

Access to Labour and "Differential Inclusion" for Young Venezuelan Migrants in Ecuador

Céleri, Daniela

Veröffentlichungsversion / Published Version

Zeitschriftenartikel / journal article

Empfohlene Zitierung / Suggested Citation:

Céleri, D. (2024). Access to Labour and "Differential Inclusion" for Young Venezuelan Migrants in Ecuador. *Social Inclusion*, 12. <https://doi.org/10.17645/si.7762>

Nutzungsbedingungen:

Dieser Text wird unter einer CC BY Lizenz (Namensnennung) zur Verfügung gestellt. Nähere Auskünfte zu den CC-Lizenzen finden Sie hier:

<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/deed.de>

Terms of use:

This document is made available under a CC BY Licence (Attribution). For more information see:

<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0>

Access to Labour and “Differential Inclusion” for Young Venezuelan Migrants in Ecuador

Daniela Céleri ^{1,2} 

¹ Institute of Sociology, Leibniz University Hannover, Germany

² Department of International Relations, National Institute for Higher Studies (IAEN), Ecuador

Correspondence: Daniela Céleri (d.celleri@ish.uni-hannover.de)

Submitted: 30 October 2023 **Accepted:** 13 May 2024 **Published:** 25 June 2024

Issue: This article is part of the issue “The Global Disappearance of Decent Work? Precarity, Exploitation, and Work-Based Harms in the Neoliberal Era” edited by Adam Formby (University of Lincoln), Mustapha Sheikh (University of Leeds), and Bob Jeffrey (Sheffield Hallam University) as part of the (In)Justice International Collective, fully open access at <https://doi.org/10.17645/si.i412>

Abstract

Young migrants and refugees provide important inputs concerning production and social reproduction mechanisms (care work) that reproduce unequal but highly profitable patterns of accumulation around the world. The expansion of globalisation and neoliberalism has deepened such social dynamics, leading to a “multiplication of labour.” The diversification and heterogenization of migrant labour within neoliberal frameworks raise ethical and human rights concerns, including issues related to fair wages, working conditions, and access to social protections. After a neoliberal era in Latin America, the emergence of post-development politics in the region led to increased efforts to address the needs of these populations. This article seeks to contribute to debates about “differential inclusion” in South–South migration and access to labour and social protection by analysing a specific case study of young Venezuelans, a recently growing phenomenon that has a great impact on the region. Ecuador is noteworthy because it hosts one of the largest populations of Venezuelan migrants and refugees and has adopted a human rights perspective in conjunction with public investments in social policy, health, and education. Despite efforts to legalize the work status of Venezuelan migrants, a more restrictive policy began to be implemented in 2019 that limited their access to formal labour and social protection. Within these complex dynamics of differential inclusion, instead of seeing these young migrants and refugees as victims, we analyse their resilience strategies of accessing social provisions while coping with informality and irregular status, as well as conditions of multiplication of labour. Using four real-life stories as examples taken from a larger ethnographic study, we illustrate how dynamics of differential inclusion intersect with the gender, age, and legal status of young Venezuelans in Ecuador. The case studies are complemented with structural explanations from 6,000 household surveys collected between 2017 and 2020.

Keywords

displacement; human mobility; inclusion policy; labour insertion; South–South migration; Venezuela; youth

1. Introduction

In general, Ecuador remains underrepresented in the body of research addressing Venezuelan migration. Nevertheless, this country is a noteworthy case study concerning social policy and human mobility legislation since it included “universal citizenship” and the concept of *buen vivir* in its 2008 Constitution (Constitución de la República del Ecuador, 2008). Ecuador has been well-known for its liberal policies since the left-wing government of Rafael Correa (2007–2017) defended a human-rights approach across different policy fields (Góngora-Mera et al., 2014).

The concept of *buen vivir* was enshrined in the Constitution in 2008 through the National System of Social Equity and Inclusion, which aims to address social policy in a manner that contrasts with neoliberal reforms. The key aspects of this approach include (a) expansion of rights, (b) strengthening state structures, (c) universal solidarity, and (d) focus on education and health (Constitución de la República del Ecuador, 2008, Art. 340). This originated from debates about “post-development,” based on alternatives to classical development models in Latin America and combined with emerging Indigenous movements’ demands for autonomy and an expansion of their collective rights (Fackler et al., 2021). In this context, alternative development models such as the “good life” (*buen vivir*) became incorporated into Ecuadorian legislation (Gudynas & Acosta, 2011). Hereby, several concepts from contemporary academic debates on the subject of development were assimilated very quickly, such as (a) the new development and social policy model called “the *buen vivir* regime,” (b) discourses around social inclusion promoted by the UN system on youth, and (c) subsequent debates about universal citizenship and human mobility.

Following the so-called “pink tide” trend in Latin America, Correa’s government additionally constitutionalized the principle of universal citizenship in its 2008 Magna Carta and eliminated visa requirements for all foreigners. Furthermore, a “South American citizenship” was planned within the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR), which would have allowed migrants’ mobility between South American countries without restrictions (Ramírez, 2020). Nevertheless, the number of immigrants in Ecuador remained manageable until 2015: 500,981 immigrants, including people from Colombia, Peru, Cuba, Haiti, and Spain, among others, represented 3.1% of the total population (Herrera & Cabezas, 2019).

However, the Venezuelan exodus, because of its unprecedented nature in terms of magnitude and abruptness, generated a situation of uncertainty and triggered a shift in migration policy in Ecuador. Since 2019, Ecuador has belonged to a group of states that were previously characterized by greater openness, but which have become more restrictive and assumed a focus on internal security—“securitisation”—rather than a human rights perspective (Acosta et al., 2019). This restrictive policy hinders access to formal labour for young migrants and refugees. To survive and eventually cover the costs involved in obtaining legal status, most of them end up in the informal sector. Most of the recent studies focused on regularization provide evidence that more restrictive regularization measures lead to increases in the vulnerability of migrants and refugees (Álvarez Velasco et al., 2021; Burbano Alarcon et al., 2019; Herrera & Cabezas, 2019; Malo, 2021).

