

WHERE IS MEXICAN SCIENCE HEADING

Migration and Development

R. Delgado, coordinator



ANALYSIS FOR ACTION

WHERE IS MEXICAN SCIENCE HEADING
Migration and Development

Raúl Delgado-Wise

Coordinator



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PRESENTATION

WHERE IS MEXICAN SCIENCE HEADING

In February 2012, the Mexican Academy of Sciences (AMC, for its initialisms in Spanish), the National Council for Technology and Science (Conacyt, for its acronym in Spanish), and the Presidency's Council of Advisors on Science (CCC, for its initialisms in Spanish), undertook a project to analyze the status of Mexican scientific advancement worldwide, in order to find areas of opportunity in need of development and make specific proposals in those fields, to contribute with the nation's progress.

Bearing this purpose, the project considered relevant to use the word *science* to describe the research and development activities conducted in a serious and systematic, on every field of knowledge. Likewise, a conjoint arrangement —within the tripartite agreement AMC-Conacyt-CCC— organized a series of roundtables in about 30 fields of knowledge as seen from three different perspectives: the academic or disciplinary, the technological or instrumental, and sectorial or of application.

An Organizing Committee was established to achieve this goal. The Committee invited sixty renowned specialists of every field of knowledge; each of them were to set up at least one roundtable on a specific field in which four other specialists participated, in order to achieve the best multi-angled comprehension of a theme. It was critical that every theme had at least two active forums: one taking place in Mexico City, and another in a different state. This was in order to broaden the vision with insights of people outside the center of the country.

In most cases, the answer was not only positive but also enthusiastic; in some other cases the guests proposed more talks on a theme, and in oc-

casions they suggested further meetings to discuss themes not considered initially. Thus, until the printing of this volume, 96 roundtables have taken place.

This project produced great interest in society. Several thousands of people attended to the forums.

Due to its relevance and enrichment of ideas and proposals that sprang from the round tables, Conacyt, AMC and CCC decided to publish a series of books which present the panorama where Mexican science is heading and where it should head to.

WHERE IS MEXICAN SCIENCE HEADING
Migration and Development



INTRODUCTION

*Raúl Delgado-Wise**

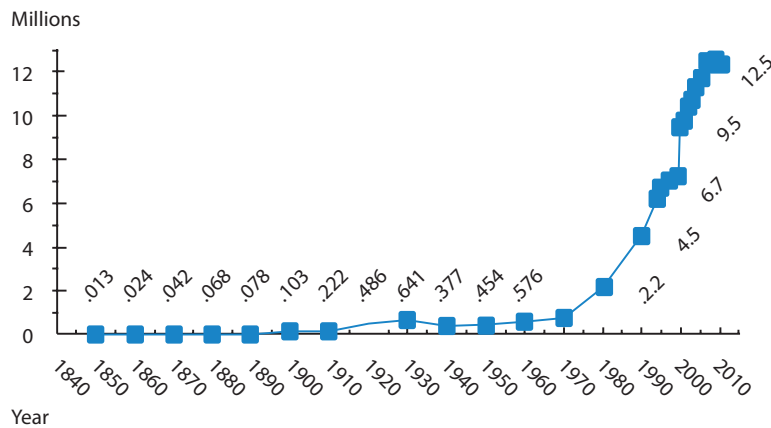
Human mobility has become a priority theme on the international agenda. Currently, there are 214 million migrants around the world; three quarters of them come from peripheral countries. Additional to the 750 million internal migrants, around a billion people live in a different location from their birthplace, meaning that one out of seven people on the planet is an migrant. Furthermore, taking into consideration that 80 to 90% of migrants are laborers, one out of three members of the working class around the world is a migrant who, as a rule, is subject to poverty and labor vulnerability.

Mexico ranks as the principal migrant-producing country in the world, with about 12 million co-nationals living in the United States and a Mexican origin community of over 30 million people in that country. Likewise, our country also has the largest number of undocumented migrants on the planet, with around 6.5 million and is stands as the major migratory corridor in the world and the primary exporter of highly-skilled migrants in Latin America, and sixth in the world.

Although Mexican migration to the United States is a long established tradition, it has exploded in the last three decades, mainly because of the Mexican neoliberal policies and implementation of the North American Free Trade Agreement. It is not merely a quantitative change, but also a fundamental qualitative transformation of the phenomenon: what was originally a circular pattern has become a more permanent displacement and, until recently, one of return. Female and indigenous participation grew os-

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tensibly to the point of making the United States the second largest recipient of highly-skilled migrants, slightly behind India. Additionally, the spectrum of work labor activities in which Mexicans participate has diversified increasingly towards the industrial sector and a variety of services; nonetheless the American agriculture is still dominated by Mexicans. The migratory phenomenon extended to encompass the entire Mexican and United States territories. Beyond these changes, we have to add the substantial increase of transit migration through Mexican national territory, mainly of Central American origin and the presence of organized crime in human trafficking and smuggling activities.



Source: *Compilation from Decennial Censuses, 1850-1990;*
Pew Hispanic Center, 1994-2010 (Passel & Cohn 2011).

Figure 1. Migration Mexico-United States

The increasing complexity of Mexican and Central American migration to the United States is undeniable, and is linked to the violation of basic human rights of migrants. In its current state, migration in all its forms is far from being a free and voluntary course of action. Essentially, it is also a compulsory displacement associated with emergent and systemic violence inherent to the development problems afflicting the country and region.

The link between migration, development and human rights, has been subject to debate in political and academic arenas. From the dominant perspective, supported by the destination countries and some international organizations —such as the World Bank, the Inter-American Bank of Development and the International Organization for Migration— migration

is conceived as a pathway for the development of countries of origin via remittances. This perspective has been dubbed as “the development mantra”. Migration management is another axis of the dominant policies. Under this school of thought, migration, specifically the temporal or circular kind, is conceived as a win-win-win alternative: countries of destination, countries of origin and migrants. In every case, it is an out of context, limited and one-sided view. These views omit all respect of the migrants’ human rights, confine them to the narrow context of national security doctrines, and regulate the labor supply of the countries of origin by discounting the discrimination, criminalization, social exclusion and labor exploitation cases, to which migrants and their families are exposed to through their journey. The context in which migration occurs and the root causes of this go unnoticed, under the assumption of human mobility being a free and voluntary act, unrelated to any kind of structural conditioning or influenced by national or supranational agents. Similar in nature are the multiple economical, demographic, social and cultural contributions migrants make to the society of the countries of destination that tend to be concealed or distorted to the point of turning the migrant into a socioeconomic liability, and in times of economic depression, into a public enemy. Furthermore, this reductionist view of the relationship between migration, development and human rights disdain the costs and multiple implications migration entails to the countries of origin beyond the impact of remittances. On this topic, an estimate —based on official data- corresponding to the period of 1994 to 2011, shows that the cost of migration for Mexico; considering the age and educational level of migrants at the moment of their first arrival to the United States, represents an expense to the country —taking into account only the basic living expenses and public education— which doubles the accumulated amount of remittances received during the period. To this, one must add the opportunity cost, in terms of national development, that entails the exportation of the demographic bonus from the country, or the fact that 17% of our post-graduate co-nationals have migrated to the United States. Furthermore, if taken into consideration, Mexican-origin population in the US (immigrants and immigrant offspring), these proportions amount to 55% of masters in sciences and 30% of doctoral degrees. This involves an enormous amount

of wasted talent and an enormous potential to be seized to the benefit and development of Mexico.

On the basis of these broad considerations, it is undeniable that the topic of migration must be placed as a priority issue on the national agenda. Migration is a crosscutting theme traversing almost every sphere of the nation's public and social activities and beyond. In this regard, an analysis of the migration phenomenon could be helpful in the development of an alternative research agenda capable of contributing to necessary and urgent state policies on migration and development in Mexico.

Every text included in this book addresses critical and cutting-edge topics regarding the migration and development nexus by some of the most renowned Mexican experts in the field.

The first chapter refers to the increasing debate on global migration and development at a global level. In contrast to the dominant position based on the national security doctrine that promotes an alignment between labor supply and demand in favor of the countries of destination and considers remittances sent by migrants as a powerful device to propel the growth in out-migration countries. An alternate view is proposed, based on the paradigm of human security. According to this view, the problem is addressed in a multidimensional fashion, considering the implications of migration for the origin, host and transit countries as well as for the migrants and their families. All of this without losing sight of the contemporary structural causes of migration associated with the dynamics of uneven growth generated by the neoliberal globalization.

The second chapter, *Skilled Migration: Trends and Examples from the Mexico – United States Migratory Corridor*, deals with a pivotal issue of the country's development that was practically ignored: highly-skilled migration. This analysis not only reveals the current quantitative picture of the phenomenon, it also goes deep into its qualitative aspects, specifically those relevant to the public policies. The problematization on two of the challenges concerning highly-skilled migration: the brain drain and brain circulation is particularly relevant.

Migration is particularly plagued with reality distorting myths that portrays the immigrant as a public enemy, specially to the host societies. Like-

wise, the origin of migration tends to be blurred, as are the demographic, social and economic costs, which, if put in perspective go beyond the hypothetical benefits of remittances. Against this background, the third chapter shows a series of strategic benchmarks put together to dispel the misconceptions on this reality and expose a comprehensive and inclusive view of this phenomenon.

The fourth chapter examines further the matter of highly-skilled migration discussed in the second chapter, focusing exclusively on those Mexican migrants with master and doctoral degrees settled in the United States. The collected data suggests important nuances to ponder over this crucial sector of highly-skilled migrants. On the one hand, their growth is not as spectacular during the past decade as was originally anticipated. On the other hand, their competitiveness in the United States' labor market in relation to homologous groups tends to be relatively low. This situation questions the quality and aptness of the Mexican education system in its higher levels and poses important challenges for the nation's development.

The fifth chapter, Mexico-United States Balance and Perspective of the Migratory Policies, addresses the great omissions and problems the country's much-needed migration policy must tackle. It claims that it must not only be dealt with as a bilateral arrangement, but also in a unilateral way bearing in mind its potential impacts upon third parties. Even if the new migration bill is recognized (it is in essence an immigration law that do not take into consideration emigration), there are many aspects to be yet taken into consideration for the framework of legislation, keeping in mind the prevailing complexity of this phenomenon. For that effect, it ends with a list of pending matters.

The sixth chapter deals with a relatively new topic that encompasses a high-priority problem for Mexico: transit migration. Being consistent with the paradigm of human security, the topic is explored from the human rights point of view. In this regard, emphasis is placed on the complexities of the phenomenon and the need to address this problem with an integral approach, highlighting the risk scenarios resulting from organized crime involvement. The chapter also emphasizes the important academic contri-

butions that could be made to meet the challenges this type of migration presents, and highlights four priority themes.

The seventh chapter refers to another topic with relevance to the current debate of the migration phenomenon in Mexico: return migration. It encompasses a detailed and highly-documented analysis that departs from the fact that this phenomenon cannot be left without study when analyzing the migratory reality of the country: the Mexican economy has specialized in transferring wealth from underground resources, living labor, and economic surplus, to the corporate capital. This, besides impoverishing the population, has been the triggering factor of forced migration for the three last decades. Under these circumstances, undocumented migrants have been caught in a spiral of human degradation: expelled from a country that cannot guarantee them minimum survival conditions. They arrive in a supposed “promised land” that segregates and exploits them, when they are not criminalized, detained and deported, forced to return under dire circumstances making them into the excluded among the excluded. The United States Government promises a migratory reform with definite rejection parameters, which increases the detentions and deportations of workers that nurture the massive wave of return migration that the country is currently undergoing.

Finally, as a way of conclusion, two priority research themes are raised with the aim of furthering an agenda on migration investigation and development for Mexico’s future: a) highly-skilled migration and the restructuring of the national innovation system, and b) the formulation of strategic indicators on migration, development and human rights. Both topics are intimately entwined with a demystifying view of international migration, and help rethink, from a Mexican stand point, the dialectic interrelation between migration and development from a critical and constructive perspective.

RECONSIDERING THE DEBATE MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT: A PERSPECTIVE FROM MEXICO

*Raúl Delgado-Wise**

In the last part of the last century and up to now, the relationship between migration and development has become central in the academic and political debate at local, national, regional and global scales. Nevertheless, the discussion agenda is dominated by governments of the principal countries and regions recipients of migrants, fundamentally United States and the European Union, and implemented by some of the principal international organisms, among them the World Bank and the International Migration Organization (IMO). Through these organisms the topics that give direction to research agendas and public policies on this field are defined.

The governments of countries of origin and transit, such as Mexico —at the time, the principal migrants producing country and migratory corridor in the world— assume a passive stance on the debate. Most of the time they limit to validate the politic orientation defined by recipient countries or assume defense discursive stances from their co-nationals abroad, which tend to justify the failure of national development policies. These views are characterized by shadowing the underlying migration causes and rendering invisible the contributions migrants make to the societies of destination, as well as the costs entailed by migration both for migrants and for the societies of origin, beyond the alleged benefits remittances represent. Instead of a thorough vision, a reality distorting mythology prevails, feeding xenophobic attitudes and promoting anti-immigrant policies. Under this light, the development of countries of origin and migrants' human rights remain a dead letter.

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THE CONTEXT IN WHICH CONTEMPORARY MIGRATION DISPLAYS

Since the 1970s a new world order began: the neoliberal globalization. Ever since, a thorough process of economic reconstruction, directed by multinational corporations, the world's most powerful government and a triumvirate of international organizations formed by the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Trade Organization (WTO) took place. Among the essential characteristic features of this process, the internationalization of the capital particular to the expansionist strategy of the great multinational corporations based on the creation of global production, commerce and service chains, through outsourcing operations and inter-companies commerce stands out. This form of expansion is aimed to the reinsertion of peripheral countries, which dispose of labor force, and inexpensive and abundant natural resources, through the implementation of export platforms; which by utilizing mainly imported supplies, operate as an enclave economy disarticulated from the national economy group. Related to this dynamic, a restructure of the innovation systems takes place, allowing the highly-skilled workers originated in the periphery, to be at the service of major corporations through mechanisms such as outsourcing and offshoring.

Extractivism and financialization joined this strategy, which stresses the asymmetry between regions, countries and within them, as well as an increase of the depth of labor impoverishment at all levels. This way, the asymmetries between countries reaches unprecedented levels in the history of contemporary capitalism, while global labor impoverishment reaches truly alarming and unsustainable levels. Taking into consideration that, according to the figures of the International Labor Organization (ILO) for 2011; one thousand 520 million workers (just above 50%) worked in vulnerable conditions, meaning lacking safety measures in their workplace and without minimal labor rights. 910 million workers (around 30%) held an income of less than two dollars per day, placing them in the range of extreme poverty; and there were 203 million unemployed people and around half of which engrossed the ranks of informality (ILO, 2012).

Under these circumstances, the pressure to emigrate, particularly in peripheral regions—where the largest contingents of unemployed workers or

workers in extreme poverty conditions and even below survival conditions, concentrate- tend to grow in conditions of increasing vulnerability and social exclusion.

The acute financial overproduction, environmental and social crisis that humanity undergoes, questions the prevailing globalization style and in a deeper sense, the global order system, by destroying the main sources of wealth: work and nature, which have been overexploited and deteriorated to the point of endangering the civilization's network itself. The response given to crisis by the governments of developed countries and the international organizations which promote globalization have been short-termed and exclusive. Instead of confronting the origin of the problem, they promote in a limited fashion, rescue programs whose beneficiaries are financial and manufacturing corporations facing bankruptcy. Likewise, the deepening of flexibility labor policies and tax adjustment tend to worsen even more the working and living conditions of most of the population. In this context, the migrating population is branded as culprits of the crisis and legislations and policies of open repression and anti-immigrant are promoted. (Massey & Sánchez, 2010).

DOMINANT PERSPECTIVE OF THE LINKS BETWEEN MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

The vision promoted by the main countries recipients of migrants, along with some international organizations, consists on suggesting the existence of a positive link between international migration —mainly the one flowing from South to North— and the development of countries of origin. The central idea postulates that the growing flow of money sent by the migrants can turn into a development lever in countries and localities of origin. The relationship between the two variables articulates on a unidirectional level: migration (independent variable) and development (dependent variable).

It is a limited conception that, on the one hand, ignores the neoliberal globalized context; and on the other hand, omits the analysis of critical aspects, such as migration causes, human rights issues, the contributions of migrants to recipient societies, transit risks, working and living condi-

tions at the destination country and socioeconomic costs of migration to the countries of origin. Finally, this model does not present conclusive evidence on remittances being a net and positive contribution for the development of countries of origin.

The theoretical basis of this perspective sustains in the idea that free market economy operates as the inexhaustible source of economic growth and social well-being. This analytic perspective, promoted by the countries recipient of migrants and frequently assimilated without criticism by the academy of the peripheral countries, is based on the following principles:

- Lack of effective development policies in peripheral countries. It is postulated that the very migrants can detonate, by themselves, development processes on their countries of origin due to the remittances sent.
- The enormous amount of remittances makes the endowment of banking services to excluded sectors possible. It is suggested that savings and loans supported by remittances, under the microfinance framework, create an ideal environment to create development dynamics.
- Remittances generate their own resources, allowing the ones who generate them and their dependents a sort of power to exit poverty and turn into development agents.
- Developed countries recipients of migrants, propose to administer the migratory flows according to their demand on work force, justifying labor matching as a solution that benefits everyone involved (win-win-win). Likewise, the administration of migration appeals to the national security doctrine to vindicate the unilateral focus regarding decisions on migratory policies.

Paradoxically, this framework that connects migration and development in a positive way generates contrasting perceptions between the governments of the countries of origin and destination. For countries of origin, migrants —once forgotten— represent the new face of development and therefore are ascended to the status of heroes. This view has an extractivist political background: nurturing a warm relationship with the diaspora

to guarantee the transfer of remittances. Instead, in a discursive level, for the governments of countries of destination migration represents a burden and even a damaging cultural and racial influence that pollutes the country recipient of migrants.

The extractivist vision that consider migrants as heroes and the punitive vision that brands them as criminals are two sides of the same coin: in both they are labor goods, disposable population—in the case of low-skilled migration—, that contributes to the hoarding dynamic. In this regard, extractivism is also present in the countries of destination, as the more workers' decay increases, the higher dividends their employers record; the higher social exclusion, the more profit for employers and tax resources for the governments. This view overestimates and degrades migration with specific political goals and renders the migrant insignificant as a person in law.

Despite the insistence of organizations and governments on the supposed positive effects of migration and remittances to detonate the development of countries of origin, there is no empiric evidence to support that assumption. In order to keep these statements; “success stories” are disseminated as proof. They are generally self-help micro projects that hardly promote local development, much less national. Even the dominating rhetoric has assumed a more cautious and limited stance. Under these circumstances, the expectation on the torrent of remittances activating development to a point in which it is possible to postulate that migration is just one of the many ways of leaving poverty loses footing.

ALTERNATIVE APPROACH ON DEVELOPMENT, HUMAN RIGHTS AND MIGRATION

Opposed to the dominant vision, it is necessary to propose an alternative framework that incorporates in a balanced fashion the interests of the countries of origin and the migrants, where Mexico—given its strategic importance on contemporary migrations— should assume leadership. To this effect, neither development nor migration could be conceived as independent variables, but as dialectically related and inscribed in a broader historical context: neoliberal globalization. Likewise, the relationship be-

tween migration and development must be addressed with a multidimensional approach (Castles & Delgado-Wise, 2008; Delgado-Wise & Márquez, 2009). Concepts such as unequal development, forced migration and human rights are key to this perspective..

Unequal development

Structural adjustment programs, supported on the triad: privatization, deregulation and liberalization, have been the main vehicle to reinsert peripheral economies into the orbit of neoliberal globalization and unchain two tightly interwoven trends:

- 1) The sharpening asymmetry between regions, countries and within them. A critical aspect of the restructuration strategy, led by great multinational corporations, has been the use of the obvious salary gap existing between countries. Adding the implementation of new and increased modes of uneven exchange tends to deepen the financial, technologic, salary, social and productivity gaps on every level.
- 2) The increase on social inequities, one of the most injuring expressions of contemporary global architecture, is manifested in the unprecedented concentration of resources, power and wealth in few subjects opposed to a growing population in poverty, exploitation and exclusion conditions. This inequity also manifests in the growth of discrimination, be it racial, ethnic or gender based and the progressive dismantling and segmentation of the social security systems (CEPAL, 2010).

The concept of unequal development engulfs both trends and makes reference to the polarizing historic, economic, social and politic processes between regions, countries and classes. In the background of this process emerges a new international division of work in which the exportation of labor force –through the non-saturated exportation platforms developed in the periphery, such as our country and labor migration- are one of its pillars. This, at the same time,

is related to the emergence of new and more severe forms of uneven exchange (Delgado-Wise & Márquez, 2012).

Forced migration

Unequal development within the neoliberal context generates a brand of migration characterized by a compulsive and forced nature, opposed to the mainstream that views migration as an individual, free and voluntary decision. The notion of forced migration refers to the displacement of people literally expelled from their territories and who look for means of subsistence and social mobility opportunities, be it in their own country or outside it; or people who cannot find domestic employment conditions suitable for their capacities and qualifications. On top of the pressure to migrate, the obstacles on the countries of origin, transit and destination to migrate, which depreciate the manpower and submit it to conditions of high vulnerability, social exclusion and extreme exploitation are added (Delgado-Wise & Márquez, 2009). It is possible to differentiate at least three modes of forced migration:

- 1) *Migration by violence, conflicts and catastrophes.* Social, political and community conflicts, natural disasters and the execution of major infrastructure and urbanization projects severely affect communities, social groups, families and individuals to the point of forcing them to leave their places of origin and even their own country. In this area, the categories of asylum, refugee and displacement can be distinguished. These modes, which particularly affect the population of underdeveloped countries, are recognized by international law and, in consequence, have legal instruments for protection. The estimate number of refugees and asylees under the protection of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) is 25.9 million, additional to the 16.6 million displaced by these causes, adding up to a total of 42.5 million people (UNHCR, 2011).

Climate change and environment degradation are another cause of forced migration outside the categories of asylum and refugee (Castles, 2003). Its adequate conceptualization demands an analytic perspective that, on the one hand, avoids numeric speculation and, on the other hand, does not trivialize the negative impacts of weather change. Under this light, it is important to stress the impact of uneven development and, consequently, the adaptation capacities of poorer populations, always the most vulnerable to environmental contingencies, both natural and caused by man (McAdam, 2010).

- 2) *Human trade and trafficking.* This form of forced migration has alarmingly increased in the past few years, becoming a highly profitable business, due to restrictive policies of countries recipients of migrants and hard life conditions in peripheral countries. Human trade is often associated with coercion, abduction or deception and includes sexual exploitation, illegal adoptions, among other severe violations to human rights. The global answer to the growth of this form of criminality was the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime signed in Palermo in 2000. There is also the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children, who are most vulnerable. The terms “human trafficking” and “illicit traffic of migrants” have been used erroneously as synonyms; because of this, the category is frequently used in some of the other previously mentioned above. It is considered that at least 2.45 million people are forced to labor as a result of internal or international human trade (IOM, 2008).
- 3) *Migration by dispossession, exclusion and unemployment.* Neoliberal globalization brings along structural changes that disarticulate and dismantle production, financial, commerce and services systems that force sizeable segments of the population to migrate in search of a source of household livelihood. The largest contemporary labor migration flows fall under this category, whose trademark is vulnerability and extreme exploitation. According to the International Labor Organization, ILO, there are 132 million laboring migrants worldwide. To these migrants, a relevant contingent of 740 million internal mi-

grants worldwide are added (UNDP, 2009). This migration mode, although having a certain degree of protection —such as those granted by the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families of 1990— lacks of mechanisms for their effective implementation. Instead of adequately defining problems and risks to which they are exposed to, migrants are classified under the “economic migrants” category which predisposes the existence of an environment with freedom and social mobility.

In face of the current systemic crisis, a fourth category of forced migration springs: the forced return of hundreds of thousands of migrants as a result of the narrowing of laboring markets and the triggering of severe mass deportation campaigns in the main countries of destination.

