six years? Please provide some examples. Why did it happen?
- Can you describe some examples of Venezuelans practices and behaviors that you find most valuable and worth copying? Have you taken over any of them to your personal habits?
- Do cultural norms and behaviors of the Venezuelan population cause any pressures or stresses for you? Can you describe some particular situations?
- **Have you observed any organizations that facilitated Venezuelans' functioning in the society? What kind of support was it?** In your opinion, should they provide any support to Venezuelans? And to Peruvians?
- Are there spaces for cultural exchange or integration programs that promote interaction between Venezuelan migrants and the local population? Have you been there? Did you enjoy it? How and why?
- **How do you perceive the participation of Venezuelan migrants in cultural events and local festivities?** Have they shown interest in learning about Peruvian culture?
- Should Peruvians help Venezuelans integrate into the host society?
- **Where do you get everyday information/news?** What media types do you typically consume, such as television programs and newspapers?

- **What kind of information do you seek?** Is there any news about your neighborhood? Is there any news about Venezuelans in Peru?
- Do you believe the information presented in the media you watch/read?
- How are Venezuelans portrayed in the media you watch or read? Has the way of picturing the Venezuelan migration changed in the last years?

That was our last question. Would you like to add anything to what was already said?

In-depth interview scenario with Venezuelans in Europe

Location:

Field work period: February 2023/May 2023

Interview code:
Date and time:
Place of interview:
City/locality:
Language of interview:
Translator used, or not:
Number of people present in the room:
Name of interviewer:
Duration: Started: _____ /Ended: _____
Interview recorded: Yes / Yes partially
Type of consent – oral, signed

The aim and structure of the interview and project

The interviewer starts by introducing the project and the topic of the interview.

We are here on behalf of the MICLACAS project. Its full title is 'Migration Crisis in Latin America – coping and adaptation strategies of Venezuelan migrants and their families and the risk of the global migration crisis'. The project is undertaken at Krakow University of Economics and financed by the National Science Center in Poland. Our interdisciplinary team is built by researchers from Poland, Venezuela, and Peru.

The interviewer starts by introducing herself.

We aim to investigate the situation of Venezuelan migrants around the world. As you are one of them, therefore an expert in this area, we highly appreciate your knowledge and invite you to share with us your experience. The questions raised are centered around issues such as the motives to leave Venezuela and the migratory process itself. We will also focus on the motivations to move to Europe. Moreover, we wish to understand better the situation of Venezuelan migrants that settled in Europe, so we will continue with the topics related to the labor market, housing, education, and healthcare. We also would like to know about the relation of Venezuelans with the host community, how you deal with everyday challenges.

Your contribution is extremely important to our project, and we really value your willingness to share your experiences with us. We want to emphasize that you are free to answer as you please and have no obligation to answer any question you don't want to. Likewise, you may withdraw your participation from the interview at any given moment. We estimate the whole interview may take up to (time).

We want to ensure that information obtained from you is handled with care and will be used only for scientific purposes. All information obtained during our interview will be anonymized and any personal data or facts that may link to your person will be removed, unless you declare that you would like your name to be directly mentioned.

Once again, I would like to underline that we are researchers, not representatives of any NGO or authorities therefore, we are here only for research purposes and we are not able to give any incentives or help in any way not related to the project issues.

Finally, we would like to ask you for permission to record this interview. The recording will be used only for transcription and research purposes.

[Consent information and request goes here]

I have received and understood the information about the MICLACAS project and the conditions of my participation in the project, including information about the use of my personal data and my rights.

I have received a satisfactory answer to all my questions. I give my consent

- to participate in an interview.
- for the interview to be recorded.
- so that my personal data is kept once the project is finished for follow-up studies.

I consent to my personal data being processed until the end date of the project, approximately 31.03.2025.

The person/the family/the household

I would like to start by asking you to tell us a little bit about yourself and your family members that are here with you and that were left in the region of origin.

Could you please tell us something about yourself...? How old are you, do you have any education, what is your social status, what describes you as a person? You do not need to tell us your real name.

- What languages do you speak?
- How would you prefer to describe yourself (in terms of religion and/or ethnicity)?

Could you please tell us about your close family? Here in Europe, other regions in the world (including Peru) and in the region of origin.

- Are you married or in a relationship? Where does your close family (husband/wife/partner/children) live? If someone is living with a family, ask about the partner (in the case of more than one family we are interested in the main one). Ask also about the social, education situation of the partner.
- Do you have children (do they participate in any form of education)? Are there other people living with you?

Life before arrival to Europe

*Now, that you have told me a little bit about yourself, **I would like you to tell me about your life in Venezuela.** With this, I would like to understand better the factors that have influenced you to emigrate from Venezuela.*

Guiding questions

- Were you living in a rural area, city/periphery or center?
- What kind of services did you have access to?
- What was your overall living condition there? What kind of neighborhood was it (poor, wealthy, violent, peaceful)? Was it in a house/apartment/other form of living?
- What kind of work did you do and what was your overall economic, social situation?
- Were you able to support yourself or did you need the help of your family/friends?

Migratory process

Now, I would like to try and get a sense of how it was for you to make the journey from your country all the way to Europe.

Guiding questions

- What were the reasons for leaving your country?
- What other options to deal with everyday challenges and existential problems did you try before leaving Venezuela?
- Since when had you been planning/thinking of leaving your country? Did it take you a long time to decide?
- Please, tell me what information you had in advance about the journey?
- What was your main source(s) of information (e.g. other people who migrated, internet, television, etc.)?
- Please, describe the legal process to emigrate from Venezuela (access to identity documents, studies, work, banking, etc.). Also, when outside of Venezuela with children in other countries, how did you obtain identity documents (of the children) – if relevant?

Migration trajectories

Now that you have explained how it was that you decided to leave, I would like to know more about your journey, how were you moving before arriving in [name of the country] and what are your overall migration experiences.

- When did you first leave your country with the intent to emigrate?
- When and how did you get to [name of country]? How long did it take you, and what problems did you face along the way? Did you come directly to [name of the country] after leaving your country or were you in other countries first or had to stop somewhere (if yes, where)? What was the reason for choosing this country?
- Was your intention from the very beginning to come to current place of living or did you end up here by chance?

Life in Europe – general encounter

Now, I would like to ask you about your life here in [name of the country]. If you were here before, please reflect both trips/your earlier expressions in the next questions.

- What kind of expectations about life in Europe did you have before coming here?
- What were your general experiences and impressions at the beginning in comparison with your expectations? *Both positive and negative.* How have you been received? Has it changed?

- *What were your primary needs when you first came to Europe?*
- *What was your legal status and how did it change since the moment of arrival?*
- *Did you receive any support from the hosting community, state, NGOs, religious or other institutions upon arrival or during the first months of living in the current location? If relevant – what support and from whom did you receive?*

Access to labor market

Now, I would like to ask you specifically about employment.

- **Do you work now or have you worked earlier in [country of current residence]? If yes, please describe your job/s and what it is like to work here/there.** How long did it take you to find a job and how did you find it? Have your jobs been compatible with your skills/education/language? Do you feel comfortable doing these types of work or would you rather do something else?
- **Have you ever experienced any obstacles or problems with finding a job or at work?** For example, have you experienced formal obstacles or abuse? How have you dealt with these problems? Have you turned to anyone for help or assistance? If yes, how were you assisted?
- **Were your qualifications recognized?**
- **Did you see any changes that happened in the labor market due to the presence of Venezuelan migrants that influenced your working and life conditions?**

Access to housing

Now, I would like to ask you specifically about the places where you stayed from the moment of arrival up to now.

According to your knowledge, where are most Venezuelan migrants residing in [name of the country]?

Where and why do you live?

Can you describe your place of living (its location, size) at the moment of arrival and how has it changed up till now?

Please, describe your current neighborhood (and the community in general).