Although its constitution guarantees equality of rights for nationals and non-nationals, the government nevertheless excluded Venezuelan migrants and refugees from social protection (Vera Espinoza et al., 2021). Recent debates have pointed out that central governments in Latin America that operate based on “crisis management” leave the responsibility of integrating this population with international organizations and partners (Vera Espinoza et al., 2021). Thus, migrants and refugees have been seen as recipients of humanitarian aid instead of as subjects with their own rights and inclusion in long-term policies. Additionally, recent findings have shown a higher level of vulnerability for Venezuelans in the labour market, when compared to Ecuadorians (Banco Mundial, 2020; Célleri, 2019, 2020), as well as anti-Venezuelan discrimination in public services such as education and healthcare (Torres et al., 2022). There is also a wealth of important policy research on the expansion of rights and “human mobility” within the national legislation, as well as its limitations (Góngora-Mera et al., 2014); discrimination and exclusion of regularization processes (Herrera & Cabezas, 2019; Malo, 2021); securitization discourses (Pugh & Moya, 2020); health access (Torres et al., 2022); and social protection (Vera Espinoza et al., 2021). Nevertheless, there is less research that explicitly focuses on the strategies of labour insertion of young refugees and migrants within this policy context. Indeed, this is particularly pertinent given the demographic composition of this population in the region. Therefore, by considering age, gender, sexual orientation, and legal status as important dimensions for “differential inclusion,” this article seeks to understand the strategies of young Venezuelans in Ecuador to access labour and social provisions within the context of “multiple labour” (Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013). This contributes to debates on migration and social inclusion policy within the context of South–South migration and shows the importance of adapting social policy to young migrants and refugees in order to develop long-term strategies that enhance their potential as students and professionals.

2. Theoretical Framework

In Latin America, social policy discussions have been linked to debates about regional development. Starting in the 1980s, the question about the role of social policy in diminishing poverty replaced Marxist discussions on inequality and marginality from the 1970s (e.g., Quijano & Westwell, 1983). Whereas Latin America achieved a minimal reduction in relative poverty between 1980 and 2000, it remained the region with the highest inequality rates in the world (Fleury, 2005). Because inequality is a barrier to “social cohesion” or “integration into society,” international organisations and governments in the region no longer focus on programs for “poor people,” but rather on incorporating citizens into society (Acevedo & Valenti, 2017). In this sense, formal labour is seen as a main instrument for societal inclusion and has moved to the centre of debates about youth as strategic actors for regional development. Indeed, in 1985, the UN’s *International Youth Year: Participation, Development, Peace* declaration illustrated the widespread priority for public policies to incorporate youth into the labour market (Ayala Román, 2011, p. 8). This growing consensus was strengthened by the “demographic bonus” phenomenon, which explores how the size of the working-age population—between 15 and 59 years of age—exceeds the population of dependents such as children and the elderly (Saad et al., 2012).

While youth became strategic actors for regional development in Latin America in the 1980s, regional structural adjustment reforms in the 1990s generated new development theories highlighting “social inclusion” as a core element for the construction of dense ties within civil society. Several debates from Europe pointed out that “social exclusion is the lack of capability to live a minimally decent life” (Sen, 2001, p. 4). Generally, among younger individuals, it has been widely discussed that difficulties entering the workforce and lack of access to income and associated social networks (i.e., social deprivation) lead to social

exclusion (Oxoby, 2009, p. 7). But within the context of South–South migration, this becomes problematic. It is difficult to consider “obstacles in entering the workforce” as an exclusion factor specific to migrants and refugees given the high percentages of informal local workers who also experience hazardous labour conditions. Accordingly, there are complex subjectivities around labour not only related to dynamics of differentiation influence and exclusion due to power relations, but also related to strategies of resilience and resistance within processes of inclusion.

For this reason, rather than focusing on the exclusion of young migrants through the lack of formal work, this article is based on the conception of “differential inclusion.” Unlike critical migration studies that analyse borders as mechanisms of exclusion, Mezzadra and Neilson (2013, p. 7) “see inclusion existing in continuum with exclusion, rather than in opposition to it.” Therefore, the concept of differential inclusion highlights the nuanced and selective nature of migrants’ incorporation into the receiving society’s framework of rights and privileges (e.g., Könönen, 2018; Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013; Papadopoulos & Tsianos, 2013). Studies about “intersectionality” have also focused on how diverse layers of inequality within categories such as gender, class, and age lead to discrimination (Crenshaw, 1991), influencing access to these resources (Klinger & Knapp, 2007). In this sense, Mezzadra and Neilson (2013) introduce the concept of “differential inclusion” to challenge the conventional understanding of marginalized individuals living on the peripheries of society. Instead of seeing migrants as marginal subjects, they argue that those who live along global borders are actually essential actors. Indeed, they provide important inputs in terms of production and social reproduction (care work) that reproduce unequal but highly profitable patterns of accumulation. These processes lead to the construction and reconfiguration of societal dynamics in terms of employment, living conditions, and struggles.

Additionally, processes of “fragmentation and precarization have seeped into the shape of citizenship under the pressure of the flexibilization of the labour market” (Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013, p. 164). For this reason, Mezzadra and Neilson elaborated on the “multiplication of labour” concept as an alternative to the “international division of labour.” Their analysis underscores the idea that labour is not a homogeneous or uniform category but rather a complex and multifaceted phenomenon shaped by intersecting economic, legal, and social factors. As opposed to the stratified division of labour, their multiplication of labour thesis notes qualitative changes in global labour regimes which they refer to as intensification, heterogenization, and diversification. Intensification of labour refers to “the propensity of work to colonize more of life” (Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013, p. 90) which has led to a growing number of precarious workers who are unable to support their households and become indebted with credit interest payments. In this sense, the multiplication of labour is divided between the work of managing the financialized household and juggling positions in the precarious market with more flexible hours and lower wages. Diversification focuses on the multiplication of subjective labour positions not only based on tasks and skills and international division of labour, but also on legal conditions and statuses in global mobility regimes (Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013, p. 91). For example, local youth without access to quality education may face the same obstacles as migrants with better educational credentials. By examining the heterogenization of labour in the context of legal and social regimes, Mezzadra and Neilson (2013, p. 88) suggest that the organization of labour is subject to diverse and often unequal structures and regulations. In fact, migrants are recognised in the Ecuadorian constitution as citizens with the same rights as Ecuadorians but are excluded from social provisions, such as the poverty bonus (a monthly payment for individuals and families in vulnerable economic situations).

