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Articles

Venezuelan migrants in Monterrey, Mexico: vulnerability, socio-spatial distribution and social representations

Migrantes venezolanos en Monterrey, México: vulnerabilidad, distribución socioespacial y representaciones sociales

Carlos Aparicio^{a*}  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4231-7503>
Luisa Damiana Páez de González^b  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4767-9650>
Elfide Mariela Rivas Gómez^c  <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4011-0119>

^a Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León, Facultad de Arquitectura, San Nicolás de los Garza, Mexico, e-mail: caparicio55@yahoo.com

^b Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León, Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales, Monterrey, Mexico, e-mail: ludausb@gmail.com

^c Instituto Tecnológico de Monterrey, Campus Monterrey, Escuela de Arquitectura, Arte y Diseño, Monterrey, Mexico, e-mail: m_rivas_gomez@tec.mx

Abstract

During the 21st century, more than five million people left Venezuela. Since 2015, Mexico has been a receiving country for Venezuelans. The objective of the article is to analyze vulnerability contexts, socio-spatial distribution and social representations of Venezuelan migrants in the Monterrey Metropolitan Area (MMA), Mexico. The fieldwork was carried out during the summer 2020, under pandemic conditions, using mostly digital platforms and information coming from various official sources. The methodology has a mixed approach, prioritizing the qualitative aspect. The used techniques were hierarchical evocation and mental maps for social representations, as well as a survey for socio-spatial distribution and vulnerability. Among the conclusions, family and friends' networks stand out as support for the Venezuelan who arrives at the MMA, generally a prepared subject. The predominant vulnerability is related to finding stable jobs, accessing public health services and having quality education.

Keywords: Venezuelans, Monterrey, vulnerability, socio-spatial distribution, social representations.

Resumen

Durante el siglo XXI más de cinco millones de personas abandonaron Venezuela. En el caso de México desde 2015 se ha convertido en receptor de venezolanos. El objetivo del artículo es analizar contextos de vulnerabilidad, distribución

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* Corresponding author: Carlos Aparicio.
E-mail: caparicio55@yahoo.com

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socioespacial y representaciones sociales de migrantes venezolanos en el área metropolitana de Monterrey (AMM), México. El trabajo de campo se efectuó durante el verano de 2020, en condiciones de pandemia, con la utilización mayormente de plataformas digitales y de información de diversas fuentes oficiales. La metodología tiene un enfoque mixto, prioriza el aspecto cualitativo. Las técnicas utilizadas fueron evocación jerarquizada y mapas mentales para representaciones sociales, así como una encuesta para distribución socioespacial y vulnerabilidad. Entre las conclusiones, destacan redes familiares y de amigos como soporte para el venezolano llegado al AMM, generalmente un sujeto preparado. La vulnerabilidad predominante se relaciona con encontrar empleos estables, acceder a servicios públicos de salud y tener educación de calidad.

Palabras claves: venezolanos, Monterrey, vulnerabilidad, distribución socioespacial, representaciones sociales.

Introduction

During the 21st century, migration in Latin America has shifted from rural to urban movements to a global scale. The search for better living conditions is the common denominator among past and present human displacements. Populations seeking refuge in other countries have been stigmatized for reasons such as nationality, gender, and age.

It can be stated that Venezuelans at the beginning of the 21st century constituted one of the largest migrations in history. As Saavedra (2020) states, the first displaced persons of this nationality were integrated into Latin America fraternally during the 1990s. However, their level of acceptance has changed as over five million people in need of employment, health care, and education are being added to already fragile Latin American economies, such as Mexico.

In general terms, authors such as Ríos Infante and Lara Ramírez (2020) point out that, since it is made up of individuals with professional studies, the migration of people from Venezuela is well accepted and integrated by the society of Monterrey and its metropolitan area. However, Venezuelans come to settle in a territory where they will face daily difficulties added to the conditions of being migrants. Therefore, regarding Venezuelan communities in the Monterrey metropolitan area (MMA), we should ask: What are the main migratory conditions that facilitated their arrival? What contexts of vulnerability are they facing? What is their socio-spatial distribution pattern? What do the social representations of this group of people reveal about the city and their place of origin? In this regard, the variables of interest of this work would be expressed through the following question: how are the contexts of vulnerability, the dynamics of socio-spatial distribution, and the social representations of those who are part of the groups of Venezuelans residing in the MMA interconnected?

It is worth mentioning that the MMA is officially composed of nine municipalities: Monterrey, Apodaca, García, General Escobedo, Guadalupe, Juárez, San Nicolás de los Garza, San Pedro Garza García, and Santa Catarina (Gobierno de Nuevo León, 2020a). This metropolitan area, considered the third largest in Mexico (Secretaría de Desarrollo Agrario, Territorial y Urbano [Sedatu] et al., 2018), is inhabited by 5 341 171 people (Inegi, 2020).

This study's general aim is to analyze contexts of vulnerability, dynamics of socio-spatial distribution, and social representations of Venezuelan communities within the MMA. The specific objectives were to determine the main migratory conditions that facilitated the arrival of Venezuelan communities in the MMA, determine the different contexts of vulnerability they face, identify the pattern of socio-spatial distribution, and recognize the elements that make up the social representations of these South Americans about the city they live in and their place of origin.

The starting hypothesis is that although Venezuelans are generally well received in the metropolitan area of Monterrey, they face conditions of vulnerability due to stigmas and economic instability in Mexico, making it difficult for them to access decent jobs, health services, and quality education.

This paper is structured as follows: this introductory chapter, the background information that inspired this work, a theoretical structure, a description of the methodology used, a discussion of the results, and the conclusions. The background information deals with the historical context of Venezuela's change from a country that received migrants to a country that produced emigrants, in addition to figures related to the arrival of Venezuelans in Mexico and Nuevo León. The theoretical structure analyzes the variables of migration, vulnerability, socio-spatial distribution, and social representations. The methodology involves the creation and application of a work instrument for each of the variables mentioned above, and the discussion of results and conclusions are the result of the analysis of this instrument.

It should be added that although the starting point is 2015, when Mexico emerged as a receiving country for individuals born in Venezuela and the historical context of how they found a place of residence in Monterrey, the time frame of the analysis corresponds to the year 2020. The fieldwork was carried out in the summer of 2020.

Background

The search for better living conditions has led to 21st-century migratory movements on a global scale. The background of this paper deals with the historical context of Venezuela's change from a migrant-receiving country to a producer of emigrants, in addition to certain figures related to the arrival of Venezuelans to Mexico and the State of Nuevo Leon, whose capital is the city of Monterrey. It should be noted that Venezuela had been an attractive country for immigration since its birth, especially because of the opportunities generated by the oil industry. However, since the end of the 20th century, this country has undergone a demographic change, first with the departure of established immigrants and later of Venezuelans. In this context, since the 2010s, Mexico has become a receiving country for this group of South Americans, and the MMA has become an important destination.

Historical context

In independent Venezuela, since 1830, the migratory policy, which favored European immigrants, sought to expand agricultural and industrial activities, in addition to undertaking the settlement of the depopulated territory, still devastated by the war of independence (Valero Martínez, 2018). In 1941, there were 47 704 foreigners living in Venezuela, and by 1950 the number had quadrupled to 194 145. Migration policies were adjusted to opportunities generated by oil exploitation (Páez, 1963). At that time, Europeans made up 60.8% of immigrants, with Italians (21.1%), Spaniards (18.2%), and Portuguese (5.2%) standing out. In contrast, people from the American continent comprised 36.4%, of which 22% were Colombians (Valero Martínez, 2018). Between the 1950s and 1970s, the increase in international immigrants continued.

By 1981, foreigners (1 074 629) comprised 7.4% of the total census (Instituto Nacional de Estadística [INE], 2014). Although 32.5% were Europeans then, they had decreased by more than 23 percentage points from 1971. Those who decreased the most were Spaniards (13.4%) and Italians (7.4%). On the other hand, 62.1% were from the American continent, mostly Colombians (47.3%), with a 2.8-fold increase in the intercensal period. The number of Peruvians, Dominicans, Ecuadorians and especially Chileans also increased. Venezuela was also a destination for citizens fleeing Chile's military dictatorship imposed in 1973 (Valero Martínez, 2018).

Mora Salas (2018) points out that the 1980s marked a demographic change in Venezuela: foreign immigration decreased, established immigrants in the country began to leave, and massive emigration of Venezuelans occurred. An economic crisis in the 1990s flared up with civil and military movements resulting from overwhelming inflation, unemployment, and poverty. Although between 2004 and 2012 oil income was higher than that earned in the entire 20th century, large groups of Venezuelans left the country after the oil strike and the massive layoff of workers in the main national industry, which occurred between December 2002 and February 2003. This author mentions that Venezuela is collapsing daily due to a government whose leadership is based on violence, political and social polarization, unemployment, and corruption, among other issues.