- How long have you been living there? What is it like to live there?
- Do you know who lives next to you? Do you have contact with your neighbors? Do you feel you have opportunities to engage with the wider community? Do you have any Venezuelan or other Latin American neighbors/Venezuelans or other Latin Americans living in the neighborhood?
- Do you feel comfortable/safe/happy walking around in this neighborhood?

Please, describe your current place of residence.

- What is it like and how did you find it? Do you pay for it yourself or do you receive help with the rent? If so, from whom?
- How long have you lived there? Are you happy/Do you feel at home there or would you rather move somewhere else?
- How many times have you had to move before settling here and why?

Did you see any changes that happened in the housing market due to the presence of Venezuelan migrants that influenced your life conditions?**Access to education**

Now, I would like to ask you specifically about education. (Just for those who have children) **How have your children accessed school in the current place of living?**

- Are there any good practices in the education system that help your children to integrate with the local students?

And regarding your education, **have you attended any trainings, courses, or language lessons here or other provided for migrants, including Venezuelans?** If yes, please try to detail them.

- How difficult is it to access and get the information about these courses?
- Who pays for them?
- How do you evaluate them?
- **Did you try to confirm your education and/or recognize your university diploma?** How did it go?

Access to health (physical and mental support)

I would like also to ask you whether going through the journey and having to accommodate to a new life in a new country has affected your health (physically and/or psychologically)?

In sum, how would you describe your psychological self/traits/personality?

- *Has it happened since your arrival here that you felt pessimistic or depressed or experienced a difficult situation and needed help? If so, what did you do to handle the situation? Who did you turn to for help? Did it help, and if so, in what way?*
- *Have you needed/sought professional help regarding a particularly difficult health issue you may have had since arriving here? If so, in what way and whether you received one?*
- *Please describe your relationships with your family and friends. Are they a positive or negative source of emotional support to you? Can you describe your relations with the most important people in your life before you came here and now? How do significant persons in your life (for example, parents, siblings, teachers, friends, etc.) affect you as a person, both positively and negatively?*
- *What gives you meaning (purpose, goal, importance, motivation) in life today and before you came to [current place of living] (for example religion, ideology, or another worldview)? How do close people around you affect your relation to what gives you meaning? What role do they play in your worldview? Did this change since you left your country?*

Relation with host community

In this part I would like to know more about your experiences with the people of [name of the country] and how you are building relationships and communities with your neighbors or if you face any kind of xenophobia here.

- **What do you think of nationals' (host community) characteristics and behaviors?** What personality traits do they have regarding pride, self-confidence and self-esteem, sense of control, competitiveness, predisposition to anxiety or optimism vs pessimism? **How do you find yourself in such a culture?**
- Do you think that changing your habits, way of living to be more similar to the citizens of [name of the country] would change how you are perceived by the host community? How? Would you like it?

- Do cultural norms and behaviors or ways of living in your new country create any pressures or stresses for you? If so, please describe in detail.
- Do you have colleagues, friends, close friends of [given nationality]? How would you describe those friendships?
- **What is your relationship with your neighbors?**
- **What facilitated you to integrate** (public institutions, NGOs, networks and self-help organizations, etc.)? Also include relationships with other Latin Americans – **What was their role? Did they provide any support? Did you feel discriminated against by them or betrayed in some way** (point out an example (positive and negative) and how was the situation resolved)?

Do you face any discrimination practices?

- In which areas? What does it look like?
- Do you know any organizations fighting against it?

Relation with country of origin

In this part I would like to ask you about maintaining connections with Venezuela and celebrating Venezuelan culture and traditions.

Do you still have a relationship with your family and relatives in Venezuela? How can you describe it?

- Do you visit Venezuela? How often?
- Do you follow news about the situation in Venezuela and of Venezuelans in other countries? Where? How often?
- How often do you contact your relatives and friends in Venezuela?
- Do you send remittances or other articles to your relatives and/or friends?
- Do you follow Venezuelan customs and traditions with your family/friends here in your current place of residence?

Future

Now I would like to ask you about your plans for the future.

- **How do you see your future? Are you willing to come back to Venezuela?** And what does your partner think about it? What do your children/other close

family members think about this? If you die outside of Venezuela, would you like to be buried in Venezuela or the country where you currently reside?

- Do you invest in Venezuela to establish your living possibility there for retirement time?
- Do you plan to bring your relatives here to [current place of residence]?
- Do you think about migration to any other destination? Where and why?

*That was our last question. **Would you like to add anything to what was already said?***

In-depth interview scenario with Venezuelans in Peru

Location:

Field work period: August 2023/September 2023

Interview code:
 Date and time:
 Place of interview:
 City/locality:
 Language of interview:
 Translator used, or not:
 Number of people present in the room:
 Name of interviewer:
 Duration: Started: _____ /Ended: _____
 Interview recorded: Yes / Yes partially
 Type of consent – oral, signed

The aim and structure of the interview and project

The interviewer starts by introducing the project and the topic of the interview.

We are here on behalf of the MICLACAS project. Its full title is 'Migration Crisis in Latin America – coping and adaptation strategies of Venezuelan migrants and their families and the risk of the global migration crisis'. The project is undertaken at Krakow University of Economics and financed by the National Science Center in Poland. Our interdisciplinary team is built by researchers from Poland, Venezuela, and Peru.

The interviewer starts by introducing herself.

We aim to investigate the situation of Venezuelan migrants in Peru. As you are one of them, therefore an expert in this area, we highly appreciate your knowledge and invite you to share with us your experience. The questions raised are centered around issues such as the motives to leave Venezuela and the migratory process itself. We will also focus on the motivations to move to Peru. Moreover, we wish to understand better the situation of Venezuelan migrants that settled in Peru, so we will continue with the topics related to the labor market, housing, education, and healthcare. We also would like to know about the relation of Venezuelans with Peruvians, how you deal with everyday challenges.

Your contribution is extremely important to our project, and we really value your willingness to share your experiences with us. We want to emphasize that you are free to answer as you wish and have no obligation to answer any question you don't want to. Likewise, you may withdraw your participation from the interview at any given moment. We estimate the whole interview may take up to ... (time).

We want to ensure that information obtained from you is handled with care and will be used only for scientific purposes. All information obtained during our interview will be anonymized and any personal data or facts that may link to your person will be removed, unless you declare that you would like your name to be directly mentioned.

Once again, I would like to underline that we are researchers, not representatives of any NGO or authorities, therefore we are not able to assist you in any challenges you face here in Peru or facilitate your stay here.

Finally, we would like to ask you for permission to record this interview. The recording will be used only for transcription and research purposes.

Consent information and request:

I have received and understood the information about the MICLACAS project and the conditions of my participation in the project, including information about the use of my personal data and my rights.

I have received a satisfactory answer to all my questions. I give my consent

- to participate in an interview.
- for the interview to be recorded.
- so that my personal data is kept once the project is finished for follow-up studies.

I consent to my personal data being processed until the end date of the project, approximately 31.03.2025.

The person/the family/the household

I would like to start by asking you to tell us a little bit about yourself and your family members that are here with you and that were left in the region of origin.

Could you please tell us something about yourself...? How old are you, do you have any education and what type, what is your social status, what describes you as a person? You do not need to tell us your real name.

- What languages do you speak?
- How would you prefer to describe yourself (in terms of religion and/or ethnicity)?

Could you please tell us about your close family? Here in Peru, other regions in the world and in the region of origin.

- **Are you married or in a relationship?** Where does your close family (husband/wife/partner/children) live? *If someone is living with a family, ask about the partner (in the case of more than one family members, we are interested in the main one). Ask also about the social, educational situation of the partner.*
- **Do you have children?** Do they participate in any form of education here in Peru? Are there other people living with you?
- What can you tell us about your family members who were left behind in your region of origin? How many family members are there, and what are their current situations?