Finally, in a more lax sense, the fifth category of forced migration could be listed. This refers to the migration resulting from over-qualification and lack of opportunities. In this case, the motivation to migrate derives from the structural imbalances of the labor market associated with dynamics generated by the neoliberal globalization, which causes highly-skilled personnel unable to find in their own country and place of origin an occupation fit to their studies and qualifications. Even when their relocation disposition is less burdensome than those of less skilled migrants, it is a migration category not exempt of labor degradation and salary discrimination situations at the countries of destination.

Human rights

The official position on human rights rests on the free market ideology. Fundamental human rights tend to be undermined and subordinated in the name of the national security doctrine and the demands of a market economy at the service of huge multinational corporations. This demotes a major part of the population to turn into mere low cost labor and consumers. Forced migration shows as an obvious consequence of this process in which violations to human rights multiply throughout the migratory process, affecting particularly,

women and children. The human drama complementing this new dynamic include attacks against safety and the very life of migrants such as, assault, rape, extortion, abduction, detention, deportation, murder, labor and sexual exploitation, insecurity and exclusion. Despite the seriousness of the situation, enforcement of human rights is often overlooked by most of the governments of countries of origin, transit and destination. In the main countries of destination, under the stigmata of illegality or because of racial prejudice—but above all, economic interests—there is a tacit disregard of human and labor rights of migrants and an obstruction of legal residence and citizenship rights. Additionally, a double discourse prevails in the countries of origin and transit: while governments expose the violations to their co-nationals' rights at the countries of destination; foreigners' rights are violated within their territory, and the fact that many migrants migrate because they are literally forced to abandon their country in the absence of development policies and opportunities for decent employment is overlooked.

Definitely, it is of essence that human rights become an indivisible part between migration and development (Gzesh, 2008). Otherwise, the root causes of forced migration will prevail. From the point of view of the relationship between development, human rights and migration, the following points should be highlighted as the minimum rights:

- 1) *The right to develop*. Includes the satisfaction of basic needs, access to a decent, safe and well paid job (according to ILO's list of decent jobs), and the possibility of deploying critic, creative and artistic skills of people, besides the opening of spaces for participation in the decision making process.
- 2) *Rights of migrants and their families*. Correspond to the human rights related to origin, transit, destination, permanence (including a second generation) and return, which governments and international organizations must preserve.
- 3) *The right not to emigrate*. Involves the creation of material and subjective bases for population rooting in a general development environment, common good and the suppression of structural and political elements that detonate forced migration.

- 4) *Right of free mobility*. People's mobility should be considered as a voluntary decision, not a need, under a free circulation regime.

From an overall view and in favor of alternative options for development that place human rights on the top, it is imperative to claim international law and States' obligation to enforce it. In view of this, it is crucial to eliminate labor flexibility and job insecurity processes through claiming labor rights that include access to decent employment, restitution of the social security system and endorsement of human development in countries of destination, origin and transit.

UNEQUAL DEVELOPMENT DIALECTIC, FORCED MIGRATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Neoliberal Globalization dynamics related to migration, human rights and development can be summed up in six postulates (Delgado-Wise & Márquez, 2009):

- 1) Unequal development within the framework of neoliberal globalization promotes forced migration;
- 2) Migrants' contributions are vital for the development of countries of destination and involve forms of uneven exchange that increase asymmetries with the country of origin;
- 3) Forced migration is considered a lowering price strategy for labor costs through the migratory journey (origin, transit, destination) and which operates at all levels;
- 4) "Talent circulation" far from favoring the development of countries of origin, is inscribed in a restructuration dynamics of innovation systems that essentially favors corporate and hegemonic interests of countries of destination;
- 5) Remittances are neither, and cannot be conceived as, a development lever for the country of origin, nor as a way to overcome poverty;

- 6) Promoting an alternative human development capable of counteracting the impact of neoliberal globalization and reverting the principal dynamics of unequal development could prevent forced migration.

Migration Mexico-United States adheres to these premises, which materializes into a labor-force exporting model implemented in the country under neoliberal auspice and gains support based on the framework of the North America Free Trade Agreement (Cypher & Delgado-Wise, 2012).

MOVING TOWARDS AN INCLUSIVE AGENDA

The notion of human development coined by Sen (2000) and used by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP, 2009) represents an improvement in the debate concerning development; however, it is insufficient to confront the complexities of the new dynamics presented by unequal development, forced migration and infringement of human rights under the neoliberal globalization. More contextualization of the problem is needed, which presents the need to rethink human development not under the premise of individual freedom and a free market but under an axis of equality (CEPAL, 2010). Likewise, contrary to the regressive model of neoliberal globalization –which deepens underdevelopment and dependency- it is necessary to rethink development under a post-neoliberal light.

To move further in this direction, it is essential to reconsider the debate on development, human rights and migration, reverting the terms in which the discussion has been raised to place the matters of development and human rights in the center. This idea has two meanings: on one hand, to understand the problem of unequal development as a critical diagnosis of the reality posed by neoliberal globalization, and on the other hand, the search for alternative development as a solution for contemporary crisis and structural problems of social inequity and asymmetry in countries and regions. These are therefore alternatives for development to trigger processes of meaningful social transformation, which might enable, in the case of Mexico, a change in the direction of national economy and its asymmet-

ric scheme subordinated to the integration with United States' economy. Only by doing so, decent labor options can be created in the country, which might generate synergies capable of changing the direction and negative connotation of the human mobility under neoliberal auspice.

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SKILLED MIGRATION: TRENDS AND EXAMPLES FROM THE MEXICO-UNITED STATES MIGRATORY CORRIDOR

*Rodolfo Tuirán**

*José Luis Ávila***

International migration experiences major transformations forcing all nations to make a profound review of the governability and management institutional framework. On the one hand, global financial crisis in 2008, the epicenter of which is located in advanced countries, main destination of migration, deteriorated public finances and labor market (Ocampo, 2009). The change in the economical situation discouraged international migratory flows and deterred migrants to return to their countries of origin. With this, global crises ended up upsetting international migration growing patterns, which were consolidated since the last decade of the last century (OECD, 2012).

Migration policies followed different paths, according to social perception of costs and benefits of the phenomenon; severity of the crisis and the approach adopted by each region (or country). In the European Community, for instance, a more restrictive policy was applied, in order to authorize the entering of immigrants (Rayo, 2009). In other places, decisions were inclined towards a more flexible migratory policy that contributed to heal the immediate effects of the crisis and be more consistent with economic growth recovery scenarios in the following decades; given that demographic aging in such nations will demand—in the expansion cycle—to alleviate the labor demand with the entering of new migrants.

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It is important to point out the evolution followed by the United States, main destination of international migration, where policies against crisis have prevented the deepening of the economical damage. Likewise, in other nations, public policies have tried to moderate the most damaging impact of the crisis, but many groups, mainly immigrant population, have seen their standards of living lowered and even inequality reaches alarming levels. These facts inhibit economic reactivation (Stiglitz, 2012).

In the middle of this economic situation, the American political elite and civil society have given to migratory policy importance and a contrasting approach to that given by the European Community authorities. To this regard, it calls the attention the relevant place given by the American President to immigration policy in the campaign for his second presidential term (2012), as well as the ensuing actions with the commitment. Undoubtedly, this option is an encouraging signal of the course of action that migratory policies should follow in other parts of the world.

Mexico implemented measures to adapt to the new situation generated by the international economic crisis and tried to face some of the challenges associated to migration phenomena and international transmigration. Our country designed and implemented economic policies to moderate and counteract the depressive effect of the global crisis. Similarly, it put order to the immigration policy according to the rights approach –as observed in the Immigration Law and Regulations- and deepened the decision of *demigrating* the bilateral agenda with the United States.

The changing external situation that Mexico is facing in recent years became evident the little national capability for the prevision and structuring of responses before emerging phenomena regarding migration, like the attention to returning migrants, the number of which increased with the economic crisis in the United States.

Many other topics in the migratory agenda have had little attention, although they have a more and more relevant place in the bilateral relationship. For instance, in the project regarding the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigration Responsibility Act (1996), it is proposed to reinforce the variety of visa programs addressed to increase the offer of human capital for high technology and innovation sector of that country. The initiative seeks to

strengthen the programs to keep foreign students, in American universities, holding a PhD in Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics.

Emergency and increasing importance of phenomenon such as skilled migration in the context of global crisis and productive restructuration, make evident the need to contribute with answers to the following questions: Which are the dimensions, modalities and characteristics of skilled migration in Mexico? How are such modalities articulated with the global process of international migration? Which are the main causes and consequences? What kind of policies and concrete actions are most recommendable or most promising to face this phenomenon?

On this essay, migratory flow of highly-skilled people in Mexico—United States corridor is examined and some suggestions are given regarding proposals addressed to reduced costs and maximize potential benefits for the development of the country. First of all, the main features of the Mexico—United States international skilled migration are specified and some reflections are made about the main causes and consequences. Lastly, some policy orientations to face the challenges posed by skilled international migration are suggested.

INTERNATIONAL SKILLED MIGRATION IN THE GLOBAL SYSTEM

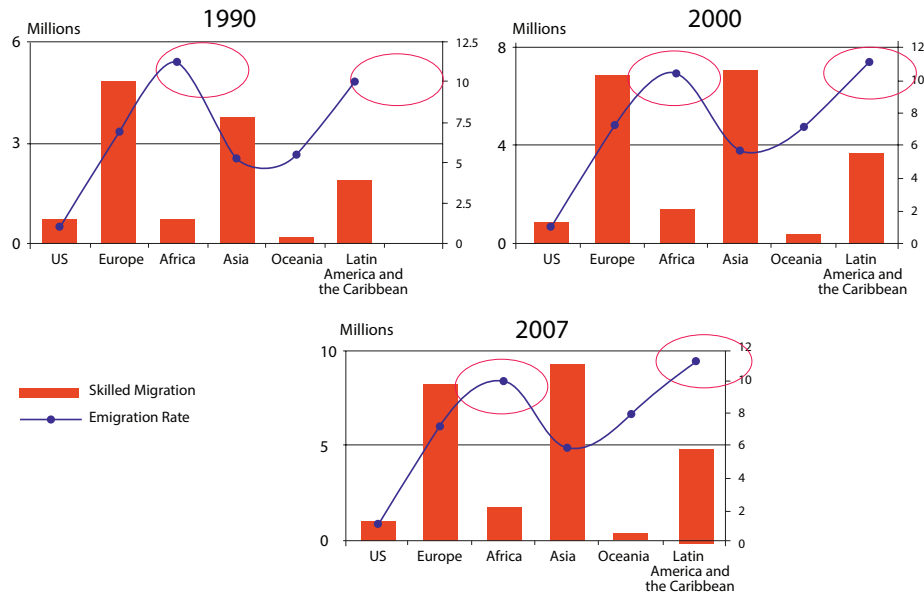
It is commonplace to say that we live in a world where scientific and technical knowledge come to the fore in the different fields of economic, social and cultural life. Generation and application of such knowledge has imposed to society, a new dynamics where universities and research centers interact with companies, laboratories and governmental agencies, among other relevant factors.

Countries differ from each other more and more, for the ability they have to incorporate knowledge to all sectors and economy branches, as well as to incorporate a growing number of highly-skilled people. The intense world demand of talents has contributed to increase migration of specialized human resources, in response to new opportunities, incentives and resources.

More developed economies, *in extenso* users of science and technology, operate as huge magnets attracting big amounts of specialist capable of generating ideas or products and apply their knowledge in complex production and innovation processes. Generally speaking, advanced countries attract people with high skills because they offer more opportunities to find a job according to their abilities, a higher salary, scientific and professional infrastructure, and a favorable institutional environment. Also, it is very important to mention the facilities for social assimilation offered by the governments of the countries of destination to skilled migrants, as well as educative and health opportunities for the development of their families (De Haas, 2010; Docquier & Rapoport, 2011).

As many investigations have proved, international migration of highly-skilled people constitutes, since the 1990s in the last century, the most dynamic flow (growth is higher than migrants with lower education). According to the estimations made by the United Nations, the number of migrants with graduate and postgraduate degree with 25 years or more, residents of countries from the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, OECD, augmented from 12 to 20 million people between 1990 and 2000. This flow of skilled migrants explains almost half of the total increase of people migration from that group of age to OECD countries and around six out of ten come from developing countries. From 2005 and 2009, the number of skilled immigrant workers in the OECD countries grew 20% (OECD: 2009: 47). More recently, the 2007-2008 world economic crisis reduced the growth rate of international migrants in developed countries. OECD countries, for instance, permanent legal immigration lowered 6% in 2008, after five years of an average annual growth of 11%; in 2009, such decrease of flows extended to, or continued, to almost all countries. (OECD, 2010). The most significant flows of highly skilled migrants occurred from south countries towards north countries, standing out the United States as the first country of destination.

Before the crisis, high values reached from highly-skilled immigrants towards OECD countries, as well as emigration rates from developing regions exceeded (see Figure 1):



Source: Emigration of Skilled Human Resources from Latin American Countries and the Caribbean. IOM, Venezuela, June 17th, 2009 p. 20.

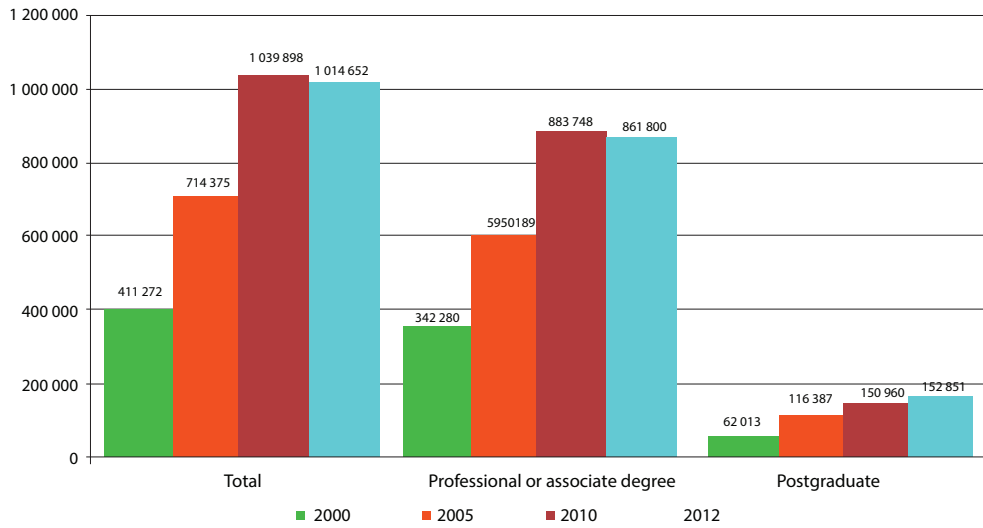
Figure 1. Number of Skilled Migrants in the OECD Countries and Emigration Rate According to the Place of Origin 1990, 2000 y 2007.

- Latin America and the Caribbean is the region in the world that registered the biggest relative growth of skilled migration from 1990-2007, with an increase of 155%, followed by Africa (152%) and Asia (145%) (IOM: 2009).
- More developed countries continue to be the main destination of international-highly-skilled migration. Only during the last decade of the last century, a third of those migrants headed from emerging countries towards the United States; another third of those nations towards Europe; and the rest corresponds to a population interchange among the same developing countries (IOM:2009).

DYNAMICS AND PROFILE OF THE MEXICO-UNITED STATES SKILLED MIGRATION

Mexico is the Latin American country with more highly-skilled international migrants heading towards OECD countries, mainly towards the Uni-

ted States. This migration obey not only to factors mentioned above, but also to the great importance the border has with that country, the large historical tradition of migration —the roots of which go back to the XIX century— and the attraction power of social networks that migrants have achieved to build over time.



Source: Own estimations based on the *Bureau of Census, Current Population Survey (CPS), March Supplement 2000, 2005, 2010 y 2012.*

Figure 2. Mexican Population Living in the United States Finished Higher Education by 2000-2012.

Among the most outstanding features of this migratory movement are:

- 1) The total number of highly-skilled migrants born in Mexico and resident in the United States grew 2.4 times between 2000-2012, going from 411 thousand to one million 15 thousand people. The latter represents little less than one out of ten nationals in the United States (see figure 2).
- 2) It is important to specify that together with the general migratory phenomenon, migration of highly-skilled people presented an accelerated growth at the beginning of the new century, growth that has been contained in the recent years. So, net growth per year in 2000-2005 added up to 61 thousand graduated migrants and 11 thousand post-graduate migrants; in the following five-year period, numbers added up to 65 thousand and seven thousand, and the three-year period

2010-2012 figures lowered to 13 thousand and one thousand, respectively.

- 3) From the number of Mexican highly-skilled migrants resident in the United States in 2012, a total of 862 thousand (84.9%) has professional studies (professional associates and graduates) and the rest (153 thousand) holds a postgraduate degree (15.1%). Numbers represent to Mexico a very significant proportion of Mexicans with higher human capital: one out of ten Mexicans holding a professional degree and little more than one out of four Mexicans holding a postgraduate degree live in the United States. Moreover, it is important to specify that around half of skilled Mexicans studied in Mexico and the rest in the United States, fact that reveals the links with other migratory modalities between both countries.
- 4) Such skilled migration combines different types of flows. It includes displacements of students, scientists and academics; also people with executive and managerial jobs, as well as technicians and professionals that cannot find a job in Mexico, among others. Some of these flows are more or less permanent or long term; others, on the other hand, imply circular displacements and transitory projects, which impose to each situation, complex challenges regarding public policies.
- 5) From socio-demographic characteristics of co-nationals with high skills living in the United States, the lower age with respect to Americans and other countries' migrants holding the same degree stands out. Around 35% of those holding graduate or postgraduate degrees are younger than 35 years old (between natives and migrants, proportions are 26.4 and 33%, respectively). On the other hand, 37.3% of Mexicans with such degrees are 45 years of age or older (among natives it goes up to 54.2% and one out of three among immigrants from other countries).
- 6) Gender composition of the highly-skilled population living in the United States shows a higher presence of women, Mexican migration (50.6%), as well as migration from other countries (52.2%). If dominant tendencies from past decades are considered, these parameters describe both women's educational achievements and the

fact that for them, migration is an option as important as it is for men.

7) On the other hand, highly skilled Mexicans living in neighborhoods in the United States, have an unfavorable participation in the labor market, in relation to native population, as well as other immigrants'. Among the features of these movements, we can stand out:

- Economic participation of Mexican migrants is varied: they work in productive and service units, as well as in research centers and educative institutions.
- Around 45% works in professional and service activities, 12.7 percent in managerial, financial and business activities; 12.2% in administrative support activities; farther are construction and mining activities (7.8%), production (6.7%) and those related to transportation (5%).
- Salaries of highly-skilled Mexican migrants are significantly lower, not only than those perceived by native Americans with equivalent academic credentials, but also than those of migrants from other countries. Therefore, the average annual income of population with a graduate and postgraduate degree is 65 thousand dollars for natives and \$67 000 USD for other immigrants and almost \$45 000 USD for those who were born in Mexico.
- Graduate Mexicans earn the equivalent to 74 and 75% of Native Americans' income and other immigrants', respectively.
- Around 13% of highly-skilled co-nationals live in poverty situation (according to the American standards), in contrast with only 5.3% of natives and 9.0% of other immigrants.
- After seeing the wage differentials from the other end, 76.1% skilled Mexican migrants have an income 50% or more above poverty line, and in the case of natives, proportion increased to 90.6% and 86.0% among immigrants.

THE DIFFICULT RETURN TO MEXICO

Little known, the migration returning, usually accompanies the outward Mexican migration. From the point of view of the there and back movements scale, it is important to remember, on the one hand, that Mexico has the sixth place worldwide with more highly skilled international migrants; on the other hand, that position does not correspond to return migration scales.

According to the most recent population census, in 2005-2010 around 1 million people returned to our country —coming from the United States— out of which almost 61 thousand (5.6%) have higher education. This represents 40 thousand professionals, 16 thousand teachers and around five thousand physicians. The features of these migrants show the kind of problems and national characteristics to make return migration a strategy for the promotion of business, scientific and technical development, as well as innovation capacity.

From the total of highly-skilled return migrants:

- Almost six out of 100 (58%) are male and most of them are from 30 to 45 years of age. A total of 74% were part of the economically active population EAP, in 2010 and most (95%) were employed in the year the census was conducted.
- Most of such migrants are paid workers (72%), 16.5 percent work freelance and only 9.6 percent are employers.
- It stands out that among the main activities 49% are professionals and technicians and 22.8% were civil servants and directors, and the rest is distributed in different activities.
- Most of them work in the service sector (52.2%), followed by commerce (13.3%), construction (12.4%) and finally government and international organizations (7.3%).

Working profile of return migrants reveals the great challenge it means for Mexico that skilled international migration is neither a definite loss

(brain drain), nor a waste of talent (brain waste). Actions that can be carried out by the government and society in order to maximize the benefits and minimize costs of highly-skilled migration must consider that the professional experience of Mexicans in Mexico and the United States is different from the ones of other nations' migrants, who mostly have professional activities.

FROM TALENT DRAIN TO TALENT FLOW?

One of the contents that has passed almost unnoticed in Mexican media regarding the migration law reform that is currently under discussion in the legislative power of the United States, is the emphasis given to skilled migration. To this respect, according to a report by the White House, immigrants represent 13.6% of all graduated people employed in the country, but they constitute a 50% of all those having a PhD and working in mathematics and computing sciences and 57.3% of those working in engineering areas.

The approach of the initiative that is currently in discussion in the neighboring country's Senate responds to the conviction that recruiting highly-skilled migrants favors, as stated in the White House's report in March 2013, that the "nation is eventually well positioned in global competition for new ideas, new businesses and the employments of the future".

It is relevant to take into account the course of the international debate on skilled international migration, as well as the objectives and characteristics of immigration policies that promote the recipient countries, such as the United States. Generally speaking, it is convenient to remember that in the second half of the last century, debate on migration and development moved like a pendulum, and only recently, dominant paradigms have been questioned and an extreme position on this matter have been nuanced (De Hass, 2010). Many studies have made clear, for instance, that the traditional approach, which conceives skilled international migration as "brain drain" turns to be partial and insufficient. This is because in

the current global world, this approach is not capable of seeing skilled migration as a dynamic, complex phenomenon with different modalities, nor capable of considering its real and potential benefits (for example, remittances reception and the establishment of contact networks with knowledge generating centers in other countries).

It should not be ignored that communication and transportation development has made possible that talent flow be more intense and contacts with the diaspora not only multiply, but increase the probability of migrants return to their countries of origin after having work experiences (short or long) in advanced countries. This way, skilled migrants have the potential to act as real disseminating agents of new technologies and drivers for human capital training.

In order to have a more informed opinion about costs and real and potential benefits that skilled international migration may have for source countries, it is important to have mid- and long-term assessments. Mexico can and should take advantage of the assessments made in other contexts and contrast them with the paths followed in the Mexico-United States corridor to avoid transplanting uncritically orientations and policy lines.

Specially, it should not be ignored that Mexico has features that oblige it to nuance optimistic opinions (or pessimistic) that support some national experiences or fragmented information referred to productive sector in an unusual context.

From the investigation needs point of view, it turns to be relevant to deepen into the knowledge of different modalities and implications of highly-skilled people migration, as well as to foster evaluations of official programs addressed to favor return and design adequate instruments that inform about the particular dynamics of Scientific's' and technologists' reintegration processes (Didou, 2009; Fernández, 2010; Cruz & Ruiz, 2010).

For the design of public policies, it is very important the knowledge of decision-making processes of highly-skilled migrants, particularly, cost-benefit evaluation for living there or returning to the country (Durand, 2005). It is also necessary to go deeper into the knowledge of motivations of those coming back to Mexico and who decide to go back to the united

States or another advanced country, fact that is influenced not only by the wage level, but also scientific and technologic infrastructure available for the development of professionals in research centers; or the difficulties to get integrated, while in Mexico, to networks linking researchers with the global knowledge flow.

Likewise, many systematic measures of skilled permanent emigration are required, and also circulate and remedy the imperfect and limited characteristics of information, in order to know the different professional paths per academic degree and activity sector of highly-skilled migrants in Mexico and the United States. Additionally, it is necessary to multiply the studies to value the possibilities of linking return migrants to those who stay abroad with the information about human capital, the national innovation system and Mexico's development strategy.

