

## The Feminization of Pendular and Floating Migration Flows on the Colombian-Venezuelan Border

### Feminización de trayectorias migratorias pendulares y flotantes en la frontera colombo-venezolana

Vanessa Ortiz Piedrahita,<sup>1</sup> Wilson Eduardo Gómez-Pulgarín,<sup>2</sup>  
& Ángela Rocío Camacho Gómez<sup>3</sup>

#### ABSTRACT

This article describes and characterizes the floating and pendular migration flows of a group of Venezuelan women in the border city of Arauca, Colombia. From a qualitative methodological approach, field observations, in-depth interviews, focus groups and a bibliographic survey of updated academic, normative and institutional texts on an area of study with a little described gender approach were carried out. Thus, this study highlights the role of Venezuelan women as active migrant subjects and concludes that the labor, family and social trajectories of the interviewees are transversally modified by their migration experience, as they are subjected to different risks that highlight their vulnerability as migrant women, in addition to those derived from xenophobia and discrimination. At the same time, the migratory diaspora paradoxically represents for them the only hope for a better quality of life.

*Keywords:* 1. woman, 2. migrant, 3. border, 4. Venezuelan diaspora, 5. Arauca.

#### RESUMEN

Este artículo describe y caracteriza los flujos migratorios flotantes y pendulares de un grupo de mujeres de nacionalidad venezolana en la ciudad fronteriza de Arauca-Colombia. Desde un enfoque metodológico cualitativo se realizaron observaciones de campo, entrevistas a profundidad, grupos focales y un levantamiento bibliográfico de textos académicos, normativos e institucionales actualizados sobre un área de estudio con enfoque de género poco descrita. Así, este análisis pone en evidencia el rol de la mujer venezolana como sujeto migrante activo y concluye que las trayectorias laborales, familiares y sociales de las entrevistadas se ven transversalmente modificadas por la migración que realizan, ya que se ven sometidas a distintos riesgos que ponen en evidencia su vulnerabilidad como mujeres migrantes, además de aquéllos derivados de la xenofobia y la discriminación. Al unísono, la diáspora migratoria representa paradójicamente para ellas, la única esperanza a la hora de obtener una mejor calidad de vida.

*Palabras clave:* 1. mujer, 2. migrante, 3. frontera, 4. diáspora venezolana, 5. Arauca.

Received: September 8, 2021

Accepted: July 12, 2022

Original version (Spanish) published online: July 30, 2023

Translation (English) published online: October 26, 2023

<sup>1</sup> Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Colombia, [vaortizp@unal.edu.co](mailto:vaortizp@unal.edu.co), <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4698-7050>

<sup>2</sup> Instituto Caro y Cuervo, Colombia, [wilson.gomez@caroycuervo.gov.co](mailto:wilson.gomez@caroycuervo.gov.co), <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5448-9142>

<sup>3</sup> Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Colombia, [arcamachog@unal.edu.co](mailto:arcamachog@unal.edu.co), <https://orcid.org/0009-0009-9043-0090>



## INTRODUCTION

In the last decade, Venezuela has faced one of its greatest political, economic, health and food security crises. Triggered by the fall in oil prices, international debt, high inflation of goods and services, in addition to the simultaneous devaluation of the currency (the Venezuelan bolívar), this crisis has caused millions of Venezuelan citizens to seek refuge in other countries (Polo Alvis et al., 2018). Such a situation has resulted in a massive exodus totaling more than 5.6 million inhabitants, of which about 31% (1 742 927 people) are in Colombia, according to data recorded in the Interagency Coordination Platform for Refugees and Migrants from Venezuela (Plataforma R4V, 2021).

In this regard, it should be stressed that Venezuela has traditionally been a receiving country of immigrants (Palma-Gutiérrez, 2021). In the 19th century, it received hundreds of them, mainly Europeans, aimed at various economic sectors in need of development (agriculture, mining, manufacturing). In the 20th century, after World War II, the country again received migrants, this time mainly from Germany, Spain, Italy and Portugal (Mejía, 2012). The oil bonanza that began in 1970 further attracted European populations, but also migrants from neighboring countries such as Panama, Ecuador and Colombia. Regarding the latter, it is estimated that an average of 600 000 people migrated to Venezuela in that period (Aguilar, 2015).

Already in the 21st century, this history of migration and binational relations underwent transformations, and these changes are expressed in reverse migration flows (Polo Alvis et al., 2018). Now it is Venezuelan citizens who migrate to Colombia through its land border as a first destination, due to its proximity or because it is an ideal transit territory for the Southern Cone, the center, or the north of the American continent.

Within the group of emigrants from Venezuela, the leading role of women in this diaspora stands out in a special way, since from the classic studies approach to human migrations in the field of social sciences, the flows of adult males have been studied the most as main actors.

In the last two decades, women have not only migrated as companions of their partners or husbands, but also alone or on their own (Woo, 1997). This type of migration has increased steadily in recent years, and previous studies have even found that these women migrate with plans and economic resources of their own, given that they play a central role in the Venezuelan family structure (Aguilar, 2015). However, there are several factors that make them a vulnerable population in this movement they decide to undertake, as they are exposed to risks: they may be subject to human trafficking,<sup>4</sup> robbery, rape and xenophobia.

---

<sup>4</sup> Article 3 of the Palermo Protocol defines trafficking in persons as the recruitment and transfer of vulnerable persons—by reason of their migratory, economic or gender status—for the purpose of exploitation, using threats and manipulation (United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime of 2001).

As mentioned, Colombia has been the main recipient of Venezuelan immigrants in recent years; however, it is noteworthy that a significant portion of them obey:

to a *floating* migration trend that tends to move at the border; 34% develop patterns of short-term cross-border movements in a *pendular* manner, and 66% transit aiming to move on to other countries such as Panama, Ecuador, Peru, Chile, Argentina, and the United States [emphasis by the authors] (Colombia Migration [Migración Colombia], 2018, cited in Polo Alvis et al., 2018, p. 43).

In particular, the border between Apure in Venezuela and Arauca in Colombia is one of the most widely used transit points for Venezuelan migrants to settle or further their journeys to other cities or countries.<sup>5</sup> According to data provided by Migración Colombia (2019), about 2 000 people arrive daily through this corridor. In fact, it is estimated that in 2019 there were about 42 890 Venezuelan migrants in the city of Arauca, not including the population that lacks official records and thus makes use of various types or modalities of illegal crossing.

Therefore, this article focuses on the third most dynamic border crossing between Venezuela and Colombia, with the objective of interpreting how the labor and relational trajectories of a group of Venezuelan women, who have undertaken floating and pendular migration movements in Arauca in the last five years, are configured and restructured. We aim at describing the sense and meanings that they themselves ascribe to the transformations that have occurred in their lives in a comparative manner, that is, before and after the migratory exodus or Venezuelan diaspora.<sup>6</sup> We also seek to contextualize this situation in Arauca in order to identify the institutional mechanisms of attention to Venezuelan migrants in the aforementioned border crossing. Finally, the conclusions of our study are highlighted, and some considerations or recommendations are presented in relation to the implementation of the Temporary Protection Statute for Venezuelan Migrants Estatuto Temporal de Protección para Migrantes Venezolanos (Decree 216 of 2021).

