Sociodemographic Profiles and the Causes of Regular Venezuelan Emigration

Rina Mazuera-Arias* (iD), Neida Albornoz-Arias* (iD), María-Antonia Cuberos* (iD), Marisela Vivas-García* (iD) and Miguel Ángel Morffe Peraza** (iD)

ABSTRACT

The following study examines the characteristics of the Venezuelan emigrant population which crossed the border between Táchira state (Venezuela) and La Parada, Villa del Rosario Municipality, North Santander (Colombia) between April 9th and May 6th of 2018. The data were collected through a structured survey with 14,578 respondents. Using multiple correspondence factor analysis and positioning maps, we identified three different emigrant profiles that have a single fundamental cause of emigration: the current economic situation. These three groups differ in age, education level, and marital status. Profile 3 stands out as it is formed by single, young professionals who feel uncertainty because they do not think they can have a prosperous future in Venezuela. We conclude with an acknowledgement of the current humanitarian crisis (around both food and health) in Venezuela and the need to generate inclusive migratory policies in host countries.

INTRODUCTION

Migration is a phenomenon that has helped millions of people to improve their living conditions, to survive or to satisfy their basic needs and those of their families. It has a global character which affects the origin, transit and host countries (Portes and Böröccz, 1998; Bee, 2013). It implies a deep change and adaptation process for migrants (Achotegui, 2008) and the factors that motivate it constantly evolve (Fernández, 2013). As migration can be voluntary or forced (Aruj, 2008) it is necessary to do a sociodemographic analysis or a sociostructural analysis of migration. (Pérez-Caramés, 2017).

Regardless of the cause, the migrant separates involuntarily from a group of family, personal, work and social relations and is affected by the rupture of the family dynamic, especially when the migrant is a woman (Castilla-Vázquez, 2017). Other authors, like Camarero (2010), highlight that migration can produce paternal-filial separation which leads to the creation of transnational families that may have negative consequences in health, nutrition, and the education of children (Nguyen, 2016). Research on the topic shows that children who stay in their country suffer emotional alterations that may lead to quicker maturation, a greater probability of dropping out of school, and a higher risk of teen pregnancy (Liwski, s. f).

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* Universidad Simón Bolívar, Colombia

** Universidad Católica del Táchira

Depending on the region, parents emigrate together or the man emigrates first and the woman later, or vice versa (Camarero, 2010) which leads to limiting their relationships to family and work relations (Castilla-Vázquez, 2017). Furthermore, the immigrants have to integrate into the host society and that will depend on the host society and integration policies (Castilla-Vázquez, 2017).

Since the 60s, migration has been motivated by economic crises which many countries have been experiencing. Migrants have sought a better future and aimed to improve their quality of life (Córdova, 2012) and, depending on the host country and its context, this may have led to positive and/or negative effects in families (Arouri and Nguyen, 2018). Nonetheless, it is frequently observed that families with members who have emigrated increase their income sources and capital. Thus, they also improve their quality of life, as they have better access to goods and services that they would not have in normal conditions (Córdova, 2012; Arouri and Nguyen, 2018).

At the beginning of the 20th century, Venezuela was considered a poor and economically underdeveloped country. However, this picture changed with the start of oil exploration and exploitation in the 1920s, when Venezuela turned into an immigrant country in two well-defined stages. The first one, between 1930 and 1963, had specific immigration targets and was strengthened by the creation of a migratory policy with immigration resolutions, decrees, and laws that mainly benefited Europeans, Lebanese, Syrians, and Jews. The second stage was due to economic and political reasons, and the need for qualified labor migration and return migration. In this stage, the amount of South American migrants, mainly Colombians that were geographically closer to Venezuela, increased because of work opportunities and the possibility to increase income (Álvarez, 2007).

Because of the economic boom in Venezuela between the 60s and 80s, the country was an immigrant host *par excellence*. This situation changed dramatically after 1999, due to the establishment of an authoritarian political model which has ruined the economy and living conditions in Venezuela, turning it into a country of emigrants. (Martínez and Orrego, 2016; Castillo and Reguant, 2017). Therefore, a massive outflow of people from Venezuela has been recorded since 2015 that has intensified over time because of the grave difficulty Venezuelans have in accessing basic food products, health services, and public services (IOM, 2018a). In this context, we must consider Venezuelan migration as one which represents an inestimable and probably irrecoverable loss of intellectual and social capital for the nation (Muñoz, 2016), as it diminishes productivity, tax collection, among other factors (Farrant et al., 2006).

Also, Venezuela is experiencing a general migration crisis that will create two main problems: a demographical problem, because most of the migrants are young people, and an economic problem, because of the loss of a large part of the Venezuelan workforce (Bermúdez et al., 2018).

The Venezuelan government, consistent with its autocratic policy, has not acknowledged the dramatic migratory reality of the country. It has underestimated the phenomenon (Muñoz, 2016) and stimulated the continuous exodus of the remaining population. Actually, one can argue that this "policy" is convenient for the Venezuelan government as massive emigration reduces social conflict and – in theory – increases available services (Aruj, 2008) as there is a smaller demand.

Based on what was mentioned above, the following research question was used: Which are the sociodemographic profiles of the regular Venezuelan migrant population, taking into account the causes of emigration? The objective of the present research study was to investigate the characteristics of the Venezuelan migrant population which allowed for the development of sociodemographic profiles of the people who crossed, by foot (as the vehicular pass was closed in August 2015) the border limit between San Antonio del Táchira (Bolívar municipality) and Ureña (Pedro María Ureña municipality) of Táchira State (Venezuela) to the migratory control registry in the office of Colombian migration in La Parada, Villa del Rosario municipality, Norte de Santander (Colombia).