POLICY OPTIONS

Currently, high spheres of political American power discuss the terms of an eventual migratory reform. While this reform initiative is mainly addressed to offer a way to regulate non-authorized flows, mostly constituted by non-qualified workers, there is no doubt that it will have profound implications for skilled migration. According to the initiative approved by one of the Senate commissions on May 21st, 2013, the new law would increase the so called H-1b visas from 65 thousand to 110 thousand, with the possibility of adding up to 180 thousand and would facilitate technological companies hiring skilled foreign workers.

In this context, it is mandatory to develop for Mexico, a multifaceted policy beyond classic programs addressed to prevent the definite exodus of specialized personnel, to encourage their return and guarantee their reintegration. So, it is necessary to design creative public policy answers to phenomena such as talent flow, networks constitution and the emerging of virtual scientific communities. Likewise, it is necessary to take into account the point of view from those that cannot and do not want to come back to Mexico: their knowledge, contacts and experiences could always

represent a huge asset when they are used in favor of the development of the country.

Undoubtedly, retention policies, promotion of return and the encouragement of talent flow demand a link between migration policy and development national strategy. By itself, migration policy would be unsuccessful. It is mandatory to join wills and resources to create in the country, institutional and productive conditions that effectively reduce the technological gap with the United States and improve working conditions (infrastructure and equipment) of scientists and national talents. In this regard, it is encouraging the decision President Enrique Peña Nieto made regarding the sustaining of a systematic augmentation of resources for the science and technology national system, as well as encouraging interchanges or upper education with the United States.

The current proportion of postgraduates hired in the private productive sector is really reduced. Likewise, research centers and universities are encouraged to play a more relevant role in the development of innovation strategies and be the main link of national participation in knowledge global networks.

In any case, the great challenge for Mexico is that the talents and qualified mobility do not be traduced into a definite loss of human resources, but an opportunity for national development that globalization opens.

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STRATEGIC INDICATORS ON MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

*Alejandro I. Canales**

INTRODUCTION

International migration constitutes one of the priority themes in the social and political contemporary agenda. From different political and ideological fences, speeches and suggestions of different kind are heard. From those who propose its total control, border closing, criminalization of migrants and so on; to those who advocate for free transit of people and laborers, multiculturalism as a sign of the current times, and so on. In this possibilities melting pot, debate has been dominated by a vision of the migration-development relationship, victim of a limited biased vision towards the interests of the main northern recipient countries. On the one hand, many structural causes, as well as the impacts of international migration in countries of origin and countries of destination tend to be ignored. On the other hand, it is also frequent to overestimate the role of remittances, forgetting the costs migration represents for migrants and their families (Terry, 2005). Lastly, the topic about immigrants' human rights is eluded and subordinated to interests and presuppositions contemplated by a policy based on national security principles (Mármora, 2013).

From a critical perspective, alternative approaches have been developed, not only questioning the empirical validity of such arguments, but also its theoretical and political foundations. Particularly, it is questioned the evident reductionism and ideological bias in the construction of the

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problem around the migration-development relationship (Delgado-Wise & Márquez, 2009; Canales, 2013).

While considering the scopes of such debate, our criticism this time is focused on the fact that biases in this predominant approach are due to, to a certain point, the way statistics information system has been built. This is, categories and analysis and observation units used, as well as indicators and measurement instruments, which only reflect interests and problems that destination countries have due to contemporary migration.

Accordingly, the interest of this text is to suggest a series of strategic indicators that allow to see the different aspects of the migration-development relationship that are subsumed and invisible in this debate (See Canales, 2011 and Puentes *et al*, 2011). We trust that an indicators system of this kind can ease a more objective and reasoned dialogue of the different problems suggested by contemporary international migration, as well as offer a framework of a more comprehensive analysis of these phenomena.

STRATEGIC INDICATORS PROPOSAL: CONCEPTUAL AND METHODOLOGICAL CHALLENGES

The current debate on migration and development is usually supported on a win-win-win scenario, in which all parts involved would be benefited. However, reality is far from this ideal situation. Migration policies of recipient countries consider migrants criminalization, while allowing work over-exploitation (Mármora, 2009). In countries of origin, there is a complete absence of development policies that generate employment and adequate means to subsist for all the population (Cypher & Delgado-Wise, 2012). Everything indicates the perpetuation of a poverty, marginalization and discrimination vicious circle against migrants in both sides of all migratory corridors (Martínez, 2008).

It is not our interest this time to confront these hegemonic approaches. Our approach seeks to get to an analysis of interdependent linkages and

dynamics among migration, development and human rights, different from traditional methodological frameworks based on indicators that analyze in isolation, each of the dimensions.

The construction of an information system and strategic indicators is undoubtedly a complex process that implicates conceptual and methodological challenges. Meanwhile, a model like this should be capable of working simultaneously at different analysis levels and with the different dimensions involving the migratory process. This means to address the causes and impacts in a systematic way for each concrete situation and for each particular migratory corridor.

To this respect, we consider that the analysis unit that better allows the design of an approach like the one proposed is the migratory corridor, through which we can see in a comprehensive manner, the prevailing conditions in countries of origin and countries of destination, along with the dynamics of the migratory process, and the profiles and characteristics of migrants and their families'. This way, we identified four great dimensions as through which it can be observed and analyzed the multiple links among migration, development and human rights in each migratory corridor, that is:

- a) Socio-structural causes of migration;
- b) Immigrants' contributions to the recipient society;
- c) Emigration impacts (costs and benefits) in regions, countries and communities of origin; and
- d) Migration impacts (costs and benefits) for migrants and their families (social inclusion-exclusion, social mobility, risks and vulnerability in the origin, destination and transit zones, among others).

Our perspective is that in each migratory corridor is set up a relationships system that link each of these dimensions and analysis levels. Therefore, migrants' situation is determined by structural conditions that, from the places of origin and destination, promote and encourage their displacements. Furthermore, migration impacts and consequences in places of origin and destination are not external to the structural causes that trigger

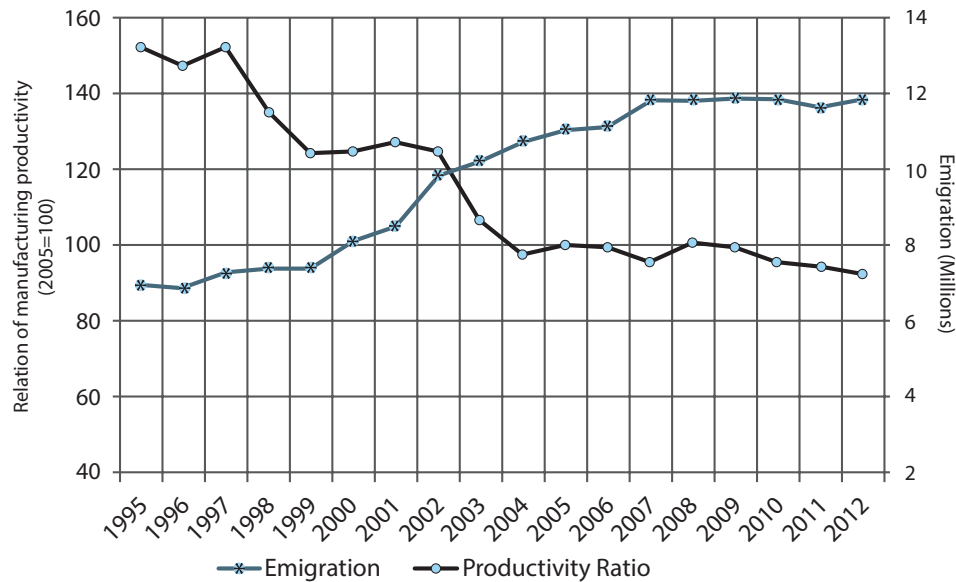
migration, neither the forms assumed by the process and subjects that are gotten involved.

Once identified these dimensions, the challenge moves towards the design of the strategic indicators for each of them. It is not only simple indicators describing a reality, but indicators that also allow seeing the links among these different dimensions. In order to show and illustrate the analytical potential of this strategic indicators model, in the following sections we present an evaluation of the situation in the migratory corridor between Mexico and the United States.

If space restrictions are considered, we had to focus in a small number of indicators, mainly regarding the three first dimensions. However, as we will see, the analysis shows us a reality that is far more complex than the one described in the traditional approaches, specially, the one referring to the migrations profiles and other demographic indicators in isolation. Meanwhile, it is evident the importance of economical inequities and productive asymmetries in the outbreak of migration. Likewise, indicators expose the great contributions of Mexican immigrants in the American society, ones that are often ignored by the current discourse that tends to criminalize immigrants, and to put migration as a topic for the national security agenda and not in social, economic or demographic agendas.

CAUSES OF MIGRATION

The analysis of migration causes has been recently ignored and simplified. This has led us to simplistic and superficial arguments, such as supposing that underdevelopment conditions and poverty that prevail in the countries of origin are the structural factors that promote migration. In contrast, we hold the idea that the causes of emigrations should be sought more in the development style and particularly, in the persistency of unequal development process, as well as economic, social and productive asymmetries that prevail in the countries of origin and destination of migration. To this respect, the case of the migratory corridor between Mexico and the United States, clearly illustrates this thesis.



Sources: Relative Productivity Index: estimation based on data from the Bureau of Economic Statistics, USA, National Accounts, 1995-2012. Emigrants, estimation based on data from Current Population Survey, March Supplement, 1995 to 2012.

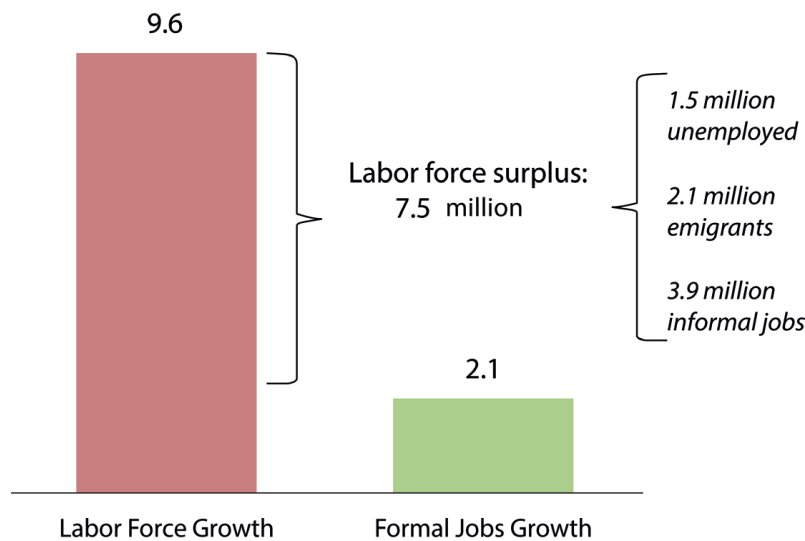
Figure 1. Mexican Manufacture Productivity Ratio *vis-à-vis* the United States (2005=100) and volume of Mexican Emigrants in the United States (millions)

An indicator that illustrates this dimension is the inverse relationship established between relative productivity and migration between both countries. In figure 1, it can be observed that between 1995 and 2012 relative productivity of manufacture in Mexico, with respect to the United States, shows a systematically decreasing tendency, with some ups and downs, especially in the last years, as consequence of the different impact of the economical crisis in both countries. Emigration shows the opposite tendency, with a clear and systematically upward trajectory, though. It is not about a short-term relationship, but a long-term structural tendency that indicates a possible causal relationship.

In fact, in the last 20 years, economical integration promoted by the Free Trade Agreement has not led to a productive convergence between both countries (as supposed by the promoters of such agreement), but on the contrary, it is an increasing asymmetry and productive inequality and

that is reflected in these two phenomena that we have pointed out. On the one hand, a systematic loss of relative productivity in Mexican manufacture sector and, on the other hand, in a systematic increase of Mexican migration towards the US, to such degree that currently, around 12 million Mexicans live in that country.

Along with these asymmetries in the productive field, tendencies are set against, but at the same time, they are complementary in Mexico's and the United States' work force.

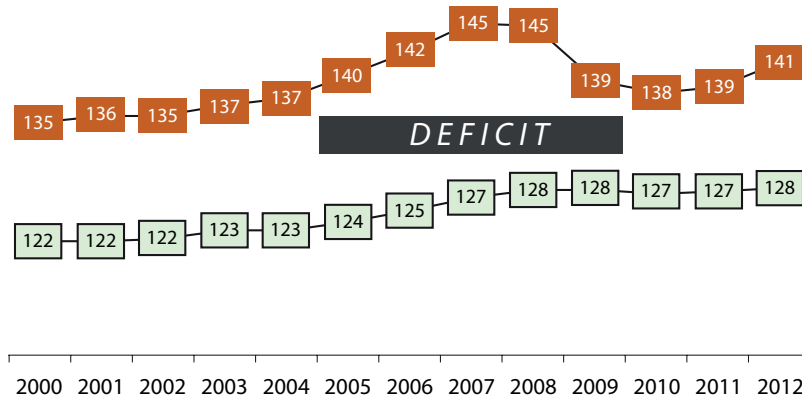


Source: NEGI, BIE, Employment Statistics and CPS, March Supplement, 2000 and 2010.

Figure 2. Mexico, 2000-2012. Labor Force Growth and Formal Jobs (millions).

In the first case, between 2000 and 2010, formal employment barely grew in 2.1 million employed people (see figure 2). However, over the same period of time, Mexican labor force amounted to 9.6 million. This indicates a deficit of 7.5 million posts in formal economy. This leads laborers to seek for other employment options, among which is informal employment, which grew in 3.9 million workers. This is almost double in comparison to the growth of formal employment. Also, other 1.5 million of the growth volume of unemployed workers and other 2.1 million laborers who emigrated towards the United States on those years are added. This way, emi-

gration constitutes an outlet for almost 30% of these laborers that cannot find a stable and established job in Mexico.



Source: Own elaboration based on *Current Population Survey*, march 2000-2012.

Figure 3. The United States, 2000-2012. Occupancy (job post) and Economically Active Population (millions workers).

On the contrary, American labor market shows an opposite tendency (see figure 3). Dynamism of the American economy allowed jobs creation to go from 135 million posts in 2000 to 145 million in 2007. From then, even the economic crisis impacts directly on the jobs creation, this is kept in levels close to 140 million posts. However, in all this period of time, demographic dynamics of native population is not enough to provide the work force volume to cover all those posts. That manifests in a systematic and structural deficit of manpower, which fluctuated between 13 and 18 million people, according to the year of reference. Although this deficit is more intense during the expansionary phase of the economic cycle, especially between 2004 and 2007, the structural feature makes such deficit to persist even in the recessive phase of the economic cycle. In fact, even between 2008 and 2011, the missing laborers are in average over 14 million people.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF MEXICAN MIGRATION TO THE DEMOGRAPHY AND ECONOMY OF THE UNITED STATES

While focusing the causes of migration and the conditions of underdevelopment that prevail in the countries of origin, the predominant approaches usually make invisible the contributions of immigrants to the recipient societies, not only economic contributions but also demographic, social and cultural ones. The following is a series of strategic indicators that allow us to estimate the level of contribution of Mexican migration to American society.

Demographic contributions

In the case of the countries of destination (mainly the United States and Europe), migration allows to fill a demographic gap that simultaneously generates two complementary demographic phenomena: fertility decline in the framework of the so called Second Demographic Transition; and the population's aging process in such countries as a result of the end of the First Demographic Transition. The model proposed by van de Kaa (1987), explains the demographic dynamics of European societies of the end of the XX century. Demographic consequences of this phenomenon are of two kinds. On the one hand, it involves the change of composition and dynamics in homes and families; on the other hand, it involves a continuing decrease in fertility levels that sometimes are below the levels that would ensure demographic reproduction. The aging process refers to the change in the composition and ethereal structure of population, as a result of the changes in the mortality and fertility dynamics consolidated under the First Demographic Transition context (Teitelbaum & Winter, 1985). It is then called aging, because the traditional structure by population's age that adopted a pyramid form, starts to look like a warhead, with a base getting narrower, derived from the decrease of births and a peak getting higher and wider, due to the decrease of mortality and increase in people's life expectancy.

The combination of both processes of demographic change set up a peculiar demographic instability situation, with serious impacts in the dy-

namics and economic and social stability in these societies. Specifically, the systematic drop of fecundity and birth rate, along with the demographic aging, manifest in a persistent deficit of working-age population and labor force needed to sustain the economy dynamics and growth in developed countries, compromising the ability of economic reproduction of the population in these countries, as well as life style and consumption behavior patterns and social reproduction (Cooke, 2003; Canales, 2013).

If the above is considered, our thesis establishes that in advanced countries, immigration from peripheral countries contributes to fill the demographic gap generated by the structural deficiency of their current demographic reproduction patterns. This is manifested full extent in the persistent deficit of working-age population, which we have previously demonstrated and which puts pressure to these societies to use migrants' labor to cover the posts that the economic dynamics generates each year. In this framework, we can understand not only the dynamics and volume of work immigration in such countries, but also its role to counteract the effects that the native population aging would have on their economic dynamics.

This way, a first aspect that evidences the Latin American immigration contribution to the labor force of developed countries, is its current volume, as well as its growth in the last decades. In the case of the United States, for instance, it is undoubtedly that Mexican immigration has important impacts on the demographic dynamics of population in the United States, especially, if we consider both its cumulated volume in the last two decades, as well as its ethereal particular composition. To this respect, we can point out two aspects in which this contribution is made, directly and through progeny; on the other hand, in terms of the changes of the ethnic composition of population of that country.

According to the first point, between 2000 and 2012, the United States population amounted to 35 million people. By ethnic groups, we see that the Mexican-origin population is the one with the higher absolute growth. In fact, as a whole, the Mexican-origin population contributed to 38% of the demographic growth in the United States in the last 12 years. On the contrary, white non-Latino-native population, despite the fact that it constitutes the main ethnic group in the country, with a population of more

than 190 million people, barely contributes to the population growth with 2.4 million people, representing 13% of the total growth.

Regarding growth rate, differences are even more evident and profound. While non-Latino white population grew at a rate of 0.1% annual average, Mexican migrants did it at a rate of 3.2% and Mexican-Americans grew at an annual rate of 4.3%. This is, Mexican migrants and Mexican-American migrants grew at a rate 40 times higher than to that of the non-Latino white population.

Such differences in demographic growth are even more evident if broken down by age groups. In fact, as observed in figure 4a & b, while non-Latino white population and to a lesser extent, non-Latino black tends to aging, this is, to an increasing old population and decreasing children and young people number; on the other hand, Latino-origin people (immigrants and natives) show the inverse process, increasing children and young adults population.

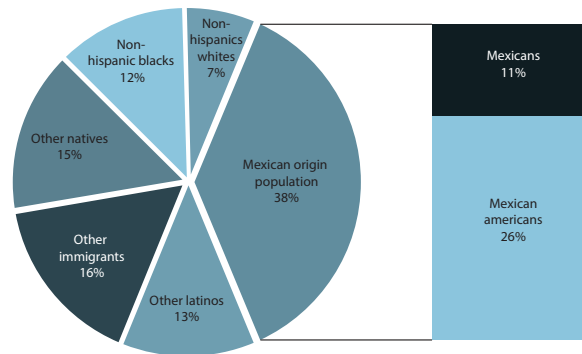


Figure 4 a

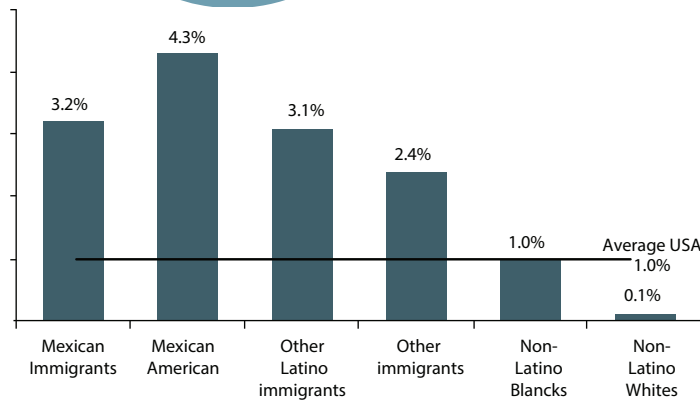


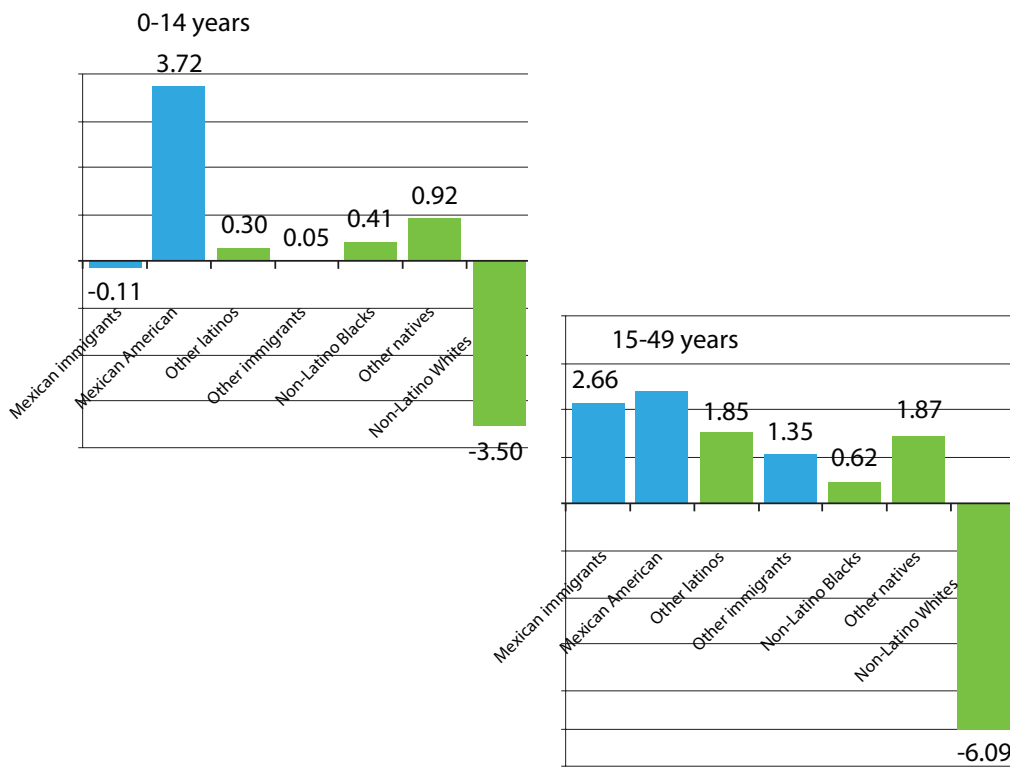
Figure 4 b

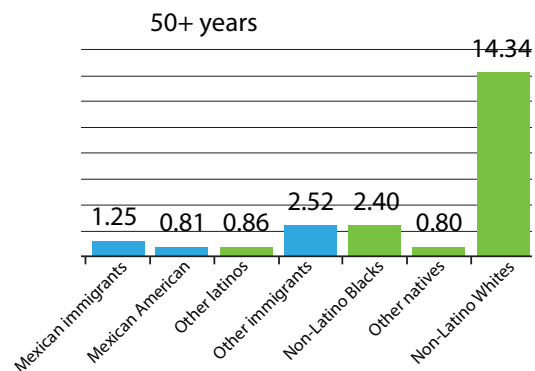
Source: Own estimations based on *Current Population Survey*.
March Supplement, 2000 and 2012.

Figure 4 a & b. The United States, 2000-2012.
Demography growth According to the Main Ethnic and Migratory Groups.

This different dynamics of demographic growth, according to age strata, expresses the different pattern of demographic reproduction of each ethnic group (see figure 5). While Anglo-Americans are undergoing demographic aging, Mexican-origin population presents the opposite dynamics, the great growth and predominance of young and reproductive-age population.

This process of demographic complementation has important repercussions in the ethnic composition of North-American population. In fact, it is not only a process of pure and simple ethereal complementation, but if continuing with such tendencies in the mid-term, we would be encouraging a substantial change in ethnic and migratory composition of North-American population, which could derive into an eventual demographic replacement; this is, a virtual replacement of non-Latino white population with Mexican- or Latin American-origin population (UN, 2001; Canales, 2013).