By 2012, close to 1 200 000 Venezuelans had left their country. In 2021, the number was 5 667 921, of which 4 621 648 (81.54%) reside in Latin America and the Caribbean (Plataforma Regional de Coordinación Interagencial para Refugiados y migrantes de Venezuela R4V, 2021). From being a receiving country, Venezuela has become a major source of emigrants. García Arias and Restrepo Pineda (2019) point out that the social, economic, and political transformations that have recently occurred in Venezuela have generated chaos within the country and in Latin America, albeit these flows have also had an impact on a planetary scale.

Authors such as Gandini et al. (2020) indicate that the profile of Venezuelan migrants arriving in Mexico is much more select than that of those who have chosen to migrate to nearby countries such as Colombia, Brazil, Ecuador, or Peru. Among

other things, the authors point out that the pioneers who arrived in Mexico had relatively high levels of education, in addition to the fact that, at least until 2018, entering Mexico required the use of air travel and the possession of a valid passport. Nevertheless, since that year, Venezuelans arriving in this territory have more diverse educational levels and little money, added to the fact that the conditions in which they undertake their migration are more precarious, such as crossing on foot through the Colombian and Panamanian jungles (Clemente, 2022). It should be added that, for the period of interest of this article, the most up-to-date information on the monitoring of Venezuelan migration to Mexico and the MMA was found in journalistic sources.

Venezuelan migration to Nuevo León in figures

Torrado's (2019) interview with Eduardo Stein, special representative for Venezuelans of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the International Organization for Migration (IOM), highlighted that, by the end of 2021, 6.4 million of these migrants would reside in Latin American countries. By 2020, more than 4.5 million Venezuelans had fled a catastrophic situation. Colombia has received a third of them (1.5 million), followed by Peru (860 000), Chile (371 000), and Ecuador (330 000).

Mexico emerged as a receiving country for Venezuelans. In 2015 the number was 15 664, while the 2020 census reported 52 948 (Inegi, 2021a), the third largest population group not born in Mexico, after Americans and Guatemalans (Delgado Linero, 2021). That same year, the Migration Policy, Registration, and Identity of Persons Unit (Unidad de Política Migratoria, Registro e Identidad de Personas, 2021) issued and renewed more resident cards to Venezuelans than to other nationalities, with a total of 22 320, including temporary and permanent cards. Foreigners documented as permanent residents with refugee status, with very similar numbers in the first two places, are Hondurans and Venezuelans (6 054 and 5 854, respectively), representing nearly 35% of each group. However, at points of entry into the country, particularly at airport filters, there has been an increase in the rejection of Venezuelan travelers due to inconsistencies during their interviews (Editorial Milenio, 2017).

Official figures for 2020 indicate that almost 50% of Venezuelans residing in Mexico lived in Mexico City, Nuevo Leon and the State of Mexico, that is, 14 912 (28.16%), 5 982 (11.30%), and 5 236 (9.89%), respectively. Criminal insecurity and violence in Venezuela are the main causes of migration to Mexico City and its neighboring State of Mexico, while for Nuevo León, the cause is to reunite with family in this state (Inegi, 2021b, 2021c, 2021d). In this regard, the 2020 Census results indicate that, of the 25 912 international immigrants residing in Nuevo León surveyed, the majority groups are Americans and Venezuelans, accounting for 45.96% and 14.15% of the total, respectively. Both, together with the Colombians, share as their main cause reuniting with family members. This is the fourth largest group of residents in the state, with 4.34%. Therefore, 64.45% of foreigners coincide with this cause.

The representative office of the Instituto Nacional de Migración (INM) in Nuevo León, through an official letter signed by its head in February 2020, responded to this article's authors that it had received 3 293 applications for residency from foreigners of Venezuelan nationality. Later, in February 2022, the same agency announced that 5 792 Venezuelans resided in the aforementioned state, 98% of whom are located in the MMA, that is, 5 650. Although these numbers may not reflect the total number of Venezuelans in Nuevo León, they do indicate that 11% of Venezuelans legally residing in Mexico reside in this state.

Theoretical structure

Today, Venezuela confronts the scientific community with the need to study the exile that its nationals are experiencing. Migrants become vulnerable to new conditions in the receiving country. And, although the person seeks to settle in a territory from which they will adopt ways of life, they will always mark the symbolic presence of their native country. The theoretical structure of this paper is composed of the analysis and necessary relationship between the concepts of migration, vulnerability, socio-spatial distribution, and social representations.

Migration

The United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (Cepal, 2021) emphasizes that migration is a function of a “change of residence that implies the crossing of some duly defined geographical or administrative boundary”. Depending on the type of boundary, migration may be domestic or cross-border. In both cases, migration is presented as an option in search of better living conditions, which often cannot be achieved. The Latin American reality confronts voluntary migration versus forced displacement.

This section shows the phenomenon of migration as a human response to satisfying needs. From the Theory of Human Motivation (Maslow, 1943), human needs are categorized and hierarchized; each individual has different economic and material subsistence aspirations. People migrate to safeguard their lives, seeking to satisfy security needs, such as food, housing, clothing, health protection and education, in the hope of satisfying higher needs, such as the ability to develop in academic, business, and investment activities. In the Venezuelan case, researchers such as Morán (2020) question whether we are facing a migratory exodus, economic migration, a refugee crisis, or a type of displacement that may be forced or voluntary. Thus, what began as an economic crisis has transformed into a political one.

For Leva (2005, p. 3), “quality of life as a higher purpose of public policies appears to be associated with the satisfaction of the set of needs related to the existence and well-being of citizens”. The non-satisfaction of these needs leads to internal conflicts, resulting in destabilization, shortages of all kinds, and governmental abuses, which is contrary to peace, according to the Conflict Theory (Galtung, 1990). People find an answer to these conflicts in migration.

In Latin America and the Caribbean, poverty and lack of opportunities represent a problem linked to the exodus of millions of people. Cuban migration due to a lack of individual freedoms has meant constant forced displacement since the 1950s. For decades, wars have also marked forced displacement, as in the emblematic cases of Colombia, El Salvador, and Nicaragua. People born in Haiti, Mexico, and several Central American countries stand out in the attempt to reach U.S. territory. In the 21st century, global issues such as climate emergencies and authoritarian governments have emerged as triggers of migratory phenomena, whose most famous cases are Venezuela, Nicaragua, and Honduras.

The currency has been modified in Venezuela no less than three times since 2008. 14 zeros have been eliminated from the nominal value of the currency (Urrego, 2021), while hyperinflation registers rates never seen before in any other nation of the continent during the 21st century. Venezuelans started a forced exodus in 2014 due to the subsistence conditions within the country, where only the most economically privileged can have a life in very limited conditions. Those with a steady job, a house of their own (bought in previous times) and a car (which at least can be in good condition) may be considered economically privileged. However, this implies a salary that hardly exceeds 300 USD, which must be used to pay for housing maintenance and gasoline, which is continuously scarce in this oil-producing country. At the opposite pole are those who, to carry out certain “normal” activities, for example, to use public transportation, are forced to use the so-called “*perreras*”—a kind of dump trucks—since they do not have a vehicle of their own.

It is difficult to speak of well-being or quality of life in Venezuela when most of the population can only satisfy subsistence needs (Fernandez, 1989). Studies related to the quality of life, from a focus on peace and social conflict (Galtung, 1990), are perfectly suited to analyze the Venezuelan case since the regime of Nicolás Maduro has succeeded in legitimizing violence, both symbolic and structural, through attitudes and procedures, which prevents Venezuelans from satisfying basic needs such as food and health. In this situation, this means the forced displacement of a population whose country was historically a recipient, only to force its own population to emigrate.

In the case of Venezuelan migration to other South American countries, Paz et al. (2021, p. 74) mention that this phenomenon “has challenged the response capacity of national governments due to the pressure exerted by the Venezuelan migrant

population on the means of production, labor markets, health systems and citizen security of the countries”, a problem that is more severe in border regions, such as those between Colombia and Ecuador, due to low levels of development and low administrative capacity.

