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BEYOND BORDERS: STIGMAS AND CHALLENGES IN THE INTEGRATION OF WOMEN MIGRANTS IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

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Migration Unit
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1. Introduction

Over the past 20 years, migration in Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) has been characterized by an increase in intraregional migration flows. Within this regional migration scenario there is a misconception, rooted in the social imaginary, that the majority of people who migrate within the continent are men. Nevertheless, women have accounted for practically half of migration flows in Latin America and the Caribbean since 1960, and their participation in the current interregional mobility dynamics is around 50%. Even so, studies that focus on understanding the experiences of discrimination women face, derived from particular stigmas — different to those faced by male migrants — are scarce.

This document seeks to understand these particular experiences from an intersectional perspective, exploring the perception of women migrants, their experiences in Latin American and Caribbean countries, and how these impact integration indicators. Female migrants experience unique challenges, different to those of male migrants and local women, confronting multiple forms of discrimination based on their gender, country of origin, migration status, and other interrelated identities. The aim of this work is to delve deeper into the knowledge that reinforces the need to address the specific barriers that women migrants come up against in their integration processes, marked by prejudices and stigmas that influence the narratives about them.

This research draws on complementary methodological strategies. The first part focuses on the host societies, studying local perceptions about women migrants using data from public opinion surveys and, more extensively, analyzing the conversation on social media through data from the Public Perceptions Laboratory on Migration. Secondly, the experiences of women migrants are analyzed, based on data from six surveys carried out by the Migration Unit of the Inter-American Development Bank. These surveys were conducted with migrant population in Belize, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and the Dominican Republic between 2021 and 2023. Finally, in order to examine how perceptions can impact the integration of women migrants, quantitative indicators from 12 household surveys in the region are analyzed. This data enables an analysis of the disparities that female migrants face compared to male migrants and native-born women.

The study of perceptions toward female migration in receiving societies faces methodological challenges due to the lack of tools that enable an analysis with a gender-sensitive approach. Public opinion surveys generally use masculine language in their questionnaires, which makes it difficult to obtain reflections on perceptions toward women migrants. Where surveys incorporate a gender-sensitive approach, and specifically ask about opinions on women migrants, there appears to be a greater openness to receive them in the host communities.

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1 The Migration Pulse Survey (Pulso de la Migración) is carried out by the Colombian National Administrative Department of Statistics (Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística, DANE), one of the rounds of which received financial support from the Inter-American Development Bank.

2 These indicators have been developed based on a joint publication by the IDB Migration Unit, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

3 IDB, OECD, UNDP (2023).
Nevertheless, female migrants experience specific forms of rejection, derived from stigmas and stereotypes that male migrants do not encounter. In this sense, both public opinion surveys and the analysis of the conversation on social media identify three narratives present toward women migrants:

1. Those that make reference to their condition as victims due to the vulnerability that they face in the dynamics of violence, especially during transit, but also in their daily lives in the destination countries;

2. Those related to their physical appearance and hypersexualization;

3. Messages that talk about migrant mothers in different ways, including judgments about their decisions to migrate with or without their children, the supposed saturation of healthcare and education services that their arrival entails, and the belief that they decide to start a reproductive life in the destination countries in order to regularize their migration status based on their descendants.

The surveys conducted with the migrant population reveal how stigmas impact the feelings of women migrants. Although men share the perception of an increase in xenophobia, women believe that the receiving society is less respectful and feel more vulnerable than men in terms of their human rights. In general, two out of 10 women migrants say they have been discriminated against in their destination countries and highlight public spaces — transport, streets, and shops — as the primary settings for discrimination. More than a third say they have been discriminated against in their place of work, which becomes a significant barrier to labor market integration. Further, this analysis reveals that women feel twice as discriminated against as men in healthcare establishments.

These experiences influence the interactions of women migrants in public spaces and their search for employment and housing, among other areas of daily life. The implementation of an integration index in four countries in the region consistently demonstrates that women have lower scores in their integration processes compared to men, particularly in two dimensions: the political and the economic.

Regarding political integration, women migrants seem to participate less in discussions and debates and show less interest in the politics of the host country. This disparity may be attributed to a structural and historical inequality that has limited the participation of women in politics. In this sense, women migrants become affected by these gender stereotypes, which reinforce the perception that women do not have the necessary capacity or interest to be fully involved in political debates, contributing to the notion that the public sphere is a predominantly male domain.

Regarding the economic dimension, women migrants consistently exhibit worse labor market conditions than men since they are more frequently underemployed. The majority report having difficulties finding employment, as well as facing a more competitive labor market and job opportunities that are further away from their homes. Those who manage to find paid employment do so with more precarious conditions, lower salaries and fewer benefits. Barriers to employability vary across the employment contexts of each country. Yet, some coincidences suggest that certain challenges result from the structural conditions that women migrants face, especially in terms of time spent carrying out unpaid domestic labor.

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4 This belief is often misguided, given that in many countries in the region, having children does not always grant regular migration status to the mother or father.

5 Immigrant Integration Index by the Immigration Policy Lab (IPL) at Stanford. For further information, please consult: https://www.integrationindex.org/theintegrationindex
The analysis of the household surveys shows how negative perceptions transcend actual experiences and have an impact on the socioeconomic integration of women migrants, who have a lower rate of participation in the labor markets of their host countries than men. Further, those who do find paid employment have worse conditions compared to their male counterparts, but also to native-born women, since they work longer hours, have greater involvement in the informal sector, and are overqualified. This has significant implications for the children of women migrants.