As has already been mentioned, the present study only aimed at developing migrant profiles for regular migrants, excluding irregular migrants, since that was the population that the researchers had access to in the geographical area of their intervention and in the timeframe that was

established for the collection of primary information, which is explained in more detail in the methodology section. Regular migrants, according to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), are those migrants that use regular and legal ways to migrate (IOM, 2006). In the case of Venezuelans crossing the border between Venezuela and Colombia, regular migrants include those who cross the border with a valid passport or other travel document.

The investigation of Venezuelan migration is important, since it is an unprecedented phenomenon in the history of Latin America and the Caribbean in terms of its scale and its social, economic and political impact in the migrant-receiving countries of the region. The migrant crisis has also revealed the socioeconomic reality of Venezuelan migrants and has led to the revision of migration policies and regulations in the region, policies and regulations which hadn't been updated since the 1970s and that were revised to comply with IOM standards and the migration governance programme. Moreover, the migrant crisis has had an impact on the culture of migration in Latin America, where most countries are used to emigration but not immigration, which is why xenophobia has been rather a new issue in host countries. Finally, the migration of a massive number of people within a short timeframe has had an impact on global migration politics, where Europe and the United Nations are currently leading discussions.

It is important to understand the sociodemographic characteristics of regular Venezuelan emigrants so that the migrant-receiving countries:

- Know the professional profile of the immigrants and can adapt social and labour integration policies targeted at the migrant population.
- Understand the impact of the migratory flows based on the sociodemographic characteristics of the migrants and the reasons that led to emigration, including: 1) the difficult access to health services and medicine, 2) the need to have a job and earn an income in order to send remittances to the family back home, and 3) the stress, uncertainty, hunger and despair that comes with living in a country in crisis such as Venezuela.
- Have relevant information in order to address the migrant crisis, which is causing social changes in host countries in different areas due to the integration of immigrants with a different identity and different customs into the host society.
- Understand the vulnerabilities of those who have decided to migrate, which is important for the proper management of health and education systems in the host countries.

Investigations around migrant profiles are a methodological strategy promoted by the European Union and the International Organization for Migration (IOM). The IOM has created more than 30 migrant profiles across Africa, Europe and South America, profiles which were developed using primary information from official statistics institutes, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and universities. In South America, migrant profiles have so far only been developed for Ecuador, Peru, Argentina and Colombia (OIM, 2010; OIM, 2013).

The migrant profiles are based on sociodemographic variables. Migratory profiles are relevant because they can also be linked to the causes of migration. Age and the socioeconomic situation of the household can influence the level of satisfaction, and dissatisfaction, can create the desire to change, for example, the residence or the geographical location, which in some cases can lead to migration (Speare, Goldstein and Frey, 1975; Landale and Guest, 1985).

Due to the non-existence of Venezuelan migrant profiles, the present article aims to develop regular Venezuelan migrant profiles that are based on sociodemographic variables (age, relationship status, if the person was studying before migrating, educational level, work situation before migrating, if they have children, and previous decisions) and the factors or causes that motivated the emigration (that are of psychosocial and economic nature). The development of regular Venezuelan

migrant profiles, which is based on consolidated information, will benefit decision-making in migrant-receiving countries.

FACTORS THAT CAUSE MIGRATION

The migratory phenomenon can be explained by different theories, like the neoclassical theory and the historical-cultural theory. The first one developed the concept of the push-pull factor (Micolta, 2005), which revolves around a group of factors that push people to abandon their countries because of a group of advantageous conditions in the host country (Massey, 1998). The economic element in the neoclassical theory is key, as it comprises the elements which determine the migratory flows, immigrant integration, and the impact in both the host country and the country of origin.

To understand the reasons behind emigration it is necessary to understand the origins of the push factors that move people to abandon their country (Dibeh et al., 2018). In other words, it is important to analyse factors that explain migration such as structural elements, the social, economic and political conditions, the social capital of the migrant, his or her networks (friends, family and support in the host countries), the socioeconomic asymmetries between the countries, social inequality, violence, lack of working opportunities and natural phenomena (Martínez and Orrego, 2016). Although it is true that national financial crises, like the ones in Spain, Italy and Greece, may explain migratory phenomena, the influence of other structural processes, precarious professional conditions, the desire to escape social difficulties, the deterioration of living conditions and unemployment cannot be ignored and allow us to understand the wide variety of emigrant profiles (Triandafyllidou and Gropas, 2014; Pérez-Caramés, 2017; Dibeh et al., 2018). In fact, the investigation's results show that migration decisions are motivated by the search for a better income, which is why people with low incomes in their country of origin tend to leave to find a better job (Kennan and Walker, 2011).

University education is an element that offers better emigration prospects as there is an opportunity to obtain better jobs (David and Jarreau, 2016; Dibeh et al., 2018). The emigration of college-educated people is due to their difficulty in finding work positions to fit their profile and education, therefore, usually, they are sub-employed or unemployed in their country of origin (Córdova, 2012). Precarious work conditions in these countries and the expectation of better work opportunities abroad explain, for example, migration to European Union countries (Bazillier and Boboc, 2016), as the lack of quality employment, unemployment, and informality motivate emigration (David and Jarreau, 2016).