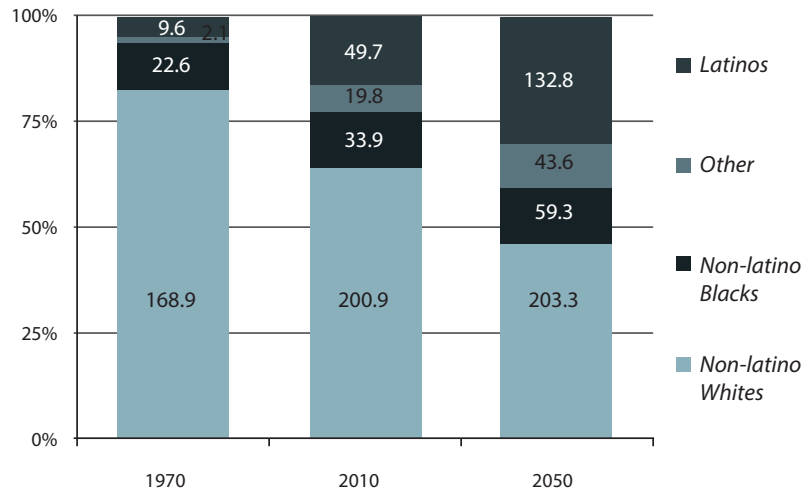


Source: Own estimations based on *Current Population Survey*,
March, years 2000 and 2011.

Figure 5. The United States, 2000-2011.
Population Growth of Major Ethnic Groups According Migratory
Large Age Groups (Millions of people).

In fact, as seeing in figure 6, the tendencies observed in the last four decades and which are projected for the following four decades, give us an adequate approximation of the scopes of the current demographic dynamics of the different ethnic groups in the United States.

If around 1970 it was undeniable the supremacy of non-Latino whites, who represented 83% of the total North-American population, by the year 2010 this hegemony had been decreased, so they amounted to less than 65% of the total population. Likewise, if such tendencies continue, it is estimated that by the year 2050, non-Latino whites will represent only 46.3% of the total population, stopping to be an absolute majority.



Sources: 1970: U.S. Census Bureau, Population Census; and 2010-2050: Population division, U.S. Census Bureau; Projections of the Population by Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin for the United States: 2010 to 2050.

Figure 6. The United States, 1970, 2010 and 2050. Population According to Large Ethnic and Migratory Groups (millions people).

On the contrary, high volumes of Mexican and Latin American immigration, along with its high fecundity, suggest an inverse scenario. This is, a high demographic growth, especially young and in reproductive-age population. In fact, if by 1970 it represented less than 5% of the total population; by 2010 amounted to 16% of the North-American population and it is projected that by 2050, this ethnic group represent more than 30% of the total population. This growth dynamics would make this group go from a simple ethnic minority to become a group with the enough demographic strength to become the second relative majority, directly questioning the demographic primacy of the non-Latino white population.

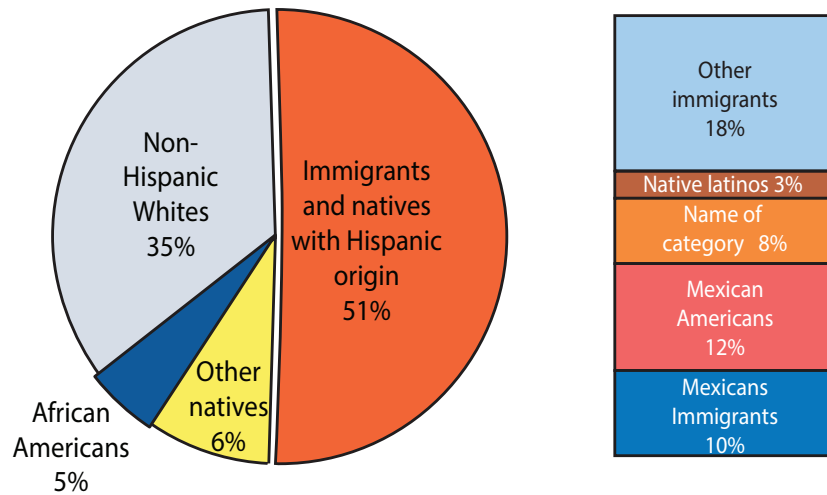
This way, these opposite and different demographic dynamics would derive in a process of demographic and ethnic replacement, which is already manifesting in the population of some states such as California and Texas, the most populated States in the us, as well as in cities like Los Angeles, Miami and Houston, where the volume of the Latino-origin population is equal or higher to that the non-Latino white population.

Contributions to the economic growth

Immigrants are a significant component of labor force, especially in specific tasks and sectors. So, it is relevant to document and evidence the contribution as labor force to the gross domestic product (GDP) of the countries of destination and to the economic dynamics of the recipient countries. In order to make these estimations, we based on a simulation model that allows us to measure the value of the GDP generated by the labor force, according to its migratory condition, with which we can calculate the contribution that Mexican migrants have made to the recent economic growth of the United States (see Canales 2009).

As observed on figure 7, between 2000 and 2012, the United States GDP growth was mainly based on the contribution made by the different ethnical-migratory minorities. In fact, native non-Hispanic white laborers, despite being 64% of the total employed population, contributed only with 35% of the GDP growth. On the other hand, African-American natives and other non-Latino minorities contributed with 14% of the GDP growth and represents 13% of the working population. On the contrary, migratory minorities are the ones that in fact, have made the biggest contribution to the economic growth in the last 12 years, the last five-year period characterized by a sever economic crisis included.

Within these minorities, Latino-origin population stands out, which even it represents only 15% of the working population, it generated 33% of the GDP growth, similar proportion to that generated by non-Latino white population. Among them there is an especial mention to Mexican immigrants who contribute with 10% of the economic growth by themselves, along with the 12% contribution of their descendants make them the minority that generates the highest contribution to the United States' economic growth. In fact, the contribution from each Mexican laborer to the economic growth is 3.6 times higher than that of a non-Latino white laborer, while the contribution of a Mexican-American worker is 4.7 higher.



Sources: Own estimations based on data from BEA, *Gross Domestic Product by Industry Accounts*, 2000 to 2012, and *Current Population Survey*, March 2000 and 2012.

Figure 7. The United States, 2000-2012. Contribution to the GDP According to the Workers' Ethnic Origin.

These data illustrates the relative weight of each ethnic group in the United States' economic dynamics. If, traditionally, the growth of this economy was based on native non-Hispanic white labor force, it is evident that in the last decades, economic growth starts to be based on ethnic and migratory minorities. It is a change that has major implications, more if it is about not only the main world's economy, but also, an economy that needs the generation of economic surplus needed to maintain the economic, political and military leadership worldwide.

IMPACTS ON COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN

The hegemonic approach on migration and development is focused on exalting the benefits of migration for source countries, and de-emphasizing the importance of costs of all kinds that migration represents for these countries and their economies. Considering this, some indicators that allow us, partly, to measure the cost that represents to countries of origin, the emigration of important population contingents are presented. On

the one hand, we estimate the demographic and labor cost that currently represents the emigration of young population. On the other hand, we present the estimation of costs that emigration represents in relation to education and social reproduction of such emigrants.

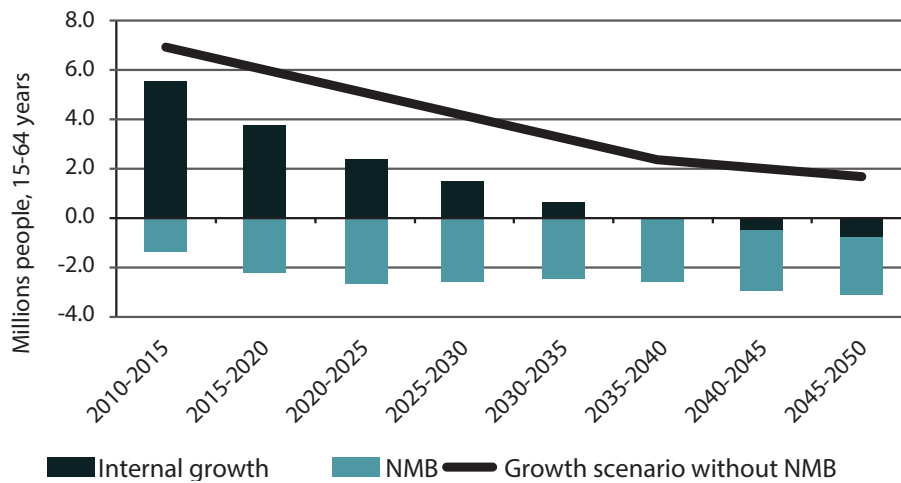
Demographic bonus exportation

Mexico, as well as the other Latin American countries, currently lives in the last phase of demographic transition, which is characterized by the increase, in absolute as well as relative terms, of the working-age population (15-64 years of age). This dynamics is complemented by the reduction of child population (under 15 years of age) that started some five-year periods ago, from the fertility decline. Likewise, while old (65 years of age or older) population starts to experience a volume increase, it is still in low demographic amounts, it is far from the growth dynamics of working-age population.

This combination of demographic tendencies results in a unique historical circumstance. Some five-year periods ago and in the following decades, the load represented by inactive people will be lower, in relation to that of other historical circumstances. That is the reason why this peculiar situation is named Demographic Bonus, since the favorable situation wants to be emphasized, in terms of dependency relationships and economic load, which involves this non-working population reduction (Partida & Turirán, 2002; Ham, 2003; Conapo, 2008).

So, it is worthy estimating how much the current population emigration and labor force represents to this working-age population growth and so, indirectly estimate the magnitude of what represents the virtual exportation of the so called demographic bonus in Mexico.

In order to make these calculations, we used total population projections and working population made by the Consejo Nacional de Población (Population National Council, Conapo, for its acronym is Spanish.) In these projections, a calculation of the net international emigration volume for each year is made. Based on this datum, we can estimate the composition of the working-age population growth or downturn.



Source: Own estimations based on Population projections, Conapo.

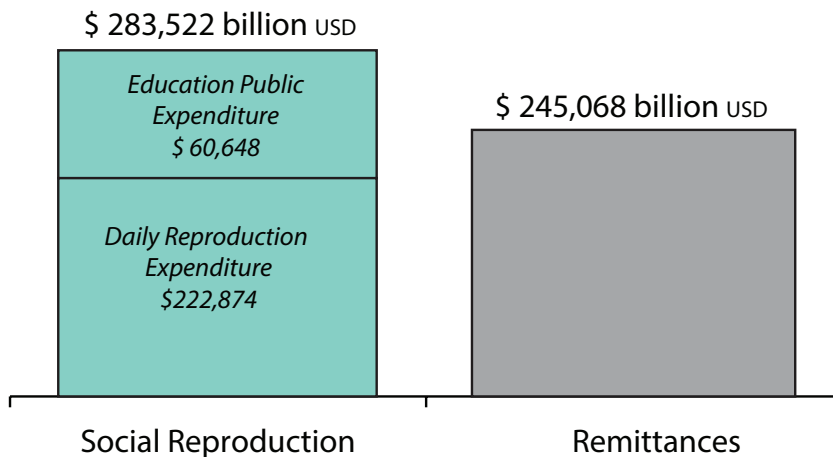
Figure 8. Mexico, 2010-2050.
15-64 Years of Age Population Growth (Demographic Bonus)
in Scenarios with and without International.

As observed in figure 8, in the case of Mexico, the decrease of the demographic bonus would have already started. In fact, with or without emigration, it is estimated a reduction of the 15-64 years of age population growth. What is relevant is that with emigration, that reduction is emphasized to such an extent that from the 2035-2040 lustrum, it would implicate the working-age population total volume decline (demographic bonus). Within a scenario with no emigration, decreasing would be significantly lower and would not implicate at any time, a working-age population volume decline.

It is a significant loss, not only in demographic terms, but also of the economic growth options that this working population could implicate for Mexico. It is not only a pure and simple migratory flow, but also the loss of a window of opportunity that demography gives to Mexican society, but that the development model does not allow to capitalize internally. In other words, through emigration, a large proportion of the demographic bonus is transferred to the North-American economy, which allows the concentration of a group of benefits derived from the exploitation and capitalization of this Mexican demographic bonus.

Social costs associated to emigration: Education and social reproduction

For labor force-producing source countries, labor force migration represents the transfer of their most treasured resource, their people. Emigration not only involves a demographic bonus transfer to the recipient country, but also implies losses in human capital training. These losses can be estimated from the value of social investment that the society of origin makes for education and social reproduction of the labor force that emigrates. On figure 9, an estimation of educational and social reproduction costs that represented work migration for Mexico between 2000 and 2012 to the United States is represented. For this estimation, only the food basic basket and public education costs were used, and the migrants' age and education level at the time of arrival to the United States are considered. It is an underestimation of the migrants' and population's social reproduction total cost, since to this criteria should be added the private and public expense in health, transportation, housing, social infrastructure, public goods and services, among many others. Although, even with that big underestimation, we will see that the economic benefits of emigration are not enough to compensate the implicated costs.



Source: Own calculations based on data from *Current Population Survey, 1994-2008*, data from Coneval, *Poverty Lines in Mexico and Educational Statistical Yearbook in Mexico, 2008*.

Figure 9. Mexico: Cost of Educational Training and Social Reproduction of Employed Emigrants that Entered the United States between 2000 and 2012 (Thousands of million dollars in 2012) in Scenarios with or without International.

As it can be observed, while working migrants represent for Mexico a cost of \$283.5 billion USD, the same migration only generated a volume of \$245 billion USD. This is, that through remittances, Mexico barely manages to recover 86% of the resources used to support education and social reproduction of those migrants. More than a fair deal where everybody wins, migration leads to a net transfer of this human capital and labor force investment (education, health, food, among others) towards the United States. To these economic costs, other social losses should be added, such as the families' dislocation, epidemiological vulnerability, depopulation, abandonment of productive activities, alcoholism and drug addiction, poverty dependence to remittances, among other social problems.

CONCLUSIONS

In this short text, an analysis of the Mexico-United States migration has been presented, based on non-conventional indicators, which allow us to show different aspects that are usually hidden in dominant discourses about migration and development.

Meanwhile, this preliminary analysis of the migratory corridor between Mexico and the United States points out a scenario that is far from being a win-win-win situation. This is, one in which all participants are winners (societies of origin, of destination and migrants themselves). In general, the balance analysis between costs and benefits for source and recipient countries, as well as for migrants and their families, shows a worrying situation, in which costs seem to be higher than benefits for all parties involved. Firstly, in relation to causes, data indicate that the structural origin of contemporary migration does not seem to lie on poverty and exclusion conditions that prevail in the countries of origin, but in the prevalence of a development style that emphasizes social inequalities and economic asymmetries among countries and regions. So, the solution is

not in the promotion of purely and simply development policies, but in the implementation of other strategies and social and economic development styles that directly fight regional and international inequalities.

Regarding the impacts and contributions of migration in countries of destination, in this case the United States, strategic indicators used allow to illustrate a series of benefits that is usually underestimated in analysis with traditional indicators. There is no doubt that migrants make significant contributions to the economy, as well as to demography in the US, while sustaining, in the first case, the economic growth and in the second case, reducing the population aging process. In fact, if in the past, the sustainability of the North-American economy as an imperial economy was sustained by its own productive forces (native labor force), nowadays, that country's demography does not allow the necessary reproduction of labor force in order to sustain the level of development of the capital productive forces. This generates a deficit of manpower that if not covered by immigration, would affect not only the economic growth of that country but also its ability to maintain political and military leadership to sustain its imperialist positions.

Regarding the demographic dynamics, indicators show the magnitude of the Mexican demographic bonus transfer that is gotten by the United States, and that allows more than compensating ethereal imbalances generated by the native population aging process. Undoubtedly, the high level of irregular migration is a serious problem for the society of the country of destination; however, the cost/benefit relationship does not seem to be as negative as it is generally described.

In terms of the impact in the countries of origin, Mexico in this case, it is important to point out the demographic effects revealed by the emigration towards the United States. We talk about the transfer of the so-called demographic bonus due to migration, in which benefits from it (remittances), do not compensate the social reproduction costs in this population that has emigrated.

Finally, for migrants and their families (main issue of the analysis, but which is usually invisible in the predominant discourses), migration represents an option to escape from high exclusion conditions that prevail in

their countries of origin. However, although they receive some economic benefits of migration, costs are high in most of the other dimensions. In fact, migrants face serious violations of human rights, as well as social vulnerability in transit zones and in destination ones. Particularly, it is important to point out labor precariousness and occupational segregation that make migrants to be employed in posts that are below their abilities. Likewise, social mobility opportunities are minimum and in general, poverty levels and social exclusion affect immigrants as well as their descendants born in the United States.

In summary, the analysis of these strategic indicators, in the case of the Mexico-United States corridor, allows us to enlighten other dimensions of the migration-development relationship that are usually ignored in predominant discourses. In fact, this analysis allows to affirm that indicators traditionally used to analyze this situation, basically end up distorting reality and contribute to feeding a dominant mythology that lies in the social and political construction of migrants as public enemies, moving away from a more comprehensive vision where migrants' rights become the heart of the subject.

This analysis, certainly of exploratory nature and preliminary, confirms us that there is an urgent need to build and design new indicators capable of getting the true nature of the phenomenon from a comprehensive, inclusive and balanced perspective. This will necessary lead to reversing the terms of the debate on public policies, displacing the focus of the argument of the national security agenda towards development and migrants' human rights fields.

There is no doubt that it is necessary to establish new basis to advance towards a different, better informed and inclusive debate and that above all, includes a more active participation of civil society.

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MEXICANS WITH POSTGRADUATE DEGREES IN THE UNITED STATES: CHANGES DURING THE LAST DECADE

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INTRODUCTION

The study of skilled Mexicans migration to the United States has gained new life, particularly after the increase observed during the 90's. Although, in that decade the migration presented a resounding increase; during the first decade of the 21st century the rhythm slowed down, additionally to presenting a particular trend in the case of people with postgraduate degrees. It is due to this motive that the following text focuses on this specific population.

The objective of this study is to examine recent levels and trends on this particular group of skilled Mexican migrants, this is people with a master's or doctoral degree, and some of the characteristics of employability in the North American market during the past decade. The analytic strategy used is double, the comparison of Mexican postgraduates with other homologous groups of migrants and natives (people born in the US) and the analysis of diachronic evolution, making use of information from the beginning, the middle and the end of the decade in question (2001, 2005, 2010).

The study is structured in the following way: a presentation on the recent background of Mexican skilled migration to the United States, and the specific case of the Mexican with postgraduate degrees; a review on the

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socio-demographic and migratory trends of the past decade (2001-2010) on the postgraduate migrant population in the United States, by comparing the pattern adopted by Mexican population residing in that country, in relation to groups —natives and indigenous— from other regions with the same education credentials; and an analysis on a selection of characteristics of the labor market as a vehicle to learn about the processes of labor insertion of this group of people and whether these conditions presented changes in recent years. Finally, a synthesis of the trends and some considerations on the matter of public policies is presented.

SKILLED MIGRATION AND THE INCREASE OF POST GRADUATE POPULATION IN MEXICO

Historically, migration from Mexico to the United States has been associated with low-skilled migration, which has undoubtedly been predominant in terms of volume. Nevertheless, during the 90's a worldwide tendency was detected; which shows that the flow of Mexicans to the United States was no exception: a notorious increase on the migration of highly-skilled people, in other words, people with a high education level. Specialized literature on skilled migration usually defines it as being composed by people with tertiary education (Mexican equivalent to a bachelor degree). However, there are other ways to define it based on occupational classification or a combination of both criteria.

During the nineties, the region of the world that experienced the greatest relative growth of skilled migrants towards member countries of the Organization for Economic Development and Cooperation, OEDC, was Latin America and the Caribbean. This population grew 91%, while the world average was 66% (Lozano & Gandini, 2010). In the Latin American region, Mexico was the country with the largest increase on skilled population during the period aforementioned, this being 159% (*Ibid.*). Such indicators suggested that this type of migration would continue its increase in subsequent years. However, a more recent study proved that the growth rate of skilled migration from Mexico to the United States decreased. Al-

though between the years of 2000 and 2010, the population of skilled migrants went from 302 950 to 529 997 people — this represents an increase of almost 75% — a significant deceleration compared to the decline from the decade before was experienced, although it kept a greater dynamism than the total migration (Lorenzo & Gandini, 2012). This reflects the important positive selectivity of Mexican migration in the decade, which continued with the trend's growth over the total of Mexican migrants residing in that country, who did it by 32.3% in the same period.

When clearing this analysis category related to education levels achieved, it is noted that along with the relative decrease, there was an important change on the weight the segment of skilled migrants in the United States has in contrast with the population with the same education level born in Mexico. In 2000, the professional Mexican migrants residing in the US represented 6.4% of the total skilled population born in Mexico; while in 2010 this percentage was 6.1%. Therefore, in general, there are no significant differences. Nonetheless, among those with a postgraduate degree, the decrease was significant, 19.1% in 2000 and 12.8% in 2010. Meaning that, in 2000, 19 out of 100 Mexicans with a postgraduate degree lived in the United States, while in 2010, this decreased to 13 out of 100 (*Ibid.*).

This data suggests that important transformations in Mexicans who achieve higher education levels are taking place and forces us to wonder what is happening to this population segment in Mexico. The fundamental change resides in the rapid increase of population reaching education levels of master's and doctorates during the first decade of this century. In absolute terms, these numbers went from 320 thousand to 920 thousand, between 2000 and 2010, which represents a growth of 160%. This change had an impact on the structure of the professional Mexican population, in which the ones holding a postgraduate degree increased from 8% in 2000, to 11% in 2010. In this sense, the decrease in the migration rate of Mexican population with a post graduate degree to the United States is explained by the increase of the denominator: the population with the same education level in Mexico.

Chart 1. Population born in Mexico with professional training.

Socio-demographic characteristics	2000		2010		% change 2000-2010
	Population	%	Population	%	
Population of professionals	4 454 085	100.0	8 218 556	100.0	84.5
B.A.	4 099 820	92.0	7 299 043	88.8	78.0
Postgraduate studies (Master's & PhD)	354 264	8.0	919 513	11.2	156.6

Source: Elaborated by the authors based on the Census Samples of Mexico from 2000 and 2010.

The sudden increase of population with a postgraduate degree in Mexico is not fortuitous but a deliberate pragmatic policy aspiring to copy models and meet international indicators. According to Gil (2012), the change in the mentioned education levels point to a group of facts that struck and modified Mexican higher education during the eighties and nineties. In a context of salary stagnation and deterioration, consequence of 1982 crisis, a policy of additional income for academics, based on their performance, took place. The creation of the Sistema Nacional de Investigadores (National System of Researchers SNI for its initialisms in Spanish) in 1984 aimed at maintaining the best researchers in the public sector and in the country (Gil, 2012), through unearned income and research incentives, a conjuncture strategy to deal with the loss of purchasing power among academics that ended up becoming a central element of national scientific policy (Casanova, 2010).

The implementation of this policy changed the view, from a general one in which income increase were granted to professors and researchers as a group — to a focused one, in which bonuses granted and their amount was calculated based on peers' assessment. This strategy turned into a system of competition that resulted in, not only in a way to obtain an extra

income for both academics and institutions; but also in a way to increase their status (Gil, 2012).

From 1990s onward, the generalization and increasing complexity of the underlying strategy implemented by the SNI changed in a considerable and fast way the profile of new applicants and the existing academic staff, raising the maximum education level achieved (Gil, 2000; 2012). Thus, in higher education institutions, the certification level of full-time teachers at the time changed in the following way: from 1991 to 1998, 11.5% held a doctoral/post doctoral degree, 24.7% had a master's degree, and 63.8% a bachelor degree; from 1999 to 2008, the percentages were 24.5, 37.3 and 38.2% respectively (Gil, 2012).

To the implementation of this policy, we may add the difficulties that have built up for Mexican professionals in recent years. Although the lack of balance between the professional offer and the demand of the market could be a structural characteristic of the development model, in the past years it has worsened (Salgado, 2005), affecting unemployment and sub employment, a situation that will hardly be solved solely by the education system (Márquez, 2011). In this scenario, continuing postgraduate studies end up being the most frequent path taken by those finishing tertiary education. Although is not an active pursuit, studying a post degree represents a certain income for a number of years –through obtainable scholarships as part of the aforementioned policy- and as a last resort, the accumulation of higher human capital.

