



Immigration and native labour market conditions in Argentina

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This study examines the impact of immigration on the labour market conditions of natives in Argentina, a developing country with a long immigration tradition and high levels of informality. The outcomes of interest include labour income, unemployment rate and informality rate. The identification strategy employed is an instrumental variable estimation method that exploits the variability in immigrant settlement between Argentine regions. This strategy allows for estimating heterogeneous effects between different points in the income distribution of natives and does not require pre-assigning immigrants to skill groups.

The results show that the arrival of immigrants does not worsen the labour market conditions of natives in terms of income, unemployment or informality. These results remain robust for multiple specifications and highlight the absence of negative effects on labour market conditions or on the subjective perception of such conditions. These results are critical for immigration policy development as they reveal that there is no scientific basis for restricting immigration flows based on concerns about the labour market conditions of natives.

Keywords:
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Introduction

Immigration – the arrival of individuals from another country – has become increasingly frequent globally. Between 1990 and 2020, the number of immigrants increased by 84% globally (International Organization for Migration 2023); in the same period, the population growth rate was 48%. The reasons for migration include wars, natural disasters and adverse economic conditions. Economic intuition suggests that individuals migrate to countries where marginal product is higher and, therefore, so is their salary. These movements of people constitute changes in the labour supply and can have substantial economic consequences in terms of wages, inequality and other dimensions (Borjas 2003, Dustmann et al. 2023).

On the one hand, immigrants compete with natives for jobs, exerting downwards pressure on wages and worsening job opportunities for natives. Immigrants with low (high) qualifications will compete in the labour market with natives with low (high) qualifications, putting downwards pressure on the wages of this group of workers. Therefore, the impact of immigration on the labour market conditions of natives will depend on the profile of the immigrants in relation to that of the natives. On the other hand, the arrival of immigrants could increase the productivity of other productive factors such as capital or land. In this scenario, immigration could improve the labour market conditions of natives (i.e. higher wages due to higher productivity). Thus, the theoretical impact of immigration on the labour market conditions of natives remains ambiguous (Dustmann et al. 2023).

Empirical research has typically focused on examining developed countries as recipients of immigrants (Bratsberg–Raaum 2012, Dustmann et al. 2013, Foged–Peri 2016, Aksu et al. 2018, Piyapromdee 2020, Dustmann et al. 2023). These studies suggest the existence of small or null effects of immigration on the labour market conditions of natives, including in the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Nordic countries. In all cases, the low labour informality in these countries stands out. Furthermore, Dustmann et al. (2023) find that immigrants have a higher educational level than natives in the United Kingdom.

Studies on developing countries as recipients show mixed evidence. Delgado-Prieto (2023) studies administrative records of Colombia and observes that the arrival of Venezuelan immigrants negatively affects the wages and employment of natives who work in small businesses or receive the minimum wage, but not other groups of workers. Bonilla-Mejia et al. (2020) use household microdata and report a null result in terms of the impact on wages and a small result in terms of employment. The Colombian case was also examined by Caruso et al. (2021), Lebow (2022, 2024) and Lombardo et al. (2021). Other works have examined the conditions in Turkey (Del Carpio–Wagner 2015, Ceritoglu et al. 2017, Aksu et al. 2018) and Peru. In these countries, evidence shows that immigrants have a similar or lower educational level than natives.

In this context, this study examines the impact of immigration on the labour market conditions of natives in Argentina, a country with a long immigration tradition and high informality. Currently, 5% of the Argentine population constitutes individuals born in another country. Furthermore, Argentina is a particularly relevant setting for this research as it has a large territory and substantial territorial inequality, with poor northern regions and rich central and southern parts (González 2020, 2024, González et al. 2022, 2024).

Immigration to Argentina dates back to the end of the 19th century. In 1869, the first law promoting the arrival of immigrants to populate the country was passed (Avellaneda Law), and the literature indicates that immigration laws are important (de Haas et al. 2019). The arrival of immigrants was promoted by offering subsidised travel and land grants. Immigration was encouraged to such an extent that Argentine ships exporting goods to Europe made the return trip with people instead of goods (Mussini–Biderbost 2023). Initially, most immigrants who arrived to Argentina were European; however, during the 20th and 21st centuries, most immigrants came from other Latin American countries (Biderbost et al. 2023).