For this reason, we argue for the importance of considering further conceptualizations about “welfare regimes” (e.g., Franzoni, 2005), meaning the structures and policies that govern social provisions, including access to benefits such as healthcare, education, housing, and social assistance. In this sense, in addition to the multiplication of labour (Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013) and precarization of migrant labour (De Genova, 2007; Papadopoulos & Tsianos, 2013), other authors such as Corrigan (2014) and Shutes (2016) highlight the significance of the *type* of welfare regime in influencing the economic and social well-being of non-citizens within a society. Therefore, the access of young migrants to public services is influenced by a multitude of factors, including the varied levels of intensification, heterogenization, and diversification of labour, but also the specific challenges they face due to their migrant status.

While the importance of legal status in accessing social benefits has been addressed in the field of social policy (Corrigan, 2014; Shutes, 2016), further studies claim to examine the nuanced differences between legal status and level of access to welfare benefits (Könönen, 2018). Following MacAuslan and Sabates-Wheeler (2011), even when migrants are formally entitled to social provisions, they often face significant barriers that result in unequal access (e.g., discrimination based on nationality, gender, and age). Examining migrants’ access to social provisions requires a comprehensive analysis that goes beyond formal rules and policies. We must consider the practical mechanisms and processes through which social services are distributed, as well as the complex negotiations and interactions that occur among various stakeholders in these settings (MacAuslan & Sabates-Wheeler, 2011). Based on this assessment, these authors suggest three strategies employed by migrants: (a) exit from the public system due to higher costs; (b) incorporation and dependency on the public system (MacAuslan & Sabates-Wheeler, 2011, pp. 81–82); and (c) negotiation and protest (Schaffer & Lamb, 1974). Based on our research results, we discuss these three strategies and add a fourth: change of residence due to diverse local and international social provisions.

We argue that, despite recent neoliberal reforms in Ecuador and the shrinking of state capacities and social protection, migrants must have developed resilience strategies to secure social provisions from labour markets, receive public services, and gain network-based relations by coping with exclusion dynamics of labour access and regularisation. By understanding these diverse strategies, this article seeks to understand the complex dynamics within the context of South–South migration, since post-development perspectives on social policy in some countries in Latin America, such as Ecuador, expanded services (with different scopes and at least formally) to more vulnerable populations, including migrants and refugees.

3. Methodology

This analysis is based on data collected with an ethnographic qualitative approach between 2019–2021 and complemented with surveys about the labour situation of Venezuelan migrants in Quito. Twenty-five cases of young Venezuelans (between 18–29) were chosen using non-probability sampling, specifically chain-referral sampling, which is more convenient for hard-to-locate populations (Penrod et al., 2003) and has been used for researching migrant youth (Pun, 2019). The main set criteria for the selection of participants were: (a) they must be at least 18 but no more than 29 years old; (b) they must either seek to access university studies (having recently finished their secondary school studies) or have partially or fully completed university studies; (c) they must have arrived with the first wave to Ecuador (2015–2017); and (d) they must be willing to share their life stories. The young population in this age group was heterogeneous, representing different ages and levels of education. Some only finished secondary school but most of them

have at least an undergraduate degree and university-level studies, which corresponds to the tendency noted in the first wave of Venezuelans arriving to Ecuador between 2015 and 2017 (Célleri, 2019). The participants had different genders, sexual orientations, and household situations. As a participant observer, the author built a testimony of their strategies to gain labour access and confront barriers deriving from national policy measures, such as those imposed by the Ministry of Economic and Social Inclusion (MIES), Ministry of Labour, and the Secretary of Higher Education, Science and Technology (SENESCYT), as well as responses arising from local governments in association with international cooperation for humanitarian assistance. In order to understand the dynamics revealed in the testimonials from other perspectives, 15 semi-structured interviews were conducted with experts and leaders working with public and international institutions and migrant organisations. Based on Mayring's qualitative analysis approach, the coded data was interpreted in order to answer the objectives of this study (Mayring, 2015).

Furthermore, the case studies were contextualised with structural explanations from 6,818 household surveys collected for the project Labour Situation and Economic Contribution From Immigrants in Quito—which was coordinated between 2017 and 2020 by the author (for further details see Célleri, 2019, 2020). Prior to the Covid-19 pandemic, these surveys were collected from Venezuelan families in Quito regarding their labour situation. As of 2018–2020, this is the most representative study for the city of Quito and was validated by migrant organizations, public institutions, and NGOs. Important dimensions of the survey were: labour situation, formal/informal work, access to social provisions, and gender and age differences. Due to the lack of official data about migrants and refugees living in Ecuador, quantitative data will be complemented with field reports collected by international organisations or other recent studies at national and local levels.

4. Ecuador's Policy on Human Mobility and Venezuelan Migration

Ecuador's legislation has made the country stand out internationally, especially due to the inclusion of a human rights approach to migration policy (Góngora-Mera et al., 2014). The “human mobility policy” constituted an important part of the new Ecuadorian Constitution of 2008 (Célleri, 2018). This concept involves the opening of international borders to ensure respect for human rights and civil rights of all persons based on the concept of “universal citizenship” (Constitución de la República del Ecuador, 2008, Art. 416). This means that all people have the same rights on Ecuadorian territory, regardless of where they were born (Constitución de la República del Ecuador, 2008, Art. 9, Art. 416). Accordingly, social policy was based on the National System of Social Equity and Inclusion (Art. 340) which aims to expand rights and social policy for people in “vulnerable” conditions by strengthening state structures, based on values of “universal solidarity” in fields such as education and health, in contrast to neoliberal reforms (Acevedo & Valenti, 2017). The MIES (2020) is responsible for implementing this approach. Above the MIES, the National Councils for Equality were supposed to “exercise powers in the formulation, mainstreaming, observance, monitoring and evaluation of public policies related to gender, ethnic, generational, intercultural, disability and human mobility issues” (Constitución de la República del Ecuador, 2008, Art. 156).

Therefore, between 2006 and 2017, the Ecuadorian government was considered a model for enhancing state capacity in social service and education. Some scholars have highlighted significant advances in access to public services and improvements in the redistribution of resources for the population (Albuja, 2019, p. 7). Nevertheless, these policies have not enhanced the participation of previously excluded populations (Bastidas, 2020, p. 67) nor extended labour opportunities beyond public structures (Albuja, 2019, p. 8).

