

PARAGUAY

Paraguay has observed growing emigration flows since the mid-19th century. As of 2011, 12% of all Paraguayan citizens lived abroad, usually in Argentina, Brazil, Spain, and the United States.¹ Most of the recent emigrants are young, female and emigrate for professional reasons.²

The current Constitution of Paraguay, passed in 1992, states that all Paraguayans have the right to reside in their homeland. Residents may move freely in the national territory, change their place of residence, leave or return to the Republic, and, in accordance with the law, import or export their possessions.³ This is presumably an attempt to make peace with those citizens who left Paraguay during the authoritarian regime of Alfredo Stroessner (1954-1989): Their right to leave or return is explicitly recognized.

As of 2015, Paraguay was the only Mercosur member to have implemented direct elections for the Mercosur Parliament (Parlasur). Non-resident Paraguayans, who have the right to vote for president, vice-president and senator, can also elect Parlasur representatives from abroad. However, not all legal provisions for external voting have been implemented, given that only Paraguayans living in certain cities in Spain, Argentina and the United States can vote. In fact, emigrant policies are still incipient in this country: External voting was only implemented in 2013, there is no consultative body of/for emigrant representation, no brain-gain or brain-circulation network, no cultural policies or official programs to attract remittances, and a very limited number of symbolic policies.

CITIZENSHIP/NATIONALITY

DUAL OR MULTIPLE NATIONALITY REGULATION

According to the Paraguayan Constitution, multiple nationality is tolerated in the case of countries with which Paraguay has signed an agreement.⁴ However, Paraguay has signed only one bilateral nationality agreement thus far, with Spain.⁵ As a consequence, there are no legal obstacles for acquiring Spanish nationality alongside Paraguayan nationality; acquiring any nationality other than Spanish results in losing the Paraguayan one.⁶

1 International Organization for Migration, *Perfil migratorio de Paraguay 2011*, 33, 35.

2 Ibid. 36-37.

3 Convención Nacional Constituyente, *Constitución de la República del Paraguay*, Art. 41.

4 Ibid. Art. 149.

5 Corte Suprema de Justicia, *Ley N° 843/62 - Convenio de Doble Nacionalidad entre la República del Paraguay y el Estado Español*.

6 Convención Nacional Constituyente, *Constitución de la República del Paraguay*, Art. 150.

Nevertheless, Resolution 1096 distinguishes between multiple nationality (*nacionalidad múltiple*) and dual nationality (*dobles nacionalidad*). The constitution only contemplates the former, which refers to nationality at birth (natural) and an acquired nationality (naturalization). Accordingly, the resolution identifies a constitutional loophole: it is possible to hold a second nationality other than the Paraguayan one, as long as it is a birthright (dual nationality).⁷

According to the Paraguayan constitution, the exercise of citizen rights is suspended whenever a Paraguayan citizen adopts another nationality, except in the case a bilateral agreement has been signed between the relevant nations.⁸ Again, this formulation refers exclusively to Paraguayans who accept another nationality; the constitution does not contemplate individuals with dual nationality (i.e. with two nationalities as a birthright).

Citizenship can be passed to children born abroad to Paraguayan-born parents, under the condition that these children move to Paraguay permanently.⁹ In practice, children born to Paraguayan parents in a country with *jus sanguinis* are effectively stateless – at least until they return to Paraguay and establish permanent residence.¹⁰ Only in 2014 did Paraguay adhere to the UN Convention relating to the status of stateless persons, thus formally committing to improve the lives of stateless individuals.¹¹

LOSS OF CITIZENSHIP/NATIONALITY

Paraguayans *by naturalization* may lose their nationality if they live abroad, unjustifiably, for over three years, or if they voluntarily acquire a foreign nationality.¹² *Natural* Paraguayans (Paraguayans by birthright), on the other hand, do not lose their nationality unless they voluntarily renounce it.¹³ If they acquire another nationality (other than Spanish), however, their citizenship is suspended.

