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**The situation of migration, work,  
and employment in Paraguay since  
the COVID-19 crisis**

Blanca Aquino  
Verónica Benitez Mendieta  
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## Abstract

This study assesses the labour and employment situation among both internal and international migrants in Paraguay in relation to the COVID-19 pandemic, based on an analysis of the period 2019-2021. The research employs a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches, using data from the Permanent Household Survey published by Paraguay's National Institute of Statistics (INE), in addition to data from interviews with migrants, migration experts and participant observation. Overall, this study shows a level of equality between migrants and non-migrants in relation to SDG 10. It highlights the access of migrants to vaccines and subsidies during the COVID-19 pandemic, and in terms of labour, findings underline generally high employment rates for migrants, and finds similarities in terms of the economic and labour impacts of COVID-19 across migrant and non-migrant groups. However high labour informality rates among both migrant and non-migrant population suggest this should be considered as a systemic challenge to overcome in Paraguay, since labour formality is an important determinant of decent work. The study also stresses difficulties among international migrants in relation to the legal framework for residency in Paraguay. While policy action in response to the pandemic was helpful for both migrants and non-migrants, the study underlines the need for more structured public policies in relation to migration, prioritising access to education, health, and job opportunities.

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## Acronyms and abbreviations

|            |  |
|------------|--|
| <b>PHS</b> | Permanent Household Survey (Encuesta Permanente de Hogares)          |
| <b>ILO</b> | International Labour Organization                                    |
| <b>INE</b> | Instituto Nacional de Estadística (National Institute of Statistics) |
| <b>IOM</b> | International Organization for Migration                             |
| <b>SDG</b> | Sustainable Development Goals  |
| <b>PPP</b> | Purchasing Power Parity  |
| <b>pp</b>  | Percentage point   |
| <b>USD</b> | United States dollar   |

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# **The situation of migration, work, and employment in Paraguay since the COVID-19 crisis**

*Blanca Aquino  
Verónica Benitez Mendieta  
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## **Introduction**

Between 2004 and 2019, Paraguay's economy experienced rapid growth, largely driven by institutional reforms focused on controlling inflation and reforming the fiscal system (Integral Human Development, 2022). During this period, the poverty rate dropped from 40.2% to 19.5%,<sup>1</sup> and income inequality declined from 54 to 46 Gini points (Integral Human Development, 2022). However, this trajectory was interrupted in 2020 by the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, which led to multi-sectoral lockdowns across the nation and caused considerable economic downturn (World Bank, 2023).

The emergence of COVID-19 prompted the Paraguayan government to implement drastic policy measures to control the spread of the virus. Such measures included confinement, quarantine, and border closures, which affected the labour market and economic activity. The country's GDP contracted by 5% in 2020 (Bakker & Roy, 2020), and the job market participation rate dropped from 72.4% at the end of 2019 to 68.9% in the second quarter of 2020 (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean [ECLAC] & International Labour Organization [ILO], 2021). Moreover, the pandemic led to around 218,000 people leaving the labour force to become 'inactive population', meaning they were not working nor looking for work (Reinecke, et al., 2020; Stevenson, 2020). Unemployment rates surged from 6.6% at the end of 2019 to 8.4% in the first quarter of 2021 (ECLAC & ILO, 2021). The effect was especially pronounced among women, where unemployment figures jumped from 8% to 10.2% over the same period (ECLAC & ILO, 2021).

Migrant workers, who are overrepresented in essential sectors such as healthcare, logistics, transport, maintenance, and construction (Khanna, 2020; Guadagno, 2020; Jesline, et al., 2021), found themselves in roles that are impossible to execute remotely and suffered mass layoffs and irregular or reduced wages, the withholding of benefits, and instances of non-compliance with social distancing guidelines at their places of work

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1 Based on a daily income of USD 6.85 per capita.

(Asian Development Bank Institute et al., 2021). Adding to this vulnerability, international migrant workers experienced less favourable treatment compared to internal migrants in terms of income support and social protection (Jesline et al., 2021), and were unable to return to their countries of origin.

As such, internal and international migrants in Paraguay faced differing challenges resulting from policy responses to the pandemic. On the one hand, there was a significant movement of internal labour migrants away from large cities (where they were unable to earn a living) towards rural communities (Zapata & Prieto, 2020). On the other hand, groups of international migrants—who relied on relocating frequently as their main subsistence strategy—attempted to return to their countries of origin or relocate to other countries, but were unable to pass custom controls because of international border closures (Zapata & Prieto, 2020). As a result, many international migrants found themselves jobless and, in some cases, even homeless due to mobility restrictions that forced them to stay in their host country with limited government or social support (Zapata & Prieto, 2020)



**In 2021, Paraguay registered a total of 1,261,546 migrants across the representative departments of the PHS, which is about 23% of the total population under study.**

Policy responses to the pandemic as well as the effects of the pandemic itself have hindered progress in achieving the SDG targets (Li et al., 2023). Specifically, the drop in income levels during 2020 has eclipsed progress made in the years leading up to the pandemic, putting the fulfilment of the targets set in SDG 8 (decent work and economic growth) and SDG 10 (reduce inequality within and among countries and, within this, Target 10.7 relating to the orderly, safe, regular and responsible migration and mobility of people) at risk.

Therefore, the main objective of the study is to examine the labour and employment situation among both internal and international migrants in Paraguay since the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, based on an analysis of the period 2019-2021. This study takes on particular importance in light of the current global and regional acceleration of migration. Latin America and the Caribbean have experienced the most pronounced relative increase in international migration of any region, with the migrant population nearly doubling from 8.3 million in 2010 to 16.3 million in 2022 (Selee et al., 2023).

Moreover, this is the first study to focus on labour indicators for migrants in Paraguay in relation to the COVID-19 pandemic. It analyses issues of employment rates, informal and formal sector participation, the number of weekly hours of work, and the monthly income derived from work, with descriptive statistics comparing labour outcomes of migrants and non-migrants in Paraguay. Other studies have focused on economic outcomes since the pandemic with few mentions of migration (Riquelme, 2020; Reinecke et al., 2020; Rodríguez & Achinelli, 2022).

This study also identifies what policies have been designed and implemented to mitigate negative impacts and redirect government efforts to create decent work conditions (SDG 8) for migrant workers (SDG 10). It also seeks to assess the successes and failures of those policies and their implications for the 2030 Agenda, with a focus on inequalities. To this end, additional qualitative data provides valuable information on migrants' situations and perceptions.

The paper begins with a comprehensive literature review, encompassing both conceptual and legal perspectives on migration to and within Paraguay. Subsequently, a detailed explanation of the methodology is provided, followed by a discussion of the results. Finally, in light of the findings and related literature, the paper identifies policy gaps and proposes potential strategies to address the disparities arising from COVID-19 affecting internal and international migrants in Paraguay.

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## Literature review

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) defines migration as "the movement of persons away from their place of usual residence, either across an international border or within a State" (Sironi et al., 2019, p. 137). Migration is a fundamental aspect of human behaviour, as evidenced by nomadic tribes who have historically moved in search of better resources for survival (Rolland, 2020). Today, people still migrate in large numbers in the search for better opportunities, including improved living conditions, and increased income, amongst other so-called pull factors (Raj, 1981; Jesline et al., 2021).

