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UNVEILING THE VEILED CONSENSUS

Exploring Colombian Attitudes Toward Venezuelan Immigrants through a Conjoint Analysis Experiment

Dissertation submitted by

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Abstract

This thesis examines Colombians' attitudes toward Venezuelan immigrants and aims to contribute to the literature on migration, combat xenophobia, and promote social cohesion in the Latin American region. The study employs a mixed-methods approach, combining 388 quantitative surveys with host communities conducted in May 2023, and qualitative interviews with migration experts to respond to the question "What are the main factors that influence Colombians' attitudes and perceptions toward Venezuelan immigrants?". The quantitative analysis, conducted through conjoint analysis methodology, identifies five main variables influencing Colombians' preferences for welcoming immigrants: sex, occupation, employment expectations, educational background, and previous legal status. The results reveal that attributes related to education and employment, such as having a qualified occupation and recognized educational degrees, are highly valued by Colombians. Furthermore, negative biases toward female immigrants and those with irregular legal status are evident.

The qualitative interviews with migration experts not only confirmed the results obtained in the quantitative analysis but also shed light on key policy suggestions to promote immigrant integration and reduce xenophobic attitudes. These recommendations encompass various approaches, including providing clear information about the benefits of integrating migrants, showcasing positive everyday activities of migrants, and involving migrants in decision-making processes. The findings highlight the need for targeted interventions to address misconceptions and fears associated with migration. The study emphasizes the importance of considering diverse perspectives and collaborating with immigrants and host communities to develop comprehensive strategies that benefit all stakeholders.

Keywords: attitudes, migration, social cohesion, xenophobia, quantitative analysis, conjoint analysis, qualitative interviews, policy suggestions, Colombia, Venezuelan immigrants.

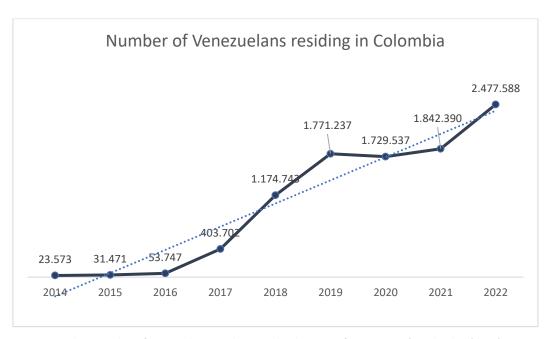
1. Introduction

Migration is a phenomenon that has profound impacts on social, economic, and political aspects of societies and requires an effective and inclusive understanding to respond to its potential and challenges. The region of Latin America has traditionally been characterized as a significant source of emigration, particularly toward countries such as the United States and Spain (CEPAL, 2003). However, this migration pattern experienced a radical shift due to the socioeconomic crisis in Venezuela, which has had a profound and far-reaching impact on Colombia, including immigrants' reception challenges. As the primary neighboring country, Colombia shares over 2,219 kilometers of land border with Venezuela (Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores de Colombia, 2023). This situation has created tensions between host communities and immigrants considering the socioeconomic challenges that Colombians have been facing, especially in frontier cities (Procuraduría de Colombia, 2023). Negative perceptions and concerns about economic challenges and security issues have emerged among Colombian citizens toward immigrants (Wilches & Lozada, 2021).

This thesis aims to expand the understanding of Latin American attitudes toward immigrants, specifically focusing on Colombians' perceptions of Venezuelan immigrants. By conducting a mixed-method approach, this study aims to measure the key attributes that significantly impact the attitudes of Colombians toward Venezuelan immigrants. The research question guiding this study is: What are the main factors that influence Colombians' attitudes and perceptions toward Venezuelan immigrants?

Although Colombia has a longstanding history of being a source of emigration; recent demographic changes related to the migration of Venezuelans have turned it into a destination country as well. In 2013, it was identified as the South American nation with the highest number of emigrants, with approximately 4.7 million Colombians living abroad (Cancillería de Colombia, 2013). This was primarily due to the civil conflict involving the FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia) and the ELN (National Liberation Army), a conflict that has produced more than 8 million victims (Ministerio de Salud de Colombia, 2020). Furthermore, the country's social, economic, and political circumstances have forced a substantial portion of its population to endure challenging living conditions. The primary immigration destinations for Colombians before 2013 were the United States, Spain, and Venezuela (Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores de Colombia, 2013).

The historical relationship between Colombia and Venezuela has been closely intertwined since 1950. In 1950, 45,969 more Colombians were living in Venezuela compared to the 9,075 Venezuelans residing in Colombia. This trend continued until the early 2000s when the situation began to shift. By the year 2000, on average, there were 16.3 Colombians living in Venezuela, while there were 6.3 Venezuelans living in Colombia. However, the dynamics have since changed, as the population of Venezuelan immigrants grew from less than 20,000 in the 2005 census to over 1,170,000 in 2018. The growing trend of Venezuelans in Colombia has not ceased and by 2022, the number of Venezuelans living legally in Colombia super passed 2.4 million, more than doubling since 2018 (Migración Colombia, 2022). The graph below presents the historic data of Venezuelans in Colombia according to official sources.



Graph 1. Number of Venezuelans residing in Colombia. Data from Migración Colombia (2022).

The situation within Venezuela has contributed to these changes. According to the National Survey of Living Conditions conducted by the Venezuelan Institute for Economic and Social Research (IIES) in 2021, alarming data revealed that 76.6% of the population in Venezuela, accounting for 94.5% of the total population, lived in conditions of extreme poverty. The population is at risk as they struggle to afford basic necessities due to an 8.9% increase in extreme poverty (Programa Venezolano de Educación Acción en Derechos Humanos, 2021).

Consequently, Colombia has transitioned from being the country with the highest number of emigrants in South America (El País, 2013) to becoming the country hosting the largest number

of immigrants and refugees from Venezuela (IOM, 2022). Venezuela currently holds the second-largest number of internationally displaced persons globally after Syria (UNHCR, 2022), and this situation has impacted the region, especially Colombia. According to the World Bank (2019), this phenomenon is unprecedented in the region, and its response has not been without difficulties, primarily due to the overlapping of the influx of new arrivals with Colombia's existing structural socioeconomic problems, attributes that have incremented the negative perception that Colombians have toward Venezuelans immigrants due to the increase in informality and unemployment that Colombians link to the increase of Venezuelans in the country, among other variables (Revista de Economía del Caribe, 2020).

Colombia faces significant challenges in dealing with this situation, including the issue of xenophobia as part of the reactions exhibited by some Colombians toward the arrival of millions of new people. In 2021, the Xenophobia Barometer, a platform for analyzing social media messages, recorded a 731% increase in hate speech in Colombia (La República, 2021). Xenophobic messages on social networks are often influenced by security events where immigrants are implicated and bias toward immigrants appears as well.

Given the context in which Venezuelan immigrants and host communities in Colombia find themselves, it is crucial to examine the attitudes and perceptions held by receiving communities toward the migrant population. This understanding is essential for a proper response to their integration into the country and the promotion of cohesion within communities (Saggar, Somerville, Ford, & Sobolewska, 2012). By first comprehending Colombians' perceptions of immigrants, efforts, and policies can then be targeted toward evidence-based variables that hold the greatest significance in fostering a welcoming environment for diverse migrant groups.

The intended contribution of this thesis is to expand the knowledge on Latin American attitudes toward immigrants by undertaking a questionnaire-based approach and triangulating the information with experts' information, to measure the variables that host communities consider when promoting acceptance or rejection of immigrant groups arriving in their territory. The study results are expected to provide valuable insights and serve as informative tools within the Latin American context to target specific population groups and attributes that may have a bigger impact on the integration of immigrants in host countries, to understand the possible roots of xenophobia to combat it.

This thesis is based on six sections where I aim to respond to the research question. First, the literature review provides an overview of previous research on immigration attitudes and

perceptions toward immigrants; it highlights the mixed results obtained in different regions and identifies key variables that influence these attitudes. The second section focuses on the theoretical framework, which adopts a conjoint analysis methodology to understand individual preferences and decision-making processes regarding immigrant attributes. The third section presents the details of the variable selection, where the six main variables chosen for the study are presented, including sex, occupation, employment expectations, and more. The fourth section describes the experimental method, encompassing the study design, data collection, measurement, analysis, and limitations. The fifth section, designing public policies, takes a qualitative approach and explores expert opinions to better understand attitudes toward migrants. Finally, the conclusions section summarizes the main findings of the study and highlights the implications for policymakers and the contribution to our understanding of migration dynamics in the Global South context.