The speed of change as well as the pursuit of international comparable indicators (such as having “more PhDs”) leads to more apparent results rather than effective. This demands, at least, an exhaustive review on whether the modification of Mexican higher education responds to the substantial transformations or if it is only for credentials (Gil, 2012). Nevertheless, and although it is not the objective of this study, what remains clear is that the expansion of post graduate population has a clear explanation. It is noteworthy that, even though these transformations have been significant, Mexico is still among the last in terms of education coverage: only 22% of youth from 25 to 34 years old have had access to higher education:

an amount considerably lower than the average of OECD countries (37.8%), and even other Latin American countries, such as Chile (38.5%). This fact cannot be understood isolated from the education lag accumulated in preceding education levels (OECD, 2012; Solis, 2012).

According to what has been exposed, the formative structure of Mexican professionals has been the main consequence of these changes in the past decade. Because of this, we will now examine what happened in the same period specifically with Mexicans who achieved postgraduate degrees and reside in the US. This analysis will allow us to understand the most recent patterns of select skilled migration (in education terms) and the working conditions they find at their destination. Likewise, based on previous papers, we find –a hypothesis which must be examined thoroughly- that at least in the Mexican case, migrants with bachelor degree seem to follow the pattern of traditional migration, which strengthens the decision of focusing on the population of migrants with post graduate degree and explore its specifics.

To focus on the analysis of Mexican migrants with post graduate degrees (master or PhD) towards the United States, we examined the information originated from the American Community Survey (ACS) from the United States for 2001, 2005 and 2010. The selection of 2001 obeys to the limitation of the sample of the database corresponding to 2000. However, databases of subsequent years were examined (2000, 2001 and 2002) and the trends found are consistent.

MEXICO, ONE OF THE COUNTRIES WITH THE LOWEST GROWTH OF POSTGRADUATES IN THE UNITED STATES

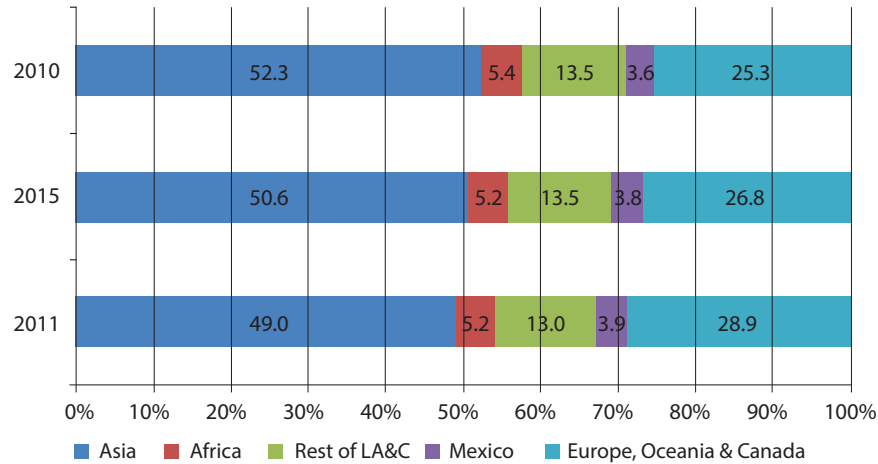
In the first decade of the 21st century, the total population with post graduate degrees residing in the United States increased from 16.7 to 21.6 million people, which represented a 29.4% increase. Although this absolute growth was very important, it contrasts with the increase this same population experienced in Mexico, which was 160%. This means, it was a decade of in-

tense post graduate population growth in both, United States and Mexico, but the transformation in higher education levels achieved in our country is deeper (Complete information and tables see Gandini & Lozano, 2012 and ACS United States, 2001, 2005 and 2010).

When examining the birthplace of the population with post graduate degrees residing in us, it is worth noticing that those born outside that country showed an increase of 39%, significantly higher than the increase of 28% of native population. These figures confirm the growing dependence of North American economy on highly-skilled migrants, a trend which is corroborated in the decade 2001-2010.

However, what happens when analyzing the migrants with post graduate degree by their region of birth? To begin with, there is a great behavioral diversity. Although migrants with post graduate degree from all regions presented a positive absolute and relative growth, some regions surpassed the average amount of 39%; such as Asian migrants, with a growth of 48%, followed by Africans (44%), and Latin American and Caribbean (44%) not including Mexico. When analyzing the specific case of Mexico, we can notice that the migrants with post graduate degrees born in this country increased from 106 thousand 519 to 135 thousand 205, representing an absolute growth of 28 thousand 686 people, which represents an increase of 27%, lower than the total average of migrants with post graduate degrees. The region that presented the lowest growth of migrant population with post graduate degrees between 2001 and 2010 was Europe (group that includes Canada and Oceania), with an increase of 21%.

These abovementioned figures prove that in the past decade, migration to United States of people with post graduate degrees has characterized by a noticeable increase of Asians, Africans and non-Mexican Latin Americans. On the contrary, the migratory pattern of Europeans and Mexicans present a considerably lower dynamism.



Source: Elaborated by the authors based on the American Community Survey 2001, 2005 and 2010.

Figure 1. Relative Contribution of Migrant Population with Postgraduate studies in the United States by Place of Birth 2001, 2005 and 2010.

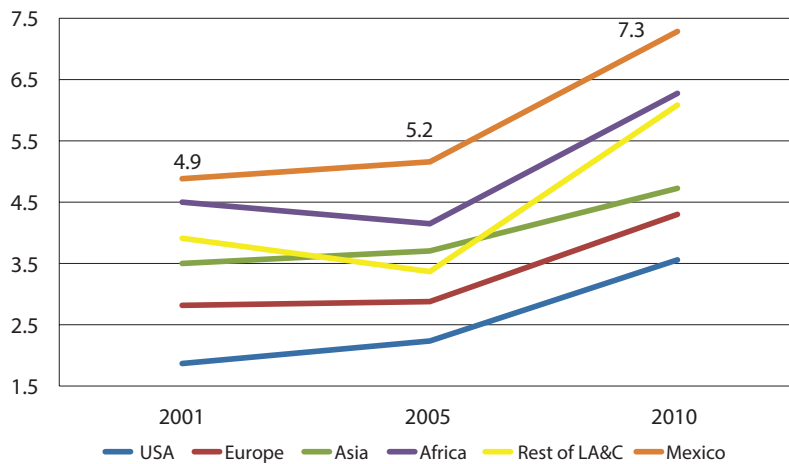
In short, migration of post graduates towards the United States —in the first decade of the 21st century— was characterized by: a) a very important growth of migrants from Asia, Africa and Latin America (without including Mexico). Between 2001 and 2010 the participation of migrants from these three regions went from 67 to 71% of total non-native population. On the contrary, migrants with a post graduate degree from Mexico and Europe reduced their participation in those years, from 33 in 2001 to 29% in 2010 (see figure 1); & b) in the specific case of Mexico, it is worth noticing that, while experiencing an important increase of postgraduates in the origin (160%), their presence in the United States was rather low compared to that of postgraduates from other regions. Figure 1 shows that Mexican postgraduates were 3.9% of the total in 2001, while by 2010 this figure decreased to 3.6%. Although in absolute terms, Mexican skilled migration keeps growing, its relative contribution tends to decline.

WORKING CONDITIONS OF POSTGRADUATES IN UNITED STATES

In previous sections, we have seen that in the past decade, the population with a post graduate degree in Mexico increased in an extraordinary fashion; nevertheless, it was one of the groups with lower relative growth in United States. Let us analyze what has happened in some dimensions of the labor market, such as the activity conditions (employed versus unemployed), the amount of migrants in professional or managerial positions, levels and salary gaps.

The main trend of the decade is an increase of economically active population among the postgraduates, in accordance with population's growth. The main relative increase of economically active population, in relation to the inactive, was reflected in the increase of unemployment rate, particularly between 2005 and 2010. In other words, in the years after the international financial crisis originated in the United States, there was a decrease on the growth rate of economically-active population, labour force, migrants with a post graduate degree, contrary to what happens with native population, whose rate keeps a slight growth.

Mexico kept the same trend as the rest of migrant population, but additionally, presented the highest rates of unemployment in the three years of reference; not only above the native population, but also the foreign population in all regions (see figure 2). So that, the growth of the workforce of Mexican postgraduates for the period was expressed mainly in a higher amount of people without job, which proves that, even if the crisis could have aggravated unemployment rates, these were already the highest by the beginning of the decade. This data accounts for the fact that there is a deficit in labor insertion of Mexicans with post graduate degrees, related to the structure rather than to the conjuncture, possibly associated with education characteristics, the type of abilities and acquired skills, as well as the requirements of Mexican and North American labor markets which can be different.

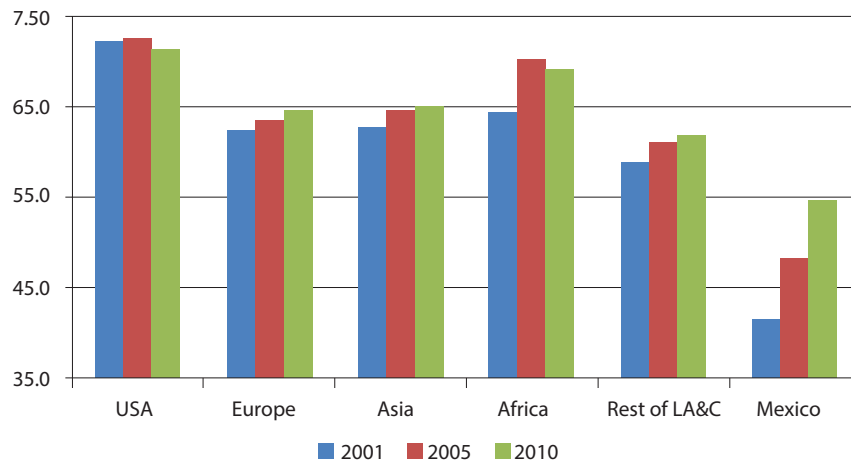


Source: Elaborated by the authors based on the American Community Survey 2001, 2005 and 2010.

Figure 2. Unemployment Rate of Population with Postgraduate Degrees in the United States by Place of Birth. 2001, 2005 and 2010 (figures in percentages).

Specifically, it is important to determine the rate of labor insertion achieved by highly-educated population in occupations with qualification levels corresponding to their credentials. This analysis enables an evaluation of the use made of their abilities in the destination labor market, or how they use or take advantage of their formal education credentials. When this does not occur, there is a waste of the potential abilities of skilled human resources in the labor market, a notion labeled as “brain waste” or “educational waste” (Salt, 1997; Mattoo, Neagu & Özden, 2005; Özden, 2005; Lozano & Gandini, 2010). The phenomenon refers specifically to migrants who get employed at the destination place, in occupations with qualification requirements below their educational level.

According to the information gathered for this paper, 7 out of 10 post-graduates are hired in professional or managerial positions—including occupations considered by the ACS grouped under the label *Managerial and Professional Specialty Occupations*— in North American labor market, proportion that has been relatively steady in the analyzed years. Migrants with a post graduate degree are employed in such occupations in lesser proportions than the native population: 62% in 2001, 64% in 2005 and 64% in 2010 versus 73%, 73% and 72% respectively.



Source: Elaborated by the authors based on the American Community Survey 2001, 2005 and 2010

Figure 3. Population (percentage) with Postgraduate Degrees, Residing in the United States holding Professional or Managerial Positions by Birthplace. 2001, 2005 and 2010

Meanwhile, Mexico shares a growth pattern on the participation of employed postgraduates in professional or managerial positions that went from 42% to 54% throughout the decade, being in fact the most improved group in relative terms. However, a corporate approach allows noticing that both, at the beginning and end of the analyzed period, Mexicans with a postgraduate degree, lie among the minor proportions of professional or managerial insertions achieved. Being that so, in 2010 just over half of them managed employment in those positions.

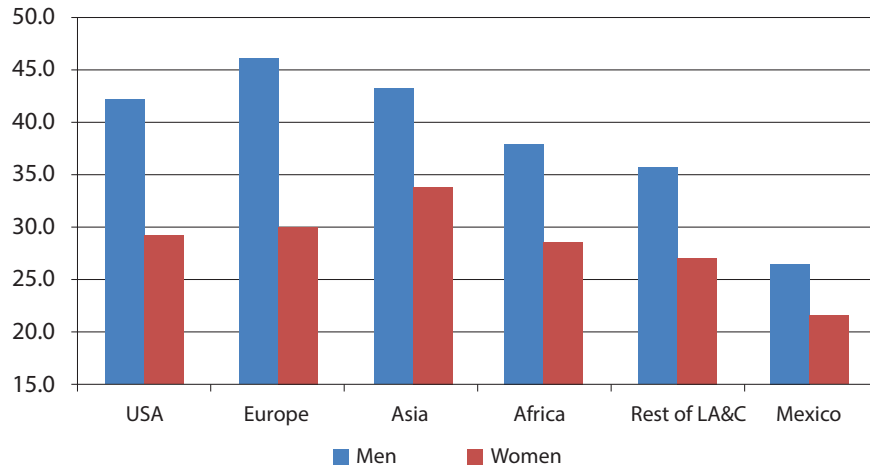
With the exception of native population, in all other cases, labor insertion achieved on professional or managerial positions is higher for men than for women. Nevertheless, an encouraging trend in this decade was the narrowing of this gap. Thus, the average of migrant population with a postgraduate degree went from almost 12 percent points, in favor of men in 2001 to 5% in 2010. Regarding the differentiated behavior by gender, Mexico shows a different pattern from the rest of migrants in the region. The decade begins and ends with better chances of occupational achievement for women with postgraduate degrees, although for 2005 the relation inverted.

Regarding wages trend for men and women with postgraduate degrees, the average annual income (in current USD) of Mexicans with postgraduate degrees increased 37% between 2001 and 2010. Despite that, in relative terms, they experienced the greatest increase (in general total migrant population grew in 27% and native in 21%) it was not enough to narrow the gap among their peers with similar educational characteristics during the whole decade. In the reference years, Mexican workers with a postgraduate degree earned the lowest wages: during 2001, their salaries were 40% lower than the average of migrant population with the same characteristics and, in 2010, 36% less.

In all cases, women had a lower income than men did. For the total of foreign population in 2001, male wages were 25% higher than female's, meanwhile among Mexicans the difference was: 20% in 2010, 23% and 19% respectively.

Figure 4 shows the hourly wage of workforce with a postgraduate degree in United States' labor market in 2010. This indicator allows controlling the level of wages in relation to time destined for work. When considering this last situation, earnings threshold for Mexicans is still the lowest, compared to their peers in the beginning and end of the period studied. It is noteworthy that Mexico has the lowest levels in salary gap per gender. Nevertheless, part of the explanation is that both, male and female workers show the lowest wage levels.

In short, in terms of employment on professional occupations and wages, Mexicans have undergone the highest relative improvements in relation to other groups of migrants and natives. However, the lag in the working conditions is such that, even with these improvements, Mexicans continue to position themselves at the bottom step. Although Mexican women show slightly better indicators than their male peers, when compared with other females, they remain significantly disadvantaged.



Source: Elaborated by the authors based on the American Community Survey 2001, 2005 and 2010.

Figure 4. Postgraduate Population's Hourly Wage in the United States by Place of Birth in 2010 (current dollars)..

After examining the trends regarding the proportion of professional or managerial positions obtained and income levels, it is possible to analyze the relationship between both job characteristics. The first aspect to highlight is that, in all cases, access to professional occupations guarantees a better income. The second finding is that, in the course of the decade, the revenue differences between both types of occupations have increased. That is why employment, in accordance with education credentials, has increased its incidence in wages.

Thus, native population, being job-embedded in professional or managerial positions in 2001 improves their income in an average of six dollars per hour of work; in 2010, the difference is of eight dollars. For migrant population the difference was of nine and \$12 USD, respectively. Those who showed the highest spreads were people from Latin America, Mexico and Africa. Mexican professionals with a postgraduate degree employed in professional or managerial positions, meanwhile, gained in 2001 an hourly wage of \$12 USD higher than those who did not achieve this kind of labor insertion. In 2010 the gap widened to \$14 USD.

FINAL THOUGHTS

This paper analyzed a group of sociodemographic and migratory characteristics of a particular population of skilled Mexican migrants —those with a master or PhD—, to enter subsequently in the study of their work behavior. The first results highlight the fact that Mexican postgraduates were the group who underwent the lowest growth between 2001 and 2010, in significant contrast with the increase this population showed in Mexico. In addition to this behavior, some characteristics suggest that it is a less selected group —a smaller proportion of doctors, lower naturalization rate— a feature already evidenced for Mexican skilled population in general, that means when taken in account from bachelor's degree level (Conapo, 2007).

The employment of two contrasted analytic strategies for this study allowed highlighting some results. The first one, a diachronic perspective, evidenced that Mexican migrants with the highest education credentials showed improvements in some conditions: the proportion of those who achieve labor insertion in professional or managerial positions of the labor market went from 42% to 55%; with a slightly more advantageous position for women, who increased their yearly wage in 37%, far above the average of migrant population (27%). Additionally, Mexicans inserted in professional occupations, increased their hourly income from 24 to 30 USD between 2001 and 2010.

However, it was noticed in other indicators —such as the unemployment rate—, that Mexicans with a postgraduate degree began and ended the decade in the highest levels. And this result leads us to analyze things from another perspective, a comparative strategy with other populations with the same characteristics, which gave perspective to the trends shown by Mexicans. These had, in relative terms, the more substantial improvements in several of the analyzed dimensions regarding labor market. However, they have not been enough to equate the conditions of other groups taken into consideration. In other words, the evolution of labor indicators presented in the decade was not enough to narrow the labor gaps, especially the income and occupational gaps that separate Mexicans with a postgrad-

uate degree from the rest of migrants and native population with the same education credentials.

The behavior of Mexicans with a postgraduate degree in the United States suggest that not only the conjuncture of 2007-08 crisis affected their development in the labor market, but there is also a historic lag —that could have been aggravated by the crisis in the second half of the decade— that seems more as the result of the Mexico—United States migratory system. It also indicates that Mexican skilled man-power is relatively less competitive in the international labor market than other homologous groups, at least regarding United States' labor market. This circumstance forces us to look back at Mexico. How to explain that, after a deliberate policy of stimulation of higher education that turned into a remarkable transformation of Mexican professional structure —with higher credentials—, their performance in the neighboring country's labor market is so meager? The question exposed at the beginning resonates more strongly: Is it possible that such policy meant a transformation focused on credentials rather than substance, more about form than content?

Many Mexican —and Latin American— officials frequently show a deep concern on the so-called “brain-drain” from the countries of origin. According to the data in this paper, the very argument sustaining the drainage idea has changed. However, the warning of a relative decrease on skilled migration with a postgraduate degree pattern represents both an opportunity and a challenge. This reduction means that there is a group of over half a million Mexicans that obtained masters and doctoral degrees between 2000 and 2010. This means that if the amount that leaves the country has reduced —at least in relation to the events in the past decade— it implies that the same amount of labor spaces are required for their insertion in Mexican labor market. That highly-schooled Mexicans are less competitive in the international market also has consequences for the domestic market. In short, if the increasing inertia of Mexicans with postgraduate degrees continues —which will possibly happen— without any resulting transformations in the Mexican labor market, the results could be quite adverse for both the skilled individuals and the country in general.

On the other hand, and beyond the figures that represent migration rates of Mexican with postgraduate degrees, the noteworthy disadvantageous insertion conditions in North America represent a thermometer that allows measuring the competitiveness of Mexicans with high education levels.

We agree with Tuirán (2011) that “a quality education is also essential to achieve a more advantageous insertion of Mexico in the knowledge economy and the value chains of world competitiveness”. However, assessing the new profile of academics with the amount of teachers in higher education, the amount of them who is full-time staff, the percentage of those with a postgraduate degree, as well as those members of the SNI, are not enough markers to achieve such global competitiveness. Every country must consider increasing the amount of their skilled human resources, but it is not a minor fact that these policies focus on improving the level, quality and relevance of such skills, in a way that constitutes a highly specialized and competitive formation within the country and abroad.

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BALANCE AND PERSPECTIVES OF THE MEXICO-UNITED STATES MIGRATORY POLICIES

*Jorge Durand**

INTRODUCTION

Vicente Fox's six-year presidential term (2000-2006) was characterized for having a proactive position regarding a possible migratory agreement or settlement with the United States, which showed a radical change compared to the previous governments. But during President Felipe Calderón's (2006-2012) six-year presidential term, the opposite stance was taken. Even more, in his own terms, it was chosen to "de-migratize" the bilateral relation; that is, to dismantle the advances regarding approaches, discussions, analysis, studies, and negotiating experience of the previous government (Durand, 2014).

Actually, during Felipe Calderón's six-year presidential term, the drug trafficking subject was prioritized in the bilateral relation, and explicitly, migration was put aside. It is true that there were not enough conditions, after September 11th, 2001, in order to launch or lobby a migratory reform with the United States, but other aspects that could have advanced unilaterally, were obviated.

Mexican migratory policy not only should focus bilaterally, but also from a unilateral perspective. Since President Carlos Salina's six-year presidential term, relevant advances took place regarding unilateral decisions that affect or have an impact on Mexican community living abroad, which

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represents 10% of the national population. For instance, the Program for the Attention of Mexican Communities Abroad, consular registration (*matrícula consular*), fiscal indicator (*semáforo fiscal*), Compatriots program (*Programa Paisano*), Beta Groups, 3 x 1 Program, Vote of Mexicans Abroad, Institute for Mexicans Abroad, etcetera.

Also, we could also talk about transit migration that arrives to Mexico towards the United States; and it is mainly a social phenomenon involving Central Americans in 90%. In principle, Migration Law approved in 2011, should be the legal framework to regulate and allow to properly handling this migratory modality. However, legislation from a national level to a local one cannot properly solve a matter that has a multilateral dimension.

Sovereign decisions of a country regarding migratory matters, can seriously affect neighboring countries or other countries. For instance, the United States' policy regarding Cuba, known as "dry foot-wet foot", solved the problem of rafters arriving to the coast of Florida, but generated an important influx of irregular migrants, that one way or another, arrive to Mexico to get to the border and seek asylum. North American asylum policy for Cubans affects Mexico, but it has no say in a relationship strictly bilateral between Cuba and the United States.

On the other hand, the recently approved migratory law leaves explicitly aside emigration matter, which was just treated in the General Population Law of 1974 and that indeed constituted the true challenge. Leaving this fundamental component of the migratory phenomenon aside has prevented having an integral law that treats jointly immigration, emigration, transit and return.

The migration law considered by some as "Foreigners Act" (*Ley de Extranjería*), since it only refers to immigration, has been a noticeable but partial advance; an arguable and controversial advance, but a first step in the management of a dynamic and changing phenomenon. Indeed, migratory and population dynamics in the present and the future will have substantial impacts in the country, for what it is not possible to regulate it from immovable laws; these should adjust according to the circumstances and as social relevant phenomena are detected. This way, academy and re-

search play a very relevant role at detecting changes in flows and demanding adjustments to public policies.

PENDING TASKS

Population policy

In order to be able to stabilize the migratory flow, it is indispensable to control the excessive population growth. Progress was made in that matter, but the Census of 2010 surprised us and registered a growth –neither expected nor anticipated- of 4 million more Mexicans. It was supposed that Mexico would reach a population replacement or balance point with a growth of 2.1 but this could not be achieved and it is 2.3. Mexico is still growing, especially in rural and indigenous zones, where reproductive health plans have not been effective.

In that regard, the Consejo Nacional de Población (National Population Council, Conapo for its acronym in Spanish) in charge of monitoring and designing public policies regarding population, has not adequately carried out its functions. This happened mainly due to the change of political orientations regarding this matter, to the loss of high-level professional programs that were indispensable to this Office and to an erratic management and, to a certain point, incompetent during the government of Felipe Calderón.

On the other hand, during the two-PAN presidential terms (Fox's and Calderón's), reproductive health campaigns were put aside. At the end of Calderón's presidential term, a campaign to prevent teen pregnancies, a growing problem in the country was started, however, opposing groups managed to take spots out of the media in a short period of time.