However, not all motivations to migrate are economic. Venezuela, for example, has seen high levels of emigration recently due largely to socio-political factors (Chaves-González & Echeverría-Estrada, 2020). By June 2020, more than four million Venezuelans had emigrated to different destinations in the Americas, with Paraguay for its part hosting over 4,500 Venezuelan migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers

(Chaves-González & Echeverría-Estrada, 2020). The sudden migration from Venezuela in a short time span represented a considerable challenge for the receiving countries (Cruces et al., 2023). A study carried out by Chaves-González and Echeverría-Estrada (2020) in 2019, in which 440 Venezuelan migrants in Paraguay were interviewed, found that 40% of these migrants had been unable to work in Paraguay since their arrival. Among those who could secure employment, half of them were working in the formal sector and the other half in the informal sector.

Much migration research has focused on how migrant workers have been inserted into local labour markets (Carella et al., 2021). Migration to Latin American cities, for example, has been linked to the expansion of the informal economy (Carella et al., 2021). However, with the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, "the usual drivers of migration were disrupted" as employment opportunities across formal and informal sectors dwindled as a result of nationwide lockdowns (Asian Development Bank Institute et al., 2021). This situation has opened up a fresh perspective for studying labour migration, focusing on the context of health-related restrictions, which have limited mobility and forced temporary shutdowns across diverse economic sectors.

Since the 1960s, Paraguay has seen an intensification in internal migration (Galeano, 1997). Internal migration refers to a change of residence between administrative divisions within a country, while international migration refers to a change of residence from one country to another (Welti, 1997; Bhagat & Keshri, 2020). Unlike international migration, internal migration is not normally subject to administrative controls. Furthermore, internal migration can be subdivided by region, province, or community (Welti, 1997). Due to data availability, for the purposes of this study, internal migration in Paraguay is taken as the movement of people between departments, which is the subdivision included in the Permanent Household Survey (PHS, *Encuesta Permanente de Hogares*).<sup>2</sup>

Specifically, urban centres have been the main migratory destination, with young people constituting the largest group of internal migrants. However, there is an exception to Paraguay's trend of increased migration when it comes to the city of Asunción. In this case, a significant number of people have moved from Asunción to the nearby Central Department, a region known for its vibrant urban communities (Galeano, 2019). Problems of insecurity and lifestyle restrictions were noted as the main reasons for migration from Asunción to other Departments (Galeano, 2019).

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<sup>2</sup> A department is a political and administrative division of the national territory, which in Paraguay has political, administrative, and regulatory autonomy for the management of its interests, and autarky in the collection and investment of its resources (National Constitution of the Republic of Paraguay, 1992, Article 156).

Arrúa and Bruno (2018) examine the labour integration of migrants in Paraguay, noting their tendency towards self-employment, finding that migrants are more likely to operate as self-employed workers within the formal sector. This contrasts with the general perception that self employment is associated with higher levels of informality. On the other hand, it is found that non-self employed migrants largely work in the informal sector, and mainly in small businesses.

Reinecke et al. (2020) refer to the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on return migration to Paraguay, with more than 9,000 citizens repatriated up to the beginning of July 2020, compared to around 7,000 repatriations per year before the beginning of the pandemic. According to the authors, this impacted Paraguay's labour market, as these people returned in search of job opportunities in the context of health and economic crises.

## Legal and institutional framework

According to the IOM, the Republic of Paraguay has established laws, resolutions, and decrees to support the socioeconomic inclusion of migrants (McAuliffe & Triandafyllidou, 2021). However, there has been no monitoring of individuals or groups of migrants at the national level to ensure these laws are upheld. Thus, there is a lack of updated and relevant data that can provide reliable information about the labour conditions of internal and international migrants in the country.

Law No. 978/96 on Migration regulates the entry and exit of persons, both nationals and foreigners, within the Republic of Paraguay. Decisions on who can enter the country include consideration of the professional background of the person, in the sense of how much they can offer to the country's productive capacity in its development.

In 2002, the member countries of the Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR)<sup>3</sup> signed an agreement in Brasilia with special regulations for the inhabitants of each of the member countries who wish to settle in another country, either temporarily or permanently. Law No. 3565/08 establishes the required documentation to migrate from one MERCOSUR member country to another. Law No. 3578/08 has the same function as Law No. 3565/08, but includes the regulation of migration between MERCOSUR member countries and the Associated States (Bolivia and Chile).

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<sup>3</sup> Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay are founding members.

In terms of Paraguay's migration policy, Santi (2020) notes a recent shift that includes a greater focus on human rights. However, this shift coincides with a heightened emphasis on strengthening security at the country's borders which can have a negative impact on human rights. The author mentions that this new policy has increased interest in Paraguay for individuals abroad. The new law relating to this policy (Law No. 6984 on Migration) was published in October 2022, and it establishes a new legal order for the modernization of national migration management, following international standards for the effective enforcement of public policies. This new law could be an indication of growing interest from authorities regarding migration matters.

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## Methodology

This study identifies inequalities related to migration that arose or increased due to the COVID-19 pandemic and associated containment measures. To this end, labour market indicators were used, specifically in relation to the work and employment of migrants. To assess the impact of COVID-19, it was necessary to include the pre-pandemic period (the year 2019) and the pandemic period (the years 2020 and 2021) to find any variations in labour indicators. It is important to mention that the years 2020 and 2021 are considered periods of COVID-19 insofar as its appearance in 2020 generated isolation and quarantine measures, while 2021 registered the greatest number of cases in Paraguay.

## Data and sampling

To identify migrants, this study used two questions from the PHS that refer first, to the place where the respondent's mother lived when she gave birth (question P10A) and second, to the respondent's place of residence five years previously (question P11A). In this way, migrants were classified into *lifelong/recent migrants and internal/international migrants* (see Table 1 and data in Appendix 2).

Internal lifelong migrants are identified as those whose mother, at the time of the respondent's birth, lived in a department<sup>4</sup> other than the one in which the respondent currently resides. This department is not the same as the one in which they resided five years ago. An internal recent migrant is identified as one who, five years ago, was living in a department other than the department of current residence.

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<sup>4</sup> This is not necessarily the department of birth. Women could go to give birth in a place that is a different location from their place of residence.

International lifelong migrants are identified as those whose mother, at the time of the respondent's birth, lived in a country other than the one in which the respondent currently resides. This country is not the same as the one in which they resided five years ago. On the other hand, an international recent migrant is one who, five years ago, was living in any country other than Paraguay.

Table 1. Percentage distribution of migrant groups in Paraguay, 2021

| Migrants      | Lifelong migrants | Recent migrants | Total       |
|---------------|-------------------|-----------------|-------------|
| Internal      | 65.8%             | 13.5%           | 79.3%       |
| International | 12.9%             | 7.8%            | 20.7%       |
| <b>Total</b>  | <b>78.7%</b>      | <b>21.3%</b>    | <b>100%</b> |

Note. Adapted from Permanent Household Survey 2019-2021 by INE (2022).

Due to limitations in the data available from the PHS, this study could only consider annual data from the representative departments over the period 2019-2021. The representative departments, established by the Paraguayan National Institute of Statistics (INE), are those that have enough sample data (meaning more than 30 data cases per department), which are: San Pedro, Caaguazú, Caazapá, Itapúa, Alto Paraná, Central, and the national capital Asunción. Together, they represent 74% of the country's total population. The PHS is nationally representative.

