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**Discrimination and resilience
of migrants in Colombia**

Narratives from Venezuelan women in Bogotá

**Discriminación y resiliencia
de migrantes en Colombia**

Narraciones de mujeres venezolanas en Bogotá

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Abstract - Resumen

Abstract

In this paper, the personal experiences with discriminatory attitudes and actions against Venezuelan migrant women in the metropolis of Bogotá are examined. Likewise, their coping strategies and associated resilience factors are identified. It becomes clear that discrimination occurs on all levels from linguistic othering processes to labor exploitation, exclusion from the health system and educational institutions, sexual harassment, up to physical attacks. Effective resilience-strengthening factors have been identified particularly in the context of social relationships, as well as in personal and cultural-specific components. Theories of racism, aporophobia, resilience, and coping are supporting the understanding which discriminations are interpreted as such and responded to accordingly.

Keywords: Forced migration - migrant - integration - Venezuela - women - Colombia - discrimination - racism - coping - resilience

Resumen

Este trabajo examina las experiencias personales frente a las actitudes y acciones discriminatorias contra las mujeres migrantes venezolanas en la metrópolis de Bogotá. Asimismo, se identifican sus estrategias de acción y los factores de resiliencia asociados. Se hace evidente que la discriminación se produce a todos los niveles, desde los procesos de Othering lingüística hasta la explotación laboral, la exclusión del sistema sanitario y de las instituciones educativas, el acoso sexual y los ataques físicos. Se han identificado factores de resiliencia efectivos particularmente en el contexto de las relaciones sociales, así como en componentes personales y culturalmente específicos. Las teorías del racismo, la aporofobia, la resiliencia y el afrontamiento contribuyen a comprender cuáles son las discriminaciones que se interpretan como tales y cómo se responde en consecuencia.

Palabras claves: Migración forzada - migrante - integración - Venezuela - mujeres - Colombia - discriminación - racismo - afrontamiento - resiliencia

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List of abbreviations

- BAMF Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtling
- CINEP Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular
- DANE National Administrative Department of Statistics (Colombia)
- ELN Ejército de Liberación Nacional (guerilla)
- ETPV Estatuto Temporal de Protección para Migrantes Venezolanos
- FARC-EP Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia
– Ejército del Pueblo (guerilla)
- GDP Gross Domestic Product
- GBV Gender-based violence
- IOM / OIM International Organization for Migration
- JRS Jesuit Refugee Service
- PEP Permiso Especial de Permanencia - Special Permit to Stay
- RMRP Regional Refugee and Migrant Response Plans
- RUR 'Registro único de Retornados - Unique Registry of Returnees
- RUV 'Registro Único De Víctimas - Unique Victims Registry
- R4V Interagency Coordination Platform for Refugees and Migrants
- SNPS Secretariado Nacional de Pastoral Social (Cáritas Colombia)
- UNHCR United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
- WASH Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (SDG 6)
- WHO World Health Organization

1. Introduction

In the past seven years, Latin America and the Caribbean have been confronted with one of the biggest humanitarian crises in the history of the region and the second largest international displacement in the world (cf. R4V, 2021, p. 6). By the end of 2021, more than six million Venezuelan refugees and migrants have left their homes in search of better living conditions and/ or protection, from which five million remain in the Latin American and Caribbean region (cf. UNHCR, 2022, para. 12).

1.1. Venezuelans' life realities in & outside their country

Medicine and food shortages, power cuts, missing access to running water, hyperinflation, a lack of employment prospects, lack of security and violation of the population's social and economic rights, non-maintenance of public infrastructure, corruption, loss of trust in the political leadership and the productive development model, a climate of conflict and polarization, use of civilians in intelligence tasks, as well as increased militarization of state institutions and the deterioration of democratic institutions lead to a difficult reality of daily life for most Venezuelans, from whose households 90.82 percent live in poverty and 67.97 percent in extreme poverty¹ (status: 2021) Scull, 2020, para. 3). Besides the economical struggles, the visible involvement of the armed forces in the regime, drug trafficking and organized crime as well as human rights violations led to low public approval rates of the government (cf. Jácome, 2020, p. 4).

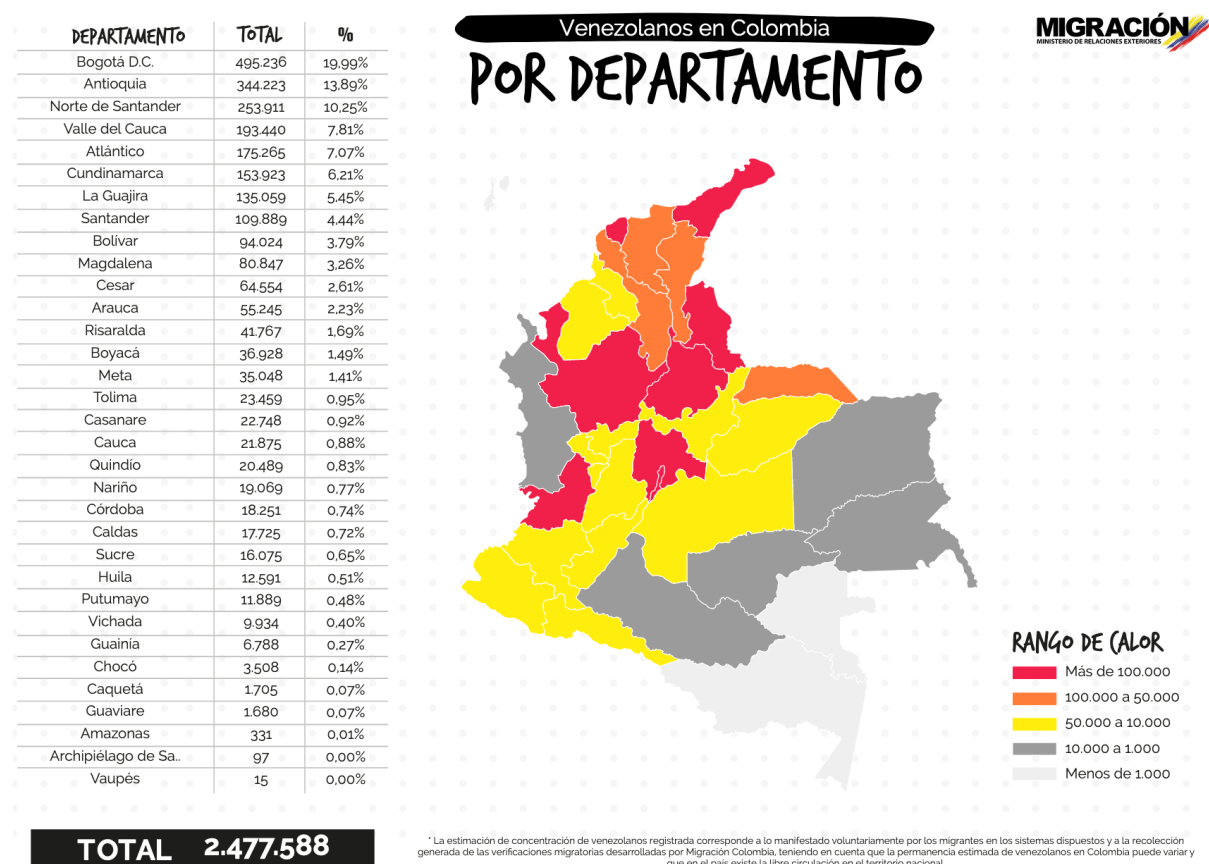
A report from '[...] The UN Human Rights Council (UNHCR) under Michelle Bachelet's tenure has described [...] the harsh humanitarian crisis that has enveloped Venezuela. The report details the difficulties for Venezuelans in accessing their basic food basket, from people needing to queue for up to 10 hours to buy food in supermarkets to around three million people [...] suffering from malnourishment. The same report describes diminishing political freedoms and a climate of systematic state violence, with pro-regime paramilitary groups repressing demonstrations and some 2,124 extrajudicial killings from state security forces being reported between January and May 2019.' (Scull, 2020, para. 3).

The stated reasons above, as well as the systematic violence have transitioned the originally democratic state into an autocratic regime and have resulted in mass migration into the neighboring countries (cf. ovm, 2021, p. 4; cf. Xchange, p.2).

¹ Extreme poverty from an economic approach is 2.15 Dollars per day. It should be noted that this is an attempt of international comparison, while the actual poverty lines of each country vary widely (cf. Hasell et al., 2022, para. 8). Social measurements of poverty like access to education or social participation are not included in this definition.

1.1.1. Increased Migration flows & Colombia's role

Up until February 2022, Colombia has become host to 2.47 million Venezuelan immigrants of whom 1.23 million are in the process of receiving a special protection status for Venezuelans (ETPV) and 295,000 Venezuelans have an irregular status² (cf. Migración Colombia, 2022, p. 3). Therefore, Colombia is the main host country for the Venezuelan diaspora, followed by Peru and Ecuador. One of the reasons for Colombia being the main reception country is that it is one of the direct neighbors of Venezuela. The two countries share a boarder of 2,200 km with seven official and hundreds of informal border crossings. As demonstrated by the Colombian Migration Department in graphic 1, Bogotá D.C. is the top host department within Colombia to the migrants with almost 20 percent of Venezuelans (equaling almost 500.000) residing in the capital, followed by the departments of Antioquia (13.89 percent) and Norte de Santander (10.25 percent) (cf. *ibid.* p.6).



Graphic 1: Distribution of Venezuelan migrants in departments of Colombia (February 2022).

Source: Migración Colombia, 2022, p. 6.

² Irregular status: Irregularity does refer to a migration status at a certain point of time, which can change due to visa applications or changed national laws. The terms 'undocumented' or 'unauthorized' are interchangeable with 'irregular' (cf. IOM's Global Migration Data Analysis Centre (GMDAC), 2022, p. 1).

Furthermore, Colombia also receives those migrants temporarily who want to transit to the other Spanish speaking countries, like Panama, Ecuador, Peru or Chile (cf. R4V, 2019, p. 37). Finally, the two countries share a long history of migration flows, as millions of Colombians had fled to Venezuela in the 1980s and 1990s due to the violence of the armed conflict between paramilitary and guerrilla groups, as well as the military (cf. Xchange, 2019, p. 2). Therefore, different migration flows between these two nations are taking place at the same time: Returning Colombians and their families, pendular migrants trying to earn money and buy necessary things for their families in Venezuela, transit migrants and those who look for a new beginning and a permanent living in Colombia (cf. Sarmiento, 2020, p. 25; cf. R4V, 2019, p. 37). According to the RMRP report of 2022, 96 percent of transit migrants were in an irregular situation and over 60 percent of them were crossing on foot which makes them vulnerable to risks like the following:

‘One third of those who are entering from or returning to Venezuela reported having experienced security risks during their transit in Colombia, mainly robbery, physical violence, and threats. They are also exposed to risks of GBV, forced recruitment by armed actors, child abuse, human trafficking, smuggling and health incidents.’ (R4V, 2022, pp. 117–118).

The presence of illegal armed groups such as ELN and FARC dissidents is characteristic for the Venezuelan-Colombian border. Hundreds of illegal trails across the border are used for weapon and drug smuggling, as well as mineral and human trafficking. Many Venezuelan migrants see no other chance than crossing these dangerous trails due to the lack of documentation to pass the border controls (cf. Grupo Banco Mundial, 2018, p. 88).

1.1.2. Characteristics of Venezuelan migrants in Colombia

Because of the free education system in their country of origin, Venezuelan immigrants are usually well educated. The broadest age group of Venezuelan migrants in Colombia is the age group from 18 to 29-years-old and 65 percent of the Venezuelan migrants are less than 35 years old (cf. Migración Colombia, 2022, p. 4; cf. Scull, 2020, para. 8). Despite their professional background, most of them work in the informal labor market due to their uncertain residency status.³ This exposes them to low wages and exploitation. In 2020, only 25 percent had a signed job contract (cf. Scull, 2020, paras 8–9). The gender of the immigrants is very balanced, with 51 percent of female sex and 49 percent of male sex, and 0,02 percent transgender and others. A majority of over 80 percent of Venezuelan immigrants in transit and settled, see themselves ‘[...] at risk of eviction, mainly as a result of the inability to pay rent

³ Due to the advancing process of the special protection status for Venezuelans (ETPV), obtaining residency status might become easier for the duration of 10 years for Venezuelan migrants in the course of 2022 - 2023. At the time of the database collection through interviews, it had been introduced for only half a year and not been yet facilitated to the majority of eligible migrants.

and/ or utilities [...]’ (R4V, 2022, p. 126). Due to lack of documentation, more than half of the house renting agreements is based on verbal agreements and more than one-third of households reside in overcrowded conditions (cf. *ibid.*, p. 126).

1.1.3. The impact of Covid-19 on Venezuelans migrants

The COVID-19⁴ pandemic exacerbated the poor living conditions of Venezuelans in Colombia: Quarantine measures like prolonged lockdowns, curfews, mobility restrictions and loss of employment strongly decreased the

‘[...] refugees’ and migrants’ capacity to maintain livelihoods and access to basic goods and services, with many refugees and migrants from Venezuela having suffered loss of income while at the same time not being systemically included in social safety nets that have been established for local populations. Their dire situation has led some refugees and migrants to consider returning to Venezuela, often through irregular channels, raising additional protection and health concerns.’ (R4V, 2021, p. 7).

Homelessness is one of many negative impacts, the pandemic has had on the migrants, since most of them work informal jobs in the streets as mentioned above. With the curfews and the fear of Covid-19, people were not allowed to sell their goods in the streets and clients were rare, too. Thus, the most vulnerable were not able to buy food or pay a rent of 3,6 dollars a day. Thousands have returned to Venezuela during the lockdown in order to secure accommodation after finding themselves homeless in Colombia (cf. Acosta, 2020, paras 4–8). As a consequence, humanitarian organizations have identified an increased need of emergency humanitarian assistance in areas like food, water, shelter, WASH (Water, Sanitation and Hygiene), protection, education, and integration. Furthermore, cases of gender-based violence (GBV) and human trafficking of girls and women, have risen as well as growing poverty, especially among the most vulnerable migrant groups, like unaccompanied and separated children, women, the LGBTQI+ community, elderly, those with chronic diseases, and migrants with an irregular legal status. Finally, the RMRP report identifies the rise of xenophobia and stigmatization, which is ‘[...] often based on negative perceptions associated with fear of the spreading virus and rising rates of evictions and homelessness, leading to a vicious cycle of irregularity, vulnerability, and stigmatization.’ (R4V, 2021, p. 14).

1.2. Prejudices against Venezuelans

With the increasing numbers of immigrating Venezuelans in Colombia, a rising negative public notion against the migration has been notable. As mentioned above, this increased strongly at

⁴ For more information about that topic, see article from the World Health Organization (cf. WHO, 2023, p. 1)

the beginning of the pandemic: 'There is also the very real prospect of xenophobia, which was already being exhibited prior to the pandemic, rising further in the face of uncertainty and economic hardship.' (cf. Scull, 2020, para. 11). With the objective to gain a better understanding of the conditions and discriminatory mindsets the migrants are confronted with, the following sub-chapters seek to provide an overview of the most common opinions and prejudices that shape public opinion of Colombians towards Venezuelans, based on literature review.

1.2.1. Higher competition at the job market

The highest number of Venezuelan migrants entered Colombia in 2017, when the GDP growth of the country reached 1.36 percent, its lowest observed in the past ten years, except 2020 when the pandemic made it decline to -7.05 percent, from which it recovered in the meantime (cf. International Crisis Group, 2022, p. 1; Macrotrends, 2022, para. 3). The rising unemployment rate of 14,6 percent in July 2021 reflects a similar situation (cf. DANE, 2022, p. 1). Even though the representation is questionable since more than 60 percent of employment opportunities in Colombia are informal – according to the National Administrative Department of Statistics (DANE), the number amongst Venezuelan migrants working in informal labor is even higher at 90 percent (state 2020) (cf. Panayotatos and Schmidtke, 2020, para. 8). These conditions reinforce the perception of local urban citizens facing a high influx of Venezuelans in vulnerable conditions, that this could impact their own job opportunities due to shortage of employment, increased competition and lower salaries (Rivero, 2019, p. 8; cf. Nossa *et al.*, 2021, p. 8). While there is no accurate data that would proof the link between migration and higher unemployment, it is often forgotten who actually benefits from the situation: In many cases, the employers benefit from the informal migration by abusing the migrants' state of vulnerability while maximizing their profit by paying them less than Colombian citizens and denying them appropriate working conditions (cf. Rivero, 2019, p.8).

1.2.2. Increased insecurity

Another aspect of public perception and sentiment towards Venezuelans is that of political leadership. Political authorities have a broad platform and can strongly influence public opinion by reinforcing stereotypes, especially when a great number of citizens suffer and search for an explanation or even someone to blame for their country's insecurity or economic situation. Following examples display that several politicians suggested that Venezuelans may be more prone to criminality than the locals. While president Duque promised to show solidarity with the Venezuelan migrants, he also commented that whoever commits a crime, will be deported (cf. El informador, 2020, paras 1–2). Likewise, Mayor Claudia López declared that 'I don't want

to stigmatize immigrants but there are some Venezuelans involved in crimes who are making our lives impossible' after a Venezuelan migrant killed a bus passenger in Bogotá (cf. Otis, 2020, para. 7). Although, the percentage of crimes, executed by Venezuelans is significantly lower than the number of crimes committed by Colombian citizens in the country (cf. Nossa *et al.*, 2021, p. 8). Ignoring those facts, these comments, which are spread widely, have a huge platform through famous representatives. They nourish the idea that Venezuelans are responsible for the precarious domestic security situation in the country, which implicates that it would be significantly safer if they were not there (cf. Nossa *et al.*, 2021, pp. 8-9)

1.2.3. Collapse of Social Services

A survey⁵ that was conducted by the organization Oxfam in 2019 in Ecuador, Colombia and Peru amongst the local citizens about the Venezuelan migrants, attest the public perception of 'saturated' public services, especially health services but also in the area of education (cf. Rivero, 2019, p.9). This view was especially emphasized in Colombia, where '[...] eight in 10 of the Colombian respondents openly said that social services are collapsing due to the presence of migrants [...]' (ibid. p. 9). This perception boosts the sense of needing to compete for scarce resources, while ignoring the fact that these services were already inadequate before the Venezuelan immigration (cf. ibid; cf. Grueso Angulo *et al.*, 2015, p. 34).

1.2.4. Venezuelan women's sexual availability

Furthermore, Venezuelan female migrants in particular face a stereotype that represents '[...] a deep-rooted sexist perception in the societies of the host countries to which migrant women are subjected.' (cf. Rivero, 2019, p.11). *El Barómetro de Xenofobia*⁶, identified prejudices against Venezuelan migrant women in social media, that accuse them of stealing the husbands of the Colombian women, hypersexualize them with comments about their genitals and as sex objects, as well as associating them with prostitution or sex work like this Twitter comment: 'The Venezuelan women (*the term 'veneca' is meant as insult*) are cheap.'⁷(Daly *et al.*, 2021, p. 3, [translation by author]).

⁵ Which includes 400 quantitative interviews with residents between 18 and 64 years old and qualitative interviews with focus groups in each country, realized by the agency Atrevida. (cf. Rivero, 2019, p.4).

⁶ *El Barómetro de Xenofobia* is a platform that systematizes and distributes as public information the result of the analysis of Twitter about the migrant population in Colombia (cf. WHO, 2023, p. 1)

⁷ Original citation: 'Las venecas están baratas.' (Daly *et al.*, 2021, p. 3).

1.2.5. Rise of COVID-19 infections

Venezuelan migrants were confronted with prejudices around the topic of COVID-19 and health issues. Prejudices include that migrants are coming to Colombia infected with COVID-19 or that they are spreading the infection. According to the *Bárometro de Xenofobia*, this prejudice stems from the high number of entering migrants and the poor socio-economic state in which many of them arrive. In this case, the migrant's poor socio-economic background would be the relevant risk factor for Covid-19 infection rather than people's origin.⁸ Another prejudice was the assumption that the vaccinations would attract more Venezuelan migrants to enter Colombia and shows strongly the fear of falling short: 'Can you imagine the health system which is a bit average how it will collapse with the Venezuelans, it's not xenophobia, it's realism.' (Daly et al., 2021, p. 6; [translation by author]).

1.2.6. Summary of public perception in Colombia

A survey by the Xenophobia Barometer, which was conducted in November 2020, represents in the following graphic the opinion of 1,067 Colombians and identifies the main perceptions towards the Venezuelan population in Colombia.



Graphic 2: Opinions about the presence of Venezuelan population in Colombia (November 2020).

Source: Sondeo, percepción de los colombianos hacia la población migrante venezolana, 2020, cited from Nossa et. al, 2021, p.9.

⁸ See also chapter 2.2.2.

In this regard, the majority of the respondents, with 69 percent, expressed concerns that the level of insecurity had increased since the presence of Venezuelan migrants in the country. The impression that there would be less employment opportunities followed in second place, stated by nearly one-third of all respondents. Nevertheless, almost as many citizens were also able to see some positive impacts like cultural diversity and the ability of the migrants to support the local economy. Approximately 20 percent of people surveyed believe that Venezuelans limit social services and that they should migrate to another country where economic conditions are better than in Colombia. Only about 12 percent said that their presence would bring different diseases into the country and among 10 percent of Colombians are indifferent to their presence, while 5 percent gave a differing answer of the results listed above.

While every year since the last major immigration phase – from 2015 onwards, intensified in 2017 – news accumulate about increasing xenophobia and discrimination against Venezuelan migrants in Colombia in the media (cf. Diaz, 2022, para. 3), little is reflected on the meaning of the word xenophobia in the Colombian media. It is therefore not surprising that there is no universally accepted definition and that various academics have identified the problem of distinguishing it from the concept of racism (cf. IOM, OHCHR and UNHCR, 2001, p. 247). Nevertheless, in order to sensitize about the complexity and impacts of these discriminations, chapter two will take a closer look at the terminology in the effort to distinguish it from similar concepts. Beforehand, the research objectives of this paper and the current state of art will be presented.

1.3. Research question and objectives

The introduction showed the challenges with which Venezuelan migrants and especially women are confronted. The results were found in literature that are based on studies that focus particularly on the perceptions of the host population. To gain a more holistic view and deeper understanding of the Venezuelan women's life reality, the female migrant's perspective is at the center of this thesis' research. Therefore, the research question is as followed:

In which ways does the rising discrimination against Venezuelan migrant women manifest in Bogotá and how do they cope with it?

Besides the discriminatory aspects and the international calls for programs against xenophobia and for integration⁹, it is further of interest to understand the individual reason for the interviewees' decision to leave their country of origin. At the same time, the following sub-

⁹ See chapter 1.4.

questions can provide an insight of the personal context, which plays an important role in the way people can respond to certain difficult situations.

- Which factors played a significant role in the decision-making of the Venezuelan women to leave Venezuela and migrate to Colombia?
- What kind of discrimination do the Venezuelan women face in Bogotá?¹⁰
- In which ways do the interviewed women respond to the discriminatory acts?
- What are effective resilience factors among Venezuelan women that have helped them persevere through highly challenging situations in their lives?

1.4. State of Art

Existing research on forms of discrimination covers a wide range of topics. Classic contributions to racism are by, for example, Stuart Hall, who defines racism in terms of the construction of identity communities and domination relations (cf. Hall, 1994, p. 42; cf. Lavorano, 2019, p. 16). Other well-known scholars include Robert Miles, Albert Memmi, and Gordon Allport. The research was further developed by female authors, such as Wiebke Scharathow and Stephanie Lavorano or Miriam Hill in German-speaking countries. In order to not exceed the scope of this chapter, the following abstract will specifically address a few relevant examples in the literature on discrimination and resilience research towards Venezuelan women in Colombia.

The field of research on the specific topics of this paper is still young and has developed significantly, simultaneously with increased immigration patterns, only in the last few years. Regarding migration, the topic of discrimination was initially only briefly addressed as one of many topics in the existing studies. This is partly due to the fact that the research focus was initially on urgent topics such as humanitarian aid and a general understanding of the situation of the Venezuelan migrants, such as their reasons for refuge, the profile of the migration population, as well as the access to basic services, education and the health system. The qualitative study with 15 Venezuelan migrants in Cali/ Colombia by the non-profit organization Xchange, the 'Informe de movilidad humana venezolana' by Rina Mazura Arias et al. or the collection of scientific works on the Venezuelan diaspora by Anitza Freitez et. al. of the 'Observatorio Venezolano de Migración' are examples of this (cf. Xchange, 2019, p. 5; cf. Krüger *et al.*, 2020, p. 82; cf. Freitez, Viso and Álvarez, 2021, pp. 11–19). An important contribution to these questions at international level is made by the Regional Inter-Agency

¹⁰ Note: in this paper 'Bogotá' is understood to include the entire Metropolitan Area of Bogotá.

Coordination Platform for Refugees and Migrants from Venezuela (R4V). It was created by the UN in 2018 to coordinate regional emergency actions between international organizations and Latin American countries. It has reported annually on the current situation since 2019. Like OIM, the World Bank and the Women's Refugee Commission, the R4V recognized an increasing tendency of rising discrimination and instructed awareness-raising as well as solidarity campaigns, which have been adopted for the internal program guidelines of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) such as Caritas International or Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS) (cf. Grupo Banco Mundial, 2018, p. 84; cf. The Women's Refugee Commission, 2019, p. 19; cf. R4V, 2019, p. 68). Thus, the international strategy coincides with the opinion of various scholars who, in addition to enabling the legalization of undocumented migrants and a broad communication strategy of information among other aspects, also call for advancing in carrying out multilevel campaigns to combat xenophobia and discrimination (cf. Krüger *et al.*, 2020, p. 82).

As from 2019, the situation regarding xenophobia has been studied in more detail by national and international authors. Thus, Oxfam conducted an extensive quantitative and qualitative study in 2019, which seeks to analyze the perceptions and fears of the host populations towards Venezuelans in Colombia, Ecuador and Peru, which nourish '[...] xenophobic, sexist and discriminatory stances towards migration [...]' (Rivero, 2019, p. 1). Also, the media is being used to capture the refugee's situation in the host nations. For example, in a comprehensive media analysis, it became evident that political discourse and fake news through the distribution of various social media channels, like WhatsApp chains, negatively influences the perception of the Colombian population towards the migrants (Ordóñez & Ramírez, 2019, p. 60-64). The medial approach was used even more during the pandemic, as shown by the *Barometro de Xenofobia* in Colombia, which has been analyzing Colombians' perceptions in Twitter in regular reports since 2020 (cf. Daly *et al.*, 2022, p. 1). A study that examines the perspective of Venezuelan women in terms of their discrimination is included in a 2022 IOM research collection on the impact of Covid-19 on migrants from a gender perspective (cf. IOM, 2022, pp. 95–110). Juan C. Taborda Burgos *et. al.* report in their article in the 'Revista Desarrollo y Sociedad' at the end of 2021 on direct and indirect discrimination, based on 12 semi-structured interviews with Venezuelans. They identify that their interviewees have not made experience with direct discrimination, but are affected by indirect discrimination as for example on institutional level (cf. Burgos, Ortiz and Garcia, 2021, pp. 155–157).

The field of study of resilience is just as large and extensive as the previous topic. There continues to be a certain amount of hype surrounding the term, which has led to it being used not only in professional fields, but just as often in life-skills guides, popular science journalism,

and in everyday language (cf. Göppel and Zander, 2017, p. 10). Focusing on resilience in the social psychological sense, E. Werner, E. Cowen et. al, as well as S. Luthar, D. Cicchetti, B. Becker, Ann S. Masten and M. Ungar are well-known representatives who have done research on resilience in child development¹¹ and represent the cornerstones of contemporary resilience research. On resilience in relation to migration and refugee experiences, much research has been done in more recent work, especially in German-speaking countries, especially in the wake of the migration movement from Africa to Europe since 2015. Irma Jansen and Margherita Zander published various papers on resilience within migration research in an anthology in 2018. Among them, H. Uslucan et. al, present case studies of refugees and their individual resources, while V. Schreiber and E. Iskenius describe responses to refugee experiences in the clinical setting and identify factors that influence the resilience of the refugees. A similar study was conducted by C. Stark in Austria with children from eight families with refugee experience. With the involvement of parents and caregivers, she identified risk and protective factors for child development (such as physicality, material resources, relationships, identity, cohesion or cultural affiliation). Resilience research on the Venezuelan diaspora in Latin America has developed just recently due to historical events as described above. Most articles on the subject have been published within the last two years. For example, Freier and Kvietok published in 2022 a study about the vulnerability and resilience of 61 Venezuelan migrants in Peru. They identified migrant networks, faith in God and stay in touch with family members through cell phones as powerful resilient strategies to face their experiences of vulnerability and exclusion (cf. Freier and Kvietok, 2022, p. 103). Niño Arguelles and Álvarez Santana published on aporophobia and resilience in 2020, in relation to conditions in Ecuador in a purely quantitatively study with 337 migrants. The study concludes from the data that migrants demonstrate resilience, but it does not differentiate which resilience factors play a role. In a paper (2020) about Venezuelan refugee resettlements in Colombia, Yarid Ayala et. al. describes the role of cultural identification as buffering factor towards discrimination. Their qualitative interviews reveal that nuances like using the same local language plays an important role between two cultural similar countries from the Venezuelan's perspective about their career adaption processes. Many of their interviewees started an entrepreneurship and take initiative for their future. As these soft skills and personal attributes

¹¹ See also:

- 1.) Werner, E. (2000) 'Protective and individual resilience', in *Handbook of Early Childhood Intervention*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 115–130.
- 2.) Cowen, E.L. & Wyman, Peter & Work, W.C.. (1996). Resilience in highly stressed urban children: Concepts and findings. *Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine*. 73. 267-84.
- 3.) Luthar, Suniya & Cicchetti, Dante & Becker, Bronwyn. (2000). The Construct of Resilience: A Critical Evaluation and Guidelines for Future Work. *Child development*. 71. 543-62.

seem to have a major impact on their labor integration, the authors recommend further research on courage and resilience, among other aspects (cf. Ayala *et al.*, 2020, para. 7).