While demographic transition process has a considerable advance in Mexico and has been there for over 30 years, there are still specific groups and geographical areas where it is necessary to support with reproductive health programs.

Transit Migration

This phenomenon is not new but its dimensions, social, political and humanitarian problems are. Migration Law of 2011 focuses on regulating this phenomenon, which did not have adequate legal instruments to be handled. The law regulations were finally issued during the last days of Calderon's presidential term and constitute the basic instrument to guide and define public policy on this specific field.

Significant progress was made regarding the administrative simplification and a more open and less restrictive visa policy. However, there are still some matters pending respecting regulation and management of transit migration, in which the Instituto Nacional de Migración (National Migration Institute, INM for its initialisms in Spanish), plays a determinant role. Different civil society bodies questions the possible violations to human rights due to the use of public force and the support of federal police in migration enforcement operations.

Anyway, with or without a law, the transit immigration problem has also become a matter of national security, not easily solvable, due to the constant interference of organized crime and its participation in human trafficking, which brings international implications, especially with Central American countries (Álvarez, 2010).

The transit migration flow is constituted in 90% by Central American-origin migrants, Guatemalan in first place, followed by Hondurans, who are the last to get incorporated, and Salvadoran, who have more than 20% of their population in the United States (World Bank, 2011). Nevertheless, the problem arises from a process of externalization of borders promoted and encouraged by the United States, where Mexico operates as first filter (Düvel, 2010).

There is no easy solution; the proposal of issuing transit visas directly contradicts international dispositions because it assumes that the passenger in transit owns a visa to enter the other country, which is not the case. The only possible solution is to establish an area of free transit, coordinated with Central America, which has one. Indeed, transit migrants coming

from Honduras, El Salvador and Nicaragua transit freely through Central American territory and go through Guatemala without problems, until getting to Mexico, place where their nightmare begins.

Temporary migration

Temporary migration of Mexican laborers towards the United States has been totally unattended in the last six-year presidential term. While H2A and H2B for agricultural and service laborers constitutes a sovereign decision of the United States, the current Mexican Constitution forbids the hiring of workers by foreign employers in national territory (Durand, 2007).

However, there is no federal regulation on this matter. Some States have attempted to regulate, channel and order contractors, as it is the case of San Luis Potosí. But in the other States, contractors and coyotes act on their own and only respond to their partners or foreign employers. This way, corruption and smuggling have been generalized.

Temporary H2 visas model substitutes the old model of contracts of the Bracero Program, at a bilateral level, with obvious advantages for employers and non-existent supervision by the Mexican government. With the argument that it is better for migrants to go with a visa than to go illegally, the Mexican government has left in the hands of private citizens and foreign officials, the hiring of about 200 thousand people per year in Mexican territory.

This matter has been widely studied and worked at an academic level and in different government departments, but little has been done regarding to political positioning or any kind of negotiation or bilateral agreement that puts order to this process. There are numerous examples of negotiations worldwide, such as the Mexico-Canada one, but no communication channels have been able to be established with the United States to formalize and supervise in a way, this migratory flow (Ibarra, 1992 ; Durand, 2007; Becerril, 2011).

It has not been able to make legislators aware of the necessity to review and reform the Labor Law and the constitution articles that regu-

late the laborers' contract by foreigners in national territory that certainly must be updated.

Trafficking and human trafficking

While Mexico has signed the Palermo Protocol and has legislated on that subject, in practice, there are still situations that favor human trade and trafficking. Undocumented people trade was a small business, with a high degree of efficiency and safety. But in the last decade, deterrent North American migratory policy increased costs and risks of surreptitious crossing.

It is needed special police groups, financial intelligence and operational commands to act against human traffickers. The army has dismantled several security houses and released tens of migrants, but specialized units are needed to fight against this kind of crime, which generally uses the same *modus operandi* to receive foreign money transfers, uses security houses easily perceptible; and there are several witnesses and affected people.

Mexicans abroad

While the Mexican Foreign Service has been adapted importantly to help migrant population in the United States, old practices persist and so do lack of resources to help the population in the best possible way. The problem is magnified by the current dispersion of Mexicans throughout the US, which implies a considerable challenge to be able to service the new zones of destination.

In that regard, little has been done in consular protection in the working environment, where deplorable cases of exploitation and abuse of Mexican laborers take place. Living and working conditions of many legal workers holding an H2 visa are alarming. In a context where the US Department of Labor does little or nothing, it results more necessary the work of consulates regarding protection programs and work inspections. It is crucial a link

of the consular staff with unions, different NGOs and religious organizations that help to defend and protect migrant laborers at their workplace.

Finally, politic participation of Mexicans abroad, mainly through postal vote in 2012, has been widely questioned by different organizations. The current legislation forbids issuing credentials to Mexicans abroad, excluding several million citizens that could participate. This subject must be widely discussed before the chambers to adapt the Electoral Law to current needs (Calderón, 2002). It is incomprehensible that the consulate is able to grant nationality or issue a passport and it is not able to issue a voter registration card, which is a national identity document and not only a card to vote (Calderón, 2004; Durand, *et. al.*, 2013).

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CHALLENGES OF TRANSIT MIGRATION IN MEXICO AND HUMAN RIGHTS

*Manuel Ángel Castillo**

MEXICO IN THE MIGRATION CONTEXT

It was not until recent times that both Mexican state and Mexican society started to raise awareness that the country is nation of origin, destination, transit and return of migrant people. This condition provides Mexico a peculiar place in the world context of population mobility, since the last period of the XX century stood out as the emigration of fellow countrymen had, and still have, as a main destination the neighboring territory of the United States.

This situation has demanded a comprehensive vision of the migration phenomenon and especially the responsibilities caused to the State, which not only has to ensure the well-being of its citizens, but also of all people's in its territory, temporary or permanently. However, regarding emigrants, attention had been focused on the protection that entering, transiting and staying abroad demands; especially when fundamental rights have been threatened.

Progressively, people become aware of the complexity of the phenomenon and that it involves not only people getting around, but also members of their families and communities that stay in their places of origin. Hence, institutions and governmental programs have responded progressively to the requirements not only from civil society organizations but also from the migrants themselves that pointed out the responsibility of the State and

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the society, before a vulnerable sector of the population. Furthermore, the consideration about the origin of migration made more evident such responsibility, since most emigration was caused by the lack of attention they have faced in order to achieve a decent standard of living in their places of origin or even in other scopes of the national territory.

However, the migration scenario of the country is currently more complex. While foreigner arrivals to establish in any area of the territory, indefinitely or temporarily, they have never had the dimensions recorded by the historical emigration. Rather immigrants flows have drew attention in certain moments of contemporary history, not because its magnitude, but because of the social and political fact from which it originated, as well as its special composition. The Spanish arrival due to the Civil War stands out in the 40's, as well as those persecuted by political conflicts in the Southern Cone during the seventies; and finally, in the eighties, the arrival of people from the neighboring Central American region.

On the other hand, the subject about emigrants return had not called for attention, except in the case of Mexicans coming back from the United States as a result of the economic crisis of 1929. That time, the magnitude was relatively important, so that the State and Mexican society had to adopt some measures to support the reintegration of returnees. However, in recent years, the return of compatriots has started to gain importance due to two facts: a) the effects of the financial crisis in the United States during the second half of the first decade of the current century, that provoked unemployment in some insertion sectors of Mexican migrants; among others; b) the containment policy and mostly deportations undertaken with greater force from the first period of the administration of President Barack Obama. Whence, wake-up calls have been generated to the returning growing problem that will need attention; measures and specific programs should be defined to support the reinsertion of people to labor market and settlement locations.

TRANSIT MIGRATION

Relatively recent phenomenon

A phenomenon that rose during the last decade of the century was added to the changes previously mentioned. It was observed a growing entry of people —individuals or families— especially crossing the south border, mostly illegally and the final declared destination was the northern border to enter American territory. Their origin was mostly Central American countries, especially coming from the so-called Northern Triangle, constituted by Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras. Migration coming from this region increased after the subscription of peace agreements between the first two countries and before the difficulties to reactivate their economies after experiencing a decade of armed conflicts. On the other hand, Honduras entered this dynamics as a result of profound inequalities and economic internal limitations. Nicaraguan nationals participate to a lesser degree in such displacements, since most of their migrants go to Costa Rica, with which there are relationship agreements and a possibility to access their labor markets.

A favorable factor for such migratory dynamics towards the North was the constitution of community bases and social networks in American territory during the time of conflicts in Central America. That situation provoked people displacements seeking for protection in different destinations. One of those privileged places was the United States, with the help of solidarity groups, many people were granted asylum; although some of them only got it temporarily; others stayed illegally, just as other foreigners from different origins, including Mexicans. However, it is with the latter with which they have shared many life conditions and reproduction strategies to survive in exclusion, discrimination and relative poverty contexts. That is the reason that has motivated some analysts to think that for many reasons, Mexicans and Central Americans migration has become a kind of “regional migratory system”, since they share features of mobility processes, incorporation to the labor force and establishment in towns and neighborhoods with poor immigrant population in the United States.

Part of the coincidence of Mexican and Central American migrants going towards the United States has to do with the common obstacle of crossing the Mexican border with such country, to be able to get to any of such places where the bases and support networks previously mentioned are. However, the big difference between the former and the latter migrants has to do with the displacement in Mexican territory, which for Central Americans entails huge difficulties due to their foreign status, mostly illegal and ignorant of the ground conditions, the environment, the social codes, all the setting surrounding the journey.

Process increasingly consolidated; but, unstable?

Throughout approximately twenty years of happening, the transit of Central Americans through Mexican territory —to get to its north border and cross— has experienced a sustained growing tendency. Though, due to its nature of undocumented flow, there is no reference that allows establishing the magnitude. The only leads frequently used are detentions and deportations statistics kept by Mexican authorities. They show a growth systematic behavior until 2005, from which a decrease can be observed.

In literature about this topic, many warnings have been made about the risk of jumping into conclusions on the behavior of the flow from the statistics mentioned above. These are events —detention acts and deportations— they are not a number of persons in the strict sense. Its dynamics partly depends on the migratory movement, since it is also related to other variables such as the effectiveness of the agents, the types of operations implemented and the intensity of the actions exercised by the authority bodies that arrest and deport migrants. The arguments to explain this turning point in the tendency refer to the effects produced by the financial crisis (and employment one) in the United States, which constitutes —as stated before— one of the two causes of the return of Mexican emigrants, but also the strong decrease of net migration.

However, any statement about the situation and the future of Central American transit emigration in Mexico could be risky. Although at their

point of origin, migrants used conventional means of transportation, mostly ground transportation, while containment operations increase, the search for new routes and alternative means begins. One of them is the freight train that allows them to move without facing police checkpoints, but the risks are of different nature, such as accidents due to boarding while in motion or falls from wagons due to different reasons. In the last years, frequent observations from different interested individuals —members or civil organizations, journalists, researchers, among others— point out the persistence of numerous groups of people using this means. Furthermore, in recent times, it has been informed that of detentions in means used in other times in order to avoid risks, even they face different ones, such as ground and sea transportation.

Another element associated to the evolution and probable consolidation of the process has to do with the supports to achieve such goal. Originally, Central American migrants, just like Mexican ones, took the support of “guides” of different types. It was documented at that time, the operation of community guides who considered themselves —and were also considered by their community— as a service provider needed in their towns or region for knowing the area and, in many cases, for their willingness to work as community service with no profit. But also, in other contexts, individuals or small-organized groups emerged offering their services in exchange of relatively moderate amounts of money. It was possible and relatively efficient during that time, where it was feasible to avoid checkpoints relatively easy.

As flow increased and the subject became containment politics matter by official institutions —although not all of them were authorized by law to do so— such service providers lost effectiveness. The presence of service providers for profit augmented, so rates increased and even made limited offers. An example of that was a maximum number of attempts, if it was not successful, the guides did not have to continue with the job but immigrants still had to pay the payment agreed.

These difficulties allowed a change in the context, interests was arouse in other kind of actors by opening an operation field to organized criminal groups who, in order to ensure the effectiveness of the service, established

links with authority agents to get protection and collusion. Rates increased even more but also did the risks for migrants since organized crime groups were operating. Defenselessness was greater for migrants not being able to draw on protection by security bodies and institutions in charge of administering justice, when necessary.

Risks Scenarios

Transformations occurred in displacements created specific situations and places with greater risks—in number and seriousness—for transit migrants. Beside inherent difficulties in journeys done underground, through stark places; and other difficulties due to unexpected events hard to handle because of their illegal status, new menaces have added entailing dangers and obstacles to reach their goal.

It was mentioned that the use of the train as a means of transportation has produced numerous accidents of serious consequences to physical integrity or even death of migrants, in some cases. Also risks come from the defenselessness before individuals that swarm about them, knowing their needs, their resources—even small, it is loot for criminals—and their impossibility to report those who attack or abuse them.

Borders, especially those close to crossing points of international limits—frequently irregular—are areas that involve great danger to be transited or for long-time staying. The same risks are present in crossroads of routes and means of transportation used, as train connections. Besides, criminal groups choose isolated locations in transit routes, which offer favorable conditions for assaults and aggressions.

Other facts documented by human rights offices, as well as civil organizations are kidnapping operations of migrants. The goal is to kidnap migrants to ask for ransom to families, mainly when members of the family live in the United States and have the economic means to make an effort and pay an attractive amount of money to criminals. It is thought that this kind of operations caused the massacres two and a half years ago, among

which the one in August 2010 stands out with the murder of 72 migrants in the State of Tamaulipas.

All the above has caused that some official and private sectors state a pretty questionable relationship. They argue that migrants are a “public security” problem, when, the truth is that the problem are those exploiting, threatening and assaulting them; as well as the authority agents that work in collusion with criminals, in order to take advantage of the situation. This matter has been taken too far by thinking of the transit-migration phenomenon as a “national security” matter, when it has been proved that migrants do not constitute any risk to the State stability. In any case, it has been demonstrated that are the criminal organizations operating other kind of businesses —such as drug trafficking and weapons smuggling— which have infiltrated high levels of governments to get protection and in some cases, complicity for economic benefits. In such case, the debate should argue that the problem is not about institutions security or territories but about people; and the focus of attention should be on the safety of migrant people, no matter their legal or illegal migratory status.

Such approaches have contributed to criminalize migration and migrants, a common perspective to many contexts of undocumented foreign mobility in many places in the world. Some discriminatory feelings with xenophobic and racist traits, not noticeably perceptible, rise before some conflict situations. Some surveys done in recent years by serious institutions —such as the *Consejo Nacional para Prevenir la Discriminación* (National Council for the Prevention of Discrimination, Conapred for its acronym in Spanish) and the *Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas* (CIDE for its initialisms in Spanish)— proved that an important percentage of Mexican population manifest some rejection attitudes and feelings towards ethnic groups, foreigners and people in poverty, among others considered “different”. This background may partly explain aggression and harassment towards civil organizations and people defending migrants, as well as towards shelters offering protection and help, many of which are managed by religious groups.

A PERSPECTIVE OF THE FUTURE

It is impossible, with current information, being able to predict the future evolution of the phenomenon of transit migration. It is expected that American economic crisis not to be only a transitory situation, but even to provoke a recovery in the mid-term to recover its international competitive levels. If so, it will continue the need of different kinds of labor force that the United States' population could hardly satisfy within the next years, mainly non-qualified labor force in sectors like construction and manufacturing, but also services and commerce.

On the other hand, there is an increasing demand in certain labor force market niches, like those ones originated by the aging of American population, which can be partly attended by Central Americans, specially women. Before the lack of development policies in countries of origin that could think about population taking roots, the only element to counteract such attraction factors are containment policies by countries of destination (the us) and transit countries (essentially Mexico). However, the evolution will depend on the result of debates in the United States about immigration reform, even though a negotiation card of the American President with legislators is still to reinforce border control.

An important element to be considered in the context of migration in irregular and risk conditions is the recent adoption of a new legal framework. There is now an Immigration Reform and its Regulations, as well as a Refugee Law and Complementary Protection with its specific regulations. Such instruments could offer a resource to put order in migratory flows especially transit migration, which, as we have said, happen in frankly undesirable situations and high vulnerability for migrants. But more importantly, is how normativity will be applied in order to guarantee the validity and protection of the migrants' rights, as argued in the statement of motives of each of the legal instruments cited. However, since the debate to approve it —mainly the Immigration Reform— the need to revise its terms in light of its implementation was stated; so, an immediate legislative work is imposed even the new normativity, while problems on migrants' rights persist.

POSSIBLE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE ACADEMY AND THE FUTURE CHALLENGES

It can be asserted that to this date, research with great limitation has been done. Some have to do with financial support and institutional infrastructure needs limitations. Although most difficulties have to do with the nature and conditions where the phenomenon occur. Underground conditions of displacements and growing risks for migrants go beyond all those who try to dabble in that environment or those perceived as obstacles or risk to achieve their goal by organized criminal groups or those in collusion. Such situations have happened to migrants' advocates and shelters, as documented and reported timely.

It must be recognized the valuable efforts of civil organizations and people responsible for the shelters, who with great effort, have tried to document the different situations they have closely lived. Although, an effort that allows to systematize the information is needed, since now it is disperse and fragmented. This does not allow to establish nor explain the differences detected according to the locations and positions of such sources have in respect to the transit routes, as well as in respect to the specific risks that some contexts present to migrants and the rest of the actors operating around them.

All the above suggest the importance to articulate such efforts through transparent cooperation relationships among scientific community, civil society organizations and migrants organizations, especially with those committed with the protection and assistance of migrants. Such an approach would have to be based on the belief that their actions must seek generation of input that is useful for formulation and implementation of policies and actions oriented to guarantee the validity of the migrants' rights.

In any case, challenges in this matter could be inscribed in a research agenda towards deepening in the following subjects:

- 1) Explanation of the nature of a phenomenon that in recent times, has gotten continuity features; but that it is mandatory to examine the factors that can influence its extension in time (until when), modalities that can acquire (how) and its composition (who can integrate such flows).

- 2) Observation and analysis of the ways of operation of the recently adopted normativity of the Mexican State, in order to generate reviews proposals for legislators —since it is about regulating a dynamics and changing phenomenon— the implication of which must be subject of continuous examination.
- 3) Production of operative and conceptual elements that allow giving an ample and precise sense to the proposal that the migration phenomenon be addressed with an integral perspective and not only flow control and management.
- 4) Formulation of proposals that lead to materialize the cross-cutting feature of migration policies, while public policies are oriented to handle different corners of the phenomenon, so they compete with different powers, different levels of government and various administration sectors; all these imply the design of an effective coordination mechanism so that programs and actions converge on common goals and targets.
- 5) Building behavior indicators of different variables that allow to assess the behavior of the phenomenon, but especially to generate input to be useful for planning and formulating policies and also evaluating plans and programs during implementation, especially focusing on the migrants' rights.

FORCED RETURN OF MEXICAN MIGRANTS

*Humberto Márquez Covarrubias**
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DRUMROLLS ON FORCED MIGRATION

Historically, the migrating labor force has contributed to the generation of economical surplus for a low labor cost. In times of crisis, it carries a heavy economic load. Between 2007 and 2010, in the height of United States' crisis, Mexican workers excelled due to their contribution of 20% of the Gross Domestic Product, *GDP* (Delgado-Wise, Márquez & Gaspar, 2013). Paradoxically, Mexican migrant workers play a relevant part as containers of the crisis at the expense of higher exploitation, but at the same time, large groups are criminalized and deported. This punitive alibi is used to decrease the living and working conditions under the excuse of "better future times", while the corporate capital continues amassing large fortunes.

The labor force exodus crystallizes in the fact that 12 million Mexicans inhabit the United States. In the 90's, the neoliberal counter-reforms and the outbreak of the crisis, drove out the greatest human group: a yearly average of 466 thousand people migrated. The reinforcement and militarization on the border lowered the population stampede. Between 2000 and 2007, the average lowered to 280 thousand and as a collateral effect of the North American economy depression, it dropped slightly to 260 thousand in 2011 (Chiquiar & Salcedo, 2013).

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Although in the short term human mobility is uncertain to a point of reaching an apparent balance shown as zero net migration, the net flow indicates an increase of the trend. The expectation of economic growth implies the forecast of an upsurge in the Mexican emigration towards the United States in a range of 230 and 330 thousand per year for the period between 2011-2017 (Chiquiar & Salcedo, 2013). The rise on migration is due to a slight improvement of North American economy, especially in the automotive and construction sectors; besides the demand of high skilled workers and young people trained in technical fields such as engineering, mathematics and computer systems (Aragonés, 2012).

The United States' punitive policy reveals itself as a containment factor, but job insecurity and the dispossession of common goods in Mexico, revives the economic exile figure. The inclusion and exclusion mechanisms pretend to regulate the migration flow. Among documented immigrants, Mexicans rank among the highest to obtain United States citizenship, 102 thousand in 2012. However, due to the immigrant criminalization policy, between 350 thousand to 365 thousand undocumented immigrants are deported, most of them of Mexican origin.

By the end of Felipe's Calderon administration, echoing the reports that favored the idea of the *zero net migration* (Passel, Cohn & González, 2012); the ex-president celebrated the reduction of Mexican migration by a supposedly solid Mexican economy capable of offering employment, health and education. He even boasted that the boom motivated Mexicans return to a country full-fledged of opportunities (Ramos, 2012).

However, Mexico's neoliberal governments added three ominous decades to the national economy that spawned unemployment, poverty, insecurity and forced migration (Márquez, Delgado-Wise & García, 2012). Beyond the statistical optimism based on the *zero net migration*, the fact is that forced migration has not stopped; on the contrary, it is raging: compulsive migration to United States tops with a backflow of deportations and returns, the worst type of forced migration as it represents a second exile or economic banishment (Márquez & Delgado-Wise, 2013).

CRIMINALIZED MIGRANTS

Migrants' deportations and massive returns, largely of undocumented migrants, represent a type of *forced migration* (Márquez & Delgado Wise, 2013). In the lifespan of those who undergo this process, it means a second forced migration: people dispossessed, excluded, and impoverished who were banished when the subsistence expectation was inexistent; then swallowed up and exploited in unsafe and precarious jobs (some of them, not even that); and finally, expelled back to their country of origin (origin and destination seem to reverse its direction and meaning). Criminalization and detention, deportation and return answer to purging strategies of the labor market that intimidate the migrant community, lowering labor costs and making social movements take a defensive stance. This coercive and punitive policy lays the grounds for a migratory reform restrictive on its own right.

Far from a *zero net migration* —a supposed demographic stabilizing factor— the return of compatriots by deportation, unemployment, sickness or poverty, redirects forced migration into a larger downward spiral of social degradation. In this trance, people suffer criminalization, dismissal and impoverishment; their return symbolizes a second banishment. These forced migrants the excluded among the excluded.

In United States economic system, the undocumented migrants —called “illegal” or “irregular”— represent a sort of underclass formed by national or ethnic groups that roam in the shadows of underground economy, suiting the interests of employers and government. They contribute to the generation of economic surplus but earn the worst wages; they invigorate domestic consumption, but are among the poorest; they contribute to public treasury, but are excluded from public goods; they push demographic growth, but have no political rights.

United States' economic depression shifts the costs to the poor and promotes the dismissal as a defense mechanism of capital. Those considered “superfluous” become a “disposable” labor force. Symptomatically, the bulk of forced returnees are unskilled laborers, often their strength has worn off or are sick. In contrast, a renewed interest for attracting and keep-

ing scientists and technologists, those who constitute the conceptual work, keys to renew the production and capital competitiveness levers (Hinkelammert & Mora, 2003); additionally, the highly productive workers are kept, the liveliness of their work imbuing with vigor the strategic and profitable economic sectors.

The United States national security doctrine, obsessive and pernicious, invents “external enemies”, among them terrorists, drug dealers and immigrants (Calveiro, 2012). Within this context, the government assumes vigilance, punishment, detention, and deportation of the “undocumented” as the highest priority. Therefore, public funds are destined for migratory control —18 thousand million USD during 2012— exceeding the amount destined to ensure the compliance of other legislations -14 thousand million USD-; more than half of federal processes correspond to violations of immigration law (Meissner, Kerwin, Chishti & Bergeron, 2013).