Due to Ecuador's economic crisis in recent years, new governments and budgets have seen a reduction in social policy. Since 2015, the investment in social policy has been reduced by half and further budget reductions continue to be made. Similarly, several institutions have suffered budget cuts or were subsumed into other structures of lower rank, reflecting their reduced prioritization. This was the case for the National Directorate for Youth and Adolescents, an adjunct to the MIES, which was in charge of coordinating the implementation of inclusion policy in education with the Ministry of Education and the Secretary of Higher Education, Science and Technology, as well as labour issues with the Ministry of Labour (see MIES, 2016). The National Directorate for Youth and Adolescents was replaced by the Technical Secretariat for Youth in 2017, and eventually eliminated in 2020 (Contraloría del Ecuador, 2021). Currently, the MIES is in charge of public policy implementation in the area of social protection for young people, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Human Mobility is responsible for human mobility. In this sense, youth and human mobility policy were not only relegated to sub-institutions within national ministries, but they also lost ground for further policy implementation. Likewise, the Councils of Equality have lost budgetary support and the power of advocacy through the abolition of the National Secretariat for Planning and Development in 2019 by presidential decree No. 732 (Presidencia de la República del Ecuador, 2019).

In this context, Ecuador has become the third-highest receiving country of Venezuelan migrants (approximately 474,945) in South America, following Colombia and Peru (R4V, 2023). At least two phases of arrival can be differentiated. In the first wave, between 2015 and 2017, those who arrived included more young people with professional experience or university degrees. The group arriving in the second phase, between 2018 and 2019, had fewer qualifications and generally sought more basic services, such as healthcare (Herrera & Cabezas, 2019; Torres et al., 2022). During the first wave, many sought to live in the larger cities such as Quito and Guayaquil or stayed in small cities next to the northern border, such as Ibarra. Afterwards, other cities such as Cuenca and Manta became more attractive to Venezuelans due to their pre-established networks, labour demand and support from local governments, and international cooperation. As of 2020, Venezuelan migrants and refugees account for 3.7% of the working-age population in Ecuador, and it has been shown that their impact is minimal in the labour markets of cities with denser populations of Venezuelans (Quito and Guayaquil) when compared with their impact in other cities (Olivieri et al., 2022, p. 7). The average Venezuelan in Ecuador is 26 years old, three years younger than the average Ecuadorian (Banco Mundial, 2020, p. 16). Even if the Venezuelan population shows a higher level of post-secondary and university education when compared to nationals, the vast majority of them do not work in their professions. Multilateral experts estimate that 52% of the Venezuelan population is engaged in the informal sector (Banco Mundial, 2020) and that 59.7% are "self-employed" (International Organization for Migration, 2019).

While some efforts have been made to regularise the situation of Venezuelan migrants, a more restrictive migration and refugee policy began to be implemented in 2019 (Herrera & Cabezas, 2019; Malo, 2021; Pugh & Moya, 2020). After hosting Venezuelans between 2016 and 2018 based on regional agreements (UNASUR and the Andean Pact), in 2019 the Ecuadorian Government imposed an entry visa—euphemistically identified as a "humanitarian visa" (VERHU, for its Spanish acronym)—to Venezuelans, closing its borders to them. This visa does not apply to the nationals of any other Latin American country. Since then, only 94,428 Venezuelans have been regularised through two processes of supposedly "humanitarian visas" (Colectivo de Geografía Crítica, 2021). Access through irregular paths has been steadily increasing from 385,042 in 2019 to 502,214 in 2022 (R4V, 2023). Furthermore, since 2019, police and

migration controls increased with the media's criminalization discourses and the government's emphasis on "national security" (Célleri, 2023; Pugh & Moya, 2020).

Along these lines, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Human Mobility has shown very limited advances in integration and inclusion policy. The creation of the Unit for the Protection of the Foreign Community in 2015 led to improved attention for Ecuadorians abroad; however, state services do not cover the large existing demand of migrants and refugees in Ecuador, and the benefits offered by the state services are often unknown (Célleri, 2018). The pre-existing social protection program, Human Development Bond, has been limited to Ecuadorian nationals since 2019 (Vera Espinoza et al., 2021, p. 16). In this sense, the services extended through other local bodies, such as local governments, have demonstrated effective coordination with other local and international organizations. Indeed, the "humanitarian assistance" for the Venezuelan crisis is mostly covered by support from international cooperation (Vera Espinoza et al., 2021). As this article discusses, policy development for the inclusion of migrants and refugees is scarce. This could be a consequence of government's willingness to reduce migration by rendering migrants ineligible for social provisioning (MacAuslan & Sabates-Wheeler, 2011, p. 76).

The Human Mobility Law enacted in 2017 was reformed in 2021 with a far greater focus on deportation. Art. 143.7 now sets forth that those who threaten national security may be deported (Asamblea Nacional del Ecuador, 2021). According to Venezuelan migrant organizations, employers now use this resource by declaring their workers to be "thieves" or "violent." In many cases, this allows employers to avoid paying wages if they present this complaint to the police. Interviewed Venezuelan workers often express that they do not have the possibility of defending themselves because they are only made aware of these complaints once they require a criminal record or similar documentation for their visa renewal process. Therefore, many Venezuelan migrants have remained irregular, are afraid of being deported, and prefer to search for independent work in the informal sector.

In terms of regularisation, although new regularization campaigns with the "humanitarian visa" (VERHU) have been promoted since 2019, it is estimated that more than half of the Venezuelans living in Ecuador have irregular status. Our results in Quito showed that more than 70% did not have an updated passport. Similarly, more than 55% of the total number of people surveyed stated that they did not have the economic resources to regularize their migration status (Célleri, 2023). Asylum has become an almost impossible avenue since the criteria are not clear and many applications have been denied (Haro, 2020). Our surveys in Quito showed that just 28% of migrants and refugees signed a formal job contract and just 12% had affiliation with social security (Célleri, 2019). Youth is another burden: 82.6% of young people between 18 and 29 years of age were not contributing to the social security system in 2019 (International Labour Organization, 2020a, p. 26). As many young migrants are confronted with the multiplication of labour and differential inclusion, resulting in very limited access to public institutions, they develop resilience strategies, as exemplified by the following cases.