This qualitative study is intended as a small contribution to aspects of the above-mentioned requests from other scholars and focuses on the perspective of the affected Venezuelan women, whereby their particular vulnerability to gender-based stereotypes and role as single providers of the family reveals their particular resilience, which shall be acknowledged (cf. IOM, 2022, p. 95). Thereby, the viewpoint of the migrant women takes into account the demand of Breit and Scherr, who call for an expansion of discrimination research from the target group's perspective, in order to not treat those affected as passive victims, but rather as social actors with their own strategies and abilities to reflect on their experiences (cf. Scherr and Breit, 2020, p. 18). Therefore, the study is based on 19 semi-structured interviews with autobiographical parts, which aims to reflect the Venezuelan women's perspective on discrimination experiences in Colombia as well as their identified supportive resources.

2. Theoretical Framework

In order to understand the implications that the interview partners have in their status as migrants, the following sub-chapters search to provide a basic understanding of the positions and legal rights, migrants have in general and in Colombia.

2.1. Forced Migration

The phenomenon of migration is traditionally divided into voluntary and forced migration. Whereas voluntary migration is connected to economic reasons, forced displacement is seen as involuntary movement because of a concrete threat to life. People who cross international borders because of the latter reason, are called refugees. UNHCR defines them as

[...] people who cannot return to their country of origin because of a well-founded fear of persecution, conflict, violence, or other circumstances that have seriously disturbed public order, and who, as a result, require international protection.' (UNHCR, 2022, para.7).

Accordingly, migrants are defined by the UNHCR as people '[...] who moved their usual place of residence for any reason other than fleeing persecution.' (Carling, 2022, para. 4). However, this strict division in two categories has been challenged by various scholars in the past years, since '(...) lived experiences do not fit neatly into bureaucratic boxes' (Bloch and Donà, 2018, p.3). The migration reality shows that these are rather overlapping concepts with blurry borders: '[...] the dominant categories fail to capture adequately the complex relationship

between political, social and economic drivers of migration or their shifting significance for individuals over time and space.’ (Crawley and Skleparis, 2018). This is also due to the fact that most of the refugees nowadays, are not escaping a defined sudden war but fleeing ongoing oppression which has been building up slowly (cf. E. Reed, Ludwig and Adamo, 2016, p. 619). On top of that, refugees also need more than just humanitarian aid, they should be considered when countries discuss topics like livelihoods and long-term integration (cf. Long, 2013) – vice versa migrants should be able to receive special protection under the Refugee Convention if needed (cf. Carling, 2022). Addressing a more inclusivist perspective, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) defines forced migration in the broader sense as

‘migratory movement in which an element of coercion exists, including threats to life and livelihood, whether arising from natural or man-made causes (e.g., movements of refugees and internally displaced persons as well as people displaced by natural or environmental disasters, chemical or nuclear disasters, famine, or development projects).’ (IOM 2012)

The IOM thus follows an inclusivist definition of migrants, which includes all people ‘(...) who have moved from their usual place of residence, regardless of their legal status and their motivations for moving.’ (Carling, 2022, para. 4). This definition includes for example refugees, trafficking victims, foreign workers, trailing spouses, and international students (cf. *ibid.*). While both approaches recognize the rights and the specific vulnerability of refugees, they differ in who to include in the broad definition of migrants and who not. In this paper, the broader inclusivist view is applied as it reflects the reality of the Venezuelans in a more holistic way. Therefore, when in this paper the word migrant is used, it includes all kinds of migrants and refugees, while it does not exclude the use of the specific term of a refugee when it applies. Also, the statistics which refer to a total of six million Venezuelans who left their country the past 7 years (status 2022), include everyone emigrating from Venezuela, regardless of their individual reasons (cf. UNHCR, 2022, para. 12).

2.1.1. Female migration

In this study, exclusively female migrants have been interviewed about their experiences. This gender approach was applied for several reasons. Migrant women face a multitude of challenges and risks because of their gender, while also being forgotten: ‘Because usually when we talk about migrants in general we mean only men ... And I want to tell you that we migrant women have particular problems indeed.’ (Dimitra Malliou, cited from Zavos, 2010, p. 24).

In the field of forced migration discourse, the shift of narratives about women as accompanying spouses by their men to narratives from the women's own perspectives was notable in the 1980s and 1990s. These approaches developed simultaneously with the concepts about women and gender in the feminist theory (cf. Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2014, p. 397). The United Nations organization WHO identifies Gender as a reference '[...] to the characteristics of women, men, girls and boys that are socially constructed.' (WHO, 2022, p. 1) The term includes the recognition that roles, behaviors and norms are learned, which can differ between society and change over time (ibid. p. 1).

Furthermore, a report about the Venezuelan female migration to Ecuador and Peru, states that the migration profile had shifted. While in the first years mostly professional adult men emigrated, since 2017 more women, families and children arrived in the Latin American countries. The later the migration has taken place, the more vulnerable the immigrants are and the more frequently they have arrived via informal routes (cf. The Women's Refugee Commission, 2019, p. 5). The report states, that especially undocumented

'Venezuelan women and girls are at particular risk of exploitation, abuse, and gender-based violence. A pervasive (dangerous and unfounded) hyper-sexualized archetype of Venezuelan women and girls in the region is a key context-specific risk factor that exacerbates their vulnerability [...]' (cf. The Women's Refugee Commission, 2019, p. 6).

While it is broadly recognized that the women's displacement experiences differ from men's,

'[...] these accounts often reduced such experiences to women's vulnerability to sexual violence, rather than exploring how and why women were victimized and persecuted, or recognizing that displaced women could simultaneously be victimized and yet remain active agents deserving of respect, and not simply pity.' (Fiddian-Quasmiyeh, 2014, S. 398).

2.1.2. Legal status in Colombia

The most important legal options for Venezuelans to legally reside in Colombia are briefly described below, since these options facilitate the pursuit of a legal occupation in the host country which is highly relevant for migrants.

Special Permit to Stay (PEP)¹²

The PEP is an identity document for Venezuelan citizens in Colombia. It permits them temporary residence in the host country and access to institutional services in the areas of

¹² Original term: Permiso Especial de Permanencia (cf. Migración Colombia 2022, para. 2).

education, health, work, and care for children and adolescents. It also entitles them to legal occupations formally signed with employment contracts or to carry out any legal activity (cf. Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores 2020, p.3, Artículo 3). The permit can only be extended for up to two years and the applicant must present a national or international identity document, therefore he or she must have entered the country via an official border (cf. Migración Colombia 2022, para. 2).

Furthermore, there is the Unique Registry of Returnees (RUR)¹³ and the Unique Victims Registry (RUV)¹⁴ for returning Colombians who emigrated to Venezuela and have now returned. The second group includes those who had fled because of the armed conflict in Colombia (cf. Krüger et al., 2020, pp. 104-105). These options will not be discussed in more detail, as none of the participants belonged to any of these categories, although some have Colombian relatives.

Temporary Protection Status for Venezuelan Migrants (ETPV)¹⁵

This is a temporary protection regulation valid for 10 years for Venezuelan refugees that considers the migration reality of those affected, as well as the economic and political situation in Venezuela. The goal is to legalize the residence of all Venezuelans who are in the country without valid residence permits, thereby also reducing their vulnerability. This applies to all Venezuelans who were in the country illegally in January 2021, as well as to all those who arrive up to 2 years later. The regulation also applies to migrants who have applied for special residence permit (PEP) or refugee protection status¹⁶. Within the specified 10 years, applicants have time to apply for a permanent residence permit (cf. Migración Colombia, 2022, pp. 1, 3). A successfully applied ETPV leads to the Temporary Protection Permit (PPT)¹⁷, which is the associated ID document for Venezuelans to identify themselves (cf. R4V, 2021, p.1).

2.2. Forms of discrimination against migrants

As mentioned in chapter 1.2.6, there is no widely accepted definition of the term Xenophobia but discrimination against migrants is notable in Colombia since the migration flow from Venezuela has increased. The following chapters differentiate the various concepts and

¹³ Original term: Registro único de Retornados (cf. Departamento Nacional de Planeación, 2022, p. 1)

¹⁴ Original term: Registro Único De Víctima (cf. Krüger et al., 2020, p. 105)

¹⁵ Original term: Estatuto Temporal de Protección para Migrantes Venezolanos (cf. Migración Colombia, 2022, p. 1).

¹⁶ See definition of refugee in chapter 2.1.

¹⁷ Original term: Permiso por Protección Temporal (cf. R4V, 2021, p.1).

provide insights to the different dimensions that migrants must face, when confronted with discrimination.

2.2.1. Xenophobia

The term xenophobia comes from the Greek and is composed of the two words Ξένος [xenos = foreigner, stranger] and φόβος [phobos = fear, anxiety] (Pons 2022). In conclusion, the literal translation is the fear of strangers. In the broader interpretation, it is also often equated with hostility or hate towards foreigners (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2022). In psychology, xenophobia is seen as hostility towards strangers that is often justified by undefined fears. This is based on the idea that a lack of experience with the 'foreign' can trigger frightening overwhelming situations (cf. BAMF and Neue deutsche Medienmacher e.V., 2013, pp. 45). The International Organization for Migration (IOM) defines Xenophobia '[...] as attitudes, prejudices and behavior that reject, exclude and often vilify persons, based on the perception that they are outsiders or foreigners to the community, society or national identity.' (IOM 2019, p. 247). This makes it clear that the determination of foreignness is random and arbitrary and is based on the perpetrator's perception or rather construction. Actions that result from this, which harm 'the other'¹⁸ in some way, do not result from a certain origin or characteristic of 'the other', but from a certain attitude of the perpetrator (cf. Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge and Neue Deutsche Medienmacher e.V., 2013, pp. 45–46).

Scholars criticize that the term xenophobia exclude a certain group of people from society and labels them as strangers – even though they might be citizens of the same nation, like returning Colombians and their families from Venezuela – thereby justifying discriminatory actions, since fear of strangers or unknown is seen as a natural reaction, while racism and racial discrimination is not natural (cf. Attia *et al.*, 2014, p.13; cf. Lavorano, 2019, pp. 2–3). Furthermore, Kalpaka and Rätzzel argue that the term implies that all foreigners would have to face discrimination due to xenophobia, regardless of their origin. However, there are different reservations about different nations (cf. Kalpaka, Rätzzel *et al.* 2017, p. 40). Consequently, the term xenophobia thus justifies and disguises discrimination practices.

Further argumentation points out that the definition matters, as racism and xenophobia are treated differently in the discussion around migration: Iman Attia holds the opinion that measures against xenophobia in the form of integration¹⁹ programs and solidarity campaigns

¹⁸ See also chapter 2.3.3. about the concept of Othering.

¹⁹ UNHCR defines integration as a dynamic, two-way process that places requirements on the migrant and the receiving society alike. Besides providing basic needs and facilitate access to services, integration also includes creating a welcoming environment,

are not suitable for naming and countering racism (cf. Attia, 2014, p. 14). Jan Schneider and Ruta Yemane elaborate that in the integration process, it is expected that the migrants have to adapt to the majority society, while the host society should enable the framework conditions for equal opportunities. Experiences of racial discrimination and exclusion practices can hinder integration processes in the long term and lead to a withdrawal into one's own minority group (cf. Schneider and Yemane, 2014, p. 15).

For the stated reasons, this paper avoids the use of the term xenophobia in relation to the study when possible and generally describes the relevant experiences by using the term discrimination. However, since the term is very prominent in Colombia, it cannot always be avoided in the empirical part, especially when the interviewees themselves refer to their experiences in this way.

2.2.2. Aporophobia

The term aporophobia has gained a broader degree of recognition over the last years, especially in Spanish-speaking countries, including Colombia. Aporophobia is a neologism and, like xenophobia, is composed of two Greek words. Its meaning is the rejection (literally: fear) of the poor (ἀπορος = the 'indigent', destitute, poor) and was created by the Spanish philosopher Adela Cortina in the 1990s and added to the Spanish language dictionary in 2017. The author understands the word 'phobos' as hatred, repugnance or hostility (cf. Guerrero Ramos, 2016, para. 1-3; Cortina, 2000, para. 2; Lascuráin 2017, para 11). The word inventor herself describes the justification for the neologism as follows:

However, there is a powerful reason, perhaps the most powerful, to welcome a new word into the womb of a language, and that is that it names a reality so effectively in the social life that this life cannot be understood without it. And it is important to give it a name, because while it is unspeakable it acts as ideologies do: distorting, confusing in order to hide the truth of things. To name people is essential to give them a natural status [...], so much more to social realities, of which there is a lack of clear conscience while they are indescribable'. (Cortina, 2000, para.1, [translation by author]).²⁰

Cortina points out why clarifying the phenomenon, which many Venezuelans in Colombia are confronted with in various ways, is of relevance and magnitude: phenomena can only be addressed when they are named. As long as they 'float' in space as vague feelings and

in which migrants can not only achieve adjustment to the new society and economic stability, but also a sense of belonging and social participation.

²⁰ Original citation: 'Pero existe una razón poderosa, tal vez la más poderosa, para acoger una nueva palabra en el seno de una lengua, y es que designe una realidad tan efectiva en la vida social que esa vida no pueda entenderse sin contar con ella. E importa ponerle un nombre, porque mientras es indecible actúa como hacen las ideologías: distorsionando, confundiendo para ocultar la verdad de las cosas. Poner nombre a las personas es imprescindible para darles carta de naturaleza [...], tanto más a las realidades sociales, de las que falta clara conciencia mientras son inefables.' (Cortina, 2000, para.1)

attitudes without being tangible, it is difficult to grasp them and counter them with something concrete. Or how Javier Lascuráin puts it: That which has no name does not exist (Lascuráin 2017, para.1, [translation by author]).²¹

Cortina refers to the social reality in Spain that it is not Germans, British or Arabs who are rejected, but those who are considered to have nothing to offer, such as Gypsies, North African immigrants, and Latin Americans. According to her, it is the attitude that underlies many supposedly racist and xenophobic behaviors (cf. Martínez Navarro, 2002, p. 17). She concludes that '[t]he problem is not one of race or foreignness: it is one of poverty' (Cortina, 2000, para. 5, [translation by author]).²² She sees the underlying reason is the free capital market, which is based on give and take. A large part of humanity is excluded from consuming products that are essential for survival. As it is not of interest what they can offer, they have no solvent demand (cf. Cortina, 2000, para. 7). Aporophobia is directed against the poor in general, but if they also appear to be foreigners, it is easier to portray them as a threat to one's own identity and to abuse them as objects of guilt (cf. Milagros Pérez, 2017, para. 3). Cortina takes the view that all humans are aporophobic. With reference to biology, aporophobia is anchored in our brain as part of the survival struggle. Emilio Martínez Navarro adds that aporophobia is provoked and spread by sensationalist narratives. The narratives associate people's poverty with crime and a supposed threat to the stability of the socio-economic system of the majority society. Through the narratives, the vulnerable group would get into a vicious circle, because their disadvantaged situation gives them almost no possibilities to effectively defend themselves against defamation. At the same time, the attribution of criminal acts such as prostitution, theft, drug dealing, and violent acts, among others, hinders their integration into society and leads to exclusion of social participation. This can cause further difficulties and would partly lead to despair and thus to actual illegal actions in some cases, which reinforces the negative image of the whole group. In this process, generalizations play a significant role (Martínez Navarro, 2002, p. 17-18).

2.2.3. Racism and racial discrimination

Racism and discrimination are often mentioned in one breath, as are xenophobia and racism. The term racism was understood for a long time in the sense of biological racism in relation to physical differences such as skin color. It has since been critiqued and developed multiple times by various scholars. As it will be argued in the following, racism is a much broader concept than its historical-biological interpretation. Furthermore, discrimination is explained in

²¹ Original citation: 'Lo que no tiene nombre no existe.' (Lascuráin 2017, para.1)

²² Original citation: 'El problema no es de raza ni de extranjería: es de pobreza.' (Cortina, 2000, para. 5).

more detail based on racism. To approach the phenomenon of discrimination and racism, this paper will use a definition according to Wiebke Scharathow, who describes racism and racist discrimination as follows:

'[...] a system of discourses and practices of differentiation and meaning attribution with derogatory, discriminatory as well as discrimination legitimizing and plausibilizing effects [...] that are embedded in a binary system of representation in which distinctions are made between a constructed national, cultural, racialized, and/or religious "us" and a corresponding "not-us," between belonging and otherness, normality and deviance in migration societies in a manner that is impactful, and thus establishes and legitimizes a symbolic social order that affects how people live and interact together.' (Scharathow 2014, S. 47, [translation by author]).²³

In relation to the social order, her concept of racism corresponds to that of other scholars, such as Albert Scherr, Helen Breit or Rudolf Leiprecht, who observe racial discrimination not only on an interpersonal level, but also from the perspective of society as a whole, on an institutional and structural level (cf. Hill, 2020, p. 13).

The mentioned allocation of distinction is also known under the concept of Othering, in which group characteristics are defined based on actual or supposed characteristics and a distinction is subsequently made between an 'us' and a 'not-us'. The 'other' and 'own' groups differentiate themselves substantially from each other in their constructed characteristics, while the members within the respective group are seen as homogeneous. In this context, the 'us' group represents the dominant, 'normal' group, while the 'others' are labeled and treated as backward, uncivilized, unwilling to integrate, or criminal (cf. Attia *et al.*, 2014, p. 9). According to Edward Said, in Othering processes '[...] typologies are developed that made a human being the 'other' [...] and therefore objectified and homogenized' (Irimi *et al.*, 2022, p. 7, [translation by author]).²⁴ This also leads to simplification, as the individual is not recognized and treated as such an individual being anymore (cf. Lavorano, 2019, p. 12). As the 'us' group²⁵ of the dominant society represents the norm, it also has the interpretive authority, which makes the negative attributions of 'the others' possible (cf. Hill, 2020, p. 12).

As racisms occur in various areas, the following sub-chapters shall explain different types of racism in more detail, such as biological colonial racism or cultural racism. Target groups refer

²³ Original citation: '[...] ein System von Diskursen und Praktiken der Unterscheidung- und Bedeutungszuschreibung mit herabwürdigenden, diskriminierenden sowie Diskriminierung legitimierenden und plausibilisierenden Effekten [...], die in ein binäres Repräsentationssystem eingelassen sind, in dem zwischen einem konstruierten nationalen, kulturellen, rassialisierten und/oder religiösen „Wir“ und einem entsprechenden „Nicht-Wir“, zwischen Zugehörigkeit und Andersheit, Normalität und Abweichung in Migrationsgesellschaften wirkmächtig unterschieden und so eine symbolische soziale Ordnung hergestellt und legitimiert wird, die auf das Zusammenleben und Interagieren von Menschen einwirkt.' (Scharathow 2014, S. 47).

²⁴ Original citation: '[...] Typologien entwickelt, die den Menschen zum ›Anderen‹ [...] machten und damit verobjektivierten und homogenisierten.' (Irimi *et al.*, 2022, p. 7).

²⁵ The concept is also closely linked to the concept of group identity according to Stuart Hall, which will intentionally not be elaborated further in this paper to not exceed the scope. Hall understands Othering processes as '[...] social, political, and economic actions [...] that exclude othered groups from access to material and symbolic resources in order to secure privileged access for the excluding group.' (Hall, 2004, cited from Rommelspacher, 2011, p. 25, [translation by author]).

to the groups of people affected by racism, while the dimensions of racism refer to the extent to which racism is considered.

2.2.3.1. Types of racism

Biologically based racism

The classical, or rather biological racism refers in particular to the racial construction of people based on physical characteristics (cf. Melter, 2006, p. 19). This type can be traced back to the 17th century, when biological classifications of human 'races' were established to legitimize and secure the slave trade and other practiced exploitations of the colonialists (cf. Lavorano, 2019, p. 61).

The term 'biological human race' is historically extremely burdened and outdated. While many racism researchers reject the term, others argue that it is a central category in identity and racism research. The argument is that race does not exist as a biological trait, but it persists as a concept in societies and has influence (cf. Barskanmaz, 2019, pp. 21–22) – or as Guillette put it in 1995: 'Race doesn't exist, but it does kill.' (Barskanmaz, 2019, p. 22).

According to Robert Miles' understanding of racism, human 'races' are constructed through processes of attribution: In 'racialization', certain physical characteristics (skin or hair color, etc.) of people are '[...] imagined as a natural given variable' (Hill, 2020, p. 14).²⁶ Furthermore, the physical characteristics are associated with psycho-social or cultural characteristics (for example, temperamental), implying a certain character or behavior. Through the process of 'signification', a negative meaning is then usually ascribed to the above-mentioned characteristics. On the basis of the arbitrarily attributed meaning of characteristics, people are differentiated (races are constructed) and assigned to diverse groups, which differ in their hierarchy (cf. *ibid.* p. 14). The 'racialized power discrepancy' is evident here in the unnamed, neutral, and normative position of whiteness.²⁷ This again is linked to structural privileges and advantages (cf. Barskanmaz, 2019, p. 22). In consequence, 'the other' group is facing exclusionary practice, which is manifested especially in terms of scarce resources and services (cf. Hill, 2020, p. 15). According to Cengiz Barskanmaz, the avoidance or tabooing of the concept of race hinders the confrontation with the inequalities that exist as a result, and thus also makes it more difficult to combat racism. As a neutral, or rather positive effect of the

²⁶ Original citation: '[...] als naturgegebene Größe imaginiert' (Hill, 2020, p. 14)

²⁷ See also chapter 3.3.2.

concept of race, he gives the example of self-identification, for example as a black woman (cf. Barskanmaz, 2019, p. 23).

Whereas Stephanie Lavorano states that it was not human race that justified racism, but rather it was the other way around: racism as an ideology produced human 'races' (cf. Lavorano, 2019, p. 36; cf. Barskanmaz, 2019, p. 22). She opposes the term of race because there is no biological human race. In her opinion, racism does not need a belief in the natural genetic diversity of people and refers to ethnic racism (based on culture or ancestry) as a variant (cf. Lavorano, 2019, p. 36).

Cultural racism / neo-racism

Racism researchers such as Anita Kalpaka, Nora Räthzel or Stuart Hall hold the opinion that it does not require a physical dimension to speak of racism. The postcolonial cultural racism, or neo-racism, has become known as 'racism without races' through Étienne Balibar, among others. Iman Attia, Rudolf Leiprecht and Theodor W. Adorno, on the other hand, see in the new form of racism a conceptual shift in which the concept of culture takes the place of the concept of 'races', in which the cultural and social aspects are seen as just as homogeneous and unchangeable as the biological characteristics in classical racism (cf. Hill, 2020, pp. 16–17). Balibar sees in postcolonial racism the '[...] the indissolubility of cultural difference.' (ibid p. 17)²⁸. Christine Morgenstern argues that this form of racism seems to be less attackable and more legitimate because at first glance it argues with the neutral language of otherness, which then, however, also leads to a degradation of the 'other' culture through Othering processes (cf. Barskanmaz, 2019, p. 58). An example from Germany is the debate about headscarves. Here, the Islamic faith is accused of misogyny. So, the headscarf is often seen there as a symbol of the oppression of women (cf. ibid. p. 95). When the cleaning staff wear headscarves, it is not a matter of concern. However, when it comes to applying for more influential positions, the headscarf leads to a disadvantage because the woman is perceived as fundamentalist and oppressed (cf. Auma, 2017, para. 8).

2.2.3.2. Racism by target groups

Racism serves as a paramount term for different discriminatory practices based on racial constructs (cf. Melter, 2006, p. 18). Besides racism, these include, for example, sexism, anti-Semitism, antiziganism, anti-Muslim racism and discrimination against the homeless, people

²⁸ Original citation: '[...] die Unaufhebbarkeit der kulturellen Differenz' (ibid p. 17).

with disabilities and people with a homosexual orientation (cf. Möller and Neuscheler, 2018, p. 57).

Mark Terkessidis presents that there is no coherence and continuity regarding the definition of racism, which is ‚[...] due to the high complexity of racism, its interdependence with further power relations, and its multiple effects depending on space and time‘.²⁹ Therefore, some researchers have begun to use the term 'racisms' (cf. Popal-Akhzarati, 2019, p. 18).

2.2.3.3. Dimensions of racism

Institutional racism

When discriminatory practices and discourses emerge from societal institutes or organizations, it is referred to as institutional racism. Here, racism is viewed sociologically-collectively, instead of referring to individual experiences. The so-called Macpherson study³⁰ defines institutional racism as follows:

‘The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people.’ (Cook, Richard Stone and Sentamu, 1999, p. 49).

In this case, institutions have failed to adequately investigate and condemn racist acts. The presented definition highlights the affected persons’ perspective: Unconscious discrimination is also racism. What is important, is whether the victim felt discrimination, not what the intention of the perpetrator was (cf. Barskanmaz, 2019, pp. 62–63). An on-going well-known example is also the so-called ‚racial profiling‘: ‘This refers to the police checks without suspicion that disproportionately target non-white people in everyday life.’³¹ Leiprecht sees in this kind of racism not a conscious individual discriminatory behavior, but rather the organizational action in the respective sectors, such as education, labor and housing market (cf. Hill, 2020, pp. 31–32).

Within institutional racism, direct and indirect racism should also be mentioned. The former is described as ‚[...] regularly occurring intentional actions in organizations that are either

²⁹ Original citation: ‚[...] die hohe Komplexität von Rassismus, seiner Interdependenz mit weiteren Macht- verhältnissen sowie seinen vielfältigen Auswirkungen abhängig von Raum und Zeit zurückzuführen [ist].‘ (Popal-Akhzarati, 2019, p. 18).

³⁰ The study was to investigate the incidents in the murder of the black teenager S. Lawrence. The perpetrators were arrested but never convicted. An investigative committee eventually explained in its inquiry into the case that racist attitudes among the investigating authorities had led to this outcome. (cf. Cook, Richard Stone and Sentamu, 1999, pp. 18–19; 365–372)

³¹ Original citation: ‚Damit sind die verdachtsunabhängigen Polizeikontrollen gemeint, die über- proportional häufig nicht-weiße Personen im Alltag treffen.‘ (Barskanmaz, 2019, p. 64)

legitimized by laws and regulations or secured in the organizations as informal routines ('unwritten rules') (Scherr, El-Mafaalani and Yüksel, 2017, p. 145, [translation by author]).³² This includes, for example, Germany's exemption from compulsory education for children with unclear residence status (cf. Ibid. p.145). According to Lavorano, the indirect case occurs when an apparently neutral requirement or procedure cannot be met by or discriminates against persons based on their belonging to a group characterized by attributes, such as race, skin color, religion, language, national or ethnic origin, as long as there is no reasonable justification for doing so (cf. Lavorano, 2019, p. 45). An example of this is the insistence on very good language skills of children and young people with a migrant background in order to be admitted to a certain level of education (cf. Scherr, El-Mafaalani and Yüksel, 2017, p. 146). Therefore, discrimination can occur unnoticed against an affected person (cf. Scherr and Breit, 2020, p. 43).

Structural racism

Structural racism is often confused with institutional racism. They differ in that structural discrimination can no longer be clearly traced back to an institution but is rooted in the structure of society. For example, in patriarchal societies, women often face structural discrimination. Another example at the socio-structural level is ghettoization, for example children from socially disadvantaged families are often in neighborhoods with schools that have insufficient resources. Additionally, they have few opportunities to meet children from other social groups (cf. Gomolla, 2017, pp. 148–149).

Everyday Racism

Philomena Essed coined the term in 1980s and defines it as follows:

'everyday racism can be defined as a process in which (a) socialized racist notions are integrated into meanings that make practices immediately definable and manageable, (b) practices with racist implications become in themselves familiar and repetitive, and (c) underlying racial and ethnic relations are actualized and reinforced through these routine or familiar practices in everyday situations.' (Essed, 1991, p. 52).

Thus, everyday racism is seen as the implementation of racist notions in everyday recurring situations. The racist knowledge that exists in every society consists of prejudices, stereotypes and ideas about 'others'. There is a social consensus in the majority society that something is like that, which is called a racist notion. Thus, not every member of the dominant society is automatically racist. The common socialization transmits certain prejudices that are

³² Original citation: '[...] regelmäßig stattfindenden, intentionalen Handlungen in Organisationen, die entweder durch Gesetze und Vorschriften legitimiert, oder in den Organisationen als informelle Routinen abgesichert sind („ungeschriebene Regeln“)' beschrieben (Scherr, El-Mafaalani and Yüksel, 2017, p. 145).

established over generations and can manifest themselves in actions of individuals as well as in institutional practices (cf. Nguyen, 2014, para. 6). Leiprecht notes that

‘members of the majority society [...] often do *not* [identify] more subtle or unintentional forms of racism as racism; rather, they appear to them as something taken for granted and are accepted unquestioningly’ (Leiprecht, 2005, p. 10, [translation by author]).³³

Thus, racism is not always clearly recognizable, but often appears in a hidden form, such as in racist jokes (cf. Barskanmaz, 2019, p. 60).

Individual racism

Everyday racism and individual racism are very similar. Both are primarily concerned with the survivor’s³⁴ perspective, whereby everyday racism can manifest itself at all levels (including through institutional norms), while individual racism refers exclusively to the personal level. Here, discrimination is usually associated from the socio-psychological perspective, based on stereotypes and prejudices (cf. Zick 2017, p. 63).³⁵

In terms of the experiences of individual racism from the affected person’s perspective, it is irrelevant whether this experience refers to an act that would also be classified as factual discrimination from an external perspective or not (cf. Scherr and Breit, 2020, p.37). Experiences of discrimination are made in the social context, which are vulnerable to challenge due to their interpretation-dependent nature. (cf. *ibid.* p. 65). The dependence of interpretation upon the context is important because experiences of discrimination are not necessarily directed at explicit actions, for example, against gender (cf. El-Mafaalani, Waleciak and Weitzel, 2017, p. 180). Empirical studies have shown a large gap between reported experiences of discrimination and the actual extent of discrimination. Reasons for this may be suppression or trivialization of experiences. The perception of discrimination also depends on the degree of sensibilization and the degree of habituation to discrimination. In particular in the case of refugee and migration biographies, more drastic experiences in the past can lead to a relativization of experiences of discrimination. Apart from the memory, it is not easy for everyone to talk about discrimination, and it can lead to self-presentation if an individual belongs to a socially disregarded group (cf. Scherr and Breit, 2020, p. 41).