The outcomes of interest in this study include hourly labour income, unemployment rate and informality rate. The identification strategy employed is an instrumental variable estimation method that exploits the variability in the settlement of immigrants between Argentine regions; the ratio of immigrants and natives in each region is instrumented with the same lagged ratio. The estimation assumes that past settlements do not correlate with future economic shocks (Altonji–Card 1991). The intuition underlying the instrument is based on prior studies (Bartel 1989, Munshi 2003) showing that the settlement patterns of previous immigrants are good predictors of the settlement choice of subsequent immigrants. The data are obtained from two national-level household surveys conducted in Argentina (Permanent Household Survey and Barometer of the Americas).

The results of the study show that the arrival of immigrants does not worsen the labour market conditions of natives in terms of income, unemployment or informality. For labour income, the effects are null when considering different percentiles in the income distribution (5th, 10th, 25th, 50th, 75th, 90th and 95th percentile). The results are robust to the exclusion of fixed effects and controls, disaggregation by gender, ordinary least squares (OLS) estimation and estimation in levels (rather than in first differences). Null effects are also obtained when examining the impact of immigration on the perception of the labour market and economic conditions in Argentina. Thus, the robust results indicate the absence of negative effects of immigration on the labour market conditions of natives or on the subjective perceptions of such conditions. Ultimately, these results suggest that an anti-immigration policy based on concerns about the labour market conditions of natives has no empirical support for the case of Argentina.

The study makes contributions in three aspects. First, it provides novel causal evidence for a developing country with a large presence of immigrants. The literature

has typically focused on the United States and Western European countries. Second, the identification strategy used herein does not require immigrants to be pre-assigned to certain skill groups; furthermore, it allows for the detection of heterogeneous effects across income distribution levels of natives. Most prior studies conduct estimation after pre-assigning immigrants to certain groups based on their qualifications (e.g. education or years of work experience). Such assignment may generate biased estimates as they fail to consider that immigrants may be subject to job downgrading, i.e. working in occupations that do not correspond to their observed skills¹ (Dustmann et al. 2016). Third, the study assesses subjective perceptions of labour market conditions among natives of a developing country. By doing so, the study can detect the existence of biases in perceptions, which can critically inform policy formulation. Typically, the literature on this subject also predominantly involves analyses of developed countries. Some exceptions include the works of Chatruc–Rozo (2022), Ajzenamn et al. (2023).

Sources of information

This study combines two sources of information. First, it uses microdata from the Permanent Household Survey (EPH) conducted by the National Institute of Statistics and Censuses (INDEC 2023). This survey is carried out quarterly for 31 urban agglomerates in Argentina.²

The analysis includes all waves of the EPH from 2003 (the year of the beginning of its quarterly modality) until 2019, the last year before the Covid-19 pandemic. This decision is aimed at excluding estimates from the period in which the mobility of people was limited at the global level.

The EPH provides a representative sampling of the Argentine urban population, a country with more than 91% of its population living in urban areas. It provides information about multiple sociodemographic characteristics, including gender, age, educational level, income, city of residence, place of birth and employment status. EPH data reveal that immigrants (i.e. those born in a country other than Argentina) represent 5% of the Argentine population.

The data presented in Table 1 show interesting differences between natives and immigrants. Immigrants in Argentina have a higher average age, almost 16 years older

¹ Downgrading may result from immigrants' lack of complementary skills (e.g. the language of the recipient country) or the time required to find a position compatible with their skills.

² The agglomerates included in the EPH are Posadas (Misiones), Gran Resistencia (Chaco), Corrientes and Formosa in the Northeast region (NEA). For the Northwest region (NOA), Santiago del Estero-La Banda, Jujuy-Palpalá, Gran Catamarca, Salta, La Rioja and Gran Tucumán-Tafí Viejo are surveyed. The Central region includes Gran Córdoba, Río Cuarto, Gran Santa Fe, Gran Rosario, Gran Paraná, Concordia, Bahía Blanca-Cerri, Gran La Plata, Mar del Plata-Batán and San Nicolás-Villa Constitución. In the Southern region (Patagonia), Rawson-Trelew, Comodoro Rivadavia-Rada Tilly, Río Gallegos, Santa Rosa-Toay, Ushuaia-Río Grande and Viedma-Carmen de Patagones are included. Gran Buenos Aires includes the City of Buenos Aires and the Buenos Aires districts bordering the City. The Cuyo region includes Gran Mendoza, Gran San Juan and Gran San Luis.

than natives. Immigrants also have lower educational achievement than natives, lower hourly labour income, higher labour informality and longer hours of work per week. This contrasts substantially with the profile of immigrants in developed countries, who tend to have a higher educational level and a lower average age (Dustmann et al. 2023).