Socioeconomic issues increase the preference for emigration (Dibeh et al., 2018). When families live in poverty, parents emigrate looking for better jobs to improve the living conditions of their families and to allow their children to have better opportunities (López, 2011). Hence, international migration is a mechanism to increase family income and should be considered as an alternative and not a necessity (United Nations, 2016a). The reasons for emigration are personal: to improve living conditions and employment, and to satisfy basic needs or as a survival strategy (Barrionuevo et al., 2011) because family disintegration is frequently observed when, because of the cost of migration, only one or two family members migrate instead of the whole family. In this context, when a migratory wave starts, the most likely groups to emigrate are males and professionals (Papapanagos and Sanfey, 2001).

VENEZUELAN CONTEXT

Due to the absence of official data, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) presented its projections of Venezuelan inflation in April 2018 in its report "*2018 Perspectivas para las Américas: Una*

recuperación más difícil" (2018 Perspectives for the Americas: A more difficult recovery) and gave an estimate of 13,564 percent. The estimate was raised to 1 million percent in July of the same year. Similarly, due to the decrease of oil production and macroeconomic imbalance, the gross domestic product has decreased significantly during the last 3 years and shrank by 18 percent in 2018 (International Monetary Fund, 2018).

The economic situation has also worsened due to the successive minimum wage increases decreed by the government. The last increase, a 300 percent increase, was made official on 15 January 2019 and that new minimum wage amounts to about US$ 5.97 per month (black market dollar price) (*El Nacional*, 2019a). This situation reflects a decrease in the purchasing power of the Venezuelan currency, reflected in a 700 per cent increase of the food basket (a group of basic alimentary goods) (*El Nacional*, 2019b). On the other hand, the food industry only produces at 30 per cent of its capacity and the State forces it to sell up to 70 per cent of its production to the government, which – in theory – sends the purchases to its social programmes. To acquire basic goods, Venezuelans have to pay steep prices in the black market or wait in long lines for hours to buy them at prices controlled by the government. A second alternative is to have the *Carnet de la Patria*, an electronic chip card which allows the cardholder to find better prices in certain locations but which, in reality, is considered a social control mechanism for the restriction of access to basic goods, including food and gasoline (United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2018).

Today in Venezuela there is a complete collapse of the health system. The data show an increase in maternal and child mortality and in diphtheria and malaria outbreaks. Patients with chronic diseases cannot access treatments; there is a deterioration of health centres' infrastructure and a general shortage of medicine, medical supplies, and surgical equipment; basic supplies to attend emergencies are non-existent, and most medics and nurses have emigrated to find better living conditions (United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2018).

The social, economic and political crisis in Venezuela has caused a part of the population to struggle with hunger, disease, and risk of death, and has led to the infringement of basic rights such as access to nourishment, health, security and having an acceptable living standard (Bermúdez, et al, 2018).

60 % of Venezuelans who have emigrated do it with the risk of becoming the victims of human trafficking, violence, recruitment into armed groups, extortion, discrimination and xenophobia (United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2018).

The deterioration of living standards in Venezuela has turned the country into a case of forced emigration with Latin America as the main destination. According to the IOM, 2,328,949 Venezuelans had emigrated by the first half of 2018; with most of that migrant population moving to Colombia, the US and Spain, but also to Panama, Caribbean islands, Argentina, Chile, Peru and others (IOM, 2018a). According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), by June 2019 more than 4 million people had left Venezuela (ACNUR, 2019).

METHODOLOGY

Target population and sample

The target population was the Venezuelan emigrant flow that crossed, by foot, the border with Colombia in San Antonio del Táchira (Bolívar municipality) or Ureña (Pedro María Ureña) of Táchira State (Venezuela), heading to the migration control registry in the office of Migración Colombia (Colombian Migration) in La Parada, Villa del Rosario municipality, Norte de Santander (Colombia).

The sample size was 14,578 Venezuelan subjects (56 % male and 44 % female) who got their passports stamped to enter Colombia in the office of Migración Colombia, located in La Parada, Villa del Rosario municipality, Norte de Santander (Colombia), between April 9 and May 6, 2018.

The criteria for sample selection were:

(1) The time or period during which the information was collected: from Monday to Sunday for 4 consecutive weeks. Every day was divided into four cycles of three hours each, resulting in 12 daily hours of information recollection;

(2) The place where the information was recollected: the aforementioned Migración Colombia office and

(3) The implementation of the survey among adult Venezuelans that are abandoning the country; Venezuelans going to Colombia to pick up remittances, to buy food, medicine or any other goods or those who crossed the border to visit family or go on vacation were excluded, as they said they would return to Venezuela. While the Venezuelan migrants were queuing, the objective of the research study was explained and the migrants were invited to participate in the survey. The anonymity of the collected information was explained to those that agreed to participate in the survey.

In order to collect primary information, an official authorisation from the Migración Colombia office was obtained, which enabled the researchers to carry out their work in the facilities of that agency during 30 days.

Study variables

Population characteristics were examined considering sociodemographic variables and the variables related to the causes of the migration, as shown in Table 1.

Methods

Data recollection

Data recollection was done through a structured interview. Non-probability sampling was applied through the consecutive sampling technique. We selected 14,758 Venezuelan subjects (56% male and 44% female) who got their passports stamped in the office of Migración Colombia, located in La Parada, Villa del Rosario municipality, Norte de Santander (Colombia), between April 9 and May 6, 2018.