7 Dirección General de Migraciones, Resolución N° 1096 - Por la cual se exonera el pago de multa a ciudadanos paraguayos que cuenten con otra nacionalidad (2012).

8 Convención Nacional Constituyente, *Constitución de la República del Paraguay*, Art. 153.

9 Ibid. Art. 146.

10 ABC Color, “Niños nacidos en el exterior son apátridas, por inciso constitucional.”

11 Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, “Paraguay ratifica compromiso para mejorar y regularizar condición de los apátridas.”

12 Convención Nacional Constituyente, *Constitución de la República del Paraguay*, Art. 150.

13 Ibid. Art. 150.

SUFFRAGE

VOTING RIGHTS OF NON-RESIDENT CITIZENS

The Constitution establishes that voting is compulsory in Paraguay.¹⁴ All non-resident citizens are entitled to vote for President, Senate, and for the Mercosur Parliament.¹⁵

While non-residents can vote for the Senate, which is directly elected by the national constituency,¹⁶ they cannot vote for the Chamber of Deputies, as this organ follows the principle of local representation (by department)¹⁷ and Paraguayan consulates do not constitute a department on their own. Non-resident Paraguayans cannot vote on a regional level either, though they can vote for the Mercosur Parliament. In fact, Paraguay is the only Mercosur member to hold direct elections for the Parlasur: Representatives of Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, and Venezuela are still elected indirectly.

Referendums are regulated on a case-by-case basis, and may or may not be binding, as established by the Constitution.¹⁸ The last national referendum took place in 2011 and gave non-residents the right to vote.¹⁹ Though no referendum was held ever since, one can expect future ones to take this change into consideration.

CANDIDACY RIGHTS OF NON-RESIDENT CITIZENS

The Paraguayan Constitution establishes that presidents and vice-presidents must be natural-born Paraguayans over 35 and in full exercise of their civil and political rights.²⁰ Depending on how the latter criterion is interpreted, one could argue that a potential non-resident candidate fully exercises his civil and political rights, given that he can vote for president and for the Senate (though not for anything else). As a consequence, he would be eligible to the office of president, as no other limitations apply.²¹

As for the National Congress, the Constitution establishes that senators must be natural Paraguayans over 35;²² members of the Chamber of Dep-

14 Ibid. Art. 118.

15 Tribunal Superior de Justicia Electoral, *Resolución N° 32/2013, por la que se aprueba el reglamento para el voto de paraguayos residentes en el extranjero*. Capítulo I.

16 Convención Nacional Constituyente, *Constitución de la República del Paraguay*, Art. 223.

17 Ibid. Art. 221.

18 Ibid. Art. 121.

19 Tribunal Superior de Justicia Electoral, “Referéndum 9 de Octubre, 2011.”

20 Convención Nacional Constituyente, *Constitución de la República del Paraguay*, Art. 228.

21 Tribunal Superior de Justicia Electoral, *Ley N° 834/96 que establece el Código Electoral Paraguayo*, Art. 95.

22 Convención Nacional Constituyente, *Constitución de la República del Paraguay*, Art. 223.

uties must be over 25.²³ Given that no further restrictions are imposed, one assumes both residents and non-residents are eligible.²⁴ As a consequence, non-residents could also presumably run for Parlasur, as candidates for Parliament are subject to the candidacy requirements of their respective state.²⁵

To be eligible for the regional executive, however, citizens must be living in the corresponding department for at least one year immediately prior to the election – or for at least five years, if they are not originally from that department.²⁶ The same rules apply for the regional legislative, meaning non-residents cannot be candidates for either position.

VOTING METHODS AVAILABLE TO NON-RESIDENT CITIZENS

The only voting method available to Paraguayan citizens registered as non-residents is in embassies or consulates, as Paraguayans can only vote individually and in person.²⁷ But even for individual and personal voting, only a limited number of voting places are available in Argentina (Buenos Aires, Formosa, La Plata, Misiones, San Justo), Spain (Barcelona, Bilbao, Madrid, Malaga) and the United States (Miami, New Jersey, New York, Washington, Westchester).²⁸ Consequently, only voters registered in these jurisdictions are entitled to vote.