#### WOMEN'S PENDULAR AND FLOATING MIGRATION FLOWS: A THEORETICAL APPROACH

A number of researchers (Phizacklea, 1983; Sassen, 2000; Ciurlo, 2015) agree that the current increase in female migration is correlated with global economic trends. As of today, women's labor is demanded in transnational spaces, but it is also important to note that this rise in migration is agentic to contexts of war or political instability. Today more than ever, women migrate in search of economic and educational opportunities, or for reasons of family reunification (Boyd &

---

<sup>5</sup> After Maicao (department of Guajira) and Villa del Rosario (in the department of North Santander), the city of Arauca is the third most transited Colombian point for Venezuelan migration (Ramírez, 2013).

<sup>6</sup> After acting as a recipient country of international migrants for several decades, for the first time in the 21st century the Venezuelan population began exacerbated migratory movements in recent years, derived from the institutional, political and economic crisis of the Bolivarian country: a process known as Venezuelan diaspora (Páez, 2015).

Grieco, 2003). Migratory feminization in contexts of the global south is characterized by non-regularized status, that is, by their illegality in greater proportion (Acosta, 2013). Women who migrate under irregular status are more likely to suffer physical and emotional violations due to their sex-gender status;<sup>7</sup> thus, migratory processes cannot be considered neutral phenomena (Tapia Ladino, 2011).

Although gender is considered to be a form of organization of the social structure, its implications in contexts of migration should be analyzed simultaneously with factors such as age, social class and race/ethnicity. That is to say, migration and relational trajectories are not the same for all women, but rather vary depending on age, economic status, cultural capital, ethnicity and their own personal biographies. What is certain is that, at least in border areas, women under irregular migratory status are affected by xenophobic, sexist and classist practices. This situation evidences the need for new public policies, and calls into question the migratory governance of countries such as Colombia, little experienced in the management and care of immigrants.

The Venezuelan migratory exodus of the last five years has been characterized by lacking planning, a situation that results in tension in the labor market of the receiving country (Escobar Díaz, 2019). The labor<sup>8</sup> and relational trajectories of migrants are affected too, since this movement destabilizes the life projections of people who decide to leave their countries.

In the field of Latin American social sciences there is an important literature on the relationship between labor and life trajectories, and migration? (Jiménez, 2009; Blanco, 2001; García-Moreno, 2015; Bermúdez, 2014). This literature often argues that such trajectories cannot be studied in a linear fashion, characterized as they are by changes and reconfigurations over time. It is therefore not possible to understand them as constant processes—in terms of place, time, type of contract and occupation—, due to the deregulated and flexible characteristics of the labor market in recent decades (Sennet, 2000).

These unstable and precarious trajectories of today's world affect irregular or non-legal migrants even more, as they are thus forced to insert themselves into a fragmented labor market with few guarantees. Exploitation, abuse, violent contexts and discrimination are some of the characteristics that directly impact their relational world (at the familial, social and personal levels).

People who partake of pendular and floating migration flows in spaces such as the Colombian-Venezuelan border both converge and diverge. Pendular migration is associated with circular movements typical of communities living in border areas, whose survival depends on the dynamics

---

<sup>7</sup> “Gender” is a way of referring to the exclusively social origins of identities and roles associated with the feminine and the masculine. “Gender is, in this definition, a social category imposed on a sexed body” (Scott, 2008, p. 8).

<sup>8</sup> Labor trajectories are understood as the movements and displacements that illustrate the experiences of an individual in this field, from insertion to culmination. In turn, relational trajectories refer to the stages and intersubjective experiences of individuals in the familial, peer, and couple fields (Orejuela & Correa, 2007).

of transit between the two bordering countries, thus being the most vulnerable group due to the lack of access to services and care from the State (Correa Bohórquez & Betancuort Arguelles, 2019).

This is the most common type of migrant at borders, due to the ease of periodic movement between one country and another there, which is why migrants constitute an important part of day-to-day workers, students, people in search of medical services, and tourists (Gándara et al., 2020). Pendular migrants enter and leave their nation constantly, and do not aim at permanent residence in the foreign country, since it is more convenient for them to live in this back-and-forth or displacement of a pendular nature (Mojica Acevedo, Espinel Rubio et al., 2020). These are people and—in the case of this study—women with cultural and often family ties shared in binational spaces.

On the other hand, a floating population is one that moves with economic flows and according to the permissiveness of institutions, in search of survival, with variable temporalities and spatialities, according to the countries and circumstances (Borja & Castells, 2000). This type of migration is characterized by longer stays than pendular migration, due to situations of labor, health, or transit to another country (Panaia, 2010). Both types of migration flows are frequent at the Colombian-Venezuelan border, since mobility is not difficult on both sides, but they are differentiated according to the rhythms and temporalities of transit, as discussed in this paper based on the case of the migration and life trajectories of a group of Venezuelan women in Arauca.

#### METHODOLOGICAL PATH

This research pertains to the field of social studies and was undertaken under a qualitative methodological approach. Field work constituted was fundamental to collect the required information through inquiry techniques such as observation, interviews and focus groups. The observations were carried out in different environments in Arauca, and allowed the construction of a cartography of the most transited and inhabited spaces, not only by the women who participated in the research, but also by hundreds of Venezuelans and Colombian returnees, who move through the area on a daily basis. Twenty-four women were interviewed in depth according to a semi-structured qualitative format. A focus group was also organized in the city of Arauca with most of the participants (20), as the remaining women had moved to other cities in Colombia by that time (April, 2021). In addition, academic, governmental and non-governmental documents related to migration policies in both Colombia and Venezuela were taken into account. Although the processing of the data was purely qualitative, the research topic was contextualized based on statistical data provided on the subject at the national and international levels.

Some of the inclusion criteria for the participants in this research process were: a) women with permission or endorsement to participate in the research; b) adult women between 18 and 45 years of age (age range of Venezuelan immigrants); c) women who had migrated alone or on their own; and d) women with floating and/or pendular migration flows in Arauca. The cases were selected both for their representativeness and their thematic depth (labor and relational trajectories).

In methodological terms, the trajectories were reconstructed from the narratives of the women interviewed. They were also analyzed comparatively, that is, before and after the migratory exodus, and the timeline ascribed to was that of those who had migrated in the last five years (2016-2021), that is, during the period of worsening of the political and economic crisis in Venezuela. All the empirical information collected was analyzed with tools such as the observation matrix, categories of analysis, and theoretical approaches related to studies on the feminization of migration in border spaces of the global south.

### *Venezuelan Migrant Women in Arauca-Colombia*

Fieldwork in the city of Arauca<sup>9</sup> determined and made it possible to locate several places of transit, neighborhoods, and/or human settlements of Venezuelan migrant populations in the city. All in all, 24 Venezuelan women of different origins, some in transit, three interviewed at the city's transport terminal, and 21 residents of the Las Cabañas neighborhoods and the Villa Estrella settlement, decided to participate voluntarily in this research exercise and allowed us to learn about their stories and life trajectories. The average age of the participants is 27.7 years old, and all of them are within the economically active population range. However, the level of schooling of most of them is below high school, because although seven of them achieved this degree, only one of them obtained a college degree in her country of origin.

