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**The influence of Xenophobia on social integration
within the integrative process of the Andean
Community of Nations**

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DEDICATION TO

This work is dedicated to my family, for all the support they have given me throughout my life. To my mother who has been with me in the best and worst moments, to my father who has been able to guide me firmly to be a good person, to my sisters who knew how to support and advise me when I needed it most and of course, I also dedicate this work to my beloved grandparents, Juan Francisco Aguilar and Yolanda Leon who with their wisdom and love have accompanied me on this path.

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La influencia de la Xenofobia en la integración social dentro del proceso integrativo de la Comunidad Andina de Naciones

Resumen

El propósito del presente trabajo es estudiar y analizar la influencia que ejerce la xenofobia en un proceso integrativo como lo es la Comunidad Andina de Naciones y la importancia de la integración social en cuánto al éxito de la misma. La CAN tiene especial relevancia en los procesos de integración latinoamericanos ya que, si bien ha presentado grandes avances, también se ha enfrentado a procesos en los que es necesario el establecimiento de políticas articuladas que permitan una verdadera inclusión entre los ciudadanos de la región, de tal forma que se de un trato igualitario y se evite cualquier tipo de discriminación hacia los migrantes, todo esto con el objetivo de brindar iguales oportunidades, fomentando la unión y el reconocimiento como iguales entre los ciudadanos locales y extranjeros.

Palabras clave

Integración Regional, Integración Social, Comunidad Andina, Xenofobia, Discriminación

The influence of Xenophobia on social integration within the integrative process of the Andean Community of Nations

Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to study and analyze the influence of xenophobia in an integrative process such as the Andean Community of Nations and the importance of social integration for its success. The CAN has special relevance in the Latin American integration processes because, although it has presented great advances, it has also faced processes in which it is necessary to establish articulated policies that allow a true inclusion among the citizens of the region, in such a way that equal treatment is given and any type of discrimination towards migrants is avoided, all this with the objective of providing equal opportunities, fostering union and recognition as equals among local and foreign citizens.

Key words

Regional integration, social integration, Andean Community, Xenophobia, Discrimination

The influence of Xenophobia on social integration within the integrative process of the Andean Community of Nations

1. Introduction

Integration is considered a cornerstone of global history, as it fosters cooperation among nations united by shared characteristics and geographic proximity.

Throughout history, various regions of the world have sought to integrate in order to promote the economic, political, and social development of their regions, as well as to strengthen their participation in the international arena in the face of globalization. (Murillo Zamora, 2014).

Within the Latin American integrative processes, we will speak specifically of the Andean Community of Nations, from now on CAN, and one of the problems it has faced throughout its history, which not only hinders social integration but could even promote hatred and violence among citizens of the same region: Xenophobia.

Andean regional integration has at times generated significant benefits such as increased trade, job creation, facilitation of the mobility of goods and people, as well as the promotion of peace and stability in the countries; it has also faced great challenges in harmonizing policies to foster the overcoming of social and cultural differences. (Gortaire, 2016)

Social integration is a key issue within the CAN, since the Andean region shares its cultural, geographic and even ethnic diversity, which makes it a diverse scenario conducive to strengthening identity traits and promoting peaceful coexistence among its inhabitants.

In the case of the CAN, social integration can serve to address the deep inequalities that exist in the region, creating policies that promote equity, equality and healthy inclusion among all people; access to health, education, labor system and human development are highlighted.

The ideal of social integration within an integrative process is to transcend national borders and create a sense of shared belonging, seeking to build a just, united and prosperous society.

As it will be analyzed throughout this paper, Xenophobia has a significant impact on the social integration of a community, creating social and cultural barriers that hinder interaction between people belonging to different groups (foreigners). In this way, certain conflicts go from being personal to becoming a collective problem, generating discrimination, isolation or segregation of certain groups or minorities.

For a correct evolution and development of social integration, it is necessary to abort and combat xenophobic attitudes and practices, promoting instead, inclusion and respect for diversity.

1.1 Objectives

General objective

To analyze how xenophobia has influenced social integration within the integration process of the Andean Community of Nations.

Specific objective

- a) Describe the basic concepts, to facilitate the understanding of this work.
- b) Identify the factors that drive the growth of xenophobia in an integrative process concerning social integration.
- c) Define how xenophobia affects xenophobia in an integrative context among the countries of the Andean Region.

1.2 Theoretical Framework

In an increasingly interconnected global scenario, Regional Integration emerges as a fundamental tool to promote the economic, political and social development of nations, seeking to strengthen ties between countries by strengthening trade, cooperation and the welfare of their societies.

In the approach of Haas in Malamud (2011), regional integration is described as a gradual process in which the participating countries unite their structures and wills, delegating some responsibilities to a common entity and developing joint mechanisms for conflict resolution; However, it should be noted that this model is not the only path to integration, as some successful cases have shown that the creation of common institutions with binding decision-making power for all members may be sufficient to achieve integration objectives without the need for an explicit ceding of competencies by the States, Such is the case of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), an organization that has been able to promote peace and cooperation through dialogue, diplomacy and negotiation, jointly addressing regional/global problems and/or challenges while respecting the freedom of each and every one of its members (Association of Southeast Asian Nations).

Since the 1990s, regional integration processes have given greater importance to different levels, including the social, economic and political levels. Trade agreements, both intraregional and interregional, have expanded their frontiers to include issues that simply go beyond the dimension of economic integration, such as the judicialization and politicization of trade policies, creating a direct relationship with the constitutional reforms of the countries, aimed at protecting a greater number of rights, both social and economic and cultural. (De Lombaerde et al. 2014).

Thus, in line with Di Filippo and Franco (2000), regional integration is not only based on technological and economic aspects, but also encompasses cultural and political proximity, thus relating to the political and social stability of governments, which creates a favorable environment for integration; the natural areas of integration are those where economic, cultural and political factors operate together to create a space for cooperation and development, so that integration can have a positive impact on the quality of life of the people and on the sustainable development of the region. Se pretende entonces examinar las distintas tensiones surgidas de procesos simultáneos desde una perspectiva que abarque tanto la política como el derecho en el análisis de las políticas de integración, teniendo en cuenta la interacción de lo político, lo social y lo económico en los procesos de integración entre países o regiones (De Lombaerde et al.2014).

Three types of integration stand out: economic integration which, according to Maesso (2011) is defined as a process by which a group of countries eliminate certain economic barriers between them; the different types of economic borders and the commitments assumed by the countries will give rise to different forms or phases of integration within the economic sphere, the most elementary form of economic integration being preferential trade agreements, followed by the establishment of a Free Trade Area, Customs Union, Common Market and finally and the most extensive, the Economic Union, which is seen as the most complete form of economic integration.