REGISTRATION FOR THE FRANCHISE

Every Paraguayan who turns 18 after January 16, 2012 is automatically included in the electoral register, or *Registro Cívico Permanente*.²⁹ Individuals who turned 18 before this date must register actively.³⁰ The data included in this register is updated on a monthly basis.³¹

The same automatic registration method applies to both resident and non-resident citizens. However, the registration of non-residents is restricted to those locations where external voting has already been implemented, though this network is gradually expanding to include more cities in more countries.³²

23 Ibid. Art. 221.

24 Tribunal Superior de Justicia Electoral, *Ley N° 834/96, que establece el Código Electoral Paraguayo*, Art. 95.

25 Mercosur, *Protocolo constitutivo del Parlamento del Mercosur*. Art. 11.

26 Convención Nacional Constituyente, *Constitución de la República del Paraguay*, Art. 162.

27 Tribunal Superior de Justicia Electoral, *Ley N° 834/96, que establece el Código Electoral Paraguayo*, Art. 89.

28 Tribunal Superior de Justicia Electoral, *Resolución N° 55/2013, Reglamento para el voto de paraguayos residentes en el extranjero para las elecciones generales de abril de 2013*.

29 Tribunal Superior de Justicia Electoral, “Inscripción Automática.”

30 Poder Legislativo, *Ley N° 4559/2012, que establece la inscripción automática en el registro cívico permanente*, Art. 6.

31 Ibid. Art. 7.

32 UltimaHora.com, “Incluirán más ciudades del exterior para inscripción de paraguayos en el padrón electoral.”

MODE OF REPRESENTATION

Non-resident citizens can only vote for the Senate, which is directly elected by the national constituency.³³ This means that the whole country counts as one sole voting district; non-resident votes for the Senate are incorporated into the broader voting totals without distinction (general biographical incorporated counting).

Nevertheless, for organizational reasons, non-resident citizens are ascribed to different electoral districts and zones, even though their votes are ultimately incorporated into the broader voting totals.³⁴

REGULATION OF POLITICAL COMPETITION

PARTY OFFICES IN HOST COUNTRIES

The Electoral Code of Paraguay guarantees the free circulation of ideas and that citizens may participate in political campaigning within the country and abroad.³⁵ Accordingly, one assumes that external party offices are legally allowed; in fact, the statute of the governing Colorado Party (*Partido Colorado*) gives the party leadership the responsibility to create and structure commissions abroad.³⁶ As a consequence, the Colorado Party has offices in Argentina, Spain, and the United States.³⁷ Meanwhile, the statute of the Authentic Radical Liberal Party (*Partido Liberal Radical Auténtico*) envisions the existence of external committees, particularly in Buenos Aires, Buenos Aires Metropolitan Region, Montevideo, New Jersey, New York, and along the Paraguayan border with Argentina and Brazil.³⁸

In any event, parties are not allowed to accept donations from foreign institutions, including foreign political movements or citizens.³⁹ Given that the Electoral Code does not specifically address the issue of public funding, one assumes external offices are indeed entitled to public money, if only for the specific purposes and following the regulations outlined in the Code.⁴⁰

33 Convención Nacional Constituyente, *Constitución de la República del Paraguay*, Art. 223.

34 Tribunal Superior de Justicia Electoral, *Resolución N° 32/2013, por la que se aprueba el reglamento para el voto de paraguayos residentes en el extranjero*. Capítulo II.