Most of the interviewees in the Las Cabañas neighborhood reported that the onset of their migration was recent (between 3 and 12 months). Some of them tended towards pendular migration flows (characterized by a constant coming and going between Venezuela and Colombia). Others tended towards floating flows with longer periods of residence in the receiving country or city, but were not properly registered/identified. It should be noted that most of the participants in the Villa Estrella settlement had managed to stay longer in the Arauca territory, because they had also initiated organizational processes managed by national and international institutions present in the area.<sup>10</sup> Of the 24 migrants, 11 had a pendular migratory status, 10 had a floating status, and three were in transit<sup>11</sup> at the time of data collection.

---

<sup>9</sup> Arauca is the capital of the same department and had an approximate population of 85 585 inhabitants by 2018 (Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística [DANE], 2018) and 96 814 by 2020.

<sup>10</sup> United Nations (UN), Spanish Agency for International Development Cooperation (AECID, acronym in Spanish for *Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo*), State of Germany, State of Canada, Central Emergency Response Fund (CERF), Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC), Dubai Cares, United States Agency for International Development (USAID), Pan American Development Foundation (PADF), International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), Colombian Red Cross, Americares, Peace Mission-Maap (OAS), International Organization for Migration (IOM), Save the Children, among others.

<sup>11</sup> The participants characterized under the label in transit correspond to women who at the time of the interview were on the move, i.e., traveling to their different destinations (cities in Colombia) from the Arauca terminal.

In this sense, women of pendular and floating migration flows seek to remain in Colombia, earn some money and become providers by means of periodic remittances that are used by their relatives to cover basic needs. Some of them find temporary residences through networks of relatives and compatriots in peripheral areas of the city. In particular, the neighborhoods of Las Cabañas (Commune 1, stratum 2) and Villa Estrella (Commune 3, stratum 1) belong to low socioeconomic strata and are precarious in terms of care, security, and access to public services. Although this could not be a definitive characterization reference, it is uncertain to quantify the socioeconomic stratum of the study population, given its pendular, floating, or transit characteristics.

In the context of the focus group and the interviews, it was possible to establish that the income of this population of women does not reach the current legal minimum wage, which for July 2021 in Colombia was 908 525 COP (Colombian peso), corresponding to 237.20 USD. However, it would not be possible to establish this average income homogeneously among the group of female collaborators, since, according to their accounts, this capital is difficult to access, given the economic activity they carry out.<sup>12</sup>

However, one of the issues closely related to the labor trajectory and the economic sphere has to do with the fact that the women interviewed have an average of between two and three children, and are directly responsible for their care. While some of them have managed to get their children into local preschool or elementary school, thus having certain hours available to pursue resources, others are conversely unable to work, and spend most of their time on household chores and caring for their children.

Thus, being unemployed, a paradoxical situation arises for them, since, as one of them says: “I haven’t set myself to look for a job because I have no one to leave [the] girls with; I would like to work, but it is very complicated because of the girls” (E14, personal communication, March 14, 2021). Here we show the classic gender asymmetries in the Western context (Scott, 2008), where women, being the biological progenitors, must socially assume the role of protectors, even more so than males/fathers (Butler, 1999). It seems that this gender disparity persists even in contexts of migration and high vulnerability, resulting in problems for economic integration in the receiving country.

As for their marital status, about 50% of the participants admitted to being in a common-law relationship; 33% said they were single; 8% were married; 4% were separated; and another 4% were divorced. Some explained that they left their partners in Venezuela because of the need to move or because of the shortages they faced. Others mentioned that they met their current partners

---

<sup>12</sup> The Observatory of the Venezuela Migration Project (Proyecto Migración Venezuela [PMV], 2021), in its Survey on quality of life and integration of Venezuelan migrants (ECV), representative for 28 987 migrant households in six regions of the country, identified that 45% of the expenditures made by the population consulted are below the legal minimum wage in force in Colombia (p. 8).

in the course of migration, or that they met them in Arauca or other cities to which they have been displaced.

In general terms, of the 24 interviewees, 19 did not self-identify with any ethnic-racial category, and only three stated feeling they were mestizo. In fact, on several occasions, this category was not known to them. This data is interesting as it suggests that for them, conditions such as gender (being a woman) and nationality (Venezuelan) are more important in the identity construction of their subjectivities than their ethnic-racial condition.

In order to characterize the group of Venezuelan interviewees who participated in the research, it can be established that they are young women, with children and without stable marital partners, of basic or medium levels of education, who from their phenotype (external evaluation) could be characterized as mestizo; they live in vulnerable and hillside areas of Arauca; their migration flows are of a pendular/floating nature, and trace dynamic labor and relational trajectories.

### *Life in Venezuela: Labor and Relational Trajectories of Venezuelan Women*

One of the reasons that encouraged the migration of these women has to do with the shared ideology in relation to Colombia as a country with better life opportunities.<sup>13</sup> Many of them stated being interested in staying in Colombia, as this would allow them to maintain the necessary proximity to visit their relatives occasionally. One of the interviewees stated: “We are thinking of staying here [in Colombia], the work over there [in Venezuela] is so bad, there is nothing” (E15, personal communication, March 15, 2021). In this sense, their reasons for migration are mostly of an economic, labor and familial nature.

Before the onset of their journey, this group of women sustained a lifestyle marked by the current political and social dynamics in Venezuela, i.e., situations of humanitarian crisis, emergency and shortages. These realities worsened in the last five years and are reflected in both the political and economic contexts, as the international economic siege, altogether with the depletion of the oil industry, are factors affecting the current Venezuelan diaspora. Thus, the motivation to stay in Colombia has been reinforced by the monetary relationship established by migrants, since the devaluation of the Venezuelan currency and the precariousness of State care have forced them to migrate and to obtain informal jobs in Arauca. This way, their income allows them to meet their basic needs, something unthinkable in Venezuela. In this regard, the Organization of American States (Organización de los Estados Americanos [OEA], 2020b) warns:

The absence of a democratic system in Venezuela, systematic human rights violations, food shortages, precarious health systems, an electricity crisis, generalized violence and economic

---

<sup>13</sup> The statements of our interviewees match the factors motivating migration according to the studies of the Interagency Group for Mixed Migration Flows (GIFMM & Plataforma R4V, 2020), as the highlights among them are the lack of employment in Venezuela (87%); poor access to food (75%), medical services (51%) and education (26%); family unification (20%); and, at a last level, violence and insecurity (14%).



collapse are some of the causes that have forced more than 5 200 000 Venezuelans to flee their country since 2015 (p. 3).

The interviewees expressed many times that the health system in Venezuela did not work, as it had been collapsing for some time. One of them narrated it this way: “I had not been going to the doctor for almost seven months, I did not have the resources, medical service was private; it was complicated” (E9, personal communication, March 11, 2021). Another factor that raised and still raises concern among the interviewees pertains the need for their children, Venezuelan minors, to have access to health services, even if they are undocumented. In the midst of the SARS-CoV2 pandemic, access to health services was essential, not only in situations classified as urgent or priority, but also in those aimed at prevention and care.