2. Literature Review

The migratory phenomenon, as well as perceptions regarding it, has been extensively studied obtaining mixed results regarding the variables that affect positive and negative attitudes toward immigrants. Scholars have sought to better understand immigration attitudes and determine whether they are primarily driven by economic competition, ethnocentrism, and concerns about norms and national identity, among other factors, in North America (Hainmueller, Hiscox, & Margalit, 2014). Previous research aimed at explaining immigration attitudes has focused on a limited number of immigrant attributes, such as their countries of origin, skill level, and English abilities, among others (Claire, Laitin, & Valfort, 2010). Harrell et al. (2012) state that hostility characterizes immigration debates in the US and many European countries, with a particular focus on the economic threat posed by illegal and low-skilled workers, as well as the cultural threat perceived.

According to Hainmueller & Hiscox (2007), positive or tolerant attitudes toward immigrants are more commonly observed among the younger population, those with higher socioeconomic status, individuals with high educational attainment, and those who sympathize with left-wing political parties. Conversely, Citrin et al. (1997) found that women tend to express more opposition to immigration compared to men. Additionally, studies by Mayda (2006) and Murray & Marx (2013) revealed that individuals with close familial connections to non-natives or immigrants tend to exhibit more positive attitudes toward immigration. Other variables, such as

higher levels of education (Gang, Rivera-Batiz, & Yun, 2013) and a more stable economic situation (Paas & Halapuu, 2012), also play a significant role in the host population's willingness to welcome migrant groups.

Furthermore, in the context of the 2015 refugee crisis in Europe, a study conducted by Butkus et al. (2016) highlighted how the economic status of refugees, their country of residence, their employment status, and their family structure play a crucial role in shaping the attitudes of host populations. This valuable information could be utilized to address and mitigate undesirable social problems such as racism and discrimination based on religion or social status in the region, by understanding which factors influence xenophobia in the region.

In the Global South, this issue has not been studied as extensively as in the Global North, but there are important documents that deserve highlighting. In the context of Africa, the prevalence of xenophobia in Southern African regions has drawn attention to the lack of research on antiimmigrant sentiments. However, the growing recognition of the need to study xenophobia to provide effective responses has led to the emergence of recent studies. A noteworthy study conducted in South Africa highlighted the complex nature of citizens' perceptions regarding migration and immigration, which are often shaped by half-truths and misleading stereotypes. A key finding suggests that attitudes within the anti-foreign "troika" countries (South Africa, Namibia, Botswana) are deeply entrenched and widespread, making it exceedingly challenging to establish a typical "xenophobe profile" (Campbell, 2003). In other words, individuals from diverse backgrounds, including different socioeconomic statuses, employment statuses, genders, races, and political ideologies, exhibit remarkably similar xenophobic attitudes. This presents a significant challenge for explanation, as it contradicts the prevailing notion that certain segments of the population (typically those who feel threatened) are more predisposed to xenophobia. However, it is worth noting that socioeconomically disadvantaged individuals in these countries, including the poor, the working class, and the unemployed, tend to hold more negative views toward migrants, immigrants, and refugees compared to their more affluent and secure compatriots (Crush & Pendleton, 2004). To address potential factors regarding xenophobia in Africa, Claasen (2017) studied at the individual and municipal levels the determinants of South African xenophobia, showing that variables such as poverty, relative deprivation, and resource competition are determinant factors.

Another relevant publication from Asia (Kei & Ikeda, 2020) introduced a cross-national model examining attitudes toward immigrants in nine East and Southeast Asian countries. The study's

findings suggested that education did not play a significant role in shaping attitudes toward immigrants, contrary to the European models. Prejudice, on the other hand, seemed to be influenced, at least in part, by religious factors, while concerns about immigrants were intricately linked to expectations of others' behavior. These results highlight disparities with prior literature and reveal variations in the importance of attributes within host communities for accepting immigrants.

Regarding Latin America, studies on xenophobia are much more limited, perhaps because the region has experienced more emigration than immigration. However, there is a fundamental study that focuses on the region. This study utilized the Latinobarometer survey and identified the main social characteristics of individuals exhibiting xenophobia: having low purchasing power, perceiving their economic rights as insecure, holding extreme right-wing ideologies with trust in law enforcement, fear of their country's internationalization, belief in elevated levels of insecurity within their community, and advanced age. On the other hand, education was found to be a secondary determinant of xenophobia (Chorlango & Aracely, 2021).

In countries within the Latin American region, such as Peru, there has also been evidence of growing levels of xenophobia, particularly toward Venezuelan immigrants. Using web-scraping algorithms, a study revealed evidence of the increasing trend of xenophobic discourse on Twitter. The results showed that the female migrant population is more affected than the general population by xenophobic comments on the platform, showing sex as a relevant variable to study (Santos, 2021). Another study conducted by OXFAM (2019) in the region employed a mixed-methods approach to analyze discrimination and xenophobia toward Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru. The study found that participants' opinions toward immigrants were fluctuating, ambivalent, and often contradictory. While empathetic toward immigrants and their need to leave Venezuela, participants also expressed fears and concerns that led them to expect stricter border policies. Additionally, an important aspect of this study revealed how female immigrants face a sexist and misogynistic culture that assumes they will end up engaging in activities related to prostitution or caregiving.

In the case of Colombia specifically, the media has increased the number of news reports on xenophobia, human rights violations, and violence against Venezuelans, with a reported increase of 650% between 2010 and 2018. In response, organizations such as UNHCR have developed campaigns to generate empathy and solidarity toward the Venezuelan population and combat xenophobic manifestations in the country (Moreno & Silva, 2019). However, since mid-

2019, the trend of approval for the government's reception measures has reversed, as negative perceptions toward the migrant population have spread. Despite this, feelings of discrimination against the national population and xenophobia have not intensified. Discriminatory and xenophobic attacks against the migrant population have elicited social sanctions against the perpetrators and solidarity toward immigrants. Although Venezuelan immigrants and refugees represent an economic opportunity for host countries, the social stigmas they face place them on the fringes of society and hinder their full participation in political, economic, and social life. Similarly, biases, mental models, and stereotypes on the part of the host community, often differentiated by gender, pose a threat to building trust and social integration between the two groups. While most Colombians have received Venezuelans with empathy and solidarity, rejection of immigrants and government migration policies has been steadily increasing (Rossiasco & De Narváez, 2023).

A need for studies on attitudes, especially in destination countries that are part of intraregional migrations in the Global South, is presented. Despite some studies conducted in the region, Latin America remains an understudied area concerning the response of host communities toward immigrants. The attitudes of the host population in the region still lack analysis, hindering our understanding and ability to effectively respond to migratory phenomena. Therefore, examining variables that have shown significance in other parts of the world, addressed now, particularly in Latin America, can be valuable in improving our response to migration. This study aims to contribute to the existing literature on migration, combat xenophobia, and promote social cohesion in the region by implementing a conjoint analysis study to measure host community attitudes toward immigrants in the Global South. By examining various attributes such as sex, occupation, employment expectations, educational background, reason for seeking permanence, and previous legal status, the research provides valuable insights into the factors that shape attitudes toward immigrants. The findings offer implications for policymakers and practitioners seeking to create inclusive and welcoming environments for immigrants and contribute to our understanding of migration dynamics in the Global South context.

3. Theoretical expectations

According to the literature review, the variables that come into play when measuring the perception of host communities toward immigrants are extensive and diverse. However, for this

study, six main variables were selected to measure and understand which attributes of immigrants are preferred by Colombians when welcoming immigrants into their territory. All of them come from studies on attitudes towards migrants as seen in the literature overview above. Each of the selected variables will now be detailed:

- a) Sex: Studies such as Hennebry & Petrozziello (2019) and Pérez (2021) show that women immigrants tend to experience a higher degree of vulnerability than males. women immigrants often face circumstances of violence and exploitation in host locations, which violates their rights to varying degrees. Additionally, the perception of Colombians toward Venezuelan women is often negative, with a belief that they will engage in prostitution upon arriving in Colombia (Espinel Rubio, Mojica, & Niño, 2021), making them especially vulnerable to different types of violence compare to men (Díaz-Rincón, Enamorado-Estrada, & Almanza-Iglesias, 2021). This highlights the critical situation faced by Venezuelan women and the sexist perception surrounding their bodies and how this could impact their integration.
- b) Occupation: Under the discourse of "suspicion," members of the host community perceive immigrants as undesirable individuals. This discourse is fueled by the belief that competition for job positions will intensify and that immigrants represent a threat to the country's economic stability (Jurado & González, 2020). Thus, the occupation of an immigrant in the unfamiliar territory can influence whether they are met with rejection or welcome in the host country.
- c) Employment Expectations: This variable seeks to capture the perception of Colombians regarding the potential purchasing power that immigrants could have in Colombia, also understood from the perspective of aporophobia or rejection toward the poor. Based on the argument that the host population tends to accept immigrants who have resources and reject immigrants in unfavorable socioeconomic conditions (Barandica, 2020), this variable measures Colombians' perception of immigrants without apparent purchasing power, based on the possibility of having a job or already having a contract, compared to immigrants who lack economic support in the host country.
- d) Educational Background: The discourse surrounding the integration of Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia has used the potential economic benefits as an argument, particularly referencing immigrants with professional degrees (Bahar, Dooley, & Huang, 2018). However, for this study, this variable is presented about the validation of the migrant's degree, as the process of degree validation in Colombia usually takes between

60 to 180 calendar days (Ministerio de Educación Nacional de Colombia, 2023). Many Venezuelans in the country, despite having an educational degree, do not have the necessary permits to practice their profession and have had to wait much longer than stipulated, either due to the high number of validation requests received by the Colombian government or other obstacles such as accessing apostille services for Venezuelans (Castro, 2020).