On the other hand, during the 20th century, migration to Mexico had been mostly of refugees and asylum seekers. However, in the second decade of the 21st century, the presence of foreigners in Mexico is due not only to international protection,

but also to the context of opportunities for professional training and studies, the exchange of technical and professional staff of transnational companies, and the arrival of investors, retirees, and those who established a family with a Mexican citizen. (Cobo Quintero & Ángel Cruz, 2012, p. 132)

Vulnerability

Vulnerability can be understood as the series of conditions that limit the capacity of individuals, households, or groups to avoid serious harm in the face of a situation of risk. Likewise, vulnerability represents a complex object of study that has been approached from theoretical perspectives based on the objective component of hazards, centered on the physical phenomenon, and on aspects that emphasize the weight of symbolic constructions (Ruiz Rivera, 2012). By defining the factors that originate and characterize vulnerability, Cardona Arboleda (2001) points out that they depend on human action or inaction. These factors are physical exposure, social fragility, and lack of resilience. Physical exposure can be defined as the susceptibility of a human group to be affected by being in the area of influence of hazardous phenomena. Social fragility is conceived as a predisposition arising from a human group's marginality and social segregation levels, as well as its conditions of disadvantage and weakness related to socioeconomic factors. Lack of resilience is linked to the human group's limitations of access and mobilization of resources, its inability to respond, and its deficiencies in absorbing impacts.

When considering that Venezuelan migration in the 21st century is linked to vulnerability, it is pointed out that migration refers to a population movement that is either intentional or provoked by critical junctures in the country of origin. Petit (2003) mentions the torrents of people who leave because they can no longer or will no longer be allowed to live in their countries of origin. Migrations are movements that reveal conditions of vulnerability, such as instability, precariousness, and difficulties for many societies to achieve viability or reasonable social integration. Those who come and go in these movements become very vulnerable, unprotected on journeys of an uncertain return.

Vulnerability is also reflected in certain categories that Ríos Infante and Lara Ramírez (2020) distinguish in the terminology used to refer to the migratory status of people in movement. Thus, words such as “illegal,” “undocumented,” “unauthorized,” or “irregular” are used interchangeably and indistinctly. The authors add that this confusion and uncritical way of naming contributes to the construction of a stereotype that evokes in the receiving societies a social imaginary of the migrant as a person impossible to integrate, as well as the representation of a social threat, which facilitates abuse and discrimination. This situation has led to a violation of the rights of people who try to assimilate into new societies and cultures different from their own, which creates isolated groups of people who find it difficult to integrate.

Vulnerability is the conceptual link that defines the inevitable condition of those who leave their comfort zone, exposed to physical or moral harm, as pointed out by Mallimaci Barral and Pedone (2020). According to these authors, the notion of migrant *vulnerability* is largely due to the intervention of international organizations involved in migration management. To a large extent, the legitimacy of transnational policy action on migrants is sustained by defining these populations as vulnerable. During the 21st century, there has been a proliferation of conceptions linked to *vulnerability* in terms of migration. Large migrant populations have been defined as vulnerable because of the original situations that give rise to the movements, the potential dangers that the movements may cause, and the living situations in destination societies.

Socio-spatial distribution

The way in which social groups are distributed in the urban space has been of interest to currents of thought born in the United States of America and criticized in Europe. In Latin America, attempts have been made to explain socio-spatial distribution, from geometric models to recent work on the spatial distribution of migrants in Mexican cities.

At the beginning of the 20th century, sociologists of the Chicago School pointed out that the city is organized similarly to competition mechanisms existing among plants and animals. Through a process of invasion and succession, the first individuals of a group arrive in the territory until the group consolidates, becomes dominant in the area, and later overpopulation occurs. This urban layout would later be interpreted geometrically in Burgess' concentric, Hoyt's sectorial, or Harris and Ullman's polynuclear models (Cadwallader, 1996). González Arellano and Villeneuve (2007), using the statistical technique known as factorial ecology, found that in areas such as the MMA there is a tendency for these three models to overlap when considering demographic characteristics, economic differentiations, or ethnic segregation phenomena.

Although the biological and geometric interpretations of zoning proposed by the Chicago School were criticized, elements of these criticisms have been utilized for this paper. Harvey (1972) claims that the capitalist system is responsible for the formation

of urban ghettos because private property regulates the land and housing market. The author states that U.S. geographical theories do not consider inequality in economic income as the main intra-urban injustice because the difference in prices in housing sales or rentals causes segregation. For Giddens (1984), space cannot be limited to geometric representations, but the interactions of social actors must be considered as a dynamic condition of the behavior of social life. Lefebvre (1991) adds that the city is the space of social practices occupied by sensorial phenomena, which implies products of the imagination in the form of symbols and utopias.

The socio-spatial structure of Latin American cities has been presented in various geometric models (Crowley, 1995; Griffin & Ford, 1980; Howell, 1989; Megee, 1958), which have been complemented with the use of statistical cartography (Ariza & Solís, 2009; Germain & Polèse, 1995; González, 2005; Sousa González, 2008). The studies coincide in the importance of the metropolitan center connected to the rest of the city by axes that facilitate the establishment of privileged classes, as well as the existence of peripheries with elite residential developments, self-produced settlements, and social housing. Schteingart (2001), Garza (2003), and Ariza and Solís (2009) agree that the MMA has the most favorable socio-spatial situation in Mexico. This situation is attractive to migrants due to its interaction with the U.S. economy and its strategic position in the Mexican globalization process (González Arellano & Villeneuve, 2007).

Franco Sánchez (2020) mentions that Venezuelans in Mexico are generally young, professional, highly qualified people and aspire to good salary levels. The heads of these families are characterized, for the most part, by having bachelor's, master's, or doctoral degrees. Díez et al. (2021) point out that 2 630 scientific researchers have left Venezuela, representing 16% of the intellectuals born there. In addition, they are responsible for 26% of the scientific and technological production carried out by Venezuelans worldwide.

In search of permanent residence, Venezuelans are mainly located in urban areas. As mentioned above, Mexico City is home to nearly 15 000 of them, representing 28% of those legally residing in the country. Although the spatial distribution of this group is determined by the home of those who have received them upon their arrival in Mexico, Zafra Fernández (2017) points out that this community in exile has created a virtual space on Facebook, which has allowed them to make their presence felt in places such as cafes, restaurants, or through demonstrations in public spaces.

Social representations

Social representations (SR) are associated with customs, appropriation of spaces, and ways of speaking or dressing. Theoretically, there are links between SR, social identity (SI), being a migrant, and being vulnerable. For Jodelet (1986) and Abric (1994), SRs are organized around the nucleus and its peripheral elements. The core contains the strongly rooted and immovable elements of each representation. The core is

marked by collective memory and is stable, coherent, and resistant to change since any modification of the core entails a complete transformation of the representation. Mind maps show that, in the representation of the city, the core organizes images around urban elements (De Alba, 2007; Lynch, 1998).

In contrast, peripheral elements adapt SRS to contextual changes. The peripheral zone of the SRS is the most vivid and the most concrete. The peripheral elements allow the adaptation of the representation to the contextual changes and defend the central core against possible changes in the representation. The transformation of a representation is operated by transforming its peripheral elements. *Hierarchical recall* makes it possible to find the components of SRS (Abric, 2003). Starting from a trigger word, the subject mentions words that come to mind, and later, they order them in order of importance. In the *core zone*, the most frequent and important elements appear, while in the so-called *first periphery*, the elements of high frequency and weak importance emerge. On the other hand, the second periphery is composed of elements that are hardly present and important in the representation. There is also the *area of contrasting elements*, which includes topics mentioned by few people (low frequency) but considered very important by them. The latter area is considered to be a complement to the first periphery.

Regarding SI, within the territory, groups generate codes accepted by their members. These subjects know that they are excluded from other groups, by their own conviction, by internal regulations, or by rejection by other groups. Having studied SIS within SRS, Deschamps et al. (1999) state that to “belong” to a group, SI levels are related to affective and motivational mechanisms, to rewards and punishments in accordance with internal regulations, as well as to the categories of *them* and *us*. Todorov (1991) deals with the relationship between “us” and the “others,” that is, my cultural and social group, as opposed to those who are not part of it. This differentiation extends to ethnic or religious groups, as well as to nations or any form of separation that defines an identity. According to Tajfel (1982), identity is a function of factors that determine social behaviors, such as the individual, the situation, and the culture. Thus, the subjective perception of self, the obligations acquired to belong to the group, and the shared collective beliefs stand out. For Bar-Tal (1990), the differentiation between *self*, *us*, and *them* is determined by the conviction of belonging to the group.

Moreland (1987) adds that, in the case of communities of foreigners in a country whose language is different from that of the nation of origin, the members reaffirm their identity through festivities and language. Regarding negative SIS, Montero (1996) speaks of altercentrism or negative ethnocentrism, pointing out that in Latin America, Asia, and Africa, national groups of belonging are devalued, and those of the so-called “first world” are overvalued. In this altercentrism, *the other* is the center of comparison, the axis and the positive model around which the subject seeks to organize his own identity.