Life before arrival to Peru

*Now, that you have told me a little bit about yourself and your family, **I would like you to tell me about your life in Venezuela.** With this, I would like to understand better the factors that have influenced you to emigrate from Venezuela.*

Guiding questions

- Were you living in a rural area, city/periphery or center?
- What kind of services did you have access to?
- What was your overall living condition there? What kind of neighborhood was it (poor, wealthy, violent, peaceful)? Was it in a house/apartment/other form of living?
- What kind of work did you do and what was your overall economic, social situation?
- Were you able to support yourself or did you need the help of your family/friends?
- What did you do to overcome everyday problems you have encountered in Venezuela?

- How would you describe the socio-political and economic situation in Venezuela during the time leading up to your decision to emigrate? How did these factors impact your life and the lives of those around you?
- Were there any specific aspirations or goals that you had for yourself and your future in Venezuela? How did the prevailing conditions in the country affect your ability to pursue those aspirations?
- Can you share any stories or experiences that highlight the impact of the situation in Venezuela on your personal and professional life? How did these experiences contribute to your decision to emigrate?
- How did your family and close friends react to your decision to emigrate? Were there any significant discussions or considerations that took place within your social circle regarding the emigration decision?
- Did you consider any alternatives to emigration, such as staying in Venezuela and trying to adapt to the situation? What were the factors that ultimately led you to choose emigration as the best option for you?
- What other options to deal with everyday challenges and existential problems did you try before leaving Venezuela?

Migratory process

Now, I would like to try and get a sense of how it was for you to make the journey from your country all the way to Peru.

Guiding questions

- Since when had you been planning/thinking of leaving your country? Did it take you a long time to decide?
- Please, tell me what information you had in advance about the journey?
- What was your main source(s) of information (e.g. other people who migrated, internet, television, etc.)?
- Please, describe the legal process to emigrate from Venezuela (access to identity documents, studies, work, banking, etc.). Also, when outside of Venezuela with children, how did you obtain identity documents (of the children) – if relevant?

Migration trajectories

Now that you have explained how was it that you decided to leave, I would like to know more about your journey, how were you moving before arriving to Peru and what are your overall migration experiences.

- When did you first leave your country with the intent to emigrate?
- **How did it happen that you ended up in Peru?** (When and how did you get to Peru? How long did it take you, and what problems did you face along the way? Did you come directly to Peru after leaving your country or were you in other countries first or had to stop somewhere (if yes, where)?)
- Was your intention from the very beginning to come to Peru or did you end up here by chance? What was the reason for choosing this country?

Life in Peru – general encounters

Now, I would like to ask you about your life here in Peru. If you were here before, please reflect both trips/your earlier expressions in the next questions.

- What kind of expectations about life in Peru did you have before coming here?
- What were your general experiences and impressions at the beginning in comparison with your expectations? Both positive and negative. How have you been received? Has it changed?
- What were your primary needs when you first came to Peru? What did you do to satisfy them?
- What was your legal status? Did it change, and how, since the moment of arrival?
- Did you receive any support from the hosting community, state, NGOs, religious or other institutions upon arrival or during the first months of living in the current location? If relevant – what support and from whom did you receive it?
- What are your aspirations and goals for your life in Peru? Are there any specific dreams or ambitions that you hope to fulfill during your time here?

Access to labor market

Now, I would like to ask you specifically about employment.

- **Do you work now or have you worked earlier in Peru (Lima)? If yes, please describe your job/s and what it is like to work here/there.** How long did it take you to find a job and how did you find it? Have your jobs been compatible with your skills/education/language? Do you feel comfortable doing these types of work or would you rather do something else? Have

you perceived any differences in the working conditions and treatment of men and women at work?

- **Are there any notable differences compared to your previous work experiences in your home country?**
- In which sectors have you noticed the most employment opportunities as a Venezuelan migrant? Have you observed any variations in the types of jobs available for men and women?
- **Were your professional qualifications formally recognized in Peru?** Were your qualifications, preparation, and skills appropriately utilized and valued at work? If not, what measures do you think should be taken to ensure their proper utilization?
- **Have you ever experienced any obstacles or problems with finding a job or at work?** For example, have you experienced formal obstacles or abuse? How have you dealt with these problems? Have you turned to anyone for help or assistance? If yes, how were you assisted?
- **Have you noticed any changes in the labor market due to the presence of Venezuelan migrants, which have affected your working and living conditions?**
- **Do you feel that you received equal treatment at work compared to your Peruvian colleagues?** Have you personally experienced or are you aware of any instances of discrimination or stigmatization against Venezuelan migrants? Do you believe these situations differ for men and women?
- **Have you received any support from the government, civil society organizations or a company regarding education/training, job placement, protection of your rights, or maintaining your legal status in the country?** Have you utilized any specific programs offered by these entities? What kind of support would you like to receive from them to help you enter/maintain yourself and thrive in the labor market? Have you observed any changes in the support provided to migrants since your arrival?

Access to housing

Now, I would like to ask you specifically about the places where you stayed from the moment of arrival up to now. Can you please tell me about the places where you stayed when you first arrived in Peru? How did you find these places, and what were your initial impressions of them?

According to your knowledge, where are most Venezuelan migrants residing in Lima?

Can you describe your place of living (size, conditions) at the moment of arrival and how has it changed up till now?

Please, describe your current neighborhood (and the community in general).

- Where do you live and why do you live there?
- How long have you been living there? What is it like to live there?
- Do you know who lives next to you? Do you have contact with your neighbors? Do you feel you have opportunities to engage with the wider community? Do you have any Venezuelan neighbors/Venezuelans living in the neighborhood?
- Do you feel comfortable/safe/happy walking around in this neighborhood?

Please, describe your current place of residence.

- What is it like and how did you find it? Do you pay for it yourself or do you receive help with the rent? If so, from whom? What factors did you consider when choosing a place to live in Peru? Were there any specific amenities or services that were important to you in selecting a place to stay?
- How long have you lived there? Are you happy/Do you feel at home there or would you rather move somewhere else?
- How many times have you had to move before settling here and why? If so, what were the reasons for moving, and how has your experience been in the new location compared to the previous one?

Did you see any changes that happened in the housing market due to the presence of Venezuelan migrants that influenced your life conditions?**Access to education**

Now, I would like to ask you specifically about education. (Just for those who have children.) **How have your children accessed school in the current place of living?**

How has the education system in Peru been for your children? Can you tell me about their experiences in schools here compared to their previous educational experiences in Venezuela?

Did you encounter any challenges or barriers in enrolling your children in schools in Peru? If so, how did you overcome them?

- Are there any good practices in the education system that help your children to integrate with the local students? Are there any specific programs or initiatives in Peru that have supported your children's education and

integration into the school system? Have you found any resources or support networks for immigrant families?

- Are there any extracurricular activities or opportunities for your children to engage in outside of the regular school curriculum? How have these activities contributed to their overall educational experience and integration into the community?

And regarding your education, **have you attended any trainings, courses, or language lessons here or other things provided for migrants, including Venezuelans?** If yes, please try to detail them.

- **Did you try to confirm your education and/or recognize your university diploma?** How did it go?

Access to health (physical and mental support)

I would like also to ask you whether going through the journey and having to accommodate to a new life in a new country has affected your health (physically and/or psychologically)?

- **Did you need access to healthcare after your arrival in Peru?** If so, please describe your experiences with the healthcare system here.

In sum, how would you describe your psychological self/traits/personality?

- **Has it happened since your arrival here that you felt pessimistic or depressed or experienced a difficult situation and needed help?** If so, what did you do to handle the situation? Who did you turn to for help? Did it help, and if so, in what way?

How do you manage stress and take care of your well-being in your day-to-day life in Peru?