- e) Reason for Seeking Permanence: In addition to the search for economic opportunities or requesting residency due to political persecution, the strong ties between Colombia and Venezuela are rooted in family reunification, which could elicit empathy toward immigrants who have family in the host (Ruiz-Santacruz, Castellanos, & César, 2023). This variable seeks to measure whether Colombians would accept Venezuelan immigrants to a greater or lesser extent based on the purpose expressed by immigrants when requesting entry.
- f) Previous Legal Status: The pressure exerted by irregular migration to Colombia has been evident, particularly in the healthcare and education systems, with a higher impact in border cities and major urban areas (Presidencia de la República de Colombia, 2020). Local political discourses have promoted the rejection of Venezuelan immigrants, especially irregular immigrants (Ordóñez & Ramírez, 2019). Irregular immigrants are those who lack identification documents that allow them to be legally recognized within Colombian territory, impeding their socioeconomic integration through regular employment or access to educational services.

Based on the selected variables, six hypotheses were proposed to guide this research into Colombians' perception of immigrants and their preferences for welcoming them into their territory. These hypotheses aim to shed light on the factors that influence Colombians' attitudes toward immigrants and provide insights into the dynamics of host community-migrant interactions.

Hypothesis 1: Colombians' perception of women immigrants will be more negative compared to men immigrants. This hypothesis is based on previous research indicating that women immigrants often face greater vulnerability and experience violence and exploitation in host communities. Additionally, the prevailing belief that women Venezuelan migrants engage in prostitution upon arrival may contribute to a biased perception and hinder their integration.

Hypothesis 2: The occupation of immigrants will significantly influence Colombians' acceptance or rejection of them.

2.a. It is expected that Colombians may harbor concerns about competition for job opportunities making them more open toward Venezuelan immigrants with a higher degree level.

2.b. It is also expected that Colombians perceive certain occupations as more threatening to their economic stability so they will tend to accept more to those Venezuelan immigrants with a more specialized knowledge.

Hypothesis 3: Colombians' perception of immigrants' potential economic contribution, measured through their employment expectations, will affect their acceptance of immigrants. It is anticipated that Colombians may hold preconceived notions regarding the financial resources that immigrants bring, potentially leading to differential treatment based on the perceived economic status of immigrants in terms of whether they are already in process with human resources or if they have an employment contract in Colombia. It is expected that Colombians prefer to welcome immigrants with certain job stability.

Hypothesis 4: The validation of immigrants' educational degrees will impact Colombians' perception of their integration potential. Given the importance attributed to education and professional qualifications, it is hypothesized that Colombians' acceptance of immigrants will vary depending on whether their educational degrees are recognized and validated in Colombia and the degree they posse. This hypothesis suggests that Colombians will be more open toward immigrants with high and valid educational degrees.

Hypothesis 5: The reason behind immigrants' requests for permanent residency, particularly related to family reunification, will influence Colombians' attitudes toward them. It is expected that Colombians may display greater empathy and willingness to accept immigrants who have family ties in the host country, compared to those who seek opportunities solely for economic or political reasons.

Hypothesis 6: Colombians' acceptance of immigrants will be lower for those with irregular legal status. This hypothesis is based on the premise that local political discourses and the strains on public services associated with irregular migration may contribute to a less favorable perception of immigrants without proper documentation.

Below is a summary of the selected variables and the associated hypotheses for this study.

Selected Variables	Hypothesis		
Sex	Less acceptance of women immigrants		
Occupation	More acceptance of immigrants with a higher degree level of specialization for jobs		
Employment Expectations	Less acceptance of immigrants without potential job stability		
Educational Background	More acceptance of immigrants with higher formal educational level		
Reason for Seeking Permanence	More openness for immigrants with family roots in the hosting country		
Previous Legal Status	Less acceptance of immigrants without proper documentation		

Table 1 Summary of the selected variables and hypothesis.

The following section introduces the theoretical framework that will be employed to study the hypotheses regarding Colombians' perception of immigrants and their preferences for welcoming them into their territory. This framework aims to deepen our understanding of the factors that shape individuals' attitudes and behaviors toward immigrants by using the conjoint analysis methodology.

4. Research design and methods

Based on the previous theory, this research aims to provide a case perspective in the global South, specifically in Colombia with the Venezuelan exodus, to understand individual attitudes toward immigrants by looking at preferred attributes of immigrants, contribute to the implementation of social cohesion policies in the region and contribute to the scientific evidence of the region regarding migratory movements. For this, I followed a two-tier methodological strategy comprising a quantitative study based on conjoint analysis and a qualitative study based on the summary of perceptions of experts on the social implications of attitudes towards the presence of Venezuelans in Colombia.

4.1. The Conjoint Analysis Methodology

To conduct the quantitative analysis in this study, the methodology employed was Conjoint Analysis. Conjoint analysis entails presenting surveys to participants, where they are presented with hypothetical choices between various options that differ in multiple characteristics. This methodology allows for the measurement of participants' preferences and the determination of the relative importance of different attributes. By utilizing conjoint analysis, this study gains insights into how individuals make decisions and trade-offs based on the attributes presented in the options. It provides a systematic approach to understanding the factors that influence participants' choices and preferences, ultimately contributing to a deeper understanding of the research topic. Researchers can determine which attributes are most significant to participants and how they tradeoff between other attributes by examining the preferences they stated in these options (Srinivasan & Green, 1990). Conjoint analysis is frequently used to better understand how individuals make decisions in a range of sectors, such as marketing, product design, and policy research. It has been proven to be a legitimate and reliable approach for gauging preferences and is frequently employed to guide the creation of new goods, services, or even policies.

According to Hainmueller & Hopkins (2015), there may be a "hidden" consensus among citizens (Americans in their study) about the most crucial features of immigration, despite the political divisiveness and contentious discussions surrounding immigration policies. Based on this notion, a sizable portion of citizens may have more moderate views on immigration that are typically depicted in the media and public discourse. Using this research method, the authors measured the attitudes of American citizens toward immigrants. In this design, a survey-based technique allows them to assess how distinctive characteristics of – in this case – a policy influence people's preferences. For this experiment, the authors used conjoint analysis to determine what factors are most important to Americans when they were asked about migration policies, like education level, sex, and immigration status. The results of the study revealed that there is, in fact, a "hidden" consensus among Americans regarding immigration policy, with most participants supporting a moderate strategy that gives priority to certain characteristics like educational attainment, job skills, and language proficiency. This methodology allows capturing the selection of one profile over another, thereby separating attitudes about overall levels of immigration from attitudes about preferred types of immigrants, as every individual must choose one of the two immigrants.

4.2. Methodological Limitations

Considering the limitations of time and resources, this pilot study, designed to be further developed during the doctoral program, has several limitations:

Limited sample representativeness: The collected sample consists of only 388 respondents, which lacks national representativeness, and the results cannot be generalized to contexts outside of Colombia or different population samples.

Restricted geographic coverage: The data was collected in only 9 cities, each of them located in a different department, along with the capital. This limited geographic coverage does not encompass all 32 departments of Colombia.

Socioeconomic stratification imbalance: There is an overrepresentation of respondents from socioeconomic strata 2 and 3, which are more prevalent in the country (La República, 2022). However, respondents from strata 4 and 5 are scarce, and the sample lacks representation from stratum 6, resulting in a lack of representativeness across strata.