In the political sphere, integration seeks real and complete equality, not just embodied on paper; this implies eliminating any law or practice that discriminates without reason and ensuring the right of all to be part of, express themselves and make decisions; in other words, political integration means that all individuals have the same ability to participate in society and public life, regardless of their origin, gender, religion or any other characteristic. To achieve this, it is necessary to promote a culture of inclusion and respect, to guarantee access to education, health and justice for all, and to combat discrimination in all its forms; political integration is fundamental to building a more just and equitable society (Javier de Lucas 2005).

Meanwhile, the most important type of integration and fundamental axis of this research is social integration, which, according to Herrero et al. (2012) is multidimensional and can include both behavioral and cognitive aspects. The behavioral element basically refers to the number of social contacts, activities and behaviors that a person maintains in his or her place of residence, while the cognitive element refers to the extent to which a person feels that he or she belongs to and identifies with a community.

Di Filippo and Franco (2000) mention that social integration is related to the formation of identity, rootedness, the creation of new links and the gradual transfer of loyalties by citizens who are part of the same integrative project; in the study of social integration, the aim is to understand the values shared by the community, the idea of civilization and ethnic development, the reasons why citizens feel loyal to the political unit in which they live; on the other hand, the authors also mention that one way in which social integration can be measured is through various indicators, such as: common language, shared history religion, internal migrations, intermarriage between people from different territories, intra-regional trade flows, communications, tourism and student exchanges.

Herrero et al. (2012) agreeing with Di Filippo and Franco, say that it is fundamental to highlight that identification with the place of residence (cognitive element of social integration) and the active participation of immigrants in the society that welcomes them play a crucial role in their personal satisfaction and in the success of the social integration process; when immigrants develop a sense of belonging to the place where they reside, they experience greater satisfaction with their life in general, because they feel part of the community, which allows them to establish social ties, access opportunities and contribute to the development of their new environment (behavioral element of social integration).

In this sense, the way in which people interpret their own reality and environment takes on special relevance, something that is clearly discussed within the theory of “Social Representations”, which, according to Castiblanco (2022) allows us to interpret what happens to us and guides us when classifying circumstances, phenomena and individuals with whom we relate; it can be said then that social representations are all those explanations, ideas, mental elaborations, opinions, beliefs, judgments, attitudes, that have to do with a social phenomenon; that is, it is the way in which we interpret the social reality that surrounds us and how we relate it to our own.

Jodelet (1986) states that there are three fundamental elements in the theory of social representations that serve to construct a vision of what surrounds us: the content, which is the set of information and knowledge we have about a social object; the object, which is the social phenomenon on which the content of a social representation is constructed; and the subject, which is the individual or group that perceives and constructs the content of the social object.

According to Jodelet (1986), these are the integration of novelty, which allows a set of new knowledge and ideas to be integrated to previous knowledge, generating familiarity between the two; the interpretation of reality, which serves to interpret and construct reality through constant social interaction; and finally, the orientation of behaviors, which serves to guide and regulate behaviors based on new interpretations.

Castiblanco (2022) also mentions that the study of social representations can serve to reflect on the phenomenon of the social construction of migration and how this can lead to expressions of rejection and discrimination against vulnerable populations, increasing social problems.

Through how people interpret reality, fear, or dread of that which is “different” can be produced, be it people, ethnic groups, or organizations whose identity is unknown, this can be understood according to Rangel (2020) as xenophobia; this definition will be analyzed from the perspective of several authors to better understand the relationship between the spread of xenophobia and the social integration of a community.

According to Garza (2011) there are several definitions of Xenophobia, among them, he mentions that xenophobia consists of the rejection of cultural identities that are different from one's own. He also defines it as the type of discrimination based on different historical, religious, cultural, and national prejudices, which lead the xenophobe to justify segregation between different ethnic groups in order not to lose his own identity. In addition, there is often an economic prejudice that views immigrants as competition for the resources available in a nation.

In addition, Alaminos et al., (2010) point out a clear relationship between ethnocentrism and xenophobia, noting that this connection occurs in multicultural societies that find their emotional roots in prejudices before the experience with migrants.

Céleri (2023), on the other hand, highlights the relationship between xenophobia and racism, since both have been linked to the construction of phenotypic and/or cultural differences, as well as socioeconomic differences, focused on the construction of the “foreigner” as a “threat.”

By carefully analyzing the texts provided, it is possible to identify a connection between the various definitions of xenophobia that have been examined. A recurring element that stands out in these definitions is the presence of the word “Different”; therefore, it can be inferred that xenophobia is defined as fear or aversion towards that which is perceived as different or uncommon. In this sense, xenophobia manifests itself as a rejection of that which departs from the familiar or what is considered the established norm. This understanding allows us to enter into the complexity of this social phenomenon, where fear of the unknown and lack of tolerance towards diversity play a central role. Consequently, reflection on definitions of xenophobia invites us to critically examine our perceptions and attitudes towards otherness, thus promoting understanding and peaceful coexistence in a multicultural society.

1.3 Literature Review

Understanding what a regional integration process is fundamental, since the main object of study of this research is the Andean Community of Nations (CAN) which, as mentioned by Gortaire (2016), is one of the oldest regional integration projects in the world.

The CAN was born under the name of the Andean Pact in 1969, through the signing of the Cartagena agreement between Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Chile, and Venezuela; however, the latter two countries are no longer part of the integrative process; the Andean Community of Nations emerged intending to strengthen between its members and laying the foundations to move towards the formation of a strong Andean subregional community (Gortaire 2016).

The Andean Pact was restructured in 1996, the year in which the CAN and the Andean Integration System (SAI) were constituted, which gave a new legal and institutional framework to the organization that was projected as a broader integration process, to overcome the economic and commercial approximation with which it had functioned until then. However, it would seem that the restructuring came late; this was confirmed by a reengineering in 2013, which was a reflection of the increasingly discordant visions among member countries on development strategies, modalities of insertion in the global economy and on the desired scope and depth of the integration process itself (Gortaire 2016).

Di Filippo and Franco (2000) talk about the socioeconomic dimension, as well as the cultural dimension; the first refers to employment and equity, i.e., facilitating the rights of the poorest, including the fight against hunger and malnutrition, respect for the rights of workers, both local and migrant, the rights of women and Indigenous people, and access to health technologies focused on the neediest. The second refers to the application of technology to foster a knowledge society, that is, a society that is fully aware of democracy and the rights of workers, women, and indigenous people in its cultural dimension; all of this is part of “the key to progress.