Addressing the SRS of being an immigrant in the city of La Plata, Argentina, González (2010) points out that Argentina has historically been a recipient of both European and Latin American immigrant populations. Paraguayan immigrants bear an SR linked to a

negative connotation of non-correspondence, non-entitlement, and non-belonging to any place. These workers suffer daily from various forms of discrimination that hinder their access to the rights to which Argentines are entitled. In contrast, Argentina is a country socio-culturally influenced by Europe, where the “first world” is taken as a reference, so that large contingents of European immigrants have been very well received in Argentina. On the other hand, authors such as Covarrubias Cuéllar et al. (2018) point out that SRS of vulnerability are directly linked to discrimination. In their work with twelve social organizations identified as vulnerable groups in the state of Colima, Mexico, the authors mention that within SRS the normalization of discrimination is a culturally embedded practice.

To close this section, it is pertinent to mention that Venezuelan migration is strongly linked to the categories of analysis reviewed. Thus, the migrant becomes vulnerable to the problems generated by the move from one country to another and the new living conditions in the destination nation. In this place, migrants will be less vulnerable when surrounded by similar human groups, such as previously established compatriots, and this will manifest in socio-spatial distribution patterns. Moreover, Venezuelans and their families, even the children born in the host country, will always retain a sense of belonging to Venezuela, which will be manifested through social representations.

Methodology

The migratory phenomenon is represented in the search for better living conditions, regardless of distances. Although the Americas can be considered a receiving land for several waves of migrants, especially Europeans, in the 21st-century migration to the interior of the continent has become very intense. Globalization has made a difference in terms of expectations since the future migrant can anticipate and create a panorama of opportunities in the destination country. For the construction of the empirical evidence and supported by the paradigm of vulnerability of the object studied—i.e., the Venezuelan forced migrant—, this research is conducted using a qualitative methodology based on the construction of social representations, according to the pattern of socio-spatial distribution that these individuals have appropriated. In addition, the methodology presents some quantitative elements, and when a secondary data analysis is done, it ends up with a mixed approach. In this case, quantitative research facilitates qualitative research. The design is flexible and interactive, context analysis is privileged, giving priority to the qualitative aspect, and the conclusions are integrated during the interpretation phase of the study (Bericat, 1998). For the present work, hierarchical recall, mind maps, and a survey of open-ended questions are used as data production techniques.

The first stage consisted of a survey and systematization of the information. To this end, a search was made for scientific texts on migration, particularly the displacement of Venezuelans to Latin American countries, as well as theoretical approaches on vulnerability, socio-spatial distribution, and social representations. For this purpose, digital search engines such as Dialnet, Google Scholar, Scielo, WorldWideScience.org, and Springer Link were used, in addition to printed literature and journalistic sources. Simultaneously, statistical data were consulted on the Venezuelan exodus in Latin America, Mexico, and the MMA. The focus was on institutional statistical data

from sources such as the International Organization for Migration (OIM, 2021), the Venezuelan refugee and migrant site (Plataforma Regional de Coordinación Interagencial para Refugiados y migrantes de Venezuela R4V, 2021), and the national institute of statistics (INE, 2014) of that country. Data were also collected from the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Mexico (ACNUR, 2021). Within the latter nation, references were located from the National Institute of Statistics and Geography (Inegi, 2021a, 2021b, 2021c, 2021d), Registration, and Identity of Persons Unit (Unidad de Política Migratoria, Registro e Identidad de Personas, 2021) and the National Institute of Migration (INM, 2021).

In the second stage, the theoretical framework was structured, emphasizing migration, vulnerability, socio-spatial distribution, and social representations, elements considered as the working variables. A congruence matrix was constructed for the third stage—development of the instrument—and the variables were defined and operationalized. The instrument begins with the introduction of the interviewer, followed by the identification of the interviewee. This section seeks data on the migratory process and supporting elements to define the socio-spatial distribution, such as place of residence, gender, age, marital status, highest level of education, occupation, place of birth, previous places of residence, year of arrival in Mexico, and year of arrival in the MMA.

The following section focused on SRS, using the methods of mind mapping (Lynch, 1998), hierarchical recall (Abric, 2003), and open-ended questions. In terms of mind maps, participants were asked to draw pictures of *your city* and *the city in which they live*. In terms of hierarchical recall, the trigger words were *your city*, *the city where you live*, and *Venezuela*. In addition, a question about being Venezuelan in the MMA was left open. The last section is dedicated to vulnerability, asking the subject whether they consider themselves vulnerable and the conditions that increase their vulnerability. Responses were also requested on phenomena that could affect the interviewee, related to nature, insecurity, the economy, and health.

The section on vulnerability closes with three questions: first, whether the individual has felt socially marginalized or segregated; then, about their capacity to respond to the negative impacts of a phenomenon related to nature, insecurity, health, the economy, or other; and finally, about how the individual builds their support network. The series of questions in this section help to infer the current status of the participants and, from there, to identify what defines the subject as vulnerable.

It is important to mention that this project was part of a program to support scientific and technological research at a higher education institution, which was developed during 2020 and involved the participation of students and researchers during the summer. Therefore, the fourth stage of this methodological process, the application of the instrument, was carried out between July 8 and 26 of that year, when mobility and meeting restrictions were most severe due to the COVID-19 pandemic (Gobierno de Nuevo León, 2020b; Organización Mundial de la Salud, 2020). Therefore, the possibility of doing fieldwork was limited, so 42 instruments were applied through digital platforms and a visit to the INM facilities in Nuevo León. In mixed research, with an emphasis on qualitative research, the sample size is not important from the probabilistic perspective since the goal is not to generalize the results but only to investigate a certain condition. In this case, it is a non-probabilistic convenience sampling (Bericat, 1998; Hernández-Sampieri et al., 2014; Ochoa, 2015). The duration of each meeting ranged between 15 and 30 minutes.

As for the instruments applied, 33 (78.6%) were through digital platforms: Zoom was used on 24 occasions, followed by Facebook Messenger on five, and Instagram and WhatsApp on two each. The total number of interviews conducted at the Monterrey INM was nine (21.4%), in full compliance with biosafety protocols. It should be noted that for the online meetings a Facebook network called Venezolanos en Monterrey (n. d.) was searched, in which some people responded. Two of them requested an official letter to access the interview. Those who responded in person at the INM had a very positive attitude toward participation.

A database was created to process the information collected. Subsequently, this information was divided according to each variable. For migration and socio-spatial distribution, the data led to the creation of a series of maps on the participants' cities of birth and residence, as well as the place where they live in the MMA. In the case of the SRS, information was extracted from the mind maps, and the responses were categorized to devise hierarchical recall tables. Discourse analysis was used in the responses on vulnerability.

Discussion of results

As mentioned, an exploratory study was carried out in this work using a mixed methodology. First, qualitative data were collected and analyzed, followed by the collection and analysis of quantitative data. Priority was given to the qualitative aspect of the study, which made it possible to integrate both qualitative and quantitative aspects during the data interpretation phase and thus generate conclusions. The sampling was carried out by convenience, given the particular characteristics of the movement of Venezuelans to Mexico, particularly to Monterrey and its metropolitan area, in addition to the fact that the work was carried out at a time when the conditions of the COVID-19 pandemic required severe restrictions on mobility and gathering.

It should be noted that the sample considered a privileged group of Venezuelans, since at least 78.6% of the participants could access a digital platform, not to mention that all the people interviewed outside the INM had a smartphone. Those who collaborated both on platforms and in person had legal residency status in Mexico. The persons found at the INM were in the process of formalizing their legal stay.

Of the 42 participants, 25 (59.5%) were female, and 17 (40.5%) were male. The ages of the group are varied, with those between 20 and 29 years of age standing out (13 people, 31%), followed by those between 14 and 19 years of age (10 people, 24%) (see Table 1). In terms of marital status, 25 respondents were single (59.5%), and 13 (31%) were married; the rest corresponded to another marital status. Concerning the highest level of education, there were people with high school and bachelor's degrees, 10 at each level (23.8% each) (see Table 2). This is in agreement with Franco Sánchez (2020) since the Venezuelan respondents to the instrument were young and highly qualified people with professional bachelor's degrees.

Table 1. Age groups of the participants

Age groups of the participants		
Age (years)	Number (people)	Percentage (%)
14-19	10	24
20-29	13	31
30-39	7	17
40-49	8	19
50-59	3	7
60-65	1	2
Total	42	100

Source: created by the authors

Table 2. Highest level of education of the participants

Highest level of education	No. of people	%
Secondary	3	7.1
Incomplete high school	5	11.9
High School	10	23.8
Technical studies	4	9.5
Unfinished degree	6	14.3
Bachelor's Degree	10	23.8
Master's Degree	2	4.8
PhD	2	4.8
TOTAL	42	100

Source: created by the authors

Caracas, the capital of Venezuela, plays an important role in the interviewees' lives. Twelve of them were born there (28.5%) (see Figure 1), while 14 of the 77 places of residence mentioned correspond to this city (see Figure 2). Thirty-two (76.2%) of the participants arrived in Mexico between 2016 and 2019, and 29 (69%) of them arrived in the MMA between 2017 and 2020.