³³ Original citation: ‚Angehörige der Mehrheitsgesellschaft [...] subtilere oder ungewollte Formen von Rassismus häufig nicht als Rassismus [identifizieren], vielmehr erscheinen sie ihnen als selbstverständlich und werden unhinterfragt hingenommen“ (Leiprecht, 2005, p. 10).

³⁴ People who are affected by racism are also named survivors as alternative description. By this, the author adopts Lavorano’s perspective that these people usually made many times experiences with racism and that they have developed coping-strategies which makes them to survivors and not victims (cf. Lavorano, 2019, p. 43).

According to theories of social recognition, people can only develop a certain self-confidence that enables them to deal with discrimination if they have not only experienced constant and lasting devaluation. Since experiences of recognition have a significant impact on the interpretation of negative experiences such as racism (cf. Scherr and Breit, 2020, p. 56), the following chapter shall give an overview of resilience, with the objective to gain a deeper understanding of the complex interrelationships of various factors that influence a person's resilience.

2.3. Resilience

From a socio-psychological perspective, experiences of forced migration and discrimination are seen as psychosocial stress. The observation that individuals react very differently to stressful situations has led to broad research on resilience, which also plays an important role in experiences of discrimination (cf. Scherr and Breit, 2020, p. 64).

As mentioned in chapter 1.4., the term resilience has found high popularity over the last three decades and is applied in many disciplines, such as sociology, psychology, medicine, engineering, economics, ecology, and political science (cf. Göppel and Margherita, 2017, p. 10; cf. Wiig and Fahlbruch, 2019, p. 1). Since the concept has no universally accepted definition, it is difficult to grasp. While the resilience researcher Esther Kleefeldt confirms this, she says that the definitions that are useful are those ‚[...] that take into account that reactions to stress and traumatic events manifest in the context of social relationships, available resources of specific cultures, religions, communities, and societies.’ (Kleefeldt, 2018, p. 33, [translation by author]).³⁶

In her research, Corrina B. Beckers was able to identify seven constants in the existing definitions around human resilience:

- 1.) a difficult, aversive moment
- 2.) the corresponding coping aspect
- 3.) process and interaction dynamics between the individual and his or her social environment
- 4.) contextuality: manifesting resilient behavioral dispositions in one specific area of competence or life cannot be easily transferred to other areas

³⁶ Original citation: ‚[...] die berücksichtigen, dass Reaktionen auf Stress und traumatische Ereignisse sich im Kontext sozialer Beziehungen, verfügbarer Ressourcen spezifischer Kulturen, Religionen, Gemeinschaften und Gesellschaften manifestieren.’ (Kleefeldt, 2018, p. 33).

- 5.) multidimensionality: resilience is context-bound and can be imagined as an agile-flexible network structure
- 6.) variability: resilience is seen as a (meta-)competence to be acquired (instead of a personal trait), which has a diachronic size³⁷
- 7.) the importance of subjective perception and processing: the focus is not on objective stress, but on individual ways of interpreting and dealing with it (cf. Beckers, 2021, pp. 9–10).

Kleefeldt elaborates on multidimensionality and the context-bound aspect that if one were to try to measure resilience, the result would depend on the person's choice of time and momentary context. Thus, these are 'network-like processes, and not a linear development (cf. Kleefeldt 2018, p. 36). Regarding variability and refugee experiences, she adds that resilience must be understood as a process of adaptation: 'Resilience is then a variable that is constantly changing depending on multiple environmental conditions, resources, and stresses. It constitutes a continuum on which people move back and forth. '[...] »Cut-off« points that distinguish resilient from non-resilient people are always arbitrary to some degree.' (ibid. p. 34, [translation by author]).³⁸ Also, the researchers Luthar, Cicchetti, and Becker point out the important aspect of resilience as a process, by describing it '[...] a dynamic process encompassing positive adaption within the context of significant adversity.' (Luthar et. al. 2000, p. 543).

Kleefeldt thus agrees with the Canadian resilience researcher Michael Ungar that the concept of resilience should be considered both on the internal psychological level and on the external social level, which are often intertwined. Thus, the responsibility of the resilience development not only lies in the affected subject, but also in the social environment, the society and regional, governmental and (inter-)national institutes, infrastructure and political will (cf. Kleefeldt, 2018, p. 34). Accordingly, Michael Ungar defines resilience as follows:

'In the context of exposure to significant adversity, whether psychological, environmental, or both, resilience is both the capacity of individuals to navigate their way to health-sustaining resources, including opportunities to experience feelings of well-being, and a condition of the individual's family, community and culture to provide these health resources and experiences in culturally meaningful ways.' (Ungar, 2008, p. 225).

³⁷ Diachronic: '*relating to the way something [...] has developed over time* (Oxford Learner's Dictionary, 2023, p. 1)

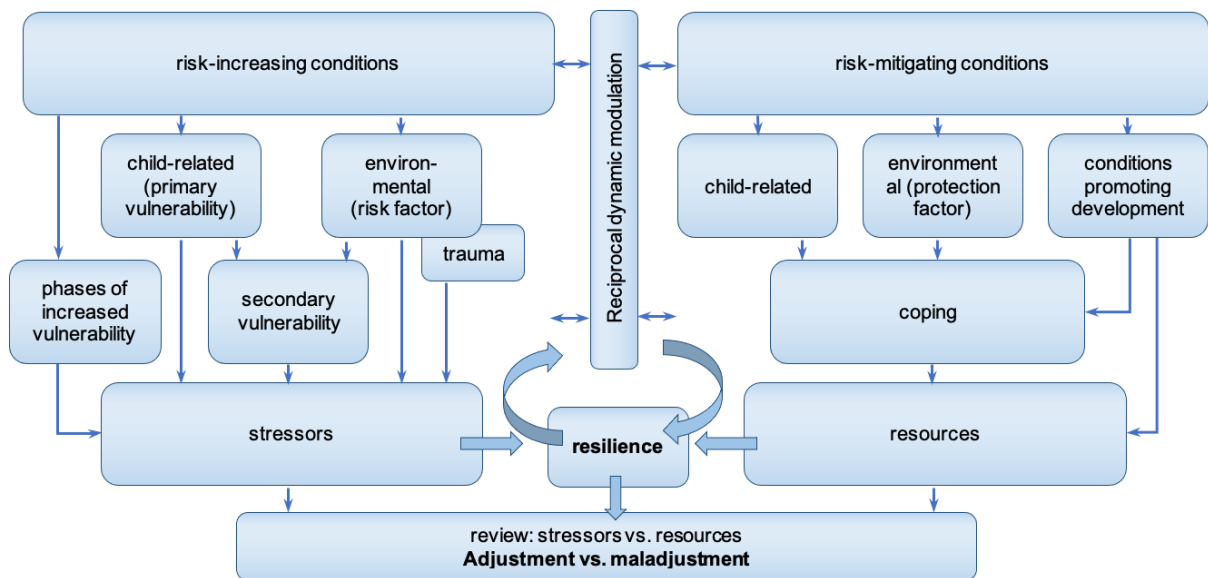
³⁸ Original citation: '[...] »Cut-off« Punkte, die resiliente von nicht-resilienten Menschen unterscheiden, sind immer zu einem gewissen Grad willkürlich.' (Kleefeldt, 2018, p. 34).

2.3.1. Resilience factors

As already noted, resilience is a very individual process, depending on the respective factors described above. Nevertheless, some aspects are recurring in the literature, described as protective factors, resources or resilience-promoting factors. According to Kleefeldt, the separation of resilience factors into stress factors, resilience-weakening factors or stressors on one side and resilience-strengthening factors on the other side is random and cannot be clearly separated from each other (cf. Kleefeldt, 2018, p. 38).

For example, migration, crises or fellow human beings can be both resilience-promoting and resilience-threatening. The actual impact of these factors depends on intensity, timing, combination with other factors, and how they are perceived and interpreted by the affected subjects (cf. *ibid.* p. 38).

The following graphic represents in a simple way the complex interaction of risk and protective factors in a holistic-processual model of resilience according to Wustmann (2004).



Graphic 3: Interaction of risk and protective factors

Source: own illustration, adapted after Wustmann 2004; p. 55, cited from Lanfranchi 2006, p. 125.

The left side of the graph shows the resilience promoting conditions for child development, while the right side shows the risk mitigating conditions. A distinction is made between child-related, or personal factors (for example, a disability as a risk-increasing factor or a positive self-concept as a resilience-promoting factor) and environmental factors (for example, poverty as a risk-increasing factor or a stable caregiver as a resilience-promoting factor). A distinction is also made between primary, congenital vulnerability (for example, disability) and secondary,

acquired vulnerability (for example, behavioral disorder). The phase of increased vulnerability refers to critical transitional phases, such as migration to another country. Developmentally supportive conditions, on the other hand, can provide additional support for problem-solving mechanisms and include family-supportive institutions such as public kindergartens or organizations, for example (cf. Lanfranchi, 2006, pp. 125-126).

Just as certain factors can be positive as well as negative³⁹, a person can be traumatized and resilient at the same time, since healing of psychological wounds is a lengthy process and does not proceed in the same way for all areas of life (cf. Ibid, p. 20). According to Kleefeldt, resilience decreases with '... number of stressors to which no adequate coping strategy can be countered' (ibid, p. 46, [translation by author]).⁴⁰ If a certain limit is crossed, further negative events can no longer be coped with and mental and physical disorders occur (cf. ibid, p. 46). Therefore, within the concept of resilience, stressful events from the past should not be forgotten, otherwise it can lead to the trivializing' of inhumane living conditions. People who become sick, or are not (anymore) resistant, are quickly blamed as being 'too weak'. But it is not the condition that is 'abnormal' with regard to the multitude of negative events, but the events themselves. Every person reaches this point at a certain accumulation and combination of other negative factors, at which he loses faith in him- or herself and in the world (cf. ibid. 65). In this context, it is also worth mentioning the scholar's call to society to remember that '[...] the context helps determine whether self-help and self-healing efforts fall on fertile ground or have their effects choked off in the nucleus.' (ibid p.61, [translation by author]).⁴¹

2.3.2. Criticism of the term resilience

Thus, Bröckling criticizes the political use of them, suggesting that '[...] measures of resilience programs rather aim at adapting people to the risks. Instead of reducing stresses, the stresses are increased.' (Bröckling 2017, cited from Scherr and Breit 2020, p. 65, [translation by author]).⁴²

Likewise, scholars such as Thomas Gebauer consider the misused concept of resilience as a trainable self-optimization in psychology to be very critical. Here, the commercial idea of a

³⁹ Refuge is one example for this case, since on one hand, it is connected to mayor changes in a person's life, the loss of the familiar network and dangerous situations during the refuge. On the other hand, it can be seen as a way to resilience when leaving threatening external conditions in order to not be broken or killed by them and maybe even improve the living conditions. Personal strength and social environment is often not enough to protect from war and crises (cf. Kleefeldt, 2018, p. 43).

⁴⁰ Original citation: '[...] Anzahl an Stessoren, denen keine adäquate Bewältigungsstrategie entgegengesetzt werden können ab.' (ibid, p. 46).

⁴¹ Original citation: '[...] der Kontext [mitbestimmt], ob Selbsthilfe und Selbstheilungsbemühungen auf fruchtbaren Boden fallen oder ihre Wirkung im Keim erstickt werden.' (ibid p.61).

⁴² Original citation: '[...] Maßnahmen [von Resilienzprogrammen] vielmehr darauf [abzielen], die Menschen an die Risiken anzupassen. Statt Belastungen abzubauen, erhöht man die Belastungen.' (Bröckling 2017, cited from Scherr and Breit 2020, p. 65).

mental strength is in the foreground, which is supposed to be able to be formed preventively by a certain technique and thus stands in contrast to a biographically grown and conflictive characteristic, which depends on continuing processes and environmental factors (cf. Göppel and Zander, 2017, pp. 12–13).

2.4. Coping

The term coping is closely related to the concept of resilience. In the literature, the two constructs are not always clearly separated or are used as synonyms (cf. Rice and Liu, 2016, pp. 325–326). Thus, the following section aims to elaborate the understanding of the term coping in this paper and to contextualize it in relation to resilience.

According to Folkmann and Moskowitz, cognitive processes and actions which have the objective of overcoming difficulties such as stressful situations are understood as coping (cf. Klingenberg, 2022, p. 44). By the term coping strategy is meant the response that is applied in relation to a particular stress-inducing situation. While this may vary depending on the stressor, the term coping style is used to refer to the tendency to use certain coping strategies. A coping style, almost like a character trait, is considered to be more constant, although it may also evolve over time (cf. *ibid.*).

In the literature exist over 100 category systems for coping strategies, as there is no unanimous opinion on how they should be categorized (cf. Skinner et al., 2003, p. 216). Common subcategories include for instance problem-focused coping, that tries to eliminate the stressor, emotion-focused coping, that searches to regulate the emotional state, and meaning-focused coping, which includes shifting of values and norms to adapt to a challenging situation (cf. Klingenberg, 2022, p. 46-47). Besides the personality, also the age, gender, social environment, society and culture play a role in which coping strategy is used (*ibid.*, p. 51-54). In the context of discrimination experiences, the damage to self-image caused by discrimination practices plays a major role, as does the influence of the cultural repertoire and social institutions, which can take on a supportive function so that those affected can claim their social recognition and position as an equal individual. Their coping strategies range from non-reaction, confrontation, and to reflective consideration of possible actions (cf. Scherr and Breit, 2020, p. 34).

The first of the three main categories is defensive coping. Here, discrimination is accepted as a reality that cannot be influenced. According to Scherr and Breit, the range of patterns of interpretation of a discriminatory situation extends from unbearable normality to its relativization. The corresponding coping strategies of this category range from the avoidance

of certain places and situations to passive endurance and de-thematization of one's own affectedness or irony. The category of pragmatic coping sees discrimination as an individual burden to be coped with. Coping in this category is seen as covering up minority affiliation in the form of outward adaptation through clothing, mimics, or language, as well as emphasizing individual difference, using professional help such as counseling or other forms of support, seeking out discrimination-free contexts, or relativizing negative attributions by comparison with other minority groups. Finally, the offensive coping strategy is mentioned, which interprets the discrimination as an unacceptable individual or collective disadvantage and actively criticizes or attempts to overcome it. This also includes retrospective positive re-interpretation of discriminatory acts as a learning experience. Coping strategies of this category are direct confrontation, the use of legal means such as legal action, the open communication of belonging to a minority, demonstrative refutation of the negative attribution, public thematization or self-organization (cf. *ibid*, p. 35-36).

Correlations to resilience & identity

So, while coping refers to cognitive processes and actions in response to a particular stressful situation and can be negative, dysfunctional, or positive, resilience is seen as a solely positive result of positive coping strategies over time (cf. Rice and Liu, 2016, p. 329). Another perspective views the relation between the terms the other way around: The higher the resilience, the less stressful a situation is experienced and evaluated. In this approach, coping strategies are used downstream when a situation is assessed as overwhelming and stressful (cf. Fletcher and Sarkar, 2013, p. 16). Another version sees successful coping as a protective factor of resilience (cf. Soucek et al., 2015, p.14). In this paper, coping is seen as a concept of cognitive and action processes as immediate reaction to a certain situation that is influenced by resilience-strengthening and -weakening factors and vice versa.

How the concepts of resilience, identity and coping interact, demonstrates a study on resilience on the example of Somali refugee women: ‚Women valued their identity as a ‘mother’ and ‘provider’ reporting that it helped them to be strong and many reported staying resilient for the sake of their children.’ (Sherwood and Liebling-Kalifani, 2012, p. 99). Beckers also cites a similar example from Germany with a refugee and shows how, because of the mothering role, the coping strategy ‘future orientation’ was chosen and through resource activation of innovative skills (such as constructing an extended family to care for each other's children) strengthened her resilience to cope with future stressors in the long run (cf. Beckers, 2021, pp. 64–65, 94).

Also, the resilience factor of spirituality is also often mentioned in the literature. In this context, Peter Hofer refers to a study conducted in Europe and focuses in particular on the aspect of mindfulness and perceptual sensitivity. In his view, the ability to enter into different levels of consciousness and take up various perspectives is a resource for self-reflection, which can be beneficial in the classification of external impulses and in one's personal development. The belief in a God does not play a significant role in his research (cf. Hofer, 2017, p. 64). Corina Beckers also refers to spirituality, but in particular to religious faith. She describes studies in the African context that identify faith as a source of hope, orientation and protection (cf. Beckers, 2021, p. 100). In this regard, she addresses the different classifications of importance of this resilience factor and underlines the importance of faith in the African context, which seems to play a subordinate role as a resilience-strengthening factor in the Anglo-American region, as Hofer confirms (cf. *ibid* 2021, pp. 102-103). In Becker's study with two refugees in Germany, one participant draws a direct link between faith and hope. This link is also confirmed by researchers Sleijpen et. al. in another study: ‚Religion was significant for their resilience: it provided support and guidance, distracted them and prevented distress. For some participants, their religion was a source of hope [...].’ (Sleijpen et al., 2017, p. 357). Likewise, Sherwood and Liebling-Kalifani confirm in their study that faith, and specifically prayer, is a major resilience factor among their interviewees (cf. Sherwood and Liebling-Kalifani, 2012, p. 99).

3. Methodology

The research for this thesis is based on qualitative methodology, which best matches the objectives of the research - given that it aims to display the individual experiences of Venezuelan migrant women, facing the various challenging situations in their home and host country. Scherr and Breit explain why research on discrimination should place the perspective of the affected individual in the center:

‘A discrimination research that focuses on those actually or potentially affected primarily as passive victims [...] tends to reproduce a discriminatory view on its own part: Those affected by discrimination – in contrast to other social actors – are implicitly denied the ability to reflectively and actively deal with their living conditions and their experiences, as well as to realize obstinate practices, tactics, and strategies of emotional, cognitive, and practical coping’ (Scherr and Breit, 2020, p. 18, [translated by author]).⁴³

⁴³ Original citation: ‚einer Diskriminierungsforschung, welche die tatsächlich oder potenziell Betroffenen vor allem als passive Opfer in den Blick nimmt, [da] sie [dazu tendiert], ihrerseits einen diskriminierenden Blick zu reproduzieren: Den von Diskriminierung Betroffenen wird – im Unterschied zu anderen sozialen Akteuren – implizit die Fähigkeit bestreitet, sich reflektierend und aktiv mit ihren Lebensbedingungen und ihren Erfahrungen auseinanderzusetzen sowie eigensinnige Praktiken, Taktiken und Strategien der emotionalen, kognitiven und praktischen Bewältigung zu realisieren.’ (Scherr and Breit, 2020, p. 18, [added by author]).

However, the opposite is the case – the persons experiencing discrimination deal with racism in a form and to an extent that is appropriate from their perspective. Furthermore, the perception of discrimination from the affected individual's perspective must be developed in order to understand the effects of the phenomenon. Finally, social conditions influence the respective ways of interpreting and coping with experiences of racism (cf. Scherr and Breit, 2020, p. 19). This shall prevent an individual attribution of responsibility to the persons affected by discrimination. Prior biographical experiences and the social environment play a major role in determining which coping strategies are considered individually (cf. Ibid p.19).

3.1. Research methods

According to social scientist Hanne Schaffer, qualitative autobiographical interviews are particularly suitable for opening or increasing the understanding of stigmatized groups (cf. Schaffer, 2009, pp. 137–138). As this kind of investigation offers the best chances to understand the interruptions, ambitions, hopes and personal interpretations in the biography of an interviewed person, they serve to reconstruct critical life events (cf. Schaffer, 2009, pp. 137–138; cf. Göppel/ Zander 2017, pp. 15, 20). Furthermore, Günther Opp argues that the reflection on ruptures and contradictions in one's own life story is particularly resilience-promoting (cf. Göppel and Zander, 2017, p. 20).

3.1.1. Qualitative biographic semi-structured Interviews

In order to gain a better understanding of the context of possible resilience-weakening and resilience-strengthening factors and conditions that have an impact on how the interviewees face challenges in Colombia, the qualitative interviews were divided into a biographical part, followed by semi-structured questions.

For the biographical interview, the entire life phase and the specific life phase before and after the migration was given as a topic, which was narrated by the interviewee in a retrospective manner. The structure is usually chronological according to the underlying interview guideline, from childhood to adolescence to recent events in adulthood (cf. Schaffer, 2009, pp. 134–135). In the interviews conducted, questions were asked about the family situation in childhood, which was answered in varying detail. Here the narration was interrupted at most by comprehension questions or because of the acoustic comprehension. Other than that, the narrative flow was not to be impaired to obtain an impression of the memories that were as uninfluenced as possible.

In most cases, this resulted naturally in a flow of conversation that arose spontaneously from the situations narrated. In order to get back to the main topics and not to forget the most important aspects, a look at the interview guide was taken in between or afterwards. Apart from questions about basic demographic data, the guideline is divided into five sections: The first section is about the phase before and during the migration - especially around everyday life in Venezuela, reasons for migration and the journey itself. Followed by the next section that asks about the situation after arriving in Colombia and the main changes. Section Three briefly looks at the impact of the pandemic, while the fourth topic focuses on the experiences around discrimination and integration. The last section addresses personal resources regarding coping strategies in difficult situations. The complete interview guide is included in the appendix. The open questions of the interview guide were not always asked in chronological order. They served rather as anchor points and were included, exchanged, or skipped, depending on the course of the interview. Furthermore, literature on the relevant topics on which the conceptual framework of the semi-structured interview guide is grounded, was reviewed in advance to be able to identify and collect enough information for the analysis.

3.1.1. Selection of the interview partners

The selection of the interviewees was done by the teams of both organizations that had been contacted for the research: JRS (Jesuit Refugee Service Colombia) and Cáritas Colombia (Secretariado Nacional de Pastoral Social (SNPS)). The contact with both NGOs and their local offices was established through Caritas International. Through prior outreach, the local teams from SNPS and JRS supported me with the selection and scheduling of appointments. Only adult Venezuelan migrant women were asked for the interviews. The participation was completely voluntary and without financial compensation. The selection was based on the women's consent to participate, and both organizations made sure by themselves to sample a certain spectrum (age, reason for migration, background) of the target group.

In total 19 interviews were conducted within the organizations JRS and SNPS during five days between the end of September and beginning of October 2021, with three to five interviews taking place every day. Depending on the course of the conversation, each interview lasted between 40 min to two hours, with an average duration of one and a half hours. The interviews continued until the conversation came to a natural end and further questions would no longer add significant value to the research. In several cases the conversation flow had to be intentionally ended because the planned conversation time had been exceeded and the next interviewee was already waiting or some participants could not make it in time, which led to a few adaptations as well. The median age of the interviewed women was 39 years old, with the youngest interviewee being 24 and the oldest being 57 years old. Data collection and analysis

In the next step, the audio files of the interview partners were anonymized. On the one hand, this involved cutting the most important data which could give hints to the identity in the audio. On the other hand, it meant anonymizing the interviewees' first and last names with typical Venezuelan names according to standard rules (cf. Meyermann and Porzelt, 2014, p. 7). The interviews were transcribed content-semantically according to Dresing & Pehl. According to Kurckatz, these are '[...] intentionally uncomplicated and easy-to-learn transcription rules that clearly 'smooth' the language and focus on the (semantic) content of the speech'. (2008, p. 27, [translation by author]).⁴⁴ As the focus is on the content, linguistic characteristics such as pitch, speed, or stuttering are not recorded in writing. The transcription serves as the basis for the analysis. It should be noted that this step already represents a kind of interpretation and inevitably cannot fully reflect the actual conversational situation. Apart from the decision which pauses, moments of laughing or crying are marked, facial expressions, gestures, smell and room situation are missing (cf. Flick, 1996, pp. 16–18). The established transcription rules can be viewed in the appendix.

3.1.2. Location of the investigation

All interviews with JRS (Servicio Jesuita a Refugiados) had been carried out in the territorial office in Soacha. Soacha is part of the Metropolitan Region of Bogotá⁴⁵ and one of the municipalities which is home to the largest number of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and migrants from Venezuela, due to its close location to the capital city and lower living costs. It is neighbor to other vulnerable localities like Bosa, Ciudad Bolivar and Usme at the southern outskirts of Bogotá whose habitants live in similar conditions: The international humanitarian organization JRS describes the situation as '[...] poverty and misery have become traditional in this municipality located in the south of the capital.'⁴⁶ (JRS, 2022, para 1, [translation by author]). The NGO also mentions intra-urban displacement due to illegal armed groups as another problem (ibid, para 2). A report from Cinep (Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular) draws a more detailed picture:

'Structural micro-trafficking, tierreros⁴⁷, social cleansing, precariousness, victimization of the youth, xenophobia, and the peak of illegal armed actors and gangs associated with drug trafficking. In the municipality of Soacha, the list of phenomena that seem to reproduce themselves over the years has resulted in a concentration of violence and,

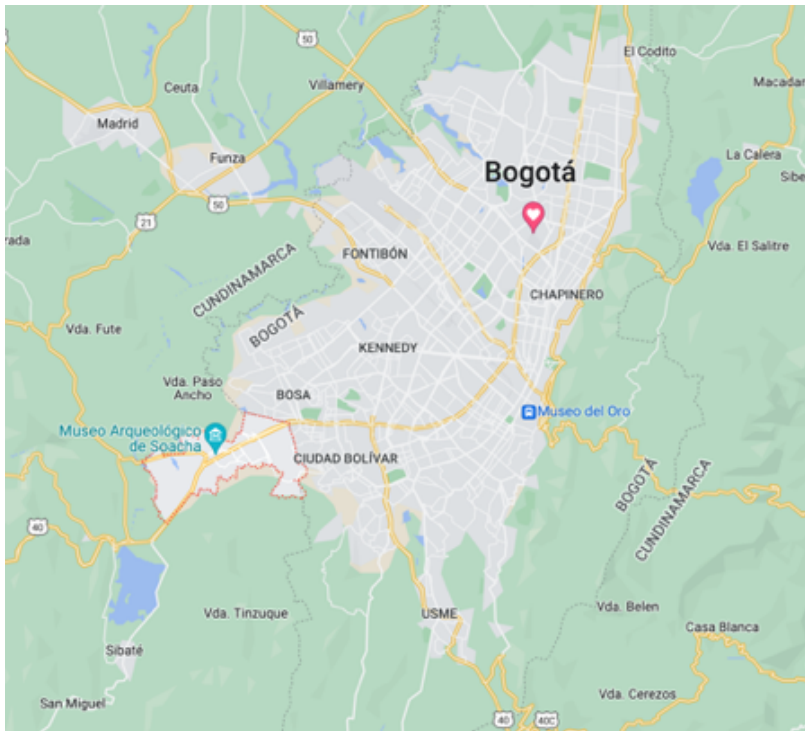
⁴⁴ Original citation: '[...] bewusst einfache und schnell erlernbare Transkriptionsregeln, die die Sprache deutlich ,glätten' und den Fokus auf den (semantischen) Inhalt des Redebeitrages setzen.' (2008, p. 27).

⁴⁵ See map 1: Soacha is located in the Southwest of Bogotá and red circled in the map.

⁴⁶ Original citation: '[...] pobreza y miseria ya tradicionales en este municipio ubicado al sur de la capital.' (JRS, 2022, para 1).

⁴⁷ Tierreros: Criminals who rob public properties, which are mainly located in high-risk areas with the objective to sell them to unsuspecting citizens (cf. Murillo, 2020, p. 1)

as a consequence, a constant atmosphere of insecurity, distrust and fear'. (Osorio Granados, 2019, para 2, [translation by author]).⁴⁸



Map 1: Map of Bogotá and Soacha (October 2022).
Source: Google Maps, 2022.

Cinep highlights the situation of women in the municipality, who are strongly impacted by structural social patterns that promote the women's segregation and exclusion. This implies high levels of violence and subordination, which generates not only disadvantages in dealing with the impact of the armed conflict in Colombia but also in daily life (cf. Osorio Granados, 2019, para 11).

The interviews with migrants who are beneficiaries from Caritas Colombia had been interviewed in the city center, in the neighborhood of Chapinero, where the SNPS office is located. The participants came from various locations (like Bosa, USME and others) to the office. Due to the wide variety of locations where beneficiaries of SNPS live, the respective characteristics of their neighborhoods will not be discussed further here.

3.1.3. Ethnographic systematic and active participant observation

Five open participatory observations were additionally conducted together with the team of JRS in the accommodations of Venezuelan migrant women in Soacha. This form of observation means that the researcher '[...] goes into the natural living environment of the studied persons and does not disguise their identity in the process. (Schaffer, 2009, p. 91, [translation by author])⁴⁹. A distinct deviation of this method in this research is the circumstance that the researcher could not take the time to blend into everyday life until her presence is no

⁴⁸ Original citation: 'Microtráfico estructural, tierreros, limpieza social, precariedad, victimización de jóvenes, xenofobia y auge de actores armados ilegales y bandas asociadas al narcotráfico. En el municipio de Soacha, la lista de fenómenos que parecen reproducirse con los años ha derivado en una concentración de la violencia y, como consecuencia, un constante ambiente de inseguridad, desconfianza y miedo.' (Osorio Granados, 2019, para 2).

⁴⁹ Original citation: '[...] in das natürliche Lebensumfeld der untersuchten Personen begeben und ihre Identität dabei nicht verschleiern.' (Schaffer, 2009, p. 91).

longer noticeable, and the target group goes about their normal occupations. Rather, it is a home visit to understand the living conditions of the target group and facilitate professional support. In the sense of a systematic observation (cf. Greck et. al. 2017, para. 2), the visits were linked to a questionnaire by JRS to the residents of the accommodation, which sequence was followed and consists mostly of closed questions. The described questionnaire and the home visit serve the purpose to JRS to determine whether there is a humanitarian need or not. Therefore, basic demographic data about the applicant and the associated family members have been collected and questions about their health conditions, hygiene, nutrition, possession of everyday objects, economic situation, legal status as well as their access to the health system and educational institutions have been asked and presented.