According to Di Filippo and Franco (2000) the Andean Community, as an integrative process, lacks some of the socioeconomic advantages of the natural areas of integration and this has been directly observed in the low proportion of mutual trade among its members and in the application of different political regimes, frictions or border conflicts that do not contribute to creating conditions for progress towards multidimensional forms of integration.

The social dimensions of regional integration are understood as a) commitments of a social nature assumed by the countries in the regional integration agreements or linked to them that translate into supranational social policies, or social policies at the national level; b) social effects deriving from the aforementioned agreement, which include those impacts related to equity, especially in poverty, employment, and income distribution, as well as others related to politics and culture (Di Filippo and Franco, 2000).

As mentioned in the norms on migration in the Andean Community (SGCAN, 2018) “Migratory flows take on special relevance due to the economic and commercial integration in the subregion contemplated by the Andean Community: thus, as a consequence of such integration, the interest and need to move freely in the territories comprising the Member Countries of the Andean Community is generated.”

Also, according to the International Labor Organization and the Andean General Secretariat (2011), every Andean citizen has indispensable rights, the same that have to do with tourism, migration, and work. All these rights are regulated by the rules of Andean Community Law expressed in the Decisions and Resolutions that are mandatory for all CAN member countries, also have direct applicability, and do not require legislative approval by national congresses.

With the right to free mobility and the right to free choice of residence, expressed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, immigration has come to be linked to false imaginaries such as the increase in crime and unemployment, which according to Van Dijk (D'Ancona Cea, 2006) are the stereotypical clichés of the majority of members who feel threatened by the presence of ethnic groups, thus creating a fear of the loss of cultural homogeneity, by which the migrant comes to be perceived as a threat.

The constant threat of the destruction of identity and culture associated with immigration, according to Castro (2023), is based on the fear of its labor and economic effects; some believe that the arrival of immigrants would reduce the rights, resources, and even the privileges of the native inhabitants. It is then that:

This scenario of entrenched feelings against people who are identified as outsiders, regardless of their attitudes, opens an extremely dangerous spiral of violence that seriously affects the collective welfare and hinders or prevents peaceful coexistence (Castro, 2023, pp. 453).

In the case of the Andean Community, a false perspective has been created in which migrants are attributed negative effects in the receiving countries (Colombia, Ecuador and Peru) such as low labor, economic and social indicators, thus generating a feeling of weakening of public services such as transportation, health, education, as well as an increase in crime rates and therefore the feeling of insecurity perceived by citizens (Alfonzo et al. 2020).

Although Latin America has historically been characterized by emigration, in recent years it has experienced a notable increase in immigration, reaching a rate of 11%, even higher than the global average of 5%. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) has identified a significant increase in forced displacement, motivated by various factors such as persecution, climate change, lack of opportunities, or insecurity. On the other hand, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) reports that the number of forcibly displaced persons worldwide has reached 68.5 million (Andrés Rivero, 2019).

It is worth mentioning that the CAN countries have gone through diverse situations that caused the mobilization of citizens in the region, as explained by Castiblanco (2022) there are several factors that affect the mobilization of human groups from their places of origin or residence to other areas. The economic crises that the countries of the Andean Community have gone through have generated conditions in which their inhabitants cannot access basic resources for a dignified life; likewise, armed conflicts and various forms of violence have forced these groups to seek safety and protect their lives, escaping from dangerous areas.

This generates a direct relationship with what Benavides and Chávez (2014) mention, since in the member countries of the Andean Community, deep economic crises have occurred, caused by the implementation of neoliberal structural adjustment measures, which caused an increase in poverty rates and severe restrictions in the exercise of human rights (economic and social); they also state that intra-community mobility responds to the dynamic economic, social, cultural, environmental conditions and the impacts of socio-political violence.

Immigration tends to be a disorderly and sometimes chaotic process, in which migrants face various risks; on many occasions, there is no timely institutional response that considers this phenomenon as a social problem rather than simply a border issue. In addition, the immigration process directly affects the perception of the inhabitants of the receiving country, who may feel threatened, either in a real or imaginary way, by the presence of “others” (Castiblanco, 2022).

It is then imperative to recognize the “other” as a human being and as a subject of rights, considering this path as the only one that can lead to understanding and cannot, in any way, be understood as “tolerance” since, as Castro (2023) mentions, where there are rights, it is not necessary to tolerate, but to recognize, protect and guarantee to all what corresponds to them. All this marks a route in which it is necessary to understand the importance of adopting a collective identity that allows adopting the welfare of the “other” as one's own, where one begins to see the “other” as part of the same group, changing that individualistic perspective for a collectivist “we” perspective (Gortaire, 2016).

It should be noted that interregional migration has generated a significant impact on the Andean countries, since they have had to adapt and, therefore provide all the services that people need, among these, social and health services, which implies a gradual increase in public spending in the countries receiving migrants. Célieri (2023) comments that since 2018 the migratory flow from Venezuela to Ecuador has intensified, as well as in the members of the Andean Community, which has generated growing reactions and protests of rejection against this population.

Some studies reveal that the recent manifestations of rejection of migrants in the Andean region are mainly due to two perceptions, insecurity and labor competition as an economic condition of xenophobia, that is, they base their rejection on the struggle for resources, generating a false belief that the more “the others” obtain the less is available for the nationals “us”; all this is exacerbated by the relationship between job scarcity and growing economic crises in the migrant-receiving countries. The condition of foreignness and economic needs place migrants in spaces of marginality, functional to a development model that produces an increasingly unequal society and reduces the worker to increasingly precarious conditions (Rangel, 2020).

Herrera and Cabezas (2019) talk about the existence of a tendency among Andean countries to create securitization policies through regularization and restrictive control towards immigrants, in such a way that could encourage the increase of xenophobia. On the other hand, according to Benavides and Chávez (2014), The Andean Community of Nations, through the Andean Charter of Human Rights, ensures constitutional recognition of the right to non-criminalization of migrants. National efforts to implement Andean regulations on international migration in terms of free movement, national identity documents, Andean passport, consular assistance, labor and social security protection, as well as the generation of statistical information on international migration are highlighted.

Benavides and Chávez (2014) also mention that countries must urgently and sustainably promote the adaptation of their regulations, policies, and institutions as a concrete foundation for the consolidation of a regional structure, enriched with a vision of sovereignty and security based on a rights-based approach. Therefore, it is essential and a priority to promote comprehensive policies to address the economic, social and cultural problems faced by the Andean population abroad. In terms of immigration, it is considered essential to promote migration regularization processes, adopt measures to ensure non-criminalization based on migratory status, the search for alternatives to expulsion and the implementation of effective policies of integration and coexistence.