For all these reasons, migration is an alternative that Venezuelan women consider and undertake in order to improve their living conditions. As Woo notes, “the permanence and mobility of migrant women depends on the interrelation of several factors, such as their migratory status, their life cycle, and the formation of new families” (1997, p. 127). In this sense, the family trajectory of the interviewees has been fundamental to their decision making regarding their migration flows. Therefore, the family, as a life structuring and anchoring territory, occupies a transcendental position in the migration environment (García & Restrepo, 2019).

As a matter of fact, many of the interviewees mentioned that the family meeting spaces in Venezuela strengthened solidarity relationships, despite all difficulties. Specifically, one of them stated with respect to her family: “Very close even if we had very little, I at least used to tell my dad: ‘I have some rice, and you put the grains’, we are all in this together, so let’s all get together and everyone gets to eat” (E6, personal communication, March 5, 2021). In this way, special dates such as the carnival, Easter, Christmas, and birthdays, among others, were shaped as moments for different generations to meet and share their joys and resources.

Consequently, food security and food supply were among the most constant concerns of the women interviewed in the last few years they lived in Venezuela. They reported that food was only available through the Local Committees for Supply and Production (CLAP, acronym in Spanish for *Comités Locales de Abastecimiento y Producción*), which were in charge of the door-to-door distribution of food subsidized by the State. However, these CLAPs have been harshly scrutinized by several international media and by Venezuelans themselves, mainly due to allegations involving political leaders in corruption processes, in addition to being considered as clientelist instruments. In this regard, one of the interviewees related some benefits to the closeness or kinship with some of the members of the pro-government State as follows: “My daughter’s godfather is from the government and he used to hand me these subsidized aids” (E6, personal communication, March 5, 2021).

Participants also expressed feelings and memories of solidarity and reciprocity when referring to the familial environment. Several agreed that their family in Venezuela supported them in caring for their children while they worked. Contrastingly, finding a job in Colombia is difficult for them, as they often do not have someone to support them in this regard.

In the sphere of labor, women in Venezuela were engaged in occupations very similar to those they have been able to perform in Colombia. Of course, migration has brought important changes in the capital they receive in exchange for their workday, in intensity, in the social status that their real estate and movable properties generated in their nation of origin, and in the earnings from their occupations there. For example, some migrants used to work in the education or military sector, and mentioned that even in those areas the situation was precarious—at least during the period of worsening political and economic crisis, from 2015 to 2021—although this was not always the case. In fact, several interviewees recalled moments of economic and family stability during their childhood, adolescence and part of their adult life. In their words, the crises worsened from Nicolás Maduro's first presidential term (2013-2018).

As for social trajectories, it should be mentioned that, as it happened with their family trajectories, their neighborhood relationships and relational circles were severely affected. The life course of these women in the last five years has been characterized by the rupture with their peers due to migration, which generated feelings of helplessness and loneliness while living in a territory where they have no support networks to establish assertive communication with and to provide them with solution options to their problems. For many of these migrants, the loss of contact with friends and family was accentuated with the entry into force of strict quarantines in Venezuela, and with the confining decreed in Colombia due to SARS CoV2.

#### *The Migration Experience at the Colombian-Venezuelan Border*

Due to the commercial activity and the presence of governmental and non-governmental, national and international entities, the capital of the department of Arauca is a city with the characteristics of a metropolitan area. El Amparo and Guasdalito could be considered satellite cities, where workers go to sleep or rest after the workday (Castro, 2021, p. 38), which translates into an important flow of transit and permanence of Venezuelan migrants. Thus, the Colombian-Venezuelan border between the state of Apure and Colombia turns Arauca into a place of massive, floating, pendular, mixed migration flows, that is, a dynamic place par excellence (Mojica Acevedo, Aliaga Sáez et al., 2020).

However, the Venezuelan pendular migrant population arrives in Colombia and returns the same day or a few days later to Venezuela, as they enter Arauca through the dry or fluvial border, for food or family matters. The floating population, although not legalized in the city or formally established, works informally for short periods of time, while they articulate their support networks and decide where to go; others stay for slightly longer periods of time due to work or romantic relationship reasons, or for medical treatment. This is how border inhabitants establish their codes and mechanisms to strengthen and benefit from their condition, where relational fluidity prevails (Valero, 2009).

However, the unemployment levels in Arauca are discouraging. According to information from the National Administrative Department of Statistics (DANE, 2018), the unemployment rate for

2020 in the capital was 32.5%, which represented a 5.2% increase compared to the 2019 results (27.2%). This in addition to the public health situation due to the pandemic, and the confinement that hit workers in general and informal vendors in particular. “The nearly 30 000 Venezuelans residing in Arauca [...] must be employed in whatever they can get. They are unskilled labor” (Castro, 2021, p. 38). Moreover, in the case of professionals, the modality of offering their services at low cost is not so evident, since it is kept rather underground, thus impacting the unemployment rate in the area.

In the case of the women who participated in the research, it is worth noting that only 21% were working. Accordingly, although some migrate alone, for others, their partners play a central role in the process, as they tend to be providers and points of support. Thus, the labor trajectories of our interviewees were marked by the lack of opportunities in both Venezuela and Colombia. Still, it is evident from their accounts that in Colombia they were able to carry out various informal activities such as the sale of red wine and prepared foods, street sale of various products, housekeeping for families and restaurants, among other commercial activities that enable them to obtain the economic resources needed for the purchase of a basic consumer basket and personal care products.

Thus, for this group of Venezuelan women, the experience of migrating means searching for new horizons,<sup>14</sup> a renunciation of what is known, but also the facing of their fears, expectations and fantasies, as well as a complex process of social, cultural, family and emotional disengagement (Woo, 1997). In this regard, two of the interviewees mentioned the following:

I come from Barquisimeto, but the pandemic caught me in Valdivia; from Valdivia I came here (Arauca), but I came without my partner, only with my boy. I made fifteen hours from Barinas, that day we got a ride,<sup>15</sup> [...] we had to go through two rivers hiding from migration; my sister came with her three daughters, and me with my daughter and pregnant, we went crossed two rivers (E23, personal communication, April 7, 2021).

Truth is I came with fear, because I brought the children, I didn't pass through bridges but through trails because they were asking for an ID card and my ID is away; and I went through the trails, but it seemed good to me because I came with a company that crosses migrants over (E12, personal communication, March 12, 2021).

Indeed, the departure and arrival in another country activates those elements of insecurity and uncertainty, anxieties and danger alerts when facing the unknown and settling in that new context (Oquendo, 2019) where the migrant population is signified and represented as a competitor in the labor market, and in access to health services and education (PMV, 2020a).

---

<sup>14</sup> Collective perceptions from the focus group.

<sup>15</sup> Hitchhiking, i.e., asking to be transported to a place without giving anything in return.