This report aims to highlight these experiences to demystify certain beliefs that hamper the full adaptation of women migrants to their host communities and that, rooted in public opinion, can be translated into policies that impose additional barriers to their integration processes. Integration not only benefits women migrants, providing them with opportunities for personal and professional development as well as access to healthcare and education services, but also enriches host communities by fostering cultural diversity, contributing new perspectives, and strengthening social cohesion.
Across the world, the number of international migrants has grown steadily in recent decades. According to the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA, 2020), at the end of 2020, there were 281 million international migrants. In Latin America and the Caribbean, clear growth in the number of international migrants has also been witnessed over the past two decades. The percentage of migrants in the population has gone from 1.6% in 1990 to 2.3% in 2020. This increase has been influenced by stricter migration policies in the United States, economic growth in some countries, and the exodus of the Venezuelan population since 2015. In this way, intraregional flows have dominated migration dynamics in the region since 2010.

There is a common misconception that the vast majority of migrants are men. However, women migrants are equally represented in migrant populations. In fact, since 1960, women have represented around half of the migrant population. In 2020, women represented just less than half of all international migrants (48%). This figure has not changed greatly in recent decades: in 1990, they represented 49%. Nevertheless, what has changed are the reasons why women migrate.

The feminization of migration, a concept that has been used to describe migration since the 1980s, is related to the new socioeconomic dynamic. Although in the past women frequently migrated as dependents of their spouses or other family members, today, they increasingly migrate on their own to study or work. Many become the primary breadwinner. The remittances sent home by women migrant workers improve the livelihoods of their families and contribute to the economy of their home communities.

Following the global trend, female migration flows have played an important role in the region in recent years. Even though in proportional terms there is no evidence of an increase in female representation (49% in 1990 and 51% in 2020), a change in the migration dynamics in the region has been observed, with more women migrating alone, entering local labor markets, and contributing to their countries of origin by way of remittances.

An example of this is the establishment of households by women migrants in certain host countries. Women migrants appear to settle down and form families in their new host countries. In Peru, the percentage of migrant households with at least one child increased by 19. This increase is due to the fact that, within the recent migration flow, 85% became mothers for the first time in Peru, and only 15% arrived with children born in Venezuela. Further, the percentage of women who began a reproductive life remains stable per year of arrival, which suggests that the changes in the composition of the migrant population over time do not drive these differences.
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Figure 1. Women migrants as a percentage of the migrant population

The presence of women migrants can be observed in most significant flows in the region. The intraregional flow of migrants from Venezuela is characterized by a large female presence. Data from surveys at a regional level show that women represented 49% of the Venezuelan migrant population in 2019.\textsuperscript{10} Surveys at the national level conducted among communities of Venezuelan origin confirm these figures.\textsuperscript{11} For example, In Peru, the ENPOVE, implemented by the National Institute of Statistics and Information (Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Información, INEI) in 2022, shows that women constituted 50.6% of the country’s Venezuelan population. At least five countries in the region have marginally more female than male migrants: Panama, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay and Costa Rica. On the other hand, in countries such as Mexico, Paraguay and the Dominican Republic, foreign women are comparatively underrepresented: 48%, 46% and 42% respectively. In Colombia, Peru and Ecuador, the number of women migrants is around 50%.\textsuperscript{12}

\textsuperscript{10} International Organization for Migration (IOM) (2020).
\textsuperscript{11} INEI (2022).
\textsuperscript{12} IDB, OECD, and UNDP (2023).
Further, women migrants are, for the most part, young and have families: in Colombia, the Migration Pulse Survey undertaken in 2023 shows that 56% of Venezuelan women are younger than 35 and that 72% live in Colombia with their children.\(^{13}\)

The data from different surveys carried out among the migrant population demonstrates that, compared to men, women migrants tend to slightly exceed levels of regularization. In Colombia, for example, 68% of the women migrants surveyed said they had regular status, 10 p.p. more than men. Those who had not managed to regularize their situations at the time of the survey expressed various difficulties in the regularization processes, depending on the country. In the cases of Ecuador and Peru, the lack of resources stood out, whereas in Colombia, the main barrier faced was the amount of time available to carry out the procedure allowing them to regularize their status.

In addition to the prominence of women in migration flows with the aim of permanent residency, the data on irregular crossings via the Darién Gap reveals an increase in the participation of women as transit migrants. This route — the main migration route from South America to the United States — has seen significant growth in recent years. In 2022, over 248,000 people crossed via the region, a figure that doubled in 2023, reaching 520,000 registered crossings.\(^{14}\)

Of these, 134,000 correspond to women and over 100,000 are children. The increase in the migration flow via this route, along with the increasing presence of women and girls, is a cause for concern due to the inherent risks that this route involves.\(^{15}\)

As for return flows, data for returned persons in northern Central America shows an increase in the participation of women. In 2019, almost 35% of people deported to Central American countries from Mexico and the United States were women.\(^{16}\) In Haiti, a similar trend has been observed. In November 2022, 25% of people repatriated to the country were women, and 20% were children.\(^{17}\) Women and girl migrants, especially those who have to return to their countries, face risks in transit, and sometimes in their country of return.

### 2.2 Women’s motivations for migrating

The increase in migration flows and the participation of women in them makes it necessary to explore the elements that motivate their decisions to migrate to other countries. Data from six surveys carried out or financed by the Migration Unit of the Inter-American Development Bank, addressed to migrant populations in Belize, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and the Dominican Republic, shed light on the determinants of the decision to migrate and the elements that are particularly important in the case of women.

Both female and male migrants share basic reasons to migrate. The search for a better quality of life and labor opportunities are key motivations, along with food security and access to services (Figure A1). In Colombia, 85% of Venezuelan women and 91% of Venezuelan men express that the search for employment motivated their decision to migrate. In other countries such as Belize, Ecuador, Peru, and the Dominican Republic, the figure marginally decreases; these

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13 Survey carried out by DANE.
14 IDB (2023)
15 Open Data from Panama [Datos Abiertos de Panamá] (2023).
16 Survey of Migration at Mexico’s Southern Border [Encuesta sobre Migración en la Frontera Sur de México, EMIF Sur] (2020).
17 IOM (2022).
percentages range from 31% to 42% for women and 35% to 55% for men. Regarding food insecurity, which is only measured in Ecuador and Peru, over 60% of female and male migrants signaled this as a factor that encouraged them to migrate.