In order to achieve substantial progress, the Andean Community of Nations (CAN) has established specific and strategic action guidelines with the objective to strengthen its structure and, consequently, its operability. These guidelines are articulated around fundamental axes: the political dimension, which focuses on strengthening democracy, governance, and regional integration; the social and cultural dimension, which promotes social cohesion, cultural development, and social inclusion; and finally, the economic dimension, which promotes economic growth, competitiveness, and trade integration. The effective implementation of these pillars will enable the CAN to consolidate itself as a solid and prosperous regional bloc (CAN, 2003).

The development of the social and cultural dimension and its applications contribute to the consolidation of an Andean identity; in the Andean Community's integration process, the efforts to innovate the concept of Andean citizenship stand out, facilitating mobility among citizens of the region through (a) the recognition of the national identity card as a valid document in any country of the region, (b) the establishment of an Andean passport and (c) consular assistance and protection in migratory matters; however, national treatment has not had an effective application since many of the benefits received by national citizens in their states have not been seen applied in foreign citizens (Gortaire, 2016).

Bernardo Gortaire (2016) also highlights that, in order to promote social inclusion, the Andean Community of Nations (CAN) created the Integrated Social Development Plan (PIDS), whose main goal is to guide actions that reinforce and complement national policies focused on the eradication of poverty and social inequality.

The Andean Community of Nations has social agreements such as the Andrés Bello Agreement, which promotes educational and cultural cooperation, fostering mutual knowledge and the circulation of people and cultural goods; and the Hipólito Unanue Agreement, which seeks to improve the health of people in the Andean countries, with special emphasis on the fight against malnutrition, environmental sanitation, maternal and child protection, and occupational health (Di Filippo and Franco, 2000).

All the above-mentioned, could generate a positive effect on citizens who intend to integrate into society, since it encourages the development of the cognitive aspect of social integration in the citizens of the Andean Community of Nations, allowing them to acquire a common identity through inclusion in fundamental areas such as health, culture, education, and employment.

Gortaire (2016) on the other hand, also identifies a crucial social issue: the lack of connection between the population and regional integration projects, which prevents a collective contribution and hinders the creation of common policies that guide toward true integration. He also points out that social agendas focus on national or local realities, instead of a transnational project, which weakens the shared identity among the citizens of the Andean Community of Nations (CAN). In other words, the lack of social participation and the disconnection between national agendas and the regional project prevent the development of a true Andean integration. It also mentions that there are harmful identities that prevent the consolidation and strengthening of a supranational entity since sovereignty is favored as a fundamental concept. This also has a special relationship with the behavioral aspect of the social integration of citizens mentioned (Herrero et al. 2012), since a barrier is created that prevents interconnection between citizens from different countries in the region.

In this part of the text, it is considered necessary to quote verbatim the words of Bernardo Gortaire (2016, pp. 106) regarding the establishment of Andean citizenship:

The proposal of Andean citizenship “active, based on political and civic participation, which ensures a set of freedoms, rights, and guarantees, which add and confer an added value to national citizenships”, will be attainable only within the framework of overcoming the barriers that the nation-states themselves impose. At present, this possibility seems distant; there is even talk of the effective collapse of the Andean Community in the face of its institutional dismantling, which would make the consolidation of real Andean citizenship unattainable.

2. Methodology

The present research work will be based on a case study, which, according to Jiménez (2012) allows the analysis of a phenomenon in its real context through the use of multiple sources of qualitative and/or quantitative evidence. The author also mentions that the case study methodology is particularly suitable for investigating complex contemporary phenomena in their real environment.

The essence of case studies lies in the in-depth analysis of a specific unit, be it a person, family, group, organization, institution, or even a set of these units; this unit, which can be classified as simple or complex depending on its structure and becomes the central focus of the research. Case studies delve into the uniqueness of each unit, examining its attributes, relationships, and inner workings. This in-depth analysis enables a rich and detailed understanding of the case under study, providing valuable information for various purposes (Muñiz, 2010).

The specific object of this research is the Andean Community of Nations and its purpose is to analyze the influence of xenophobia on the social integration of the region's citizens.

1. The first step in conducting this research was the selection and definition of the case, which according to Robson and McCartan (2016) refers to a case of cross-national comparative studies in which research will be conducted on national governments in a political process.
2. The second step to follow was the construction of the research question and research objectives.
3. Using the digital libraries Scopus, Web of Science, Scielo and the Scholar Google tool and official sites such as UNHCR, IOM and CAN; a search was conducted for articles and information related to the research topic. The keywords used were: "Integration", "Regional Integration", "Social Integration", "Andean Community" and "Xenophobia".
Once a considerable number of articles were obtained, we proceeded to classify those that refer to social integration in a historical context of the Andean Community of Nations, those that establish a relationship between "Social Integration" and "Xenophobia" and those that provide an updated analysis of the effects of xenophobia on Andean integration.
4. When analyzing the remaining articles of the previous classification, we proceeded to extract the relevant information from each of them in order to make a correct interpretation and answer the research question based on the evolution of the Andean Community of Nations in terms of social inclusion, migrations, and xenophobia.
5. Once the theoretical framework and the state of the art had been elaborated, a connection was established between the main topics: social integration and xenophobia in the context of the Andean Community of Nations, and a detailed report was prepared that allows observing the results of the research.

3. Results

The integration process of the Andean countries has understood migration in the words of Ramírez and Ceja (2020) as an issue that refers mainly to the socio-labor field, in which the category of migrant worker has predominated; that is why in 1973 the member countries signed the "Simón Rodríguez Agreement on Socio-labor Integration" to strengthen development through the active participation of workers and employers in the region. This agreement was the first step for the subsequent elaboration of Decision 116, approved in 1997, which provided certain preferences to migrant workers from the Andean countries, among which are the following:

- a) Member countries shall not hinder the entry or exit of migrant workers.
- b) Labor migration offices shall implement the labor migration policy of their respective countries.
- c) There shall be no discrimination in the employment of migrant workers.
- d) The member countries shall facilitate the regularization of the situation of undocumented migrants, guaranteeing their stay during the period that the process lasts.