According to the definitions of employment used by INE in the PHS, the working age population (WAP) refers to all people aged 15 and over and who are in a position to supply their labour for the performance of economic activity.

The employed population includes people who performed some type of work, paid or unpaid, for at least one hour, or who were employed in the reference period. The employment rate is the ratio of the employed population to the WAP, according to the INE. In contrast, the unemployed population includes people who were not employed in the last seven days, who are available to take up some type of work, and who took steps to get a job. The unemployment rate is the ratio of the unemployed population to the labour force. The inactive population refers to people of working age who do not have a job and are not looking for one. The inactivity rate is the ratio of the inactive population to the WAP.

The analysis also covered informal employment, defined by the INE methodology to include: public/private workers and domestic workers outside the retirement



or pension system; employers and self-employed workers whose companies are not registered in the Single Taxpayer Registry, as well as all unpaid domestic workers. The informality rate is calculated as the ratio of the informally employed population to the total employed population.

To understand the migration context in Paraguay, four semi-structured interviews were conducted with experts on the subject. The experts were initially invited through email, in which they were informed of the nature and details of the study. Once the experts agreed to the interview, a day was set to conduct the interview virtually. The interviews were conducted using guidelines pre-designed by the researchers, with open questions that allowed the migration experts to develop their points of view and perceptions. The expertise of the four interviewees was as follows:

- E1: Experience in border migration since 1997, especially regarding Argentina. Similarly, migration to Spain and the USA, and issues of migratory return.
- E2: Experience in migration issues from communication with radio programs in Paraguay and Spain. Support for immigrant projects from Paraguay.
- E3: Experience in migration issues since 1999, focusing on migrant children and parents through microdata.
- E4: Experience in migration through international consulting and teaching.

In addition, 12 semi-structured interviews were conducted with six internal (three men and three women) and six international (three men and three women) migrants. Three of the internal migrants were lifelong migrants, and three recent migrants, and all were born in rural areas and now reside in the Central Department. The international migrants were from Argentina, Bolivia, and Venezuela, and included both lifelong (two Argentines and two Bolivians) and recent migrants (two Venezuelans). In this way, the interviews included all types of migrants.

Finally, qualitative data also included participant observation at Municipal Market No. 4 in Asunción, which is where Bolivian migrants carry out their commercial activities.

## **Data collection**

The research employs a mixed approach, i.e. a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches, which involves the selection of criteria for qualitative analysis based on the analysis of quantitative data. The quantitative data add theoretical support to the study to achieve the necessary variability and representativeness of the qualitative data (Goertz, 2012).

The quantitative data is based on official migration statistics obtained from the PHS, published annually by INE. The selected variables from the PHS, in addition to the variables related to migrant type, include indicators related to the labour market (such as employment/unemployment rates, average monthly income, average weekly hours worked, and labour informality).

Regarding the qualitative data collection, the semi-structured interviews were conducted with a pre-designed guide (see Appendix 1) developed by the researchers, made up of open questions relating to key themes, that allowed the interviewees to develop their points of view and perceptions.

Participant observation at Municipal Market No. 4 in Asunción, involved observation of the characteristics of the physical space, the nature of work activities (noting the types of tasks, when they occur, their frequency, and the demographic profile of the workers such as gender, age, migration status, and so on). It also included observations of people who use or pass through public spaces and narratives surrounding migration and working conditions (identifying sources such as written messages, public or private oral comments, visual advertising, among others). Additionally, this approach looks at other factors that seem to exacerbate inequality among migrants, such as working conditions, cultural conflicts, biases, and social exclusion.

## Data analysis

Descriptive statistical analysis comparing migrants (internal and international) with non-migrants was conducted, looking at the evolution of labour income in the period 2019–2021. The selected period made it possible to observe the situation of the labour market in relation to the COVID-19 pandemic, whereby the year 2019 was taken as a base, the year 2020 to capture the changes caused by the pandemic, and the year 2021 to review whether these changes had persisted or not.

The data were processed using the statistical package SPSS, weighting the PHS data with the expansion factor provided by INE to get a population approximation from the sample information obtained for the three years under study.

For data characterisation, average monthly income was measured in current USD at the nominal exchange rate. Furthermore, the study applied the purchasing power parity (PPP) conversion factor, provided by the World Bank in 2021,<sup>5</sup> to average monthly income to ensure accuracy in cross-country comparisons.

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<sup>5</sup> See more about the indicator at: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.PP.CD>

For the qualitative analysis, the narrative of the interviewees was processed by key themes and including relevant comments related to this study, identifying similar statements among interviewees which were considered relevant. Information was grouped by the following key themes: employment situation, episodes of migration (whether internal or international) over the life course, key challenges in terms of work during the pandemic, key challenges in terms of migration during the pandemic, future labour and personal/familiar plans (and what is needed to achieve these), and perceptions of most relevant work-related policies in the place of current residence.

## Findings

### Labour and migration trends and characteristics in Paraguay

When conducting descriptive statistics analysis, it was found that, in 2021, Paraguay registered a total of 1,261,546 migrants across the representative departments of the PHS, which is about 23% of the total population under study (see Appendix 2). From 2019 to 2020, there was a variation of -6.5% in the total number of migrants. This changed again from 2020 to 2021, with a variation of 6.1%; however, the absolute number of total migrants in 2021 was below the pre-pandemic level. The distribution of migrants in 2021, in a similar pattern to the overall period 2019–2021, was as follows: 66% internal lifelong migrants, 14% internal recent migrants, 13% international lifelong migrants, and 8% international recent migrants.

 **From 2019-2020, Paraguay's total employed migrant population decreased by 8.9%, while the unemployed population increased by 6.7% over the same period.**

Regarding the migrants' place of origin from 2019–2021, internal migrants mainly came from Asunción (29%), followed by Caaguazú (19%), San Pedro (16%), and Central (11%). International migrants primarily migrated from Argentina and Brazil, with 85% of lifelong international migrants and 81% of recent international migrants originating from Argentina and Brazil during the period under study (see Appendix 3)

In relation to labour market indicators, the total employed migrant population was 767,364 in 2021, which presented a marginal decrease of 0.8% from 2019, but an increase of 8.9% from 2020. The variation in employment rate from 2019 to 2021 was marginal for lifelong internal and recent international migrants, with reductions of 0.8 pp and 1.6 pp respectively, whereas the employment rate increased for recent internal and lifelong international migrants in the same period, with variations of 6.7 pp and 4.4 pp, respectively (see Table 2). In 2021, the overall employment rate among different migrant groups was around 70%, except for recent international migrants whose employment rate was below 60%.

From 2019-2020, Paraguay's total employed migrant population decreased by 8.9%, while the unemployed population increased by 6.7% over the same period. Labour market dynamics followed a similar pattern for migrants as for the general population (Reinecke et al., 2020). Unemployed migrants, in total, stood at 51,826 in 2021, which represented a rise of 9.4% from 2019 and 2.5% from 2020. The unemployment rate increased from 2019 to 2021 for lifelong internal migrants (0.4 pp), recent internal migrants (1.4 pp), and lifelong international migrants (1.8 pp), while the rate decreased by 1.0 pp for recent international migrants. Notably, data show that the unemployment rate for lifelong migrants (4-6%), remained consistently lower, staying in a one digit value, than the rate for recent migrants, which reached two-digit values (around 10%).