Simplification of the decision-making process: The conjoint analysis methodology assumes that individuals make decisions based on the combinations of attributes presented. However, real-life decision-making processes are much more complex, involving additional factors and interactions, such as respondents' actual behavior toward immigrants, including socially desirable responses, which are not captured within the model (Ferreira, 2011).

Limited attribute selection: The number of selected attributes does not encompass the full range of characteristics that define immigrants. The multifaceted nature of the migration phenomenon poses a challenge when attempting to characterize immigrant profiles. The chosen methodology and the number of attributes presented do not represent the entirety of an immigrant's profile.

Temporal and contextual limitations: The analysis performed only reflects the context and time of data collection, as statistical preferences can change over time due to different dynamics regarding immigrants, including the impact of social media, pro or anti-immigrant campaigns, changes in the socioeconomic status of the Colombian population, among other external factors.

It is essential to acknowledge and address these limitations when interpreting the findings of this study. Despite the valuable insights gained, further research with larger and more diverse samples, broader geographic coverage, and an expanded set of attributes would provide a more comprehensive understanding of the preferences and decision-making processes related to immigrant profiles.

4.3. Ethical considerations

This study adhered to several ethical considerations in the data collection process. First, the data was collected exclusively from Colombian adults, ensuring that there were no kids involved in the process. Participants were informed about the purpose of the research and provided with a clear explanation of how their information would be used.

Participants were assured of their anonymity and privacy throughout the study. Their personal identifying information, such as names or ages, was not collected or used in any analysis or reporting. This approach ensured the confidentiality and privacy of participants' data.

Before participating in the study, participants were provided with an ethical statement that emphasized their voluntary participation. They were informed that their involvement was entirely voluntary and that they had the right to withdraw from the study at any point without facing any consequences or penalties.

In addition to these considerations, the study followed ethical guidelines and principles of informed consent, confidentiality, and respect for participant autonomy. Measures were taken to ensure the security and confidentiality of the collected data, maintaining it in a secure and protected manner by a codification of the responses.

By upholding these ethical considerations, the study aimed to safeguard the rights and well-being of the participants and ensure the integrity and validity of the research findings.

4.4. Qualitative study

This study was conducted using a mixed-methods approach, which involved two distinct parts: the qualitative and quantitative components. The quantitative component focused on the design, data collection, measures, and a portion of the case analysis. The qualitative component aimed to complement and triangulate the findings from the quantitative phase through interviews with experts. By incorporating three qualitative interviews, the study sought to gain a deeper understanding of the mechanisms underlying the attitudes of the host community and to enhance the interpretation of the results obtained in the quantitative phase. The experts' interviews aim to confirm the hypothesis of the study and to offer an expert perspective on attitudes construction and their policy implications. This mixed-methods approach allowed for a comprehensive and nuanced exploration of the research topic, combining the strengths of both quantitative and qualitative methodologies to provide a more robust analysis and a more holistic understanding of Colombian's attitudes toward Venezuelan immigrants.

5. Experimental Method: Design, Data, Measurement, and Analysis.

5.1. Experiment Design

Using the conjoint analysis methodology, this study aimed to examine the factors influencing Colombians' opinions regarding immigrants from Venezuela. The objective of the experiment was to gain a comprehensive understanding of Colombians' preferences toward Venezuelan immigrants to provide insights for future social cohesion policies. The individual participants, Colombians residing in Colombia, were the unit of analysis. They were presented with non-real immigrant profiles and asked to select the immigrant they would accept in the country.

The experimental design consisted of three phases:

1. Baseline survey: Initially, data collection was conducted through a form administered to each participant. The form covered the study's purpose, obtained consent for participation (emphasizing their right to withdraw from the project at any time without explanation), and informed participants about their data rights. The form included questions regarding the participant's city of residence, sex, age, socioeconomic stratum (categorized based on Colombian regulations), the highest level of education achieved, political stance, whether they are victims of the Colombian civil conflict, whether they have traveled outside of Colombia, and their familiarity with Temporary Protection Status (TPS). An example of the table is presented below translated from Spanish to English:

Survey respondent's data.
1. Full Name:
2. Sex: Man Woman Other
3. Age: 4. Socioeconomic stratum:
5. Highest educational level achieved: Primary School High School Technical School
Undergraduate Degree Other
6. Do you have another nationality? Yes No
7. Which political/economic stance do you identify with the most? Left Right Center None
8. Are you a victim of the Colombian armed conflict? Yes No No response
9. Have you traveled outside of Colombia? Yes No
10. Are you familiar with the Temporary Protection Status for Venezuelan Immigrants?
Yes No No response
11. Do you agree to have your data processed solely for the purpose of this research?
Signature

Table 2. Survey respondent's data (Example).

2. Preference information collection: Participants were presented with a form displaying pairs of immigrant profiles, with the characteristics varying randomly for each participant. Each participant was presented with five pairs of immigrants and asked to choose one profile from each pair.

An example of the table is shown below:

	Immigrant 1	Immigrant 2	
Sex	Woman	Man	
Occupation	Doctor	Teacher	
Employment	Will look for a job when	Will look for a job when	
Expectations	arriving in Colombia	arriving in Colombia	
Educational	Undergraduate	Postgraduate	
background			
Reason for Seeking	Pursuit of economic	Reunification with family	
Permanence	opportunities	members in Colombia	
Previous Legal	Regular	Regular	
Status			

	Immigrant 1	Immigrant 2
a) If you had to choose between them, which of the two immigrants		\bigcirc
should receive priority when arriving in Colombia to live?		

Table 3. Immigrant Profile (Example).

- 3. Rating scale: Subsequently, participants were asked to rate each presented immigrant on a scale from 1 to 7. A rating of 1 indicated that Colombia should not admit the immigrant at all, while a rating of 7 indicated that Colombia should definitely admit the immigrant. Below is an example of the question, provided in English:
- b) On a scale of 1 to 7, where 1 indicates that Colombia should NOT admit the immigrant at all and 7 indicates that Colombia should definitely admit the immigrant, how would you rate immigrant 1?

Absolutely						Absolutely
No Admit						Admit
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
0	0	0	0	0	0	0

c) Using the same scale, how would you rate immigrant 2?

Absolutely						Absolutely
No Admit						Admit
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ö	0	0	0	Ō	0	0

For the experiment, the sample was measured considering the total Colombian population (approximately fifty million), with a confidence level of 95% and a margin of error of 5%. The result yields a minimum sample of 385 participants in the study.

Sample
$$(DZ^2 p(1-p))/d^2$$

Where:

- Z The Z-score corresponds to the desired confidence level (95%), so Z=1.96.
- p The assumed response division (normally 50% is used)
- d The level of precision or sampling error (5%)
- D Design effect (D=1 if simple random sampling is used)

In terms of territorial representativeness, for the data collection, it was decided that the surveys should be administered not only in Bogotá (the capital city), where there is a higher number of Venezuelan immigrants, but also in departments that have received significant influxes of Venezuelan immigrants such as Antioquia, Norte de Santander, and Valle del Cauca. Therefore, it was necessary to gather information in at least five departments: Norte de Santander, Antioquia, Atlántico, Valle del Cauca, and Santander as well. The table below presents the distribution of Venezuelans across departments in Colombia that guided the survey distribution.

Department	Total	Percentage
Bogotá D.C.	495.236	19,99%
Antioquia	344.223	13,89%
Norte de Santander	253.911	10,25%
Valle del Cauca	193.440	7,81%
Atlántico	175.265	7,07%
Cundinamarca	153.923	6,21%
La Guajira	135.059	5,45%
Santander	109.889	4,44%
Bolívar	94.024	3,79%
Magdalena	80.847	3,26%
Cesar	64.554	2,61%
Arauca	55.245	2,23%
Risaralda	41.767	1,69%
Boyacá	36.928	1,49%

Meta	35.048	1,41%
Tolima	23.459	0,95%
Casanare	22.748	0,92%
Cauca	21.875	0,88%
Quindío	20.489	0,83%
Nariño	19.069	0,77%
Córdoba	18.251	0,74%
Caldas	17.725	0,72%
Sucre	16.075	0,65%
Huila	12.591	0,51%
Putumayo	11.889	0,48%
Vichada	9.934	0,40%
Guainía	6.788	0,27%
Chocó	3.508	0,14%
Caquetá	1.705	0,07%
Guaviare	1.680	0,07%
Amazonas	331	0,01%
Archipiélago de San Andrés	97	0,00%
y Providencia		
Vaupés	15	0,00%
Total	2.477.588	100%

Table 4. Number and percentage of Venezuelans in Colombia. Data from Migración Colombia (2022).

5.2. Experiment Data

As mentioned earlier, there were six variables analyzed regarding immigrant profiles. The categories for each of the variables are presented in the table below.