The interviewees in the home visits are not identical to the interviewees in the biographical interviews described above but live in the same or a socio-economic similar district and often the interviewed women still live or have been living in those conditions at some point of their migration history. In the course of the present work, this method primarily served to learn firsthand about the housing and living conditions of the migrant women in Soacha and will be described further in chapter 3.3.1.

3.1.4. Qualitative content analysis

The analysis of the data is based on the qualitative content analysis. In general terms 'Qualitative content analysis is a method for systematically describing the meaning of qualitative data.' (Schreier 2014, p. 2). This process is realized by relating sequences of the material to the categories of a coding frame (cf. *ibid*). The method was already applied in the 70s by Ritsert, and popularized by Mayring since the 80s, who is known as the pioneer of the method in the German-speaking region (cf. Flick, 1996, p. 36). For the present work, the method is applied according to Kuckartz, who further developed the method in 2016 with a special focus on the open inductive approach to the text. He defines the method as follows:

[...] the systematic and methodically controlled scientific analysis of texts, images, films and other contents of communication is understood. Not only manifest but also latent contents are analyzed. At the center of qualitative analysis are categories with which all material significant to the research question is coded. Category formation can be deductive, inductive, or deductive-inductive.' (Kuckartz, Rädiker 2022, p. 39).

Within qualitative content analysis, a distinction is also made between a summarizing, an explicating, or a structuring content statement. For this paper, the last method was chosen. Here, after initiating textual work on the transcripts, such as generating summaries and memos, main categories are developed. These are derived from the research question, the previous literature review, and the interview questions of the interview. New categories have

been developed through textual work on the transcripts according to the principles of grounded theory and open coding (cf. Kuckartz, 2022, pp. 132-133). After all the material has been coded according to main categories, each category is differentiated thematically, then inductive subcategories are formed and substantiated with so-called anchor examples⁵⁰ (cf. Schaffer, 2009, p. 151). The MAXQDA 2022 software was used for the entire coding process. With the generated subcategories, the entire material is coded again in the second coding process. In the last step of the structuring content analysis, the analysis proceeds. This is based on a thematic matrix that was created through the coding process. On the x-axis the categories are listed and on the y-axis the interview partners, whose respective answers are summarized for each relevant coding. This step was done for the specific relevant topics directly in the text document, since the text grid within the software program appeared as too large. Various forms of analysis exist (cf. Ibid, pp. 144-147). For the present work, the following forms of analysis were used: Category-based analyses along selected main categories⁵¹, the analysis of interrelationships between subcategories of two main categories⁵², and in-depth single case analyses. For the first two analyses forms, additional to the qualitative contents analyses, frequency analyses in the sense of the *Mixed Methods*⁵³ approach for the visual overview have been created as well. In order to not hinder the reading flow of this work, of which the central approach is qualitative, the graphics with accompanying explanations and examples can be found in the appendix. A visual graphic in form of a word cloud is displayed in the main text, as it shows the linguistic discriminatory statements, the Venezuelan women are confronted with.

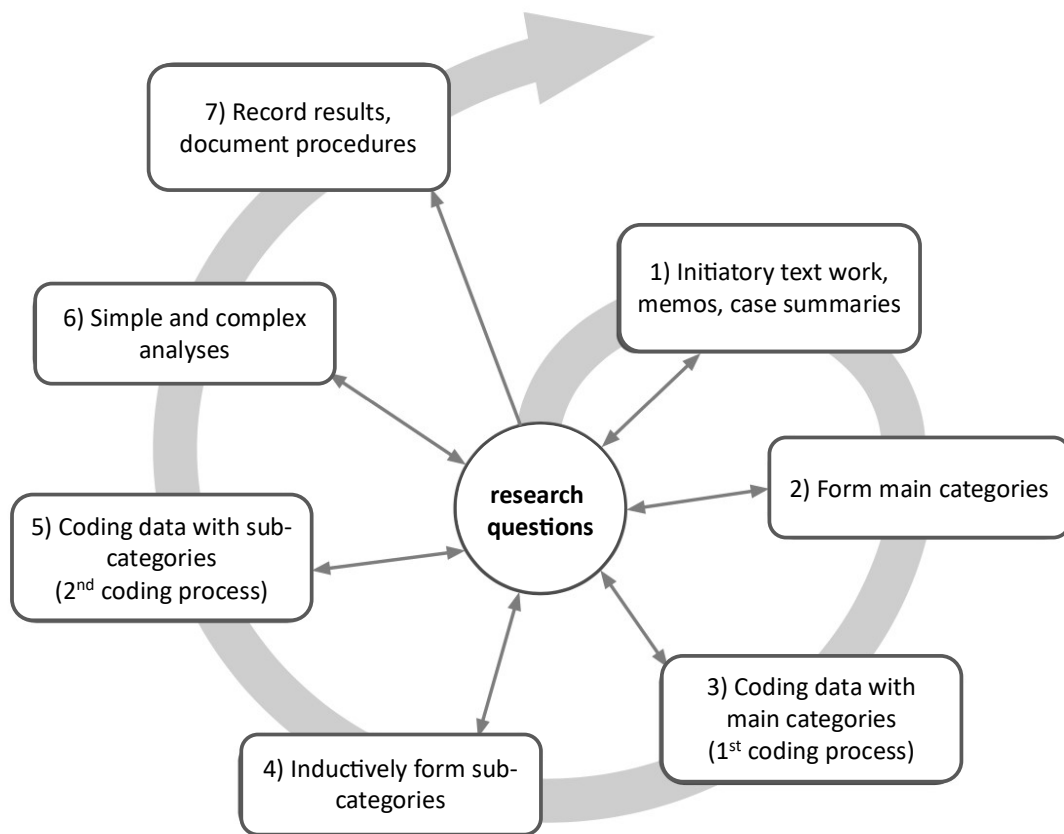
In the following graphic the steps are shown again. The circle with arrows pointing in both directions represent the flexibility and open-ended process of this method. It is not a rigid linear process, but a constant balancing and adjusting between the seven phases, depending on the insights that are gained in the process.

⁵⁰ See appendix 5: Code system for the analysis

⁵¹ See appendix 1 - 3

⁵² See appendix 4: Visual overview of interrelationships between subcategories of the categories 'discrimination experiences' and 'coping with discrimination'

⁵³ See also Kuckartz, 2022, p. 20



Graphic 4: Sequence of a content structuring qualitative content analysis in 7 phases

Source: Kuckartz and Rädiker, 2022, p. 132, [translation by author]

3.2. Ethical considerations

The interviews were all conducted in separate rooms in the offices of JRS and Caritas Colombia, which represent a safe environment for the participants. On the other hand, the separate rooms served to establish confidentiality, as their privacy was taken very seriously. The participants, as well as the interviewer, wore a mask throughout the interview as a precaution against Covid-19. In addition, if desired, the participant could perform a rapid test herself and ask the same of the interviewer. These measurements were especially considered as some interviewees have no access to the public health system. Besides these preventive healthcare aspects, they were informed about the research and objectives of the study and their consent was obtained for the audio recording. This was reconfirmed in written form, and the researcher confirmed that their data would be treated with utmost confidentiality. A complete biographical narrative without gaps is intentionally omitted, and the experiences are only quoted in paragraphs in order to prevent any conclusions on the women's identity from being drawn, based on the biographical narratives. Thus, the cited transcriptions of the interviews do not appear in the appendix. The interview audio files were edited in such a way

that no full names or very sensitive information are audible in the interview anymore. In addition, they were anonymized by fictional names, as described earlier. On top of that, in two audios highly confidentially information was left out of the transcription. The original data was transferred to an external hard drive by the researcher as soon as possible and was then deleted from the cell phone to ensure data security as best as possible.

3.3. Self-reflection & investigation context

I am writing this chapter in first person as the author of this paper to share insights as per how the focus of this paper evolved and what learning experiences I have had along the way. Since I was very interested in working on a relevant topic in the context of gender-specific topics within Latin America, I chose the situation of Venezuelan women in agreement with Caritas International. The situation of Venezuelan women in the border town of Cucuta were at the heart of this project, as they are particularly vulnerable to human trafficking and forced prostitution due to the illegal border crossings in this area. At the beginning of 2020, I traveled to Cucutá with Caritas International to get an idea of the situation on the ground. We conducted an expert interview with the JRS team there and visited an OIM refugee camp. The refugee camp was very rudimentary, and the dormitories were overcrowded. The migrants only stay there for a few days before moving on or seeking another accommodation in Cucuta. The individuals had only been in Colombia for a short time and many were malnourished or obviously ill. In addition to providing basic needs, the migrants are invited to attend workshops and small activity programs. Here I was allowed to attend a session and interview three women about their personal situations.

All three women were very grateful for the initial assistance they had received in Colombia and stated that they had seen a significant improvement. However, they had endured different traumatic experiences as drastic as the death of a child due to lack of hygiene and malnutrition. Since the most vulnerable women do not stay in the refugee camps, we decided to seek them out on the streets the next time we would visit Cucuta. However, a week later, the trial lockdown was imposed due to the Covid-19 pandemic, which was extended from three weeks to three months. Due to diverse circumstances, I was urged to leave Colombia on the second-to-last evacuation plane. Shortly before, however, I was assured by a police station in my neighborhood that I would not be allowed to be kicked out of my rented apartment. At the same time, I read everywhere in the newspapers that Venezuelan migrants were returning to their country on foot because of eviction in the middle of the Covid 19 pandemic and nationwide lockdowns to at least have a roof over their heads. Being a migrant myself, I found myself differently treated than the Venezuelan migrants, which felt very unjust to me. It became clear after a few weeks that I wouldn't be able to return anytime soon, but I was determined to pursue

the analysis of this topic. I contemplated to conduct analysis via social media channels and considered interviewing the Venezuelan women online. The former, however, could have been accomplished on a quantitative level, which I did not consider suitable for the research question, while for the latter it became clear through the feedback of a local NGO that the presence on the ground is essential - which also confirmed my assumption based on the first interviews of Cucuta. From my perspective, being able to professionally conduct these interviews can be achieved best on the ground, as trust on an interpersonal level is the basis to open about emotionally impacting and life-altering experiences. When I was finally able to return more than one year later - still during the pandemic, but with eased restrictions in terms of free movement - I decided to focus on discrimination and resilience amongst Venezuelan women in Colombia. The interviews I conducted the previous year and the experiences I had made regarding that topic, have been a strong motivation for this thesis. For reasons of easier accessibility, the research field shifted from Cúcuta to Bogota and Soacha, where I was able to conduct the interviews. In addition to the interviews, on one day I also accompanied a colleague from JRS for home visits in Soacha and supported the team with the documentation and assessment to determine the need for humanitarian aid. I also assisted in a workshop from JRS on entrepreneurship in Soacha, in which some of my interviewees also participated, and led two group reflection exercises on resource activation at the end of the workshop. In the following, the summary documentation of the home visits shall provide a deeper insight as per how the target group of my research lives in Soacha.

3.3.1. Results of systemic observations

The five home visits within the framework of JRS humanitarian work were all realized within one day in October 2021 in the municipality of Soacha. The home visits were carried out in agreement and by scheduling appointments with the applicants who had applied for financial humanitarian assistance from JRS. The route was set to visit neighboring communities, so that as many applicants as possible could be visited in one day. Therefore, two families living in the adjacent neighborhoods 'La Florida Baja' and 'Altos de la Florida' were visited first, and then, after a 20-minute drive, three more families were visited in the city quarter 'Ciudad Verde'. The two zones of Soacha (La Florida and Ciudad Verde) are characterized by their extreme differences: 'Altos de la Florida' of Municipality six is a hillside 'barrio de invasión' and represents one of the precarious neighborhoods known for the negative messages from Soacha, such as [...] generalized insecurity, micro-trafficking, common crime, gangs, prostitution, demobilized groups that continue to commit crimes, and pirate 'loteadores' (cf. De La Cruz and Correa, 2020, para. 1). While the streets down in the neighboring district 'La Florida Baja' are mostly paved and includes different sized houses made of concrete and brick,

the landscape in the district 'Altos de la Florida' is characterized by unpaved, narrow roads that wind up the hills. Some of the accommodations are not accessible by car due to lack of infrastructure and steep hills. The houses are often small and self-built, many of them with tiles and corrugated iron roofs, others made of wood and cardboard walls. Reports of violence, lack of water and other fundamental services, as well as forced evictions by the ESMAD are regularly reported from this region.

In contrast, the 'Ciudad Verde' district, which is based on the concept 'the city within a city', consists exclusively of high, professionally built multi-family complexes, green parks, good transportation, and service provision, as well as shopping facilities. The complexes are carefully planned on flat terrain from step 1, monitored with security systems and everything looks well maintained.

The survey of the five households shows that four out of five can only afford up to a maximum of two meals a day, the majority of which consist of rice, grain, or beans. Only one family affords three meals a day. Three families eat chicken or other meat 1-2 times a week. The external circumstances of the two families living in 'La Florida' look much more precarious than those living in Ciudad Verde. For example, both households have no possibility to buy items of daily use for their own hygiene nor for that of their accommodation. The mattresses are recycled from the garbage dumps and the bed frames are borrowed. They share a very small space with many people, for example, in one case a small bathroom is shared by 12 people, as well as the kitchen of 3-4 m² is used by 8 people. The entrances to the rooms are semi-closed by curtains and the accommodations of both families are built with brick walls, cartons, corrugated iron roof and sheets in the windows (instead of glass). These are also the two families who cannot afford meat at any time. None of them have a regular income and they go to recycle, one of them also sometimes sells self-made food on the street. Furthermore, in both families the women are the head of the family as single mothers and the main breadwinner.

While one of the women (33) must take care of her children (6 and 8 years old), the other applicant (42) lives with her elderly mother (83), her daughter (18), her son (15), and her grandson (3 months) in one room. Neither household has access to the health care system. Of the smaller family, only the mother has a passport and legal residency. Her father is Colombian but lives in Venezuela. She sometimes sends him money because he had an accident and since then cannot use one leg as he used to. Her children participate in virtual schooling through their mother's cell phone and receive school assignments through WhatsApp. Everyone from the other family lives in Colombia without valid papers and the son, who is of school age, does not go to school but contributes something to the family income by

recycling. The grandparents of this family were Colombians who had emigrated to Venezuela, but both have passed away.

The house visits in Ciudad Verde included family C, with the applicant (34), her sister (31) and daughter (2), family D with the applicant (61) and her husband (65), and family E, with the applicant (30), her husband (38) and their two sons (5 and 11). What the three families have in common is that all family members are legal residents and have PEP (except for family E's youngest son). Likewise, almost all of them have access to the health care system. Apart from the good structural condition of their rented accommodation (Ciudad Verde was built in 2012*), the households have in common that all their furniture is borrowed from the homeowners and only in one case a bed with mattress was given to them as a gift. Thus, their living conditions seem to be okay for the time being, but this also implies a high dependency on the homeowner, since they would own nothing as soon as they would have to move out. Households C and D share the apartment with the apartment owners. Although they have a separate room, they otherwise must share space with the landlords in the kitchen and bathroom in a rather restrained manner. In both cases, arrangements are in place for the landlord to pay for the house's cleaning supplies, with the subtenants doing the cleaning in return. All three households sell food in the street, which helps them to pay the rent (even though it does not always cover the costs, so all of them are sometimes in debt for 1-2 months). Even though the man of family E has an additional job with minimum wage, the money is the least sufficient for them (from the three families in Ciudad Verde), because they have the whole apartment for themselves and therefore higher costs and they are also more people. All three families are comfortable in Colombia and have experienced support. For example, all of them often enjoy leniency from landlords when rent payments are delayed; for family E, the landlord pays for wifi for the older son's virtual classes; and the landlady and roommate of household C sometimes helps out with food when things become very tough for the two sisters.

3.3.2. About the topic and the author's position

In the context of the subject of this thesis, it is important to be clear about my perspective as a white woman. This is an attempt, in the sense of the Critical Whiteness Studies, to come to terms with one's own privileged position. One of the most significant works on this is the collection "Playing in the Dark. Whiteness and Literary Imagination" (1993) by Toni Morrison. The Nobel laureate and literary scholar identifies the absent presence of white authors in standard works of international literature. The 'other' what is described in the texts as not-me and as a disturbing presence are black people, while the subject of the texts is recognized by its non-mentioning as a white 'me', as well as its authors are (cf. Tißberger, 2017, pp. 92–93). Morrison's demand initiates a change of perspective '[...] [It] is an effort to avert the critical

gaze from the racial object to the racial subject; from the described and imagined to the describers and imaginers; from the serving to the served' (Morrison 1991, S. 90, cited from Stark and Noack, 2017, p. 895). In this way, white strategies and privileges are to be uncovered in order to deconstruct white normalities and power contexts. According to Piesche, the Black perspective is of great importance for this, since otherwise the power of definition remains with the white subject and nothing changes (cf. Stark and Noack, 2017, pp. 895–896). That the power of definition remains with the survivors of racism is important not only for the assessment of white power structures, but also for the identification of experienced discrimination.

As described in Chapter 4.7., a few times a certain discrepancy was realized in the analysis between the interviewee's experience and my view. This is especially the case with indirect or institutional discrimination that is often not recognized as such. To ensure that, on the one hand, the power of definition and interpretation remains with the interviewee, and on the other hand, to not ignore problematic discrimination practices from the state or the society, the different perspectives are clearly described.

4. Experiences of Venezuelan women in Bogotá

The following chapter searches to analyze the interviewees' narratives regarding their experiences with discrimination as well as challenging life events and factors which were helpful to them dealing with these difficulties.

From here on, the present work intentionally breaks with the continuous text in English, in which literature sources were translated with references to the footnotes. This approach does not apply to the original quotes of the interviewees, sharing about their personal experiences. In these cases, the translation was intentionally dropped to avoid the loss of information due to the translation of the language into English.

4.1. Migration reasons

In order to understand the initial situation of the interviewees better, the following section will briefly discuss some examples of the personal reasons for the interviewees' migration to Colombia. On one hand, this provides valuable information on the context of what these women had already endured, on the other hand, it serves the understanding of the closeness between vulnerability and resilience. The reasons for migration range from their economic situation in Venezuela, to sickness and malnourishment, to violence and repression by criminal groups or the government itself.

In most literature, a will of survival is not considered as a resilience-strengthening factor, as flight is often seen as giving up or as another resilience-weakening factor since refuge routes bear many risks in itself (cf. Jansen and Zander, 2019, p. 64). On the other hand, refuge opens up the possibility of escaping life-threatening conditions and building a better life. This requires the ability to leave the familiar environment and develop new skills. While flight usually involves many destabilizing factors such as violence and insecurity, inner and outer resources are also activated to accomplish the escape. Successful escape is a sign of resilience and can be seen as a means to an end: Leaving one's home country in order not to become ill or break apart under the circumstances is the first step toward initiating a resilience process in a changed environment (cf. Kleefeldt, 2018, pp. 42-44). The following examples have in common that the refuge prevented possibly worse in near future for the interviewee or a loved one. Zilah Toro reports on her reason for migration:

,Incluso, lo que me hizo a mi –aparte de la necesidad que tenía económicamente, los alimentos que no se encontraban, todas esas cosas– tomar la decisión de venirme fue un día que fui a visitar a mis padres. Eso es un conjunto cerrado, puras casas, con vigilancia y esas cosas. Yo salí a comprar algo a la tienda y cuando regreso, yo vi que salía mucha gente corriendo y que andaban los motorizados⁵⁴. Cuando me di cuenta yo corrí, entré a mi casa, apagamos las luces y cuando miraba por la ventana veía a los militares con las ARMAS disparándole a TODO el que se le atravesara. [...] Ellos se paraban en frente de las casas y disparaban hacia adentro, a todo el que encontraran. Y eso para mi era terrible porque, uno, yo no había visto armas tan grandes, que son metralletas que disparan bastante. [...] las personas heridas corrían para que les abrieran las puertas, tocaba ayudarlos. Solo porque se manifestaban que no estaban de acuerdo con el gobierno. Y ese día entró una tanqueta militar al conjunto. Eso tumbó los portones donde está la seguridad, eso iba por las calles... eso fue devastador para mi, fue horrible. Y desde ese día dije “no, yo no quiero esto para mi hija. No me veo en esto.”(Toro Rivera, Zilah P., pos. 63 – 68).

Also, Janina and Isabella experienced a concrete threat from armed actors. They did not plan to leave Venezuela because of the economic situation and Isabella's husband was active in the student resistance against the government, but because of the violence, they no longer saw a future for their families in their home country. Likewise, Sofia had faced direct violence against herself. Her individual case is examined in more detail later.

Leidi Bermudez had also participated in demonstrations and described the disappearances and arbitrary arrests of her fellow organizers. ,[...] y allá el seguimiento fue contra las personas que estaba en contra del gobierno, empezaban a allanar las casas, se desaparecían, iban presos.’ (Bermudez, Leidi Y., pos. 50 – 54). Her sense for reality and decision to migrate

⁵⁴ Motorizados: Civil persons with guns on motorbikes. They are part of one of the so called 'colectivos' which are groups of people who support the autocratic regime of Nicolás Maduro. They claim to be created as security measure to defend the communist model, and the Venezuelan people, while being seen responsible for the insecurity in the nation, bloody endings of peaceful demonstrations, expropriations, and hijackings. (cf. Pardo, 2014, paras 1–2; cf. García Marco, 2017, paras 1–16).

enabled her to avoid worse, because shortly after she arrived in Colombia, the armed actors asked for her at her father's house (cf. Bermudez, Leidi Y., pos. 54 - 56).

Francy Guerra had to flee because she and her husband did not want to continue supporting the regime as officials. Before her escape, one of her brothers was murdered before her eyes to intimidate her, and their house was burned down.

'[...] como tú eres funcionario y tienes que apoyar al gobierno, [...] nos queremos como que apartar de todo eso, [...] entonces empezaron las cosas, las amenazas que tienes que hacerlo que mira que sabes que tu familia que no sé qué más. [...] cenamos y cosa y como a las 11 y media de la noche se metieron 3 delincuentes, o sea, o sea tremendo armamento y entonces nos dijeron que sí que esto era por esto por esto porque tenía que hacer las cosas como ellos dijeron [...] Se metieron y le dieron tres tiros en el cuello a uno de mis hermanos.' (Meza Guerra, Francy, pos. 90-117).

Repression by the state without the use of violence was particularly evident when special payments⁵⁵ to civils were cancelled, important documents⁵⁶ were hardly issued or jobs like in the following example were terminated if one did not vote for the government:

.[...] mi papá, él trabajaba - no era directamente con el gobierno sino como aliado, y él porque solamente votó en contra del gobierno, él perdió su trabajo. [...] Nunca, NUNCA fue secreto y todas las personas que trabajaban en instituciones públicas, por ejemplo en la parte de salud o los profesores, si ellos votaban en contra, automáticamente los sacaban del trabajo.' (Toro Rivera, Zilah P., Pos. 83-85).

A lot of thematic overlaps are clearly recognizable between the reason for migration and a sense of social responsibility. Here, on the one hand, it plays a role in the considerations that the parents do not want their children to grow up in such an insecure environment, with some of them had already experienced traumatic situations, and on the other hand, it is a matter of pure survival and the kids' healthy development. Furthermore, it is very difficult to obtain medicines⁵⁷ in Venezuela and if one manages to get them, they are very expensive. In addition to regular breakdowns of electricity and water, the unavailability of food⁵⁸ also plays a significant role, as Valeria and Belisa describe it: .

'Por la situación económica, no teníamos dinero, ya no nos alcanzaba el dinero para comer [...].' (Roa Santana, Valeria, Pos. 49

'[...] "yo necesito salir del país, necesito irme. Si yo me quedo aquí, realmente yo me voy a morir de hambre con mis hijos."' (Hurtado Toro, Belisa N., Pos. 74)

⁵⁵ See also Requena Gamez, Nelly D., Pos. 84

⁵⁶ See also Requena Gamez, Nelly D., Pos. 78

⁵⁷ See also Toro Rivera, Zilah P., Pos. 131

⁵⁸ See also Araujo Mejias, Janina D., Pos. 173

The statements of Valeria and Belisa are examples for forced migration that was not because of persecution but still because of urgent reasons. Both are not refugees but still they needed humanitarian aid. While not all of those who were affected by violence can apply for a refugee status. Very few of the cases mentioned above are in the application process of the refugee protection status due to political persecution, other interviewees have prevented worse effects on their lives through irregular or legal migration, such as the serious consequences and possible disabilities due to malnutrition in children or other life-threatening diseases due to a lack of clean water (cf. Pérez Lugo, Elianny Y., Pos. 49; Lopez Gallardo, Nicole, Pos. 182; Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., Pos. 30).

4.2. Aporophobia or racism?

The various experiences of discrimination demonstrate the variety of social hostilities faced by the women in their host country. Since according to Attia, programs for better coexistence between compatriots and migrants should be based on the phenomenon that is present, the following section searches to analyze indications of what is found in Colombia, based on the experiences of the interviewees.

4.2.1. Aporophobic aspects

A certain link to aporophobia is notable in comments from Colombians, who express their vague fear – connected to aggressivity - about a disadvantage, regarding their economic status or the security in the country, like the following example:

‘[...] hubo un muchacho colombiano que les dijo "ay, después que los venezolanos llegaron acá, los colombianos nos quedamos sin trabajo porque los venecos esos son tan muertos de hambre que hasta por 10 pesos trabajan" que nosotros los venezolanos le quitábamos el trabajo, que nosotros los venezolanos vinimos a matar, a violar, a robar [...]’ (Pérez Lugo, Elianny Y., Pos. 151)

Elianny also mentions that some Venezuelans actually committed criminal acts and names the problem of generalizations that is part of any kind of discrimination:

‘[...] "esos son venecos, esos son delincuentes" [...] A todos nos generalizan porque sí, hay venezolanos que son delincuentes y han venido para acá a delinquir.’ (Pérez Lugo, Elianny Y., Pos. 147).⁵⁹

⁵⁹ See also: ‘[...] porque no todo mundo gusta de los venezolanos porque por uno pagamos todos.’ (Rivero, Lucila D., Pos. 3)

Perez' description of both Othering experiences reflects the struggle of survival and the prejudice in Colombia's society that Venezuelan migrants would have nothing to offer.⁶⁰ In Daniela P. Saldarriaga's opinion, aporophobia exists in Colombia and she argues, that no one complained in 2014 when the first migrants from Venezuela, who were professionals, government officials and oil managers migrated, because they took their possessions and money with them (cf. Présiga Saldarriaga, 2021, para. 2). The situation is quite different for the Venezuelan migrants of the following years, who endured until they had no other chance for survival than leave. Nelly Requena's reflects on this different treatment between the various migrant groups as well:

'Tenía un jefe TERRIBLE, los gritaba, los trataba mal, aparte pues, en la condición de extranjero, a veces lo quieren como humillar a uno ¿no? Y más por ser venezolano, porque aquí hay muchos extranjeros, pero al venezolano le tienen como cierta idea, y no a todos nos aprecian ¿no? (Requena Gamez, Nelly D., Pos. 116)

She later elaborates on this that the reputation which Venezuelans have in Colombia, is of them being lazy or criminal (cf. Requena Gamez, Nelly D., Pos. 118).

Another aporophobic indicator is visible in the sexist comments. Sexism is widespread in Colombia and can be traced back to the patriarchal and macho structures in society. Since the increased arrival of vulnerable Valencian women, sexism seems to have become more focused on them. According to Isabella, the poverty of her people is the reason why Venezuelan women are approached or sexually harassed by Colombian men:

'[...] aquí hay muchos hombres que creen que yo, por ser venezolana, y yo, por ejemplo, que tengo cuatro hijos, quieren decirle a uno que "oh, mira, tú te acuestas conmigo y como tú necesitas dinero, yo te pago para que tú estés conmigo". Tú tengas intimidad con él, y eso uno les dice que no, y eso como que los ofende y lo insultan a uno.' (Linares, Isabella R., Pos. 155).

The aspect of her nationality⁶¹ is also addressed by Lucila when it comes to sexism:

'Como por ejemplo "mamacita, tú estás muy rica, que no se qué, que cuándo salimos, que cuándo esto" Así sepan que uno tiene novio y así. Y ya no te tratan con respeto sino como groseramente, como que te quisieran hacer el amor ahí mismo. Así. ¡Así le hablan a uno cuando se enteran que uno es venezolana!' (Rivero, Lucila D., Pos. 91).

⁶⁰ See also chapter 2.2.2. about Aporophobia

⁶¹ See also the treatment in comparison to Lucila's Colombian friend: 'Pero usted ¿sí es colombiana?' le decía a ella. Y ella "sí señor" y él se enfrascó más conmigo que con ella.' (Rivero, Lucila D., Pos. 149).

4.2.2. Biological racist aspects

While there are some hints on existing aporophobia in the receiving neighbor country of the interviewees, discriminatory comments were also made about their outer appearance.

While Nelly was in a public bus, a Colombian entered to sell to sell bracelets. She describes that he suddenly changed the subject and started talking negatively about Venezuelans, who would enter the busses to beg, while he distinguished himself from them to put himself in a better light. Following this, he looked and pointed at Nelly while saying that she must know a lot about this, since she is a foreigner:

‘[...] empezó a decir que él no estaba pidiendo nada, que él no era como los venezolanos que se metían a las estaciones sin pagar [...] entonces me miró y me señaló y dijo "y tú debes saber mucho de eso, porque tú eres extranjera".’ (Requena Gamez, Nelly D., Pos. 150-151).

The interviewee couldn’t explain to the author how he could know that she is not from Colombia, because she didn’t say a word, but she noticed that Colombians could see the difference: ‘¡Yo no había hablado ni nada! [...] No, ellos⁶² dicen que, por el color de piel, que por las caderas, que por el/ yo no se. Pero tiene un ojo bueno para identificarnos a nosotras las venezolanas.’ (Requena Gamez, Nelly D., Pos. 151-158).