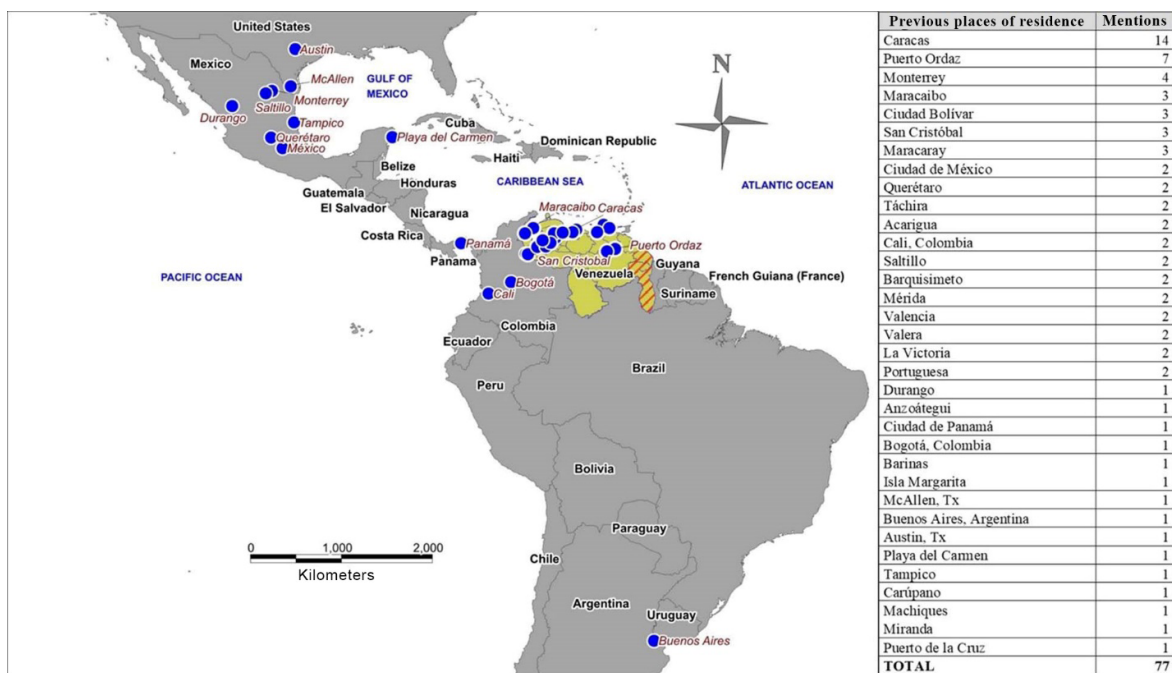
The reasons for coming to Monterrey were various, even for the same person, including the availability of employment, family or friends already residing in the MMA, and the situation in the country of origin. This coincides with what Mora Salas (2018) points out about the massive emigration of Venezuelans from their country, caused by overwhelming inflation, unemployment, and poverty, added to what Cobo Quintero and Ángel Cruz (2012) indicate about Mexico and its context of opportunities for both studies and professional development, especially for immigrants with high standards of competitiveness. Furthermore, this information coincides with what Inegi (2021d) indicates, i.e., reuniting with family is the main reason for Venezuelans to reside in Nuevo León.

Figure 1. Places of birth of the interviewees



Source: created by the authors

Figure 2. Previous and current place of residence of the interviewees



Source: created by the authors

On the other hand, understanding vulnerability as a condition of incapacity in the face of an inevitable fact, in addition to being aware of the pressing reality that has mobilized a large contingent of people from Venezuela to Mexico, the responses denote situations of acceptance or rejection toward Venezuelans in Mexico. Therefore, 17 (40.5%) people mentioned that they perceive their condition of social vulnerability, to a greater or lesser degree, by the mere fact of being a foreigner, others by the rights they feel they lost upon arriving in a new country, by the insecurity and violence in Mexico due to drug trafficking and organized crime—as in the case of kidnappings or robberies—, as well as by not having family support.

When asked about the conditions that increase their vulnerability, the greatest number of responses focused on job instability and health. Thus, 40 subjects (95.2%) referred to the lack of permanent employment, unemployment, fear of devaluations, inflation, the economic crisis resulting from the pandemic, and credit restrictions. Cases were found of professionals engaged in activities unrelated to their university education, such as domestic or restaurant workers, delivery drivers for digital applications such as Cornershop or UberEats, and traditional cab drivers or Uber drivers, among other activities.

In terms of health, uncertainty about contagion, vaccination, and possible hospitalization stand out within the context of the pandemic. Thus, 28 participants (67%) mentioned illnesses that impact their own or a family member's health, as well as the economic hardship caused by not having health insurance or having limited coverage in cases where the illness requires hospitalization or transfer to the country of origin, either for the interviewee or a family member.

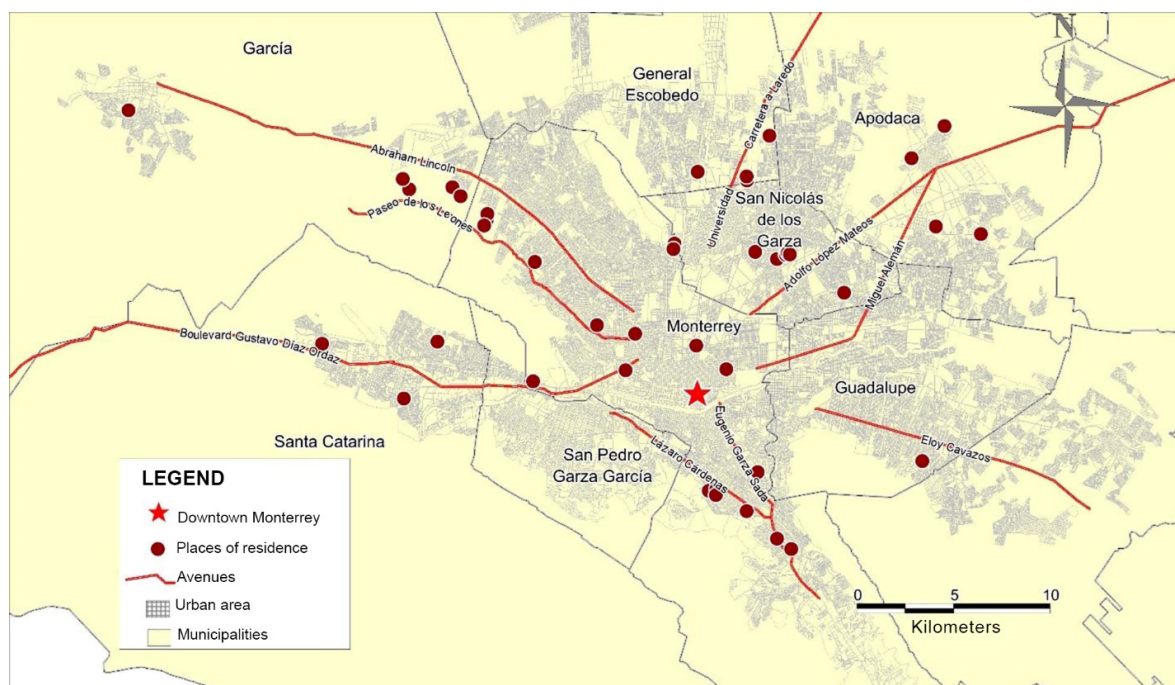
Other aspects linked to vulnerability that stand out are natural hazards. On 30 occasions (71%), participants referred to weather events, including hurricanes, floods and extreme rainfall, as the most disturbing. It is worth mentioning that Monterrey has suffered strong onslaughts of hydrometeorological phenomena throughout its history (Protección Civil de Nuevo León, 2015), which is a recurrent element in the collective memory.

It is worth adding that the participants stated that their conditions of vulnerability were greatly reduced by the support networks they have to respond to the negative impacts of phenomena related to health, the economy, insecurity, nature, and others. Only five people (12%) reported not having received support, while the rest (37 people, 88%) referred to the support provided by family members, groups of friends, or both.

As mentioned, the main categories regarding the reasons for choosing the MMA as a place of residence are the availability of employment and the existence of family or friends who were already inhabitants of the place. In this context it should be mentioned that, due to the existence of a *Petróleos Mexicanos* (Pemex) plant and other industries in Nuevo León, highly qualified personnel born in Venezuela were hired with good salaries, as mentioned by Gandini et al. (2020). Thus, these pioneers facilitated the establishment of networks that would later serve as support for family and friends who, in parallel to the desire to leave their country due to the situation, were seeking better development opportunities to enter a highly competitive labor market, which strengthens the evidence of the official figures, i.e., Venezuelans have in Monterrey and its surroundings a place to meet with their families (Inegi, 2021d). The presence of these Venezuelans' networks provides an understanding of how the newcomers have entered the labor market and their social distribution in the metropolitan space.