This is linked to one of the most common problems associated with human migration: xenophobia and discrimination (Krüger et al., 2020), as well as aporophobia.<sup>16</sup> In this regard and in terms of her migration experience, one of the women related:

It is hard, first because there is a lot of discrimination, you go to a place and the first thing you hear is trash talk about Venezuelans, you feel bad; “women come to take the husbands,” many comments like that (E13, personal communication, March 8, 2021).

In Arauca, Venezuelan women, especially those of limited economic capacity, are particularly stigmatized. In this regard, two of the interviewees commented:

I have heard that about the *tinteras*,<sup>17</sup> maybe some but not all of them, because they say “they sell coffee shots and something else,” but not all of them come here to do that, they come to make a living, I think what people do is generalizing and they shouldn’t (E5, personal communication, March 3, 2021).

They say that Venezuelan women are prostitutes, thieves, you hear that a lot, but that is not the fault of Venezuelan women only, men have a lot to do with it too (E24, personal communication, April 7, 2021).

Indeed, a series of social problems that were already present in Colombian are often ascribed to Venezuelans, this resulting in xenophobic and stigmatizing discourses, these being more accentuated and visible against women (Pineda & Ávila, 2019). Thus, it can be stated that Venezuelan women suffer constant discrimination because of the social representation of them in the municipality, which connotes ideas related to their supposed sexual availability. Such representations and imaginaries are reinforced by the Colombian media, according to research by Espinel et al. (2021).

On the other hand, the support networks that the interviewees partake in Arauca are generally very fragile. Although they keep communication with their relatives and have neighborly relations with other migrants, their friendships with their social circle in Venezuela have lost strength over time. Thus, the most relevant transformations in the familial and social sphere have been greatly impacted by social networks and electronic messaging applications.<sup>18</sup> For their part, women in the Villa Estrella settlement have a firmer support network due to projects to strengthen the social fabric promoted by some NGOs, such as courses on recycling and solid waste management, as well as the creation of a network of health promoters, trained through first aid workshops.

---

<sup>16</sup> The Royal Spanish Academy (Real Academia Española, 2021) defines «aporophobia» as a phobia of poor or disadvantaged people. However, it also refers to the fear and, many times, rejection of the unprotected, who are assumed to be unable to contribute back in specific contexts of irregular migratory insertion (Cortina, 2017).

<sup>17</sup> Coffee shot sellers.

<sup>18</sup> However, the real difficulty in their communications is due to the lack of mobile devices (hard to afford) and the intermittent signal reception or lack of energy in Venezuela.

This highlights two important phases in their life trajectories: before and after migration. On the one hand, their last years in Venezuela, characterized by political and subjective uncertainty, on top of scarcity in relation to material subsistence conditions. In contrast, their current life cycle, which is characterized at least by the ability to resolve minimum subsistence conditions (food, health, and shelter), but also by the facing of new challenges such as xenophobia and discrimination, due to their gender, nationality, migratory status, and economic condition. As already mentioned, these are people who have fled Venezuela mainly for economic reasons, yet it should be noted that a third of them mentioned as another cause the violent situation they were living with their partners. Therefore, the migration of undocumented women can also be linked to fleeing from violent relationships or partners; in other words, it is a search for freedom (Fernández Labbé et al., 2020). Thus, the experience of migration is an agency in migrant women's personal autonomy and self-valuation of their own capabilities (Flores, 2020).

*Pendular and/or Floating Migration Flows:  
Hardships and Challenges*

Several studies evidence that an important part of the Venezuelan population in Colombia follows a floating migration trend that tends to move along the border (Polo Alvis et al., 2018). Other authors speak of pendular displacements as a type of daily border trade (Valero, 2009), while still others highlight cultural permeability over economic or security logic (Palma, 2015). What is clear is that a portion of the Venezuelan migrant population in the Araucan border, seeking stability in housing, health, income and education, tends to participate in floating movements that allow them to achieve a formal migratory status and access some of the available institutionally-guaranteed rights.<sup>19</sup>

Indeed, border states are seen as favorable places in terms of security and refuge (De Flores, 2019). However, staying in these areas implies assuming a certain migratory status: within or without legality, with all the benefits and difficulties that this implies. In this scenario, women who participate in floating, pendular and mixed<sup>20</sup> migration flows tend not to move away from the border, and continuously demand formal or informal labor opportunities, and access to health and education for their children. They emphatically express the need to find the necessary stability to survive in Arauca. In this context, the Venezuelan migrant population is often seen as a threat or

---

<sup>19</sup> In Colombia, Venezuelans may stay in the national territory with the following documents (annotations of document's names and acronyms in Spanish): Entry and Permanence Permit (PIP, Permiso de Ingreso y Permanencia), Temporary Transit Entry and Permanence Permit (PIP-TT, Permiso de Ingreso y Permanencia de Tránsito Temporal), Special Permanence Permit (PEP, Permiso Especial de Permanencia), Border Mobility Card (TMF, Tarjeta de Movilidad Fronteriza), acknowledgement of refugee status, visa (v), and, if feasible, nationality (vi) (Fupad, 2020).

<sup>20</sup> The OIM (2019) defines mixed flows as heterogeneous population movements, referring to refugees, asylum seekers, transit and cross-border migrants, who may have one or more of the above characteristics.

detriment, even when there are reasons that justify perceiving it as a source of wealth (Wabgou, 2008), or as a tool for transformation and improvement (García & Restrepo, 2019).

In accordance with the above, several of the interviewees, in their accounts and in the focus group, positioned themselves positively in relation to the recent actions of the Colombian government with the announcement of Decree 216 of 2021.<sup>21</sup> Within the generalities on regulatory and/or administrative aspects to access legal entry, several documents may be requested according to specific requirements, depending on the situation of each migrant and their future plans.<sup>22</sup> Regularization measures are not sufficient for successful integration (PMV, 2020b), it is also necessary to implement flexibility measures to further facilitate the regularization of Venezuelans and enable access to their identity documents (OEA, 2020a).

In other cases, it is impossible to apply Colombian regulations in the face of migration due to the lack of state presence at the border (Woolcott & Gamarra, 2020), which reflects a level of vulnerability and risk framed by institutional weakness (Polo et al., 2018). Thus, although the Colombian state has shown progress in recent years in terms of documentation protocols in the face of the migration wave, and has adopted exceptional measures to deal with the high number of immigrants, it still fails to address the phenomenon in all its dimensions (Cabrera et al., 2021).

The pandemic exacerbated crimes against women stemming from family cohabitation, evidencing that most perpetrators live with the victims. In also made it visible that gender-based violence affected the migrant population, especially women, in equal or greater proportion (PMV, 2021a).

As already noted, Colombia lacks significant experience as a receiving country of migrant population. It is in this context that Colombians experience the transformation from being a nation of emigration to one of immigration, transit and return (Palma, 2015), for which they must assume multiple tasks, as well as define strategies articulated with the formal and informal dynamics around the phenomenon. They will have to then promote the effective incorporation of migrants into the social fabric, promoting adequate psychosocial care for this population (Reverol, 2017) and the implementation of public and comprehensive policies able to address and mitigate the inconveniences byproducts of migration. All of the above from a constitutional perspective and in light of international treaties (Tapia Bravo, 2020), maintaining a regulatory framework with a differential approach (Palacios & Torres, 2020). Such are some of the challenges Colombia faces as a receiving country.