However, in the specific case of women migrants, the motivation to migrate due to access to healthcare and education stands out. Data from the Migration Pulse Survey suggests that access to healthcare services was a motivation to migrate for 50% of the female migrants surveyed. In comparison, 43% of male migrants took this factor into account in their decisions, possibly due to access to sexual health and reproductive services. These differences are statistically significant. Likewise, access to education services seems to be more important for women than for men, at least in Belize and Colombia (Figure A1). In the latter, 48% of women thought about access to education in their decision to migrate, 12% more than in the case of men.  

The decision to migrate involves aspects that go beyond motivation. One of these is the decision to undertake the journey alone or accompanied. The results of the surveys carried out among Venezuelan women in Ecuador and Peru indicate that more than half of them migrate with their families — 56% and 55% respectively — while in the case of men, this figure is approximately 33% in both surveys.

18 Statistically significant difference, 95% confidence level.
3. Perceptions in host societies

3.1 Public opinion surveys

The analysis of how the local population perceives the migration of women comes up against methodological challenges due to the lack of tools that enable the situation to be examined via a gender-sensitive approach. The majority of public opinion surveys in Spanish, both at a regional level as well as in different countries, use the “male as norm” principle in their questionnaires, assuming that when asking about the opinion held regarding “migrants” (the masculine “los migrantes” in Spanish), the responses include assessments that relate to both the male and female migrant population. The use of the generic masculine hardly allows for specific reflections on women. Further, by not including questions in which the gender of the subject is specified, for example “women migrants” (“las migrantes” in Spanish) or their feminine demonym, the nuances that exist in opinions toward them are lost.

Despite the context described above, the interest in understanding the specific challenges faced by women migrants has been gaining ground in recent years, and more and more research is incorporating a gender-sensitive approach in its questionnaires. At a regional level, the survey carried out by Sensata UX Research in partnership with Bridges in 2022 asked 24,260 people to what extent they agree with migrants being able to enter their country without restrictions. The same question was asked at random replacing the subject with “women migrants”. The results showed that 43% of people are willing to receive women migrants without restrictions, whereas the figure was only 29% for migrants in general. This difference of 14 p.p. in the willingness to open up to women could be related to the perception of insecurity, one of the main causes of negative attitudes toward migration in Latin America, usually associated more closely with the male population. Yet, women face discrimination that is based on particular prejudices often associated with sexist perceptions that do not occur among the male migrant population, and that undermine female migrants’ ability to integrate in their host societies.

One common conception in public opinion is the belief that women migrants are sex workers. In an experiment led by the Inter-American Development Bank and the United Nations Development Programme, implemented in nine countries in the region, questions exploring social stigmas associated with the migrant population were included in the questionnaire. In accordance with the results presented in Figure 2, 40% of the control group said they agreed that women migrants end up involved in sex work.

19 Casas et al. (2022).
20 Pilatowski and Ruiz (2023).
21 Fernández, Díaz, Aguirre and Cortinez (2020); Pérez and Ugarte (2021); Loayza (2020); Sánchez, Blouin, Minaya, and Benites (2020).
22 Cruces et al. (2023).
This social stigma is the result of a hypersexualization, through which the characteristics of women migrants are exaggerated or distorted, reducing them to their sexual dimension and elevating their physical appearance as their only attribute. However, this issue is often not only limited to distorted perceptions but can also increase the risk of many women migrants becoming victims of trafficking.\(^{23}\) This complex web of stigma and exploitation highlights the need to address not only these distorted perceptions, but also the conditions that perpetuate the vulnerability of women migrants.

3.2 Narratives in the conversation around migrant women on social media

The analysis of social media platforms operates as a complementary tool in the study of public perceptions. Data from the Public Perceptions Laboratory on Migration enables a regional analysis on the messages on X (formerly Twitter) and the issues that are most important in the conversation. This data reveals the relevance of gender issues, including messages on migrant

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mothers and children, feminism and migration, gender violence and sexual diversity. As Figure 3 shows, the issue of gender represented approximately 10% of the general conversation around migration between 2017 and 2023, with two exceptional moments: an increase during the summer of 2018, when it exceeded 30%; and a decrease in 2020, when conversations on all themes saw a reduced volume due to the prominence of the topic of the COVID-19 pandemic.

A qualitative look into the topic of gender enables a more specific understanding of what the conversation on women migrants revolves around. Three dominant narratives have been identified in the messages shared on X when talking about them: the narratives that recognize the vulnerability and violence that women migrants face; those linked to social stigma in the sexual sphere; and those that refer to the various aspects of maternity.
Figure 4. Main narratives in the conversation around women migrants

A first narrative identified is present in references that recognize the vulnerability faced by women migrants, both in transit and in destination countries. Generally, these narratives address themes related to the trafficking of migrants, exploitation, or sexual violence, but there are also narratives that identify women migrants as victims of rape, harassment, abuse and femicide.

Another predominant narrative in the conversations on social media in the region is linked to the messages that allude to the physical appearance of women migrants, especially those of Venezuelan origin. With these messages, in addition to objectivizing women migrants, a distorted reality of competition among women — foreign and native-born — is constructed, which results in misogynistic representations that feed xenophobia.  

\[24\] Ramos (2023).
Further, as mentioned previously, the focus on characteristics related to their physical appearance and the belief that this is more relevant than other qualities and skills perpetuates the social stigma that most women end up involved in sex work; a stigma identified in public opinion surveys that is also present in conversations on social media.

The third narrative identified is present in the conversations that talk about the experiences of migrant mothers. References are made to migrant mothers as victims. In a way, these messages appeal to the more humanitarian side of migration and are used to exemplify the tragedy that women migrants go through — especially pregnant women or those traveling with babies — or their vulnerable situation, being subject to deportation in destination countries.