5. Strategies of Young Venezuelan Migrants

5.1. Exit From the Public System Because "It's More Expensive to Follow the Formal Rules" (Jenny, 18)

Jenny (Quito, 18) arrived in Ecuador with her mother and younger brother in 2017 by irregular means through the northern border. Her mother found informal work as a housekeeper. She and her brother were able to

enter secondary school without regular status. But in 2021, despite being the best-performing graduate of her school for the year, she was not allowed to receive academic awards and could not take the application test for public universities because she did not have a valid passport and visa. Two years ago, she wanted to study computer science, but now she works informally in a variety store and only thinks about receiving money to help her mother, who does not earn more than 300 USD a month. After two years, she is saving funds to emigrate to Spain to live with her uncle and to someday achieve her dreams of seeking further studies.

Despite her academic achievements, Jenny encountered barriers in accessing higher education and navigating her migrant status. The additional challenge of not having access to scholarships due to her “non-national” status further complicated matters. Jenny’s decision to not affiliate with the social system was likely influenced by the fear of reduced salary and increased regularization costs. This is a difficult choice to make, as it involves weighing immediate financial concerns against potential long-term benefits.

The intensification and diversification of labour contribute to a situation where most migrants and refugees receive lower wages and work more hours than the local population. Our results indicate that only 36% in the north and 21% in the south of Quito earn between 300 and 400 USD, and the majority earn less than 200 USD per month, i.e., they barely cover a minimum wage. This is particularly evident in the field of services and informal sales where, while an Ecuadorian could earn 20 to 25 USD per day, a migrant earns at most half of this salary with a heavier workload and longer workday (Céleri, 2019, 2020). Most of the informal service work is done by young women such as Jenny.

With respect to differential inclusion, although there is a normative openness in public policy for the inclusion of young people and access to public universities based on merit and regardless of social class, exclusion is carried out on the basis of nationality and legal status. Without regular status, migrants are not allowed to take the public university admissions test, even though this test was originally created for the “democratization” of higher education (SENESCYT, 2012). Even migrants with regular status face barriers in obtaining scholarships or economic support, as these benefits are only available for Ecuadorians (SENESCYT, 2022). As a young woman, Jenny will not find social support at the MIES either, because it has only partial projects for young migrants and refugees with the support of international cooperation, but mainly focuses on “entrepreneurship” or “leadership” (MIES, 2021). Indeed, Venezuelans were excluded from social policy per presidential decree in 2019. Labour policy is also sparse for youth and, although some capacitation programs for professional qualifications were offered by the Ministry of Labour, the few existing programs offering internships for access to a “first job” for formal labour insertion scarcely include migrants or refugees.

5.2. Incorporation and Dependency on the Public System: Staying in Silence to Maintain Access to Health Services

Jorge (Quito, 25) is an occupational safety engineer and LGBT leader of several initiatives for migrants and refugees from Venezuela. He had to leave Venezuela, not only due to his sexual orientation, but especially because he could not afford or find retroviral medication for his AIDS-positive health status. With the expectation of universal access to health services in Ecuador, he tried to apply for asylum upon arriving in Quito. However, as some of his friends did not receive refugee status, he decided to apply for a UNASUR visa and later for a humanitarian visa. After two years of applying for jobs in several places such as security enterprises, small businesses, and the public sector, where he was categorized as “overqualified,” he got a

job at a private school without a stable contract. However, he was able to be affiliated with the Social Security Institute. Not only did this allow him to receive his retroviral medication as he did before, but also to get periodical medical support. For this reason, he accepted the low pay and precarious work conditions. However, his health status and sexual orientation came to light a year into the job during a medical review at his workplace, and the following week he was fired. He preferred not to file a legal complaint and to return to working informally on the streets with the expectation of being able to find another “formal” job.

Jorge decided not to report this discrimination based on sexual orientation to authorities in order to maintain access to health services. Presenting a legal complaint to the Ombudsman’s Office implies a great deal of paperwork and legal support, and the few who choose to do so prefer to work through migrant associations and LGBT community support. Nevertheless, it is difficult to pursue and prove most cases of labour discrimination with such limited capacities. While these demands should technically be directed to the Ministry of Labour, Jorge, like many young Venezuelan refugees and migrants, is afraid to visit them because of the labour inspections and migration controls which have increased since 2019 with the government’s securitization measures. This situation reveals the heterogenization of institutions providing migrants with tools to assert their rights as non-nationals, while also subjecting them to the fear of restrictive migration control policies.

5.3. Negotiation and Protest: Speaking Out and Being Punished With Social and Labour Exclusion

Maria (Ibarra, 22) was studying finance in Venezuela but interrupted her studies to migrate to Ecuador. She started working as a waitress in Quito in order to fund further studies. She then got a job as an “assistant” in Ibarra with a small business, where she experienced sexual harassment from her boss. The intensification of labour was evident in the job’s 24/7 demands, which included intimacy and sexual exploitation from the employer. Maria couldn’t stand the situation and, by seeking help from the Human Mobility Roundtable of Imbabura, which has existed since 2009, she was able to report her case and recover three months’ pay that her boss had not recognized during her “probationary period.” However, she was unable to find another job. Ibarra is a small city on the northern border and her case did not go unnoticed. While she was able to regularize her visa with the support of local organizations, she could not easily support herself without work. It was very difficult for her to find another job in Quito during the pandemic (2021), so she decided to return to Venezuela afterwards.

Maria decided to move to a new city for a job opportunity despite losing her networks of family and friends. Nevertheless, once she experienced sexual harassment, Maria used her voice and got local support. The Human Mobility Roundtable of Imbabura has been consolidating the country’s largest network of services for migrants and refugees. Local governments at all levels, the public sector, civil society, and international organizations collaborate within this platform, and it has been a model practice for responding to emergencies or concrete demands from migrants and refugees (Prefectura de Imbabura, 2019). Public institutions such as the Ombudsman’s Office, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Human Mobility, and the provincial government of Imbabura chair this Roundtable together with other international organizations. Service areas such as legal rights, labour, gender and diversity, education, and human trafficking and smuggling are among the board’s priorities. Gender violence has been a very frequent phenomenon, and some legal actions have been taken in favour of the protection of young women. Additionally, the “Protection Councils” have been activated within local governments, alongside greater local government

participation of migrants and refugees. Nevertheless, Maria's case shows that, without labour opportunities or socioeconomic inclusion policy at the national level, humanitarian attention at the local level is brief and limited. As a young Venezuelan woman, she was hypersexualised on the one side, and on the other side, she was "punished" for speaking out, also in her own social networks back in Quito. In this context of differential inclusion, young women, particularly migrants, may receive short-term local support after raising their voices due to their vulnerable positions. However, this support often comes with conditions or consequences that ultimately exclude them from accessing the labour market.