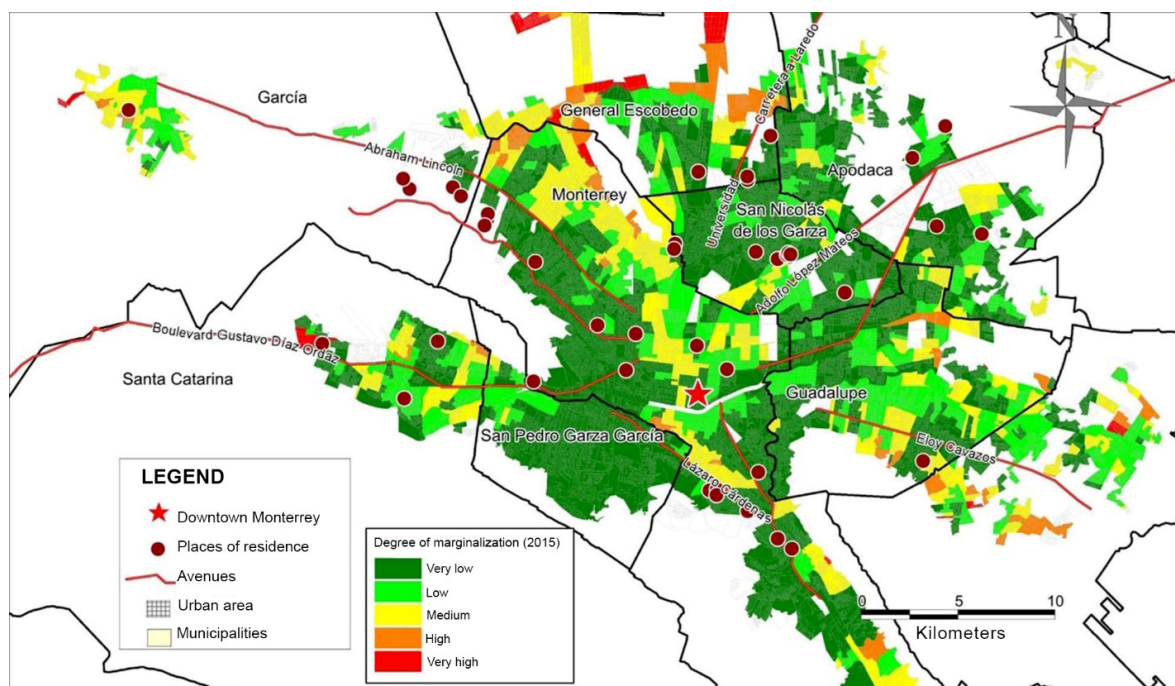
When observing the socio-spatial distribution of Venezuelan migration within the MMA, it was found that 17 individuals (40.5%) of the sample resided in the municipality of Monterrey. The subjects were located in an area limited by Paseo de los Leones and Abraham Lincoln avenues to the north of the municipality, while to the south, Lázaro Cárdenas and Eugenio Garza Sada avenues constitute a central axis for the choice of housing. In the San Nicolás de los Garza municipality, eight (19%) participants reside in an area bounded by Universidad and Adolfo López Mateos avenues. In proximity to the Venezuelans residing in the north of Monterrey and in the extension of the avenues mentioned for that area, five (12%) of those interviewed were found in García. General Escobedo and Apodaca coincided with four subjects each (10% each). In the case of General Escobedo, the Laredo highway, a continuation of Universidad Avenue, serves as a residential axis, while for Apodaca, Adolfo López Mateos and Miguel Alemán avenues serve this function. Three respondents (7%) lived in Santa Catarina, and the axis of settlement was Gustavo Díaz Ordaz Boulevard. In Guadalupe, there was only one person (2%); the main avenue is Eloy Cavazos (see Figure 3). It is noteworthy that the socio-spatial distribution pattern does not show distances greater than 20 kilometers from the center of Monterrey and that the Venezuelan participants in this study were located in areas with a low or very low degree of marginalization (see Figure 4).

Figure 3. Distribution of participants in the Monterrey metropolitan area



Source: created by the authors

Figure 4. Distribution of participants in the metropolitan area of Monterrey by degree of urban marginalization



Source: created by the authors based on the Consejo Nacional de Población (Conapo, 2010)

These maps show that to the northwest of the MMA there are many residential developments of very low marginalization, known as the Cumbres area in the municipality of Monterrey, and as Dominio Cumbres in the municipality of García. The highest proportion of the participants lived in this area, that is, 10 of them (24%). The place is attractive to newcomers from Venezuela and has even been popularly called “Cumbrezuela” (Garza, 2021). Seven participants (16%) lived in the southern part of Monterrey, in the area around the Instituto Tecnológico de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey (ITESM), as well as in the Mederos and Satelite areas. This area is characterized by a high concentration of students, with very low marginalization. The central area of Monterrey, where four Venezuelan residents (9.5%) were found, had two of them in the Obispado and San Jerónimo neighborhoods, also with very low marginalization, and two in the area near the factories (Modelo and Asarco neighborhoods) with low marginalization.

The eight residents (19%) of the municipality of San Nicolás de los Garza also lived in very low marginalization neighborhoods. To the east, two of them were in Residencial Las Puentes and four in Colonia Paseo de los Andes, while to the west, two were residents of Lomas del Roble. In these four open neighborhoods there are single-family homes with one and two floors. Regarding General Escobedo, the four

participants (10%) lived southeast of the historic center in closed subdivisions created in the second decade of the 20th century, with a very low degree of marginalization. In Nexxus, there was one person, while in the Cerradas de Anáhuac area, there were three. In Apodaca, the four interviewees (10%) lived near the municipal capital. Three of them lived in recent gated communities with very low marginalization, and the other one was a resident of the Huinalá area, with low marginalization. Three interviewees (7%) lived in Santa Catarina, two in very low marginalization neighborhoods near Cerro de las Mitras and the remaining one in the center of the municipality, with low marginalization. The person living in Guadalupe did so in the Nueva Aurora neighborhood, also with very low marginalization, while the person living in the center of García was in a place of medium marginalization.

In terms of social representations, both the mind maps and the hierarchical recall show a strong nostalgia of the participants for their homeland, but at the same time, a knowledge of their place of adoption. As for mind maps, 26 (62%) people were part of this exercise. When asked to draw “your city”, the sketches could be classified into three categories: those that recalled their hometown, those that depicted Caracas, and others concerning Monterrey (see Figure 5). Among the 12 mind maps related to hometowns, places such as Mérida (Mérida), Maracay (Aragua State), San Cristóbal (Táchira), as well as the border area between Cúcuta (Colombia) and San Antonio del Táchira (Venezuela) appeared. These places were represented as polygons, but elements such as lush vegetation, the tropics, the sea, rural houses, and highways also emerged. Caracas was presented on 11 occasions with elements such as El Avila Hill, tall buildings, large avenues, the sun, the sea behind El Avila Hill, and the Venezuelan flag. The three people who drew Monterrey showed the Cerro de la Silla (an icon of the city), the urban sprawl, the city center, buildings, and major avenues.

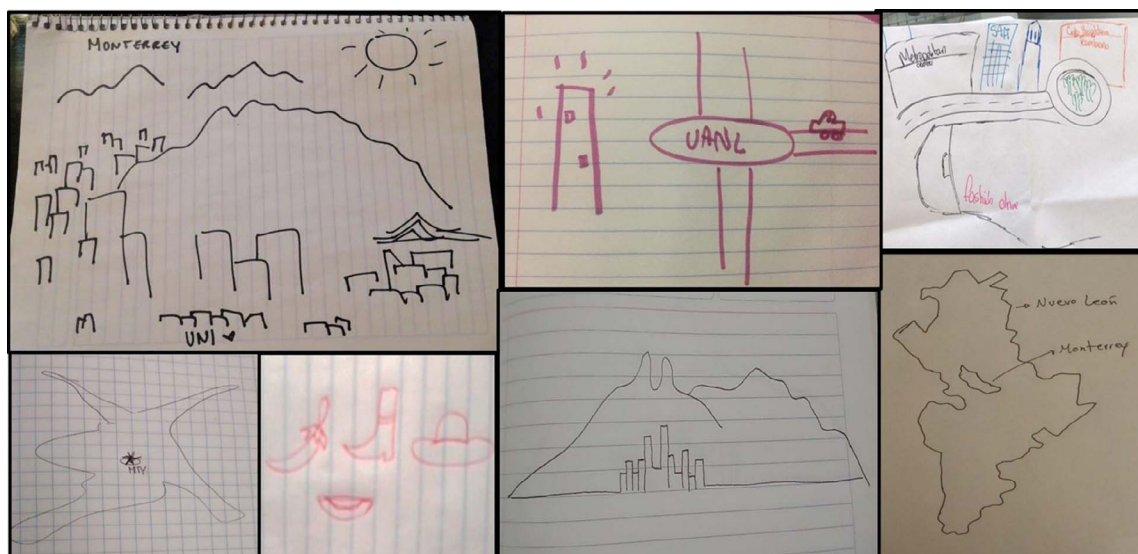
Figure 5. Examples of participants' mind maps when asked to draw *your city*