Variables	Categories
Sex	1. Men
	2. Women

Occupation	Financial analyst. Teacher.	
	3. Doctor.	
	4. Construction worker.	
	5. Caregiver.	
	6. Security guard.	
Employment Expectations	1. Has a contract with a Colombian employer.	
Employment Expectations	± •	
	2. Does not have a contract but is attending interviews.	
	3. Will look for work upon arrival in Colombia.	
	4. Currently has no work plans.	
Educational background	1. Postgraduate degree.	
	2. Undergraduate degree.	
	3. High school diploma.	
	4. Elementary school.	
	5. No formal education.	
Reason for Seeking Permanence	1. Seeking economic opportunities.	
	2. Political persecution.	
	3. Reunification with family members	
Previous Legal Status	1. Regular.	
_	2. Irregular.	

Table 5. Variables and categories of immigrant profiles.

The encoding of the variables was performed as follows:

- 1. For the profile selection, each immigrant profile was encoded in binary form. A value of 1 represented the preferred immigrant, while 0 represented the rejected immigrant. This was achieved by creating a dummy variable called "**Profile Selection**."
- 2. The scores from 1 to 7 were encoded in such a way that responses below the average (scores below or equal to 4) were converted to 0, while scores above the average (scores higher than 4) were converted to 1. This dummy variable was named "Immigrant Supported."
- 3. The variable sex was converted into a dummy variable, where 0 represented a man and 1 represented a woman. This variable maintains the name "Sex."
- 4. Regarding the occupation of the immigrant, the six options were classified into two groups. High-skilled labor options (Financial analyst, teacher, and doctor) were coded as 0, while low-skilled labor options (Construction worker, caregiver, and security guard) were coded as 1. The assigned name for this variable was "Qualified."
- 5. The labor expectations were classified into two groups based on the perceived level of stability of the profile. Options with higher perceived stability (Has a contract with a

Colombian employer and does not have a contract but is attending interviews) were coded as 0, while options with lower perceived stability (Will look for work upon arrival in Colombia and currently has no work plans) were coded as 1. This variable received the name "Stability."

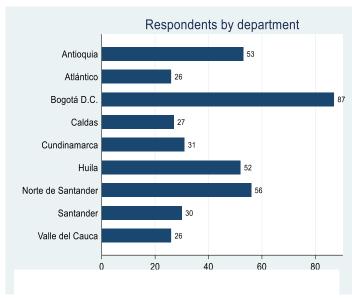
- 6. For the educational background, options for higher-skilled profiles (Postgraduate degree and undergraduate degree) were coded as 0, while options for lower-skilled profiles (High school diploma, elementary school, and no formal education) were coded as 1. This variable was named "**Recognition**."
- 7. For the variable "Reason for Seeking Permanence," two additional variables were created to include all three existing options (Seeking economic opportunities, political persecution, and reunification with family members) within the model. However, this variable was not used for the model because of its level of significance (See the Analysis Chapter).
- 8. Finally, for the variable "Previous Legal Status," a dummy variable was created. A value of 0 defined a regular immigrant, while a value of 1 defined an irregular immigrant. The name of this variable was "**Status**."

5.3. Experiment Measurement

During the month of May, 20 individuals located in Colombian territory were trained to collect information in 9 cities located in different departments of the country. The geographical distribution of data collection was as follows:

Department	Values
Bogotá D.C.	87 (22.42%)
Norte de Santander	56 (14.43%)
Antioquia	53 (13.66%)
Atlántico	26 (6.70%)
Valle del Cauca	26 (6.70%)
Santander	30 (7.73%)
Cundinamarca	31 (7.99%)
Caldas	27 (6.96%)
Huila	52 (13.40%)
Total	388

Table 6. Number and percentages of respondents by Department.



Graph 2. Number and percentage of respondents by Department.

In total, 388 adults (over 18 years old) Colombians were surveyed, and each participant selected their preferred Venezuelan migrant profile from 5 pairs of profiles. As is common in conjoint analysis, the final number of profiles selected in the experiment is greater than the number of participants. Thus, the study has a total of 3,832 responses for analysis. The socio-demographic characteristics of the 388 surveyed individuals are presented in the table below:

Characteristics	Value
Sex n (%)	
Man	189 (48.71%)
Woman	199 (51.29%)
Age Group n (%)	
Young (18 – 27>)	102 (26.29%)
Adult (27 – 59)	230 (59.28%)
Senior (59 <)	56 (14.43%)
Socioeconomic Stratum	
Level 1	39 (10.05%)
Level 2	169 (43.56%)
Level 3	142 (36.60%)
Level 4	24 (6.19%)
Level 5	14 (3.61%)
Educational Level	
Elementary School	74 (19.07%)
High School Diploma	129 (33.25%)
Technical / Technological	68 (17.53%)
Undergraduate Degree	67 (17.27%)
Postgraduate Degree	50 (12.89%)
Political Stance	
Center	49 (12.63%)
Right	67 (17.27%)
Left	55 (14.18%)
None	217 (55.93%)
Victims of the Colombian civil conflict	
No	329 (84.79%)
Yes	51 (13.15%)
No Response	8 (2.06%)
Travel outside of Colombia	
Yes	143 (36.86%)
No	245 (63.14%)
Knowledge of the ETPV	
No	252 (64.95%)
Yes	130 (33.51%)
No Response	6 (1.55%)

Table 7. Socio-demographic characteristics of respondents.

The sample reveals: i) gender equity, ii) a higher presence of adults, iii) concentration of respondents in socioeconomic strata 2 and 3, iv) low levels of education, v) a majority of individuals without a political stance, vi) a population that does not perceive themselves as victims of the Colombian armed conflict, vii) the majority have not traveled outside the country, and viii) a significant lack of knowledge about the Temporary Protection Status for Venezuelan Immigrants (ETPV).

5.4. Experiment Analysis

The scores given to the immigrant profiles were analyzed based on the socio-economic information of the respondents, yielding the following results:

- 1. Overall, most respondents assigned scores above 4. At the departmental level, most respondents assigned a score of 7 out of 7 to the presented profiles, with the Huila department standing out for its positive scores. Antioquia is the department that displays the highest rejection toward the immigrant profiles, followed closely by Bogotá. In the case of Bogotá, despite being the city with the highest number of profiles rated with a score of 7, it also exhibits a prominent level of polarization, as it is the city with the highest number of profiles rated with a score of 2 and the second highest number of scores of 1.
- 2. When comparing scores based on the respondents' gender, no significant difference was found in the results. On average, women assigned higher scores to the profiles compared to men.
- 3. Analyzing the scores by age reveals that young respondents tend to assign higher scores to the profiles, like adults, while seniors tend to give lower scores in comparison.
- 4. The results by socioeconomic stratum show a positive trend in the scores, with most respondents assigning scores of 7 to the profiles. Conversely, strata 2 and 3 are the ones with the highest number of responses with scores of 1 and 2 to the profiles.
- 5. Regarding the educational level, it was found that individuals who declared having a high school diploma as their highest educational qualification were the ones who rated the profiles the most with a score of 1. However, it is once again evident that the acceptance of immigrants in terms of scores is high regardless of the respondent's educational level.

- 6. Studying the results according to the political stance declared by the respondents, it is first observed that most respondents do not identify with a political stance. Secondly, among those who declare a political stance, those leaning toward the right tend to assign lower scores. Overall, the responses do not exhibit significant differences based on political stance.
- 7. Regarding the representation of respondents who declared themselves as victims of the Colombian armed conflict, there is a tendency to assign high scores of 6 and 7 to the immigrant profiles. It is worth noting that 13% of the sample claimed to be victims of the conflict.
- 8. On the other hand, when comparing the results between those who claimed to have traveled abroad and those who have not, no significant differences were found in the scores assigned to the profiles.
- 9. Finally, when studying the scores concerning the respondent's knowledge of the Temporary Protection Statute for Venezuelans (ETPV), it was found that those who affirmed knowing the ETPV presented much more positive results toward the profiles, with a majority of scores concentrated in 5 and 7. It is noteworthy that almost two-thirds of the respondents claimed to have no knowledge of the ETPV in this variable¹.

Once the data were collected, coded, and cleaned a simple regression analysis was conducted to estimate the significant variables of the model. This study revealed that all the selected variables for the model are significant at a 5% level, except for the "Reason for Seeking Permanence" variable (options: reunification, persecution, and opportunities), which was subsequently excluded from the analysis. The table below displays the regression results.

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¹ Please review the Annex section for detailed information on the Score by Characteristics of the Respondents and the Profile Selection by Characteristics of the Respondents.