However, negative opinions are also expressed. One of the prevailing beliefs toward migration is that the migrant population represents a burden for the state. This perspective also applies to pregnant migrants, who are believed to saturate healthcare services by receiving perinatal care, or that their children saturate pediatric services, as well as schools.

In this sense, it should be emphasized that negative opinions toward migrant mothers and the perceived saturation of state services is a form of discrimination with aporophobic overtones that, although faced by native-born women depending on their socioeconomic status, is exacerbated with foreign women, who are accused of overpopulating a country that is not their own.

Another negative narrative identified on the subject of maternity is the belief that women migrants seek to regularize their migration status through their children. The assumption that migration plans are tied to reproductive plans, a narrative often seen in the United States with the concept of “anchor babies,” is beginning to emerge in the region.25

Finally, in this category, messages in which judgments are made characterize women migrants as bad mothers, either for migrating with their children, or for leaving them. This finding coincides with those identified in other research; for example, a study by Oxfam Mexico concluded that negative characteristics related to being bad mothers are attributed to women migrants for submitting their children to risky conditions in transit through the country.26

The identification of these narratives and the analysis of available data from public opinion surveys provide some clues as to how xenophobia affects men and women differently. Women migrants experience a twofold vulnerability: facing specific forms of discrimination both due to their gender and their migration status. To a large extent, the reasons for the negative opinions of women migrants are based on prejudices and expectations built on traditional gender roles, which, as detailed in the following sections, have a significant impact on daily life in the host societies.

26 Oxfam Mexico (2023).
Public opinion surveys and monitoring of social media enable an observation of the expressions of discrimination from the perspective of the receiving societies. In an effort to understand, in depth, how women migrants experience these dynamics, data from six surveys addressed to the Venezuelan migrant population in Belize, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and the Dominican Republic between 2020 and 2023 was analyzed. These surveys form part of the research agenda of the Migration Unit and seek to generate knowledge about the migrant population. It should be noted that the Belize survey makes reference to migrants from Central American countries, while the others are primarily focused on the Venezuelan migrant population. The Appendix to this document provides further details on and the methodological aspects of these tools.

In general terms, there are no significant differences in the experiences with xenophobia depending on sex. In Ecuador, both female and male migrants consider that xenophobia is on the rise. Despite this, both female and male migrants’ opinions about the local population are positive: approximately nine out of 10 consider the Ecuadorian society friendly, hard-working and trustworthy. Nevertheless, there are statistically significant differences in women’s perceptions with respect to the host population when asked if they are respectful: this figure is six percentage points lower than that of men.

Surveys with migrant population also provide information on the opinions that the migrant population has about other migrants. One way to measure these intragroup perceptions is to ask them about their openness to the arrival of people of the same nationality, which changes according to the host country. In Belize, women seem to be inclined toward more open and less exclusionary policies toward their peers. In fact, 93% agree that migrants arriving in their host countries should be allowed to stay as long as they wish; five percentage points higher than that of men. In Ecuador and Peru, however, there do not seem to be any differences (Figure 5).

In the case of Ecuador, five out of 10 men and four out of 10 women consider that the migrant population is excessive. Likewise, 87% of Venezuelan women and 88% of Venezuelan men believe that the arrival of new migrants has generated an increased rejection toward this community. This negative trend coincides with what has been identified in other research that recognizes how intragroup perceptions are influenced by fear of increased labor competition, the intensification of discriminatory practices, and even the internalization of stigmatizing beliefs about their fellow nationals.

The perceptions that migrants, especially women migrants, have about the people in their receiving communities, and migrants themselves, play an important role in their integration process and in the quality of life they experience in...
their new environment. Migrants’ perceptions not only provide indications of progress in their integration process, but also on the state of social cohesion. The latter is fundamental, since the way in which migrants perceive the citizens of the host countries — and their own group — can have an impact on overcoming stereotypes and prejudices.

### 4.1 Experiences of discrimination

In addition to the differences in the perception of both the native-born and migrant populations, the surveys available allow for an observation of the differences in the experiences of discrimination between female and male migrants. Based on surveys carried out in Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and the Dominican Republic, information was compiled on the prevalence of this phenomenon and the places in which women migrants experience it most frequently.

The levels of discrimination experienced by Venezuelan women migrants vary greatly depending on the context. Nevertheless, the results show that, on average, two out of ten women migrants surveyed report having experienced situations of discrimination. Across all countries, the data shows that public space and public transport are the spaces where they have been discriminated against most frequently. Public spaces – i.e. markets, shops and shopping centers – as well as the workplace, are also included in the list of spaces where these experiences take place. As Figure 6 shows, at least one in three women have felt discriminated against in their place of work, which directly impacts their capacity for integration.
It is important to mention that male migrants have also experienced similar levels of discrimination, and in the same spaces. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that women migrants seem to experience a greater level of discrimination than men in healthcare establishments. By way of example, in Colombia, 12% of women migrants have experienced discrimination in healthcare establishments, almost double the 7% reported by men.

In the case of Peru, the differences are more subtle, but continue to be significant. No Venezuelan man surveyed reported to have been discriminated against in health centers, compared with 3% in the case of Venezuelan women.

**Figure 6. Places where female and male migrants experience discrimination in Colombia**

![Figure 6](image)

*Source:* Data from the Migration Pulse Survey Version VI (2023) by DANE and the IDB.

*Note:* Figures in blue indicate that the percentage of women significantly differs to that of men. The number of observations does not take into account expansion factors.
5. Integration experiences of migrant women

One way to quantitatively analyze the experiences revealed by women migrants in their adaptation processes in host societies and compare them with those of men is by using the Immigration Policy Lab (IPL) Integration Index. The Index understands the integration of the migrant population as a multi-factorial process that involves six dimensions:

- Linguistic.
- Social, capturing social ties and interactions with the native-born population in the receiving country.
- Psychological, focused on the feelings toward and degree of connection with the receiving country.
- Economic, which encompasses aspects such as income, employment and job satisfaction.
- Political, which makes reference to the understanding of relevant political issues in the host country and the degree of involvement in discussions about them.
- Navigational, which measures their ability to understand and use the resources and services available to them in the new context, as well as to adapt to and move around within the receiving society.