5.4. Change of Residence due to Diverse Local and International Social Provisions

Mariana (Manta, 27) is a single mother with a six-year-old son who arrived in Quito and then moved to Manta (Ecuador's central coast) in 2019. She entered by regular means so she was able to obtain a temporary visa, which she could afford with her savings. Before moving, she worked as a nurse in Venezuela with a minimum wage that was not enough to pay for food and survive with her young son. In Ecuador, she planned to continue working in her profession as a nurse. To do so, she first needed to register her university degree at SENESCYT. She started with the paperwork in 2020 but received a rejection without any explanation after a year. She tried again but, as of 2023, she is still waiting for the results. When the pandemic started, nurses were needed in the public health system, but she couldn't apply without this registration approval. When she moved to Manta, she started an informal food stand with initial assistance from local organizations financed through international cooperation. In theory, intensifying her work schedule and incorporating childcare into the restaurant operations would allow her to reduce debts while also strengthening her position in the competitive local food market. In reality, she is exhausted, scraping by on a basic salary and barely able to pay her rent and daily expenses.

Moving to another city in search of support can be a viable short-term strategy. However, it's crucial to acknowledge that, while this strategy may provide short-term relief or access to certain services, it may not necessarily lead to a stable long-term employment perspective. Despite the fact that SENESCYT has recognized an important number of university degrees, most of these processes are restrictive when taking into account the difficult process of getting official documents from Venezuela (International Labour Organization, 2020b, pp. 65–67). Even if Mariana could receive support in completing her paperwork from local organizations, another barrier must be overcome: Employment in the public sector entails many additional requirements, among them a work authorization stating that "no Ecuadorian person can do the work" (Ministry of Labour, 2015). These barriers led Mariana to change her locality and seek support from local initiatives and international organisations as a single mother.

An important number of female Venezuelan migrants work in areas such as medicine and health sciences (International Labour Organization, 2020b). If promoted by national labour policy, they could enter into the public sector. But once again, differential inclusion allows Mariana to access education and health services, but not public labour. In the private sector, many employers will not hire "foreigners" because of the stereotype about a "temporary" stay and the difficult verification of employment references from Venezuela (International Labour Organization, 2021). Migrants and refugees have to demonstrate their eligibility and have higher costs in doing so (MacAuslan & Sabates-Wheeler, 2011, p. 76).

6. Discussion and Conclusions

The social inclusion policies enshrined in Ecuador's constitutional reforms opened doors to the expansion of rights, including for youth in conditions of human mobility. Nevertheless, without strong coordinating mechanisms and institutions for human mobility and youth policy development, these provisions are subject to differential inclusion for young migrants who could otherwise have greater socio-economic contributions. These testimonials reflect the contradictions in young migrants' experiences between accessing public services such as education and health, while simultaneously navigating intensification, diversification, and heterogenization of labour (Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013). The first example demonstrates how the decision to exit the public system (MacAuslan & Sabates-Wheeler, 2011, pp. 75–76) led to exploitation, as Jenny's legal status did not guarantee that her labour rights would be enforced. She decided to stay outside of the system to save costs in order to plan for a future abroad. The second strategy demonstrates loyalty to the system (MacAuslan & Sabates-Wheeler, 2011, p. 74) that made Jorge "dependent" on public health services, given that migratory status is an important component of discrimination in health insurance coverage. Nevertheless, Jorge's decision allowed him to receive healthcare access that may seem unthinkable for him. In the third situation, Maria was forced to denounce the abuses she was subjected to, but she was subsequently excluded from job opportunities and from her network-based system (Schaffer & Lamb, 1974). Instead of offering her more opportunities, this decision constrained her from social provisions. Finally, Mariana's decision to relocate in search of support from local initiatives can indeed be, as we argue, a legitimate strategy for accessing social provisions. However, this doesn't guarantee immediate access to stable employment. Despite her relevant qualifications and the high demand for health personnel due to the Covid-19 pandemic, she was not even able to access a nursing position in a public hospital.

These cases show how the intersectionality of age, immigration status, and gender play a central role in differential inclusion dynamics (Andrijasevic, 2009; Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013) affecting the access to resources (Klinger & Knapp, 2007) such as labour and social provisions. The individuals' strategies for attempting to navigate the multiplication of labour underscore the need for developing further concepts around "welfare regimes" and inclusion policies. The latter cannot be achieved through the implementation of policies or the establishment of systems that render migrants ineligible for social provisions when governments aim to discourage migration.

Funding

The publication of this article was funded by the Open Access Fund at Leibniz University Hannover.

Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

References

- Acevedo, C., & Valenti, G. (2017). Exclusión social en Ecuador. Buen vivir y modernización capitalista. *Polis. Revista Latinoamericana*, 16(46), 151–174. <https://doi.org/10.4067/s0718-65682017000100151>
- Acosta, D., Blouin, C., & Freier, F. (2019). *La emigración venezolana: Respuestas latino-americanas*. Fundación Carolina. <https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.33921.71523>
- Albuja, S. (2019). Productive and social inclusion in Ecuador. *Problemas del desarrollo*, 50(197). <https://doi.org/10.22201/iiec.20078951e.2019.197.64747>