Table 1

Comparison of natives vs. immigrants (means)

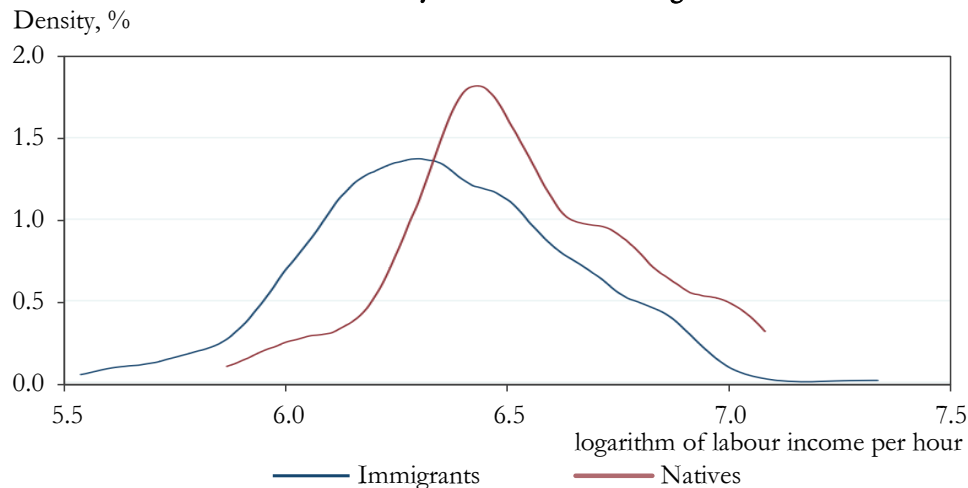
Indicator	Natives	Immigrants
Proportion of population (%)	95	5
Age	32.8	48.1
Proportion of women (%)	51.7	55.4
Low education (%)	29.6	43.7
High education (%)	31.1	17.3
Labour income per hour	733	617
Unemployment rate (%)	9	8
Informality rate (%)	36.2	54
Working hours	42.6	46.1

Notes: educational levels are estimated for the population aged ≥ 21 years. 'Low education' indicates people whose highest educational level is primary school, and 'High education' indicates people with at least tertiary education. Working hours are calculated per week and include only the employed population.

Source: author's elaboration based on EPH-INDEC data.

Figure 1 confirms the observations of Table 1: immigrants have lower hourly labour income and greater income distribution than natives. The income density function of immigrants is shown to shift to the left in relation to that of the natives.

Figure 1

Income density of natives vs. immigrants

Note: income is expressed on a logarithmic scale and refers to hourly labour income expressed in constant 2019 pesos.

Source: author's elaboration based on EPH-INDEC data.

This study's second source of information is the Americas Barometer microdata (Vanderbilt University 2021). These microdata, collected via biennial surveys conducted between 2008 and 2019, indicate the preferences and perceptions of the Argentine population by region. One of the questions refers to the *most serious problem facing the country*. Possible answers include items on migration, unemployment, poverty, inequality, and economic crisis. The abovementioned items are the closest to the topic of this research. Using these data, the study constructs a dummy variable that takes the value of 1 for people who selected one of these items as the country's most serious problem. This allows for investigating the relationship between immigration and perceptions of economic conditions.

Methodology

To causally identify the relationship between immigration and native labour market conditions, the study employs an instrumental variable strategy. This strategy is based on Dustmann et al.'s (2023) proposal. The instrument chosen is the lagged ratio between immigrants and natives for each region and period $\widehat{Ratio IN}_{rt}$. Given that the decision of migration destination is correlated with the economic conditions of the destination, the ratio between immigrants and natives is instrumented with a lag of eight periods. Equation 1 describes the estimation strategy.

$$\Delta y_{rt} = \alpha_r + \gamma_t + \beta_0 \Delta \widehat{Ratio IN}_{rt} + \beta_1 \Delta X_{rt} + \Delta \varepsilon_{rt}, \quad (1)$$

where y_{rt} refers to the outcome of interest y in region r and period t . The outcomes of interest include the logarithm of hourly labour income, unemployment and labour informality rates. In the case of income, equation 1 is estimated for different points of the native income distribution, including the 5th, 10th, 25th, 50th, 75th, 90th and 95th percentiles. These estimations can help identify the potential presence of heterogeneous effects at different points of the distribution.