Source	SS	df	MS	Number of obs		3,832
Model Residual	69.9896288	8	8.7487036		=	37.66 0.0000
Residual	888.010371	3,823	.232281028	R-squared Adj R-squared	= 1 =	0.0731 0.0711
Total	958	3,831	.250065257		=	.48196
PROFILE_SEL~_	Coefficient	Std. err.	t	P> t [95%	conf.	interval]
Sex	1536386	.0161907	-9.49	0.000185	3819	1218954
Reunification	0021252	.026974	-0.08	0.9370550	0101	.0507596
Persecution	.0128654	.0250882	0.51	0.6080363	3222	.0620531
Opportunities	0190319	.0222917	-0.85	0.3930627	7367	.0246728
Qualified	149571	.0156561	-9.55	0.000180	9266	1188759
Stability	1623618	.0173538	-9.36	0.0001963	3854	1283382
Recognition	0916702	.0159172	-5.76	0.0001228	3772	0604632
Status	1701926	.0168257	-10.12	0.0002031	L807	1372044
_cons	.8833006	.0292039	30.25	0.000 .8260	9439	.9405574

Table 8. Regression of the model to study the significance level of the variables.

Regarding the correlation between variables, Pearson's correlation coefficient was employed, revealing that the five selected variables are not correlated with the selected profile (variable Y of the model) at a 95% level of significance. From the same analysis, a moderate correlation was observed between the migratory status (regular or irregular) and the perception of immigrant stability (work expectations), as well as between the immigrant's gender and the perception of stability. However, the random variation in the presented profiles within the surveys ensured that the model did not exhibit correlation levels that could introduce biases or complications in the results.

	PROFIL~_	Sex	Qualif~d	Stabil~y	Recogn~n	Status
PROFILE_SE~_	1.0000					
Sex	-0.1049 0.0000	1.0000				
Qualified	-0.1333 0.0000	-0.0597 0.0002	1.0000			
Stability	-0.0621 0.0001	-0.2484 0.0000	-0.0012 0.9412	1.0000		
Recognition	-0.0928 0.0000	0.0013 0.9374	0.0090 0.5767	0.0021 0.8958	1.0000	
Status	-0.1054 0.0000		-0.0453 0.0050	-0.3638 0.0000		1.0000

Table 9. Pearson correlation between variables.

For the data analysis, the Conjoint Analysis methodology was employed using the "cjoint" command in Stata. Through this methodology, the estimated marginal means of the model were calculated, controlling the analysis by the respondents' ID to avoid biases in the results due to multiple responses from the same respondent. The presented results show that the variable with the highest weight within the model is "Qualified," implying that having an occupation that requires more technical knowledge, such as being a doctor, teacher, or financial analyst, is preferred over occupations that require less technical knowledge, such as being a mason, security guard, or caregiver. The second variable with the highest weight in the model is "Recognition," indicating that immigrant profiles with a higher educational degree are more accepted than those profiles without the same level of validated education. As supported by theory, it was found that being female represents greater rejection, as well as being in an irregular situation or lacking any job offer that provides stability for the immigrant. All these results reinforce the findings from the literature review.

Estimated marginal means (MMs)

Number of observations = 3832

Number of respondents = 388

H0 = 0.5

Variable / Levels	Est.	SE	t	P> t	LCI	UCI
Sex						
0	0.5525	0.0080	6.5626	0.0000	0.5368	0.5683
1	0.4476	0.0080	-6.5623	0.0000	0.4319	0.4633
Qualified						
0	0.5705	0.0096	7.3278	0.0000	0.5516	0.5894
1	0.4370	0.0086	-7.3379	0.0000	0.4201	0.4539
Stability						
0	0.5311	0.0079	3.9646	0.0001	0.5157	0.5466
1	0.4690	0.0079	-3.9306	0.0001	0.4535	0.4845
Recognition						
0	0.5572	0.0107	5.3466	0.0000	0.5362	0.5783
1	0.4624	0.0071	-5.2779	0.0000	0.4484	0.4764
Status						
0	0.5525	0.0090	5.8675	0.0000	0.5349	0.5702
1	0.4471	0.0090	-5.8469	0.0000	0.4293	0.4649

Table 10. Conjoint Analysis Results.

Subsequently, an analysis was conducted to complement these results by grouping respondents based on certain socioeconomic characteristics to generate a more specific understanding of the attributes that hold the most importance when choosing an immigrant profile. The graphs for this section can be found in Annex 2 of this document.

When analyzing profile selection by sex, it was found that both men and women give greater weight to the "recognition" variable compared to the other variables available in the model. However, women assign higher importance to the "stability" variable compared to men, while men give more weight to the "qualified" variable than women. This subgroup reaffirms that attributes related to education and employment are the key factors when choosing a profile.

On the other hand, the political stance of the respondents presents a higher requirement for admitting an immigrant among those who declared themselves as right-wing. The "recognition" variable is the most important for them, followed by the "stability" variable. In contrast, those who identified themselves as left-wing give more weight to the "recognition" variable, followed by "qualified." People who declared themselves as centrist also assign higher importance to the

"qualified" variable, but this group places significant value on the "sex" variable when selecting a profile. Finally, Colombian respondents who declared no specific political stance give greater weight to the "recognition" variable, followed by the "qualified" variable. This subgroup also demonstrates that attributes related to education and employment remain the most crucial factors when Colombians select immigrant profiles.

According to the respondents' economic stratum, the results showed diversity in the responses. Strata 1 and 5 gave more relevance to the "sex" variable, favoring male immigrants. On the other hand, strata 2 and 3 assigned more weight to the "recognition" variable. Stratum 4 gave more weight to the "qualified" variable when making their selection. Despite the diversity in responses, it is evident once again that attributes related to economic activity and education are the most important regardless of the stratum.

Regarding the educational level, those with elementary school, high school diplomas, and technical degrees give more weight to the "recognition" variable. On the other hand, individuals with an undergraduate or postgraduate degree assign more weight to the "qualified" variable. Once again, this subgroup highlights the importance of attributes representing the educational level and economic activity of the immigrant.

The subgroup comparison between victims of the Colombian armed conflict and non-victims reveals no distinction regarding the variable to which they assign a greater weight, which is "recognition." Additionally, within the analysis, it was found that those who identify themselves as victims of the conflict consider the "stability" variable to be of significant importance in their selection, while those who do not identify themselves as victims place more weight on the "qualified" variable. This subgroup once again demonstrates that the most important attributes for the respondents are those related to education and economic activity.

6. Designing Public Policies: The Qualitative Approach

To enhance the understanding of the attitudes of host communities toward migration, interviews with migration experts were conducted alongside the surveys conducted with the host community, with a specific focus on Latin America. This qualitative approach allowed for a deeper analysis of the findings obtained in the quantitative study, shedding light on the perceptions and insights provided by experts in the field. The information collected from the interviews provided valuable context for the Colombian case and served as supporting evidence for the results obtained in the quantitative analysis. The alignment between the findings of this

study and the expert opinions further strengthens the validity and reliability of the research outcomes, underscoring the robustness of the study's conclusions. By integrating quantitative and qualitative perspectives, this study provides a comprehensive understanding of the attitudes of host communities toward migration in the Colombian context, contributing to the existing body of knowledge on this subject.

6.1. Target populations in host communities

Regarding specific population groups within host communities, according to the current Chief of the Migration Unit at the Interamerican Development Bank (INT01), there appears to be a group of people (forming the majority) who do not hold strong opinions against or in favor of migration, as the surveys conducted in Latin America revealed. This group presents an opportunity for targeted efforts to convince them about the benefits of integrating immigrants, as opposed to those who hold **radical positions** and seem resistant to any variables that could affect their rejection of migration.

In addition to the survey findings, insights from experts in the field further shed light on the factors influencing attitudes toward immigrants. One expert, who currently works as the Human Mobility Advisor at the United Nations Development Program (INT02), shared his experience in the Chocó department in Colombia, which has **high poverty rates** and a low incidence of Venezuelan immigrants. The expert observed significant rejection toward the immigrant population in the Chocó department, stemming from a sense of direct competition. As one of the poorest departments in the country, the local community perceived assistance to immigrants as detrimental to their well-being, resulting in elevated levels of xenophobia. Similar dynamics were observed in border cities like Cúcuta, where competition for resources and important levels of informality intensified the perception of competition and generated stronger resistance toward immigrants. These findings suggest that efforts should be focused on addressing these specific groups.