- Are there any activities or practices that you find helpful for maintaining a healthy lifestyle?
- **Please describe your relationships with your family and friends.** Are they a positive or negative source of emotional support to you? Can you describe your relations with the most important people in your life before you came here and now? How do significant persons in your life (for example, parents,

siblings, teachers, friends, etc.) affect you as a person, both positively and negatively?

- **What gives you meaning (purpose, goal, importance, motivation) in life today and before you came to Peru (for example religion, ideology, or another worldview)?** How do close people around you affect your relation to what gives you meaning? What role do they play in your worldview? Did this change since you left your country?

Relations with host community

In this part I would like to know more about your experiences with the people of Peru and how you are building relationship and communities with your neighbors or if you face any kind of xenophobia here.

- **What do you think of nationals' (host community) characteristics and behaviors?** What personality traits do they have regarding pride, self-confidence and self-esteem, sense of control, competitiveness, predisposition to anxiety or optimism vs pessimism? **How do you find yourself in such a culture?**
- **Do cultural norms and behaviors or ways of living in your new country create any pressures or stresses for you? If so, please describe in detail.** Do you think that changing your habits, way of living to be more similar to the citizens of Peru would change how you are perceived by the host community? How? Would you like it?
- **What is your relationship with your neighbors?** Do you have Peruvian colleagues, friends, close friends? How would you describe those relationships? How have these connections contributed to your sense of belonging?
- **What facilitated you to integrate** (public institutions, NGOs, networks and self-help organizations, etc.)? Also include relationships with other Venezuelans – **what was their role? Did they provide any support?** (Point out an example (positive and negative) and how was the situation resolved?)

Do you face any discrimination practices?

- Have you faced any challenges or instances of xenophobia or discrimination during your time in Peru? If yes, could you provide some details about those experiences?
- In which areas? What does it look like?

- Do you know any organizations fighting against it? How have you dealt with any negative experiences or perceptions you may have encountered? Have you found any strategies or support networks to navigate through such situations?

Relations with country of origin

In this part I would like to ask you about maintaining connections with Venezuela and celebrating Venezuelan culture and traditions.

Do you still have a relationship with your family and relatives in Venezuela? How can you describe it?

- Do you visit Venezuela? How often?
- Do you follow news about the situation in Venezuela and of Venezuelans in other countries? Where? How often?
- How often do you contact your relatives and friends in Venezuela?
- Do you send remittances or other articles to your relatives and/or friends?
- Do you follow Venezuelan customs and traditions with your family/friends here in your current place of residence? Are there any Venezuelan community organizations or groups in Peru that you are involved with? How do these organizations help preserve and celebrate Venezuelan culture and traditions?
- In what ways do you pass on Venezuelan traditions and values to the younger generation, especially if they were born or raised in Peru? Are there any challenges or rewards in keeping Venezuelan culture alive in a different country?

Future

Now I would like to ask you about your plans for the future.

- **How do you see your future? Are you willing to come back to Venezuela?** And what does your partner think about it? What do your children/other close family members think about this?
- If you die outside of Venezuela, would you like to be buried in Venezuela or the country where you currently reside?
- Do you invest in Venezuela to establish the possibility of living there for retirement time?

- Has the experience of living in a new country influenced your perception of your home country? How has this impacted your sense of identity and connection to your cultural roots?
- Are there any entrepreneurial ventures or business ideas that you would like to pursue? How do you envision utilizing your skills and experiences to contribute to the local community or society at large?
- Do you plan to bring your relatives here to Peru? Do you see yourself staying in Peru in the long term, or do you have plans to eventually return to Venezuela or explore other countries?
- Do you think about migration to any other destination? Where and why?

That was our last question. Would you like to add anything to what was already said?

Is there a particular message or insight that you would like to convey to others who may be going through similar experiences or to those who want to better understand the immigrant journey?

Are there any important aspects of your life, cultural background, or identity that you feel are relevant to understanding your experience as an immigrant and your connection to both your home country and the host country?

In-depth interview scenario with relatives of Venezuelan migrants in Venezuela

Location:

Field work period:

Interview code:
Date and time:
Interview language:
Translator used, or not:
Interviewer's name:
Duration: Started: _____ / Ended: _____
Recorded interview: Yes / Partially Yes
Type of consent: oral, signed

Objective and structure of the interview and the project

The interviewer begins by introducing the project and the interview topic.

We are here on behalf of the MICLACAS project. Its title is 'Migration Crisis in Latin America: Coping and Adaptation Strategies of Venezuelan Migrants and Their Families and the Risk of the Global Migration Crisis.' The project is conducted at the University of Economics in Krakow in Poland and is funded by the National Science Center of Poland. Our interdisciplinary team comprises researchers from Poland, Venezuela, and Peru.

The interviewer introduces herself/himself.

Our goal is to investigate the situation of Venezuelan families whose family members have migrated abroad. We greatly appreciate your knowledge and invite you to share your experiences with us. The questions posed focus on the situation of your family in Venezuela before the crisis, the migration decision-making process, situation of your family currently and how you and your family deal with everyday challenges.

Your contribution is extremely important to our project, and we truly value your willingness to share your experiences with us. We emphasize that you are free to answer as you wish and are not obligated to respond to any questions you do not want to. Also, you may withdraw your participation in the interview at any time.

The entire interview may take up to... (time).

We want to ensure that your information is handled with care and used solely for scientific purposes. All information gathered during our interview will be anonymized, and any personal data or facts that could link to your person will be removed, unless you declare that you would like your name to be mentioned directly.

Once again, we are researchers, not representatives of any NGO or authority; therefore, we are here solely for research purposes and cannot provide any incentives or assistance in matters unrelated to the project's issues.

Finally, we would like your permission to record this interview. The recording will be used only for transcription and research purposes.

Do you have any questions regarding the received information?

Consent information and request

I have received and understood the information about the MICLACAS project and the conditions of my participation, including information about using my data and my rights.

I have received satisfactory answers to all my questions. I give my consent

- for participation in the interview,
- for the interview to be recorded,
- for my data to be retained for follow-up studies after the project ends.

I consent that my data be processed until the project's completion date, approximately 31.03.2026.

The person/the family/the home

I would like to start by asking you a bit about yourself, the members of your family who are here with you.

- Could you tell us something about yourself? How old are you? What kind of education do you have? What languages do you speak?
- How would you prefer to describe yourself in terms of religion and/or ethnicity?
- Did your ancestors and family members come to where you live now from another country/region? If yes, would it be easy for you to get a passport of another country?
- Are you married or in a relationship?
- Could you tell us about your close family?
 - How many members are there, and who are they? Do you have children? Are there other people living with you? Where does your close family live (spouse/partner/children)? *If someone lives with a family, ask about the partner (in the case of more than one family member, we are interested in the main one). Also, ask about the social and educational situation of the partner.*

Life in Venezuela before the family member emigrated – before the crisis

Now, I would like you to tell us about your life in Venezuela before your family member emigrated and before the crisis. Through those questions I would like to better understand your situation and its change when the crisis appeared.

- Where did you live? Did you live in a rural area, in a city/periphery, or in the center? Did you live in a house/apartment/other? Did you live in the same house as your family member who emigrated? Who was the owner of the place you lived in?
- What was the general living situation there? What kind of neighborhood was it (poor, affluent, violent, quiet)? What kind of neighbors did you have?
- **In the case of a village:**
 - Did you own or have access to a farmland? Was it big? How many hectares? Did your ancestors used to live there? Could you feed your family with the production of your farmland? Was it only for the house needs or also for trade?

- What were your biggest everyday challenges at that time? What did you do to overcome them?
 - What kind of work did you do, and what was your economic and social situation in general? Was your job financed by the public sector? Had your job something to do with government institutions?
 - Could you support yourself economically, or did you need help from your family/friends? How was it in the migrant case?
- What kind of services did you have access to?
 - Were your children attending school at that time? Were there any challenges regarding their education?
 - Did you or your family use the health care system at that time? What did the experience look like?
- How did you deal with the daily challenges (all of those mentioned above) at that time?