Table 2. Employment and unemployment rates in Paraguay per migrant group, 2019-2021

| Type of migrants                | Employment rate |       |       | Unemployment rate |      |       |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|-------|-------|-------------------|------|-------|
|                                 | 2019            | 2020  | 2021  | 2019              | 2020 | 2021  |
| Internal - lifelong migrants    | 70.8%           | 69.7% | 70.0% | 5.2%              | 6.7% | 5.6%  |
| Internal recent migrants        | 66.3%           | 68.2% | 73.0% | 8.8%              | 7.9% | 10.2% |
| International lifelong migrants | 69.1%           | 68.6% | 73.5% | 2.2%              | 3.7% | 4.0%  |
| International recent migrants   | 59.8%           | 58.6% | 58.2% | 11.0%             | 8.9% | 10.0% |

Note. Adapted from PHS 2019-2021 by INE (2022).

The largest concentration of employed migrants during the period of 2019–2021 was in the Central Department, with an average of 40% of the total employed migrants residing there. The second largest concentration of the employed migrant population

among the representative departments is the Alto Paraná Department, with an average of 16% during the period under study.

Regarding internal migration, the migratory flow of employed migrants is focused on the Asunción-Central Department trajectory. This study also highlights three further recurrent trajectories among the representative departments, specifically for lifelong internal migrants: San Pedro-Central, Caaguazú-Central, and Caaguazú-Alto Paraná. Regarding international migration, the migratory flow of employed migrants is concentrated on the Argentina-Central Department trajectory; additionally, we highlight the Brazil-Alto Paraná Department trajectory, and for recent international migrants, the flows of Argentinians towards Itapúa Department and Caaguazú Department. Regarding Venezuelans, lifelong migrants tend to reside in the Itapúa Department, while recent migrants tend to reside in the Central Department.

Regarding the income of employed migrants in Paraguay, the average monthly income from 2019 to 2021 decreased among internal migrants but increased among international migrants (see Table 3). The average weekly hours worked by migrants had the same pattern as the average monthly income when comparing the years 2019 and 2021.

Although recent international migrants presented the highest average weekly hours worked in 2021 (49.8 hours per week), they had the lowest average monthly income (USD 192.9; PPP 502.3). It is critical to highlight that of all migrant groups, lifelong international migrants maintained the highest average monthly income during the period 2019–2021 (Table 3).

Table 3. Average monthly income (current USD and PPP USD) and weekly hours worked per migrant group in Paraguay, 2019-2021

| Type of migrants             | Average monthly income |       |       |       |       |       | Average weekly hours worked |      |      |
|------------------------------|------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-----------------------------|------|------|
|                              | 2019                   |       | 2020  |       | 2021  |       | 2019                        | 2020 | 2021 |
|                              | USD                    | PPP   | USD   | PPP   | USD   | PPP   |                             |      |      |
| Internal - lifelong migrants | 310                    | 782.5 | 221.4 | 595.8 | 244.8 | 637.5 | 43                          | 41.7 | 42.4 |
| Internal - recent migrants   | 271.4                  | 685   | 246.9 | 664.4 | 263.9 | 687.2 | 45.1                        | 43   | 44   |

|   |       |        |       |       |       |       |      |      |      |
|---|-------|--------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|------|------|
| International<br>- lifelong<br>migrants | 454.8 | 1147.9 | 360.9 | 971.2 | 515.4 | 1342  | 43.6 | 44.1 | 44.7 |
| International<br>- recent<br>migrants   | 178.2 | 449.8  | 189.8 | 510.6 | 192.9 | 502.3 | 43   | 44.6 | 49.8 |

Note. Adapted from PHS 2019-2021 by INE (2022).

For a more in-depth characterisation of migrants in Paraguay, labour indicators such as employment rate, unemployment rate, informality rate, average monthly income, and average weekly hours worked were compared between all migrants and non-migrants (see Table 4). This allowed potential differences in labour conditions among those populations to be observed.

The employment and unemployment rates presented marginal variations during the period 2019–2021 for both migrants and non-migrants. In general, employment rates stayed in the range of 66–70%, but the rates are higher for migrants in the years under study. In contrast, unemployment rates are lower for migrants during the same period, with rates in the range of 5.5–8%.

In each year of study, the average monthly income was higher for migrants, but so too was their average number of hours worked. However, the difference in weekly hours between migrants and non-migrants was just 0.4 hours in 2021, while the difference in monthly income in the same year was USD 59.4.

A crucial labour market indicator is the informality rate. Analysis of this indicator is important since employees who work under informal conditions are not recognised or protected under the legal and regulatory framework, and therefore they do not receive the benefits established by law (for example social security for workers) and they do not have a contributory pension (Ayala, 2016), which negatively affects the attainment of SDG 8 in relation to decent work.

The informality rate for migrants was lower in 2019 and 2020 compared to non-migrants, but slightly higher in 2021 (with a difference of 0.6 pp between migrants and non-migrants). Nevertheless, the informality rate remains very similar between both population groups over the total period, in the range of 62.5%–64%, with no significant change in either case, showing similar conditions in terms of informality for migrants and non-migrants.

Table 4. Summary of main labour market indicators among migrants and non-migrants in Paraguay, 2019-2021

| Districts                    | 2019    |             | 2020    |             | 2021    |             |
|------------------------------|---------|-------------|---------|-------------|---------|-------------|
|                              | Migrant | Non-migrant | Migrant | Non-migrant | Migrant | Non-migrant |
| Employment rate              | 69.2%   | 68.2%       | 68.6%   | 66.5%       | 69.9%   | 66.3%       |
| Unemployment rate            | 5.8%    | 5.9%        | 6.7%    | 8.0%        | 6.3%    | 7.4%        |
| Average monthly income (USD) | 309.4   | 232.2       | 236.4   | 201.4       | 273.5   | 214.1       |
| Average weekly hours worked  | 43.4    | 42.7        | 42.3    | 41.7        | 43.3    | 42.9        |
| Informality rate             | 62.5%   | 63.3%       | 63.1%   | 63.9%       | 63.1%   | 62.5%       |

Note. Adapted from PHS 2019-2021 by INE (2022).

Something to highlight are the similar patterns between migrant and non-migrant workers in the Paraguayan labour market. The statistical data show how employment rates remain similar among both populations in the period 2019-2021, as do unemployment rates. Informality rates are also similar, with high levels for both migrant and non-migrant workers. This underscores the fact that informality is a challenge that concerns the entire Paraguayan labour market.

## Effects of COVID-19, in relation to migration and work

Moving on to the qualitative analysis, some common themes emerged from the qualitative interviews carried out with internal migrants, international migrants, and experts. Regarding internal migrants, the common themes included a) the effect of pandemic-related government measures on work and employment; b) the economic and financial effects of pandemic-related measures; c) the response and recovery of internal migrants to COVID-19; d) government support during the COVID-19 pandemic, and d) public policy suggestions from internal migrants post-pandemic.

Interviews with international migrants highlighted similar themes as the internal migrants, with responses focused on: a) the effect of pandemic-related government measures on work and employment; b) Post-pandemic recovery; c) access to vaccines and government support, and d) public policy recommendations.