α_r and γ_t are region and period fixed effects, respectively, and help control for unobserved heterogeneity between regions or over time. β_0 is the coefficient of interest and is obtained from $\widehat{Ratio IN}_{rt}$ which is the ratio between immigrants and natives in region r and period t instrumented with its lag. X_{rt} is a vector of covariates that includes the average age of natives and immigrants and the ratios of high education to low education and intermediate education to low education among natives. Low education refers to people whose maximum educational achievement is completion of primary school, whereas high education includes people with at least tertiary education. Intermediate education includes the levels between the previous two. ε_{rt} is the model error term.

The identification strategy employed in this study has the advantage that it does not require immigrants to be pre-assigned to certain skill groups; furthermore, it allows for the detection of heterogeneous effects across the income distribution of natives. Most prior studies conduct estimations by pre-assigning immigrants to certain

groups based on their qualifications (e.g. education or years of experience). Such assignment may generate biased estimates as they fail to consider that immigrants may be subject to job downgrading, *i.e.* working in occupations that do not correspond to their observed skills (Dustmann et al. 2016).

The estimation strategy employed in this research relies on two critical assumptions. First, the chosen instrument assumes that economic shocks are not too persistent. That is, contemporary economic conditions are not correlated with the decision to migrate in eight previous periods. In any case, the results are robust when considering another number of lags. Second, the study assumes that the arrival of immigrants does not have a displacement effect among natives. Otherwise, the estimates could be biased. In the case of this work, the concern about displacement is minimised by the fact that regions are considered as the units of analysis. Each Argentine region includes, on average, four provinces and an area of more than 500,000 km², comparable to the surface area of Spain or Sweden. Therefore, given the breadth of the units of analysis considered, it is expected that displacement, if it exists, will be largely intraregional.

Furthermore, multiple robustness checks are incorporated. First, in addition to estimating the impact on the income of natives in the median of the distribution, the impact is considered in percentiles of both tails. Second, the results are recalculated after excluding fixed effects and control variables. Third, the impact is disaggregated by gender. Fourth, another outcome of interest is considered: a dummy variable that takes the value of 1 if the person believes that the country's most serious problem relates to the migration or economic dimension (migration, unemployment, poverty, inequality or economic crises). This enables the study to determine whether a greater presence of immigrants results in a worse perception of the current economic conditions.

Results

The results in Table 2 show the impact of the presence of immigrants on the labour income of natives. When considering seven points of income distribution, no significant effects are observed. That is, immigration neither decreases nor increases the labour income of natives in any tails of the distribution. This result is maintained upon applying an OLS regression (see in Appendix Table A1), upon considering a model in levels instead of first differences (see in Appendix Table A2), and upon excluding fixed effects and controls (see in Appendix Table A3). These results provide robust evidence in favour of the nonexistence of an impact of immigration on the income of natives in Argentina.

Table 2

Immigration and labour income of natives in Argentina

Dependent variable: labour income	p5	p10	p25	p50	p75	p90	p95
$\widehat{Ratio IN}_{rt}$	0.275 (5.724)	-1.713 (4.109)	-1.193 (3.147)	-1.075 (3.058)	1.083 (3.343)	-0.518 (3.538)	-0.443 (4.025)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	324	324	324	324	324	324	324
R ²	0.097	0.113	0.18	0.196	0.182	0.156	0.10

Notes: 'income' refers to hourly labour income expressed in constant pesos for 2019. Each column indicates a percentile of the income distribution of natives. The F statistic of the first stage of the instrumental variable regression is 11. * significant at 10%, ** significant at 5%, *** significant at 1%.

Source: author's elaboration based on EPH-INDEC data.

Table 3 shows that the presence of immigrants in Argentine regions also has no significant impact in terms of unemployment. The coefficients, estimated under multiple specifications, indicate a null effect on the unemployment of natives. This is consistent with the previous result related to income. Additionally, the null result remains robust when findings are disaggregated by gender (see in Appendix Table A4).

Table 3

Immigration and unemployment among natives of Argentina

Dependent variable: unemployment rate	1	2	3	4
$\widehat{Ratio IN}_{rt}$	-0.289 (1.785)	-1.246 (0.796)	-0.135 (1.867)	-1.045 (0.757)
Controls	No	No	Yes	Yes
Fixed effects	No	Yes	No	Yes
N	324	324	324	324
R ²	0.036	0.345	0.042	0.174

Notes: the unemployment rate is estimated only among people belonging to the economically active population. The F statistic of the first stage of the instrumental variable regression is 11. * significant at 10%, ** significant at 5%, *** significant at 1%.