Furthermore, a Specialist in International Migration at the World Bank (INT03) noted that individuals who had **negative past experiences** with immigrants presented a greater challenge to social cohesion, as did many **Colombian women** who viewed Venezuelan women as a threat to their relationships due to associated stereotypes related to sexual exploitation and survival sex, sensitive topics to address from a gender perspective for public policies.

6.2. Attitudes toward immigrants

Attitudes from the host communities can be influenced by several variables. Migration-related studies indicate that many attitudes or initial perceptions of rejection stem from belief systems or myths based on fears and misinformation (INT01). To address these perceptions, it is suggested to act on two fronts: firstly, provide clear information about the benefits of integrating immigrants, the volume of immigrants, and present the phenomenon of migration in a positive light, focusing not only on the negative aspects such as crises. Secondly, work together with immigrants to showcase positive everyday activities through campaigns like the one conducted in Germany, where advertisements depicted Syrian refugees engaged in communal services such as firefighters, nurses, and truck drivers, highlighting immigrants not only as a population to be helped but also as a contributing population. Regarding this point, experience indicates that people hold perceptions that are exceedingly difficult to change, where facts, evidence, data, and studies alone are not enough (INT02). Therefore, a crucial tool to bring about this change is collaborative work that yields mutual benefits. It is important to present the realities of immigrants, personalizing their stories, to foster greater empathy.

Fostering contact between host community members and immigrants was highlighted as important. The frequency and location of interaction were identified as influential factors, and proximity can have a positive impact on acceptance (INT03). Therefore, creating dialogue spaces aimed at generating empathy rather than attempting to change perspectives can be beneficial. Additionally, the role of political and social leaders was also emphasized in combating xenophobia, as their attitudes and statements can influence public opinion (INT01).

Additionally, the attitudes of political and social leaders should be considered when combating xenophobia, as they can influence the population to either support or oppose migrant populations (INT01). Moreover, schools are highlighted as one of the most important places to work on social cohesion with immigrants, as demonstrated by efforts such as the initiative by the Secretariat of Bogotá, which involves creating booklets and a training program for teachers and parents to reduce xenophobia.

6.3. Shaping attitudes through good practices

To promote awareness and action strategies, two initial conditions were highlighted (INT01). Firstly, programs should benefit both immigrants and host communities, addressing shared challenges rather than solely focusing on immigrants, which could potentially generate more

xenophobia. Secondly, the voices of immigrants themselves should be included in decision-making mechanisms. Initiatives like the "Inclusive Societies" program promoted by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the International Organization for Migration (IOM) serve as examples of creating common public spaces where everyone has a say, rewarding communities for their exercise of social cohesion in territories receiving immigrants. It was also emphasized that organizations working on migrant issues should approach communities with sensitivity, focusing on sharing experiences rather than imposing moral courses of action (INT02), and the important role of Colombian NGOs with a migratory lens was highlighted in combatting xenophobia (INT03).

Six examples of good practices were mentioned by the experts during the interviews to combat xenophobic attitudes in the Latin American context. These included programs like the "Together We Learn" (or in Spanish "Juntos Aprendemos") program by USAID, which works with Venezuelan high school students to prevent them from falling behind in their studies, provide training opportunities and improve their participation (USAID, 2023); the "Gobernarte" award in São Paulo, which recognizes integration activities and promotes information and service provision for immigrants in multiple languages (ANTP, 2016); and the work of the Human Rights Secretariat in Buenos Aires, which has created booklets for training and provides offers and conditions for public officials in integration processes (Gobierno de Argentina, 2021).

Additionally, initiatives such as the "Banco Amable" program in Maicao, Colombia, where immigrants contribute their time and abilities in exchange for incentives that benefit the community (PNUD, 2022); and media projects like "Mi Barrio, su gente" a radio drama where a Venezuelan immigrant shows her story living in Peru facing different obstacles and xenophobic attitudes (Mi Barrio Su Gente, 2023), and digital series in Peru (to be replicated in Colombia soon) that showcase the experiences of Venezuelan immigrants and challenge stereotypes in their day-to-day lives were also mentioned.

This qualitative chapter, which draws on interviews with migration experts, offers valuable insights into the underlying causes of attitudes in the Latin American context. Moreover, it indicates policy recommendations to combat xenophobia and foster social cohesion in the region. By complementing the quantitative findings, these insights contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the factors influencing attitudes toward immigrants and inform the development of effective interventions and strategies in Latin America. The expert perspectives shed light on the complexities of the migration phenomenon and offer valuable

guidance for policymakers and stakeholders in addressing the challenges and opportunities associated with migration. By incorporating these insights into policy and practice, it is possible to foster a more inclusive and welcoming environment for immigrants, promoting social cohesion and benefiting both host communities and migrants themselves.

7. Conclusions

This study aimed to explore the preferences and decision-making processes of the host community regarding immigrant profiles in Colombia. By employing a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches, valuable insights have been gained to inform policy suggestions for promoting the welcoming of immigrants into the country.

The quantitative analysis, utilizing the Conjoint Analysis methodology, revealed important findings regarding the attributes that hold the highest weight within the model. The variable with the highest weight was "Qualified," indicating a preference for occupations that require more technical knowledge. This finding aligns with the importance of education and employment-related attributes when choosing immigrant profiles. The second variable with the highest weight was "Recognition," emphasizing the acceptance of immigrants with higher educational degrees. Additionally, the influence of gender, political stance, economic stratum, educational level, and victimhood of the armed conflict on profile selection was examined, highlighting the varying importance of attributes among different subgroups.

To complement these quantitative findings, interviews with migration experts provided qualitative insights into addressing attitudes and perceptions of the host community toward migration. The interviews with migration experts highlighted the need to target the population that holds neutral opinions on migration while addressing the challenges posed by those who hold radical positions. Schools were identified as key institutions for promoting social cohesion, and successful practices from various initiatives were shared. The importance of collaborative efforts, empathy-building, and including immigrants' voices in decision-making processes was emphasized. By adopting a migratory lens, policies can be better tailored to address the complexities of migration and foster a more inclusive and welcoming society in Latin America.

In response to the research question, this study provides valuable insights into the preferences and decision-making processes of the host community regarding immigrant profiles in Colombia. The results highlight the significance of education and employment-related attributes, as well as the role of gender, political stance, economic stratum, educational level,

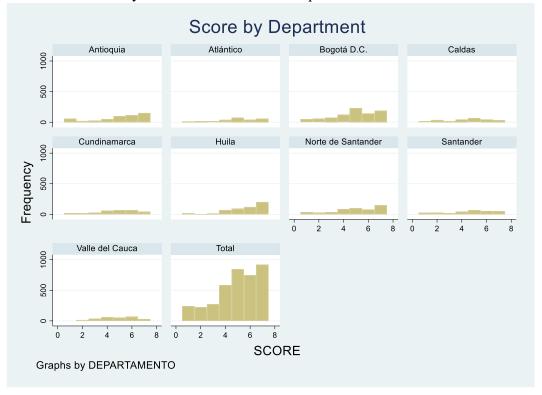
and victimhood of the armed conflict in shaping profile selection. Additionally, the qualitative analysis offers practical policy suggestions for promoting a welcoming environment, including information dissemination, positive portrayals of immigrants, engagement of political and social leaders, and the inclusion of immigrants in decision-making processes.

In terms of the contribution to the existing literature, the data and expert interviews provide insights into the impact of being an immigrant woman, an immigrant engaged in low-skilled economic activities, an immigrant with limited job stability, an immigrant with low educational attainment, and/or an immigrant without regular documentation. The results demonstrate that the Colombian case is not unique, as it corroborates the hypotheses formulated at the beginning of the study based on the literature review. Thus, the attitudes of the host community in Colombia align with the findings observed in the Global North. Furthermore, these results allow for the quantification and confirmation of rejection attitudes towards certain immigrant profiles in Colombia using the conjoint analysis methodology, thereby expanding the academic knowledge in the Latin American region.