The information collection tool and process

The collection of primary information was done through a structured interview with 34 questions, which were split into 6 sections. The first section aimed at collecting information on the sociodemographic profile of the emigrants (14 questions); the second section aimed at collecting information around decision-making and the causes of migration (4 questions); the third section was about the destination country (7 questions); the fourth section was about travel partners (4 questions); the fifth section was about remittances (3 questions); and the sixth section was about a possible future return to Venezuela (2 questions). This article will only discuss variables related to sociodemographic information, decision-making before emigration, and the psychosocial and economic reasons for emigrating.

TABLE 1

STUDY VARIABLES

Variable	Acronym	Scale	Name	*n*	%
Age Groups	Men18	1	Less than 18 years old	23	0.2
	18a29	2	18 to 29 years old	7,043	48.3
	30a39	3	30 to 39 years old	4,483	30.8
	40a49	4	40 to 49 years old	2,273	15.6
	May50	5	50 or more years old	756	5.2
			Total	14,578	100.0
Marital status	Solt	1	Single	7,482	51.3
	Casad	2	Married	3,693	25.3
	Div	3	Divorced	1,629	11.2
	Sep	4	Separated from marriage or relationship	109	0.7
	Unid	5	In a stable relationship	1,596	10.9
	Viud	6	Widower from union or marriage	69	0.5
			Total	14,578	100.0
Studied before emigrating	SiEstud	1	Yes	2,927	20.1
	NoEstud	2	No	11,651	79.9
		3	Total	14,578	100.0
Education Level	Prim	4	Primary	205	1.4
	BInco	5	Secondary incomplete	606	4.2
	Bcom	6	Secondary complete	5,067	34.8
	TSU	7	Technical Education	2,551	17.5
	Univ	8	Bachelor/Graduate studies	6,100	41.8
		9	DK/DR	49	0.3
			Total	14,578	100.0
Works or worked before emigration	SiTrab	1	Yes	12,720	87.3
	NoTrab	2	No	1,858	12.7
			Total	14,578	100.0
Has Children	CHij	1	Si	8,043	55.2
	SHij	2	No	6,535	44.8
			Total	14,578	100.0
Previous decision taken before emigration from Venezuela	Ren	1	Quitting from job	9,041	62.0
	Vent	2	Selling properties (house, vehicle, furniture, clothes)	2,278	15.6
	Aho	3	Use savings	2,174	14.9
	AljFam	4	Leaving family	548	3.8
	AyuFam	5	Ask family for help	66	0.5
	Otdp	6	Other	263	1.8
		9	DK/DR	208	1.4
			Total	14,578	100.0
Psychosocial reasons that motivated emigration	Inseg	1	Insecurity	10,531	72.2
	Salud	2	Health/Treatment/Medicine	1,080	7.4
	Hambre	3	Hunger	820	5.6
	Desep	4	Despair for what is happening in the country	1,186	8.1
	Stress	5	Stress	263	1.8
	Incertd	6	Uncertainty about what is going to happen	315	2.2
	Acv	7	High cost of living	21	0.1
	OrPs	8	Other	124	0.9
		9	DK/DR	238	1.6
			Total	14,578	100.0

TABLE 1

(CONTINUED)

Variable	Acronym	Scale	Name	*n*	%
Economic reasons that motivated emigration	Nmot	1	Searching for new and better job opportunities	11,548	79.2
	Aef	2	Helping family economically	1,182	8.1
	Nad	3	I do not have enough money	296	2.0
	Sfp	4	I do not see a prosperous future in Venezuela	589	4.0
	Cvi	5	I cannot sustain my life quality	339	2.3
	Otpe	6	Other	123	0.8
		9	DK/DR		3.4
			Total	14,578	100.0

Source: Own elaboration

Before carrying out the actual data collection, the information collection tool was validated by two demography experts. In order to be sure that the language of the surveys would be understood by the emigrants, a pilot survey was implemented among emigrants in the same location where the final survey was carried out. That pilot study was also useful for planning the training workshops for the interviewers who would implement the final version of the survey.

The field team was trained by the researchers during two sessions organised in March 2018. The first of those two sessions lasted four hours and consisted of familiarising the interviewers with the migration terminology of the survey, and reviewing theoretical studies on the subject matter and the context of Venezuelan migration. In the second session, which also lasted four hours, the interviewers studied the information collection tool and implemented the survey among their fellow workshop participants. Also, during this second session, any doubts were resolved, and it was tested how long it would take to carry out the survey, which turned out to be between eight and twelve minutes. The surveys were numbered in the upper right corner and the interviewers wrote their names on all the surveys that they implemented.

The field team was made up of a coordinator and eighteen interviewers. The responsibilities of the coordinator were to: supervise the daily data collection process, manage and control the submission and return of the surveys that were carried out, ensure the correct implementation of the survey, review all survey results *in situ* in order to verify that the collected information was complete, and check if any surveys were incomplete or filled in incorrectly and hence needed to be returned to the interviewer to be improved. The applied surveys were ordered by number and submitted to the team of researchers so that they could be transcribed.

The completed surveys were submitted to a team of transcribers tasked with entering the information into a database designed in Access. The team of researchers audited the work produced by the transcribers on a daily basis. Once the database was finished, the data were imported into SPSS where another audit was done to ensure that the transcription had been done correctly. Any inconsistencies were corrected through a review of the original surveys.