Later, with the elaboration of Decision 545, Decision 116 was modified, indicating that the main objective of that instrument was to establish rules to facilitate the free circulation and permanence of Andean citizens under a labor dependency relationship, thus generating the emergence of discriminatory elements, implementing securitization and control measures over the Andean population by eliminating the provisions of Decision 116 concerning undocumented migrant workers and their stay in an Andean country. However, in Decisions 583 and 584, the categories of "Labor migrant" and "Decent work" are included, respectively,

referring to all citizens residing in a member country regardless of whether they are dependent or independent workers and the benefits in terms of protection, safety, and health in the workplace (Ramirez and Ceja, 2020).

The following table shows the most important decisions of the Andean Community of Nations on migration issues.

Table 1
CAN decisions on immigration matters

Topics covered in decisions related to migration	Decision	Year
Andean Migration Card	397	1996
Border Integration Zones of the Andean Community	501	2001
Binational border care centers in Andean Community	502	2001
Recognition of national identification documents	503	2001
Creation of Andean Passport	504	2001
Entry windows at airports for national and foreigners residing in member Countries	526	2002
Andean Labor Migration Instrument	545	2003
Andean Cooperation Mechanism on consular assistance and protection and migration matters	548	2003
Andean social security instrument	583	2004
Andean instrument for safety and health at work	584	2004
Andean Statute of Human Mobility	1343	2015

Note: Prepared by “Multilateral analysis of migration policy in the region: towards a South American citizenship”, by Ramirez Gallegos, J. and Ceja Cárdenas I., 2020, Chapter 6: Multilateral analysis of migration policy in the region: towards a South American citizenship (<https://doi.org/10.15332/dt.inv.2020.00713>)

Through an analysis of the Andean Statute on Human Mobility “Decision 1343” Ramirez and Ceja (2020) mention that its main objective is to regulate relations between CAN members regarding the exercise of the rights of human mobility; permanence and circulation of citizens in the Andean area without any type of discrimination. The term “migration” is replaced by “human mobility” referring to any process of transfer of residence carried out by a person, family, or human group, including the processes of emigration, immigration, return, asylum and international protection, internal displacement, and resettlement; however, several errors of the States are recognized, such as the lack of legislative harmonization and the existence of discrimination against migrants (requirement of a judicial background to have access to certain rights).

The “Andean Statute of Human Mobility” highlights the idea of the creation and consolidation of Andean citizenship, i.e., every national of the CAN member countries (Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia) would become an Andean citizen, seeking to grant rights and facilities for mobility, circulation and permanence in the Andean region. However, in an antagonistic sense, certain requirements necessary for temporary or permanent residence in the member countries are also mentioned, such as the presentation of proof of economic solvency and what is mentioned in Article 14, which states that migrants have the right to emergency medical care, i.e., access to health services is limited to emergency cases only, then, migration directed to residence in the Andean space depends on the labor category of citizens and their economic solvency, thus excluding informal workers and non-workers (Ramirez and Ceja, 2020).

Neira's research (2021) also mentions the efforts made by each of the CAN member countries, highlighting that the 4 member countries have focused their actions on encouraging the return of citizens residing abroad to the Andean area through tariff, customs, and financial benefits that allow a real and progressive reintegration of individuals and families who had left the region; Colombia with Law 1565, Ecuador through the “Welcome Home” plan, Bolivia through the “Return Home” plan and Peru with Law 28182.

Despite the individual efforts made by the CAN countries, the challenge for the organization is still to promote a migration regularization system that allows a true inclusion of Andean citizens in the host country, in such a way that other actors such as civil and community organizations that work daily with migrants in the countries of origin and destination are included in these processes; it is a priority to continue advancing in the design of bilateral and multilateral agreements on programs on free mobility, the fight against xenophobia and human trafficking (Neira, 2021).

The objectives set out in this article invite us to analyze the situation of the members of the Andean Community of Nations regarding the existence of xenophobia and its influence on the regional integration process, in order to meet this objective, the following section will examine the situation of three of the four members of the Andean Community (Peru, Colombia, and Ecuador) regarding the migratory flow from Venezuela (CAN member until 2006) in concerning to xenophobia and how this could affect the integration process. On the other hand, the Plurinational State of Bolivia will be excluded from this analysis due to

insufficient relevant information, which makes it impossible to carry out an independent analysis of this area of the region.

Studies carried out in Peru examine cases in which the existence of xenophobia has been evidenced, highlighting its causes and the relationship it has in terms of the social integration of migrants. Freirer and Pérez (2021) through their fieldwork (application of interviews and surveys), have managed to describe the experiences that migrants, especially Venezuelans, have had in the host country. The text provides a better view of how xenophobic discrimination and criminalization processes develop in the context of large-scale intraregional forced displacement in the global South.

The study mentions that in Peru, there have been moments in which there has been a marked difference in the government's position and reaction to the forced displacement of Venezuelans to the country, these moments can be classified into 2 parts: the first, under the presidency of Pedro Pablo Kuczynski (2016-2018) in which the country assumed an open-minded position, providing protection and facilities for regulated access and possible residence in Peru and, the second, under the presidency of Martin Vizcarra (2018-2020) period that was characterized by the closure and securitization of immigration policies, which increasingly pushed immigrants towards irregularity. The study also mentions that there are media discourses that foster the belief that the migrant is a threat, turning him/her into an object of criminalization and rejection by nationals. This type of discourse was intensified in the context of the commission of a violent crime in 2019 in which the Peruvian police found the dismembered bodies of two young men, a Peruvian and a Venezuelan in San Martín de Porres (district of Lima), and came to symbolize a perceived link between Venezuelan immigration and an increase in crime (Freier and Pérez, 2021).

Public attitudes deteriorated even more after the commission of this crime, this coincides with what is mentioned by (Gauna, 2023) who also indicates that the media play a fundamental role in the establishment of a perception of danger towards immigrants, since the Peruvian media, during the following weeks, would have shared this news emphasizing the nationality of those who committed the crime (Venezuelans), creating a turning point in the collective imagination regarding Venezuelan migrants.

Freirer and Pérez (2021) mention that the criminalization of Venezuelans in public opinion increased very significantly, supporting their assertion in the surveys conducted, which indicate that at the end of 2018, 55% of respondents thought that many Venezuelans are responsible for criminal activities in Peru, while, at the end of 2019, this percentage increased to 81%.

Participants consistently expressed their belief that the criminalization of Venezuelan migrants is deeply rooted in the widespread portrayal of this group as criminals by the media. The shift in public opinion has not only been accompanied by more restrictive migration policies but also by political discourses expressing xenophobia, linking the presence of (Venezuelan) migrants with negative consequences on Peru's economy and labor stability. Although there is little evidence of a real correlation between immigration and crime, in some cases a negative correlation is found since recent studies show that Venezuelan migrants commit fewer crimes than those born in the country in terms of their proportion in the total population (Freier & Pérez, 2021). This coincides with what Peralta (2023) mentions in that 3.6% of Venezuelan immigrants committed crimes in 2019 compared to 96.4% who would not have committed criminal acts in the same period.