---

<sup>21</sup> Decree 216 of 2021 through which the Temporary Protection Statute for Venezuelan Migrants under Temporary Protection Regime is adopted, and other provisions in migration matters are issued (p. 2), which will allow Venezuelan migrants to stay in Colombian territory for 10 years.

<sup>22</sup> In the case of refugees, having a refugee applicant card does not imply having adequate working conditions, such as a contract or job stability, as local employers do not consider it convenient, or do not know how to proceed in terms of the regulations (Oquendo, 2019).

## CLOSING REMARKS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Venezuelan migration phenomenon has been identified as a mixed process, as it combines multiple causalities and actors (Phelán & Osorio, 2020). In this sense, the Colombian-Venezuelan border between the jurisdictions of Apure and Arauca is a particularly important area in terms of regional integration, with priority human services. However, there are several situations that call for emergency assistance for this population; one is the high rate of food insecurity in households of migrant women heads of household who have been in Colombia for a short time, and who had to face the economic consequences of the global SARS CoV2 pandemic (ONU, 2020).

Currently, the feminization of migration in the 21st century in the global south represents a relevant imprint in Latin American history, particularly in the contemporary reality of countries such as Colombia and Venezuela. In binational history, there has never been such a large-scale migration, mainly by women, in border areas such as those studied in this research. This highlights women as active migrant subjects, and as an important analytical category in the field of migration studies (Ciurlo, 2014). An example of this is that, by 2020, 22 208 Venezuelans lived in Arauca (municipality), according to the Interagency Group for Mixed Migration Flows (GIFMM & Plataforma R4V, 2020), of which 51% were women in all age groups.

Now, as mentioned, of the 24 interviewees, 11 had pendular migration status at the time of the survey, as they frequently traveled between Venezuela and Colombia, given that they did not have a permanent residence vocation in Arauca. They transited between the two countries in search of medical services, or to visit and/or collect some money from nationals who were already established in the Colombian municipality. Women of this type of migration flow are very common in border areas, where they share not only friends and relatives, but also similar cultural practices due to language, folklore and relational political history (Gil, 2014).

Another 10 participants had floating migration status, i.e., somewhat more stable, although they were irregular/illegal—between 3 and 10 months—with the intention of staying. They intended to find a job in Arauca or to start a business. The remaining three interviewees were in transit to unknown places in Colombia, as they themselves were not sure of their final destination. What we had, then, was a group of young women—27.7 years old on average—with two or three children, and of low or medium educational levels, a situation that worked against them when it came to inserting themselves in the formal labor market. The economic activities they carried out were mostly informal and flexible: house cleaning, childcare, as waitresses, and as hourly employees in restaurants and small businesses.

These flexible jobs—hourly, fixed-term contracts, outsourcing, or self-employment—are characterized by little or no labor guarantees, and can therefore be classified as precarious (De la Garza & Neffa, 2010). Thus, undocumented migrants and migrant women with small children suffer in greater proportion.

It should be mentioned that the labor and relational trajectories of the interviewees were transversally impacted by their migration. The lack of job opportunities, the violence to which they

are exposed, family breakdown, and the lack of a support network are elements that accounted for altogether place them in a situation of vulnerability, due not only to their status as irregular migrants, but also to their gender, nationality and reduced economic capacity.

However, it should be noted that the women participants perceived the Temporary Protection Statute for Venezuelan Migrants, enacted by the Colombian government through Decree 216 of 2021, as a hopeful event, since they saw in it the opportunity to free themselves from labor exploitation, and for their children to gain access to health and education services.

In this sense, and according to various researchers and institutions such as the United Nations (2020) and Krüger et al. (2020), it is more beneficial for the country receiving mass migrants to regularize them than not to do so. Thus, it is not only a matter of integrating them into the legal system (census, paying taxes), but also of safeguarding their human rights and channeling their potential for national development. Therefore, it is expected that, with this statute, this population will achieve a better quality of life; for its effective implementation, we recommended to carry out constant diagnoses of the population and establish an oversight so that what is enacted in the decree coexists in practice with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), international human rights, and the statutes of regularization of migrants in emergency contexts adopted by countries with expertise in these matters.

Finally, we recommend that these plans be synchronized at the national, departmental, and municipal levels with the development plans for their evaluation and due adjustment.

Translation: Fernando Llanas.

## REFERENCES

- Acosta, E. (2013). Mujeres migrantes cuidadoras en flujos migratorios sur-sur y sur-norte: expectativas, experiencias y valoraciones. *Polis. Revista Latinoamericana*, 12(35), 35-62. [https://www.scielo.cl/scielo.php?script=sci\\_arttext&pid=S0718-65682013000200003](https://www.scielo.cl/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0718-65682013000200003)
- Aguilar, N. (2015). *Efectos de la crisis económica en el proceso migratorio de las mujeres bolivianas y venezolanas en la ciudad de Valencia* [Doctoral dissertation, Universitat de València]. <https://roderic.uv.es/handle/10550/47844>
- Bermúdez, R. E. (2014). Trayectorias laborales de migrantes calificadas por razones de estudio. *Estudios Demográficos y Urbanos*, 29(2), 257-299.
- Blanco, M. (2001). Trayectorias laborales y cambio generacional: mujeres de sectores medios en la ciudad de México. *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*, 65(2), 91-111.
- Borja, J., & Castells, M. (2000). La ciudad multicultural. In D. Jiménez (Ed.), *Laberintos urbanos en América Latina* (pp. 35-57). Ediciones Abya Yala.