Data analysis

The objective of this article is to examine the characteristics of the Venezuelan emigrant population in order to develop sociodemographic profiles of the emigrants, which is why multivariate statistic techniques were used to identify response patterns. Hence, we did a factorial multiple

TABLE 2

MODEL SUMMARY

| Dimension | Cronbach Alfa | Posted variance for | | |
		Total (auto value)	Inertia	Variance %
1	0.919	8.942	0.298	29.806
2	0.873	6.388	0.213	21.292
Total		15.329	0.511	51.098
Mean	0.900[1]	7.665	0.255	25.549

[1]The mean of the Cronbach alpha is based on the mean of the auto value media

TABLE 3

DISCRIMINATING MEASURES

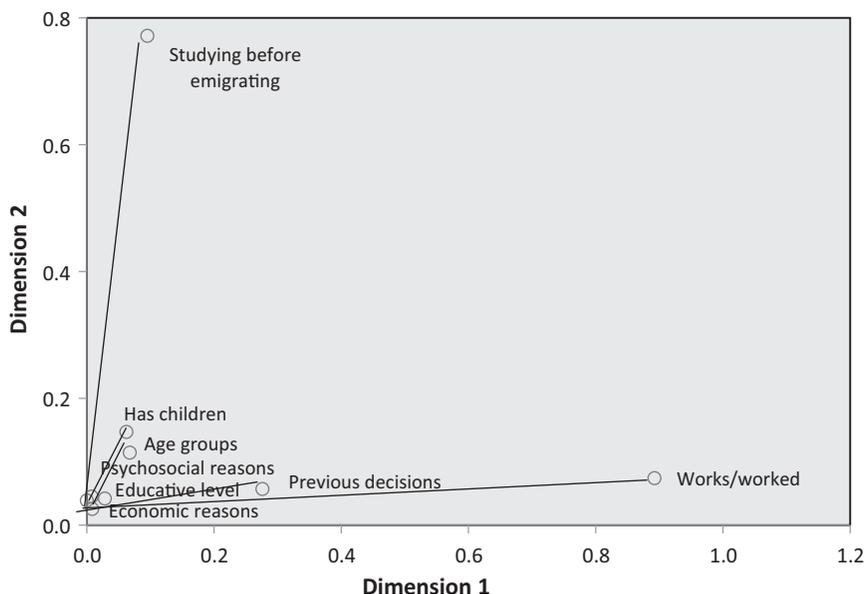| | Ponderation of the variable | Dimension | | Mean |
		1	2	
Age groups	1	0.068	0.114	0.091
Marital status	1	0.029	0.042	0.035
Studied before emigrating	6	0.095	0.772	0.434
Education level	1	0.001	0.039	0.020
Works or worked before emigrating	8	0.893	0.074	0.483
Has children	4	0.063	0.147	0.105
Previous decision taken before emigration from Venezuela	3	0.276	0.057	0.167
Psychosocial reasons that motivated emigration	3	0.008	0.045	0.026
Economic reasons that motivated emigration	3	0.009	0.025	0.017
Active total[1]	30	8.942	6.388	7.665
Variance %		29.806	21.292	25.549

[1]The ponderations of the variable were incorporated to the stats of the active total.
Source: Own elaboration

correspondence analysis. This technique was considered appropriate because it allows us to analyse the relations between large group of categorical variables and to define the structures the underlying structures of a dataset. In this case, the variables were the relations between migrant profile and their characteristics. Initially, they are in a p-dimensional plane, then they are projected in a bi-dimensional plane, grouping the biggest proportion of explained variation in two dimensions. This projection of variable categories is done by establishing positioning maps to identify patterns or profiles.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Table 2 shows some statistics that summarise the adjustment of the applied method. The model explains 51 percent of the variability of the data, explained by the dimensions included in our

FIGURE 1
PROJECTIONS OF THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF EACH VARIABLE

Source: Own elaboration

model; 29.8 percent explained by the first dimension and 21.3 percent explained by the second. The average value of the Cronbach Alpha coefficient is 0.90, which means there is a high correlation between the variables of the two dimensions of the model.

The discriminating measures of each variable of the study are presented in Table 3. These represent the variance percentage which explains each dimension within the variables, also the balancing ponderations that explain the variances of all variables. In this case, the best-explained variable in Dimension 1 is *Works or worked before emigrating* and in dimension 2, the best-explained variable is *studies or studied before emigrating*.

Projections of the contributions of each variable in the dimensions are presented in Figure 1, where the variable *Works or worked* has the biggest contribution to the formation of the first axis (that explains 29.8% of the total variability of the data); followed by *previous decisions taken before emigration from Venezuela*. In consequence, this first axis was defined with the label ***Decisions defined by Work Situation (DsLab).*** In the second axis (which explains 21.3% of the total variability of the data) the variable *Studies or Studied before emigrating* has the highest contribution in the projection. Therefore, this second axis or dimension was defined with the label ***Education condition (CEs).***

These findings reflect that the main causes of the widespread outflow of Venezuelans from their country are due to work and study conditions in Venezuela.

Once the dimensions have been identified, the variable categories are projected to the principal axis (dimensions) that comprise them. Also, geometric distances from one dimension or another and their relation with the variable categories in the analysis are presented.