Finally, the interviews with experts centred around the following common themes: a) the economic effect of COVID-19 on Paraguayans; b) Venezuelan immigration to Paraguay, and c) Paraguayan immigration to Argentina and Brazil. The aforementioned themes will be analysed in depth below.

Before sharing the perspectives of migrants in Paraguay on the economic impacts of the pandemic, it is useful to provide the broader migratory context, based on interviews carried out with experts. Regarding Venezuelan immigration in Paraguay, experts noted that it stands out as a second stage of immigration, characterised by a labour force with lower levels of human capital and skills than Argentine, Brazilian, and Uruguayan migrants from the early 1990s. One expert expressed the fact that the Venezuelan workforce was employed in skilled labour at first, however, later it was no longer "skilled labour, with a much lower level of education [and] awareness, and a [worse] economic situation". Due to ease and immediacy, migrants often worked on the Uber or Bolt platforms. One expert noted that "the majority [of] Venezuelans operate in [Uber and Bolt transportation services]."


Experts noted that Paraguayan emigration to Argentina is often rapidly circular; Paraguayans look for short-term jobs in Argentina, and then return to Paraguay. The experts explained that the reason for this is that it is easier to generate income in Argentina than it is in Paraguay. Such circular mobility, therefore, results in less investment in the country of origin. This has become widespread as people "associate work with the fact that it is better to go to work abroad and bring money rather than obtaining a job here, to create a job here".

On the other hand, experts also noted that emigration to Brazil largely revolves around seasonal work and is established for a set period of work time. One expert expressed that many Paraguayans migrate to Brazil "fundamentally to Sao Paulo for the textile industry, where they get a job [until October]". Once they return to Paraguay, "the workers look for other types of jobs than those they had in their destination countries" which generated the need to train many of the returned Paraguayans.

Internal and international migrants interviewed largely reported that government measures to combat the spread of COVID-19 had hugely detrimental effects on their work and employment. Internal migrants stated that they had to pause their work or, in some cases, that their employment was terminated because of mass layoffs. As noted by one migrant, "[there were] a lot of resignations, layoffs, and releases [of new employees]." This was echoed by another respondent who stated that "[work] was reduced quite a bit," while another added that "nobody went to the office, work decreased, and there were no longer as many jobs or opportunities or the need to hire new people".



One internal migrant compared there being an abundance of available work and employment pre-pandemic as compared to when containment measures were implemented by the government, and they were quarantined and “[practically] closed for two months”. Another noted that pandemic-related measures also resulted in temporary pauses in their work, with employment ceasing for months at a time. The internal migrants interviewed also expressed that the measures resulted in them losing their jobs as the pandemic forced Paraguay into a dire economic situation, with companies cutting personnel. One migrant stated that there were cuts in his company and he was “one of those fired” while another migrant noted that, in his father’s company, there was a “[reduction] in quantity, in production, in everything”. Migrants were also required to adapt to the new situation, with one migrant noting that, similar to the global situation, work-from-home became the norm at his company.

 **In each year of study, the average monthly income was higher for migrants, but so too was their average number of hours worked.**

Another impact noted by internal migrants in terms of the economic and financial effects of COVID-19 measures was a reduction in wages as many received lower incomes during the pandemic (“did not receive [their] salary in full”), while another stated that his “salary decreased a lot and commissions decreased [too]”. Moreover, migrants noted that the financial effects were keenly felt as expenses for medicine increased, coupled with salaries being reduced, with one migrant stating that there was “little income and [...] more expenses because you had to invest more in medicine”. Another respondent echoed this, expressing that “the cost of living was much higher [as] all prices went up, [including] fuel,” while also stating that they had not received remuneration from their company.

International migrants echoed many of the same issues regarding a significant increase in unemployment, reduction in the number of employees, and having to engage in other income-generating activities to cover rising expenses and costs of living. One respondent stated that “sales dropped a lot [and] it was very hard [so] I started selling herbs to survive, at least for food”. Another international migrant expressed that they had “periods of unemployment and [took up] delivery” to pay expenses. Moreover, another noted that they had been laid off two months after the pandemic started, while another respondent stated that “we had to suspend our working hours

[and] in April I was notified I was fired". Relatedly, international migrants expressed how hard it was to generate enough income to survive both for themselves and their families. Internal migrants also spoke of the challenge to meet a sharp rise in living costs, noting that health-related expenses soared, and to mitigate the potential risks of contagion from public transportation, individuals were compelled to seek alternative travel arrangements, leading to increased fuel and travel expenses.

This increased economic need led to innovation, with migrants expressing that they were forced to reinvent and carry out other activities to generate income and cover expenses. Some international migrants took advantage of the situation of mandatory masking by beginning to manufacture and sell masks, while others started small businesses using digital sales channels with home delivery.

Experts interviewed echoed these experiences, noting that Paraguay suffered from economic crises that resulted from border closures and other restrictions on mobility, and that these crises had affected both international and internal migrants: "the closures were felt a lot" as "there was a shortage of job sources [and] if there were job sources, payment for services [were] already much lower". Moreover, the experts also noted that there was a decrease in job offers and salary levels during the pandemic.

Currently, both international and internal migrants highlight that there has been an improvement in work activities since the end of the pandemic and the normalisation of economic activities following quarantine and isolation measures and associated economic hardship. Internal migrants noted that economic activity is now recovering and there are opportunities for work again. One internal migrant who was made redundant noted that while they were still not formally working, they had begun tutoring to generate income. Another migrant said that "everything is recovering again", while another expressed that work and employment were "better than last year", and another stated that "currently [things] are really good [now that] everything is back to normal". One migrant also reported a positive development after COVID-19, stating that they now "work in shifts". Similarly, international migrants also mention that due to the normalisation of economic activities, their income has increased, and, in some cases, there are opportunities for growth at work. In the case of one international migrant, they noted that "in the company where I am, I have made a career there [and] they have given me the opportunity to move up". Another respondent noted that they had increased their income, with another expressing that "we are more or less returning to normality as before".

However, the situation was not universally positive. One international migrant who had worked in the food industry noted that "when everything began to normalise and

then consumption began to drop [so did] my income", and one internal migrant noted that while they were improving and "it is better than in the pandemic," the improvement was "not so good," indicating that there was still work to be done for meaningful development post-pandemic.

Although the government provided a certain level of relief during the pandemic through the Pytyvõ<sup>6</sup> subsidy, migrant knowledge about this and access to it was uneven. Most internal migrants reported that they either had no access to this, or were not even aware of that benefit, while only two respondents mentioned that they had received it. For example, one noted that there was no financial support from the government, and they even knew "two friends who were directly told to go back to the countryside". One respondent stated that they had received no support and that "it may be that some have support, but most do not receive it". Another expressed that the government support "helped [some] but not others, as there were people who did not need [the fund, but] received the help, and people who needed [it] and did not receive [the fund]". Meanwhile, of the two respondents who had benefited from government assistance during the pandemic, one stated they had "accessed the Pytyvõ in a month", and another's mother had received the fund, noting the fractioning of payment (i.e. payments in instalments) as well as some basic services such as electricity from the National Electricity Administration (*Administración Nacional De Electricidad*, ANDE).