Source: author's elaboration based on EPH-INDEC data.

Complementing the above, Table 4 shows that a greater presence of immigrants does not result in changes in labour informality among natives. This result is robust when considering different specifications – i.e. with or without fixed effects and controls – and when findings are disaggregated by gender (see in Appendix Table A5). Thus, this study provides evidence comprising multiple dimensions (income, unemployment and informality), indicating the lack of significant impacts of the arrival of immigrants on the labour market in Argentina.

Table 4

Immigration and labour informality among natives in Argentina

Dependent variable: informality rate	1	2	3	4
$\widehat{Ratio\ IN}_{rt}$	0.164 (2.827)	-0.630 (1.072)	0.507 (2.955)	-0.539 (1.035)
Controls	No	No	Yes	Yes
Fixed effects	No	Yes	No	Yes
N	324	324	324	324
R ²	0.0059	0.0538	0.0706	0.15

Notes: 'informality' indicates an employment relationship without contributions to social security. The F statistic of the first stage of the instrumental variable regression is 11. * significant at 10%, ** significant at 5%, *** significant at 1%.

Source: author's elaboration based on EPH-INDEC data.

Table 5 shows that the greater presence of immigrants does not result in worse perceptions of current economic conditions. This is consistent with the results presented in Tables 2–4: the null effects of immigration on natives' labour market conditions coincide with similar null impacts on perceptions of current economic conditions. This finding is especially critical given the influence that public opinion has on policymaking.

Table 5

Immigration and perceptions of economic conditions in Argentina

Dependent variable: perceptions of economic conditions	1	2	3	4
$\widehat{Ratio\ IN}_{rt}$	-0.63 (0.641)	-0.275 (2.59)	-0.869 (1.01)	-0.88 (1.87)
Controls	No	No	Yes	Yes
Fixed effects	No	Yes	No	Yes
N	36	36	36	36
R ²	0.372	0.910	0.085	0.307

Notes: 'informality' indicates an employment relationship without contributions to social security. * significant at 10%, ** significant at 5%, *** significant at 1%.

Source: author's elaboration based on Vanderbilt University and EPH-INDEC data.

The results reported in this study partially align with previous evidence. Several studies (Dustmann et al. 2013, Aksu et al. 2018, Piyapromdee 2020, Dustmann et al. 2023) have shown that immigration flows have small or null effects on the labour market conditions of natives. The findings of this study on Argentina are consistent with those reported by Dustmann et al. (2023) for the United Kingdom in terms of greater inequality between immigrants than natives (Figure 1) and the null or limited impact of the former on the labour market conditions of natives. Evidence from the

United Kingdom and the United States also indicates a small impact of immigration, including the impact on the housing rental market (Dustmann et al. 2013, Piyapromdee 2020). The same is true for Turkey, Colombia, Peru and Israel (Friedberg 2001, Aksu et al. 2018, Bonilla-Mejia et al. 2020). In general terms, this study contributes to the literature by providing evidence of a small or null effect of immigration on the labour market conditions of natives. Thus, anti-immigration proposals justified on the basis of labour market conditions of natives have no empirical support.

Conclusions

This study examined the causal impact of immigration on the labour market conditions of natives in Argentina using data for 2003–2019 from two microdata surveys with broad temporal and geographic coverage (Permanent Household Survey and Barometer of the Americas). To avoid endogeneity concerns, the ratio between immigrants and natives was instrumented with a lag.

The results show that the arrival of immigrants does not significantly alter the labour market conditions of natives, including labour income, informality and unemployment. The results remain robust when considering multiple percentiles of income distribution (5th, 10th, 25th, 50th, 75th, 90th and 95th percentiles), disaggregating the findings by gender, or using other estimation methods. Furthermore, no significant effects of immigration are observed in relation to perceptions of current economic conditions.

The results reported here have important policy implications. First, the results show no evidence to support more restrictive immigration policies that are formulated to protect natives from competition in the labour market. This is relevant given that, *a priori*, immigrants' low educational and income levels could exert downwards pressure on the wages of less qualified natives who receive the lowest wages. Second, given the demographic profile of immigrants (Table 1) and the null effects on natives reported herein, developing a policy to encourage the immigration of skilled workers (currently, a minority group among immigrants) can help boost the domestic labour market. Third, policy formulation must consider the fact that public opinion regarding current economic conditions is not affected by the arrival of immigrants.