35 Tribunal Superior de Justicia Electoral, *Ley N° 834/96, que establece el Código Electoral Paraguayo*, Art. 15.

36 Partido Colorado, *Estatuto: Asociación Nacional Republicana / Partido Colorado*, Art. 26j.

37 Partido Colorado, “Piden reconocimiento de una seccional en Madrid.”

38 Partido Liberal Radical Auténtico, *Estatuto del Partido Liberal Radical Auténtico*, Art. 51.

39 Tribunal Superior de Justicia Electoral, *Ley N° 834/96, que establece el Código Electoral Paraguayo*, Art. 68a.

40 *Ibid.* Art. 276-284.

POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

During the 2013 elections, when external voting was allowed for the first time, political campaigns were expressly forbidden in countries where voting took place.⁴¹ Meanwhile, as stated earlier, the Electoral Code guarantees the free circulation of ideas and that citizens may participate in political campaigning within the country and abroad.⁴² Still, these sources of law do not necessarily contradict each other. Political engagement could be permitted in a non-campaign format or in countries where no voting takes place.

MEMBERSHIP

According to the Electoral Code of Paraguay, non-residents are not prevented from joining a political party.⁴³

The statute of the Colorado Party poses no restrictions to emigrant membership.⁴⁴ In terms of internal candidacy rights, the party only requires a minimum membership period of five years for parliamentary candidates⁴⁵ and 10 years for presidential candidates.⁴⁶ The Authentic Radical Liberal Party similarly poses no restriction to emigrant membership;⁴⁷ members are allowed to run for local/departmental elections after three years of membership and for national elections after five years of membership.⁴⁸

INSTITUTIONAL PARTICIPATION

CONSULTATIVE BODIES AT NATIONAL LEVEL

There is no consultative body of/for emigrant representation acting at the national level. All organs for emigrant representation (such as *Asociación de Paraguayos Retornados del Exilio – APRE* or *Asociación de Profesionales e Industriales Paraguayos en Buenos Aires – APIP*) are run by Paraguayan citizens and have no consultative status for state organs.⁴⁹

41 Tribunal Superior de Justicia Electoral, *Resolución N° 32/2013, por la que se aprueba el reglamento para el voto de paraguayos residentes en el extranjero*. Capítulo I.

42 Tribunal Superior de Justicia Electoral, *Ley N° 834/96, que establece el Código Electoral Paraguayo*, Art. 15.

43 Ibid. Art. 55.

44 Partido Colorado, *Estatuto: Asociación Nacional Republicana / Partido Colorado*, Art. 67.

45 Ibid. Art. 114.

46 Ibid. Art. 110.

47 Partido Liberal Radical Auténtico, *Estatuto del Partido Liberal Radical Auténtico*, Art. 4.

48 Ibid. Art. 9c.

49 International Organization for Migration, *Perfil migratorio de Paraguay 2011*, 60.

ADMINISTRATION

CONSULATES

As of 2015, Paraguay has diplomatic representations in 40 countries, including 40 embassies and 32 consulates.⁵⁰

According to a report by the International Organization for Migration,⁵¹ 58% of all Paraguayan victims of human trafficking end up in Argentina, 23% end up in Bolivia and 15% in Spain; accordingly, Paraguayan consulates and embassies in these countries cooperate with local authorities to fight human trafficking and gender-based violence.⁵²

Additionally, through its Veterans Office (*Oficina para Veteranos de Guerra*), the Paraguayan embassy in Argentina supports 9 veterans from the Chaco War (1932-1935) and 132 widows by processing certificates and compensation claims.⁵³

HOME COUNTRY ADMINISTRATION

The Directorate of Paraguayan Communities Abroad (*Dirección de Atención a las Comunidades Paraguayas en el Extranjero, DACPE*), located within the Ministry of Foreign Relations, is responsible for emigrant issues.⁵⁴ The directorate is an executive unit in the third rank of the administration.

Though this is the main body responsible for emigrant affairs, the Ministry of Internal Affairs (*Dirección General de Migraciones*) and the Secretariat of Development for Returnees and Refugees (*Secretaría de Desarrollo para Repatriados y Refugiados Connacionales*), subordinated to the president, also work with emigrants and returnees.