- Álvarez Velasco, S., Bayón Jiménez, M., Hurtado Caicedo, F., Pérez Martínez, L., Baroja, C., Tapia, J., & Yumbra, M. R. (2021). *Viviendo al límite: Migrantes irregularizados en Ecuador*. Colectivo de Geografía Crítica de Ecuador; Red Clamor; GIZ. <https://geografiacriticaecuador.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/CARTILLA-2-FINAL.pdf>
- Andrijasevic, R. (2009). Sex on the move. Gender, subjectivity and differential inclusion. *Subjectivity*, 29(1), 389–406.
- Asamblea Nacional del Ecuador. (2021). *Ley orgánica reformativa de la ley orgánica de movilidad humana* (Registro Oficial No. 386).
- Ayala Román, P. (2011). *Políticas públicas sobre juventud en Ecuador desde 1980*. <https://repositorioslatinoamericanos.uchile.cl/handle/2250/4636570>
- Banco Mundial. (2020). *Retos y oportunidades de la migración venezolana en Ecuador*. <http://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/453941593004490155/pdf/Retos-y-Oportunidades-de-la-Migracion-Venezolana-en-Ecuador.pdf>
- Bastidas, M. C. (2020). Dilemmas of justice in the post-neoliberal educational policies of Ecuador and Bolivia. *Policy Futures in Education*, 18(1), 51–71. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1478210318774946>
- Burbano Alarcon, M., Zaldivar, A., & Vera Puebla, M. F. (2019). The Ecuadorian migratory public policy in the case of the Venezuelan migration crisis. *Revista de La Facultad de Jurisprudencia*, 6, 121–137.
- Célleri, D. (2018). Migración, derechos humanos y desarrollo. Avances y desafíos en la política migratoria ecuatoriana 2009–2016. In D. Borschein (Ed.), *Hacia un salto cualitativo. Migración y desarrollo en México y el norte de Centroamérica* (pp. 331–352). FLACSO-Guatemala.
- Célleri, D. (2019). *Situación laboral y aporte económico de inmigrantes en el norte de Quito-Ecuador. Una primera aproximación cuantitativa para dialogar sobre política pública*. FES-ILDIS Ecuador. <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/quito/15204.pdf>
- Célleri, D. (2020). *Situación laboral y aporte económico de inmigrantes en el centro/sur de Quito-Ecuador. Una primera aproximación cuantitativa para dialogar sobre política pública*. Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung. <http://www.rosalux.org.ec/pdfs/SituacionLaboralYAporteEconomicoDelInmigrantes.pdf>
- Célleri, D. (2023). Xenofobia y migración venezolana en Ecuador: Entre percepciones de inseguridad y competencia laboral. *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, 115, 43–62.
- Colectivo de Geografía Crítica. (2021). *Viviendo al límite. Migrantes irregularizados en Ecuador*. <https://geografiacriticaecuador.org/2021/03/25/viviendo-al-limite-cartilla-2-migrantes-irregularizados-en-ecuador>
- Constitución de la República del Ecuador, 2008.
- Contraloría del Ecuador. (2021). *Dirección Nacional de Auditoría de Sectores Sociales*. <https://www.contraloria.gob.ec/WFDescarga.aspx?id=64852&tipo=inf>
- Corrigan, O. (2014). Migrant deprivation, conditionality of legal status and the welfare state. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 24(3), 223–239. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0958928714525819>
- Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review*, 43(6), 1241–1299.
- De Genova, N. (2007). Working the boundaries: Race, space, and “illegality” in Mexican Chicago. *Journal of Latin American Anthropology*, 11(1), 192–195. <https://doi.org/10.1525/jlca.2006.11.1.192>
- Fackler, M., Gabbert, W., & Matthes, S. (2021). *Extraktivismus, indigene Selbstbestimmung und nachhaltige Entwicklung in Lateinamerika*. Leibniz University Hannover.
- Fleury, S. (2005). Inclusión social y democracia deliberativa en América Latina. In R. C. Canudas & M. Lorenzelli (Eds.), *Inclusión social. Una perspectiva para la reducción de pobreza* (pp. 194–208). INDES.

- Franzoni, J. M. (2005). Regímenes de bienestar en América Latina: Consideraciones generales e itinerarios regionales. *Revista Centroamericana de Ciencias Sociales (RCCS)*, 2(2), 41–78. <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=3234435>
- Góngora-Mera, M., Herrera, G., & Müller, C. (2014). *The frontiers of universal citizenship. Transnational social spaces and the legal status of migrants in Ecuador* (Working Paper 71). desiguALdades.net.
- Gudynas, E., & Acosta, A. (2011). La renovación de la crítica al desarrollo y el buen vivir como alternativa. *Utopía y Praxis Latinoamericana*, 16(53), 71–83.
- Haro, J. (2020). Criterios para la determinación de la condición de refugiados aplicados al caso de solicitantes de nacionalidad venezolana en el Ecuador. In A. Subia (Ed.), *Política pública ecuatoriana en materia de movilidad humana: Interculturalidad y derechos humanos* (pp. 66–84). Universidad de Otavalo. <https://doi.org/10.47463/clder.2020.02.004>
- Herrera, G., & Cabezas, G. (2019). Ecuador: De la recepción a la disuasión. Políticas frente a la población venezolana y experiencia migratoria 2015–2018. In F. Lozano-Ascencio & V. Prieto Rosas (Eds.), *Crisis y migración de población venezolana. Entre la desprotección y la seguridad jurídica en Latinoamérica* (pp. 125–156). Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- International Labour Organization. (2020a). *Ecuador. Jóvenes, empleo y protección social*. https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---americas/---ro-lima/documents/publication/wcms_751943.pdf
- International Labour Organization. (2020b). *Sectores económicos con potencial para la inclusión laboral de migrantes y refugiados venezolanos en Quito y Guayaquil*. http://www.ilo.org/lima/publicaciones/WCMS_759355/lang--es/index.htm
- International Labour Organization. (2021). *Barreras tácitas y explícitas al empleo de personas en situación de movilidad humana en Ecuador*. http://www.ilo.org/lima/publicaciones/WCMS_814912/lang--es/index.htm
- International Organization for Migration. (2019). *DTM. Monitoreo de flujo de población venezolana*. <https://dtm.iom.int/reports/ecuador-%E2%80%94-monitoreo-de-flujo-de-poblaci%C3%B3n-venezolana-4>
- Klinger, C., & Knapp, G. A. (2007). Achsen der Ungleichheit—Achsen der Differenz: Verhältnisbestimmungen von Klasse, Geschlecht, “Rasse”/Ethnizität. In C. Klinger & Knapp (Eds.), *Achsen der Ungleichheit. Zum Verhältnis von Klasse, Geschlecht und Ethnizität* (pp. 71–95). Campus.
- Könönen, J. (2018). Differential inclusion of non-citizens in a universalistic welfare state. *Citizenship Studies*, 22(1), 53–69. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13621025.2017.1380602>
- MacAuslan, I., & Sabates-Wheeler, R. (2011). Structures of access to social provision for migrants. In R. Sabates-Wheeler & R. Feldman (Eds.), *Migration and social protection: Claiming social rights beyond borders* (pp. 61–87). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230306554_3
- Malo, G. (2021). Between liberal legislation and preventive political practice: Ecuador’s political reactions to Venezuelan forced migration. *International Migration*, 60(1), 92–112. <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12895>
- Mayring, P. (2015). *Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse: Grundlagen und Techniken* (12th ed.). Beltz.
- Mezzadra, S., & Neilson, B. (2013). *Border as method, or, the multiplication of labor*. Duke University Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv1131cvw>
- Ministry of Economic and Social Inclusion. (2016). *Dirección Nacional de la Juventud y Adolescencia*. <https://www.inclusion.gob.ec/direccion-nacional-de-la-juventud-y-adolescencia>
- Ministry of Economic and Social Inclusion. (2020). *Estatuto orgánico de gestión organizacional por procesos*. <https://www.gob.ec/regulaciones/estatuto-organico-gestion-organizacional-procesos-mies-m>
- Ministry of Economic and Social Inclusion. (2021). *MIES y organización de ayuda a inmigrantes y refugiados coordinan acciones para atender a grupos vulnerables*. <https://www.inclusion.gob.ec/mies-y-organizacion-de-ayuda-a-inmigrantes-y-refugiados-coordinan-acciones-para-atender-a-grupos-vulnerables>

- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Human Mobility. (2020). *XVIII mesa nacional de movilidad humana (MNMH)*. <https://www.cancilleria.gob.ec/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/XVIII-MNMH-Relator%C3%ADa.pdf>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Human Mobility. (2023). *Estadística de visas VIRTE*.
- Ministry of Labour. (2015). *Instructivo para la autorización laboral de personas extranjeras para prestar sus servicios en el sector público* (Acuerdo No. MDT-2015-0006)
- Olivieri, S., Ortega, F., Rivadeneira, A., & Carranza, E. (2022). The labour market effects of Venezuelan migration in Ecuador. *The Journal of Development Studies*, 58(4), 713–729. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00220388.2021.1988077>
- Oxoby, R. (2009). Understanding social inclusion, social cohesion, and social capital. *International Journal of Social Economics*, 36(12), 1133–1152. <https://doi.org/10.1108/03068290910996963>
- Papadopoulos, D., & Tsianos, V. S. (2013). After citizenship: Autonomy of migration, organisational ontology and mobile commons. *Citizenship Studies*, 17(2), 178–196. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13621025.2013.780736>
- Penrod, J., Preston, D. B., Cain, R. E., & Starks, M. T. (2003). A discussion of chain referral as a method of sampling hard-to-reach populations. *Journal of Transcultural Nursing*, 14(2), 100–107. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1043659602250614>
- Prefectura de Imbabura. (2019). *Plan provincial de movilidad humana 2020–2024*.
- Presidencia de la República del Ecuador. (2019). *Decreto nro 732 de Ecuador*. <https://observatorioplanificacion.cepal.org/es/marcos-regulatorios/decreto-nro-732-de-ecuador>
- Pugh, J., & Moya, J. (2020). *Words of (un)welcome: Securitization & migration discourses in Ecuadorian media*. SSRN. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3679341>
- Pun, L. (2019). Migrants' stories of everyday life: An ethnographic account. *Journal of Education and Research*, 8(1), 46–60. <https://doi.org/10.3126/jer.v8i1.25479>
- Quijano, A., & Westwell, P. (1983). Imperialism and marginality in Latin America. *Latin American Perspectives*, 10(2/3), 76–85. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0094582X8301000205>
- R4V. (2023). *Refugiados y migrantes de Venezuela*. <https://www.r4v.info/es/refugiadosymigrantes>
- Ramírez, J. (2020). De la ciudadanía suramericana al humanitarismo: El giro en la política y diplomacia migratoria ecuatoriana. *Estudios Fronterizos*, 21, Article e061. <https://doi.org/10.21670/ref.2019061>
- Saad, P., Miller, T., Martínez, C., & Holz, M. (2012). *Juventud y bono demográfico en Iberoamérica*. Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe.
- Schaffer, B., & Lamb, G. (1974). Exit, voice and access. *Social Science Information*, 13(6), 73–90.
- Secretary of Higher Education, Science and Technology. (2012). *Acuerdo 2012–076. Expídesese el Reglamento del Sistema Nacional de Nivelación y Admisión-SNNA*. <https://vlex.ec/vid/expidese-reglamento-nacional-nivelacion-427505746>
- Secretary of Higher Education, Science and Technology. (2022). *Aprobación de postulación a becas nacionales e internacionales | Ecuador*. <https://www.gob.ec/senescyt/tramites/aprobacion-postulacion-becas-nacionales-internacionales>
- Sen, A. (2001). *Social exclusion: Concept, application, and scrutiny*. In *Social capital, local capacity building, and poverty reduction* (Paper No. 1). Asian Development Bank. <https://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/publication/29778/social-exclusion.pdf>
- Shutes, I. (2016). Work-related conditionality and the access to social benefits of national citizens, EU and non-EU citizens. *Journal of Social Policy*, 45(4), 691–707. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047279416000234>
- Torres, I., López, D., Cañizares, B., & Hui, Y. (2022). La respuesta sanitaria de Ecuador ante la migración venezolana. In *La migración venezolana en los Andes. La respuesta sanitaria de Perú, Chile, Colombia y Ecuador* (pp. 408–503). Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú; Red SAMI. <http://hdl.handle.net/11447/5650>

Vera Espinoza, M., Prieto Rosas, V., Zapata, G. P., Gandini, L., Fernández de la Reguera, A., Herrera, G., López Villamil, S., Zamora Gómez, C. M., Blouin, C., Montiel, C., Cabezas Gálvez, G., & Palla, I. (2021). Towards a typology of social protection for migrants and refugees in Latin America during the Covid-19 pandemic. *Comparative Migration Studies*, 9, Article 52. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-021-00265-x>

About the Author



Daniela Céleri is a postdoctoral researcher at the Institute of Sociology at Leibniz University Hannover and an associate professor at the National Institute for Higher Studies in Ecuador. Her current research focuses on the situation and contributions of migrants and refugees in Ecuador. Using both quantitative and qualitative data on labour conditions, she aims to establish a scientific basis for the development of socio-economic inclusion policies.