The above-mentioned situation points to biological racism, as it triggered Othering processes and hostile actions due to the differentiation of physical characteristics. These examples align with other scholars who examined biological racism in Colombia. Eduardo Restrepo refers to the well-known case of Carlos Angulo from 2015 in Bogotá, who is an Afro-Colombian and was controlled on his way to work by two policemen, calling him ‘Negro’ (cf. Jansen and Zander, 2019, p. 64).

4.2.3. Cultural racist aspects

Nelly also describes a situation of a physical attack because of her nationality, in which someone hit her with a potato or something similar in her back, when she was passing a fruit supermarket while talking to her friend. In this case she explains the accent as reason for the attack to herself and her friend:

⁶² Once she even had asked a Colombian friend if and how she can see the difference. It seems that she refers among others, also to the friend’s answer. See also Requena Gamez, Nelly D., Pos. 180-190 for comparison.

‘Íbamos pasando frente a un Fruver, yo no se si fue que me lanzaron una papa o/ pero me lo lanzaron en la espalda y uy, eso me dolió. Mi amiga se asustó/ [...] yo le dije "claro, es que veníamos hablando, entonces nos escuchan el acento y por eso nos atacan" Y nos fuimos.’ (Requena Gamez, Nelly D., Pos. 164-168).

In contrast, Lucila and other interviewees refer to the accent and a certain word usage when they report how it is made fun of ‘Cuando nos escuchaban hablar se burlaban.’ (Toro Rivera, Zilah P., Pos. 201). In addition to cultural components such as language or fashion style⁶³, Lucila also mentions degradations based on her nationality, without the interviewee being able to give her an exact reason: ‘[...] y dice "yo, yo no quería que mi nieto se metiera con una veneca" y yo le dije "¿por qué?" le pregunté yo así. "No se, a mí no me caen bien los venecos. Los venecos los odio, vinieron para acá a joder el país, no se [...]”.’ (Rivero, Lucila D., Pos. 163).

4.3. Discrimination & Othering experiences

In the interviews, the women recounted a wide variety of experiences of discrimination. The topics of labor exploitation, discrimination when looking for a house or a job, institutional discrimination, biological racism, social exclusion due to their nationality, ageism and sexism could be identified in their narratives. However, what emerged through almost all the testimonies were narratives of Othering processes. A graphic as overview can be found in the appendix. Since the statements in chapter 1.2. show the perceptions and prejudices from Colombian’s perspective towards the Venezuelan migrants, it is of interest to learn from the other side which statements towards themselves they have perceived, which is why the following chapter will focus on this linguistic form of discrimination, that present themselves in narratives of Othering processes.

4.3.1. Venezuelans would increase insecurity in Colombia

This section includes comments that are labeling the Venezuelan migrants as thieves or murderers, blaming them for the insecurity in the country: ‘Como la fama que tiene ahorita el venezolano que son matones, que son ladrones, que son esto, que son aquello. Siempre tienen a uno como desconfianza.’ (Rondon Riera, Dorelis, Pos. 111-113). Rosales Colina names the Othering experience in her own words as labelling: ‘No ha sido fácil, no ha sido fácil porque había una etiqueta.’ (Rosales Colina, Z., Pos. 18). Thereafter, she describes that there

⁶³ ‘También por la forma en que se visten las venezolanas. Hay unas que vienen de tierra caliente y esas se visten todas que muestran el cuerpo. Y acá no les agrada. [...] Y entonces es escuchar los comentarios [...] Automáticamente decir que somos venezolanos, ya nos sentimos identificados, aunque no queramos.’ (Toro Rivera, Zilah P., Pos. 215)

were cases in which Colombians were murdered by Venezuelans after they had helped them. On the one hand, she shows understanding for the labeling and suffers from it, on the other hand, she also refers to the fact that not all Venezuelans are the same and she wants to demonstrate this to the host country:

‘Entonces no te quieren abrir puertas, a veces te la cierran en la cara. Lo que más he sentido que he tenido que luchar. ¿Sí? Porque bueno, te indican que eres más del montón... Pero tengo un lema que trato de llevarlo a cabo todos los días, que uno sí pueda hacer la diferencia.’ (Rosales Colina, Z., Pos. 20-22).

In the context of seeking housing, Elianny Pérez was also confronted with this attribution: “esos son venecos, esos son delincuentes” ¿Sabes que a los venezolanos siempre nos tildan de delincuentes, de eso? A todos nos generalizan porque sí, hay venezolanos que son delincuentes y han venido para acá a delinquir.’ (Pérez Lugo, Elianny Y., Pos. 145-147). Zilah Toro narrates a similar Othering experience ‘Habían unas señoras que al principio “no, que los venezolanos, que son ladrones, que vinieron a robar, que-” a todos nos englobaron.’ (Toro Rivera, Zilah P., Pos. 287).

4.3.2. Prejudices about work ethics

Another label mentioned is laziness. Lucila Rivero reports that her employer had called all Venezuelans lazy: ‘Porque ellas decían “ay ustedes los venecos son unos flojos, no les gusta trabajar, no saben hacer ni mierda” me decían.’ (Rivero, Lucila D., Pos. 23). The answer to her offensive counter-question, why she would employ her then, she gives herself in the next sentence. This relates to labor exploitation, which is mentioned in the next sentence: ‘Porque sabían que otro tonto no iba a cobrarles 20 mil pesos el día desde las cinco de la mañana hasta las cinco de la tarde. Todo el día.’ (Rivero, Lucila D., Pos. 24-25). Lucila Rivero is also confronted with the stereotype in her private environment by the family of her Colombian partner ‘[...] que los venezolanos vienen [...] acá a robar, que en la empresa donde ella trabaja todos esos venecos son flojos.’ (Rivero, Lucila D., Pos. 163).

Nelly Requena reports that she was confronted with the same stereotype by her ex-boss at her old job and notes that Venezuelans are treated differently from other foreigners in Colombia:

‘[...] los trataba mal, aparte pues, en la condición de extranjero, a veces lo quieren como humillar a uno ¿no? Y más por ser venezolano, porque aquí hay muchos extranjeros, pero al venezolano le tienen como cierta idea, y no a todos nos aprecian. [...] Que somos ladrones, o que somos flojos; que no nos gusta trabajar [...] Que nos gusta que nos regalen las cosas.’ (Requena Gamez, Nelly D., Pos. 116-118)

4.3.3. The Venezuelan women would prostitute themselves

One attribution especially for Venezuelan women, refers to the assumption that they would easily be available for sex and want to take the husbands away from Colombian women.

'Lo que más le dicen a uno es que si/ groserías, malas palabras o le dicen a uno que los venezolanos no servimos, o que los venezolanos nos portamos mal, o que todos los venezolanos hombres son delincuentes y que todas las venezolanas mujeres somos prostitutas, entonces eso es lo que más ofende.' (Linares, Isabella R., Pos. 147).

Isabella Linars notes that almost always for this reason would arise brawls between Colombians and Venezuelans ,[...] porque pues, dicen esas cosas y eso es desagradable.' (ibid.). Furthermore, she points to the desperate situation of Venezuelan women as a reason why Colombian men would think she was prostituting herself:

"oh, mira, tú te acuestas conmigo y como tú necesitas dinero, yo te pago para que tú estes conmigo". Tú tengas intimidad con él, y eso uno les dice que no, y eso como que los ofende y lo insultan a uno.' (Linares, Isabella R., Pos. 155).

Zaida Rosales links to this aspect, however, she believes that the attribution is not so much because of the recognition of hardship but, again, stems from the stereotype that they would be lazy and would like to get their money 'easily' instead of working:

'No que esta venezolana es una quita marido. Esta venezolana viene de fácil. Esta venezolana viene de prepago ¿sí? Siempre con todo lado sexual. Siempre con que uno no puede trabajar con toda la dignidad y la decencia.' (Rosales Colina, Z., Pos. 46).

In addition, she reports that this has already happened to her both in public spaces and in her work, by relatives of the seniors she cares for.

Zilah Toro also addresses the aspect that in Colombia there is a prevailing opinion that Venezuelan women would like to show a lot of skin and that they would steal the husbands:

Acá dicen que las mujeres son "mostronas", que están mostrando mucho. Que muestran mucho su cuerpo, que se ofrecen a los hombres, que les quieren quitar los hombres a ellas.' (Toro Rivera, Zilah P., Pos. 217)

4.3.4. Poverty and Malnutrition

In a course on entrepreneurship offered by JRS, Lucila Rivero suffered discrimination from a Colombian participant who made a degrading comment about Lucila's economic situation.

,[...] de HAMBRIENTA, como dicen aquí. Que yo era una hambrienta con mis hijos [...] se metió con nuestro nivel socioeconómico al decirnos que somos muertos de hambre y con nuestra nacionalidad. Que por ser venezolanos somos muertos de hambre y no es así.' (Rivero, Lucila D., Pos. 105).

4.3.5. Competition for the country's social services and work

Some reports refer to the perceived competency between Venezuelans and Colombians in terms of work and social services. While previously comments were considered that allude to an alleged laziness of Venezuelans, likewise attributions are made because of the opposite reason:

'Me han dicho que "ay, que esos venecos son unos lambucios, que regalan su trabajo, que le quitan el trabajo a los colombianos, que vinieron acá de inmigrantes, que todo lo agarran para ellos", porque si uno o la mayoría trabajara porque hay venezolanos que les ha tocado dormir en la calle (Acosta Machado, Victoria D., Pos. 190).

Nelly Requena comments that in public, the attributions can appear anywhere and from anyone, without having any relationship with her as a person. This statement could be understood that by reflecting that these declarations have nothing to do with her personally, she was able to create a certain distance to these discriminations ,Me han pasado cosas feas en Transmilenio⁶⁴, en supermercados, pero gente que nada que ver conmigo, o sea, que no forman parte de mi entorno, ni la comunidad.' (Requena Gamez, Nelly D., Pos. 150). In public transport, she experienced Othering when a Colombian sold bracelets in the Transmilenio, and tried to portray himself as better than other people who use the bus as a stage for their means by distinguishing himself from Venezuelans, while pointing out that she belongs to that group he is talking about:

' [...] sin siquiera decir cuánto costaba su producto, empezó a decir que él no estaba pidiendo nada, que él no era como los venezolanos que se metían a las estaciones sin pagar y que aparte venían con niños y se montaban en Transmilenio a dar lástima, pedir plata, decir que no tenían dónde vivir, dónde comer, ni nada de eso, entonces me miró y me señaló y dijo "y tú debes saber mucho de eso, porque tú eres extranjera".' (Requena Gamez, Nelly D., Pos. 150).

Lucila Rivero also recounts a situation on the bus that she witnessed as an uninvolved third party, without identifying herself as Venezuelan: 'Entonces dicen "esos venecos, que no se qué, [...] a venir acá a otro país a pedir, a limosnear, a pedir" cosas así.' (Rivero, Lucila D., Pos. 155).

⁶⁴ Name of the Bus system in Bogotá

distancing oneself from other Venezuelans. Both, offensive and avoidant coping strategies, are used by all interviewees, varying in frequency and context.

4.4. Individual case study

In the following individual case study, the interview with Sofía Vegas Gomez will be examined more closely in order to identify different forms of discrimination as well as resilience factors by using her example. Although it is mainly a biographical interview of her, it can also be seen partly as an expert interview⁶⁵, as she is a survivor in her own history, as well as a professional in the field of migration and humanitarian aid.

Before Sofía Vegas Gomez arrived in 2019 in Colombia, she was working in a higher position for the children's and adolescents' rights council in one of the departments in Venezuela. Her last educational degree is a doctor's degree in humanitarian aid. She was working as a Human Rights defender for international humanitarian aid organizations in Turkey, Afghanistan, Sudan and Spain. When she received her latest job offer from the UN, she moved back to Venezuela from Spain for the position that is mentioned above. Already in former roles as an activist (and fighting for LGTB rights amongst others), she had been imprisoned various times in Venezuela. Before she flew to Colombia, she had been kidnapped for various months. At the time of the interview, she was waiting for a reply for her refugee's protection status application and works as a freelancer, helping other Venezuelans with their applications for the migration status.

The first experience of discrimination that Sofia Vegas recounts is institutional. However, she tells this as an aside when she talks about her plans to found an organization with other professional Venezuelans who, like her, have difficulties finding work because their qualifications are not recognized. She was a human rights defender and lawyer in Venezuela. However, as long as their own identity and application have not been confirmed, they cannot create their own NGO:

„[...] bueno, estamos tratando de hacer una fundación, pero el tema es que mientras nosotros mismos no podamos convalidar y no tengamos por fin a través de un estatuto temporal de protección, pues nuestro, nuestra identificación como tal, pues... estamos atados de manos, porque somos venezolanos.” (Vegas Gomez, Sofía V., Pos. 31).

She is convinced that she will definitely get the Refugee Protection Status, but she also knows that the processes of these cases take a long time.

⁶⁵ The author of the present study considers all interview partners to be experts of their own lives in the sense of Hans Thiersch's life-world oriented approach. The mentioned chapter refers with the statement about the partial expert interview to the professional background knowledge of the interviewees about the discussed topic.

,[...] aspiro que sea aprobada. Pero sé por otros casos, de otros connacionales que llevamos, que se retrasó muchísimo, muchísimo... el tema de la resolución de las aprobaciones [...] nos salieron dos desde el 2018 (Vegas Gomez, Sofía V., Pos. 37).

Since the processes of the cases are sometimes delayed for years, but the applicants also can't do anything else in the meantime, they face socio-economic barriers that can be traced back to the system's slowness. Sofía has taken no further action on the matter and continues to hope for a response. Although she identified nationality as a reason for not being able to start her own NGO yet, Sofía V. did not make it clear whether or not she interprets these processes as institutional discrimination. Therefore, this subtle experience of the institutional form of discrimination should be mentioned but to be left as a question mark.

In contrast, Vegas clearly identifies the following situation as distressing and discriminatory ' Los actos de discriminación que yo he vivido han sido...de la policía aquí y un sujeto que era compañero donde vivíamos (Vegas Gomez, Sofía V., Pos. 133). When she was walking in the evening in Bogotá from barrio Santa Ana to barrio Teusaquillo, she was stopped by the ESMAD and surrounded by four officers to control her. This situation had taken place during curfew times during the National Protest in 2020:

,SV: Me vieron “¿venezolana o colombiana?” así fue, no se me olvida

KC: ¿Te lo dijeron así? Sin que hablabas con ellos antes

SV: Es que yo no, mi porte no es de colombiana dicen aquí, dice todo el mundo eso por aquí; y no usábamos esto y yo me acuerdo que hice así y dije “venezolana a mucha honra”; “su identificación” y yo cargaba en ese momento el papelito que me habían dado aquí porque yo ya había metido, yo misma, mande mi solicitud al refugio y ya había “aquí está mi salvoconducto y un papel que dice que me tienen que proteger, voy a sacarlos aquí están” pero me trataron feísimo, muy feo. [...] “HAGALE MONA, MUÉVETE, CORRE” “no voy a correr, no soy mona, ahí tiene mi nombre [...] pero yo no les entregué mi identificación “y ustedes están en la obligación de protegerme a mí” ...pero si yo oigo que hay paro yo no salgo, yo no salgo, no salgo no, son cosas que realmente estoy todavía trabajando.’(Vegas Gomez, Sofía V., Pos. 121-133).

The situation has affected Sofía so much that she no longer leaves the house as soon as there are protests. She mentioned a person from Caritas Colombia who, in his professional role at the NGO, helps her process this situation. This encounter gives evidence of three different forms of discrimination at the same time. Firstly, the one of racism based on her nationality, which the ESMAD assumes only from the physical appearance of Sofía. Secondly, sexism is visible here, through the reference as 'Mona, muevete'. 'Mona' as such is not an insult but is often associated with an attractive appearance and is usually only used for women. In a police control, where the officers already know the full name and represent the executive of the state in their function, it is inappropriate and shows a demeaning attitude, especially with the request that she should run.

While in the upper case one must already be wondering why none of the colleagues from ESMAD intervened during this form of abuse of power, in the second case with the national Colombian police the corruption and the resulting systemic institutional discrimination cannot be denied. Here, Sofía Vegas attempted to report her former housemate for sexual harassment, but her complaint was not accepted because of her stalker's contacts:

‘[...] que era compañero donde vivíamos y el sujeto se me metía a mi habitación y un acosador terrible. [...] yo lo fui a denunciar y no me quisieron agarrar la denuncia porque yo era venezolana y él era colombiano. [...] me dijeron que yo estaba exagerando, que yo estaba inventando y tenía los chats de WhatsApp y todo, mira no es mentira acá están, [...] harto contenido sexual, claro. Y la última vez se metió en mi cama y se estaba masturbando, o sea, mientras yo estaba en el baño, o sea ya va. [...] Entonces traté de denunciarlo en una URI y no me atendieron [...] Unidad de respuesta inmediata en fiscalía, nada porque resultó que el señor es uno de los abogados de la consultoría jurídica del Ministerio de Deporte.’ (Vegas Gomez, Sofía V., Pos. 133-154)

Sofía Vegas had an Othering experience during an incident in a shopping mall, in which she wanted to sell her old phone in order to buy a new one from the sale revenues and was called a thief for no reason:

‘A vender un teléfono que se me dañó, que yo lo tuve que nadie supo de mí como por 3 meses porque el otro teléfono se me había dañado y lo quería vender para poderme comprar otro y en Milan me dijeron “nosotros no le compramos a rateros venezolanos” y [...] Me le quedé viendo y le dije “si soy venezolana pero no soy ratera, usted es más ratero que yo, xenófobo” y le dije bastantes cosas y ya y me fui.’ (Vegas Gomez, Sofía V., Pos. 162-167).

In all cases, an offensive coping style can be identified. In the case with the ESMAD, Sofia uses her professional background knowledge to demand from the police officers to fulfill their duty (‘ustedes están en la obligación de protegerme a mí’) in the appealing form of educational work. At the same time, the situation described has affected her so much that in the future she would change her coping style and prefer the coping strategy of avoidance, so that such a situation cannot occur again. In the following case, she tries to defend herself legally (offensive coping) but fails because of the weaknesses in the Colombian legal system, which had twice not accepted a complaint against the contact of an influential person. In the last case, she replies again with her offensive-educational coping style to the saleswoman, calling her out on being xenophobic.

Despite her experience with discriminatory acts of sexism and pronounced racism due to her nationality, she helps her compatriots and does not lose her courage, even though she was also confronted with ageism during her job search, despite having a great professional expertise in the field: ‘[...] me dijo por un Zoom ahí “pero es que tienes 56 años”.’ (Vegas Gomez, Sofía V., Pos. 215).

Among other things, she mentions in reference to the pandemic, some reasons why negative events do not paralyze her:

,la pandemia la verdad es que a mí no me afectó, el tener que estar primero encerrada [...] a mí no me afectó, yo digo que eso es lo que yo tomo de lo que me pasó en Venezuela, esos encierros, porque yo dije “wow puedo ver televisión, puedo estar en contacto con mis hijos, con mi familia, puedo dibujar, puedo dormir si quiero dormirme, bañarme si quiero bañarme, comer si quiero comer” [...] Venía de algo peor exacto.’ (Vegas Gomez, Sofía V., Pos. 109-111).

By this, Sofía refers to the several months lasting kidnapping from which she had escaped and migrated directly to Colombia. She had been through worse, which she points out to be one of the reasons, that a lockdown didn't affect her. Before this impactful experience, she also endured years of domestic violence until she denounced her ex-partner and the father of her four children and won the case: ',[...] estuve 17 días en coma [...] y gané yo [...] de Justicia en Venezuela contra el padre de mis hijos que además pertenece al narco régimen; yo estuve presa.’ (Vegas Gomez, Sofía V., Pos. 299-303). Here it can be seen that her sense of self-efficacy was re-awakened because she had freed herself from the abuse and moreover was able to provide well for her children as a single mother - something she avoided for many years, thinking she stays in the relationship for the sake of the children. Each one of them took up a professional career and lives abroad by now: ',[...] yo me quedé sola con mis hijos, yo les di carrera a los 4, son profesionales, siempre he sido una mamá guerrera echada para adelante.’ (Vegas Gomez, Sofía V., Pos. 249). Here, her identity as a mother made her endure an abusive relationship for many years as she thought that the kids would need to grow up with both parents. The question that appears in this context is where does resilience end and start? She stayed resilient for others until it almost cost her life. Afterwards she found strength in her sense of justice and her own value, so she could legally fight her ex-husband, while also working hard for her children's future.

When asked what gave her the strength to risk the dangerous escape at that time when she was kidnapped, she does not see it as strength but rather as the opposite:

Mira yo creo que no fue que yo tuve fuerzas, sino yo creo que fue que yo toqué fondo, yo me cansé de estar en esa situación a la cual yo no le veía fin ¿sabes? Yo pienso que mi caso no fue como, yo pienso que yo me cansé tanto que yo dije “o me dejas ir o me tiro” yo me cansé de no saber dónde estaba, de estar incomunicada, yo no sabía si era domingo, miércoles, jueves, si era febrero, si era mayo; yo cumplí años y ni me enteré, o sea, mis hijas cumplieron años.’ (Vegas Gomez, Sofía V., Pos. 184-186).

In other words, she had faced the decision of suicide or escape. This answer shows how close vulnerability and resilience co-exist. She was willing to give up on life, which gave her the courage to ‘poker’ and risk the escape by threatening the kidnapper to do what she said, or

she would take her own life. She then addresses her faith, through which she seems to draw a lot of strength:

,soy una mujer de fe, yo soy creyente, yo soy católica y yo digo pues bueno, yo estaré aquí hasta que él diga que se acabó [...] Y siempre a mí me mueve el, primero aprendí con todo esto que me pasó, para mí primero Dios [...].’

Closely connected with her faith is also her desire to help her fellow human beings as already mentioned above. She says herself that she had learned this through the lived example of her parents rather than through words:

,[...] nosotros somos una familia católica sí [...] en mi casa a mí nunca me dijeron “ayuda al prójimo” pero yo me acuerdo mi papá y mi mamá, o sea, de chiquitos, mi papá tiene ahijados en todos los pueblos de Venezuela es impresionante.’ (Vegas Gomez, Sofia V., Pos. 277).

Their parents and grandparents also held either leading positions in social services or in politics. Volunteerism and advocacy for minorities had always been part of their lives.

,Sí, lo mamé en la teta, no sé cómo decírtelo, o sea es de familia [...] Es que yo no lo veo como fortaleza, yo lo veo como un valor, y no es un valor que nos inculcaron es que siempre ha estado. En ayudar al que tenemos al lado sin esperar nada a cambio, [...] lo hago porque eso a mí me hace sentir bien [...].’ (Vegas Gomez, Sofia V., Pos. 278-284).

Besides the practiced values, she also describes her childhood as beautiful:

,Mi niñez fue hermosísima, hermosísima, una familia super unida, fui criada entre la playa y la montaña [...] montaña, frío, caballos, animales, peces, vacas, pollos y después en la playa, playa es beach, esquiar en agua y comer mangos de las matas; yo tuve una infancia muy linda la verdad que sí. (Vegas Gomez, Sofia V., Pos. 265).

The narrative of her childhood allows the assumption that the foundation for her healthy self-confidence and her direct manner was already laid in her childhood, in which she was positively socialized from the beginning on with many different people by her parents and can be considered as a resilience-strengthening factor. After difficult phases in her life, she has always sought professional help to deal with the experience, and at the same time her deep faith gives her hope and a sense of purpose. Her sense of social responsibility for others motivates her intrinsically to fight tirelessly.

Despite all her impressive actions of resilience throughout her life, she has remained in an abusive relationship for a very long time which can be seen ambivalent as well as reaching the point of almost committing suicide. This shows that any person, no matter how strong, reaches a breaking point when they just cannot go on as before. This threshold ultimately did not ‘break’

Sofía, which is why she has grown personally with each won battle. For the future, Sofía Vegas wants to stay permanently in Colombia and help her countrymen with the process of the ETPV, or to put it in her words:

'[...] yo quiero hacer la fundación porque en esa loca vida que llevo de trabajar [...] una fundación para ayudar a mis paisanos. Porque sí el estatuto temporal es a nivel mundial es la política migratoria que más nos ha beneficiado. [...] Entonces hay cosas que tú puedes contribuir porque a Colombia le interesa que nosotros estemos legales por miles de razones, el aparato productivo, vamos a arrancar por ahí, el producto interno bruto o sea ¿vamos a ayudar no?'(Vegas Gomez, Sofía V., Pos. 220-222).

4.5. External Resilience-strengthening factors

The following chapter searches to identify the main external resilience-strengthening factors among the Venezuelan women who participated in the interviews. It is important to underline that these factors are very individual for every person. However, it is notable, that some aspects are repeatedly narrated, which was confirmed by a frequency analysis as described in chapter 3.1.4. The results can be reviewed in the appendix. In the case of the Venezuelan women, these aspects are social resources by far. The following three sub-chapters shall elaborate the significance of three selected social aspects for the migrant women.

4.5.1. Support from Colombians

All of the interviewed women say that they have received help from Colombians. The help ranges from a piece of bread and school uniforms to mattresses and financial contributions for the running costs of an apartment or a machine for building their own business. This category also overlaps in many cases with the aspect of 'integration in the community', as in this aspect it is also clear that people are more willing to buy or help people who they are familiar with. This is also shown by a statement of Belisa, who attributes a great support (rental a house) to the friendly contact with a person who offered help. In this context, she also refers to the opposite of Othering processes by emphasizing that the friend knows her personally, which makes it impossible to put her in a 'box' for being Venezuelan: 'ese amigo de nosotros, nosotros lo conocimos desde que nosotros llegamos aquí. Ya nos conoce como personas ¿sí?, ya no hay como "ay, la venezolana" sino que ya nos conoce como personas y dijo "no, china, yo le voy a ayudar.' (Hurtado Toro, Belisa N., Pos. 168). In the following section, a few examples aim to illustrate the range of people offering support and what kind of assistance the women received.

In the narratives of the women in particular the first few days and months are described as challenging. Those who have no pre-migration contacts tend to face a major challenge when it comes to finding accommodation. Thus, Francy and her family had no choice but to spend the night on the street, where she was approached by a stranger:

‘No, dormimos [...] en una plaza y una señora “no, pero se van a mojar” en eso el tiempo estaba, “pero si quieren quédense aquí en un spacito”, pero [...] no tengo colchoneta no sé qué hacer” no no se preocupe pusimos el bolcito y nos quedamos con una sabanita y ahí pasamos los días.’ (Meza Guerra, Francy, Pos. 125).

The Colombian woman spontaneously showed compassion and offered a room without knowing Francy's family or being prepared. Even though it was only a temporary solution, she set a sign of solidarity that contrasted with other attitudes of homeowners in Colombia, which Francy had also come to know later: ‘No no quiso arrendar por ser venezolanos.’ (Meza Guerra, Francy, Pos. 147).

Zilah and Elianny, on the other hand, belong to the group of women, who were able to turn to a contact in Colombia upon arrival, who they already knew from before:

‘Emigramos con ayuda de un amigo colombiano. El señor es un amigo de mi papá; [...]. Él es colombiano y me dijo “mira, yo te puedo ayudar económicamente que llegues allá por lo menos con un arriendo” y así fue, él me ayudó con un arriendo.’ (Toro Rivera, Zilah P., Pos. 69).

‘Mira, para mi esposo fue fácil porque cuando él llega, el primo de él, que es colombiano, lo recomendó.’ (Pérez Lugo, Elianny Y., Pos. 145).

Once the migrants have managed to rent a room or an apartment, it is noticeable that homeowners in particular become friends and supporters, as described by Ginette O. and Valeria R., among others:

‘Después nos fuimos a otra casa y el señor si nos, arrendamos dos años. El señor fue muy muy bueno, muy muy bueno ese señor nos brindó mucho apoyo, un señor colombiano.’ (Roa Santana, Valeria, Pos. 297-299).

‘La señora de arriendo, ¿para qué decirlo? Se portó excelente ella ha sido como mi familia.’ (Oliveros Monsalve, Ginette M., Pos. 192).

At the time of the Covid-19 pandemic, many people lost their jobs and had economic difficulties, resulting in some Venezuelans returning home during this time. However, amidst the challenges, some of the women unexpectedly received more support. For example, Victoria reports that her rent was dropped, and she was only expected to pay the running costs: ‘[...] que no me preocupara, que no le pagara porque la situación estaba difícil, que solamente le pagara los servicios [...].’ (Acosta Machado, Victoria D., Pos. 108-110).

In addition to homeowners, relatives and friends, the work environment is also a great social resource for the women. Thus, former clients⁶⁶ vouched for Sofía so that she could rent an apartment, work colleagues⁶⁷ of Leidi helped her financially to pay her health tests, which were necessary because of her illness, as well as the former boss of Elianny's husband who supported them in the implementation of their own business:

'Hubo una persona muy generosa de acá, un colombiano, que mi esposo trabajó tres años con él -porque ya mi esposo tiene casi cinco años acá- y a él la persona le prestó el dinero para que hiciera ese emprendimiento.' (Pérez Lugo, Elianny Y., Pos. 15).

4.5.2. Social responsibility

Many of the women have experienced repression and violence at home, suffered hunger, lost relatives, had to expose themselves to high risks when crossing the border illegally and, after arriving in Colombia, were in many cases confronted with poverty, a lack of social network and one or more forms of discrimination. If they are asked for the sources of strength to endure, children were mentioned first. As described in chapter 2.4., the identification as a mother also seems to play a key role in other contexts. In the following section, some of the Venezuelan women's voices on this topic are presented.

A better future for the next generation

It is apparent that many women see the future of their children in particular as a reason for continuing despite all adversities. This generally refers to a better quality of life, aiming to meet all their children's basic needs and provide their children with a good education with the hope that more opportunities may be open to them in their lives. Here, their role as providers is made clear, as is the coping strategy of taking on a future perspective, that gives them the strength to persist:

'Llegamos a Colombia [...] Vamos para allá, esto y hacerlo, y para sacar el futuro de mis hijos.' (Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., Pos. 144)

'En el punto más bajo en el que yo he estado en la migración, lo que me ha sacado adelante son mis hijos. [...] Eso es lo que siempre me ha motivado, mis hijos, mis hijos siempre.' (Linares, Isabella R., Pos. 175).