Below is a table showing the type of discrimination experienced by the interviewees and the percentage presented by each. Discrimination by nationality or xenophobic discrimination refers according to (Garza, 2011) to different historical, religious, cultural, and national prejudices, which lead the xenophobe to justify segregation between different ethnic groups in order not to lose one's own identity while the criminalization of the immigrant coincides, in the words of Wagman (2006), with the formation of the idea that immigrants represent a significant percentage of crime in the host society.

Table 2*Type of discrimination faced by interviewees*

	Xenophobic Discrimination	Criminalization
Lima	71%	37%
Arequipa	63%	31%
Tacna	90%	40%
Trujillo	80%	39%
Cusco	64%	33%

Note: Adapted from “Nationality-Based Criminalization of south-South Migration: The experience of Venezuelan Forced Migrants in Peru”, by Freier L. F., and Pérez, L. M., 2021, *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research*, 27(1), 113 –133. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10610-020-09475-y>

The study also mentions that: “In contrast to general xenophobic discrimination, criminalization occurs more frequently in the public space than in the workplace.” Table two shows how men and women perceive discrimination, both in their workplaces and in public spaces.

Table 3*Places where discrimination is perceived*

	Workplace	Public Space	Other
Women	57%	33%	10%
Men	60%	31%	9%

Note: Adapted from “Nationality-Based Criminalization of south-South Migration: The experience of Venezuelan Forced Migrants in Peru”, by Freier L. F., and Pérez, L. M., 2021, *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research*, 27(1), 113 –133. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10610-020-09475-y>

In another study conducted, now in Colombia, Perilla (2019) reveals that this country registers the highest rate of arrival of Venezuelan migrants and refugees, which has meant rejection and recurrent discrimination for these citizens, however, he mentions that Venezuelans in Colombia face discrimination oriented a little more towards their socioeconomic situation, which creates a link between xenophobia and aporophobia; this coincides with what is mentioned by Burgos et. al (2021) “the traditional variables that predict discrimination do not serve as predictors to identify discrimination triggers” but rather different perspectives are constructed, depending on the socioeconomic level or poverty status of a Venezuelan migrant, followed by his or her migratory status.

Perilla (2019) agreeing with Burgos, mentions that:

In recent years, the increase in Venezuelan migration to Colombia has been observed with prejudice and distrust while the perception of threat to economic prosperity, labor growth and cultural identity, is manifested in attitudes of contempt directed, in general, towards the Venezuelan population identified by its lower purchasing and economic level.

All this has been exacerbated by the content that is transmitted daily through the Colombian media, generating a growing reaction of rejection towards Venezuelan migrants, highlighting news or emphasizing the commission of crimes by Venezuelans, although these are minor crimes compared to those committed by nationals.

Burgos et. al (2021) also mention that the perception of rejection that Venezuelan migrants have by Colombian society responds more to indirect discrimination, that is, the majority of interviewees do not recognize that they are rejected because of their nationality (direct discrimination), however, they mention having had problems when obtaining employment, since they have been obliged to present a copy of their updated passport and, since it is considered difficult to acquire or renew the Venezuelan passport in Colombia, this represents an obstacle that, although legitimate, represents indirect discrimination. While Perilla (2019) says that in cities such as Cúcuta and Arauca that have a large concentration of Venezuelan immigrants, certain warnings have circulated that threaten the integrity of these citizens, regardless of their social, economic, or labor status, this was attributed to the “Araucanian social cleansing group” that through an audio, made the following warning: “This is an ultimatum for Venezuelans. You have two weeks to leave, we will kill each one of you in Subachoque, whether you work or not, whether you steal or not, we don't want you anymore, get out of here”. An even more serious situation occurred on January 23, 2018 where there was an attack with Molotov cocktails directed against a group of Venezuelans occupying the coliseum of the Sevilla neighborhood, north of Cúcuta, this clearly accentuates an outbreak of xenophobia and aporophobia that, as mentioned above, in Colombia have a direct relationship in the creation of a negative perception towards the immigrant.

In spite of the aforementioned attacks, the perspective of Venezuelans regarding the discrimination they receive, continues to obey more to the type of indirect discrimination, that is, any requirement that, despite

being legitimate, represents a greater difficulty for them at the time of getting a job, regularizing their process, validation of studies, etc. (Burgos et al., 2021).

Specific cases have already been mentioned in which xenophobic acts against the Venezuelan migrant population are evident in Colombia and Peru, it is worth mentioning that Ecuador has also been the site of crimes committed against the integrity of Venezuelan citizens, among which we can mention: labor discrimination, forced evictions and attacks against Venezuelan citizens; all this caused by the lack of public policies and social awareness campaigns that promote a harmonious social coexistence (Alfonzo et al. 2020).

One of the main problems present in Ecuador for Venezuelan migrants is due to a perception of labor competition and insecurity. Labor insertion in the informal sector is one of the main problems in terms of socioeconomic inclusion since most migrant and refugee citizens tend to choose to work in the informal sector. Migratory flows from Venezuela increased between 2017 and 2019, generating growing reactions of rejection against this population, which increases the risk of them suffering aggression or facing any type of violent attitude (Célleri, 2023).

Although authors such as Bahar et al. (2020) and Knight and Tribín (2020) have deconstructed the direct relationship between criminality and migration, which has often been exposed in public discourse and the media, Ecuador has experienced times of crisis in which restrictive and securitized policies towards migrants, promoted by the government, are the main causes of exclusion and the struggle for resources.

Célleri (2023) mentions that in 2018, in Ecuador there were already strong protests in cities such as Quito, same that were accompanied by phrases such as “out Venezuelans”, however, in Ibarra there was an event committed by a Venezuelan citizen that led to much stronger nationwide protests that generated massive and violent evictions against Venezuelan migrants. It is the case of the femicide of Diana Carolina, a young Ecuadorian woman who was stabbed several times, causing her death. All this in a certain way could justify before the locals, the actions of the State and the media in terms of the construction of the migrant as a threat.