Life in Venezuela before the family member emigrated – after crisis

Now I understand your and your family situation before the crisis. Could you tell us more about changes that happened afterwards that influenced your family member's decision to emigrate.

- How would you describe the change of socio-political and economic situation in Venezuela before the crisis and the moment when the family member decided to emigrate? How did these changes impact your life and the lives of those around you?
- Can you share stories or experiences that highlight the impact of the situation in Venezuela on your personal and professional life?
- What did you aspire and dream for yourself and your future in Venezuela? How did changes in socio-political and economic situation in the country affect your ability to pursue those aspirations?
- Do you know what the aspirations and goals were of the person who left at that time? Please elaborate.
- What was your situation and that of your family once the crisis began?
- Did you or your family change your place of residence once the crisis began? What were the reasons for this?
- What type of work did you and other members of your household do once the crisis began? What were the reasons for this?

- Were your children attending school when the crisis began? Were there any challenges with regard to their education?
- Did you or your family use the healthcare system once the crisis began? How was the experience?

Migration decision-making process

With following questions I would like to better understand how your family member made a decision to leave and who took part in the decision-making process.

- What can you tell us about the family member(s) who emigrated? How many of your close relatives are abroad? How were they close to you? What was their education level, marital status, age, health conditions? What did they do for living at that time? What countries do they live in now? What is their current situation?
- Could you please describe everything you remember regarding the circumstances of the decision to emigrate by your family member?
 - When was it? How did the decision process look like? Who took part in the decision-making process? Did it take a long time to decide? Was it a part of a collaborative strategy to cope with the crisis or did you think about two independent ways to cope with it?
 - What information did you and your family member have in advance about the journey and the country? What was the main source of information (for example, other people who migrated, internet, television, etc.)?
- What did you think about this decision at that time? Did you support it? What was the opinion of other family members and your friends? Were there significant discussions or considerations within your social circle regarding the decision to emigrate?
- Did you feel stressed before your family member emigrated? What did you do to cope with stress that occurred in that moment? Can you describe any specific coping mechanisms or strategies of your family at that moment?
- At that time, did you consider the possibility of emigrating, too? And later, were there moments when you considered joining your family abroad?
 - Did you try to obtain visas or residence permits in other countries? What legal and migratory challenges have you faced?
 - How has this experience influenced your perception of migration?

Staying decision-making process

I would like also to know why some of family members – including you – decided or were forced to stay.

- **What factors influenced your decision to stay in the home country?**
 - How has your relationship with your family and your family ties impacted your choice not to migrate?
 - How do you think your age and physical condition influence your decision not to migrate?
 - Which economic factors have kept you in your country during the migration crisis?
 - How do you perceive language barriers and adapting to a new culture in your decision to stay?
- How do you express your love and commitment to Venezuela?
- How do you address your fears and anxieties related to facing the unknown?

Life in Venezuela after the family member emigrated (currently)

Now, I would like to better understand how you were forced to change your everyday habits to adjust to the situation both in Venezuela in general but also to the lack of some family members at home.

- How has your living situation changed since your family member emigrated?
 - Have you changed the place of living? What were the reasons for this?
 - Have you changed the place of work or have you changed the work you do from the moment when your family member emigrated until now? What is your economic and social situation in general nowadays? Can you support yourself economically, or do you need the help of your family/friends?
 - How has your daily routine changed since your family member emigrated?
- What are your biggest challenges now? What do you do to overcome them?
 - Are your children attending school nowadays? How would you describe the experience regarding education access?
 - Do you or your family use health care nowadays? How would you describe your current access to healthcare?
 - How has your daily routine and that of your family changed since your relative emigrated?

- What are your biggest challenges now? What are you doing to overcome them?
- How has separation affected your family relationships? Do you feel that migration has changed your family?
- Have there been changes in roles and responsibilities within the family due to your family member's migration? How have these changes affected daily life and decision-making in the home?
- How have your aspirations or goals changed since your family member emigrated?

Mental health conditions

I understand that the situation became different for you since the emigration of your relative.

Could you describe how it affected your overall well-being?

- *How do you feel about the current situation? What do you do to cope with the stress you experience today?*
- *How do you manage the emotions that arose after your family member left?*
- *How have these emotions affected your overall sense of life and purpose?*
- *Do you have any social or institutional support? Are there any organizations, institutions, close friends, or family members who have provided you with material or emotional support?*
- *How do you think alienation or emotional disconnection can influence decisions to migrate or stay?*

Relationship with the migrant

In this part, I would like to ask you questions about how you maintain connections with your relative who emigrated.

Are you still in contact with the family member who emigrated? How would you describe the relationship?

- *How often do you communicate with your family member in Peru? When you are in contact, what is their mood like? Do they communicate with you often, or do they tend to do so when they have a problem?*
- *Does your relative in Peru support the family in Venezuela in any way (remittances or other items)? How often and in what way? How has this assistance impacted your family in Venezuela?*

Do you visit your relative in their new country of residence? If so, can you describe what those visits were like? How often do they happen? What did you do there?

Future

Now, I would like to ask you questions about your plans for the future.

- How do you see your future in five years? Would you be willing to emigrate from Venezuela?
 - If so, what destinations would you consider? Have you considered joining your family abroad?
 - Have you done anything that would allow you to migrate in the future (visas, searching for contacts, work opportunities, etc.)?
 - What does your partner think about it? What do your children/other close relatives think about this? What does the family member who left think about it?
 - And how do you see your future in ten years?
- How do you spend your savings? Do you invest in Venezuela to establish opportunities there for your retirement? Do you invest in any other country with the same goal?
- What projects or initiatives do you consider important for the progress of your country?
- As far as you are concerned, does your relative in Peru have plans to return to Venezuela in the future? If so, what is the timeframe for this? What would have to happen for your relative to return?
- How do you foresee the long-term impact of migration on your family?
- What is your involvement in civic or political activities in Venezuela? How do you see your ability to contribute to change and improvement in society?
- How do you think your presence in Venezuela can make a difference?
- How do you think your involvement in the public sphere of your country of origin has changed in recent years?
- Have you experienced a sense of alienation or social exclusion due to your perspective or circumstances?
- What is your opinion on the importance of active participation in the public sphere for the well-being of society?
- What would be your definition of a 'good life'?

That was our last question. Would you like to add anything to what has already been said?

Thank the interviewee for sharing their experiences and emphasizing the importance of their contribution to the project.

MICLACAS survey for the Peruvian population

Good morning/afternoon. My name is (NAME AND SURNAME) and I am conducting a survey on behalf of DATUM about the adaptation strategies of Venezuelans living in Peru and their relationship with the Peruvians they live with.

The study is directed by the Center for Advanced Studies of Population and Religion of the University of Economics of Krakow in Poland. Your participation is voluntary, the data are confidential and will only be used for the purposes of this study.

If there are questions you do not want to answer, you can leave them blank and you may stop participating at any time. This survey will last approximately 20 minutes. If you want more information about the study, you can find it in the letter I am giving you. Also, for your participation, you will receive a small gift at the end of the survey.

Do you want to participate?

Thank you very much!