It is therefore not surprising that many interviewees also name the children as the decisive reason for their migration. This is also underlined by the statements of Nelly and Nicole⁶⁸, who, according to their own statements, would not have left the country because of themselves

⁶⁶ Cf. Vegas Gomez, Sofía V., Pos. 173

⁶⁷ Cf. Bermudez, Leidi Y., Pos. 164-173

⁶⁸ cf. Lopez Gallardo, Nicole, pos. 218

“¿sabes qué? yo creo que, si no tuviera hijos, yo no hubiese venido de Venezuela.” (Requena Gamez, Nelly D., Pos. 228).

In the context of the migration topic and basic needs, the health aspect is also significant. For example, Elizabeth talks about the availability of certain medications, therapies, and nutritional supplements that she needs for her five-year-old son with disabilities. He is the oldest of three children and has cerebral palsy, which manifests itself in general psychomotor developmental delays, because of which he cannot yet walk or talk. For his family, he represents the main reason to have gathered all capacities and to have taken the decision to migrate:

, [...] por el peligro de la salud del niño, entonces nosotros estamos por eso, mayor prioridad de nosotros es la salud del niño, pero como las otras niñas sí son saludables también, pero el niño sí va tener dificultades, o sea en su alimentación, en su medicamento [...].’ (Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., Pos. 64).

Physical sacrifices for the well-being of children

In addition to the desire for better living conditions and health for their children, acute situations of suffering are also described, in which their role as mother encouraged the respective interviewed woman to persevere physically. Some of the women starved themselves because of this sense of social responsibility for their children and drew strength only from seeing those close to them in good health:

‘Ahorita con lo del COVID (suspira) me dio muy duro porque me tocó mamar hambre [...] yo me tomaba un vaso de agua y tres golpes en la panza y se aguanta. Sí, a mí sí me ha tocado así. Pero verlos a ellos comer, eso a mí me llena; me satisface a mí.’ (Rivero, Lucila D., Pos. 3).

Zaida describes this capacity to put one's own basic needs behind as 'te pones aún más como madre', while explaining that her children nevertheless suffered hunger. Her daughter was pregnant, and her son had a special cardiac condition, therefore she had no doubts to offer any food she could organize to them (cf. Rosales Colina, Zaida, Pos. 223).

Remove loved ones from violent environment

In addition to life-threatening situations such as hunger, thirst and untreated illnesses, in several cases the women and their families faced acts of violence. Comparing the different interviews outlines that the threshold as per when something is no longer bearable is assessed very individually. The selected examples show that families did not really want to leave Venezuela, but finally decided to do so because of the safety of their children.

,[...] honestamente no quería, o sea yo consideraba que sí había problemas de luz del agua, pero eran cosas que se podían manejar, era lo que yo decía siempre, o sea no

me voy. [...] no estaba en los planes. Hasta que pues yo fui amenazada por grupo delictivo.' (Araujo Mejias, Janina D., Pos. 137-138, 53).

In order to gain a better understanding of the families' circumstances, the initial situations that finally led to the migration decision are described as well.

In the first case, Janina recounts being blackmailed by an unknown caller. She lived in Venezuela half an hour away from a nationally known dangerous prison which possesses a lot of influence. As she later discovered through a contact of her mother with the police, the call was made from the prison. The caller described in great detail the appearance of her six- and nine-year-old daughters and what they had done during the past minutes. A large sum of money was then demanded in order to protect her kids' lives. Her husband received a similar call simultaneously. Janina describes the event in great detail; as it is often the case, terrible events are particularly well remembered:

'tenían mucha información sobre mis hijas, mucha mucha mucha mucha, o sea me describieron hasta el color de ojos de mis hijas y obviamente eso asusta a cualquiera [...] recibo la llamada, me parece sospechosa y me dicen que acabas de dejar a tu hija, que te tenemos vigilada [...] simultaneo a que me estaban llamando a mí, estaban llamando a mi esposo [...] a él diciéndole que afuera de la casa, estaba una camioneta súper armada, y que ellos estaban pidiendo la misma cantidad de dinero o ellos nos mataban a... O sea, le dijeron a mi esposo o nos pagas, o matamos a tus mujeres allí, estamos aquí afuera. [...] esa misma noche sacamos a mis hijas de ahí, las llevamos a otra casa, otra familia. [...] yo dije no, ya no vamos a sufrir, ya esto es lo último, y yo no voy a poner en peligro a mis hijas ya nosotros nos vamos.' (Araujo Mejias, Janina D., Pos. 53, 60-62, 64)

The second call, which was supposed to explain the details of the money transfer, never reached her. They fled the same night to the home of other relatives and shortly after to Colombia.

Isabella L. and her husband endured three acts of violence before deciding to leave Venezuela. Her husband took part in student protests against the regime, for which the Venezuelan National Guard shot him in the leg, 'Le dispararon porque él protestaba. En la pierna.' (Linares, Isabella R., Pos. 73). The second time was when the military detonated a tear gas canister in the family's close proximity due to a discussion with her husband, who was arguing with an officer about the safety of seniors: 'Mi esposo le decía que no tenía por qué tratar de dispararle a los ancianos, por mi esposo haber dicho eso lanzaron [...] prácticamente toda la bomba.' (Linares, Isabella R., Pos. 39). This caused her son's heartbeat almost to stop, but it was able to be restored by the mum of a friend who was living nearby. Thereafter, her son had to stay in the hospital for two weeks:

,[...] la bomba tiene gas sarín, pero en Venezuela se usa el gas Sarín vencido porque es mucho más fuerte el efecto. Entonces mi hijo, [...] cuando llegamos a casa de mi amigo, no se le sentían signos vitales. Mi hijo estaba completamente morado, ya estaba perdiendo el ritmo cardíaco [...] La mamá de mi amigo es colombiana, de aquí. Ella me ayudó a que el volviera ¿sí? y mi hijo pasó 15 días hospitalizado [...].’ (Linares, Isabella R., Pos. 39).

On the third occasion, a police officer pointed a gun directly at Isabella’s head while she was carrying her son in her arms. ,[...] cuando yo lo bajo del edificio, un policía nos apuntó/ me apuntó a mí, directamente a la cabeza, y mi hijo yo lo tenía cargado, él solo tenía tres años, y ya ese día dijimos que ya estaba, ya no podíamos soportar más.’ (Linares, Isabella R., Pos. 49). In this context, Isabella mentions the traumatic effect that the violence had already had on her family: ,Cuando vinimos a Colombia, mi hijo llegó con un trauma. Mi hijo no quiere a los policías, le dan miedo; no los ve como malas personas, pero los ve como si fueran monstruos [...].’ (Linares, Isabella R., Pos. 49). As Isabella herself notes, her son has been struggling with the effects of too many stressors to which he has been helplessly exposed. According to Kleefeldt, physical or psychological disorders can develop when stressors accumulate that cannot be adequately countered by coping strategies.

Financial support for their families⁶⁹

In this section, statements highlight the importance of financially supporting their loved ones. The well-being of their relatives, such as their parents, is referred to as their responsibility and a source of strength to continue 'despite everything'.

,[...] la responsabilidad de nosotros estar bien con nuestros padres, tú sabes, nosotros echamos para adelante sabiendo que allá hay mucha gente de nuestra familia [...].’ (Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., Pos. 163-164).

4.5.3. Integration in community

The resilience-strengthening factor of ‘integration in community’ plays an important role within the social resources and shares experiences that are simultaneously categorized as ‘volunteer engagement’ and ‘support of Colombians’. In this context, it is worth mentioning the reports of Nicole L. and Zilah T., who received support from the president of the neighborhood council, who helped them with matters such as a preschool place. Zilah T. got to know her through a relief campaign during the pandemic for Venezuelans living on the streets. Likewise, Lucena C. and Janina A. helped with relief activities of organizations and thus made important contacts

⁶⁹ The topic of money transfers to Venezuela is the main aspect emphasized under the other social resource 'being a supporter'. The categories overlap in content in that close people seem to be a motivator / resilience-strengthening responsibility'. The family is often the main motive for action, helping them under the category 'being a supporter' is more a matter of 'if possible'.

that helped them become part of the community. It becomes evident that those who are actively involved in the community in a helping capacity have a particularly good network. In addition to community approaches from aid organizations or local initiatives, WhatsApp and Facebook groups, as well as churches and former jobs, are also mentioned as starting points for a successful social integration:

'Sí, en un grupo de Facebook. Ella hizo una publicación [...] O sea, de que estaban organizándose varios venezolanos y para brindar la ayuda a otro, que quién se apuntaba y yo, ay listo, yo.' (Lucena Sifontes, Celina A., Pos. 284)

'Pues en la iglesia también conocimos bastante gente y de ahí también tenemos amigos, y así. Por los trabajos que uno ya ha tenido, también por ahí conoce gente.' (Requena Gamez, Nelly D., Pos. 250)

The women share that their integration and private contacts in the neighborhood have opened doors for them. Since the people in her community know her a bit, they buy her food, give her tips about free health checks from organizations or about special offers. The women and their families received active support with food, apartments or financial support, which is based on the social connection they have established with the people in their environment. While this is seen as an active supportive network, Nelly's following comment points out, that social integration in the community also is a helpful external resilience-strengthening factor against discrimination: 'Me han pasado cosas feas en Transmilenio, en supermercados, pero gente que nada que ver conmigo, o sea, que no forman parte de mi entorno, ni la comunidad.' (Requena Gamez, Nelly D., Pos. 150)

Social competences

Dorelis reports that her characteristic of being able to openly approach people on the street and start a conversation with anybody has helped her a lot with her integration and that she now has many friends who in turn have helped her as an external resource in matters like finding a job 'Así me he ganado las amistades de muchas personas [...] Y muchos me dicen "¿estás trabajando?" Le digo: no. "Ay yo si oigo cualquier cosa yo te llamo" y así [...] a veces me han salido trabajitos por día (Rondon Riera, Dorelis , pos. 205-209).' Likewise, Elizabeth R. reports that the same attitude had helped them to create a strong network within their community where they are well-known by now (cf. Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., pos. 314).

Feeling at home

When asked whether the interviewee feels integrated and sees herself as part of the Colombian society, the answers are mixed, although there is a consensus that they plan to

stay long-term. Elianny also feels comfortable in her host country, although she makes it clear that it will never feel like home to her and primarily mentions the cultural differences:

'Tengo amigos colombianos y amigas, me gusta conversar con ellos, pasar un rato agradable con ellos, y eso. [...] no como en casa, porque eso jamás va a pasar. Eso jamás va a pasar porque tu traes tu esencia, tus raíces ¡son de allá!, tu familia es de allá, TUS COSTUMBRES son de allá, pero sí te sientes agradable ya.' (Pérez Lugo, Elianny Y., Pos. 198-199)

In contrast, Zilah feels completely at home in Colombia: '¡Sí! Como le digo, me siento mi familia. Yo siento que, como si hubiera crecido allí porque ya todos conmigo bien, y como yo soy muy participativa (risa).' (Toro Rivera, Zilah P., Pos. 285).

4.6. Personal resilience-strengthening factors

Within the personal resilience-strengthening factors, the categories 'goal-orientation & hard-working', 'thankfulness' and 'spirituality' seem to be very helpful resources. These narratives are also reflected in the graphical overview in the appendix. In the following two sections, the aspect 'goal-orientation & hard-working' as a personal resilience-strengthening factor, as well as the impact of their faith, will be explored in more detail.

4.6.1. Hard-working & goal-oriented Venezuelan migrants

Some women describe that their parents, who also had to work hard, represent role-models for them. This is also what Nicole Lopez says about her mother, although she was sexually abused⁷⁰ by her stepfather several times and her mother did not believe her for a long time, until Nicole called the police through her aunt.

'Mmm mi niñez...mmm muy triste... Porque mi mama era la que trabajaba, era la que traía el pan de cada día [...] mi mama era la que quería un futuro mejor para sus hijos. Es una mujer muy sufrida y una mujer muy maltratada [...] mi mama ha sido una mujer luchadora...Ella nos enseñó a seguir a delante... El ejemplo pues.' (Lopez Gallardo, Nicole, Pos. 245, 406-408).

Zilah describes that the beginning in Colombia was difficult for her. Not only because of the different Spanish meanings of vocabulary and the climate difference but also in regards to society "ay no, esa arepa sabe como raro". O sea, al principio fue un choque duro.' (Toro Rivera, Zilah P., Pos. 71) and yet she kept working. 'Pero desde que yo llegué, nosotros

⁷⁰ '[...] en mi niñez cuando yo tenía 12 años yo fui violada, o sea es un trauma ... muy difícil de superar. [...] fui violada por mi padrastro.' (Lopez Gallardo, Nicole, Pos. 248-251).

siempre emprendimos, siempre quisimos salir adelante.’ (ibid.). Her story gives an example of how much and how hard many migrant women work every day to survive.

She had worked in Venezuela as a professional graphic designer and had started another study in nursing. In Colombia she collected plastic waste and at the same time worked as a mobile cosmetician (cf. Rivero, Lucila D., Pos. 3). In doing so, she also reveals her attitude towards work, in which she clarifies that no job is demeaning as long as it makes one earn in a sane way: ‘yo siempre digo ningún trabajo denigra a nadie, NO, porque todo trabajo es bueno mientras uno se lo gane sanamente.’ (Rivero, Lucila D., Pos. 3).

This attitude is also shared by other interviewees who, on the other hand, distance themselves from other women in vulnerable contexts who go begging:

‘[...] el querer dar lástima y generar lástima para mí eso no me cabe en la cabeza. Si tú estás entero, estás sano, tienes salud, ¿de qué? [...] Llegas hasta la 85 hasta la zona T que baja y ahí los vas a ver venezolanos y colombianos pidiendo con sus carteles dando lástima [...].’ (Vegas Gomez, Sofía V., Pos. 338-339)

Lucila R. then worked in a restaurant, where she was exploited and only allowed to wear sandals, although she had to walk long distances to transport the food:

‘Entonces un día a mí me pidieron como 12 almuerzos. Obviamente yo repartía los almuerzos a pie y con la mano. [...] Y yo agarré un palo de escoba, y me metí todas las bolsas y me las coloqué en el hombro [...] trabajaba en el Portal de las Américas y me caminé todo hasta la Avenida 86. [...] se me rompían los talones de tanto caminar porque no me dejaban usar tenis, me decían que tenía que ser en chancla.’ (Rivero, Lucila D., Pos. 21)

With the support of a former restaurant customer, she set up her own small business with an orange juice stand and later expanded the range with street food, but its items got stolen by a former Venezuelan roommate who was kicked out of the shared apartment (cf. Rivero, Lucila D., Pos. 39).

Elianny and her husband are also very goal-oriented and hard-working: they want to be able to pay off the value of the machines that were purchased for their recycling business from a generous friend within a few months and are working late into the night to achieve this:

‘[...] hemos trabajado sumamente duro. [...] A veces nos vamos temprano, hasta las dos de la mañana, 12 de la medianoche, pero, tenemos que hacerlo para poder llegar a la meta final. Después que nosotros paguemos las máquinas, ya. [...] por ahora la meta es, en diciembre, salir ya de eso.’ (Pérez Lugo, Elianny Y., Pos. 221)

4.6.2. Spirituality & faith

Venezuela and Colombia are, like most countries in Latin America, strongly influenced by Catholicism (cf. De La Cruz and Correa, 2020, para. 1). Unlike in Europe, the expression 'gracias a Dios' is a common and daily used sentence in Colombia. Therefore, the mentioned statement does not permit any conclusions about the speaker's religiosity. Therefore, while statements expressing gratitude to God have been partially added to this category, the focus in this section is on selected statements that indicate that their faith has served them as an inner resource in a significant way.

For instance, Ginette O.'s faith helps her to identify a deeper meaning for the difficult situation she finds herself in in Colombia. Instead of despairing and becoming unable to act because of her husband's condition due to Covid-19, she is reframing the situation and is grateful for the medical capabilities and assistance in Colombia that made it possible to have him intubated for 28 days while now undergoing therapy to relearn how to walk (cf. Oliveros Monsalve, Ginette M., pos. 182-185, 272):

,Mira, tal vez mi esposo y yo cuando llegamos aquí pensábamos que veníamos o por mejorar la calidad de vida pro ayudar a los familiares de allá por hacer un dinero para regresar y montar algo allá, quién sabe, pero si tú te pones a ver y si eres una mujer de fé, sabes que Dios sí sabía para qué venías y era para esto para que él pudiera aquí ser atendido y sobrevivir.' (Oliveros Monsalve, Ginette M., Pos. 269).

The aspect of faith is also strongly linked to gratitude and hope. On the one hand, hope is based on the belief that God hears prayers and that therefore a situation, in which one can no longer do anything actively oneself, can still be influenced positively through prayers:

'Fui como muy fuerte, fui como muy decidida siempre para adelante, llorando como fuera, pero para adelante. Nunca pensé que él iba a morir. Siempre pensé verlo levantándose regresando a casa eso era lo que yo visualizaba y eso era lo que yo trataba de transmitirle a si fuera en la distancia, pero... yo decía pura energía positiva eso es lo que va para él.' (Oliveros Monsalve, Ginette M., Pos. 220).

On the other hand, hope is also based on the belief that God has a mission for every human life, no creature is born accidentally. The belief that her husband's mission here is not yet finished also seems to have helped her hold on to hope: ',Dios lo regresó es porque mira [...] que él tiene una misión muy bonita aquí para la gloria de dios él tiene una misión aquí muy bonita.' (Oliveros Monsalve, Ginette M., Pos. 277-279).

This belief in a purpose in each person's life (thus also referring to a certain protection by God) is also testified by Francy for her own life, affirming that it is her faith that gives her the strength to persevere:

'Y yo decía "Dios mío esto es una prueba y no voy a desmayar, no voy a desmayar y no voy a desmayar". Y yo les decía a los muchachos no desmayen, porque si yo estuve a un paso de la muerte, a un paso de que acabaran con mi vida y Dios me dijo "No, o sea esa es mi hija y esa no me la van a tocar". Porque cada uno de nosotros tenemos una misión en la vida, y tenemos un propósito y tenemos que seguir adelante. [...] Todavía tengo la fuerza para seguirá adelante. [...] por mi fe.'

4.7. 'No discrimination experience'

It is noteworthy that some interviewees' initially state that they have not been exposed to discriminatory acts. On closer evaluation, it can be observed that all of them apply one or the other form of a preventive coping strategy. These and other factors will be examined more closely in this chapter in order to be able to better understand the statement.

Distancing themselves

One strategy identified is that the women distance themselves from received discriminatory acts internally with the consequence that they can ignore or almost forget it, even if it was directed against them personally: '[...] nosotros, no, que hemos escuchado el comentario, la cosa y tal, pero no. [...] ella empezó a comentar y yo así como que, o sea, yo no, trataba de ignorarla.' (Lucena Sifontes, Celina A., Pos. 134, 142)

Ginette distances herself not only from the commentaries in general, but also from other Venezuelans, to whom she indirectly ascribes responsibility for unsuccessful house hunting. The reason behind this coping strategy could be partly based on the need for self-presentation to not belong to a socially disregarded group, as Scherr and Breit put it.⁷¹ At the same time, the resilience-strengthening factor of the positive self-concept is revealed in her assumption as to why they immediately found a place to live and continue to live there:

'Nosotros no hemos recibido ninguna discriminación en verdad. Bueno, puede ser un comentario QUE GENERALICE. "Los venezolanos... "pero no están diciendo directamente que seas tú. [...] desde que llegué como te digo he estado en un mismo sitio. O sea, eso puede hablar de cómo somos mi esposo y yo. Porque si hubiésemos sido unas personas que... incumplidas o que le gusta hacer escándalo o llegar tomados o algo así. ¡UY! (Oliveros Monsalve, Ginette M., Pos. 309).

Social protection and trivialization

Leidi also names a social contact as a resource. Her former boss liked her very much and defended her when faced with discriminatory comments. A second aspect is that her acceptance threshold of bearable comments is higher than that of others - she can ignore the

⁷¹ See chapter 2.2.3.3.

comments if they do not physically attack her: 'la gente puede comentar pero mientras no se metan con uno y no te toquen, bien. [...] la señora que era mi jefa en la cocina ella sí se ponía brava, a ella no le gustaba que me dijeran nada, ella me quería muchísimo (Bermudez, Leidi Y., Pos. 120-126). In this regard, the second aspect is closely related to the third aspect, which points to a certain trivialization⁷² of the discriminatory comments as she has other things to deal with:

Porque bueno siempre hay los comentarios, pero mientras uno, [...] yo ando mal porque yo estoy sin trabajar, y además de eso mi mamá está un poco delicada de salud también [...] no está la cosa fácil de verdad. Tantas amistades que se han muerto en Venezuela por negligencia médica [...].'(Bermudez, Leidi Y., pos. 94).

Her testimony shows that her coping strategy is pragmatic ignorance. She then switches the topic to situations that she estimates as actual difficulties. These are her own health status as she got cancer and lost her job. At the same time, she grieves the death of friends and got depressed during the lockdown (cf. Bermudez, Leidi Y., pos. 140-141, 148). These resilience-weakening factors push the discriminatory comments into the background, and therefore cannot trouble her much. At the same time, she names her daughter and her faith (external and personal resilience-strengthening factor) as a source of strength to persevere (cf. Bermudez, Leidi Y., pos. 142-143, 150).

Institutional discrimination

Moreover, Elianny's and Francy's migration histories can be seen as examples of institutional discrimination, which can be consciously or unconsciously directed like that, as described in Chapter 2.2.3.3. Both women immigrated to Colombia as political refugees (in 2018 and 2015) and are just in the process of legalization at the time of the interview. While Elianny's son could not continue with his education, Francy's family felt the direct consequences of lacking a legal status of residency during the pandemic (cf. Pérez Lugo, Elianny Y., pos. 49, 53).

Francy has witnessed cases of discrimination directed towards other Venezuelans, however she does not see herself affected by it (cf. Meza Guerra, Francy, pos. 141-142). Later, she recounts being thrown out of her apartment during the lockdown because they did not have a job and could not pay the rent at that moment: ',[...] con migración y policía, ese era el mensaje [...] para echarnos del apartamento.' (Meza Guerra, Francy, Pos. 204-206). Apparently, she classified the situation as unjust, because she even tried to resist the eviction through legal means, in the sense of an offensive coping strategy:

⁷² See also chapter 2.2.3.3.

Pero es como cuando tu careces de leyes, cuando tu ignoras la realidad, entonces cuando yo empecé como quien dice a estudiar las leyes no pero eso es así acá, nosotros en ningún momento nos queremos apoderar de su espacio, simplemente por medio de la pandemia perdimos el empleo.’ (Meza Guerra, Francy, Pos. 200)

However, this does not seem to have helped her, so she and her family stored their belongings at a neighbor's house while staying temporary at a friend's living room until SNPS helped her rent a small apartment (cf. Meza Guerra, Francy, pos. 206). All three forms of social support can be interpreted as external resilience-strengthening factors.

The Legislative Decree 579 of 2020 prohibits the eviction of rented accommodations during the lockdown by Covid-19 in the context of an economic, social and environmental emergency state (cf. Gobierno Colombia, 2020). This is supposed to have also applied to illegal forms such as daily paid accommodation (cf. Mercado, 2020, para. 5). The problem in such situations is the lack of a tenancy agreement, to legally verify the rental agreement. Thus landlords find other ways to evict renters from their flat, as Ángela Agudelo Urrego describes it in the case of indigenous internally displaced persons in the cities (cf. Agudelo Urrego, 2020, p. 1). As described above, Francy has not been able to enter the country legally because of her political flight⁷³ and therefore, for the six years she has been living in Colombia, she still does not have any documents that would allow her to work or rent legally. The author sees both the years-long wait for legal papers and the resulting expulsion as an example of indirect institutional discrimination. It is characteristic of such discrimination that it is often not perceived as such, but its consequences have been significant for Francy and her family. Francy, however, does carry hope (personal resilience-building factor) that this will soon change as a result of the new ETPV: ‘[...] ahorita nosotros estamos en el proceso de regularización del estatuto, ya vimos la cita biométrica, gracias a Dios [...].’ (Meza Guerra, Francy, Pos. 40).

Elizabeth case study

Elizabeth's experience serves as an individual case study to examine the conditions and factors for a content life in Colombia, which she says, in which she did not perceive that her family ever have experienced discrimination. The following abstract aims to understand if there are any contextual factors or resources that might play a role for these positive conditions in Colombia.

⁷³ No porque yo nosotros yo cuando pase para acá no pude sellar pasaporte, porque éramos, o sea soy funcionaria, y al sellar pasaporte nosotros nos declaran como traición a la patria, y entonces nos quitan los bienes las viviendas, bueno de hecho lo perdí, perdí todo, mi casa, mis tierras, perdí todo, perdí todo. (Meza Guerra, Francy, Pos. 77-78)

In her childhood, she grew up with her twin sister and her single mother, as her father had never taken responsibility for his children (cf. *ibid*, pos. 68). The absent father figure might have been a resilience-weakening factor in her life, however, in the same sentence she describes her mother who worked a lot to provide a good life for her daughters, so the father does not seem to play any role in her life: ‚Bueno, él no se responsabilizó, mi mamá me echó adelante, bueno, vendiendo lo que sea, siendo y haciendo, lavando ropa, planchando y nos sacó adelante como pudo.‘ (Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., Pos. 72). Here, her mother is described as a hard-working woman and she seems to have a very good relationship with her as she misses her a lot (Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., pos. 229). She married her husband at the age of 18 and at the time of the interview she has a son (5) and two daughters (1 and 2 years-old) with him. Her son was born with cerebral paralysis ‘El mayor tiene parálisis cerebral [...] no camina, ni habla, tiene un retraso psicomotor en general. PERO con su terapia, él va agarrando’ (Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., Pos. 38), which is why he depends on a specific diet, medications and therapies (*ibid*, pos. 64). Due to the crisis in Venezuela, it became more and more difficult to receive the necessary treatment, because the medicines did not arrive in her city. Therefore, she moved with her son to a city about seven hours away for six months to enable him to receive treatment, while her husband stayed in their hometown and continued his profession as a lawyer (Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., pos. 72).

Disabilities are usually seen as resilience-weakening, and Elizabeth's family also devotes a lot of their capacities to providing good care for their son. The scarcity of health care resources is considered to be seen as another stressor. However, it appears that the family can draw on internal resources to deal with these challenges: They divide themselves temporarily in terms of location, so they can meet their family's needs as a team in two places at the same time. This is certainly only possible at all because the core family cohesion seems to be strong, and they can completely rely on their partner, which is underlined by a statement made by Elizabeth later on: ‘[...] como le digo nunca, nunca nos vamos a dejar caer.’ (Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., pos. 162). This strategy, in addition to the external social resource of family unity, also testifies to personal resilience-strengthening factors such as adaptability and pragmatism.

Furthermore, the personal resilience factor ‘sense of reality’, seems to have helped her, as they already got IDs in 2016 and had all the titles accredited when it was still being issued by the state without bigger problems and while it was still affordable: ‚ya en el 2016 le digo a mi esposo: Mira, vamos a ir a hacer nuestro pasaporte. Porque se estaba poniendo muy dura la cosa. [...] Conseguimos la plata 2500, era muy económico en ese tiempo. (Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., Pos. 72-74). It wasn't until the end of 2017 that they decide to leave the country, after she had spent more months travelling back and forth to obtain medicine, but had no money left for food:

,[...] empezó a haber la dificultad que la moneda no te alcanza, la plata no te alcanza para comprar los medicamentos, y si comprabas el medicamento del niño no comprabas el alimento [...].’ (Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., Pos. 74).

The decision to emigrate was made when she was heavily pregnant and malnourished: ‘Yo llegué a pesar con el embarazo 45 kilos con el bebé, tenía 8 meses y solo parecía mí, no tenía barriga, porque estaba demasiada delgada. [...] nada, estaba desnutrida, súper desnutrida ’ (Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., Pos. 74-78). However, the main reason stated for the migration was the son, who is dependent on his medication, ‘[...] entonces nosotros estamos por eso, mayor prioridad de nosotros es la salud del niño, pero como las otras niñas sí son saludables también, pero el niño sí va tener dificultades [...].’ (Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., Pos. 64). This shows that the slow accumulation of the stressors of malnutrition, economic problems and pregnancy accumulated the necessary urgency to leave the familiar environment in search of better living conditions elsewhere. Here, the external resilience factor of social responsibility for their son plays a key role in their identity as parents. Furthermore, this demonstrates well how close resilience-weakening and resilience-strengthening factors are: The disability is seen as a stressor, but it is also the main reason for activating more resources for a drastic change.

After four days of travelling in several buses, which she describes as dangerous and unsafe despite crossing the border legally, they finally arrived in Bogotá (cf. Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., pos. 89). Although they had sold all their furniture in Venezuela, saving 60 Dollars for the trip, they had none of it left after the journey. Her first memory she recounts about Colombia is linked to the generosity of a local woman who gave them food out of pure empathy and facilitated a phone call to her uncle, where they stayed for the next two months:

,llegué al Salitre con 200 pesos nada más de lo que tenemos de plata, (Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., Pos. 105) ¿Ustedes son venezolanos? – Sí. – Ah, ya vengo. – Y ay, no teníamos ni para llamar a mi tío, ni nada y no sé cómo viene con un pollo y una jarra de agua. [...] no habíamos comido en estos días [...].’ (Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., Pos. 111).

In her narrative, her personal resilience factor of gratitude becomes evident, which also comes out when she talks about the JRS workshop on entrepreneurship or about Colombian society in general. She experiences support from Venezuelans and Colombians as an external social resource that inspires and motivates her to continue:

‘Entonces vamos ahí, LUCHANDO, luchando.’(Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., Pos. 28)

,Y bueno, y gracias a dios, saco una bendición muy grande. [...] me llamo que un giro para un emprendimiento [...] y nos entusiasmó. Veníamos a las clases y todo eso. La primera inyección que me dieron, uy no, uno se va a caer para atrás’ (ibid. Pos. 139).