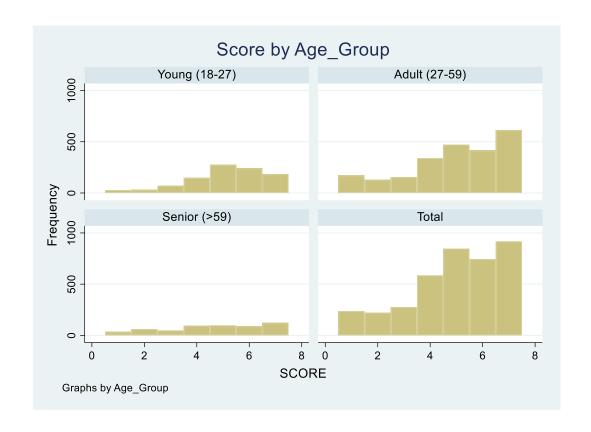
It is important to acknowledge the limitations of this study, including the limited sample representativeness, restricted geographic coverage, socioeconomic stratification imbalance, simplification of the decision-making process, limited attribute selection, and temporal and contextual limitations. These limitations call for further research with larger and more diverse samples, broader geographic coverage, and an expanded set of attributes to provide a comprehensive understanding of preferences and decision-making processes related to immigrant profiles. By addressing these limitations and building upon the findings of this study, policymakers and stakeholders can develop evidence-based strategies to promote the welcoming of immigrants, foster social cohesion, and create inclusive societies in Colombia. This study can also serve as a blueprint for replication in other Latin American contexts, aiming to enhance data-driven responses to migratory phenomena in the region.

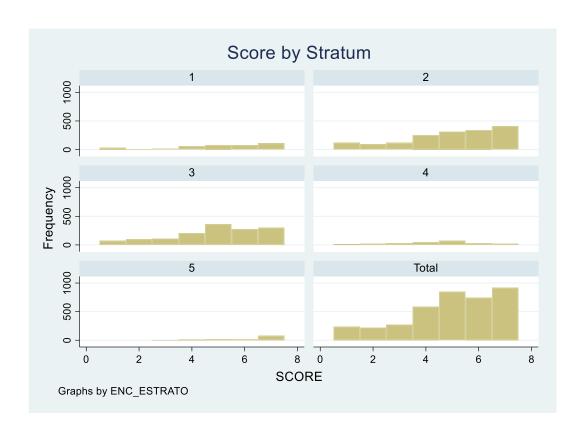
8. Annexes

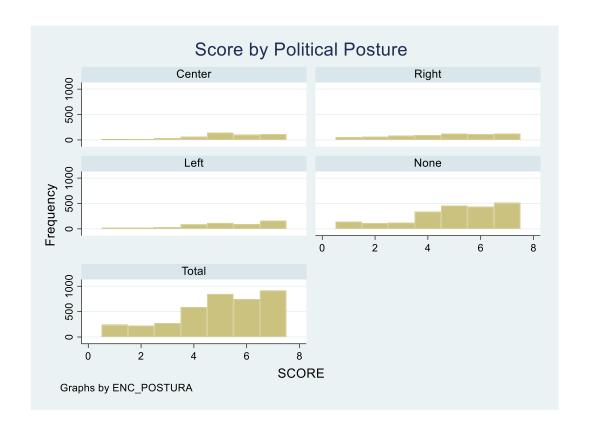
8.1. Annex 1. Score by Characteristics of the Respondents

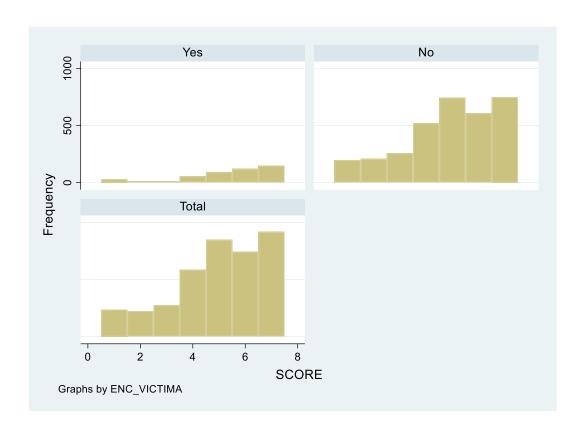


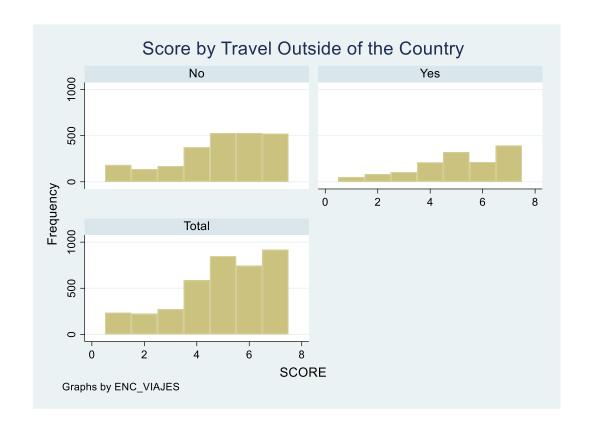






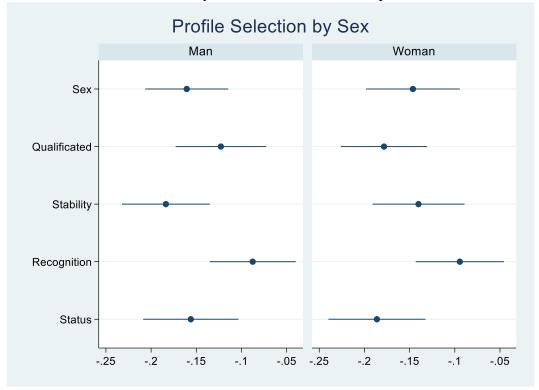


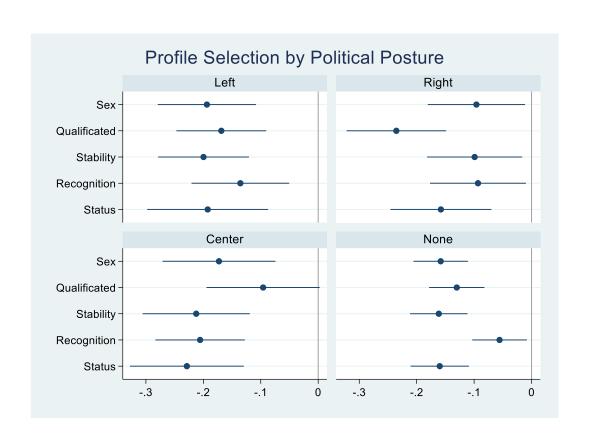


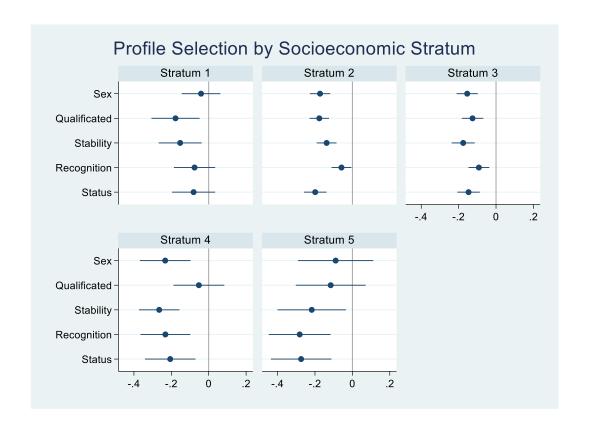


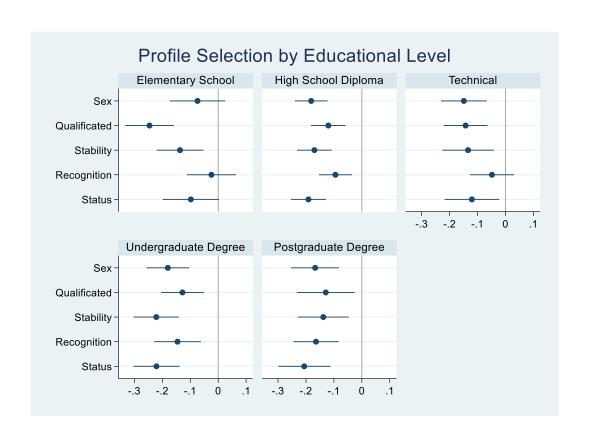


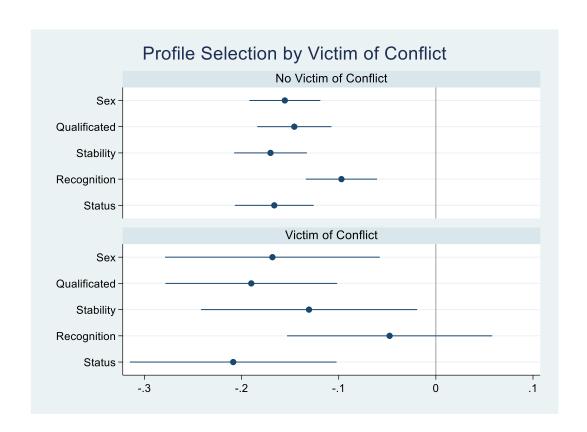
8.2. Annex 2. Profile Selection by Characteristics of the Respondents











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