ECONOMIC POLICIES

REMITTANCES

No official program or strategy to attract remittances from emigrants was found. In 2009, 56.8% of all remittances sent to Paraguay came from Spain; 33.6% came from Argentina, and 3.2% came from the United States.⁵⁵

50 Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, “Embajadas paraguayas en el mundo”.

51 International Organization for Migration, *Perfil migratorio de Paraguay 2011*, 66.

52 See, for instance, Embajada del Paraguay en Argentina, “Lucha contra la trata de personas”; Embajada del Paraguay en España, “Combate a la violencia de género”.

53 Embajada del Paraguay en Argentina, “Veteranos de guerra”.

54 Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, “Organigrama”.

55 International Organization for Migration, *Perfil migratorio de Paraguay 2011*, 47.

Paraguay has the lowest banking coverage in Latin America, with 9 bank offices and 13 ATMs per 100,000 inhabitants (as opposed to the continental average of 12 bank offices and 36 ATMs per 100,000 inhabitants).⁵⁶ Given this modest coverage, less than 10% of all remittances are sent to Paraguay through banking channels.⁵⁷ Most remittances are sent through private financial entities, such as Western Union or MoneyGram. This may explain the inexistence of official channels to facilitate transfers.

INVESTMENT

There are two government programs to attract investments from emigrants who plan on returning or have recently returned to Paraguay. The first program, *Mi País, Mi Casa*, is jointly administered by the *Secretaría de Desarrollo para Repatriados y Refugiados Connacionales* and the National Secretariat for Housing and the Environment (*Secretaría Nacional de la Vivienda y el Hábitat*). It provides mortgage loans to encourage construction and home ownership.⁵⁸ The second program, *Subsidio para MIPYMES*, also administered by the *Secretaría de Desarrollo para Repatriados y Refugiados Connacionales*, offers financial incentives for emigrants interested in starting a micro, small or medium business.⁵⁹

RETURN POLICIES

Along with Bolivia, Chile and fellow MERCOSUR countries, Paraguay has signed the *Protocolo de Integración Educativa y Reválida de Diplomas, Certificados, Títulos y Reconocimiento de Estudios de Nivel Medio Técnico*⁶⁰ to facilitate the recognition of primary and secondary education attained in the signatory countries. Additionally, for research and teaching purposes, Paraguayan universities automatically recognize undergraduate and graduate degrees obtained at universities in other Mercosur members.⁶¹

Furthermore, Paraguay adheres to the Apostille Convention, an international treaty that recognizes all public documents emitted by the signatory

56 Centro de Estudios Monetarios Latinoamericanos, *Programa de aplicación de los principios generales para los mercados de remesas de América Latina y el Caribe - Paraguay*, 28.

57 Ibid. 27.

58 Embajada de la República del Paraguay en Italia, "Mi país, mi casa"; Secretaría de Desarrollo para Repatriados y Refugiados Connacionales, "¿Quiéres acceder a una vivienda en Paraguay?"

59 Secretaría de Desarrollo para Repatriados y Refugiados Connacionales, "Subsidio Para MIPYMES."

60 Mercosur, *Protocolo de integración educativa y reválida de diplomas, certificados, títulos y reconocimiento de estudios de nivel medio técnico*.

61 Mercosur, *Protocolo de integración educativo para prosequimiento de estudios de post grado en las universidades de los estados partes del MERCOSUR*; Mercosur, *Acuerdo de admisión de títulos y grados universitarios para el ejercicio de actividades académicas en los Estados partes del MERCOSUR*.

states.⁶² This means that any academic or professional qualification obtained in another signatory party is automatically recognized in Paraguay.⁶³

In the case of countries that have neither signed the Apostille Convention nor are part of Mercosur, the agency in charge of degree recognition is the Ministry of Education and Culture (*Dirección General de Educación Permanente*). All documents must first be translated into Spanish, presented at the consulate of Paraguay in the country where the degree was earned and then legalized by the Ministry of Foreign Relations. Once these measures are undertaken, the Ministry of Education and Culture is able to recognize the qualifications in about 10 days.⁶⁴