Another motivator is also her responsibility that she feels towards her family in Venezuela, who is not doing well (ibid, pos. 156). On the one hand, this moves her to make the most of the opportunity she has received through migration; on the other hand, she lives frugally to send as much as possible to her family in Venezuela (ibid, pos. 166).

The resilience factor of adaptability and pragmatism mentioned above is also evident in Colombia: when they lack the money for the first rent payment in their new apartment, Elizabeth decides without hesitation to have her hair cut off to obtain the missing money: ‚Fuímos hasta Patogonito, allá una peluquera que no sé qué, que hacía pelucas que no sé qué más. Que sí, sí. Bueno, yo te saco la medida, pa-pa-pa (expresión de rapidez) midió, 280 mil pesos. Con eso compramos, alquilamos otra vez.‘ (Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., Pos. 194). A similar attitude can be seen in her husband: In order to be able to work in his profession as a lawyer, her husband would need to study for another six months in Colombia, for which there is not enough money (ibid., item 156). Therefore, her husband does all kinds of work, like construction, coffee and empanada sales (cf. ibid., pos. 218-221). ‚O sea, no importa [...] Vemos por aquí, vemos por allá. Mi esposo hace de todo, el es animador [...] a hecho de todo.‘ (Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., Pos. 162). In this context, two other factors become clear: on the one hand, the aspect of the hard-working Venezuelan, which runs through the narrative of Venezuelan identity.

For instance, another interviewee describes her compatriots as follows: ‚[...] que de verdad Venezuela somos de personas humildes, trabajadoras, personas honestas que a pesar de que nos ha tocado empezar desde cero en otros países seguimos luchando.‘ (Rosales Colina, Zaida, Pos. 619)

On the other hand, Elizabeth’s husband’s personality ‘as animador’ is also revealed. She adds to this later, describing herself and him as open and active people: ‚Nosotros somos muy abiertos, así. [...] para allá, para acá (Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., pos. 314). The physical description, that he is easily recognizable because of his vitiligo, is positively associated, as it makes him even more recognizable: ‚Nosotros somos muy conocidos ahí en el barrio [...] Nosotros nos comunicamos con nuestros, amigos, nuestros vecinos, venezolanos y colombianos también.‘ (Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., Pos. 294-296). Their social competencies help a lot with integration, and they feel welcome and included in their neighborhood. ‚mi familia fuimos tan, tan aceptados, tan... como bien recibidos aquí en Colombia [...] mí me han ayudado. “Mira, tengo un colchoncito. Tengo una camita. ¿La necesitas’ (ibid., Pos. 182). Likewise, she forms part of a Whatsapp network of Venezuelans who give each other recommendations about certain offers such as health campaigns.

When asked about discrimination, she does not mention any negative experience. Later, however, it becomes clear that, despite legal entry, they are disadvantaged regarding the schooling of their son with disability, as they lack residency status. Here, the author sees clear evidence of direct institutional discrimination based on their nationality, which leads to direct disadvantage for her son even after four years of living in Colombia.

'El mayor sí debe estudiar, pero lo que pasa es que debo buscar un instituto especial y ahí sí se me ha hecho un poco más difícil porque tiene que tener residencia. Eso sí es un poquito más engorroso, es más complicado, la parte especial, de niño especial.' (Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., Pos. 235).

As it turns out later, she has also witnessed discrimination of others in her immediate environment, such as that of her cousin, and goes into the different word meanings in Spanish jargon, which in this case, however, was described in a funny way and was not taken as bullying:

'La sobrina fue la que tuvo más problemas [...] siempre decía: ¡Uy, estoy arrecha, estoy arrechísima! Y se quedaban los colombianos así. [...] "¡Yo estoy molesta, ¿vale?! No, deja de decir eso. Arrechera es que estás con deseos sexuales. Y ella ¡¿QUÉ?! ¿Cómo va a ser así?' (Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., Pos. 382-384)

However, it seems that Elizabeth is aware of discriminatory practices regarding the subtleties of language, since she applies in this case a preventive-avoidant coping strategy and completely evades the use of Venezuelan jargon: '[...] nosotros siempre tratábamos de mantenernos calladitos [...] O sea, para nosotras ha sido, uy, uy la verdad, uy sí para hablar. Con cuidadito.' (Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., Pos. 382-386).

Similar to Elizabeth, Elianny shares that she had not experienced discrimination yet (besides her close family), displaying the same use of the avoidant coping strategy in a preventive way by explaining that she can sense the xenophobia of some Colombians, which is why, for instance, she does not even ask her neighbors for help when she is hungry, but only turns to NGOs:

,'Me duele que ellos no tengan qué comer" hay momentos en que tú te sientes así [...] no vas a ir donde el vecino, y el vecino te puede decir que qué le importa a él tu vida, porque acá, como hay colombianos buenos, que son unos ángeles para nosotros [...] también hay colombianos resentidos [...] con odios, con xenofobias a 10 mil por segundo, sienten ese coraje de ver al venezolano acá; [...] Entonces uno siempre busca personas como esta fundación, personas que ya tienen otra manera de pensar (Pérez Lugo, Elianny Y., Pos. 39)

Elizabeth's example shows on the one hand that social competences and an open attitude can apparently achieve a lot in one's own integration, and on the other hand, her pragmatic attitude paired with strong family cohesion supports her a lot in the face of challenges. Distancing

herself from discriminatory experiences of relatives coincides with her pro-active, pragmatic-positive attitude towards life:

, Yo digo que no es la suerte, es la actitud que tú tengas ante la vida [...] Vamos a echar para adelante. Bueno, veremos algo por aquí, por allá. Algo se resolverá. (Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., Pos. 330-334).

She considers this attitude is the reason for her resilience, which she describes as follows: ,Y así, bueno, solo hemos tenido ese entusiasmo y esas ganas de echar para adelante, esa resiliencia, que es la que siempre yo gano, tener la ímpetu de echar para adelante.' (Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., Pos. 154-162). She holds her mother responsible for this inner resource: ,De mi madre, de mi madre, ella es luchadora.' (Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., Pos. 340).

5. Conclusion

The Venezuelan women interviewed for this paper have found themselves forced to leave their homeland as a result of the governmental violence, as well as the economic and humanitarian crisis. In this life-changing decision, the identity as mother or daughter and the associated external resource of social responsibility played a particularly important role, giving the interviewees the strength to take the decisive step with all the associated risks. The main reasons are the physical health of family members and the desire to be able to offer them better opportunities for the future. In the face of violence, some answers show that emigration was the only way to escape a concrete life-threatening situation. Due to the background information about the various urgent migration reasons that favor the concept of forced migration, the author recommends an inclusive use of the term migration in humanitarian aid (see chapter 2.1.). Consequently, on the one hand, integration measures should be provided for refugees as well, instead of letting them remain in the uncertain status of being on hold for years, as was the case with Elianny Pérez (Pérez Lugo, Elianny Y., pos. 53-55). On the other hand, migrants' access to humanitarian aid should be improved, which is also needed even in the absence of violent reasons for flight (cf. Rivero, Lucila D., Pos. 3; cf. Rosales Colina, Zaida, Pos. 254).

The women report both indirect and direct acts of discrimination in all areas of daily life. These occur particularly frequently in public transport, in supermarkets and on the street, but also at work and in the private sphere. Manifesting themselves especially through derogatory comments and Othering processes, such as insults, statements of Venezuelan women being prostitutes, criminals and lazy, while also taking away job opportunities and social services

from Colombians. Thus, the migrant women's testimonies confirm the discriminatory attitudes of Colombian society described in the literature and in host community surveys (chapter 1), allowing a deeper insight into the direct impact on the interviewees. In terms of concrete actions, discrimination manifests itself in labor exploitation, sexual harassment, or the unjustified denial of access to jobs (also with legal papers), housing opportunities, neighborhood participation, and health services. Here, not only aspects of the concept of aporophobia reveal themselves, but also those of various racisms, such as biological, cultural, and everyday racism. Thus, the author agrees with Christian Krüger et. al. that aporophobia exists in Colombia (cf. Krüger et. Al. pp. 68, 80). While Krüger et. al. also identifies xenophobia in the country and considers the concept as the reason for modern racism, equating it with discriminatory practices (cf. Ibid. pp. 77-78), the author rejects the notion of xenophobia for the reasons stated in chapter 2.2.1. However, the above-mentioned narratives testify to the co-existence of aporophobia and racism in Colombian society. Considering Iman Attia's call to adapt the programs accordingly, the guidelines of the international organizations should consequently include integration programs for vulnerable (migration) populations as well as campaigns against racism (see chapter 2.2.1.). The interviewees' reports show that community volunteering and workshops on entrepreneurship for mixed groups of vulnerable Colombians and Venezuelans, have been helpful in the integration process in terms of organizational programs. Apart from the mentioned programs at the institutional level, especially social resources were perceived as external resilience-strengthening factors, which appear in form of support from Colombians, the sense of social responsibility towards others, and the integration in Colombian and Venezuelan networks. Regarding personal resources, the characteristics of being goal orientated & hard-working, as well as having gratitude and faith, are particularly effective in the women. In this regard, the attribute of being hard-working is attributed to the Venezuelan identity, of which they are proud and contrasts strongly as counter-narrative to prejudices circulated by parts of the Colombian society. The kind of reaction to a certain type of discrimination depends on various factors and is highly individual. However, the avoidance strategy – whether out of a pragmatic attitude or fear-driven – as a coping response runs through all testimonies and is usually the first choice. The offensive coping strategy, on the other hand, is applied less often and tends to be paired with the attempt to convince the opposite side with logical arguments that discriminatory behavior is inappropriate. Despite all the traumatic experiences, difficult life phases and obstacles that the participants have been through, their motivation to build a life in Colombia is unbroken.

Based on the present code systems and testimonies of this study, a further analysis would be interesting in relation to life events that represent a certain rupture in the biography, meaning in which the resilience-weakening factors could no longer be countered with adequate coping

strategies, as well as identifying the factors that helped the interviewees to overcome the phase. Besides Sofía's individual case analysis, the interviews about depressive phases of other participants could be named as examples. It is also interesting to look at the circumstances under which certain resilience-weakening factors become the motivation for a resilience-promoting process and to what extent they might influence possibilities of coping with discrimination. Furthermore, an analysis of offensive coping could be useful to understand which events and factors lead even those to directly address discrimination who otherwise act rather cautiously. In addition, further individual case analyses would be useful to show the connections between experiences of discrimination, coping strategies, environmental influences and resilience factors in the overall picture. This could possibly unlock further evidence of helpful resources to incorporate into professional work with the Venezuelan immigrants. While the impact of economic development programs and volunteer engagements with compatriots and migrants have already been confirmed as helpful initiatives, the author also received positive feedback on the interviews themselves: As G. Opp predicted it, the reflection itself of Zaida Rosales's biography seemed to have a resilience-building effect on her. Thus, for the first time, she could acknowledge how difficult a certain phase in her life was and at the same time appreciate all that she had accomplished since then. About the interview she says: ,es un testimonio de superación.' (Rosales Colina, Zaida, Pos. 376).

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Appendix – part A

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Appendix 1: Discrimination experiences

The graph below shows the different areas in which the interviewed women experienced discrimination. This frequency analysis representation within the qualitative analysis is intended to serve as a visual overview, with specific areas discussed in more detail in the main part of this paper. One person is not included in the graph as she states that she did not experience discrimination at all. The graphic shows that 17 of 18 women reported situations where they had experienced Othering. In this context, certain characteristics were attributed to the interviewees due to their identification as Venezuelan women. A sub-code, which is not represented in the graph, of this category are insults because of their nationality. Most examples overlap, as the category Othering processes also contain situations when the women were treated differently because of their nationality, while the insults are solely linguistic attacks.

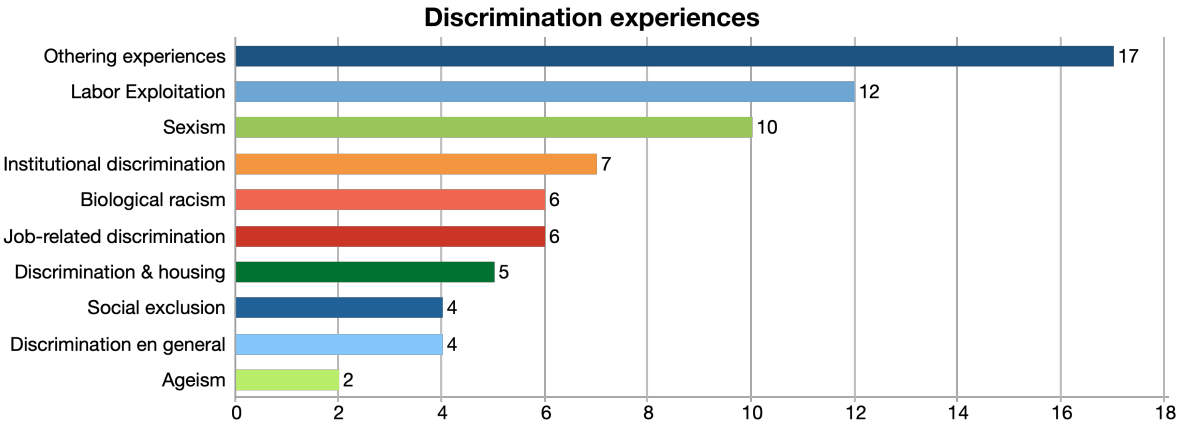


Table 1: Discrimination experiences
 Source: Created by author. Based on 18 interviews from October 2021.

With 12 affected women, labor exploitation is the second most frequent experience of discrimination among the interviewees. It should be noted that such experiences are not always clearly classifiable, meaning that when someone is exploited, it is not always necessarily a case of effective discrimination, but many narratives show strong evidence that allow these conclusions to be drawn, especially when Colombian employees are treated better than their Venezuelan colleagues. A bit more than half of the women are survivors of sexism, followed by experiences with institutional discrimination in seven cases. This includes, for example, not having access to the health care system or legal employment contracts due to lack of documentation, while sexism often includes suggestive comments or invitations to have sex. One-third of the interviewees have experienced situations of biological racism, in which they have been treated badly because they have been identified as Venezuelan without having had direct contact with the aggressors. Job-related discrimination is experienced in the same

extent. As opposed to labor exploitation, it refers to being rejected for a job because of their nationality (regardless of legal papers). The discrimination experiences in the search for housing is represented almost to the same extent. This is listed as a separate category rather than being grouped under institutional racism because those involved were private landlords rather than an agency that always applies the same criteria. Still, in many cases these two aspects interrelate since often the lack of legal papers are a reason for further discrimination. Lastly, two persons have made effective experience with ageism in the area of employment seeking. Less than a quarter of the participants have experienced social exclusion practices from communal programs, or ageism.

Appendix 2: External resilience-strengthening factors

In the following, the identified external resilience-strengthening factors among the interviewees are presented in a graphical overview. The social resources as an important subcategory are explained separately below. The corresponding paragraphs briefly explain the results of the frequency analyses of the subcategories and illustrate the results with quote examples in the footnotes.

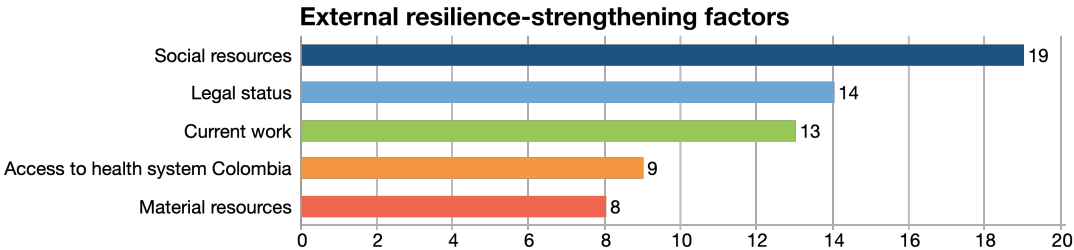


Table 2: External resilience-strengthening factors of Venezuelan women (number of people)
 Source: Created by author. Based on 19 interviews from October 2021.

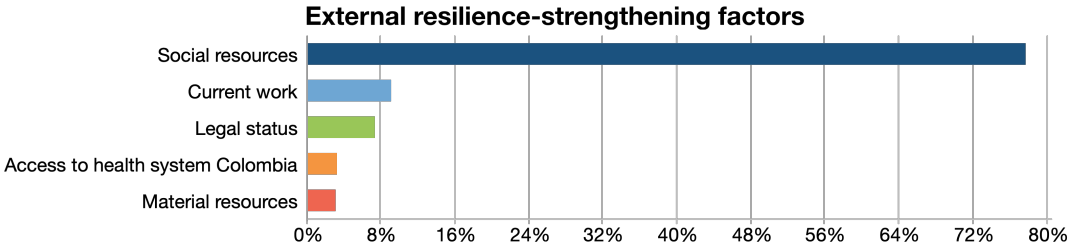


Table 3: External resilience-strengthening factors as segments of Venezuelan women in Bogotá (segments)
 Source: Created by author. Based on 19 interviews from October 2021.

The overview in graphic 8 and 9 on the external resilience-strengthening factors highlights that social resources are the most important factor for resilience-strengthening for all 19 Venezuelan women interviewed. A legal status⁷⁴ in Colombia comes in second place, with 14 women mentioning this as a resource, followed closely by the factor of a having a current work⁷⁵ with 13 women mentioning it. Among 10 votes, the access to the health care system⁷⁶ in Colombia is an important external resource, followed by material resources⁷⁷ in last place, mentioned by half of the women. While graphic 8 shows responses by number of people,

⁷⁴ Example for 'legal status': 'Que como te digo, que nosotros estamos legal, con el pasaporte conseguimos el PEP, [...] Un alivio más. Entonces [...] seguimos trabajando.' (Ríos Alvarez, Elizabeth F., Pos. 144)
⁷⁵ Example for 'current work': ' [...] con mi emprendimiento como te digo, para mí es una de las formas de decir, YO PUEDO salir adelante y aquí en este país, que es ajeno.' (Ríos Alvarez, Elizabeth F., Pos. 144).
⁷⁶ Example for 'access to health system': ' [...] Dios sí sabía para qué venías y era para esto para que él pudiera aquí ser atendido y sobrevivir.' (Oliveros Monsalve, Ginette M., Pos. 269)
⁷⁷ Example for material resources: 'La señora me llama y me dice "te tengo platica" AH. Me fui, hice la cita, y la hacían en un solo sitio en Caracas en una clínica especialista en genética [...] y me salió bien. Mi niño no venía con ningún tipo de problema.' (Hurtado Toro, Belisa N., Pos. 56)

graphic 9 shows the number of segments, in other words, how often a particular aspect was talked about - regardless of the speaker. Here, the plot of response frequencies shows that nearly 80 percent (equivalent to 388 marked segment segments) of all statements about external resilience-strengthening factors were about social resources. In addition, graphic 9 shows that there were more statements about the frequency of the topic 'current work' than about the resource 'legal status', but overall fewer people named it at all, as graphic 8 shows.

Social resources of the interviewees

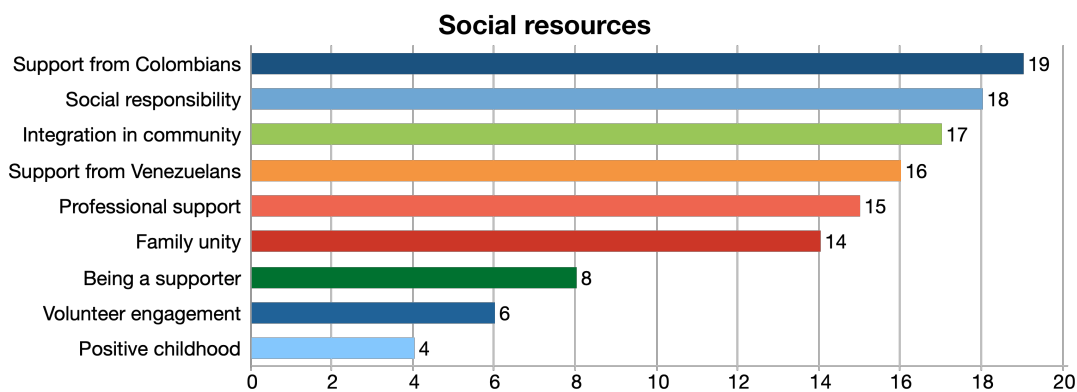


Table 4: Social resources of Venezuelan women in Bogotá (number of people)

Source: Created by author. Based on 19 interviews from October 2021.

Within the external social resources, a distinction is made between 'support from Colombians', 'social responsibility', 'integration in community', 'support from Venezuelans'⁷⁸, 'professional support'⁷⁹, 'family unity'⁸⁰, 'being a supporter'⁸¹, 'volunteer engagement'⁸² and 'positive childhood'⁸³. The first five aspects of social resources (see chart 10) have a more significant role for the women than the remaining external resilience-strengthening resources (chart 8 & 9). Therefore, the first three social resilience factors will be examined in more detail in the next subsections.

⁷⁸ Example for 'support from Venezuelans': 'No, yo tengo por WhatsApp grupos de venezolanos, grupos de ayuda [...].' (Roa Santana, Valeria, Pos. 419-420).

⁷⁹ Example for 'professional support': 'O sea, por ejemplo nosotros legalizamos todo gracias a los jesuitas, o sea gracias a que ellos nos llevaron, me llevaron a mi cámara de comercio, sabes, conocí otras personas conocí otras posibilidades.' (Araujo Mejias, Janina D., Pos. 208).

⁸⁰ Example for 'family unity': 'Como somos muy unidos, esa es mi fuerza; mi familia.' (Toro Rivera, Zilah P., Pos. 407).

⁸¹ Example for 'being a supporter': '[...] a veces cuando tenemos... alguna manera... alguna ayuda que nos den, entonces les enviamos (Lopez Gallardo, Nicole, Pos. 835).

⁸² Example for 'volunteer engagement': 'Por medio de ella y labores que hacían con migrantes conocí al barrio, a muchos del barrio, y de allí siempre se hacían jornadas, cosas humanitarias con diferentes fundaciones que iban a ayudarnos, y fui trabajando con ellos y actualmente soy líder social pero en la parte informativa de salud con una organización y con más personas, bueno, me he integrado bastante.' (Toro Rivera, Zilah P., Pos. 75)

⁸³ Example for 'positive childhood': 'Sí, bueno, mi niñez la pasé muy... Soy una persona muy familiar y pues crecí en un hogar tranquilo, con cariño, [...] lo que es el trabajar y hacer las cosas con sacrificio.' (Toro Rivera, Zilah P., Pos. 63).

Appendix 3: Personal resilience-strengthening factors

Chapter 4.6. already examined the personal resilience-strengthening resources of being goal-oriented and working hard, as well as having faith. Strongly connected to this is thankfulness⁸⁴ – towards God and towards people.

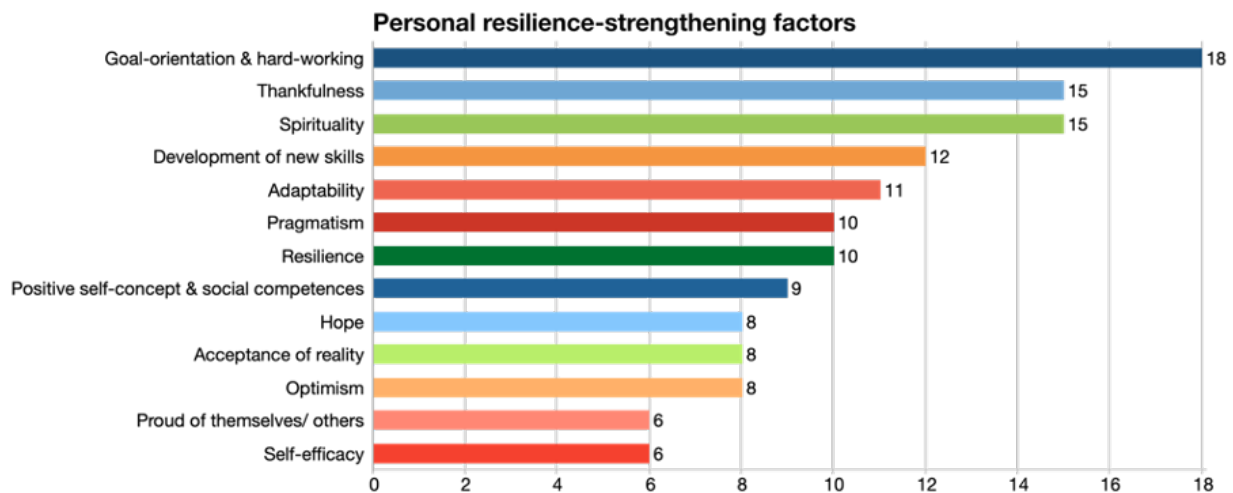


Table 5: Personal resilience-strengthening factors of Venezuelan women (number of people)
Source: Created by author. Based on 19 interviews from October 2021.

Other important inner resources are the 'development of new skills'⁸⁵, which is also closely related in content to the first protector as it refers in particular to the skills that helped them to get a job in a country where their professional titles are not (yet) recognized. Adaptability⁸⁶ and pragmatism⁸⁷ are also mentioned as relevant resources in the context of a new beginning. The positive factor, which is named as 'resilience'⁸⁸ includes all statements from the Venezuelan women that have named this ability by themselves or have described a situation that they have personally grown from. Half of all women are aware of their social competences⁸⁹ and use

⁸⁴ Example for 'thankfulness': 'Hay [...] tantos momentos que, o sea, porque hay personas que me a mí me han ayudado. [...] Una bendición para mí.' (Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., Pos. 182).

⁸⁵ Example for 'development of new skills': 'Yo vengo de Venezuela con una profesión, yo no sabía hacer más nada sino mi profesión. [...] Desde que aprendimos a coser y uno conoce a las personas, ya nos ha ido un poco mejor.' (Hurtado Toro, Belisa N., Pos. 136)

⁸⁶ Example for 'adaptability': 'Porque nosotros, en medio de la dificultad, nosotros nos adaptamos al cambio. [...] yo vivía en una casa lujosa en Venezuela, tengo que adaptarme a vivir en un solo cuarto 18 personas ¿sí? Entonces nos adaptamos rápido al cambio y este cambio drástico nos da la fuerza para pensar en positivo, para sacar algo positivo de allí. [...] Nos ha hecho ser más gente, más pacientes, más tolerantes.' (Pérez Lugo, Elianny Y., Pos. 171)

⁸⁷ Example for pragmatism': 'Bueno, una vez en la transición de irme de la casa de mi tío hacia nosotros alquilar solos. Nosotros no teníamos plata, dijimos: "uy dios mío, ¿y cómo hacemos señor? [...] yo tenía el cabello largo, largo, largo. Conseguí una cosa, no sé del periódico, no sé dónde o que me comentaron que se vendía cabello. [...] allá una peluquera que no sé qué, que hacía pelucas [...] Bueno, yo te saco la medida, pa-pa-pa (expresión de rapidez) midió, 280 mil pesos. Con eso compramos, alquilamos otra vez.' (Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., Pos. 189-194)

⁸⁸ Example for 'resilience': 'Y así, bueno, solo hemos tenido ese entusiasmo y esas ganas de echar para adelante, esa resiliencia, [...]' (Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., Pos. 162). / 'O sea, tenía dos opciones, o quedarme ahí llorando eternamente, o sacar fuerza de donde no hay y reinventarte y ...' (Araujo Mejias, Janina D., Pos. 236).

⁸⁹ Example for 'social competences': 'De mi parte siempre traté de ser muy respetuosa. Creo que ha sido parte de mi éxito en la comunidad.' (Rosales Colina, Zaida, Pos. 158)

them to their advantage. This is followed by the factors ,hope⁹⁰ , ,acceptance of reality⁹¹ , ,to be proud of themselves or others⁹² and 'self-efficacy'⁹³.

⁹⁰ Example for 'hope': '[...] y que yo tenía la esperanza de que mi hermana iba a llegar unos meses más atrás [...] eso fue lo que me motivó a salir adelante, a soportar esa soledad.' (Pérez Lugo, Elianny Y., Pos. 167)

⁹¹ Example for ,acceptance of reality': 'yo tengo mi casita por allá, pero Venezuela no está, y para que ese país se acomode tiene que pasar un tiempito.' (Bermudez, Leidi Y., Pos. 190)

⁹² Example for 'being proud of themselves' (in a positive sense): '[...] mira, hemos luchado como tú no tienes una idea. Ya de 17 millones debemos seis.' (Pérez Lugo, Elianny Y., Pos. 217)

⁹³ 'Yo me movilicé, fue a bienestar, le dije que estábamos buscando para los niños, fui al ministerio de educación y también les dije, conseguí los cupos!' (Lopez Gallardo, Nicole, Pos. 1219)

Appendix 4: visual overview of interrelationships between subcategories

The table 6 serves as example of the interrelationships between sub-categories 'no discrimination experiences' and 'coping with discrimination'. The analysis between these subcategories indicates, that the statement in which the interviewees said that they had not experienced discrimination, overlaps with the codes for the coping strategies 'educational work', 'avoidance' and 'distancing'. As consequence the three mentioned sub-categories were examined in a qualitative approach, identifying the contexts of these results.

Codesystem	No discrimination experiences
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⊖ Coping with discrimination <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⊖ Offensive Coping ⊖ Educational work ⊖ Identification ⊖ Avoidance ⊖ Distancing ⊖ No discrimination experiences 	

Table 6: visual overview of interrelationships between subcategories
 Source: Created by author. Based on 19 interviews from October 2021.