To earn the *Latino vote*, Barack Obama used democratic rhetoric for his reelection campaign. Once reinstated in the White House, with the majority (71%) of immigrants backing him (Chacón, 2012), the ambiguity between speech and reality resumed. While proposing a migratory reform, supposedly to adopt a more humane migratory policy; he justifies the massive deportations of immigrants to reassure the fearful North American society. Twinned, democrats and republicans extol this crusade as a combat against “irregular” immigration and the expulsion of “criminals”. Clearly, this is an unfair stratagem that disregards the contribution of immigrants to production, consumption and the Treasury (Delgado-Wise, Márquez & Rodríguez, 2009).

Obama is consolidating himself as the president responsible for the largest wave of deportations of undocumented immigrants. If between 1892 and 1997, 2.1 million people were deported; by 2014, Obama could reach same number of recorded deportations in a century but in only six years (Golash-Boza & Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2013). The U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) estimates that about 500 thousand people are deported each year, so that Obama, the “closest” president to the migrant community, has deported 1.6 million immigrants (Marreno, 2013).

The commission of crime is the immediate excuse. Only in 2011, 188 thousand 382 foreigners were expelled, 25.3% of them were charged with activities related to illicit drugs, 23% other various offences, and 20% with breaking migratory legislation (Department of Homeland Security, 2012). In order to justify the criminalization and banishment, ICE usually changes the definition of “criminal immigrant”. Undocumented migrants’ criminalization varies; it may include reasons such as marihuana possession, speeding, domestic violence or entering the country without documents. Between 2009 and 2013, Obama’s office term, most of deported immigrants had no criminal record but they have been criminalized for being immigrants, and then deported as criminals. Many of them have been apprehended at their homes and workplaces. However, in the case of minor offences, which could have been solved by paying a fine, the undocumented workers end up being deported without being dangerous criminals (Alarcón & Becerra, 2012).

According to the Instituto Nacional de Migración (National Migration Institute INM, for its initialisms in Spanish), 1 200 Mexicans are deported on daily basis from United States. In the first semester of 2013, 189 493 repatriations were registered, and it is forecasted that the final figures for that year reach 400 thousand, exceeding the amount of 2012 (370 thousand) and closer to 2011 (405 thousand 500) (EFE, 2013).

United States government does not march alone. Deportations have Mexican government consent. The Humane Repatriation Program, which dates from 2007, transfers Mexicans to their places of origin; “benefitting” 267 thousand Mexicans in 2010 and 150 thousand in 2011 (Martínez, 2011). The Mexican Repatriation Procedure, previously referred to as voluntary repatriation, makes the air transfers to Mexico City or terrestrial to other parts of the country (Díaz, Martínez & Camacho, 2013).

RETURN AND HUMAN INSECURITY

Deportation procedure harms migrants’ dignified life. The people affected are not only the recent arrivals, but also people with deep work, education

and family roots. The onslaught has taken Mexican migrants as the most signaled victims.

With the perverse purpose of disorienting migrants, decouple them from human traffickers, and teach them a lesson that discourages them from attempting to return to United States' through its inhospitable territory, the deportees are dropped at the Mexican border, the zone with highest incidence of criminal violence. The geographic locations where they are often abandoned are hundreds of kilometers away from their capture sites. For example, those detained in southern Texas may be transferred to Mexicali. Suddenly, deportees become easy prey to criminal organization, particularly when it comes to Central Americans.

Family tragedies are written in the biographies of forced migrations. The dismemberment of families happen when parents of children born in United States are deported —this was the prevalent problem in 2012— and tension increases when one spouse is a legal resident. There are worse cases, when both parents are deported but the children are not. At least 5 100 children live in “foster care” due to detention or deportation of their parents and 15 thousand face the risk of parental separation (Wessler, 2011). In the first semester of 2012, over 46 thousand parents of American children were deported, and most of their offspring lives in absolute abandonment (Wessler, 2011). The highest risk is the final separation of parents and children; there are parents that do not know the whereabouts of their children, and can only assume that foster families embraced them, but they cannot rule out the possibility that they might be on their own.

The second forced migration chastens thousands of Mexican and Central American children who travel without an adult relative. Between 2011 and 2012, United States government expelled 32 thousand 653 children, of which 25 thousand 108 (almost 77%) who were reported as “unaccompanied”. In that period, between 10 087 and 6 804 Mexican minors that traveled alone were repatriated. The trend continues in the first quarter of 2013 —according to the INM—, 2 646 were repatriated, 2 164 of which were in vulnerable condition.

Mexican government fulfills its duty. In 2011 it deported 4 129 minors to their places of origin, Central American countries, of those, 2 801 were

without an adult companion; in 2012 they repatriated 5 958; 4 003 of them traveling alone; for 2013 the numbers are on the rise (Martínez, 2013). The problem of lone underage forced return is far more complex, because it underlines a network of human trade and trafficking, which operates with more intensively in the southern frontier and whose victims are women and minors.

Although return is not a new phenomenon, no comprehensive program for returning migrant reinsertion has been designed yet. The government responses remain fuzzy, remaining as promises of investment programs at regions of origin, provision of support, employment, credits, land, among others. In the absence of a social protection network and solidarity economy, the Mexican government implemented relevant programs of assistance. The fund *“Por los que regresan”* (For those who return) allocated federal funds to the Migration Institutes of the States to fund micro-projects at the towns of origin, such as grocery stores, crafts, carpentry, and welding and agricultural projects. The government pretends to address the lack of jobs and the tear in the socio-productive fabric with meager resources. For example, in Zacatecas, emblematic entity of the labor exodus and now its return, in 2010, 588 projects were backed with an \$8 million Mexican pesos fund; the operative scheme consists of \$12 500 Mexican pesos supplied by the local government and \$2 500 Mexican pesos supplied by the beneficiary to set up a micro business (Martínez, 2011).

MIGRATORY REFORM PROJECT: EXCLUSION AND CRIMINALIZATION

The migratory reform proposed by President Obama and United States democrats in order to legalize the residence of approximately 11 million “irregular” or “illegal” immigrants generated great support from migrant communities; however, it is necessary to take into consideration several contradictions it presents.

At least three conditionings underlie the migratory reform project: 1) the national security doctrine is the foundation that criminalizes undocumented immigrants and validates the extension of George W. Bush’s

project to seal the border by extending the border wall and the increase air and land police force; 2) the aggressive policy of immigrant detention and deportation undertaken by president Obama's administration which in fact, represents an ethnic cleansing prior to the migratory reform; 3) the perpetuation of the xenophobic speech that builds external enemies (immigrants, terrorists, and drug dealers) from the south or east, the unemployed and hungry hordes.

Historically, immigrants have contributed to the demographic reproduction, replenishment of labor force, generation of economic surplus, consumption, tax payment and the culture of the most powerful country in the world's capitalist system. This contribution is not been recognized. A speech signaling migrants as a burden to the society, the economy and the government persists. Impelled by that spirit, the reform is founded on several false assumptions.

On the first place, it presumes that migrants are tax debtors, and, that in order to gain citizenship, they have to pay back taxes. This trick is a deprivation of precarious family assets. Migrants pay direct labor taxes funding the retirement of native workforce; and pay indirect taxes through consumption. However, they are largely excluded from access to public goods and services. The collection of a false tax debt is an asset dispossession, which also becomes a contention barrier for applicants who must pay fines, fees and lawyers in amounts that can reach thousands of dollars per family, as part of a process that would last 10 years and would result burdensome for low-income workers, even those with two or three jobs. The immigrants would have to pay \$2 000 USD in fines and hundreds more in fees and pending taxes. Secondly, it is a discriminating measure against the poor since it calls for the candidates to be 125% above poverty level, in addition to meeting certain educational requirements and learning English. Thirdly, it rivets the criminalization of immigration, since people with criminal record are excluded, which opens a wide range of discretion to consider a person with record for minor infractions, not to mention that there are no guarantees of a due process.

Fourthly, migratory reform focuses on a policy of labor purging: behind the scenes unskilled personnel is detained and deported as a coercive

mechanism of labor and political control and deterrence of defensive social movements, while a policy of labor selection, with emphasis on H1 visas for skilled workers under a temporary schemes, which allows to tune the recruitment of “talents”. It is labor selective; shifting from a focus on families based with American citizens or permanent residents, to another one focused on the demand of workforce as a determining factor. It contemplates a visa issuance program for unskilled and skilled jobs, because North American economy is interested in attracting the flow of skilled labor: scientists, technologists, artists and athletes. This demand could increase the transference of highly-skilled workers, wrongly-called “brain-drain”, from developing countries. Fifth, for those selected a policy of undercover disciplining is imposed. Prospects are tested, as besides meeting the requirements they have to demonstrate an exemplary conduct for a decade and up to 13 years. Otherwise, the application declines. In the testing period, candidates will be impeded from accessing the benefits under the health reform, which means they will have to face the dilemma of acquiring a private medical service or paying for permanent residence. Employers will have to verify their workers’ legal status.

Ultimately, the reform is restrictive in terms of time when establishing the limit date of entry on December 31, 2011. In short, no one who has committed a felony or three or more misdemeanors will be eligible; the same goes for those who entered after December 31, 2011. Access to citizenship is tortuous; it would take immigrants 13 years to access the option of naturalization, the first 10 years they would keep a temporary legal status, having no access to federal benefits.

In general terms, the migratory reform is selective. Stripping beforehand the status of citizenship to large groups of criminalized immigrants—incarcerated or deported—and haggles the recognition from the prospects, who undergo an ordeal to achieve it; and is unfair because it does not recognize the contribution of migrant workers, but classifies them as debtors, a tax burden, and a potential threat to culture, so they have to be disciplined and educated in the values of the model of American life. Since most of the undocumented migrants have irregular jobs, like domestic workers, the requirements are hard to meet.

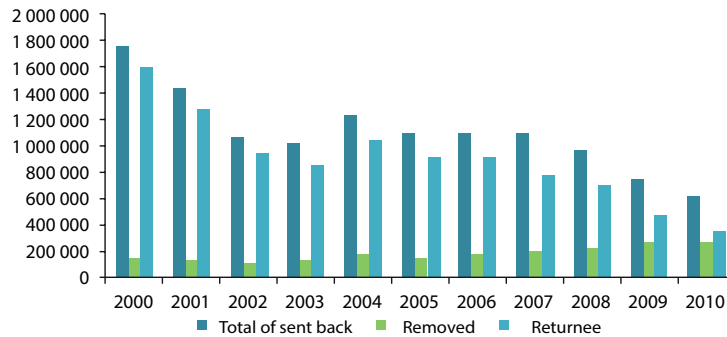
RETURNS AT NATIONAL, REGIONAL AND STATE LEVEL

Between 2000 and 2012, the repatriation of Mexicans from the United States shows an almost linear behavior with about 500 thousand; however, in 2009 it peaked (601 356) as a result of the 2007 crisis. In families, it is of notice a decrease in the participation of women and children returned from us and delivered to the National Migration Institute (INM). It has also been reported an increased presence of unaccompanied minors, going from 49% to 67% between 2007 and 2010; this represents an important challenge to education and health systems. Most of the repatriated minors as well as those over 18 are male.

According to the INM, the amount Mexicans apprehended has reduced, from 1 million 744 thousand events to 428 thousand, between 2000 and 2010. The general behavior of apprehended and returned Mexicans has been the same between 1996 and 2006; however, 2007 represents an important breaking point; since the returns exceeds the apprehensions due to the recrudescence of migratory policies.

Part of the strategies of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security and using their recently created offices, actions on the return of “irregular” Mexicans increased. The amount of “returned” —it refers to the removed based on a withdrawal order in the form of “criminal” or “non-criminal”—presented an important growing trend, going from 3% to 44% during 1995 and 2010. Returns imply changes in migratory circulation: inhibiting re-entry due to legal implications.

The removed trend seems to grow from its lowest point in 2002 with 122 thousand 58 events to its peak between 2009 and 2010 (see figure 1). The removed include “criminals” and “non-criminals”, which reveals interesting nuances, because 2 million 132 thousand 37 of the Mexicans removed between 2000 and 2010; 39% were classified as “criminals”; however, almost half of the events were reported from 2005, although in most of the cases the infractions committed were minor administrative misconducts.

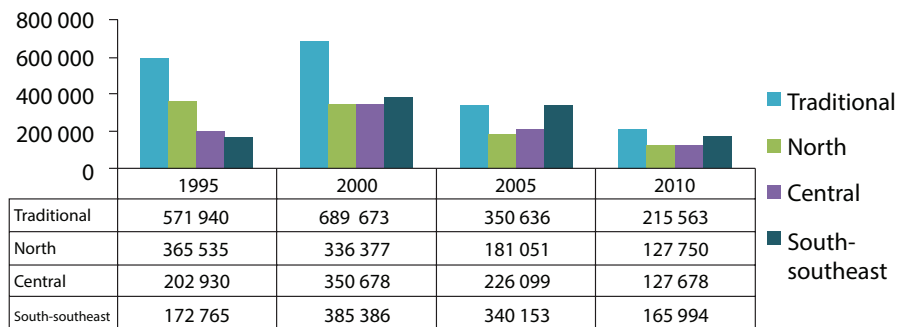


Source: Own elaboration based on data taken from Berumen et al. (2011:4).

Figure 1. Mexicans Returned by United States, According to the type of Return, 2000-2010.

In the case of the INM’s returnees category, an important increase was registered in 2004 with 1 million 054’531, considering that this estimate was obtained from the apprehension rate of Mexicans, as shown in the following graphic.

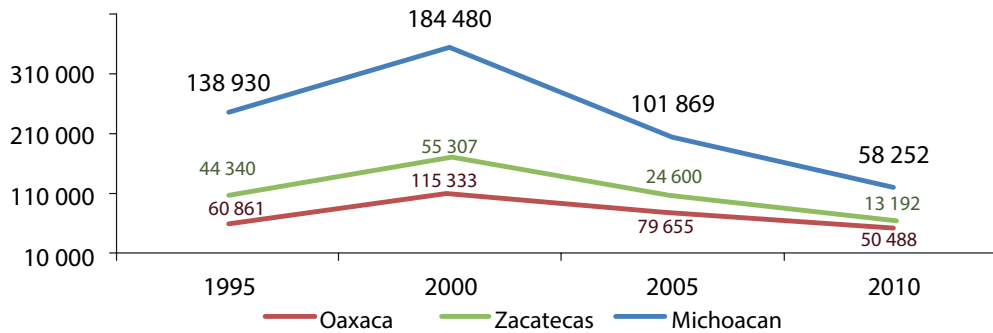
The importance of networks is shown in the volume of returned natives from emerging regions of international migration. Between 1995 and 2005, there was an increase of returns in Mexico’s south-southeast region. The growing incorporation to migration flow has not yet allowed the strengthening of support ties or networks that contribute to the crossing and labor insertion, for example Oaxaca. The traditional region has kept a negative behavior, as in 2010 represented approximately one third compared to 2000, as shown in figure 2.



Source: Own elaboration based on the INM Centre for Migration Studies Historical Data 2000-2012 and the Survey EMIF NORTE from 1995 to 2010.

Figure 2. Mexicans Returned by the United States by Birthplace 1995, 2000, 2005 and 2010.

Figure 3 shows the evolution of Mexicans returned by United States, for the selected states. Michoacán has a gradual decrease in the number of returned, going from 138 930 in 1995 to 25 253 in 2010. In the same period, Zacatecas from 44 340 returns to only 13 192. However, Oaxaca is noteworthy, because it shows a growth trend *ad hoc* to the behavior of the south-southeast region; going from 60 861 to 111 333 between 1995 and 2000, and then decrease to 50 488 in 2010.

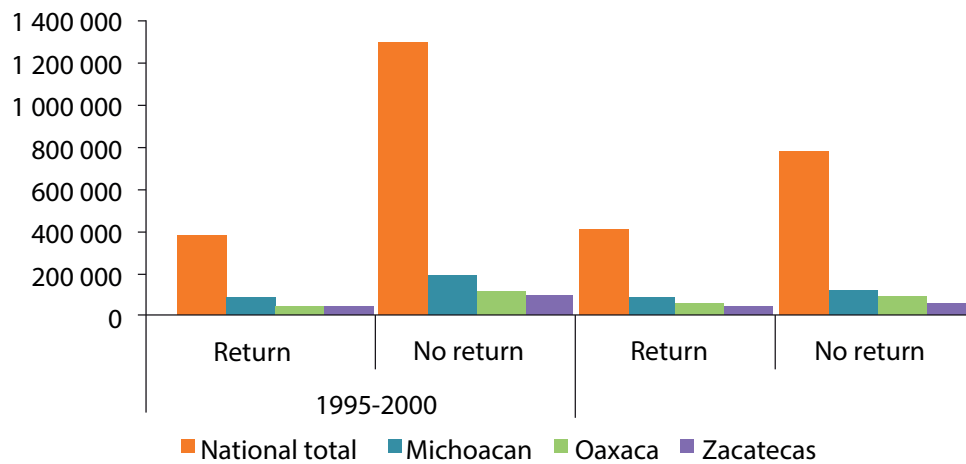


Source: Own elaboration based on the INM Centre for Migration Studies Historical Data 2000-2012 and the Survey EMIF NORTE from 1995 to 2010.

Figure 3. Mexicans Sent back by United States by Birthplace , 1995-2010.

According to the Census of Population and Housing 2005 and 2010 – from the Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (National Institute of Statistic and Geography (INEGI, for its initialisms in Spanish) — it is possible to see the return and no-return behavior at national and state levels. The taxonomy INEGI used to measure the return and no-return limits this variable, because between 1995 and 2000, the population that during this period went to live to another country and that during 2000 was living in Mexico was considered as return, but typified as no-return if the person was living in another country; however, the problem lies in not knowing if the people went to live to another country and resides in it, went through a return stage and migrated again during the five-year period selected; repeating the difficulty of measuring in 2010.

Figure 3 shows that on a national level between 1995-2000 and 2005-2010 the return increased from 284 806 events to 350 719; despite the methodological bias. The no-return decreased in the same periods from 1 million 350 719 to 723 310. Oaxaca shows a growth in the categories, return and no-return, because as it was pointed out, the absence of strong networks make the return a more plausible reality for the south-southeast region; for its part Michoacan does not present a return trend, according to the methodology of the census.



Source: Own elaboration based on the Population and Housing Census 2000 and 2010.

Figure 4. Return and No-return Migrants by State During the Five Years Terms of 1995-2000 and 2005-2010.

While low growth in the return variable is observed, and even in some cases a decrease, when the relative weight of returns is analyzed we can point out that Zacatecas (0.7%) and Michoacán (0.6%) show a high concentration of returns in regard of the national total, which is 0.3, the same as Oaxaca (INEGI, 2010).

To speak of 9 572 returnees in Oaxaca, 10 388 in Zacatecas and 25 892 in Michoacán represent an important burden to the entities and stress to work, housing, health and education demands; which means, this data reveal the importance of building a reinsertion plan, since working or looking for work as the reason of crossing, has maintained a high percentage during the period, oscillating between 91.2% and 83.8%.

According to data provided by the Survey on Migration in the Northern Border of Mexico in 2000, 2007 and 2011, in relation to the population born in Mexico and returned by the United States Border Patrol, the largest number of events was registered in 2000 with 808 277; while in 2011, 357 066 were reported. With reference to this data, the number of returned women decreased, as the percentage between 2000 and 2011 went from 18% to only 11.9%. Meanwhile, the percentage of accompanying minors under 15 dropped from 13.6% to 7.9%, in the same period.

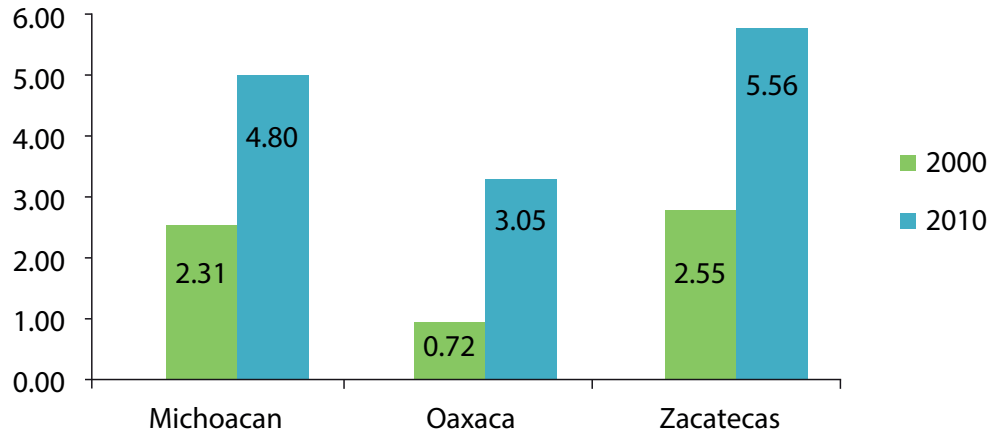
In table 1 we can see the decrease on the percentage of households that received remittances between 2000 and 2010 in Michoacan and Zacatecas; whereas in Oaxaca there was a small increase. The percentage of households with emigrants in the United States in the previous 5 years also decreased considerably in the two states of traditional migratory region; in the case of Michoacan the percentage went from 10.37% to 4.36%, and in Zacatecas from 12.18% to 4.50%. Likewise, the percentage of households with circular migrants in Michoacan went from 2.82% to 1.95%; Oaxaca had a slight increase from 0.56% to 0.90% and Zacatecas a decrease from 3.31% to 2.33%.

Chart 1. Migratory Indicators Overview 2000 and 2010.

	2000			2010		
	Michoacan	Oaxaca	Zacatecas	Michoacan	Oaxaca	Zacatecas
% Households receiving remittances	11.37	4.13	13.03	9.36	4.89	11.04
% Households with emigrants in the United States from the last five-year period	10.37	4.76	12.18	4.36	4.07	4.50
% Households with circular migrants from the last five-year period	2.82	0.56	3.31	1.95	0.90	2.33
% Households with returned migrants from the last five-year period	2.31	0.72	2.55	4.80	3.05	5.56

Source: Own elaboration based on data from INAMI, year 2000 and 2010.

The percentage of households with return migrants in the three states showed an important increase between 2000 and 2010, as shown in figure 5.



Source: Own elaboration based on data from INAMI, 2000 and 2010.

Figure 5. Percentage of Households with Return Migrants in the Past Five Years, Michoacan, Oaxaca and Zacatecas for 2000 and 2010.

TOWARDS AN INTEGRAL REINSERTION PROGRAM FOR MIGRANTS AND THEIR FAMILIES

Return brings with it an opportunity and a risk: the opportunity to channel labor skills of returnees for national development; the risk that a massive return puts at risk the weak Mexican labor structure. In the place to which they return, the challenge is to implement policies to support this group and their families. However, the three historical moments of pro-returning immigrant policies in Mexico failed to consolidate decisive actions.

Facing the deepening economic crisis of United States, deportations and return of Mexican migrants to the country in about 3 million people from 2008 to 2013, the public policies for migration must include the return as one of the dimensions of human mobility in Mexico. So far, there is only the Migrant Support Fund with \$200 million Mexican pesos for 24 states, with a contribution of \$12 500 Mexican pesos for every re-

turn migrant benefited to promote self-employment, which is insufficient considering the amount of people returning to the country.

In 2013, for the first time, the migratory issue was included in The National Development Plan in an explicit fashion, and by law, in 2014 the National Migration Plan, with its corresponding federal budget, must be formulated. Migrant organizations, civil society and scholars are collaborating in this activity. In this program it is feasible to integrate the Support for Integral Rehabilitation Program for Migrants and their Families with the following elements, among others: collaboration with migrant organizations in Mexico and United States and the state governments to aid a planned return with institutional support; the design of state funded support programs for return migrants with greater technical and financial support for the municipalities with highest migrant return rates; economic support for the return journey from the border to the communities or origin; technical training and economic support for the creation of sustainable human development; basic labor skills certification for migrants; labor certification for returning women and youths; temporary job programs and training in the municipalities with highest return rate; the creation of a Returning Migrant Job Bank managed by the National Employment Institute and the Ministry of Labor; strengthening of the Bi-national Education Program; consolidation of the National Health Program; family counseling for family and community reinsertion.

Such proposals are insufficient if there is no reorientation of economic policies implemented until now towards an increasing employment generation, better income and the strengthening sector development in the agriculture and industry fields, and regional development throughout the country.