- Boyd, M., & Grieco, E. (2003, March 1). Women and migration: Incorporating gender into international migration theory. *Migration Information Source*. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/women-and-migration-incorporating-gender-international-migration-theory>
- Butler, J. (1999). *El género en disputa: el feminismo y la subversión de la identidad*. Routledge.
- Cabrera, D. C., Cano, G. M., & Castro, A. (2021). Procesos recientes de movilidad humana entre Venezuela y Colombia 2016-2018. In L. Gandini, F. Lozano Ascencio & V. Prieto (Eds.), *Crisis y migración de población venezolana. Entre la desprotección y la seguridad jurídica en Latinoamérica* (pp. 59-94). Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Castro, V. (2021). *Impacto socioeconómico de la migración venezolana a Arauca en el período 2017-2020* [Bachelor's thesis, Fundación Universidad de America]. <https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11839/8432>
- Ciurlo, A. (2014). Género y familia transnacional. Un enfoque teórico para aproximarse a los estudios migratorios. *Revista Científica General José María Córdova*, 12(13), 127-161. <https://doi.org/10.21830/19006586.158>
- Ciurlo, A. (2015). La migración femenina y los cambios en las relaciones de género en las familias: el caso de las transmigrantes colombianas en Italia. *Oasis*, (21), 55-79. <https://doi.org/10.18601/16577558.n21.04>
- Correa Bohórquez, T., & Betancourt Arguelles, M. (2019). *Informe defensorial. Análisis de género y movilidad humana en frontera*. Defensoría del Pueblo. <https://reliefweb.int/report/colombia/informe-defensorial-lisis-de-g-nero-y-movilidad-humana-en-frontera>
- Cortina, A. (2017). *Aporofobia, el rechazo al pobre. Un desafío para la democracia*. Paidós.
- Decree 216 of 2021. Por medio del cual se adopta el Estatuto Temporal de Protección para Migrantes Venezolanos Bajo el Régimen de Protección Temporal y se dictan otras disposiciones en materia migratoria. March 1, 2021. *Diario Oficial* no. 51.603. [https://www.cancilleria.gov.co/sites/default/files/Normograma/docs/decreto\\_0216\\_2021.htm](https://www.cancilleria.gov.co/sites/default/files/Normograma/docs/decreto_0216_2021.htm)
- De Flores, R. Á. (2019). Refugiados entre fronteras: la nueva realidad migratoria colombo-venezolana. *Observatorio Laboral Revista Venezolana*, 2(4), 49-65.
- De la Garza, E., & Neffa, J. C. (2010). *Trabajo y modelos productivos en América Latina: Argentina, Brasil, Colombia, México y Venezuela luego de las crisis del modo de desarrollo neoliberal*. Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales.
- Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística (DANE). (2018). *Censo Nacional de Población y Vivienda 2018 Colombia*. <https://www.dane.gov.co/index.php/estadisticas-por-tema/demografia-y-poblacion/censo-nacional-de-poblacion-y-vivenda-2018>
- Escobar Díaz, P. J. (2019). *Impacto de la inmigración forzada e irregular en el mercado laboral del país receptor: evidencia de la migración venezolana a Colombia* [Thesis, Universidad de los Andes]. <https://repositorio.uniandes.edu.co/handle/1992/45357>

- Espinel, G. A., Mojica-Acevedo, E. C., & Niño-Vega, N. C. (2021). Narrativas sobre mujeres migrantes venezolanas en un diario en línea de la frontera colombiana. *Estudios sobre el Mensaje Periodístico*, 27(1), 95-109. <https://dx.doi.org/10.5209/esmp.71471>
- Fernández Labbé, J., Díaz Allendes, V., Aguirre Sanhueza, T., & Cortínez O’Ryan, V. (2020). Mujeres colombianas en Chile: discursos y experiencia migratoria desde la interseccionalidad. *Revista Colombiana de Sociología*, 43(1), 17-36. <https://doi.org/10.15446/res.v43n1.79075>
- Flores, M. M. (2020). Mujeres migrantes venezolanas: entre políticas vetustas y cadenas de cuidado. *Encuentros: Revista de Ciencias Humanas, Teoría Social y Pensamiento Crítico*, (12), 75-90.
- Fundación Panamericana para el Desarrollo (FUPAD). (2020). *El acceso a los derechos de los migrantes en Colombia. Cartilla práctica e informativa*. Autor. [https://www.oas.org/es/sadye/documentos/FUPAD\\_CartillaDerechos.pdf](https://www.oas.org/es/sadye/documentos/FUPAD_CartillaDerechos.pdf)
- Gándara, C., Padilla, F., & Gutiérrez, P. (2020). Población flotante y ciudad desde una perspectiva socioespacial: revisión de estudios recientes. *Si Somos Americanos*, 20(1), 103-122. <http://dx.doi.org/10.4067/S0719-09482020000100103>
- García, M. F., & Restrepo, J. E. (2019). Aproximaciones al proceso migratorio venezolano en el siglo XXI. *Hallazgos*, 16(32), 63-82.
- García-Moreno, C. (2015). Trayectorias laborales de las mujeres migrantes cubanas en España. *Migraciones Internacionales*, 8(1), 189-219.
- Gil, C. G. (2014). (De) construyendo la categoría “mujeres inmigrantes.” In I. Mendia Azkue, M. Luxán, M. Legarreta, G. Guzmán, I. Zirion, & J. Azpiazu Carballo (Eds.), *Otras formas de (re)conocer. Reflexiones, herramientas y aplicaciones desde la investigación feminista* (pp. 161-167). Universidad del País Vasco.
- Grupo Interagencial sobre Flujos Migratorios Mixtos (GIFMM), & Plataforma de Coordinación Interagencial para Refugiados y Migrantes (Plataforma R4V). (2020). *Caracterización conjunta sobre movimientos mixtos. Septiembre 2020-febrero 2021*. Authors. <https://r4v.info/es/documents/details/85349>
- Jiménez, M. S. (2009). Tendencias y hallazgos en los estudios de trayectoria: una opción metodológica para clasificar el desarrollo laboral. *Revista Electrónica de Investigación Educativa*, 11(1), 1-21.
- Krüger, C., Rodríguez, R., Robayo, M. C., & Mendoza, L. (2020). *Frontera y movilidad humana. Recomendaciones para la integración e inclusión de la movilidad humana proveniente de Venezuela en las políticas de recuperación socioeconómica postcovid-19 en las zonas de frontera*. Fundación Konrad Adenauer; Universidad del Rosario; Gobernación de Norte de Santander. <https://www.kas.de/documents/287914/0/frontera+y+movilidad+humana+VF.pdf/0de5039f-9667-15d0-5eff-3584afeafc25?t=1608237954259>