Appendix 5: Code system for the analysis

MC = Main Category
-I = inductive

C = Category
-D = deductive

SC = Sub- Category

Number	Code	Description	Example
1.	General situation in Venezuela (MC-I)	The interviewees talk about their living conditions in Venezuela in their past and shortly before the migration.	'Eso lo utilizaban ellos como manera de amenazar, de que no podían votar en contra porque perdían sus trabajos.' (Toro Rivera, Zilah P., Pos. 85)
1.1.	Original family situation in Venezuela (C-I)	The interviewees remember their childhood and provide information about life with their parents and siblings.	'Mi niñez fue hermosísima, hermosísima, una familia super unida, fui criada entre la playa y la montaña [...]; yo tuve una infancia muy linda la verdad que sí.' (Vegas Gomez, Sofía V., Pos. 265)
1.2.	Family situation in Venezuela (C-I)	The interviewees provided an insight in their general family situation in the years and months before the migration.	'Digamos que teníamos una situación económica cómoda. Teníamos un buen sitio donde vivir [...] Yo salí embarazada del segundo niño hace ya/ digamos que fue como un año antes de venir. Ya la situación en Venezuela estaba como que... PESADA-, (Hurtado Toro, Belisa N., Pos. 24)
1.3.	Educational background (C-I)	Information about the last or various degrees.	'Tenía un buen trabajo porque yo soy licenciada en enfermería, y yo desde que me gradué pude entrar a la administración pública.' (Hurtado Toro, Belisa N., Pos. 22)
1.4.	Former jobs (C-I)	Narrative about previous employments of the interviewee herself and of the nuclear family members	'Trabajaba en una compañía petrolera y en ese tiempo yo trabajaba y la plata no alcanzaba tampoco' (Acosta Machado, Victoria D., Pos. 34)
1.5.	Corruption and fraud (C-I)	Identified situations by interviewees of corruption or fraud.	'Más trampa, yo no sé para qué decir. Bueno, cuando me tocó a mí, él me preguntó "¿estás inscrita en algún partido?"' (5_Transcripción entrevista Requena Gamez, Nelly D., Pos. 78)

1.6.	Repression (C-I)	Identified situations by interviewees of repression by the Venezuelan regime. It often overlaps with code 1.3 but also contains non-violent repression.	'El régimen le quita las tierras porque sí. Porque exprópiense allá es normal, lamentablemente.' (Vegas Gomez, Sofía V., Pos. 76) 'Había mucha represión, mucha, mucha represión; ya no se podían hacer marchas, ya nada. Incluso, hacer una entrevista con cualquier persona y decirle "mira, esta pasando esto" ya eso era censurado.' (Toro Rivera, Zilah P., Pos. 63)
1.7.	Violence (C-I)	All kinds of violent situations by the state and other 3 rd actors (who are not familiar) that were witnessed by the interviewees in Venezuela.	'Ellos se paraban en frente de las casas y disparaban hacia adentro, a todo el que encontrarán.' (Toro Rivera, Zilah P., Pos. 67)
1.8.	Participation in social protests	Narratives of the interviewee's own or someone's close participation in the social protests in Venezuela.	'Le dispararon porque él protestaba. En la pierna. Mi esposo tiene videos en internet, mi esposo sale en Youtube protestando [...].' (Linares, Isabella R., Pos. 49)
1.9.	No basic services (C-I)	Descriptions of situations how they experienced the lack of basic services, like electricity or water.	'El agua también se iba, eso era todo junto (risas), el agua, la luz.' (Toro Rivera, Zilah P., Pos. 99)
1.10.	No access to medicine / health services in Venezuela (C-I)	Descriptions of situations how difficult or impossible it is to receive medicine or health services in Venezuela.	'Ya no era fácil un medicamento. [...] entonces tocaba dejar de comer para comprar una medicina.' (Toro Rivera, Zilah P., Pos. 121)
1.11.	Access to health services in Venezuela	Descriptions of situations how the women were able to receive medicine or health services in Venezuela.	Entonces con ella yo conocí mucha gente, médicos y enfermeros, yo conocí mucha gente de ese gremio, y cuando parí mi tercer hijo me colaboraron. Porque tú vas al hospital y no hay nada. (Rivero, Lucila D., Pos. 145)
1.12.	Reason for migration (C-I)	Explanations what led finally to the decision to leave Venezuela	'no estaba en los planes. Hasta que pues yo fui amenazada por grupo delictivo.' (Araujo Mejias, Janina D., Pos. 53)

1.13.	Preparations for migrations (C-I)	The women describe the planning efforts and difficulties beforehand the migration	'NR: Lo que pasa es que allá era por citas, y cuando yo fui a pedir mi cita, la cita estaba para septiembre de 2019 y estábamos en octubre de 2018 y yo dije "no, yo me voy así"' (Requena Gamez, Nelly D., Pos. 212)
1.14.	Refuge route (C-I)	Description of the refuge route and how they travelled (bus, walking, via the official bridge or unofficial green borders (=trocha))	'Sí, en grupo, nos vinimos como en grupo, un poco de personas y había así por la mitad de esas trochas como militares, guardias con pistolas y eso, pero no vieron nada y pasó' (Acosta Machado, Victoria D., Pos. 170)
1.15.	Reasons for Colombia / Bogotá (C-I)	Explanations why they chose the neighbour country, or especially Bogotá	'... por recomendaciones. De que como es la capital hay más trabajo. Hay más fuente de trabajo, más/ y pues decidimos Colombia por eso, porque es la más cerca a Venezuela [...].' (Toro Rivera, Zilah P., Pos. 187)

2.	Discrimination experiences (MC-I)	The interviewee name situations when they felt discriminated.	'Que, claro, sí pasamos por momentos de xenofobia, porque sí la tuvimos, pero estábamos enfocados en otra cosa.' (Toro Rivera, Zilah P., Pos. 197)
2.1.	Othering experiences (C-I)	All negative experiences of the interviewee in which certain things were assumed about her for belonging to the group of Venezuelan immigrants.	'Porque ellas decían "ay ustedes los venecos son unos flojos, no les gusta trabajar, no saben hacer ni mierda" me decían.' (Rivero, Lucila D., Pos. 25)
2.1.2.	Insults based on nationality (SC-I)	Experienced insults and negative treatment because of the interviewee's nationality.	'Y esa persona llegó y le dijo "¡ay, tenía que ser veneca la hijueputa esa!"' (Pérez Lugo, Elianny Y., Pos. 139) 'Te humillan por tu nacionalidad. Te discriminan; no te bajan de "veneco", de "flojo", de que uno "viene aquí a quitarle el trabajo a la gente".' (Rivero, Lucila D., Pos. 3)

2.2.	Sexism (C-I)	All discriminatory experiences because of the interviewee's gender	'[...] aquí hay muchos hombres que creen que yo, por ser venezolana, [...] quieren decirle a uno que "oh, mira, tú te acuestas conmigo y como tú necesitas dinero, yo te pago para que tú estés conmigo".'(Linares, Isabella R., Pos. 155)
2.3.	Job-related discrimination (C-I)	Experiences when the interviewee was not accepted for jobs because of her nationality.	'[...] cuando iba con la hoja de vida me decían "no aceptamos venezolanos".' (Toro Rivera, Zilah P., Pos. 219)
2.3.1.	Labor Exploitation (C-I)	Experiences in which they had been exploited at work while Colombian workers were treated differently.	'[...] trabajaba toda la jornada, 12 horas, ya no le pagaban.' (Toro Rivera, Zilah P., Pos. 223)
2.4.	Biological racism (C-I)	Experiences when the interviewee was identified as Venezuelan because of her appearance (and negatively treated).	'Íbamos pasando frente a un Fruver, yo no se si fue que me lanzaron una papa o/ pero me lo lanzaron en la espalda y uy, eso me dolió. [...] me dice "es que ustedes son diferentes, ustedes tienen el color de piel diferente, y el cuerpo de ustedes es diferente."' (Requena Gamez, Nelly D., Pos. 184)
2.5.	Discrimination in the area of housing (C-I)	Experiences when the interviewee was discriminated because of her nationality when searching an apartment.	'Sí, así. Llegaba a casas que, incluso, había avisos: "no se aceptan venezolanos".' (Toro Rivera, Zilah P., Pos. 393)
2.6.	Institutional discrimination (C-I)	Discriminatory experiences from institutions, based on the interviewee's nationality	'[...] creo que es el único que estaba ayudando a venezolanos y ayer una amiga fue a llevar a su hija y tampoco se la atendieron. '¿sólo por ser venezolanos?' 'Sí' (Acosta Machado, Victoria D., Pos. 58-60)
2.7.	Ageism (C-I)	Discriminatory experiences based on the interviewee's age.	'Me rechazaron, mira estaban abriendo un puesto, yo tengo un postgrado [...] y me dice "es que tu tienes 57 años".'(Vegas Gomez, Sofía V., Pos. 215)

2.8.	Social exclusion (C-I)	Discriminatory acts that have the objective to exclude the woman or her family member for their nationality	'Sí, sí. Por lo menos en el barrio donde yo vivo antes había un poquito de xenofobia, que no nos hablaban a los venezolanos, no nos tomaban en cuenta. Y desde que han habido estas actividades ellos nos hacen integrarnos. (Toro Rivera, Zilah P., Pos. 261)
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3.	External resilience-strengthening factors (MC-D)	Aspects of the interviewee's life that were mentioned or considered as positive impact in her resilience.	'Mi mamá siempre ha estado allí y nos ha apoyado en todo momento y nos dice que tenemos que seguir luchando por ellos.' (Roa Santana, Valeria, Pos. 369)
3.1.	Material resources (C-I)	Material resources that were named as a facilitating positive aspect during a difficult period of time.	'[...] voy a vender un enfriador de estos" que en ese entonces me dieron tres millones de bolívares, porque era grandísimo, y me voy.' (Hurtado Toro, Belisa N., Pos. 74)
3.2.	Social resources (C-I)	All interactions with other people that have had a positive impact in the interviewee's life	'Después nos fuimos a otra casa y el señor si nos, arrendamos dos años. El señor fue muy muy bueno, muy muy bueno ese señor nos brindó mucho apoyo, un señor colombiano.' (Roa Santana, Valeria, Pos. 297)
3.2.1.	Volunteer engagement (SC-I)	All volunteer interactions with the community that were mentioned positively.	'yo tengo un contacto súper súper chévere con los profesores, este... cuando en pandemia pude aportar este, desde otras organizaciones como OIM salimos a repartir pañales, a buscar gente, o sea que fue una experiencia súper bonita.' (Araujo Mejias, Janina D., Pos. 214)
3.2.2.	Positive childhood (SC-I)	Positive memories about the interviewee's childhood that still have a positive impact on today's life.	'Soy una persona muy familiar y pues crecí en un hogar tranquilo, con cariño, atenciones, [...] mi papá me enseñó muchos valores, lo que es el trabajar y hacer las cosas con sacrificio.' (Toro Rivera, Zilah P., Pos. 63)

3.2.3.	Family unity (SC-I)	Sense of security in close relationship.	'Mi esposo hace de todo, el es animador [...] como le digo nunca, nunca nos vamos a dejar caer. (Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., Pos. 162)
3.2.4.	Integration in community (SC-I)	Positive narratives about being part of the local community.	'Sí. Y pues ya ahorita estamos siendo un poquito más conocidos, ya las personas van y les gusta la comida, y no se siente ese rechazo hacia nosotros. [...] que trabajamos con la comunidad y ya ellos no ven que venimos a quitarle algo, sino que estamos con ellos EN LA MISMA LUCHA; [...] Yo digo que hay integración, [...] ' (Toro Rivera, Zilah P., Pos. 77)
3.2.5.	Professional support (SC-I)	Positive narrative from support from NGOs.	'De inyección de, para trabajar, para emprendimiento, me dieron carro de comida, me dieron una cocina, me dieron todos los implementos de comida, todo, todo, todo. [...] Con eso empezamos a trabajar [...] con eso solventábamos lo del arriendo, [...] ' (Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., Pos. 139-142)
3.2.6.	Support from Colombians (SC-I)	Support from Colombians which contributed to the interviewee's resilience during a difficult transition time.	'Y ahí tomamos la decisión difícil, demasiado, de emigrar. Emigramos con ayuda de un amigo colombiano. El señor es un amigo de mi papá' (Toro Rivera, Zilah P., Pos. 69)
3.2.7.	Support from Venezuelans (SC-I)	Support from Venezuelans in Colombia or Venezuela that could have a positive impact on their resilience.	'Entonces yo tenía familiares aquí; mi prima, y ella siempre me decía "cuando no tengas nada que comer, trae a los niños para que coman" Y muchas veces... "aquí te traje a los niños para que coman".' (Hurtado Toro, Belisa N., Pos. 180)
3.2.8.	Social responsibility (SC-D)	The interviewee shows a sense of social responsibility for others which can be a strong motivator to endure difficult situations. This refers to a special person, therefore it differs to community engagement.	'Mis hijos, mis nietos, pensar en ellos, eso fue lo que me dio la fuerza.' (Rondon Riera, Dorelis , Pos. 147)

3.2.9.	Being a supporter (SC-I)	Narratives of being a support to the family in Venezuela, without them being the main motivator for migration.	'No, ellos si están allá, [...] diariamente nos cuentan la necesidad que pasan. Nos dicen que no pueden comer [...] la abuela de él [...] entonces de aquí se trata de enviar [...] dinero porque son costosos, para poder comprar la medicina.' (Toro Rivera, Zilah P., Pos. 147)
3.3.	Current work (C-I)	Narrative about former and current jobs that helped the interviewee to put herself in a better economical situation.	'Tengo un emprendimiento que hasta ahorita me ha ayudado.' (Rosales Colina, Z., Pos. 10)
3.4.	Legal status (C-I)	Narratives about situations, in which the legal status in Colombia was of significance.	'Sí, ya tengo EPS, ya es más legal. Uno no se puede quedar por fuera porque eso es lo que va bien ahorita que uno va a estar legal. [...] este niño se me enfermó y lo llevé a emergencias y "qué EPS tienes", no hubo problema, vaya y lo atienden. No hay que [...] esperar que se la aprueben [...] Eso ya es diferente.' (Hurtado Toro, Belisa N., Pos. 218)

4.	Personal resilience-strengthening factors (MC-D)	Narratives of situations when the interviewee was able to face challenges through an inner strength that they name or cannot name as resilience but allows the connection.	'O sea, tenía dos opciones, o quedarme ahí llorando eternamente, o sacar fuerza de donde no hay y reinventarte y' (Araujo Mejias, Janina D., Pos. 236)
4.1.	Goal-orientation & hard-working (C-D)	Narratives about personal characteristic as a hard-worker or narratives about a determined spirit.	'Pero desde que yo llegué, nosotros siempre emprendimos, siempre quisimos salir adelante.' (Toro Rivera, Zilah P., Pos. 71)
4.2.	Thankfulness (C-I)	Narratives about the interviewee's thankfulness.	'hay tantos momentos que, o sea, porque hay personas que me a mí me han ayudado. "Mira, tengo un colchoncito. Tengo una camita. ¿La necesitas?" Sí, como no. Una bendición para mí.' (Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., Pos. 182)

4.3.	Spirituality (C-D)	Narratives that show that the interviewee see her strength in her faith in God.	'yo le decía a dios que me iba a liberar. Que todo tiene un propósito... Seguirme manteniéndome con vida a pesar de que coja hambre.' (Rosales Colina, Z., Pos. 382)
4.4.	Hope (C-I)	Narratives that show that hope was a positive factor to continue in difficult situations.	'Si, ganas 30 dólares y qué comemos...' – "Bueno". Se descansa se relaja. "Seguimos, pues. Seguimos." Entonces y así, así vamos. Estoy "mantén la esperanza, tranquilo" (Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., Pos. 220-221)
4.5.	Proud of themselves/ others (C-I)	Interviewees describe situations of proud.	'[...] o sea, voy a sonar un poco de repente arrogante, pero no cualquiera de () (incomprensible) soy venezolana y (incomprensible) profundo y ahí con humildad también digo esto, con humildad lo digo Lo he trabajado muy duro.' (Rosales Colina, Z., Pos. 551)
4.6.	Optimism (C-D)	Narratives that show the interviewee's optimism as a personal characteristic, which was helpful to deal with difficult situations.	'O sea, si tú tiene una mala actitud "Cónchele, no, que me está yendo mal, ay que Colombia, me voy, no sé qué" pero si tú tienes una buena actitud. [...] "ah, bueno ahorita no tenemos plata, coño, que salga para adelante [...].' (Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., Pos. 326)
4.7.	Positive self-concept & social competences (C-I)	Narratives that demonstrate that the interviewee has a positive self-concept and / or that her social competences has helped her in the new migratory reality.	'Gracias a Dios sí, es que esos hijos salieron a mí, son luchones 01:2 (Vegas Gomez, Sofía V., Pos. 253)
4.8.	Self-efficacy (C-I)	Narratives that testify the interviewee's conviction of self-efficacy.	'¿Y qué dije yo? Estoy creando oportunidades. No estoy esperando que me la den. Estoy creando (Rosales Colina, Z., Pos. 475).
4.9.	Acceptance of reality.	Narratives about situations that the interviewee accepted as given.	'No le presta atención porque, por lo mismo, nosotros siempre les decimos eso: lo que diga la gente no es la verdad, porque la gente diga ese tipo de cosas, pues eso no cambia nada' (Linares, Isabella R., Pos. 169)

			'yo tengo mi casita por allá, pero Venezuela no está, y para que ese país se acomode tiene que pasar un tiempito.' (Bermudez, Leidi Y., Pos. 190)
4.10.	Pragmatism (C-I)	Narratives that present good outcomes from difficult situations through pragmatism.	'[...] yo tenía el cabello largo [...] que me comentaron que se vendía cabello. [...] allá una peluquera que no sé qué, que hacía pelucas que no sé qué más. Que sí, sí. Bueno, yo te sacó la medida, [...] 280 mil pesos. Con eso compramos, alquilamos otra vez. [...] Ay eso es material, eso vuelve a crecer y ya. Eso no importa. Pero bueno, ese fue el momento más difícil [...]' (Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., Pos. 202)
4.11.	Adaptability (C-D)	Narratives about the benefit of adapting to change, in order to make the best out of the difficult situation.	'[...] yo vivía en una casa lujosa en Venezuela, tengo que adaptarme a vivir en un solo cuarto 18 personas [...] nos adaptamos rápido al cambio y este cambio drástico nos da la fuerza para pensar en positivo, para sacar algo positivo de allí.' (Pérez Lugo, Elianny Y., Pos. 171)
4.12.	Development of new skills (C-I)	Narratives about a new skill that was learned, which helped to improve the difficult situation.	,'Desde que aprendimos a coser y uno conoce a las personas, ya nos ha ido un poco mejor.' (Hurtado Toro, Belisa N., Pos. 136)
4.13.	Resilience	The interviewees say themselves that they have resilience or grew personally and overcame certain situations.	'Así como te estoy diciendo hoy día, tengo que levantarme como sea.' (Rosales Colina, Z., Pos. 427) ,hemos tenido ese entusiasmo y esas ganas de echar para adelante, esa resiliencia, [...] echar para adelante.' (Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., Pos. 154-162).
5.	Resilience-weakening factors (MC-D)	Narratives of situation that can have a negative impact in the women's lives	See example below.

5.1.	Illegal status (C-I)	Narratives about situations, in which the illegal status in Colombia had a negative impact.	'[...] que yo estaba capacitada y todo, que sería muy chévere que pudiera trabajar allá, pero en las condiciones en que yo me encontraba en el país, no me podían emplear, por eso no conseguí trabajo así. '(Requena Gamez, Nelly D., Pos. 214)
5.2.	Own sickness (C-I)	Narratives of difficult situations because of the interviewee's health status / sickness.	Sí, él paga el alquiler entonces, y la comida mi hermana, yo porque ahorita no puedo trabajar porque a veces el tratamiento me pone bastante mal, la quimio. [...] tengo cáncer en el cérvix. (Bermudez, Leidi Y., Pos. 24-148)
5.2.1.	Depression (C-I)	Narrative of situations when the interviewee felt depressed.	'[...] una depresión muy muy fuerte y no, me despidió. [...] mucha cola hasta que me enfermé y me enfermé psicológicamente[...] y a cuando abría "no no, hoy no hay nada". [...] a la tercera te enfermas, eso te enferma porque uno no está acostumbrado a eso.' (Araujo Mejias, Janina D., Pos. 158-159)
5.3.	Disability/ sickness of a family member (C-I)	Narratives of difficult situations because of the family member's health status / disability.	'O sea, si trabajábamos podíamos reunir para los medicamentos, para la comida del bebé o para esto, y no teníamos para comer. (Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., Pos. 86)
5.4.	Pregnancy (C-I)	Narratives of vulnerability and specific challenges in Venezuela because of pregnancy	'Esa mujer gritaba y yo con los nervios de punta. Eso, terrible, porque ¿tú sabes lo que es pasar una operación sin que te pongan nada de analgésicos? (Hurtado Toro, Belisa N., Pos. 64)
5.5.	Poverty (C-I)	Narratives of situations when the interviewee was facing poverty.	'la necesidad era TAN EXTREMA, porque era tan extrema, que yo me aguantaba. Y me aguanté seis meses, imagínate. Y el primer día, ellas para ver si yo trabajaba me hicieron lavar una mano de loza[...] no me dejaron usar guantes [...] ¡Echaban sangre! (Rivero, Lucila D., Pos. 35)

5.6.	Malnourishment (C-I)	Narratives of situations when the interviewee was facing hunger.	<p>Yo llegué a pesar con el embarazo 45 kilos con el bebé, tenía 8 meses y solo parecía mí, no tenía barriga, porque estaba demasiada delgada. (Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., Pos. 74)</p> <p>‘Sí, entonces son muchas cositas y muchas/ yo, por lo menos, de Venezuela me vine porque/ por el hambre. Porque pesaba ¡40 kilos! Y mis hijos [...] Pero no es quitar el hambre; es dar una buena alimentación, porque ahí es donde está el crecimiento. (Rivero, Lucila D., Pos. 111)</p>
5.7.	Hyperinflation (C-I)	Narratives of the impact of the hyperinflation in Venezuela	‘Veía que mi sueldo no me alcanzaba para nada, mi trabaja de 15 días me duraba 2, 3 días nada más de comida.’ (Rosales Colina, Z., Pos. 213)
5.8.	Unemployment (C-I)	Narratives about unemployment and its impact.	<p>“[...] los momentos más duros fueron cuando comenzó la pandemia, que la gente nos apoyó mucho, que no pasamos hambre porque imagínese porque ahí si estábamos totalmente sin empleo porque no podíamos salir a la calle a vender nada y la gente nos apoyó nos die comida.’ (Roa Santana, Valeria, Pos. 335)</p> <p>El trabajo (12:45) (incomprensible) no se conseguía sin papeles y sin nada de eso. Fuerte. (Rondon Riera, Dorelis , Pos. 131)</p>
5.9.	Negative social aspects (C-I)	Narratives in which a situation was perceived as negative, which is embedded in a social context with one or various other person(s).	See examples below.
5.9.1.	Violence in the private environment (SC-I)	Narratives about experienced violence against the own self of the interviewee, from a known person of her personal environment (not via state or criminal gang)	‘[...] yo cuando tenía 14 años yo sufrí de violación. A raíz de eso, yo sufro de (¿histeria?) [...] que si yo estaba durmiendo y alguien me levantaba rápido yo temblaba o un susto ¿sí? me daba una crisis o cualquier persona extraña a mí me

			daba miedo así.’ (Rivero, Lucila D., Pos. 1)
5.9.2.	Absent father figure (SC-I)	Narrative about absent fathers.	‘Mi infancia fue terrible en ese aspecto porque me hizo falta mi papá. [...] nuestra vida cambia, que caemos en una crisis económica terrible cuando mi papá fallece.’ (Pérez Lugo, Elianny Y., Pos. 185)
5.9.3	Bad treatment by another person (SC-I)	Narrative about being treated badly by a person they know (family, colleague, friend)	‘Ellos nos trataban a veces nos trataban con menosprecio, la misma familia.’ (Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., Pos. 462)
5.9.4	Lack of integration (SC-I)	Narrative of being the new one, impact of missing network.	‘NOO, yo, mira, yo todavía tenía que conseguir, pedir, o no sé cómo yo hacer, porque en ese tiempo también nadie me conocía. En ese tiempo no podía decir: Ay, que me prestara. No, no, ahorita sí porque ya tengo tiempo, me conocen, me ven, ta-ta, pero antes de ese tiempo nadie me iba a prestar [...] Teníamos que hacerlo o hacerlo. Qué hubiera pasado, nos hubiéramos ido a la calle y con el niño especial.’ (Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., Pos. 206).
5.9.5.	Loss of attachment figure (SC-I)	Narratives of missing a close person.	yo me vine aquí sola, sin mis hijos, y eso a mí me dio muy duro porque yo nunca me había separado de ellos [...] deprimiendo. (Rivero, Lucila D., Pos. 1)
5.10.	No access to education or health system in Colombia (C-I)	Descriptions of situations how the women were unable to have access to educational institutions for their kids or the health systems Colombia.	‘Lamentablemente por el proceso de que acá la educación es un poco difícil, igual que la salud, él no ha podido continuar sus estudios.’ (Pérez Lugo, Elianny Y., Pos. 49)
6.	Coping strategies (MC-D)	Narratives of the interviewee’s reaction to discrimination.	See below.

6.1.	Offensive coping (C-D)	Narratives of interviewee's in which they address directly the discriminatory act.	'[...] "si soy venezolana pero no soy ratera, usted es más ratero que yo, xenófobo" [...].' (Vegas Gomez, Sofía V., Pos. 167)
6.2.	Educational work (C-I)	Narratives of educational work to combat discriminatory behavior.	'[...] me dicen "¡pues ustedes, los venecos!". Entonces yo les digo "no, estás equivocado. [...] veneco es una persona que tiene dos raíces: de Venezuela y de Colombia, papás colombianos y papás venezolanos y así sucesivamente y por eso son VENECO, porque son colombo venezolanos. Para no decir "ay es que son colombo venezolanos, decimos veneco". En sí, no es un insulto, pero muchas personas que NO SABEN lo dicen a manera de insulto. (Rivero, Lucila D., Pos. 9-11)
6.3.	Identification (C-I)	Narratives about a positive sense of belonging/ identity as Venezuelan.	,Porque obviamente, ser venezolana para mí es mi orgullo. Nací allá, me desarrollé allá y todo (Rosales Colina, Z., Pos. 20) 'Nosotros sí somos unidos para trabajar. [...] Sí, ESO sí. El venezolano es trabajador.' (Toro Rivera, Zilah P., Pos. 59-61)
6.4.	Avoidance (C-D)	Narratives of avoidance when the interviewee faced a discriminatory or difficult situation.	'[...] a veces me confunden con los costeños. Me dicen que si yo soy de la costa y digo "sí" donde se que no puedo decir que soy venezolana. Porque cuando saben que uno es venezolano comienzan a tratarlo a uno distinto.' (Rivero, Lucila D., Pos. 45)
6.5.	Distancing (C-I)	Narratives of interviewee's, in which they distance themselves from their compatriots.	'No estuve de acuerdo, ni estoy de acuerdo, con las personas que van a un país a dar lástima; que van solamente a que les den y ellos no aportan.' (Toro Rivera, Zilah P., Pos. 71)
6.6.	No discrimination experiences (C-I)	Interviewee has not experienced discrimination until now, from her own perspective.	'No. ¿Porqué? Las personas, porque el grupo con que me uno, las personas con que me uno, han sido... nunca nos han tratado diferente por ser venezolanos [...].' (Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., Pos. 186)

7.	Ambivalent factors (MC-I)		
7.1.	Difficult situation in Colombia	Narratives of situations that were perceived as challenge by the interviewee	'Ahorita con lo del COVID me dio muy duro porque me tocó mamar hambre A MÍ [...] me tomaba un vaso de agua y tres golpes en la panza y se aguanta.' (Rivero, Lucila D., Pos. 3)
7.2.	Covid-19	Narratives of how the Venezuelan women experienced the lockdowns and time of the Covid-19 pandemic in Colombia	'No, con la arrienda no teníamos problema, lo que teníamos era para la comida, nos rebuscábamos, nos dieron... dos calles, nos dieron unas bolsas de comida.' (Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., Pos. 265)
7.3.	Strike in Colombia	Narratives of how the Venezuelan women experienced the national strike in Colombia	'El paro [...] me dio un poco de miedo porque recordé lo que pasaba allá en mi país. Porque así comenzó todo.' (Toro Rivera, Zilah P., Pos. 327)
7.4.	Accommodation	The interviewees describe their living conditions. These are divided into the first temporal and their current accommodation.	'Ahí dormimos, por dos meses. En ese colchoncito. Pasando frío pero bueno, pero gracias tenemos un techo dónde dormir.' (Rios Alvarez, Elizabeth F., Pos. 121)
7.5.	Compassion	The interviewees describe situations in which they helped others out of compassion.	Niños desnutridos, totalmente desnutridos. [...] Yo compartía lo poquito que tenía con algunos niños, pero a veces no podía [...]. (Toro Rivera, Zilah P., Pos. 113)
7.6.	Comparison	The women compare and name certain aspects between Colombia and Venezuela.	'Cultura. Un ejemplo, aquí celebran el Día de las Velitas, y nosotros no tenemos esa cultura. Claro, cuando [...] veo eso es hermoso.' (Toro Rivera, Zilah P., Pos. 53)
7.7.	Entry to Colombia	The women describe where and how they entered Colombia (trocha or legal)	'Tuvimos que pasar por trocha [...] Tuvimos que... A exponernos a que... A que nos violaran, a que nos mataran, a que nos quitaran los niños...' (Lopez Gallardo, Nicole, Pos. 178-197).
7.8.	Permanently in Colombia	Narratives of the interviewees in which	'Yo me quiero quedar acá y ya más adelante, [...] pero en las

		they talk about their plans of staying long-term in Colombia.	condiciones en las que el país está, no me iría, porque allá no podría brindarle una calidad de vida a mis hijos.' (Requena Gamez, Nelly D., Pos. 26)
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Note: In MAXQDA exist six more codes for demographic data under the category 'basic information'. They serve as background information for the author but do not play an important part for the analysis of the topic, which is the reason why they are not named here. The color system of this code guideline is the same one that is used in the program.