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AS CONCLUSION: TWO LINES OF FRONTIER RESEARCH

*Raúl Delgado-Wise**

Among the multiple research topics that could integrate a research agenda on migration and development for Mexico's future, there are two that cross most of the topics covered by this book and that show particular interest in positioning the topic as a priority subject in the national agenda.

I. HIGHLY- SKILLED MIGRATION AND REESTRUCTURATION OF THE NATIONAL INNOVATION SYSTEM

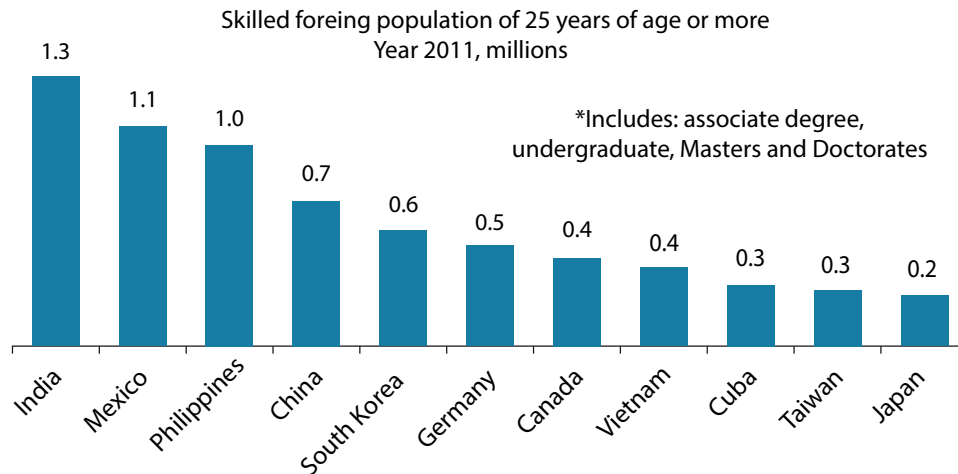
Justification

Mexico appears as the first Latin American country and sixth worldwide due to its highly-skilled migrants towards countries constituting the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, OECD (Dumont, Spielvogel Widmaier, 2010). The amount of Mexican professionals with an associate's, bachelors, master's and doctoral degree that live in the United States is 1.1 million, which places the country in the second place of skilled migration in that country, behind India (see figure 1). The amount of co-nationals with graduate studies —although relatively low in comparison with China and India— doubled in the last decade, to reach in 2011 a total of 129027 with a master's degree and 12026 with a doctoral degree. This amount equals 17% of all postgraduates in Mexico (Tuirán & Ávila, 2013).

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To this numbers 60 000 highly- skilled Mexicans as temporary migrant status are added (Rodríguez, 2009).

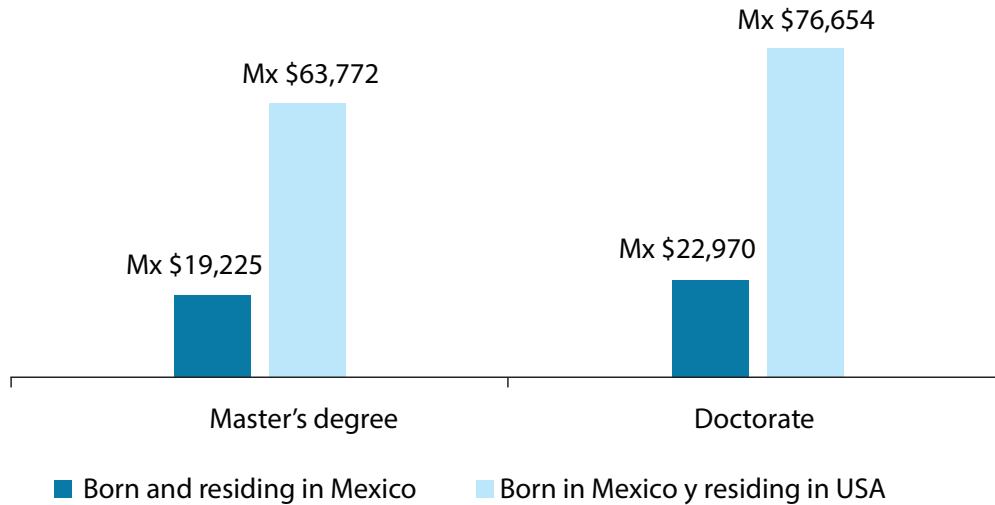
Beyond these shocking figures, it is important to point out that barely 54.7% of our co-nationals work in professional or managerial activities in the United States (with postgraduate studies, the proportion ostensibly increases: 74.3%) and that their salaries, including those from Mexican-origin professionals, tend to be lower than the rest of natives or immigrants. At a postgraduate level, wages situation of Mexicans and population of Mexican origin in the United States follow the same pattern. Anyway, it is important to stand out that while comparing these salaries with those they have in our country, the situations results more critical..



Source: SIMDE UAZ. Estimations based on the *U.S. Bureau of Census, American Community Survey (ACS) 2011.*

Figure 1. Highly-Skilled Immigrants in the United States by Country of Origin.

To that is added the low coverage of higher education that characterizes the country (30%), which emphasizes not only a limited training of human capital, but also a growing loss, waste and misuse of talents for national development. This situation gets great significance while considering the proportion of Mexican and Mexican-origin postgraduates in computing and systems analysis, science and engineering in the United States (immigrants and born in that country) in comparison to those living in Mexico, which represents 38%, 13% and 15% respectively.



Source: SIMDE UAZ. Estimation based on the *U.S. Bureau of Census, American Community Survey (ACS) 2011*.

Figure 2. Monthly Income in Mexican Pesos from the Work of the Population Residing in Mexico and in the United States with Postgraduate Studies, 2010.

In the academic and political discussion on skilled migration, the concept of “brain drain “ is abandoned and it is replaced by the notion of “brain and talent flow” (Meyer, 2011). With this change, pessimism and concern about skilled South-North emigration has been transformed into a rampant optimism that substitutes loss by gain. On this turn underlies the supposition that knowledge is, by itself, a benefit for all and that contact with highly-skilled co-nationals abroad generates synergies that enhance the development of the country of origin, no matter when, how, what or whom they work for. Both knowledge and research agendas are conceived as neutral, and similarly but in a less degree, intellectual property – i.e. the appropriation of scientific/technical products- is undervalued or ignored. Moreover, euphoria triggered around “talent flow” and the establishment of an outreach program with the “skilled diasporas” assumes that innovation creates through incubation processes, its own shackling to the productive, commercial, financial and service sector.

None of the assumptions on which promoters’ and followers’ optimism about “brain and talents flow” is based, has any support in the

reality of contemporary capitalism. However, this does not mean that the notion of “talent flow” must be totally cast aside. On the contrary, to make its suppositions explicit and look for mechanisms to be achieved, particularly for the benefit of national development, turns to be a useful referent for the design of coherent public policies in this matter. On this perspective, it is necessary to keep in mind the context on which skilled migration is deployed, particularly that coming from peripheral countries. It is essentially about a context marked by a profound restructuration of innovation systems globally, the US on top of the list, having great multinational corporations as central actors.

There are various elements that characterize this restructuration, among which we can mention:

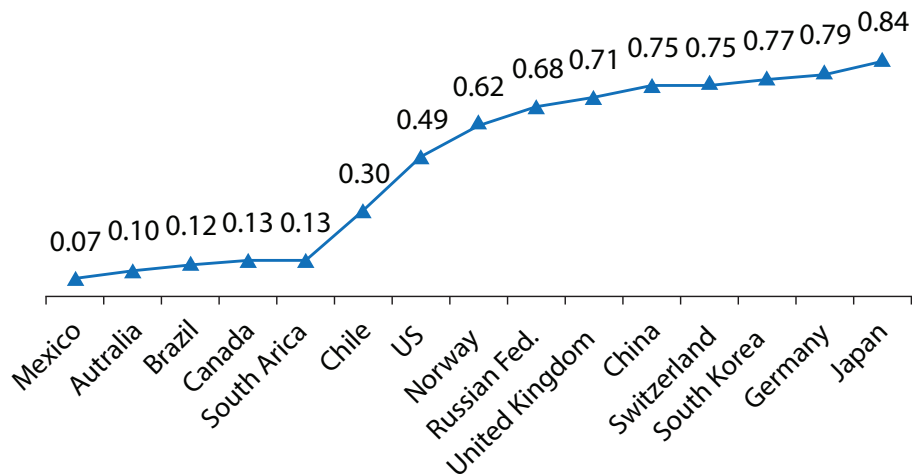
- 1) A higher internationalization and fragmentation of research and development activities;
- 2) the establishment of scientific cities — such as Silicon Valley and Route 128 in the United States, and the new “*Silicon Valleys*” settled in peripheral regions, mainly in Asia – where collective synergies are created to accelerate innovation dynamics under open or covered corporative control strategies (Sturgeon, 2003);
- 3) the development of new control forms of research agendas and products from scientific work (patents) by big multinational corporations, through the strategic investment (National Science Board, 2012; Partnership for a New American Economy, 2012; Rand Corporation, 2008), and
- 4) the expansion to the South-North horizon of highly-skilled labor force, particularly science and engineering and the increasing recruitment —via outsourcing and offshoring— of such labor force, especially significant in the case of peripheral countries (Battelle, 2012; Moris & Kannankutty, 2008).

It is important to point out that restructuration dynamics enables big multinational corporations to have a growing scientific-technological work force from the south to their service, to transfer risks and responsibilities

and capitalize ostensible benefits through patents concentration. Under this plot, it is produced an unprecedented commercialization of scientific work with a short-term vision, away from all social worries, where physical and indirect migration of highly-skilled personnel from peripheral or emerging countries plays a more significant role.

In this framework, it is important to include various additional elements that allow assessing the strengths and weaknesses of our country in the framework of the described context:

- 1) After China, Mexico is the country with the highest growth ratio of doctoral programs worldwide: 17.1% between 1998 and 2006 (Cyranoski, Gilbert, Ledford, Nayar & Yahia, 2011).
- 2) The offer of postgraduate programs in the country amounts to 8 522, from which 5 865 are master's degrees, 1 773 specialties and 884 doctoral degrees. These programs are offered by 1 423 institutions, from which 1 134 are private and 289 are public. 56% doctoral programs are part of PNPC (National Program of Quality Postgraduate Degrees), different from the master's degree programs, which only 16% are part of the same institution, while the highest concentration of such program is offered by private institutions (Sánchez Soler, Herrera & Ponce, 2012).
- 3) The growth of the *Sistema Nacional de Investigaciones* (National System of Researchers, SNI) from 12 096 to 18 554 in 2012, does not compensate the highly skilled migrations in the country, since in 2012, the number of repatriated were only 93 (Sánchez Soler, Herrera & Ponce, 2012).
- 4) In 2010, our country was granted 14 576 patents, from which 93.5% were from foreign applicants (Villa-Rivera, 2012). Similarly, Mexico is among one the most dependent countries on foreign technology worldwide (see figure 3).
- 5) On the other hand, this last number shows the practically null existence of the national innovation system. It is important to point out that Mexico is in the first place in Latin America regarding inventors' migratory corridors (Miguélez & Carstens, 2013).



Source: SIMDE UAZ. Elaborated base don the Ibero-American and Inter-American Network of S&T Indicators - RICYT. IMPI in numbers, 2011.

Figure 3. Self-Sufficiency Relation in Patents by Country.

Before this scenario, the great challenge for Mexico consists of counteracting the dynamics that encourage highly-skilled migration and decouple it from the development processes in the country, in order to built an institutional framework that allows the accretion and exploitation of Mexican highly-skilled population for the benefit of an important, trend-setting and sustainable national development project.

General objective

To know the dimensions, location, labor field, research lines, professional experience and possible academic leaderships of Mexican highly-skilled population living abroad, in order to be able to find out the reasons for their migration, as well as their expectations and institutional requirements for their link and/or reinsertion in science, technology and innovation development processes in Mexico and its link with the productive and social sector.

Specific activities

To analyze, by using information from *secondary sources*, mainly from census data and specialized surveys, the critical mass of Mexico's highly-skilled population that lives abroad: professionals, scientists, technologists, innovative entrepreneurs, according to the levels of qualification and countries of destination, pointing out areas of knowledge and type of labor integration.

To do and analyze a series of five *complementary surveys*, with a high representativeness level, to Mexican population groups that are doing or have finished postgraduate studies, in order to know the reason why they migrated or stayed in the country, as well as to know their expectations and institutional linking requirements and/or reintegration in the processes of science, technology and innovation development in Mexico and its link with the productive and social sector. The target population for these surveys include: I) Conacyt (National Council for Science and Technology) grant holders in Mexico (including foreigners); II) Conacyt grant holders abroad (including foreigners); III) former Conacyt grant holders; IV) members of the 27 chapters of the Mexican Talent Network Abroad (IME, in Spanish), and V) members of the Mexico's SNI, working and living abroad. Through this second activity, it is intended to reach a deeper knowledge of the reasons for the highly-skilled emigration, as well as research lines, professional experience and possible academic leaderships of Mexican population holding a postgraduate degree living abroad. A questionnaire will be defined for each of the target population groups for the surveys. Each questionnaire will be designed, answered and processed electronically. The first three and the fifth will be applied with the support of Conacyt Postgraduate Degree Directorate, and the fifth one by the IME. Design and proof (month two), supervision (months 3 to 6), processing and analysis (months 7 to 10) of surveys will be in charge of the project's research team.

To do an *analysis and strategic reflection meeting* in the framework of the world IME's talent network meeting —to be celebrated in November, 2013 in

Chicago, Illinois— about link alternatives and effective repatriation, as well as identification of research strategic lines and patents registration to strengthen the SNI and its landing in the productive sector. The purpose of this activity is to deepen on the problem of research with central actors from skilled diaspora, a group of experts on innovation and scientific/technologic development, institution representatives and technical support of specialist in group work, diagnosis and prospective planning.

To identify and analyze, in developed countries (such as the United States and Sweden) and emerging countries, (such as South Korea and Brazil), *successful experiences* to build an institutional structure that avoids drain or flow of national talent and enable an effective link with highly-skilled diaspora abroad and the eventual reintegration in activities regarding innovation and productive and social development of the country. For this activity, specific tasks will be commissioned to skilled experts, according to the reference terms prepared by the project's coordination.

To propose public *policies guidelines* to keep Mexican talents and link and/or reintegration of highly-skilled Mexican population living abroad, with a view to the development and strengthening of a national innovation system linked to the productive and social sector of the country. This is a synthesis and precision activity of the different results of the project, which will end with a seminary in Mexico City, to discuss the main results and conclusions of the project with a select group of representatives of Mexican highly-skilled diaspora, national scientific community (representatives of Academia Mexicana de Ciencias (Mexican Academy of Sciences AMC and the group UNESCO-MOST Mexico would be included), Conacyt and IME.

II. MIGRATION, DEVELOPMENT AND HUMAN RIGHTS, STRATEGIC INDICATORS

Justification

Migration has become a priority topic in the international agenda. Currently, there are 214 million migrants worldwide, three fourths of which come from peripheral countries. If we add to those other 740 million internal migrants, around one out of seven inhabitants of the planet lives in a country different from where he was born.

Mexico appears as the main emigrants country worldwide, with around 12 million co-nationals living in the United States and a 30 million Mexican-origin community in that country. Mexico stands out as the country with the higher amount of undocumented migrants worldwide (between six and seven million) and the first transit migratory corridor throughout the world. Even when Mexican migration towards the United States has a long tradition that dates back to the end of 19th century, the growth in the last three decades has been overwhelming, going from 2.2 million in 1980 to little more than 12 million in 2010. This dramatic population exodus has come along with deep qualitative transformations that modify many of the stereotypes of Mexican migration and pose the need to design a new analytic framework, capable of unraveling the multidimensional complexity of the phenomenon from a comprehensive and inclusive perspective. To this respect, it is important to point out that the academic and political debate on this topic has been permeated by a decontextualized, limited and unilateral point of view that serves the interests of migrants recipient countries and omits all considerations about migrants' human rights.

This point of view overlooks the context in which contemporary migration spreads out and ignores its underlying causes, under the supposition that human mobility is a free, voluntary act, alien to any kind of structural conditioning or national or supranational agents. Similarly, multiple contributions made by migrants to societies and countries of destination are skimmed on or even distorted, and on the contrary, beyond the impact

of remittances — which is usually overestimated- cost and multiple implications that migration has for countries and towns of origin are ignored.

The above poses the need to encourage new analytical perspectives and to build a series of firmly based strategic indicators to enable reconsidering the debate about migration, development and human rights and lead it to a demystified path, capable of offering new bilateral, multilateral and global negotiation elements, as well as of coherent public policies formulation.

General objective

To elaborate a reference framework and to build a series of strategic indicators to objectively and multidimensionally assess net impacts —positive and negative— of the Mexico-United States migration with a view to: I) promote the design of coherent public policies about migration, development and human rights; II) inform the public opinion of both countries about the real consequences of migration flows; III) strengthen the negotiation skills and contribute to Mexico's leadership in bilateral, multilateral and global forums in that matter.

Specific objectives

- Generate a group of strategic indicators to assess in a multidimensional way the impact in the origin, destination and transit.
- Generate an interactive information system and on-line consultation.
- Design a permanent monitoring system.
- Order the products to be the base of skills strengthening on:
bilateral, multilateral and global negotiations
design of coherent public policies
- Use the information generated to inform public opinion in Mexico, the United States and third countries regarding transit migration.

Methodological approach

The methodological approach would integrate impacts evaluation scheme in *three dimensions* and a *reference framework* for the strategic and structural analysis of the Mexico-United States migratory corridor.

The three key dimensions for the selection of strategic indicators are:

- 1) Impacts in countries of origin (and transit),
- 2) Impacts in countries of destination, and
- 3) Impacts on migrants and their families.

The reference framework for the evaluation would include:

- a) A causative analysis that includes the recent historical evolution and current situation of migration, in the light of development dynamics of each country and the asymmetric regional processes of integration between Mexico-United States and Northern Central America, with special attention to the North American Free Trade Agreement and the agents promoting it; and
- b) A prospective approach that covers the analysis of the possible evolution for the Mexico-United States migratory corridor and the extended corridor Mexico-United States-Northern Central America, considering the huge existent uncertainties around the US Immigrant Law, the evolution of the economies of the considered countries, as well as the regional integration dynamics among them; without losing sight of the perspectives of the main agents involved: Governments, International Organizations, Corporations and Civil Society.

Expected products

- 1) An articulated set of indicators for each of the strategic dimensions.
- 2) A database related to such indicators, including an interactive on-line consultation system.

- 3) A consistent methodology with the analytic perspective proposed and validated by a national and international experts panel to assess the impacts.
- 4) A proposal to strengthen Mexico's participation in bilateral, multi-lateral and global negotiations: Regional Migration Conference or Puebla Process; World Forum on Migration and Development; High Level Dialogue on Migration and Development; among others.
- 5) The design and implementation of a transnational observatory in order to keep databases permanently updated.
- 6) A curriculum for a training program, including the necessary materials; adaptation for different audiences: public servants, diplomats, parliamentarians and civil society organizations.
- 7) Implementation of a pilot training program.
- 8) Series of publications oriented to the opinion in Mexico and the United States.

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LINES OF ACTION FOR
THE FUTURE OF
Migration and Development in Mexico



Cooperative research on highly-skilled migration and restructuring of the Innovation National System

Purpose	<p>Know the dimensions, location, professional field, lines of research, professional experience and possible academic leaderships of highly-skilled Mexican population living abroad, focusing on the strengthening of our National Innovation System.</p>
Background	<p>Recent studies regarding the Highly-Skilled Migration topic demonstrate that around 140,000 Mexican migrants living in the United States, with postgraduate studies, have a disadvantageous entering into the most qualified workforce in that country, linked to the development of competitive advantages through innovation. This situation should be changed in order to overcome the double menace: talent drain and contribution to foreign benefit. A group of selected institutions in the country and some abroad have intended to deepen the exploration of the phenomenon and to contribute to the transformation of public policies, which determine such behaviors.</p>
Description	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Concrete and develop and alliance among institutions that have been participating in the research of such topics. • Analyze from secondary sources, Mexico's highly-skilled population critical mass living abroad. • Make complementary surveys to postgraduate Mexican-origin population groups to know the causes of their emigration or staying, as well the lines of research, professional experience and possible academic leaderships they have. • Arrange a meeting for analysis and reflection of strategic lines of research, link alternatives and effective repatriation. • Identify and analyze successful experiences that helped building institutional structure in developed countries in order to avoid national talent drain or waste. • Propose public policies guidelines to keep Mexican talents and the link or reinsertion of Mexican highly-skilled population living abroad, with a view to developing and strengthening a national innovation system linked to the productive and social sector of the country.

Potential impact	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Concrete and develop an alliance among institutions that have been participating on researching those topics. • Analyze from secondary sources, Mexico's highly skilled population critical mass living abroad. • Make complementary surveys to postgraduated Mexican origin population groups to know the causes for their emigration or staying, as well the lines of research, professional experience and possible academic leaderships they have. • Arrange a meeting for analysis and reflection of strategic lines of research, link alternatives and effective repatriation • Identify and analyze successful experiences for building institutional structure in developed countries to avoid national talent drain or waste. • Propose public policies guidelines to keep Mexican talents and the link and reinsertion of Mexican highly skilled population that live abroad, with a view to developing and strengthening an innovation national system linked to the productive and social sector of the country.
Participant institutions	<p>While the proposed institutions participating in the research would be the main actors, a second group, those interested in building capacity for their future development, could be integrated to a pilot program deliberated in this regard.</p>
Estimated time	<p>The design and consultation phase of the cooperative research alliance could be done in 4-6 months; the final expected results would extend over 4-5 years.</p>
Necessary resources	<p>For the alliance design and negotiation phase, around 800,000 pesos will be needed.</p> <p>The cost of execution of the projects included in the program has been estimated in 15 million pesos, distributed over a five-year period. A partial financing from Conacyt would be promoted, in the event that international organizations interested in the subject make contributions.</p>

Migration, development and human rights strategic indicators

<p>Purpose</p>	<p>Do an analysis framework and build a series of strategic indicators to objectively and multidimensionally assess net impacts, positive and negatives, of the Mexico-United States migration with a view to promoting the design of coherent public policies on migration; inform the public opinion from both countries about the real consequences of migratory flows, strengthen negotiation abilities and contribute to Mexico's leadership in bilateral, multinational and global forums in the field.</p>
<p>Background</p>	<p>Mexico stands out as the main emigrants country in the world, with about 12 million people living in the United States. It also stands out as the country with the higher number of undocumented migrants on the planet and the main transit migration corridor in the world. While Mexican migration towards the United States is a fact observed mainly at the end of the 19th century, its growth in the last three decades has been overwhelming: from 2.2 million in 1980 to over 12 million in 2010.</p>
<p>Description</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is suggested to start from an inter institutional research agreement for migration, development and human rights, addressed to the integration of a projects portfolio linked to a shared conceptual framework. • At a first approach, specialists from participant institutions would make projects proposals that according to their experience, could significantly contribute to understand the phenomenon, its determining factors, its effects and consequences. • Proposals would be presented in a work meeting, the final product of which would be the expected portfolio. • The final products would be: an articulated group of indicators, a database related to them, the design and implementation of transnational observatory that allows to keep it updated, a methodology for impacts evaluation, a proposal to strengthen Mexico's participation in international negotiations, curriculum for a training program and publications addressed to shape public opinion.
<p>Potential impact</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Existing research capacities would be used and different disciplinary points of view would be converged. • A seed of cooperative research would be planted, which could enlarge the scope of the research regarding this phenomenon.

Participant institutions	The same that participated in the session referred to in the book: UNAM, The College of Mexico, University of Zacatecas, University of Guadalajara, FLACSO and some others.
Estimated time	The design and consultation phase could be done within 4-6 months; expected final results would be obtained in 4-5 years.
Necessary resources	<p>For the research and portfolio design phase around 2 million pesos would be needed.</p> <p>The projects' implementation cost included in the portfolio has been estimated to be 15 million pesos, distributed over a five- year period. A partial financing from Conacyt would be promoted, in the event that international organizations interested in the subject make contributions.</p>

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