Future research could extend this analysis in several important directions. First, given Argentina's position as a developing country with both high informality and substantial regional inequality, researchers could examine the dynamic effects of immigration over longer time horizons. Such research would clarify whether the null effects found in this study persist or change as local labour markets adjust over time. Additionally, investigating the mechanisms through which local labour markets absorb immigrants without negatively impacting natives' outcomes would be

particularly valuable for developing countries with characteristics similar to those of Argentina. This could include analysing changes in occupational specialisation, skill complementarities or the potential expansion of informal sectors in response to immigration.

Second, studies could examine the fiscal and productivity implications of immigration in Argentina. While this study focused on labour market outcomes and subjective perceptions, understanding how immigration affects public finance, innovation and firm productivity in the context of a developing country remains crucial. Research examining whether immigrants' contribution to local economies varies across Argentina's regions with different levels of development would be particularly relevant.

Appendix

Table A1
Immigration and labour income of natives in Argentina estimated by OLS

Dependent variable: labour income	p5	p10	p25	p50	p75	p90	p95
$\widehat{Ratio IN}_{rt}$	0.58 (1.032)	0.242 (0.746)	0.260 (0.576)	-1.01* (0.574)	-0.073 (0.622)	0.521 (0.634)	1.194* (0.712)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	366	366	366	366	366	366	366
R ²	0.113	0.143	0.187	0.182	0.155	0.146	0.11

Notes: 'income' refers to hourly labour income expressed in constant pesos for 2019. Each column indicates a percentile of the income distribution of natives. * significant at 10%, ** significant at 5%, *** significant at 1%.

Source: author's elaboration based on EPH-INDEC data.

Table A2
Immigration and labour income of natives in Argentina in estimation in levels

Dependent variable: labour income	p5	p10	p25	p50	p75	p90	p95
$\widehat{Ratio IN}_{rt}$	28.798 (31.496)	42.497 (43.218)	31.957 (32.801)	19.592 (21.763)	3.230 (11.007)	4.893 (11.731)	0.695 (11.813)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	324	324	324	324	324	324	324
R ²	0.817	0.666	0.801	0.887	0.963	0.946	0.941

Notes: 'income' refers to hourly labour income expressed in constant pesos for 2019. Each column indicates a percentile of the income distribution of natives. * significant at 10%, ** significant at 5%, *** significant at 1%.

Source: author's elaboration based on EPH-INDEC data.

Table A3
Immigration and labour income of natives in Argentina
when excluding fixed effects and controls

Dependent variable: labour income	p5	p10	p25	p50	p75	p90	p95
$\widehat{Ratio IN}_{rt}$	4.941 (15.302)	1.305 (10.975)	-0.262 (8.738)	0.932 (8.593)	2.128 (9.338)	-0.280 (9.688)	-0.607 (10.722)
Controls	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
Fixed effects	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
N	324	324	324	324	324	324	324
R ²	0.025	0.005	0.003	0.007	0.014	0.005	0.013

Notes: 'income' refers to hourly labour income expressed in constant pesos for 2019. Each column indicates a percentile of the income distribution of natives. * significant at 10%, ** significant at 5%, *** significant at 1%.

Source: author's elaboration based on EPH-INDEC data.

Table A4

**Immigration and unemployment among natives of Argentina
when disaggregated by gender**

Dependent variable: unemployment rate	Men	Women
$\widehat{Ratio IN}_{rt}$	-1.178 (0.853)	-0.838 (0.912)
Controls	Yes	Yes
Fixed effects	Yes	Yes
N	324	324
R ²	0.208	0.021

Notes: the unemployment rate is estimated only among people belonging to the economically active population.
* significant at 10%, ** significant at 5%, *** significant at 1%.

Source: author's elaboration based on EPH-INDEC data.

Table A5

**Immigration and labour informality of natives in Argentina
when disaggregated by gender**

Dependent variable: informality rate	Men	Women
$\widehat{Ratio IN}_{rt}$	-0.147 (1.298)	-0.832 (1.429)
Controls	Yes	Yes
Fixed effects	Yes	Yes
N	324	324
R ²	0.095	0.125

Notes: 'informality' indicates an employment relationship without contributions to social security. * significant at 10%, ** significant at 5%, *** significant at 1%.

Source: author's elaboration based on EPH-INDEC data.

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