The perception of threat and job insecurity among Venezuelan citizens would also present a relationship with the economic decline of Ecuador since 2015, in which cuts in social investment and labor crisis would directly affect both formal and informal labor sectors, reinforcing the idea that foreigners take away opportunities from nationals. It is important to note then that the unemployment crisis in Ecuador occurred even before the arrival of the Venezuelan migratory flow (2015-2016), which in a way would break the theory that immigrants are the direct causes of job insecurity (Célleri, 2023).

The growing reaction of rejection has been widely evidenced in 3 of the 4 countries that make up the Andean Community of Nations; according to Quintero cited in (Alfonzo et al. 2020) in Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru, there is evidence of an exponential increase of hatred against Venezuelans from the dizzying increase in the number of migrants with South American destination. It is mentioned that, in Colombia, Venezuelans have faced situations of rejection and xenophobia through the dissemination of warnings and threats, while Ecuador and Peru took measures to reduce the entry of Venezuelan migrants to their countries, demanding the regularization of the identity document (passport).

These manifestations of rejection have an immediate link with the latest wave of Venezuelan migrants, which according to the UNHCR is composed of people with low academic levels and scarce economic resources; that is why it is considered important that both international, regional, and local organizations make an effort to create public policies that meet the needs of mass migration, both basic needs and employment and development opportunities. This, on the other hand, would mean rejection by nationals who feel that state guarantees are not sufficient even for them, let alone to meet the needs of migrants (Alfonzo et al. 2020).

The media play a fundamental role in spreading a negative perspective towards migrants since they have led discrediting and criminalization campaigns against them, where negative effects are attributed to them in the receiving countries (Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru) such as low labor, economic and social indicators, thus generating a feeling of weakening of public services such as transportation, health, education, as well as an increase in crime rates and therefore the feeling of insecurity perceived by citizens (Alfonzo et al. 2020).

There is an alarming correlation between the increase in migration and the increase in xenophobia, which highlights the fragility of civil societies in the face of this phenomenon and the inability of some States to respond adequately to the needs of their citizens. It is crucial that nations thoroughly review their policies, laws, and attitudes towards migration, to facilitate human mobility and the dignified reception of migrants and refugees. The prevention and sanctioning of any type of discrimination and xenophobia are urgent measures to build fairer and more inclusive societies. The authorities must regularize the status of the thousands of migrants who do not have the respective guarantees as a first step towards the constant improvement of the migratory

situation, as well as the fight against media campaigns that seek to create a wrong perception regarding migrants (Alfonzo et al. 2020).

4. Discussion

The results of this article showed that since the creation of the Andean Community of Nations, several attempts have been made to generate a true inclusion of the citizens of the region in the host countries, however, these have not been enough, since, as it was observed, it is necessary not only that the countries establish common regulations, but also that, as Gortaire (2016) mentions, a collective identity is established that allows seeing “the others” as oneself, changing the individualistic perspective for a collectivist perspective.

Di Filippo and Franco (2000) mention that for true social integration to exist, it is necessary the formation of a common identity and a sense of rootedness that allows the gradual transfer of loyalties between citizens who are part of the same integrative process (CAN). This has been something that the member countries (Ecuador, Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia) have sought through the elaboration of various Decisions, among which we can highlight: Decision 379 (establishing the Andean Migration Card), Decision 503 (recognition of national identification documents), Decision 504 (creation of the Andean passport) and one of the most recent Decisions in migratory matters, Decision 1343 which creates the Andean Statute of Human Mobility. All of the above refers to the cognitive dimension of social integration covered by Herrero et al. (2012) who define it as the sense of belonging that a person can develop within the community in which he/she resides.

On the other hand, the free mobility of people between the countries of the region, especially students and workers, without border or migratory restrictions, could facilitate cultural, intellectual, labor, and social exchange, bringing tangible benefits for its citizens and the economic development of the region, allowing citizens to feel part of a territory that transcends national borders to become a single community.

The results also indicate that in the CAN member countries there have been marked perceptions of rejection towards one of the latest and most important migratory waves in the region, the Venezuelan migratory wave, which according to Rangel (2020) is justified in two main ways of interpreting this reality: fear of the struggle for resources and opportunities and the feeling of insecurity in countries that have been dragging along problems of various kinds (economic, labor, social, etc.) and that after the arrival of the Venezuelan migration wave, the Venezuelan migration wave, which, according to Rangel (2020), is justified in two main ways: fear of the struggle for resources and opportunities and the feeling of insecurity in countries that have been dragging along problems of various kinds (economic, labor, social, etc.). After the arrival of the immigrant population these problems deepened because according to Célleri (2023) they have had to adapt to provide all the indispensable services demanded by any human being and, therefore, it means greater public spending, it is then that the perception of competition for resources between nationals and non-nationals is born.

Through this feeling of discomfort of the national population in the presence of the migrant population, xenophobia is born, which, as mentioned by Garza (2011) consists of the rejection of cultural identities that are different from their own. This is closely related to what is expressed by Castro (2023) who states that immigration has often been perceived as a constant threat to national identity and culture and can even lead to acts of violence that have a direct impact on the collective welfare, preventing a healthy coexistence.

In countries such as Ecuador and Peru, a certain similarity was found when defining the type of xenophobia to which immigrant citizens have been exposed, not only Venezuelans, but also Colombians at the time; in these countries xenophobic discrimination was found, which is due to the development of prejudices based on nationality, and the criminalization of immigrants, which according to Wagman (2006) is due to the formation of the idea that immigrants represent a significant percentage of crime in the host country. In Colombia, on the other hand, xenophobia is manifested indirectly, for example, through obstacles and hindrances when seeking employment, since they are asked for documents that may be difficult to access due to the immigrant's situation. Another important aspect in this country is that nationals guide their rejection based on the socio-economic situation of immigrants. It is here what Burgos et al. (2021) mentioned makes sense: the traditional variables that predict discrimination do not serve as predictors when identifying discrimination triggers.

A common response of the member countries of the Andean Community to the Venezuelan migratory wave has been the creation of restrictive regularization and control policies, which could directly affect the behavioral dimension of social integration, which, in the words of Herrero et al. (2012) refers to the number of

social contacts, activities and behaviors that a person maintains in his or her place of residence, which in a certain way limits migrants' access to a source of work that allows them to obtain economic retribution and therefore satisfy basic needs such as housing, food, basic services, etc.

The different forms or perceptions of xenophobia found individually in the member countries of the Andean Community of Nations in the face of Venezuelan migration according to Bernardo Gortaire (2016): the lack of connection between the population and the regional integration projects prevents a collective contribution and hinders the creation of common policies that can guide towards the success of such project, he also mentions that the social agendas of the countries obey national realities instead of being guided by the needs of the whole community (CAN) which could end up generating harmful identities, hindering the consolidation and strengthening of a supranational entity, as these favor sovereignty as a fundamental concept.