The implementation of the IPL-12 Index in surveys of the migrant population in four countries in the region consistently shows that women present lower scores in comparison to male migrants. In Peru, women migrants register an Integration Index 24% lower than their male counterparts. In Ecuador, this gap is 16%. Although, to a lesser extent, there continues to be a significant difference in Belize, where a difference of 10% is registered, and 5% in the Dominican Republic. This means that female migrants are less integrated than male migrants in their host countries (Figure 7).

Looking at the individual scores for each dimension of the Index, three areas in which women lag behind men in terms of integration stand out: the political, the economic and the social (Figure A3). Regarding the first, it seems that women migrants participate less in conversations and debates, and that they have less understanding of the political landscape in the host country. This gap in political integration among women migrants could be the result of the structural inequality that women have historically suffered when it comes to political participation. Gender stereotypes have perpetuated the idea that women lack the capacity or interest necessary to fully participate in political debates and that the public sphere is a predominately male environment.

30 https://www.integrationindex.org/theintegrationindex.
31 To carry out this calculation, simple regressions with robust standard errors were used to obtain the difference in the mean score between men and women and their P-values.
32 Coffé y Bolzendahl (2010).
33 Lloyd (2013).
With regard to economic integration, a dimension that mainly considers the employment status and income of the respondents, it is worth understanding, based on their experiences, the reasons behind the employability gaps of women migrants, since they constitute the most challenging aspect of their adaptation within host societies.

Negative perceptions of the receiving societies can impact the labor market dynamics of the migrant population in different ways, as they can become obstacles to their integration and professional development. In the first part of this section, it was identified that at least one in three women migrants experiences discrimination in their place of work. In addition, it was shown that women migrants have difficulties integrating into the economic dimension of the countries that host them. These results suggest that women experience difficulties in the labor market. Further, they reveal the importance of shining a light on the experiences of female migrants in the labor market and their perceptions and contrasting them with those of male migrants and native-born women in the destination countries.

The first step in entering into the labor force is to look for a job. Almost 50% of women migrants surveyed report having had difficulties finding a job in their respective host countries. In the case of Peru, 54% of Venezuelan women reported having difficulties in finding employment; 19 p.p. above men. Within the main barriers to finding employment, a high degree of job competition, lower salaries and the distance to available jobs stand out (Figure A2).
Women migrants in Ecuador are also at a disadvantage compared to their male counterparts: 56% of them said they had had difficulties in entering into the labor market, while the figure for men was 50%. Women migrants in Ecuador perceive a more competitive labor market (Figure A2), and although they said they felt less discriminated against by employers due to their status as foreigners than the men did, the reasons for this lag are worth emphasizing. In the survey, 32% of women migrants stated that they were unable to accept job offers due to health reasons, and 18% identified the distance to the workplace as a barrier to their entry into the labor market. In contrast, 27% of men identified illness as an obstacle to employability, and none of the male respondents signaled distance to work as a problem.

In Colombia, half of female and half of male migrants reported having had difficulties in finding employment due to reasons associated with their migration status, such as lack of documents and employment references. However, even when they manage to overcome these barriers, 10% of women said they did not have availability to accept a full-time job. None of the men expressed this limitation (Figure 8).

**Figure 8. Barriers in migrants’ access to employment**

![Figure 8. Barriers in migrants’ access to employment](source)

Source: Data from the Migration Pulse Survey Version VI (2023) by DANE and the IDB.
Note: Figures in blue indicate that the percentage of women significantly differs to that of men. The number of observations does not take into account expansion factors.
The barriers to employability identified in the surveys vary according to the labor contexts of each country, but some commonalities shared by women migrants in the regions suggest that certain challenges are due to the structural challenges they face, both due to their migrant status and because they are women.

Time constraints, affecting the ability to take on a full time job or commute to work, and signaling health as a reason for unemployment, indicate that women migrants devote a large part of their time to caring for children or other dependents. Lacking a support network in the destination country, they assume the responsibility of unpaid domestic work. The results of the Migration Pulse Survey in Colombia reveal that 42% of women surveyed devote time to unpaid household chores, compared to 3% of migrant men. This suggests that four out of 10 Venezuelan women have less time to learn about and participate in social and political life, have greater difficulty dedicating time to seek employment outside of the home, and are more likely to have lower-quality jobs and more flexible working hours.

Within the subgroup of women migrants that manage to find paid employment, these reported having more precarious working conditions than their peers, in particular lower salaries, and less benefits. In Ecuador, 65% of women surveyed reported earning less money for being a migrant; a proportion five times higher than that of men. It is striking that when asked about their willingness to earn less money than a native-born person for the same job, 36% of women expressed their willingness to do so. Only 11% of male migrants were willing to accept this condition. This flexibility may be a result of facing greater barriers in accessing employment.

Women migrants are also lagging in social integration compared to men who migrate (Figure A3). The former implies that in Ecuador, Peru and the Dominican Republic, women migrants have greater difficulty in generating links and social interactions with the population of the host country. Networks provide access to ideas, resources, and support, and so having difficulties in creating them impacts their ability to secure employment and well-being. The Migration Pulse Survey in Colombia demonstrates that, for women migrants, networks are key when it comes to seeking employment: at least six out of 10 found a job thanks to them. Of the female migrant population with a job, 31% of women secured employment through family, friends or colleagues from Venezuela, and 26% through Colombians.