The *Secretaría de Desarrollo para Repatriados y Refugiados Connacionales* does not actively advocate emigrants to return, as it assumes that Paraguay is traditionally a nation of migration (“*una nación históricamente migrante*”).⁶⁵ Nevertheless, the Migration Law states that Paraguay aims to create all conditions necessary for emigrants to return if they so choose.⁶⁶

Even if Paraguay does not actively campaign for the return of emigrants, it attempts to facilitate their re-integration into society. In addition to the above-mentioned *Mi País*, *Mi Casa* and *Subsidio para MIPYMES* programs, the *Secretaría de Desarrollo para Repatriados y Refugiados Connacionales* offers the repatriation certificate. This certificate can be obtained free of charge and facilitates the reintegration of Paraguayan returnees by offering exemption from customs tax and covering professional training.⁶⁷

OBLIGATIONS

MILITARY SERVICE, SOCIAL SERVICE, TAXES

According to the Constitution, military service is obligatory for all Paraguayans.⁶⁸ Every male citizen must enlist at age 18 and serve in the military for 12 months, after which he joins the reserve until reaching the age of 50. Emi-

62 Hague Conference on Private International Law, “Convenio del 5 de octubre de 1961, suprimiendo la exigencia de legalización de los documentos públicos extranjeros.”

63 Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, “Apostilla o legalizaciones.”

64 Secretaría Nacional de Tecnologías de la Información y Comunicación, “Reconocimiento y/o convalidación de estudios académicos de un ciudadano de nacionalidad paraguaya o extranjera que cursaron estudios en el ámbito de educación permanente en el extranjero.”

65 Secretaría de Desarrollo para Repatriados y Refugiados Connacionales, “Misión y visión.”

66 Congreso de la Nación Paraguaya, *Ley N° 978/96 de Migraciones*, Art. 119.

67 Secretaría de Desarrollo para Repatriados y Refugiados Connacionales, “Certificado de Repatriación.”

68 Convención Nacional Constituyente, *Constitución de la República del Paraguay*, Art. 129.

grants are also expected to comply with the regulations and must enlist at the nearest consulate.⁶⁹

Those who are conscientious objectors may perform social service in lieu of military service without incurring any penalty.⁷⁰ One assumes the same conditions apply for emigrants, who must also comply with 12 months of social service.

Paraguayan fiscal legislation contains no emigrant-specific law. However, returning emigrants are allowed to enter the country with vehicles, machines and tools without paying taxes.⁷¹

CULTURAL POLICIES

No cultural policies were found. The Migration Law states that embassies and consulates in countries with large Paraguayan communities must provide cultural services for the preservation of their national identity.⁷² However, no cultural center abroad is effectively managed and funded by the Paraguayan state - all centers, such as the *Centro Paraguayo de New York*⁷³ or *Guaraní – Asociación de Cooperación Paraguay-España*,⁷⁴ are run by civil entities.⁷⁵

Cultural promotion offices exist in countries with a high number of Paraguayan emigrants (such as Argentina, Spain, and the USA). The Paraguayan embassy in Buenos Aires, for instance, displays artwork at the *Salón Elviro Romero*, co-organizes film festivals (such as the *Muestra Cinematográfica Trinacional* in 2013), and represents Paraguay at book fairs. Likewise, the embassy in Madrid funds concerts and represents the country in tourism exhibitions.⁷⁶

EXIT AND TRANSIT POLICIES

No exit or transit policies were found. The official policy of Paraguay is to not actively discourage emigration, instead creating sufficient opportunities for citizens to stay if they choose to. The Migration Law states that as part of the Ministry of Interior Affairs, the Ministry of Migrations, with the voluntary participation of national institutions and international organizations, will study