5. Conclusion

Xenophobia is a problem present in the reality of the member countries of the Andean Community of Nations, which has been mitigated by means of certain collective actions of the States; however, it continues to present itself as a great difficulty for the strengthening of integration among the citizens of the region.

One of the main problems has been the lack of participation of society and the disconnection between national agendas and the agenda of the regional project; there is a clear absence or deficit, to put it in a better way, of supranational regulations whose main objectives are: the regularization of the situation of migrants regardless of their socioeconomic situation or migratory status and the creation of active interstate bodies to watch over the human rights of CAN member citizens on a day-to-day basis.

The problem could be defined as a chain of events: first, attempts are made to integrate the countries of the region; second, attempts are made to create common regulations that are generally not sufficient and do not connect efficiently with society; third, society feels uncomfortable with the different perceptions of the "other"; fourth, this feeling of discomfort is replaced by a feeling of rejection, fear or hatred; and, fifth, the integrative process faces problems in establishing itself successfully. Therefore, those responsible for the success of an integrative process are the States through the constant search for supranational policies that allow for harmonious and peaceful coexistence among the citizens that form part of a community.

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7. Annexes

Annex 1

Literature review matrix

Type of source	Author	Year	Country of origin	General theoretical content	Specific theoretical content	Search engine
Artículo académico	Alaminos, A., López, C., Santacreu, O.	2010	México	Etnocentrismo y xenofobia	Etnocentrismo, xenofobia y migraciones internacionales en una perspectiva comparada	Scopus
Artículo académico	Alfonzo, N., & Seijas González, R.	2020	Venezuela	Xenofobia y discriminación hacia migrantes venezolanos en países sudamericanos	Análisis de experiencias de xenofobia en Colombia, Ecuador y Perú.	Google Scholar
Informe	Andrés Rivero, P.	2019	Venezuela	Percepciones de xenofobia y discriminación hacia migrantes venezolanos en Colombia, Ecuador y Perú	Estudio sobre las percepciones de xenofobia y discriminación entre migrantes venezolanos en países sudamericanos.	Google Scholar
Libro	Armando Di Filippo, & Rolando Franco	2000	México	Integración regional, desarrollo y equidad	Análisis de los desafíos y oportunidades de la integración regional en América Latina.	Google Scholar
Página web	Association of Southeast Asian Nations	n.d.	-	Objetivos de la ASEAN	Información sobre los objetivos y principios de la ASEAN.	asean.org
Artículo académico	Benavides G, & Chávez G.	2014	Colombia	Migraciones y Derechos Humanos. El Caso de la Comunidad Andina (CAN)	Análisis de la relación entre migración y derechos humanos en la Comunidad Andina.	Scielo
Documento	CAN	2003	Perú	Comunidad Andina de Naciones XIV Reunión del Consejo Presidencial Andino Declaración de Quirama	Declaración sobre los compromisos de los países andinos para la integración regional.	can.org
Tesis doctoral	Castiblanco J.	2022	Colombia	Xenofobia en Colombia contra los migrantes venezolanos: una mirada desde las representaciones sociales a través de una indagación documental.	Análisis de la xenofobia hacia migrantes venezolanos en Colombia desde las representaciones sociales.	Google Scholar
Artículo académico	Castro, A. M.	2023	España	Populismo nacionalista, inmigración y xenofobia.	Análisis de la relación entre populismo nacionalista, inmigración y xenofobia.	Web of Science
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Libro	Colin Robson, & Kieran McCartan	2016	UK	Investigación en el mundo real	Metodología de investigación cualitativa para estudios en el mundo real.	Google Scholar
Informe	Comunidad Andina	2018	Perú	Derechos de un ciudadano Andino	Derechos y obligaciones de los ciudadanos andinos en la región	can.org
Artículo académico	D'Ancona Cea	2006	España	La Exteriorización de la Xenofobia.	Análisis de la xenofobia como fenómeno social.	Google Scholar

Libro	Daniel Wagman	2006	España	Los medios de comunicación y la criminalización de los migrantes	El rol de los medios de comunicación hacia la criminalización de los migrantes	Google Scholar
Artículo de revista	De Lucas	2005	España	La integración política como condición del modelo de integración.	Análisis de los procesos de integración política como condición del modelo de integración	Google Scholar
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Artículo académico	Jiménez Viviana	2012	Paraguay	Estudio de Caso	Realización de una investigación en base a los estudios de caso	Google Scholar
Artículo de revista	Freier L, Perez L	2021	Lima	Nationality.based criminalisation of south-south Migratrion	Nationality.based criminalisation of south-south Migratrion: the experience of venezuelan Forced Migrants in Perú	Google Scholar
Artículo de revista	Garza C.	2011	Portugal	Xenofobia		Google Scholar
Artículo académico	Gauna Peralta A.	2023	Perú	Sociología relacional de la xenofobia	Sociología relacional de la xenofobia. El caso del rechazo a la inmigración venezolana en Lima, 2019	Web of Science
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Artículo académico	Maesso	2011		La integración económica	La integración económica en un contexto regional	Google Scholar
Artículo académico	Muñiz	2010	México	Estudios de caso en la investigación cualitativa	Los estudios de caso como enfoque, estrategia o técnica	Google Scholar
Artículo de revista	Murillo	2014	Costa Rica	Regionalismo e integracion regional	Regionalismo e integración regional: una aproximación teórica	Google Scholar
Informe	OIM, SGCAN	2011	Perú	Derechos del ciudadano andino	Derechos del ciudadano andino dentro de la región	CAN.org
Artículo de revista	Perilla M.	2019	Colombia	Migraantes venezolanos en Colombia	Migrantes venezolanos en Colombia, entre la xenofobia y aprofobia	Google Scholar
Libro	Ramírez J., Ceja C.	2020	Colombia	Análisis de la política migratoria en la región	Análisis de la política migratoria en la región: hacia una ciudadanía suramericana	Google Scholar
Artículo académico	Rangel M., CEPAL	2020	Chile	Protección social y migración	Protección social y migración: el desafío de la inclusión sin racismo ni xenofobia	Google Scholar
Artículo académico	Taborda Burgos, J. C., Acosta Ortiz, A. M., & Garcia, M. C.	2021	Colombia	Discriminación silenciosa: percepción de la discriminación entre migrantes venezolanos en Colombia.	Estudio sobre la percepción de la discriminación entre migrantes venezolanos en Colombia.	Scielo