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34 Bojarczuk and Muhlau (2018).
35 Stoloff, Clanville, and Bienerstock (1999).
The existence of negative perceptions, prejudices and stigmas about the migrant population are factors that potentially slow down processes of socioeconomic integration and affect the quality of life of migrant people. This is particularly true in the case of women, who express facing more difficulties than men in the areas of labor, political and social integration. In previous sections of this document, public perceptions toward women migrants have been explored, as have the experiences of these women in their integration processes in the receiving communities. In this section, data that demonstrates how these perceptions translate into differentiated integration indicators for women migrants is presented. This analysis is based on data obtained from 12 household surveys in the region, which provide a deeper understanding of how negative perceptions transcend the sphere of personal experiences and result in conditions that impact the working life of women migrants, constituting quantifiable gaps in their socioeconomic integration.\(^{37}\)

Having a paid job not only represents a source of economic income, but is also a key element for the social integration and autonomy of women migrants, in providing financial independence, the possibility of establishing social connections, developing skills and, consequently, reducing women's vulnerability to situations of abuse or exploitation. **Despite the fact that migrants represent an average of 5% of the total number of people working in Latin America and the Caribbean, there is an employability gap between female and male migrants that coincides with what was identified in the perception surveys.\(^{38}\)**

**First, female migrants have lower labor market participation than male migrants.** According to household survey data, on average for the region, 62% of women migrants participate in the labor market, while this rises to 87% for men. This pronounced difference suggests that there are challenges that reduce women’s employment opportunities, since the participation of native-born women is even lower than that of foreign women, being limited to 56%.

**In terms of access to employment, the differences between female and male migrants are even more pronounced.** The probability of women migrants finding jobs is less than that of men. This gap is, on average, 22 p.p. for the region. In some countries such as Costa Rica and Colombia, it is over 30 p.p., reaching more than 40 p.p. in Paraguay and the Dominican Republic.\(^{39}\) Further, women face a greater risk of exclusion from the labor market, and are seven percentage points more likely to have unemployment spells lasting six months or longer. These results are consistent with what was identified in the perceptions surveys with the migrant population: it is more difficult for women to find a job than for men.

\(^{36}\) The data presented in this chapter belongs to a joint investigation by the Migration Unit, the OECD and the UNDP (2023).

\(^{37}\) Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, the Dominican Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay.

\(^{38}\) IDB, OECD and UNDP (2023).

\(^{39}\) IDB, OECD and UNDP (2023).
**Figure 9. Employment and labor participation of migrant and native-born populations in the region**

It is also more difficult for women to find quality jobs. The indicators developed from household surveys show that a significant number of women work longer days: almost four in 10 working women migrants spend over 40 hours a week in paid jobs. Further, one in 10 work more than 55 hours per week, four percentage points higher than native-born women.

In addition to the double and triple shifts that women dedicate to paid and unpaid work, women migrants face greater job insecurity, as they are the group with the highest participation in informal employment: 37% of female migrants with paid jobs are working in the informal sector; a proportion that is five percentage points above that of male migrants and 20.5 p.p. above native-born women. High levels of informality confirm that women face barriers to taking on full-time work, often because they assume greater responsibility for cleaning and care tasks in their homes. These dynamics have an impact on the wage gap of female migrants who, on average, earn lower incomes than male migrants, as well as native-born women.

\[\text{Source: Data from Household Surveys for LAC countries, 2021.}\]

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\[\text{Piras (2023).}\]
It seems contradictory that, on average, women migrants come up against worse labor and economic conditions, despite having higher levels of formal education. This translates into higher levels of overqualification compared to migrant men and the native-born population: 20% of women migrants have jobs that require lower qualifications than those they hold; two percentage points higher than that of migrant men, 10 p.p. relative to native-born women, and 8 p.p. to native-born men. The former implies that approximately two out of 10 women migrants in employment are overqualified for their jobs.

The differences in the quality of employment may be associated with the type of activities performed by migrants in host countries. The statistics around the distribution of migrant work by economic sector show that, at a global level, the service sector is the largest employer of migrant labor. Approximately 66% of all migrant labor is concentrated in this sector. Further, the sector employs 80% of women migrants. This is a response to the growing demand for activities of the care economy (healthcare and domestic services). In the United States, the report on foreign workers by the Department of Labor, reveals that, on average, migrant workers have an increased likelihood of involvement in occupations linked to the service, construction, maintenance, and transportation sectors, compared to the native-born population.

This phenomenon, which has been described as a global care chain, has been influenced by the aging of the population and the increased participation of women in the workforce, which have resulted in an increase in the demand for care and domestic services that has been met by women migrants.

This horizontal segregation in the labor market is also present in Latin America and the Caribbean, where women migrants tend to occupy jobs in traditionally female sectors, such as education, healthcare and social services, typically characterized by lower salaries. In Colombia, data from the Great Integrated Household Survey (Gran Encuesta Integrada de Hogares, GEIH) shows that employed Venezuelan women migrants work primarily in the hospitality, commercial and domestic services sectors. In contrast, the participation of male migrants in this type of domestic employment does not reach 1%.

When comparing the participation of women migrants employed in domestic service with Colombian women, the results are consistent with those observed in the United States. Women migrants register higher participation in these types of jobs than native-born women. It is worth noting that this participation has grown over time: in 2014, 3.4% of Venezuelan women employed in Colombia carried out domestic services; in 2019, this figure rose to 9.5% (Figure 10). In the case of Colombian women, their participation in these jobs went down, from 7.8% to 6.9%.

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41 ILO (2019a).
44 Turnpenny and Hussein (2022).
45 Cortés (2008); Cortés and Tessada (2011); EU (2022ª); Lupica (2018).
46 Ruiz (2022).
The segmentation of activities transcends the labor market: unpaid care tasks fall disproportionately on women in the region, which affects their ability to enter the labor market. For example, in the 2023 Migration Pulse Survey, 42% of Venezuelan women migrants, who did not participate in the labor market in Colombia, reported that their primary activity was housework, while only 3% of men reported the same. This gap becomes more pronounced when women migrants have dependent minors in the household since migrant mothers lack a support network and access to childcare. This trend is upheld in countries in the Global North: in the United States, women migrants with children under 18 years old are less likely to participate in the labor market than native-born women (63% vs 76%).