69 Congreso de la Nación Paraguaya, *Ley N° 569/75 del Servicio Militar Obligatorio*, Art. 1d.

70 Convención Nacional Constituyente, *Constitución de la República del Paraguay*, Art. 129.

71 Congreso de la Nación Paraguaya, “Ley N°3958/09,” Art. 2.

72 Congreso de la Nación Paraguaya, *Ley N° 978/96 de Migraciones*, Art. 121.

73 El Centro Paraguayo de New York, www.centroparaguayony.org.

74 Asociación Guaraní de Cooperación Paraguay, www.asociacionguarani.com.

75 International Organization for Migration, *Perfil migratorio de Paraguay 2011*, 60.

76 Embajada del Paraguay en España, “Agenda Cultural”; Embajada del Paraguay en Argentina, “Espacio Cultural de la Embajada”.

the causes and consequences of emigration from Paraguay with the goal of preparing policies and programs aimed at retaining or repatriating emigrants.⁷⁷

There is no coordinated information campaign to promote safe transit to the destination country. Nevertheless, Paraguayan embassies and consulates cooperate with local authorities to fight human trafficking and gender-based violence.⁷⁸

SOCIAL POLICIES

Employment and retirement benefits can be maintained in countries with which Paraguay has signed agreements. Thus far, Paraguay participates in the Multilateral Ibero-American Convention on Social Security and the MERCOSUR Multilateral Accord on Social Security.

Paraguay has also signed a bilateral social security agreement with the Netherlands.⁷⁹

As for healthcare benefits, no similar agreement was found. In Argentina, the main destination of Paraguayan emigrants, only 11% of Paraguayans under 15, 26% of Paraguayans between 15 and 64, and 55% of Paraguayans over 65 have access to healthcare, suggesting that whatever program exists for non-resident citizens provides little coverage.⁸⁰

As for education programs for emigrants, the *Revalorización de la Identidad Paraguaya en el Exterior* program distributes books, dictionaries, digital and audiovisual materials in Guaraní, one of Paraguay's two official languages (the other being Spanish). The main targets of this campaign are Guaraní teachers in Argentina.⁸¹

SYMBOLIC POLICIES

No awards, national days, or symbolic territorial entities for emigrants were found; and even though the Constitution of Paraguay mentions migrations

77 Congreso de la Nación Paraguaya, *Ley N° 978/96 de Migraciones*, Art. 119.

78 See, for example, Embajada del Paraguay en Argentina, “Lucha contra la trata de personas”; Embajada del Paraguay en España, “Combate a la violencia de género”.

79 Congreso de la Nación Paraguaya, *Ley N° 3. 160, que aprueba el convenio sobre seguridad social entre la República del Paraguay y el Reino de los Países Bajos*.

80 International Organization for Migration, *Perfil migratorio de Paraguay 2011*, 39.

81 Secretaría de Desarrollo para Repatriados y Refugiados, “Repatriados y políticas lingüísticas distribuyen libros en guaraní a paraguayos residentes en Argentina”; Secretaría de Desarrollo para Repatriados y Refugiados, “Secretaría de Repatriados cierra primer año de gestión y presenta resultados.”

in general⁸² and internal migrations in particular,⁸³ it makes no reference to emigrants or emigration.

As stated previously, embassies and consulates are individually responsible for preserving the sentiment of belonging amongst emigrant citizens, though most of them do not seem to promote anything similar.⁸⁴

Between 2008 and 2010, emigrant organizations held three Conventions on Paraguayan Emigrants (*Congresos de Emigrantes Paraguayos*) in Asunción. Several smaller conferences were also organized in France, Spain, and the United States. However, no authorities were involved in the organization; only civil society representatives.⁸⁵

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82 Convención Nacional Constituyente, *Constitución de la República del Paraguay*, Art. 41.

83 Ibid. Art. 115, 16.

84 Congreso de la Nación Paraguaya, *Ley N° 978/96 de Migraciones*, 96, Art. 121.

85 International Organization for Migration, *Perfil migratorio de Paraguay 2011*, 60.

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