Support for international migrants was similarly varied and limited. One respondent stated that they were "very grateful to the Paraguayan people who also gave us a little hand, they gave us that from Pytyvõ, Ñangareko". Moreover, one Venezuelan migrant said that "We, along with other Venezuelan friends, found out that there was a CONARES foundation. We knocked on their door and the truth is that they helped us. I remember that they gave us a voucher for the market at that time". Another international migrant, however, noted that they did not receive help directly, and instead his Paraguayan friends had received it for him, but believed that "in no way did the state support the work of migrants during the pandemic".<sup>7</sup>

Regarding access and distribution of the vaccine against COVID-19 to the entire population, one internal migrant expressed that "it helped us in a certain way because

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6 Pytyvõ (help in the Guaraní language) is a subsidy granted by the national government to people in the informal sector who were economically affected by the COVID-19 pandemic. The potential beneficiaries were self-employed workers or workers of micro, small and medium enterprises.

7 Although naturalised Paraguayans received support from the government, the Paraguayan government did not provide any help to foreigners in the first instance. Some Venezuelan migrants received help through foundations from their own country that operate in the country. Only in the second version of the social program, Pytyvõ 2.0, was monetary aid for foreigners considered.

it was free for the entire country [...]. In that, I see something positive". Similarly, an international migrant reported that "when the vaccinations started I didn't have any problem [...] it's not that they asked you, are you a foreigner? I went there and [...] there was no problem".

Migrants interviewed made a range of suggestions as to how government policy could improve. International migrants mentioned that the bureaucratic process made it excessively difficult to obtain residence documents, with the process taking up to three years in some cases. They recommended "facilitating the residency process" and requesting "the minimum requirements so that every foreign citizen who has the possibility of being well documented and legally established here in Paraguay [can do so]". The facilitation of these processes could include online forms to obtain the residence card and electronic monitoring of the processes.

They also identified issues relating to work, with one international migrant suggesting promoting "access to formal jobs for people with a certain seniority [...] so that access is less discriminatory". Moreover, respondents expressed the need to improve access to health and education services for foreigners. They recommended measures such as scholarships and, most notably, the recognition of foreign university degrees in Paraguay. Furthermore, they underscored the importance of ensuring migrants have access to respectable retirement provisions.

Internal migrants also provided suggestions regarding public policy. Those who came from the countryside to the capital seeking to improve their quality of life made a number of suggestions such as "more opportunities to study,"<sup>8</sup> "more support for those who come from the countryside," "social security", "opportunities for [those] who are in need [...] improv[ing] public transport, [and] invest[ing] in housing".

In the participant observation exercise conducted by this study, we focused on Municipal Market No. 4, nestled in Asunción, a prominent hub for Bolivian migrants' commercial activities. This location was chosen for its longstanding relationship with these migrants, who have inhabited it for over three decades. The market block, bustling with various trade and culinary establishments, offers new Bolivian migrants not only potential employment opportunities, but also a community space to connect with their fellow nationals. The main activity carried out is the sale of wholesale and retail clothing; workers operate from Monday to Saturday from 7:00am to 6:00pm and on Sundays until 12:00pm.

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8 The issue of educational access should be highlighted since the INE (2005) indicates that there is a marked difference in the years of study between internal migrants and non-migrants, with an average of 5.6 and 6.8 years of study respectively.

On the day of the participant observation, there was a fair on the avenue which therefore became pedestrianised as vendors sold their products. Great solidarity was noted among migrants, even to the point of collaborating when one of the premises received many customers.

It has been verified that people of all ages, especially from the middle or lower class, went to the place to make purchases. A good integration was observed between migrant vendors and local customers, so discrimination or unequal treatment cannot be assumed compared to non-migrant stores.

The information obtained from the participant observation is very important, since it supports the information from the statistical data about the equal treatment for migrants and non-migrants in the Paraguayan labour market. The statistical data presented similar rates of occupation between both populations, and the participant observation showed the merger of migrant vendors and non-migrant vendors at the market without any sign of prejudice or distinction from the customer side. Thus, it reinforced the idea of solidarity between migrant and non-migrant workers in Paraguay.

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## Conclusions and implications

Internal and international migrants together represented 23% of the total population of the INE's representative departments of Paraguay in 2021. Of these, 80% were internal migrants. Migration in Paraguay is thus largely dominated by internal migration, and within this, by lifelong internal migrants. Internal migrants mainly originate from Asunción (30%), meaning that the capital city is losing population to neighbouring departments. International migrants mostly came from Argentina and Brazil (85% combined for both countries), according to INE data (2022). Migrants in general were concentrated in the Central Department during 2019–2021, with an average of 40% of the employed migrants located there.

Regarding unemployment rates, these were consistently lower for lifelong migrants (between 4% and 6%) than for recent migrants (approximately 10%). As noted in the interviews with experts and INE data (2005), employment inequality between these types of migrants could be explained by higher education levels and more professional training among lifelong migrants, while recent migrants present lower education levels and, consequently, less professional training, thus being more susceptible to layoffs.

In terms of average monthly income and average weekly hours worked, there were similar patterns for different migrant groups between 2019 and 2021. These indicators

decreased from 2019 to 2020 due to restrictions associated with COVID-19, and increased from 2020 to 2021 for all types of migrants, due to the easing of restrictions. Hence, there was no significant difference in the indicators between internal and international migrants for the time period, thereby implying that all types of migrants experienced similar changes in their average monthly income and average weekly hours worked.

The study revealed that 2020 posed significant challenges for the migrant labour market. Amidst the economic turbulence caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, there was a noticeable decrease of 9% in migrant employment from 2019 to 2020. This decline indicates the profound impact of the global health crisis on migrant labourers, due to the substantial economic contraction experienced globally. However, the subsequent recovery, marked by a 9% increase in the employed migrant population from 2020 to 2021, provides a promising outlook for the future. This rebound suggests not only the resilience of the migrant workforce but also the adaptability of economies that integrate these workers. It implies a potential return to pre-pandemic levels of migrant employment and may even hint at future growth in this area. Nevertheless, this rebound should be interpreted cautiously. It is essential to understand the quality of jobs migrants are returning to and whether these employment opportunities offer fair wages, decent working conditions, and potential for advancement.

As noted from the interviews, the economic recession caused by the pandemic resulted in cutbacks in personnel and a decrease in salary levels. Internal migrants stated that they had to adapt by working from home, depending on their fields of work. International migrants reported that they faced unemployment or a reduction of employees which affected their situation, and they had to engage in parallel forms of employment to receive extra income to cover expenses. This demonstrates how migrants had to adapt to the underlying socioeconomic dynamics that governed labour movement and employment stability during the pandemic.

Regarding policies implemented in response to the pandemic, there was the government social subsidy called *Pytyvõ*, the fractionation of the payment of some basic services, and the free distribution of the vaccine against COVID-19 to the entire population, including internal and international migrants. In connecting the policies and the relevant SDGs for this study, *Pytyvõ* was a key support for workers to help them overcome the quarantine situation as it assisted workers in supporting themselves in some cases, and in other cases, to be able to adapt and access decent work.