This section delves into how perceptions, prejudices, and stereotypes surrounding women migrants serve as barriers to their economic integration. In particular, they contribute to occupational segregation for women migrants, affecting their access to quality job opportunities that enable them to improve their living conditions, and gain independence and empowerment. Combating occupational segregation implies addressing deep-rooted gender stereotypes, promoting the equality of opportunities, and guaranteeing that women have access to a wide range of sectors and occupations in the region.

47 Andrade (2023).
7. Conclusions

This study highlights the importance of understanding the experiences of women migrants in Latin America and the Caribbean; a region marked by long periods of migration and transformations in its migration dynamics. Despite being a significant part of migration flows, women face unique challenges and discrimination rooted in stigma around gender and migration. This discrimination is reflected in their socioeconomic integration, expressed in their labor market participation, access to services, and political participation. This reality highlights the need to identify and address specific barriers that hinder their integration, influenced by prejudices and perceptions that, in turn, have an influence on the narrative about them.

Public attitudes play a crucial role in shaping policy, as they can negatively influence migration policy, especially those that directly affect women. This report seeks to demystify beliefs and highlight the importance of inclusive policies that facilitate the full integration of women migrants, recognizing that their inclusion is not only beneficial for them, but also for the receiving communities, enriching cultural diversity and strengthening social cohesion.

In many countries in the region, prevalent narratives regarding women migrants have been identified, focusing on their vulnerability to crime, discussions about their physical appearance, and narratives surrounding motherhood. On the other hand, women migrants experience discrimination in the workplace, on the street, and when it comes to accessing public services. This, coupled with their limited social interaction with the host population, results in differentiated levels of integration that affect their participation in the labor market and their access to services. Misperceptions about the economic and labor contributions of women migrants make their relevance in host countries invisible, and their incorporation in traditionally female sectors of employment leads to more precarious working conditions and lower wages than those of migrant men.49

To address these issues, it is crucial to change attitudes and perceptions toward women migrants, which could lead to positive changes in migration policies. This exercise requires incorporating a gender-sensitive approach into the tools used for measuring and generating statistical data. In this sense, it is crucial that public opinion surveys include questions that recognize the woman migrant as a subject in her own right, around

49 ILO (2019a).
whom particular perceptions exist that are different from those of men. Integrating this approach enables a more accurate picture of the specific experiences, stigmas, challenges and needs of women migrants, providing more complete and representative data. Including this in questionnaires not only contributes to a deeper understanding of the reality of migration, but also strengthens the foundations on which to design policies and programs that are more equitable and gender sensitive, and that promote the inclusion and protection of women.

Finally, it is important to underline that perceptions are not cast in stone. Schools, for example, are an appropriate space for intervention. Implementing educational programs with children and adolescents that include gender consciousness on migration issues represents a strategic approach to changing social attitudes in the long term and contributing to shaping a more receptive and equitable citizenship in the future.


INEI (2022). Condiciones de Vida de la Población Venezolana que reside en Perú: Resultados de la encuesta dirigida a la población venezolana en el país ENPOVE. Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática.


## Appendix

### Figure A1. Factors that motivate the decision to migrate in the region

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Belize</th>
<th>Colombia</th>
<th>Ecuador</th>
<th>Peru</th>
<th>Dominican Republic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment opportunities</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of food</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family reunification</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Note: Figures in blue indicate that the percentage of women significantly differs to that of men.
### Figure A2. Barriers in migrants’ access to employment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ecuador</th>
<th>Peru</th>
<th>Dominican Republic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Many people looking for jobs</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low salaries</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrant status</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discrimination of employers</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illness</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of connections</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distance to available jobs</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overqualified</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No visa</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harassment</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Underqualified</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dangerous jobs</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pandemic</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Data from Ecuador CAN Survey (2023), Peru CAN Survey (2023), IDB Dominican Republic Perceptions Survey (2021).

**Note:** Figures in blue indicate that the percentage of women significantly differs to that of men.
Figure A3. Migrants' scores in the IPL Integration Index by dimension

Source: Data from surveys carried out by the IDB in 2021, 2022 and 2023.
Note: All the differences presented between men and women are statistically significant, with a significance level of 0.05, except in the case of Belize in the social dimension and Ecuador in the political dimension. The calculation of the Index does not include the language dimension.
Migrant perception surveys (Section 5)

Belize

Description of the survey:

This survey was designed with the aim of typifying the migrant workforce in Belize. Data from this survey was collected in May 2022. The survey covers themes related to migration status, health conditions, access to healthcare services, employment, underemployment and the perception of discrimination. Further, it includes themes such as integration, trust, and opinions about migration policies.

Sample:

Hybrid sampling methodology that combines stratified and non-stratified probability sampling. The sample was stratified for the six districts to guarantee its representativeness in each of them. An initial sample calculation was conducted; however, logical adjustments were made to the calculated sample sizes to reflect changes in the population since the last census. Target communities were selected based on their high migrant population compared to other areas in the respective districts. The individual sample sizes for each community were established according to the proportions of the migrant population based on census data (data from 2010). Therefore, these community samples are stratified according to their relative population sizes. The final sample size of 400 migrants meets the statistical confidence level of 95% and the 5% margin of error for the estimation of the migrant population.

Target population:

Migrant population in Belize aged 18 or over. The sample collects information on migrants from El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Mexico.

Geographical coverage:

Covers the following districts: Belize, Cayo, Corozal, Orange Walk, Stann Creek and Toledo.

Frequency:

A single survey.