- Mejía, W. (2012). Colombia y las migraciones internacionales: evolución reciente y panorama actual a partir de las cifras. *REHMU: Revista Interdisciplinar da Mobilidade Humana*, 20(39), 185-210.
- Migración Colombia. (2018). *Radiografía de Venezolanos en Colombia 2017*. Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores.
- Migración Colombia. (2019). *Boletín anual de estadísticas de flujos migratorios en 2018*. Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores. [https://www.migracioncolombia.gov.co/documentos/estadisticas/publicaciones/Bolet%C3%A9n%20Estad%C3%ADstico%20Flujos%20Migratorios%202018\\_032019.pdf](https://www.migracioncolombia.gov.co/documentos/estadisticas/publicaciones/Bolet%C3%A9n%20Estad%C3%ADstico%20Flujos%20Migratorios%202018_032019.pdf)
- Mojica Acevedo, E., Aliaga Sáez, F., & Espinel Rubio, G. (2020). Metodologías participativas en la construcción de políticas públicas migratorias en la frontera colombiana. *Si Somos Americanos*, 20(2), 116-137.
- Mojica Acevedo, E. C., Espinel Rubio, G. A., Herrera Leal, M. L., & Camargo Pardo, A. C. (2020). Dimensiones de la migración pendular Colombo-Venezolana. Caso Cúcuta-San Antonio del Táchira. In F. A. Aliaga Sáez, & A. Flórez de Andrade (Eds.), *Dimensiones de la migración en Colombia* (pp. 305-323). Ediciones Universidad Santo Tomás.
- Oquendo, A. (2019). Relatos de mujeres venezolanas solicitantes de refugio: trayectorias laborales entre sentimientos, cambios y conflictos. *Palabra: Palabra que obra*, 19(1), 91-106.
- Orejuela, J. J., & Correa, A. (2007). Trayectorias laborales y relacionales. Una nueva estética. *Revista Científica Guillermo de Ockham*, 5(1), 59-72. <https://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=105316864005>
- Organización de los Estados Americanos (OEA). (2020a). *Crisis de migrantes y refugiados venezolanos*. [http://www.oas.org/fpdb/press/OEA\\_Dic20-crisis-de-migrantes-y-refugiados-venezolanos-informe-de-situacion.pdf](http://www.oas.org/fpdb/press/OEA_Dic20-crisis-de-migrantes-y-refugiados-venezolanos-informe-de-situacion.pdf)
- Organización de los Estados Americanos (OEA). (2020b). *Situación de los venezolanos que han retornado y buscan regresar a su país en el contexto del covid-19*. [https://www.correodelcaroni.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/OEA\\_Retornados-Venezolanos\\_ESP.pdf](https://www.correodelcaroni.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/OEA_Retornados-Venezolanos_ESP.pdf)
- Organización Internacional para las Migraciones (OIM). (2019). *Migración irregular y flujos migratorios mixtos*. <https://www.iom.int/es/resources/mc/inf/297-migracion-irregular-y-flujos-migratorios-mixtos-enfoque-de-la-oim>
- Organización de las Naciones Unidas (ONU). (2020). *Colombia: Evaluación de Seguridad Alimentaria en Emergencias (ESAE) para población migrante de Venezuela y hogares de acogida en departamentos fronterizos (febrero 2020)*. Programa Mundial de Alimentos. <https://www.refworld.org/es/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/rwmain?page=search&docid=5e56ed924&skip=0&query=venezuela&querysi=Venezuela%20AND%202020&searchin=title&sort=date>
- Páez T. (Ed.). (2015). *La voz de la diáspora venezolana*. Los Libros de la Catarata.

- Palacios, M. T., & Torres, M. L. (2020). *La mujer migrante en Colombia: análisis de sus derechos humanos desde el contexto regional, 2014-2018*. Editorial Universidad del Rosario.
- Palma, M. (2015). ¿País de emigración, inmigración, tránsito y retorno? La formación de un sistema de migración colombiano *OASIS*, (21), 7-28.
- Palma-Gutiérrez, M. (2021). The politics of generosity. Colombian official discourse towards migration from Venezuela, 2015-2018. *Colombia Internacional*, (106), 29-56.
- Panaia, M. (2010). Algunas precisiones sobre el concepto de población flotante en el ámbito del trabajo. *Pampa (Santa Fe)*, (6), 27-36.
- Phelán, M., & Osorio, E. (2020). Migración y refugio en Venezuela 1998-2020. Dos miradas de una tragedia. *Trayectorias Humanas Transcontinentales*, (6), 6-23. <https://doi.org/10.25965/trahs.2226>
- Phizacklea, A. (1983). *One way ticket. Migration and female labour*. Routledge.
- Pineda, E., & Ávila, K. (2019). Aproximaciones a la migración colombo-venezolana: Desigualdad, prejuicio y vulnerabilidad. *Revista Misión Jurídica*, 12(16), 59-78.
- Plataforma de Coordinación Interagencial para Refugiados y Migrantes (Plataforma R4V). (2021, March 15). *Infografía de refugiados y migrantes Venezolanos*. Author. [https://www.r4v.info/sites/default/files/2021-06/Venezolanos\\_en\\_Bogot%C3%A1\\_regi%C3%B3n\\_%28Corteenero2021%29\\_VF.pdf](https://www.r4v.info/sites/default/files/2021-06/Venezolanos_en_Bogot%C3%A1_regi%C3%B3n_%28Corteenero2021%29_VF.pdf)
- Polo Alvis, S., Serrano López, E., & Triana Barragán, F. S. (2018). Nuevos retos en el tercer país: migraciones y gestiones administrativas de la frontera colombo-venezolana. *Revista Opera*, (23), 27-57. <https://doi.org/10.18601/16578651.n23.04>
- Proyecto Migración Venezuela (PMV). (2020a). Encuesta de calidad de vida e integración de los migrantes venezolanos en Colombia. <https://migravenezuela.com/web/articulo/encuesta-de-calidad-de-vida-e-integracion-de-los-migrantes-venezolanos-en-colombia/2563>
- Proyecto Migración Venezuela (PMV). (2020b). Percepción de la integración de los migrantes en Colombia en tiempos de Coronavirus (Boletín no. 10). Proyectos Semana/USAID/ACDI/VOCA <https://migravenezuela.com/web/articulo/percepcion-de-los-colombianos-sobre-los-migrantes-en-tiempos-de-coronavirus/1924>
- Proyecto Migración Venezuela (PMV). (2021). Encuesta sobre Calidad de Vida e Integración de los Migrantes Venezolanos (ECV) 2020. <https://www.migrationportal.org/es/resource/encuesta-calidad-vida-integracion-migrantes-venezolanos-colombia/>
- Ramírez, H. E. (2013). *Fronteras Imaginadas: Hacia una reconstrucción sociopolítica de las dinámicas fronterizas en el ámbito binacional colombo venezolano*. [Master's thesis, Universidad Nacional de Colombia]. <https://repositorio.unal.edu.co/handle/unal/50843>
- Real Academia Española. (n. d.). Aporofobia. In *Diccionario de la lengua española*. <https://dle.rae.es/aporofobia>

- Reverol, C. L. (2017). Pérdida de significados en el emigrante venezolano. *Boletín Científico Sapiens Research*, 7(2), 3-12.
- Sassen, S. (2000). Women's burden: Counter geographies of globalization and the feminization of survival. *Journal of International Affairs*, (53), 503-524.
- Scott, J. (2008). *Género e historia*. Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Sennet, R. (2000). *La corrosión del carácter. Las consecuencias personales del trabajo bajo el nuevo capitalismo*. Anagrama.
- Tapia Bravo, J. E. (2020). Gobernabilidad, movilidad humana y migración venezolana y sus impactos en Colombia. *Sabia: Revista Científica*, 6(1), 140-147.
- Tapia Ladino, M. T. (2011). Género y migración: trayectorias investigativas en Iberoamérica. *Encrucijada Americana*, 4(2), 115-147. <https://encrucijadaamericana.uahurtado.cl/index.php/ea/article/view/99>
- United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime of 2001. Annex II: Article 3. January 8, 2001. <https://www.refworld.org/docid/3b00f55b0.html>
- Valero, M. (2009). Redes urbanas transfronterizas: dos escenarios venezolanos. *Aldea Mundo*, 14(27), 7-15.
- Wabgou, M. (2008). Migraciones internacionales y cambio social en las sociedades modernas. *Revista colombiana de sociología*, (31), 93-113.
- Woo Morales, O. (1997). Migración femenina indocumentada. *Frontera Norte*, 9(17), 113-129.
- Woolcott Oyague, O., & Gamarra Amaya, L. (2020). La migración como experiencia comprobatoria del proyecto de vida, propósito del caso venezolano. *Opción: Revista de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales*, (93), 234-256.