Source: selection by the authors

Three categories were used to classify the mind maps about *the city where you live*: combined urban elements, polygons, and iconic elements (see Figure 6). In the first of these categories, the sketches of 22 people were considered, in which avenues with automobiles circulating and airplanes flying over the city appear. It is worth mentioning that the layout of these roads made it possible to highlight the presence of Lázaro Cárdenas and Paseo de los Leones avenues, mentioned earlier. The presence of both natural and constructed landmarks was also noted. Among those from the natural environment are Cerro de la Silla, the Santa Catarina River, and the Sun. Among the artificial ones, buildings, factories, and shopping malls were integrated into the landscape. Within this built environment appeared the College Town of San Nicolás de los Garza and the University Stadium located there, as well as the Fundidora Park and the popularly called “cable-stayed bridge”, which spans the Santa Catarina River, linking the municipalities of Monterrey and San Pedro Garza García. In the category of polygons, three sketches were chosen with outlines of Nuevo León, as well as of the MMA area. Although the third category only included a simple drawing, representative elements of the culture of Monterrey appeared there, such as cowboy boots, the traditional cowboy-style hat, and grilled meat and the knives for cutting it.

Figure 6. Examples of participants' mind maps when asked to draw *the city where you live*

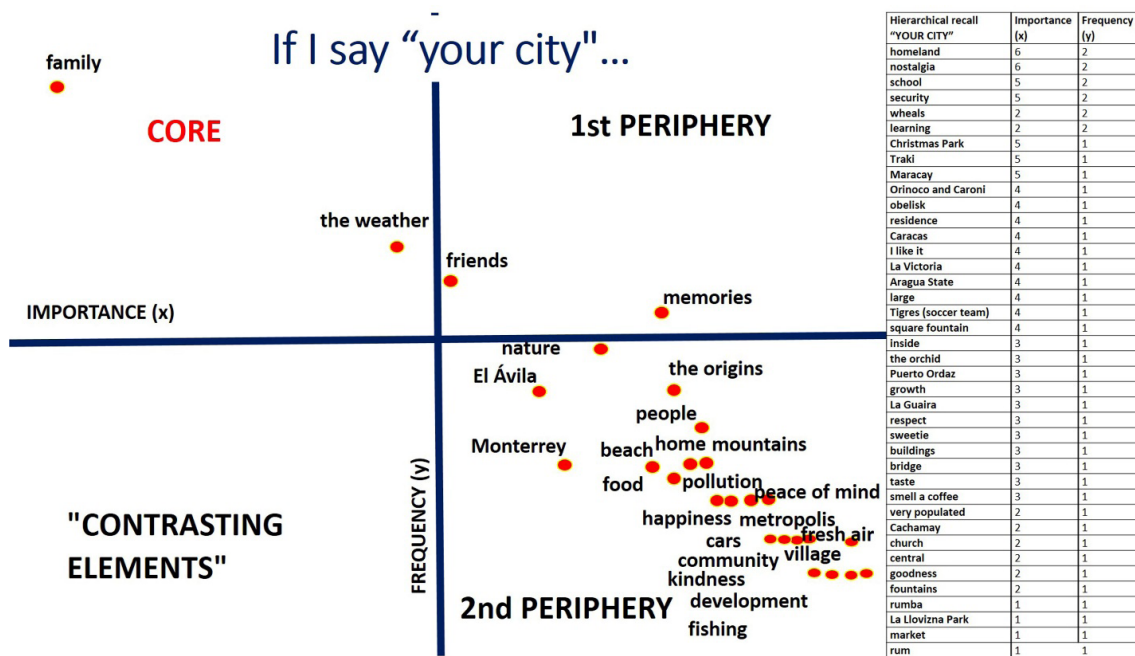


Source: selection by the authors

As for the hierarchical recall, it is worth remembering that the trigger words were *your city*, *the city where you live*, and *Venezuela*. For *your city*, the words *family* and *weather* appeared at the core of the representation, while elements of the first periphery were friends and memories. Several expressions appeared in the second periphery, referring to both place of origin and place of residence. As Abric (2003) points out, this area

is characterized by elements scarcely present and significant in the SR; however, it has been considered relevant to show them as a list on the right side of the image, in addition to those shown in the corresponding box (see Figure 7).

Figure 7. Participants' hierarchical recall when using *your city* as a trigger word

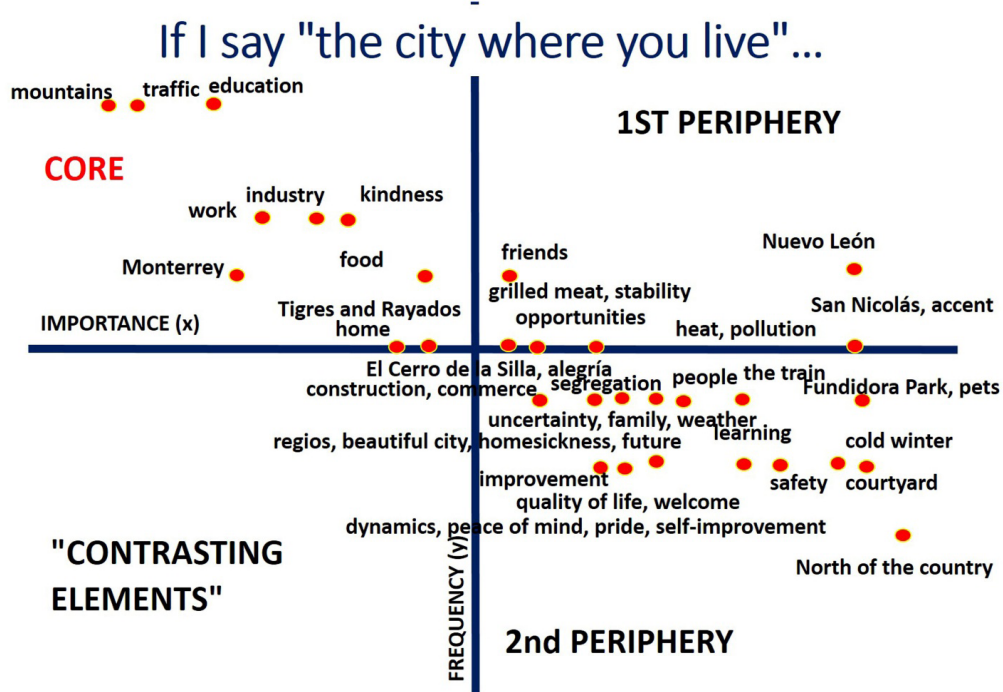


Source: created by the authors

Similarly, for *the city where you live*, references to mountains, traffic, school, work, industry, kindness, Monterrey, home, as well as Tigres and Rayados (the representative soccer teams of the MMA) were found in the nucleus. This coincides with what is expressed in the mind maps, as well as what Ríos Infante and Lara Ramírez (2020) and Franco Sánchez (2020) state about people coming from Venezuela when they describe them as educated individuals who have integrated favorably into the society of Monterrey. In the first periphery, mentions appeared more linked to customs and characteristics of the place of adoption, such as friends, grilled meat, accent, Nuevo León, San Nicolás, stability, opportunities, heat, and pollution. The second periphery showed several more elements linked to individual comments (see Figure 8).