Section 1: Sociodemographic module

1. What is your nationality?
 - Only Peruvian
 - Peruvian and Venezuelan nationality
 - Peruvian and from another Latin American country outside Venezuela
 - Peruvian and American (USA)
 - Peruvian and European
 - Only Venezuelan
 - Venezuelan and Peruvian nationality
 - Venezuelan and from another Latin American country outside Peru
 - Venezuelan and American (USA)
 - Venezuelan and European
 - Stateless person/without nationality
 - Unrecognized citizen
2. How old are you?
(The value must be a number)
3. What is your sex?
 - Male
 - Female
 - Other

4. What is the last level of schooling you completed?

- No education
- Preschool
- Incomplete Primary
- Complete Primary
- Incomplete Secondary
- Complete Secondary
- Special Basic Education
- Incomplete Higher Technical Education
- Complete Higher Technical Education
- Incomplete University Higher Education
- Complete University Higher Education
- University postgraduate

5. What occupation have you mainly had in the last four weeks? (Select only one)

- Worked as an employee with a contract
- Worked as an employee without a contract
- Worked independently with a contract
- Worked independently without a contract
- Worked and studied
- Only studied
- Retired
- Unemployed and actively seeking employment
- Unemployed and not actively seeking employment
- Only dedicated to household tasks (unpaid: childcare or other people)
- Worked in an organization but did not receive pay
- Sick or permanently disabled
- Neither study nor work nor do household tasks

6. In which department were you born?

- Amazonas
- Ancash
- Apurímac
- Arequipa
- Ayacucho
- Cajamarca
- Cusco
- Huancavelica
- Huánuco
- Ica
- Junín

- La Libertad
 - Lambayeque
 - Lima
 - Loreto
 - Madre de Dios
 - Moquegua
 - Pasco
 - Piura
 - Puno
 - San Martín
 - Tacna
 - Tumbes
 - Ucayali
 - Other
7. To which place would you migrate as your first option?
- Another place in Peru
 - Another Latin American country
 - United States or Canada
 - Spain
 - A European country other than Spain
 - Another country
8. Have you considered migrating to another place in Peru or abroad?
- Yes
 - No
9. To which place would you migrate as your second option?
- Another place in Peru
 - Another Latin American country
 - United States or Canada
 - Spain
 - A European country other than Spain
 - Another country
10. How would you rate your current economic situation? (Select only one)
- Very bad
 - Bad
 - Regular
 - Good
 - Very good

11. Please indicate to what extent you agree with the following statements about Venezuelans living in Peru:
(Options: Totally disagree, Disagree, Neither agree nor disagree, Agree, Totally agree)
 - Venezuelans living in our country should have the same rights as Peruvians.
 - Venezuelans living in our country are responsible for the increase in crime.
 - Both Peruvians and Venezuelans can be good or bad people.
 - Venezuelans should have lower salaries, even if they do the same work as Peruvians.
 - The children of Venezuelans have the right to attend the same schools as Peruvian children.
 - The unemployment of Peruvians increases due to the presence of Venezuelans in our country.
 - Local authorities should organize events so we can get to know the Venezuelans who live and work here.
 - I would never marry a Venezuelan man or woman.
 - Thanks to the Venezuelans who came to Peru, we have been able to meet different people.
 - I would never work for a Venezuelan.
12. Do you think Venezuelans should be allowed to live according to their customs, even though they live in our country?
 - Yes
 - Probably yes
 - Probably no
 - No
13. Do you think Venezuelans should be allowed to fully participate in Peruvian life?
 - Yes
 - Probably yes
 - Probably no
 - No
14. How similar do you think Peruvians and Venezuelans are in their...?
(Options: Nothing, Little, Some, A lot)
 - Culture
 - Way of thinking
 - Physical appearance

- Religion and religious behaviors
 - Family life
 - Attitude towards life
 - General way of being
15. In your opinion, Peruvian culture is...?
- Very good
 - Good
 - Regular
 - Bad
 - Very bad
16. In your opinion, Venezuelan culture is...?
- Very good
 - Good
 - Regular
 - Bad
 - Very bad
17. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements about Venezuelans:
(Options: Totally disagree, Disagree, Neither agree nor disagree, Agree, Totally agree)
- We should provide facilities for Venezuelans who want to settle in our country.
 - The State should organize training programs to help Venezuelans living in our country.
 - The more Venezuelans arrive, the more wages decrease.
 - We should create welcoming programs in our schools for Venezuelan children.
 - We should create welcoming departments in our schools for Venezuelan children.
 - Foreigners should only come to Peru as tourists.
 - Work permits should be given to Venezuelans who want to live here.
 - We should close our borders to Venezuelans who come to work here.
18. Do you have Venezuelan coworkers?
- No
 - Yes, a few
 - Yes, many
19. Do you have Venezuelan friends?
- No

- Yes, a few
 - Yes, many
20. How threatened do you feel by the influence of Venezuelan culture in your life?
- Not threatened at all
 - Slightly threatened
 - Somewhat threatened
 - Moderately threatened
 - Very threatened
21. How enriched do you feel by the influence of Venezuelan culture in your life?
- Not enriched at all
 - Slightly enriched
 - Somewhat enriched
 - Moderately enriched
 - Very enriched
22. How capable do you feel of dealing with problems that may arise from living with Venezuelans?
- Not capable at all
 - Slightly capable
 - Somewhat capable
 - Moderately capable
 - Very capable
23. In your opinion, how many Venezuelans will live in Peru within ten years?
- Much fewer than now
 - Fewer than now
 - The same as now
 - More than now
 - Much more than now
2. How much do you agree or disagree that Venezuelans have the possibility to fully participate in Peruvian life?
- Totally disagree
 - Disagree
 - Neither agree nor disagree
 - Agree
 - Totally agree

25. How Peruvian do you feel?

- Not at all
- A little
- Neutral
- Quite a lot
- A lot

26. How do you feel about being Peruvian?

- Ashamed
- Discouraged
- Indifferent
- Happy
- Proud

27. In your opinion, are you a typical Peruvian?

- Totally disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Agree

28. How much do you think you have helped your Venezuelan neighbors since they arrived?

(Options: Nothing, Little, Regular, Quite a lot, A lot)

Section 2: Self-perception and psychological well-being

29. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements about yourself:

(Options: Strongly disagree, Disagree, Agree, Strongly agree)

- I feel as valuable a person as others.
- Generally, I tend to think that I am a failure.
- I believe I have some good qualities.
- I am capable of doing things as well as others.
- I think there is not much to be proud of in me.
- I have a positive attitude toward myself.
- Overall, I am satisfied with myself.
- I would like to have more respect for myself.
- I really feel useless at times.
- Sometimes I think I am good for nothing.

30. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements (about coping and optimism):

(Options: Completely agree, Partially agree, Neither agree nor disagree, Partially disagree, Completely disagree)

- In times of uncertainty, I generally think the best will happen to me.
- I find it easy to relax.
- If something bad can happen to me, I am sure it will.
- I am always optimistic about the future.
- I enjoy my friendships.
- I rarely expect things to go my way.
- For me, it is important to always be busy.
- I do not expect good things to happen to me.
- In general, I think more good things than bad will happen to me.

Closing and personal data protection

Thank you for your answers!

To finish, could you please provide your mobile phone number to invite you to participate in future studies?

We will only share this number with the researchers in charge of the project, and you will receive a small gift for your participation.

Personal data protection:

In accordance with Law 29733 on Personal Data Protection and its Regulation, neither the name you provide nor your phone number will be shared with other entities. We also remind you that all your answers are confidential and will only be used for study purposes.

MICLACAS survey for the Venezuelan population

Good morning/afternoon. My name is (NAME AND SURNAME) and I am conducting a survey on behalf of DATUM about the adaptation strategies of Venezuelans living in Peru and their relationship with the Peruvians they live with.

The study is directed by the Center for Advanced Studies of Population and Religion of the University of Economics of Krakow in Poland. Your participation is voluntary, the data is confidential and will only be used for the purposes of this study.

If there are questions you do not want to answer, you can leave them blank and you may stop participating at any time. This survey will last approximately 40 minutes. If you want more information about the study, you can find it in the letter I am giving you. Also, for your participation, you will receive a small gift at the end of the survey.

Do you want to participate?

Thank you very much!