Survey mode:

Face-to-face survey in the homes of individuals. The enumerator relied on an electronic device to record responses.
Beyond Borders: Stigmas and challenges in the integration of women migrants in Latin America and the Caribbean

PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS LABORATORY ON MIGRATION

COLOMBIA: Migration Pulse Survey (Round 6)

Survey designed and implemented by the Colombian National Administrative Department of Statistics (Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística, DANE).

Description of the survey:
Typifies the population that migrates to Colombia from Venezuela. This implies that their sample includes Colombian returnees. The data compiled in the survey was collected between August and October 2023, and covers themes related to migration status, health conditions, the labor market and the perception of discrimination.

Target population:
Migrant population from Venezuela aged 15 and over (for this report, only persons aged 18 or over are considered to maintain consistency with the other surveys).

Geographical coverage:
23 capital cities and their metropolitan areas: Barranquilla, Cartagena, Sincelejo, Valledupar, Santa Marta, Riohacha, Bogotá, Tunja, Villavicencio, Neiva, Florencia, Bucaramanga, Cúcuta, Cali, Pasto, Popayán, Manizales, Ibagué, Pereira, Armenia, Medellín, Montería, and Quibdó.

Frequency:
Biannual.

Survey mode:
Telephone interview with electronic form.

Sample:

Total number of respondents: 6,051
Women: 3,471
Men: 2,580
This survey was designed with the aim of understanding the perceptions of the Ecuadorian people on human mobility, as well as finding out about the perceptions of people in situations of human mobility in Ecuador, in particular with reference to access to services, the exercise of rights, coexistence and participation in the labor market. Data collection was carried out between June and August 2022.

**Target population:**
Population in situations of mobility in Ecuador. This report only considers the population aged 18 or over with the aim of maintaining consistency with the other surveys that form part of the study.

**Geographical coverage:**
The survey was conducted in the Sierra, Costa and Oriente regions.

**Sampling methodology** that combines **stratified probabilistic and non-probabilistic sampling**. Confidential information from the Technical Team of the National Council for Equality in Human Mobility was used as the basis for the sampling frame.

**Characteristics of the sample:**
Total number of respondents: 968
Women: 487
Men: 481

**Survey carried out in collaboration with** the Ecuadorian National Council for Equality in Human Mobility.

**Frequency:**
A single survey.

**Survey mode:**
Virtual mode.
ECUADOR: Panel Survey

Survey carried out in collaboration with the IDB Country Department Andean Group (CAN).

Description of the survey:
Panel survey that took place between December 2020 and the first half of 2023, every three months, on average. These surveys collect a variety of information (discrimination, regularization, work, remittances, among other topics) from a sample of Venezuelan migrants living in Peru and Ecuador. This document includes the results of round 8 of the survey.

Target population:
People aged 18 and over from Venezuela that arrived in Ecuador from 2014 onward.

Geographical coverage:
Ecuador.

Frequency:
Quarterly, data collection ended in 2023.

Survey mode:
Virtual survey.

Sample:
A Snowball or Respondent Driven Sampling (RDS) methodology that is used to sample and survey difficult-to-reach populations (Salganik and Heckathorn, 2004). This methodology generates a representative sample based on a reduced number of subjects belonging to the population of interest. This initial number of participants should recommend other potential participants in order to reach a sample that represents the population after several rounds. This methodology exploits the fact that, despite being hidden, the population is often connected, making it useful for surveying migrants, among other groups (Gorny and Napierała, 2016; Tyldum, 2021). Throughout the project, new panel members were included. Rounds 1, 5, 7 and 8 include new members.

Characteristics of the sample:
Total number of respondents: 755
Women: 443
Men: 312
**PERU: Panel Survey**

Survey carried out in collaboration with the IDB Country Department Andean Group (CAN).

**Description of the survey:**

Panel survey that took place between December 2020 and the first half of 2023, every three months, on average. These surveys collect a variety of information (discrimination, regularization, work, remittances, among other topics) from a sample of Venezuelan migrants living in Peru and Ecuador. This document shows the results of round 8 of the survey.

**Survey mode:**

Virtual survey.

**Sample:**

A Snowball or Respondent Driven Sampling (RDS) methodology that is used to sample and survey difficult-to-reach populations (Salganik and Heckathorn, 2004). This methodology generates a representative sample based on a reduced number of subjects belonging to the population of interest. This initial number of participants should recommend other potential participants in order to reach a sample that represents the population after several rounds. This methodology exploits the fact that, despite being hidden, the population is often connected, making it useful for surveying migrants, among other groups (Gorny and Napierała, 2016; Tyldum, 2021). Throughout the project, new panel members were included. Rounds 1, 5, 7 and 8 include new members.

**Target population:**

People aged 18 and over from Venezuela that arrived in Peru from 2014 onward.

**Geographical coverage:**

Peru.

**Frequency:**

Quarterly, data collection ended in 2023.

**Characteristics of the sample:**

Total number of respondents: 745
- Women: 472
- Men: 273
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Description of the survey:

Panel survey comprising three rounds that took place between December 2021 and December 2023. These surveys compile information on discrimination, regularization, employment, work history and integration from a sample of Venezuelan migrants living in the Dominican Republic.

Target population:

People aged 18 and over from Venezuela that arrived in the Dominican Republic from 2014 onward.

Geographical coverage:

Dominican Republic

Frequency:

Quarterly (three rounds), data collection ended in 2023.

Survey mode:

Virtual and a face-to-face interview.

Sample:

A Snowball or Respondent Driven Sampling (RDS) methodology that is used to sample and survey difficult-to-reach populations (Salganik and Heckathorn, 2004). This methodology generates a representative sample based on a reduced number of subjects belonging to the population of interest. This initial number of participants should recommend other potential participants in order to reach a sample that represents the population after several rounds. This methodology exploits the fact that, despite being hidden, the population is often connected, making it useful for surveying migrants, among other groups (Gorny and Napierała, 2016; Tyldum, 2021).

Characteristics of the sample:

Total number of respondents: 931
Women: 573
Men: 358