Considering SDG 8 on decent work it is concluded that, despite the existence of high employment rates, there were high labour informality rates that should be considered as

challenges to overcome, since labour formality is considered an important determinant of decent work. Nevertheless, this situation was faced not just by the migrant population but also non-migrants, with very similar labour informality rates for both populations (in the range of 62.5–64%), as shown in the findings.

Additionally, this study emphasised equality between migrants and non-migrants in relation to SDG 10. It highlighted the access of migrants to vaccines and subsidies during the COVID-19 pandemic, and in terms of labour, findings underlined high employment rates for migrants. However, it also stressed difficulties among international migrants in relation to the legal framework for residency in Paraguay, such as excessive documents required and extensive bureaucratic processes. Participant observation showed a good level of acceptance of migrant workers by locals, without any sign of discrimination towards them.

Finally, policy action in response to the pandemic was helpful for both migrants and non-migrants, such as the government social subsidy called *Pytyvõ*, the fractionation of the payment of some basic services, and the free distribution of the vaccine against COVID-19 to the entire population. But it underlined the necessity of more structured public policies related to migration. This is especially relevant considering the number of people who are migrants in Paraguay. This study argues that those policies should prioritise migrants' access to education, health, and formal job opportunities, especially regarding recent migrants who are shown to possess less professional experience.

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## Policy recommendations

Based on the research findings, the study generates the following policy recommendations to advance the development of migrant well-being and the achievement of the SDGs.

- 1. Incorporation of internal migration in policy making:** The study shows that 80% of total migrants are internal, suggesting a need to place significant importance on this demographic. Policy makers should consider investing resources to understand the trends, causes, and implications of internal migration. Regular internal migration reports could be produced to identify patterns, socioeconomic impacts, and potential measures to mitigate any negative effects.
- 2. Developing comprehensive information systems for migrants:** The evidence of high migrant concentration in the Central Department indicates that migrants may lack information about opportunities elsewhere. An information portal offering real-time updates on employment, housing, and essential services across

various regions could be developed. The portal can also include an interactive feature for queries and feedback to improve the functionality and relevance of the information provided.

- 3. Promoting decentralised economic development:** High migrant concentrations in the Central Department also suggests that other regions might lack employment opportunities. Policies can be devised to incentivise businesses to invest and create jobs in these regions. This could involve tax breaks, subsidies, or grants to businesses willing to establish in less-developed regions.
- 4. Strategies to reduce labour market informality:** The study shows high levels of labour informality among both migrants and non-migrants. Policies could include measures to simplify business registration and promote formal employment, such as reducing bureaucratic obstacles, improving access to credit, or offering training programs to enhance workers' skills. Detailed sector-specific strategies can be developed to address the unique challenges faced in different industries.
- 5. Continuous monitoring of Law 6984/2022:** The implementation of this new law for migrants suggests potential improvements in the legal framework for migration. A dedicated committee could be established to monitor the law's impact regularly. This could involve annual assessments of the law's effectiveness, coupled with regular consultations with migrants and relevant stakeholders to get their feedback and make necessary amendments.
- 6. Streamlining administrative processes for migrants:** Migrants reported significant bureaucratic hurdles in obtaining residency cards, which could discourage formal migration. Digitalisation of the application process can be considered, with features like online appointments, document submission, and payment of fees. A dedicated helpline or chatbot could be established to assist migrants with their queries during the application process.
- 7. Promote intersectoral collaboration for migrant support:** Given the multitude of challenges faced by migrants, an intersectoral approach may provide comprehensive solutions. Collaboration between public entities, NGOs, private sector, and migrant communities could be promoted. Regular forums could be established to facilitate discussions and the exchange of ideas between these groups.
- 8. Creating mechanisms for migrant feedback:** To ensure policies and interventions are responsive to the actual needs of migrants, mechanisms for regular feedback and consultations could be established. This might involve regular surveys, focus group discussions, or community meetings. The feedback gathered should be systematically incorporated into policy revisions and development processes.



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## Appendices

### Appendix 1.

Tabla A1. Questionnaire for interviews with key actors on the migration topic in Paraguay

| Dimension                         | Variables   | Questions   |
|-----------------------------------|---|---|
| Immigration situation in Paraguay | Characteristics of Immigration and Emigration         | How do you consider the immigration situation in our country since the pandemic began?  |
|                                   |   | Where is it possible to get more information or data to characterise this situation?  |
|                                   | Internal migration                                    | What is the relationship between the situation of internal migration and employment in our country since the pandemic began?  |
|                                   | Employment in times of COVID-19 and strict quarantine | <p>What is the relationship between the international migration situation and employment in our country since the pandemic began?</p> <p>Are there differences between the start of the 2020 pandemic and strict quarantine, half of 2021, and 2022, in relation to the employment of migrants?</p> <p>Are there differences between international migrants at the start of the pandemic (strict quarantine) 2020, the middle of 2021, and 2022, in relation to the employment of migrants?</p> |

|                      |   |  |
|----------------------|---|--|
| Public policies      | Pandemic plans, policies, and programs                              | <p>What policies and/or programs in your sector had/have the purpose of guaranteeing access to decent work during the years 2020, 2021 and 2022, that is, during the health crisis due to COVID-19?</p> <p>Did these national plans, policies and/or programs have any stipulation or particular attention for migrants, in the category of internal migrants?</p> <p>What were these and what did they consist of?</p> <p>Are there records/statistics of that coverage?</p> <p>Why could it be that the need for a particular orientation towards that group was not seen?</p> <p>Did these national plans, policies and programs have any provision or particular attention for migrants, in the category of international migrants, refugees and asylum seekers?</p> <p>What were these and what did they consist of?</p> <p>Are there records/statistics of that coverage?</p> <p>Why could it be that the need for a particular orientation towards that group was not seen?</p> |
| Institutionalisation | <p>Legislation</p> <hr/> <p>Institutional issues and challenges</p> | <p>What institutional problems and challenges are noted in terms of internal and international migration and the relationship with employment?</p> <p>What solutions are possible?</p> <p>What institutional problems and challenges are noted in terms of internal and international migration and the relationship with employment?</p> <p>What solutions are possible?</p> <p>Other issues to be considered.</p>  |

Note. Authors' elaboration.

## Appendix 2.

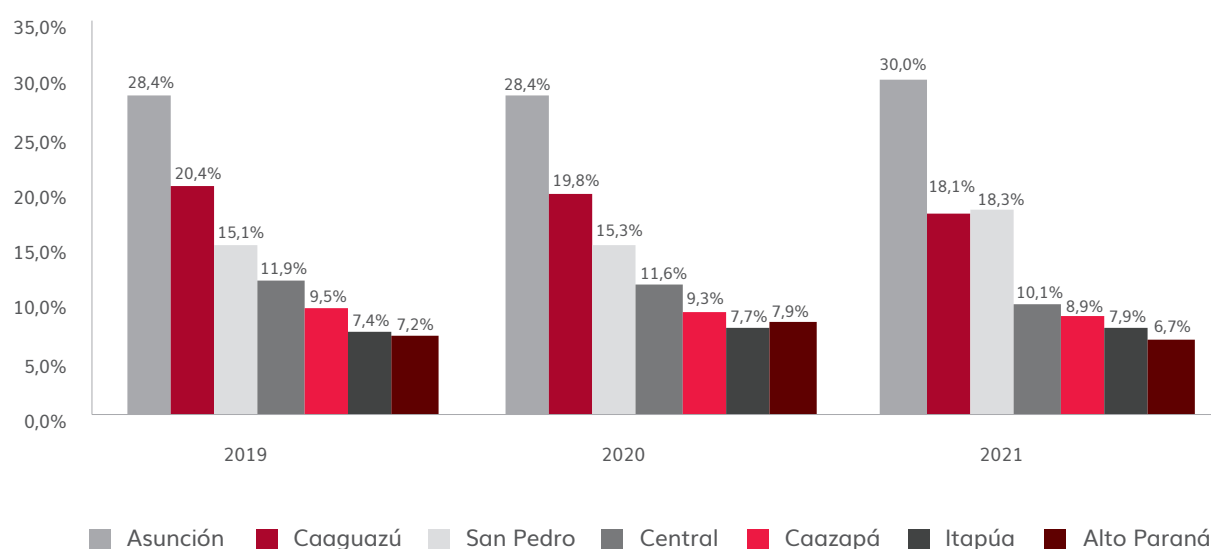
Table B1. Classification of migrants in Paraguay, period 2019-2021