Section 1: Sociodemographic module

1. What is your nationality?
 - Only Venezuelan
 - Venezuelan and Peruvian nationality
 - Venezuelan and from another Latin American country outside Peru
 - Venezuelan and American (USA)
 - Venezuelan and European
 - Stateless person/without nationality
 - Unrecognized citizen
 - Other
2. Since what year and month has Peru been your main place of residence?
(Please input date, M/D/YYYY)
3. How old are you?
(The value must be a number)
4. What is your sex?
 - Male
 - Female
 - Other
5. What is the last level of schooling you completed?
 - No level
 - Preschool
 - Incomplete Basic Education
 - Complete Basic Education
 - Incomplete Diversified Secondary Education
 - Complete Diversified Secondary Education
 - Incomplete Higher Technical Education
 - Complete Higher Technical Education
 - Incomplete University Higher Education
 - Complete University Higher Education
 - Master's/Doctorate
6. What is your current marital status?
 - Living together (cohabiting)
 - Married
 - Widowed
 - Divorced
 - Separated or former partner
 - Single

7. Do you have children?
 - Yes
 - No
8. How many children do you have?
(The value must be a number)
9. Are your children enrolled in school?
 - Yes, in Peru
 - Yes, in Venezuela
 - No, they are not studying
 - No, they are not school age
10. What type of migratory permit do you currently have to be in Peru?
 - Temporary Stay Permit Card (CPP)
 - Foreign Card for Humanitarian Migratory Status (CMH)
 - Foreign Card for PTP
 - Foreign Card for Vulnerability
 - Foreign Card as a Family Member of a Resident
 - Foreign Card for Worker
 - Foreign Card for Refugee
 - Other type of foreign card
 - Temporary Stay Permit (PTP)
 - Expired Temporary Stay Permit (PTP)
 - Humanitarian visa not exchanged for a foreign card but extended
 - Valid tourist visa
 - National Identity Document (DNI)
 - Other type of permit
 - No migratory permit
11. What identity documents from your country do you have with you? You may select more than one answer.
 - Valid identity card (Cédula)
 - Expired identity card
 - Valid passport
 - Expired passport
 - Birth certificate or certificate of birth
 - Other
 - None
12. Who in your family lives with you in Peru? You may select more than one answer.
 - Partner/spouse

- Children (some of them)
- Father/mother
- Parents-in-law
- Brothers/sisters
- Other family member
- No family member

Section 2: Migration module

13. In what year did you leave Venezuela?
(Please input date, M/D/YYYY)
14. What was the last state you lived in Venezuela?
 - Amazonas
 - Anzoátegui
 - Apure
 - Aragua
 - Barinas
 - Bolívar
 - Carabobo
 - Cojedes
 - Delta Amacuro
 - Federal Dependencies
 - Federal District
 - Falcón
 - Guárico
 - Lara
 - Mérida
 - Miranda
 - Monagas
 - Nueva Esparta
 - Portuguesa
 - Sucre
 - Táchira
 - Trujillo
 - Vargas
 - Yaracuy
 - Zulia
15. What kind of place did you live in Venezuela?
 - A town
 - A neighborhood
 - A city

16. What countries have you transited through from when you left Venezuela until you arrived in Peru? You can mark more than one answer.
- Argentina
 - Bolivia
 - Brazil
 - Canada
 - Colombia
 - Cuba
 - Ecuador
 - Nicaragua
 - Panama
 - Paraguay
 - United States
 - Spain
 - European country other than Spain
 - Other
 - Arrived directly to Peru
17. Where do your family members live? You can mark more than one answer.
Spouse/partner
- Venezuela
 - Peru
 - Other country in Latin America
 - United States/Canada
 - European country
 - Other country
 - None
18. Where do your family members live? (Referring to children)
- Venezuela
 - Peru
 - Other country in Latin America
 - United States/Canada
 - European country
 - Other country
 - None
19. Where do your family members live? (Referring to parents)
- Venezuela
 - Peru
 - Other country in Latin America
 - United States/Canada

- European country
- Other country
- None

20. Where do your family members live? (Referring to siblings)

- Venezuela
- Peru
- Other country in Latin America
- United States/Canada
- European country
- Other country
- None

21. Why did you leave Venezuela? You can mark more than one answer.

- Due to lack of work (insufficient income)
- Due to lack of food
- Due to lack of health services and medicines
- Due to lack of educational opportunities
- Due to lack of opportunities for professional or personal development
- To reunite with my family
- Due to violence, political persecution, human rights abuses
- Due to persecution (religion, ethnicity, sexual orientation)
- Due to environmental factors
- Because friends and/or family members were no longer in the country
- Other

22. When you lived in Venezuela, did you...? You can mark more than one answer.

- Request or depend on help from humanitarian organizations or NGOs
- Receive donations from other people
- Borrow money to buy food or basic goods
- Move to a dwelling with worse conditions
- Receive help from public or private organizations
- Receive family help
- Beg
- Restrict adult food so children can eat
- Reduce the quantity or quality of food consumed
- Reduce non-essential expenses
- Sell household items or goods
- Stop paying rent to cover other needs
- Use savings
- Work for food, accommodation, and other items (not for money)
- Take other actions to help your family

- None of the above happened
 - Don't know/No answer
23. Why did you decide to move to Peru? You can mark more than one answer.
- Employment/work
 - Studies
 - Family reasons/joined partner/marriage
 - Came with parents as a child
 - Friends and/or family were already in Peru
 - Seeking asylum/protection
 - Security reasons
 - Health reasons
 - Other
24. How many family members dependent on you live here with you?
(Count yourself and all family members)
(The value must be a number)
25. Who helped you decide to leave Venezuela? You can mark more than one answer.
- It was my own decision
 - With my partner/spouse
 - My parents
 - My siblings
 - My friends
 - My children
 - Other
26. When you arrived in Peru, how easy or difficult was it for you to...?
(Options for each item: Very difficult, Difficult, Neutral, Easy, Very easy)
- Find housing
 - Find a job
 - Process all necessary permits, etc.
 - Enroll in an educational center
 - Manage health-related matters
 - Establish relationships with Peruvians
27. The place where you live here is...
- Rented
 - Own, fully paid
 - Own, by invasion
 - Own, bought in installments
 - Provided by another household
 - Provided by workplace

- Provided by another institution
- Other
- Don't know/No answer

Section 3: Migration plans

28. How much longer would you like to stay in Peru?

- Less than a year
- Between 1 and 2 years
- Between 2 and 5 years
- Permanently
- Don't know/No answer

29. After being in Peru, what do you plan to do?

- Return to Venezuela
- Go to another Latin American country
- Go to the United States or Canada
- Go to Spain
- Go to another European country other than Spain
- Do not consider emigrating further
- Other
- Don't know/No answer

30. Which state of Venezuela would you consider returning to?
(Repeated list of states as question 14)

31. The place you plan to return to in Venezuela is...?

- A town
- A neighborhood
- A city

32. When do you plan to emigrate again?

- In the next 3 months
- Within 4 to 12 months
- Within 1 to 2 years
- Within 2 to 5 years
- In more than 5 years
- I do not plan to emigrate again

33. Have you taken or are you taking concrete steps to leave Peru? You can mark more than one answer.

- Yes, bought or planning to buy a travel ticket
- Yes, already looking for work there
- Yes, looking for a place to live

- Yes, other
 - Don't know/No answer
34. Have you thought about living in a European country?
- Yes
 - No
35. Why have you never considered Europe as a place to live? You can mark more than one answer.
- Not attractive economically
 - Too far from Venezuela
 - Too hostile to immigrants
 - Language problems
 - Do not have proper documents
 - Other
 - Don't know/No answer
36. Why have you considered the possibility of emigrating to Europe? You can mark more than one answer.
- Economically attractive
 - Family members already live there
 - Friends already live there
 - Safe place to live
 - Europeans are open to immigrants, easy to integrate
 - Good healthcare system
 - Other
37. Which European country would you be interested in living in? You can mark more than one answer.
- Austria
 - Belgium
 - Bulgaria
 - Croatia
 - Cyprus
 - Czech Republic
 - Denmark
 - Estonia
 - Finland
 - France
 - Germany
 - Greece
 - Hungary
 - Ireland