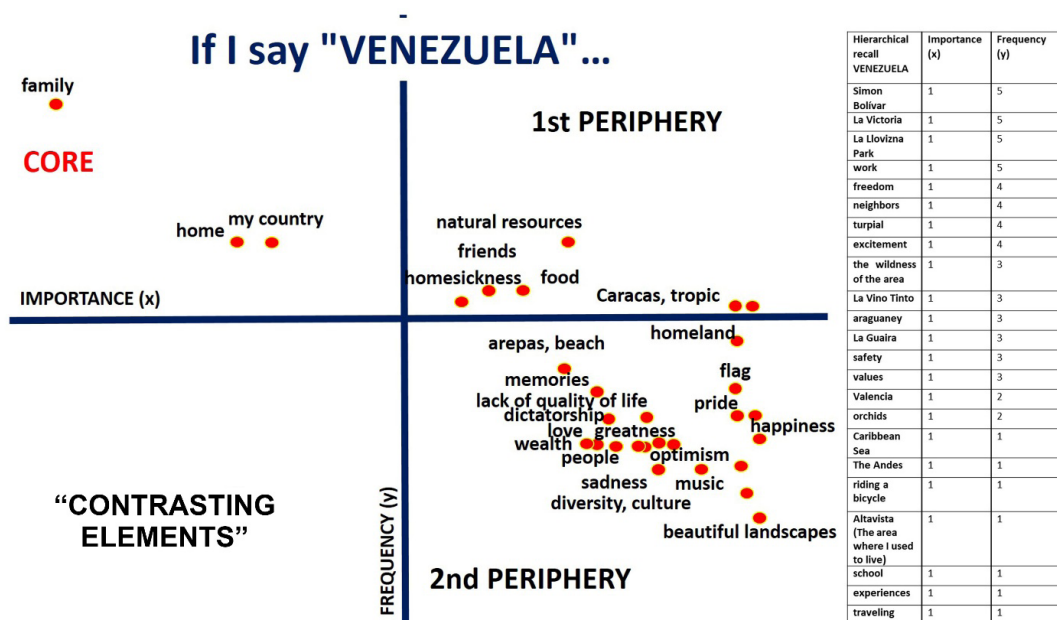
Finally, as for the recalling of *Venezuela*, elements that evidently appeal to longing, such as family, home, and country, were found in the core of the representation, as well as those that emerge in the first periphery, such as nostalgia, friends, natural resources, food, Caracas, and the tropics. As in the recalling of *your city*, the elements that made up the second periphery are shown in the corresponding box and in the attached list (see Figure 9).

Figure 8. Participants' hierarchical recall when *the city where you live* is used as a trigger word



Source: created by the authors

Figure 9. Hierarchical recall of participants using *Venezuela* as a trigger word



Source: created by the authors

Conclusions

Venezuelan migration is a complex and unfortunate situation that began in the last two decades of the 20th century and continues into the early 2020s. This process is increasing every year, fragmenting families and dispersing their members to many countries. Mexico is a country where Venezuelans expect to obtain work opportunities with favorable conditions for personal and professional progress and with salaries that allow them to have a welfare-conducive environment. This paper analyzed contexts of vulnerability, dynamics of socio-spatial distribution, and social representations of Venezuelan communities within the MMA.

The condition of vulnerability refers to the inability to resist or face unforeseen situations, and to the possibility of suffering harm due to physical exposure, social fragility, or lack of resilience. For people who find it necessary to leave their country in search of better living conditions, migration is a state of social fragility conceived as a predisposition arising from marginality and social segregation. Human groups arriving in a new country face conditions of disadvantage and relative weakness in the face of socioeconomic factors when they find themselves in a place where, in many cases, they will have to start from scratch. Migrants enter a geographical environment that they must make their own and where they have to create an identity linked to their new home. This exploratory research shows that Venezuelans in the MMA are integrated and have legal status, are welcomed by their families and have new groups of friends, not necessarily from Venezuela.

Entering Mexican territory simply with a valid passport was among the migratory conditions that facilitated the arrival of Venezuelans in the MMA. The interviewees are individuals who arrived in Mexico by plane, unlike others of their compatriots who traveled through South America. The networks of family and friends in the capital of Nuevo León are the support that has made the arrival in the country less severe for those born in Venezuela. Likewise, the cultural similarity has facilitated acceptance by the people of Monterrey, in accordance with the work of Ríos Infante and Lara Ramírez (2020) and Franco Sánchez (2020).

Forced migration may involve settling in a territory that is often hostile. According to García Arias and Restrepo Pineda (2019), the first vulnerability scenario is Venezuela's social and political environment, which leads the economic factor to be the main cause of leaving the country. In Mexico, another condition of vulnerability is related to difficulties in finding stable employment, as well as in accessing quality public health and education services. Likewise, their immigration status will always have Venezuelans in Monterrey under psychological stress due to the procedures to prove legal residency.

The pandemic reveals that privileged people—with access to technologies for virtual conversations—were interviewed. Venezuelans arriving in the MMA adapt to changing labor and economic circumstances. The marginalization maps show that the socio-spatial condition is not a vulnerability; Venezuelans inhabit socially privileged spaces, close to their support networks and communication routes that allow them to have the advantages of the metropolitan center. A settlement pattern was found in the peripheral zones, mostly to the northwest of Monterrey, adjacent to García, in the area known as Cumbres. This is where 24% of those interviewed live.

In general, it is observed that, although there were some nuclei of concentration of the Venezuelan population, such as the one mentioned above, there was a notable mix in various neighborhoods. This clearly indicates that there are no ghetto-like sectors where migrants are concentrated without mixing with the locals. This spatial distribution, coupled with the cultural affinities between local residents and those who immigrated, generates significant opportunities for social integration.

As for SR, the mind maps and hierarchical recall charts exhibit homesickness for the homeland but also show knowledge and appreciation of the land of adoption. Both tools indicate the centrality of SR in the family and in close emotional ties, which is also consistent with the information collected by Inegi (2021d).

In accordance with the hypothesis, Venezuelans are well received in the MMA, and their conditions of vulnerability are related to Mexican economic instability since, to have access to decent jobs and quality education, they have to enter into direct competition with Mexicans. In contrast, stigma does not represent a condition of vulnerability. Likewise, access to health services is related to the cost of private health insurance. According to UNHCR (ACNUR, 2021), the current condition of Venezuelan migrants has represented a major problem for receiving countries in Latin America, especially in those where the numbers exceeded the expectations of each nation. This case is an issue of concern in eleven countries: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Guyana, Paraguay, Peru, Trinidad and Tobago, and Uruguay. It should be noted that Mexico does not appear as a nation with high rates.

Other Venezuelans, with less professional training and economically vulnerable, are looking for the “American dream” and are stranded in Monterrey. It is necessary to mention that this last migration flow is not linked to the proposal that corresponds to this article, whose time frame, as has been pointed out, was during 2020. Therefore, recent events with groups of Venezuelans do not correspond to those whose final destination is Mexico, so their stay in the country is incidental (Cruz & Serrano, 2022; Gutiérrez Canet, 2022; Leyva, 2022; Tourliere, 2022).

As this document was being finalized, news of those who perished in an attempt to cross the Rio Grande to the United States of America emerged (AFP Mexico, 2022). Likewise, more and more countries are placing restrictions on their entry into their territory. For example, as of January 21, 2022, Venezuelans require a visa to enter Mexico (Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores [SRE], 2022). Finally, it should be noted that, according to the information presented, one out of every thousand inhabitants of the MMA is from Venezuela.

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Carlos Aparicio

Mexican. PhD in social sciences with orientation in sustainable development by the Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León (UANL). Professor-researcher at the Facultad de Arquitectura of the UANL and member of the National System of Researchers (SNI), Level 1. Research lines: urban planning, human geography and social representations. Recent publication: Rivas Gómez, E. M., Aparicio Moreno, C. E., Martínez Cruz, D. A. & Alarcón Herrera, M. T. (2022). Histórico de inundaciones, lluvias extremas y los atlas de riesgos. El caso de Victoria de Durango, México. *Región y Sociedad*, 34, Artículo e1540. <https://doi.org/10.22198/rys2022/34/1540>

Luisa Damiana Páez de González

Venezuelan. Master in development and environment from the Universidad Simón Bolívar (USB), PhD student in social sciences with orientation in sustainable development from the Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales of the Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León (UANL) and associate professor at the Departamento de Planeación Urbana de la USB. Research lines: risk management, resilience, sustainability, urban planning, environment, urban environmental management. Recent publication: Páez, L. & Ornés, S. (2019). La resiliencia urbana: ¿condición, proceso o fin? Reflexión para avanzar en la gestión integral de riesgo de desastres en ciudades. *Tekhne*, 22(3). <https://revistasenlinea.saber.ucab.edu.ve/index.php/tekhne/article/view/4460>

Elfide Mariela Rivas Gómez

Venezuelan. PhD in urban affairs from the Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León (UANL). Postgraduate professor at UANL, professor at the Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey (ITESM-Monterrey) and candidate for the National Research System (SNI). Research lines: urban planning, social housing, integrated disaster risk management, sustainability and strategic negotiation. Recent publication: Rivas Gómez, E. M., Aparicio Moreno, C. E., Martínez Cruz, D. A. & Alarcón Herrera, M. T. (2022). Histórico de inundaciones, lluvias extremas y los atlas de riesgos. El caso de Victoria de Durango, México. *Región y Sociedad*, 34, Artículo e1540. <https://doi.org/10.22198/rys2022/34/1540>