The structure or patterns in relations are presented in the perceptual map (Figure 2) which projects the categories in the dimensions: Dimension 1 is presented in the horizontal axis, labelled ***Decisions defined by Work Situation (DSLab)*** 1 and in the vertical axis, the dimension 2 with the

FIGURE 2
PERCEPTUAL MAP: AGRUPATION OF VENEZUELAN MIGRANT PROFILES
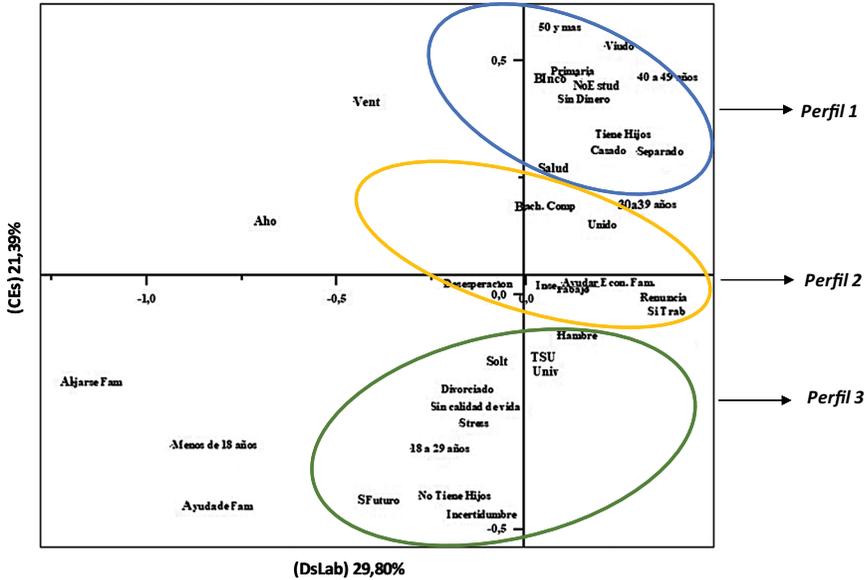
Source: Own elaboration

label **Education condition (CEs)**. Taking the cutoff point of the axes as a reference, the negative region is from factor 1 to the left, and the positive, to the right. The positive region is from factor 2 up, and the negative region from factor 2 down.

Characterization of Venezuela migrant profiles

Based upon the previous results, we analysed the variable behaviour as a function of patterns, distinguishing three different profiles.

Profile 1

Comprises people with these characteristics in common: older than 40; widower, separated or married/united as marital status; primary school or incomplete secondary education and not studying before emigration; have children and say that their main reason for emigrating is because they do not have enough money to survive in the country; and some of them also say they emigrate for health reasons, because they need better medical services and access to medicine.

These migrants are median adults (40-49 years old) and mature adults (older than 50 years old), with children, still of working age, without professional formation, who feel that migrating is a necessity because family income in Venezuela is not enough to satisfy nourishment and health access needs. Therefore, these are people who will not take professional posts in the host country. In this group of migrants, there are people migrating both with and without their children. The second case, according to Liwski (s.f.), implies a greater vulnerability for children and teens, disturbs

the family unit, weakens parental responsibility and, as Nguyen (2016) states, generates distance and lack of contact between parents and children, which may affect children's cognitive capacity; while if all the family migrates, it also implies a separation of the natural and cultural space for the children, separation from their affective relations with other family members and modification of their life projects, which may affect their integration into that new society.

Profile 2

The common characteristics of group 2 migrants are: age between 30 and 39 years old; married or united; full secondary school; works or worked before emigrating; quitted their jobs before emigrating and say the main reason that moved them to leave Venezuela is to search for new work opportunities that allow them to increase their incomes and economically support their family. They also mention as a secondary cause of emigration insecurity and despair about what is going to happen in Venezuela.

This group of migrants are young adults (under 39 years old) who, even though they worked in Venezuela, decided to search for new opportunities as a family strategy which allows them to improve their income and be able to send money to their family through remittances which, according to Bedoya and Jáuregui (2016), contribute to improving living conditions and satisfying the immediate needs of family members in the countries of origin. The remittances cannot, however, guarantee long-term welfare.

In this profile, among the highlighted motives for emigrating, we can find insecurity and despair in Venezuela, and with justification, as research by the Citizen Council for Public Security and Criminal Justice (CCSPJP in Spanish), a Mexican NGO, shows. It presents a yearly list with the top 50 most violent cities in the world and, in 2017, five important Venezuelan cities were in the list: Caracas (2nd place), Guayana (9th place), Maturín (23rd), Valencia (27th) and Barquisimeto (33rd) (CCSPJP, 2018).

Based on the fact that people are experiencing feelings of fear, panic, and stress, and are facing violence and an economic crisis in Venezuela, Castillo and Reguant (2017) say that personal and juridical insecurity is the main cause of Venezuelan emigration, the second being the economic situation, including inflation and shortages of food, medicine and public services.

Similarly, the UN affirms that the socioeconomic crisis and violence in Venezuela are accompanied by constant threats by armed groups, extortion, fear to express a personal political opinion, and difficulties in accessing health services, medicine, food and other public services (United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2018).

Profile 3

Its main characteristics are as follows: young migrants aged between 18 and 29 years, single or divorced, with technical or university education, without children, and who were not active in the workforce when they migrated. The main reasons which motivated them to emigrate are uncertainty, hunger, stress, not being able to sustain a decent quality of life in Venezuela and not seeing a prosperous future there.