- Italy
 - Latvia
 - Lithuania
 - Luxembourg
 - Malta
 - Netherlands
 - Poland
 - Portugal
 - Romania
 - Slovakia
 - Slovenia
 - Spain
 - Sweden
 - United Kingdom
 - Norway
 - Iceland
 - Switzerland
 - Other
38. What types of incentives would you need to move to Europe? You can mark more than one answer.
- Job offer
 - Free education for you and/or your children
 - Legalization of residency
 - Professional help to organize life in Europe
 - Other
 - Don't know/No answer
39. Have you considered Poland as a place to live?
- No
 - Do not know the country
 - Don't know/No answer
40. Do you think Poland would be a good place to live for Venezuelans?
- Yes
 - No
 - Do not know the country
 - Don't know/No answer
41. Do you have any family or friends who have emigrated to Poland or plan to do so?
- Yes
 - No

- Do not know the country
- Don't know/No answer

Section 4: Psychological profile and coping

42. Take a moment to think about a stressful or difficult situation since you arrived in Peru.

In this interview, we will talk about how you have felt or feel with different aspects and situations that have been stressful or very difficult. Can you tell me how often the following happen?

(Frequencies: Never, Rarely, Sometimes, Almost always, Always)

- I make a plan of action and follow it
 - I look for the positive side of things
 - I try to spend time alone
 - I hope the problem will solve itself
 - I try not to be carried away by my emotions
 - I try to talk about the problem with a friend or family member
 - I avoid thinking about the problem
 - I face the problem
 - I take a step back from the situation and try to put things in perspective
 - I tend to blame myself
 - I let my feelings out to reduce stress
 - I hope for a miracle
 - I ask for help or advice from a close friend or family member
 - I try not to think about the problem
 - I tend to criticize myself
 - I keep my thoughts and feelings to myself
43. I will read some phrases about how you see life in general, and I will ask you how much you agree or disagree. There are no right or wrong answers; we only want your opinion.
- (Options: Completely agree, Partially agree, Neither agree nor disagree, Partially disagree, Completely disagree)
- In uncertain times, I usually expect the best
 - It's easy for me to relax
 - If something can go wrong for me, it will
 - I'm always optimistic about my future
 - I enjoy my friends a lot
 - It's important for me to keep busy
 - I hardly ever expect things to go my way
 - I don't get upset too easily
 - I rarely count on good things happening to me
 - Overall, I expect more good things to happen to me than bad

44. Thinking about the last 30 days, how often have you thought or felt the following?

(Frequencies: Never, Almost never, Sometimes, Almost always, Always)

- I have felt upset by something that happened unexpectedly
- I have felt unable to control important things in my life
- I have felt nervous or stressed
- I feel confident about my ability to manage personal problems
- I have felt that things are going well
- I have felt that I couldn't handle all the things I had to do
- I have been able to control the difficulties that have happened to me
- I have felt that I have everything under control
- I have gotten angry about things outside of my control
- I have felt that I had so many difficulties I could not overcome them

Section 5: Integration

45. Do you feel safe in the neighborhood you currently live in?

- Extremely unsafe
- Unsafe
- Neither safe nor unsafe
- Safe
- Extremely safe

46. During the time you have lived in Peru, have you felt discriminated against?

- Yes
- No

47. How do you consider your relationship with the Peruvian population in general?

- Very bad
- Bad
- Regular
- Good
- Very good

48. How would you rate your relationship with your Peruvian neighbors?

- Very bad
- Bad
- Regular
- Good
- Very good

49. Have you received help from your Peruvian neighbors since you arrived?
- Yes
 - No
50. In the neighborhood where you live, how many of the residents would you say are Venezuelans?
- All
 - Most
 - Some
 - None
 - Don't know/No answer
51. On average, in the last three months, what has been your household's total monthly income (before taxes and deductions if applicable) from all sources? If you do not know the exact figure, provide an estimate.
- Less than 780 soles
 - Between 781 and 1,025 soles
 - Between 1,026 and 1,390 soles
 - Between 1,391 and 1,600 soles
 - More than 1,600 soles
 - Don't know/No answer
52. Which of these descriptions best corresponds to the activities you have done to earn a living over the last four weeks?
(Select only one)
- Worked as an employee with a contract
 - Worked as an employee without a contract
 - Worked independently with a contract
 - Worked independently without a contract
 - Worked and studied
 - Only studied
 - Retired
 - Unemployed and actively seeking a job
 - Unemployed and not actively seeking a job
 - Only dedicate myself to household tasks (unpaid: childcare or other people)
 - Work in an organization but do not receive payment
 - Sick or permanently disabled
 - Neither study nor work nor do household tasks
53. How satisfied are you with your current job situation?
- Very satisfied
 - Somewhat satisfied

- Neither satisfied nor unsatisfied
- Somewhat unsatisfied
- Very unsatisfied

54. How do you feel about the job you do to earn a living?

- Feel overqualified
- Feel adequately qualified
- Feel underqualified
- Don't know/No answer

55. How would you rate your current economic situation?

- Very bad
- Bad
- Regular
- Good
- Very good

Section 6: Adaptation

56. How would you feel if someone in your close family married a Peruvian?

- Very comfortable
- Comfortable
- Neither comfortable nor uncomfortable
- Uncomfortable
- Very uncomfortable

57. In your opinion, should Venezuelans try to live in Peru as they are used to?

- Yes
- Probably yes
- Probably no
- No

58. In your opinion, should Venezuelans try to participate fully in Peruvian life?

- Yes
- Probably yes
- Probably no
- No

59. How similar do you think Peruvians and Venezuelans are in their...?
(1. Not at all; 2. A little; 3. Somewhat; 4. A lot)

- Culture
- Way of thinking
- Physical appearance

- Religion and religious behaviors
 - Family life
 - Attitude towards life
 - General way of being
60. In your opinion, Peruvian culture is...?
- Very good
 - Good
 - Regular
 - Bad
 - Very bad
61. In your opinion, Venezuelan culture is...?
- Very good
 - Good
 - Regular
 - Bad
 - Very bad
62. Do you have Peruvian friends?
- No
 - Yes, few
 - Yes, many
63. Do you have Peruvian coworkers?
- No
 - Yes, few
 - Yes, many
64. How capable do you feel of facing the problems that arise during your stay in Peru?
- Not capable at all
 - Slightly capable
 - Somewhat capable
 - Moderately capable
 - Very capable
65. In your opinion, in ten years, how many Venezuelans will live in Peru?
- Much less than now
 - Less than now
 - The same as now
 - More than now
 - Much more than now

66. How much do you agree or disagree that Venezuelans have the possibility to fully participate in Peruvian life?

- Totally disagree
- Disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Agree
- Totally agree

67. How Venezuelan do you feel?

- Not at all
- A little
- Regular
- Quite a lot
- A lot

68. How do you feel about being Venezuelan?

- Embarrassed
- Discouraged
- Indifferent
- Happy
- Proud

69. In your opinion, are you a typical Venezuelan?

- Totally disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Agree

70. Thank you for your answers!

To finish, could you please provide your phone number to invite you to participate in future studies? We will only share this phone number with the researchers in charge of the project, and you will receive a small gift for your participation.

(Enter your answer)

Section 7: PERSONAL DATA PROTECTION

Following Law 29733 on Personal Data Protection and its Regulation, neither your name nor your phone number will be shared with other entities. We remind you that all your answers are confidential and will only be used for research purposes.

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