| Migrants               |               | 2019      | 2020      | Var. 2019-2020 | 2021      | Var. 2020-2021 |
|------------------------|---------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|-----------|----------------|
| Lifelong migrants      | Internal      | 847,190   | 797,344   | -5.9%          | 829,476   | 4.0%           |
|                        | International | 146,423   | 138,828   | -5.2%          | 162,957   | 17.4%          |
| Recent migrants        | Internal      | 176,128   | 164,411   | -6.7%          | 170,522   | 3.7%           |
|                        | International | 101,528   | 87,974    | -13.4%         | 98,591    | 12.1%          |
| Total migrants         |               | 1,271,269 | 1,188,557 | -6.5%          | 1,261,546 | 6.1%           |
| Lifelong migrants      |               | 993,613   | 936,172   | -5.8%          | 992,433   | 6.0%           |
| Recent migrants        |               | 277,656   | 252,385   | -9.1%          | 269,113   | 6.6%           |
| Internal migrants      |               | 1,023,318 | 961,755   | -6.0%          | 999,998   | 4.0%           |
| International migrants |               | 247,951   | 226,802   | -8.5%          | 261,548   | 15.3%          |

Note. Adapted from PHS 2019-2021 by INE (2022).

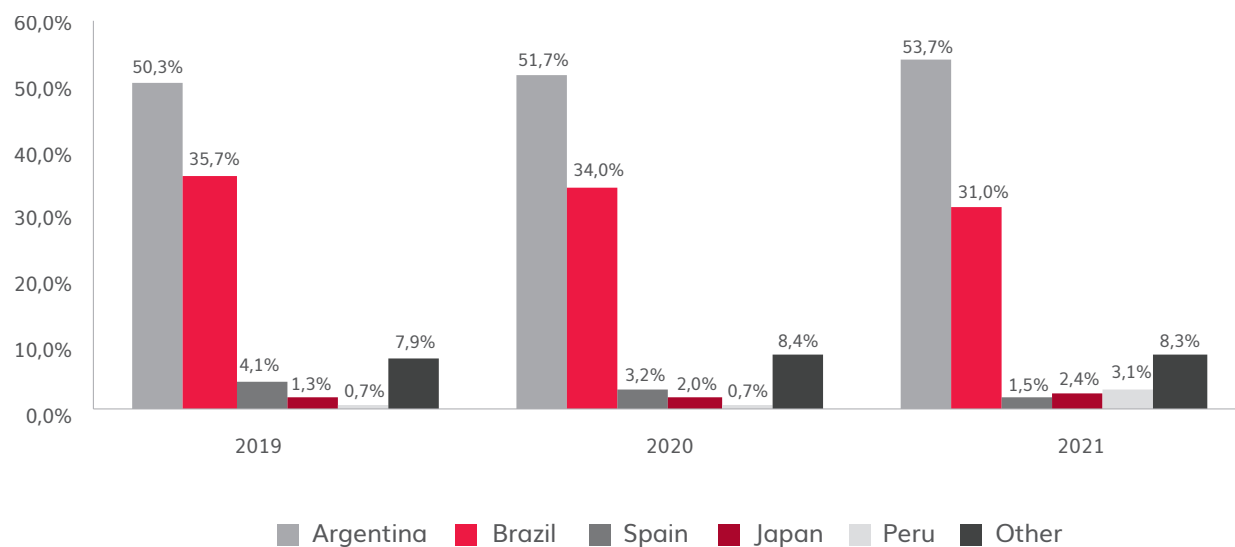
## Appendix 3.

Figure C1. Internal migrants in Paraguay, by department of origin, period 2019-2021



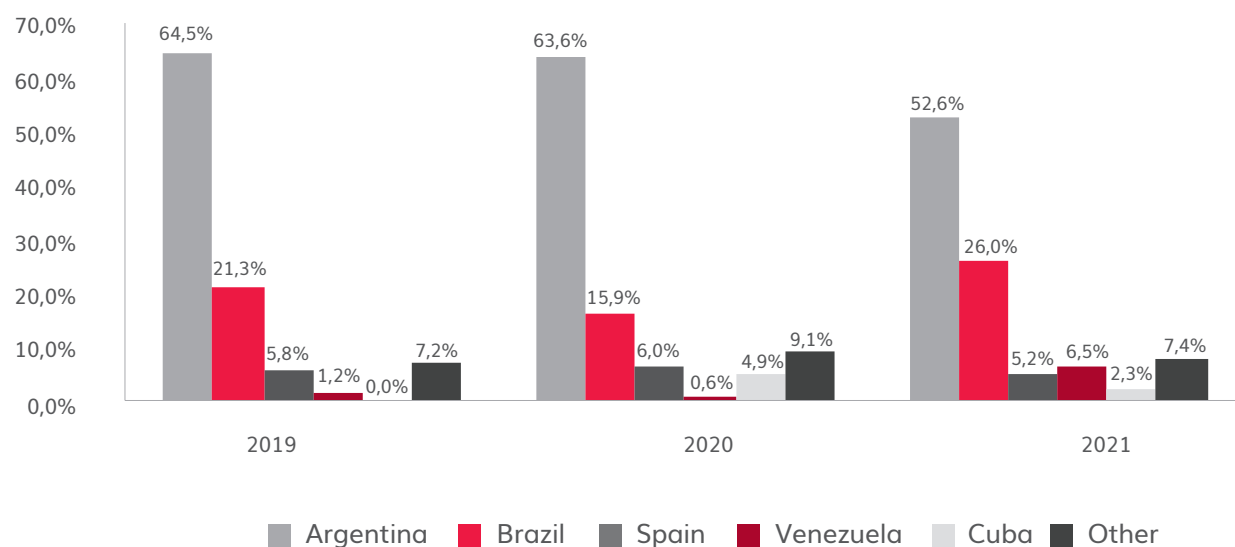
Note. Adapted from PHS 2019-2021 by INE (2022).

Figure C2. Lifelong international migrants in Paraguay, by country of origin, period 2019-2021



Note. Adapted from PHS 2019-2021 by INE (2022).

Figure C3. Recent international migrants in Paraguay, by country of origin, period 2019-2021



Note. Adapted from PHS 2019-2021 by INE (2022).



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