Considering that 48.3 per cent of the people consulted are younger than 29 years old, this profile confirms the suggestion of Esipova et al. (2011) who established that the people most likely to emigrate are the younger segments of the population, without distinction between men and women. Moreover, Arouri and Nguyen (2018) indicate that people with university education are more likely to migrate, and Castillo and Reguant (2017) say that the profile of the Venezuelan immigrant is characterized by being university-educated. The current emigration of young people from Venezuela constitutes a loss of workforce and will represent a demographic issue in the future, because

once they find work stability they will probably not return to their country of origin and, according to Dibeh et al. (2018), this emigration negatively affects the economic development and accumulation of human capital in the country of origin.

A REFLECTION ON MIGRATION POLICIES IN THE REGION

From the beginning of the 21st century, Latin America and the Caribbean have experienced many changes in the direction, intensity, and composition of migratory flows, as well as regarding the commitment many countries have assumed concerning the international migratory system. In this context, migrations in Latin America have followed two main patterns: extra-regional, characterized by movements to developed countries outside the region, searching for opportunities through a south-north orientation; and intra-regional, with migratory flows into countries of the same Latin American region, mainly in South America, in a south-south orientation. From 2015, this second type of migration has increased in importance due to the humanitarian crisis in Venezuela. The Venezuelan mass migration has led to a regional crisis, as the region is not used to receiving such a flow of immigrants, especially in the conditions in which they flee from Venezuela and then reach societies with the structural weaknesses common in developing countries.

Looking at these dynamic changes in migratory orientation, the region has had to assume responsibilities and commitments, starting by reformulating legislation and migration policies, which have been outdated because these mostly considered a security and control perspective but are now using as a base the recommendations of international organisations like the International Organization for Migration (IOM).

Using an international migration governance perspective, the IOM has put the migrant as law subject at the centre of national and international decision-making. Countries in the region have put this commitment into practice, making decisions that, until the end of 2018, caused the Venezuelan migratory flow not to change in proportion or conditions. Considering the little economic chance migrants have to move outside Latin America and the Caribbean, most Venezuelan migrants have gone to South American countries, which allow mobility without further restrictions than those imposed by law.

The first measures usually taken by countries in the region are facilitating the entry of migrants with outdated identity documents, registering and controlling the flow, allowing immigrants to access education, health and employment, and so on. Considering the difficulties some South American countries face in satisfying the needs of their citizens, this is probably the most they can do to facilitate the migratory process for Venezuelans.

This is why, taking into account the impact Venezuelan migration is having in migrant-receiving countries, actions beyond allowing entry and respecting migrant rights must be considered in each of the receiving countries, taking advantage of the historic opportunity to reinvent as a region, and to consider new policies under a holistic and coherent perspective. There is a need for the institutions responsible for the coordination and execution of migration policies to adapt a regional, not a national, focus, as has been common practice across South America. Under this new integrated regional perspective, South America has many regional organisms, many of them about regional integration, created to promote common development of their member countries. These organizations have structures and experience in social and economic development affairs, such as the Andean Community, the Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR in Spanish) and, most recently, the Pacific Alliance. At the moment such organisms were created, the social phenomenon of migration was only relevant in terms of the emigration of Latin Americans to other regions of the world.

The Andean Community was created on May 26, 1969. Its members are Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia – Venezuela left in 2011. These countries share the borders that are crossed most

often by migrants. Around mid-2018, the IOM (2018a) estimated that approximately 73 percent of Venezuelan migrants go to Colombia, Ecuador and Peru. Therefore, it is worrying that the phenomenon is not addressed by the organization's bodies, and nor is the creation of a fund for migrant integration in the countries receiving most of the migration. Similarly, the Andean Community borders are regulated by Decision 501 of June 2001, that created Zonas de Integración Fronteriza (ZIF- Zones of Border Integration), which execute plans, programmes and projects to promote development in the different border spaces of the Andean Community. These may be used to reduce migrant impact, integrate migrants into regional development, increase local actors' participation in decision-making, and strengthening border management and migrants' human rights.

On the other hand, we have MERCOSUR, whose member countries are Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay. Venezuela is a member but is currently suspended. MERCOSUR is part of an important process of regional integration that has helped to develop a common space to generate commercial and investment opportunities through the integration of national economies into the international market. MERCOSUR was created on 31 December 1994, and has signed many commercial, political and cooperation agreements with many countries and organizations in the five continents. Also, Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay are countries that have received ever-increasing numbers of Venezuelan migrants, so it is beneficial for them to be committed to an organizational structure that facilitates migratory flows, designs integral migration policies and manages relief funds to compensate for any negative economic impact caused by massive migratory flows, where many of the migrants are experienced professionals who can be included in local, national and regional development.

Similarly, the Pacific Alliance, created on April 28, 2011, is the most recent regional integration process. It has four member-states: Chile, Colombia, Mexico and Peru, and many other associate and observer countries. This new initiative seeks to advance economic integration between the countries and to define joint actions for commercial cooperation with Asia-Pacific countries. According to IOM (2018a) estimates, by July 2019 the four member states of the Pacific Alliance have received approximately 1,362,852 Venezuelan migrants, which represents around 80 per cent of the migrant flow from Venezuela. This number and percentage make it clear that it is necessary to reflect on the impact that the migrant flow has on the economies, the responsibilities these countries are assuming, and the obligation they have to consider the migratory phenomenon as a priority, to reformulate development strategies, reinforce institutions, prevent disordered migration and to integrate the migrants into their societies.

To take advantage of the South-South migratory phenomenon in Latin America and the Caribbean it is necessary to rethink the previous strategies concerning migration, considering the existing organizational structures. The humanitarian crisis in Venezuela has served to promote the political, social, cultural and institutional transformation in the area of migration in the region, which has only begun taking its first steps with the support of the international community, but which requires further impulse from different regional institutions. It is necessary to create a fund to promote migrant wellbeing as a priority, to guarantee added value in origin, transit and receiving countries in a coherent and holistic manner, with personalised responses, especially for the most vulnerable migrants. To advance in migratory governance also helps the region to comply with the 10th Sustainable Development Goal, which calls for reducing inequalities, specifically goal 10.7, which states the need to facilitate mobility and migration in a safe, ordered, and regular manner for people through the application of planned and well-managed migration policies (United Nations, 2016b). The success in facing the migratory flows from Venezuela depends largely on the commitment and responsibilities the region assumes.

The three migrant profiles that were developed as part of this research, which take into account sociodemographic variables and the causes of migration, show that the current economic, social and economic crisis in Venezuela has lowered people's living standards, led to a scarcity of food and medicine and to hyperinflation, which further limits people's access to goods and services. In

addition, Venezuela is currently the most violent country in Latin America with a murder rate of 81.4 per 100,000 inhabitants (OVV, 2018), which is also one of the main reasons why Venezuelans are emigrating. Massey et al. (2009) point out that emigrants aim to improve their wellbeing, including their material wellbeing, to manage risks, connect socially and escape threats.

The Venezuelan immigrants advance the urbanisation in the host countries (Musterd, 2006), and while they represent a demographic bonus in these countries (Cheshire, 2006; Storper and Manville, 2006), they represent a loss of economically active population in Venezuela.

Based on the Venezuelan migrant profiles and the causes of emigration, it can be said that host countries should focus their migration and integration policies on health services, the labour market, support to the sending of remittances to family members in Venezuela, and psychosocial support, given that it is access to these services that Venezuelan migrants are looking for.

CONCLUSIONS

The current Venezuelan mass migration is a reflection of the failure of the political and economic system in Venezuela, which, according to Muñoz (2016), is the reason why the government will not acknowledge such a crisis. Venezuela is a country that historically has had a robust migration policy for immigrants since 1936, giving them access to social rights, education, the labour market and the justice system in equal conditions to Venezuelan citizens.

When discussing the results, we observed an overlap between the three migrant profiles. Emigration happens mainly for economic reasons, not only to improve living conditions but to guarantee subsistence, because regardless of whether or not people were working before emigration, families often perceived the income to be insufficient to satisfy basic needs. Therefore, the main goal of Venezuelan immigrants is to gain access to a better job, and that is why they look for countries more developed than Venezuela, as Esipova et al. (2011) point out.

The second cause which motivated the Venezuelans we consulted to emigrate was insecurity and violence, which generated fear and, as Castillo and Reguant (2017) say, pushed them to find a way to live with dignity.

As Venezuelan emigration happens mainly for economic reasons and because of insecurity, it is necessary for the Venezuelan government, as a first measure, to make public the statistics which reflect the true nature and reality of the socioeconomic situation, so that the true dimensions of the economic, food, and health crisis, which has already turned into a *humanitarian* crisis as the UN acknowledges (United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2018), are publicly known. This way, the scale of the problem can be evaluated and international assistance – solicited by the Venezuelan government – may be provided to respond to the health and food needs of Venezuelans.

A second step should involve a deep economic and social reform in Venezuela to deal with the socioeconomic issues that caused the massive migratory flow (United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2018). Policies that intervene in the economy, education, work access for the youth, and work generation in productive sectors are required to reduce the further emigration of the population (Dibeh et al., 2018). To achieve that, sustainable and not populist policies are needed (Lavoie and Stockhammer, 2012), such as improving the purchasing power of citizens, as this significantly influences the quality of life.

The Venezuelan mass migration in South American countries is, according to IOM (2018b), unprecedented in Latin America, as it has widely different destinations, which means there is a necessity to coordinate work between host countries. There is a need for the incorporation of immigrants into host societies, which, consequently, requires human rights-oriented migration policies (Liwski, s.f.) with a primary focus on women's and children's rights.

An inclusive migration policy in host countries must include conditions that guarantee immigrants their incorporation into the host society, such as the regularisation of their status and access to work, education, health, politics, and culture. This requires strengthening the institutions that serve the migrant population.

Regarding the reduction of the collateral effects of emigration (xenophobia, aporophobia and discrimination), there is a need of joint work between public and private institutions that assist migrants, and there is a need for the national education system, the media and civil society to establish sensitisation campaigns that inform all communities about the immigrants and migratory processes, so that migrants are able to integrate into the host society (Martínez and Orrego, 2016).

Similarly, considering that immigrant women are more prone to be sub-employed, mistreated and victims of physical, psychological and sexual violence, an active participation in the workplace is needed in order to receive equal opportunities, as Castilla-Vázquez (2017) emphasises.

Another effect of all migration, but specifically in the case of the current Venezuelan migration, is that it leads to transnational families (family nucleus formed by different homes in different countries), who endure a radical change in their family dynamic and organisation (Camarero, 2010). In the Venezuelan case, some parents have emigrated leaving their children in the care of other family members, in most cases grandparents and other older people. In these cases, communication programmes are needed to strengthen affective relations between different members of a transnational family, including parents and children, as proposed by Nguyen (2016).

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