



MEXICAN ENTREPRENEURIAL MIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES: OPEN QUESTIONS, POLICY CHALLENGES

Elizabeth Salamanca, Ph.D.
Nonresident Scholar, Mexico Center

April 2017

© 2017 by the James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy of Rice University
This material may be quoted or reproduced without prior permission, provided
appropriate credit is given to the author and the James A. Baker III Institute
for Public Policy.

Wherever feasible, papers are reviewed by outside experts before they are released.
However, the research and views expressed in this paper are those of the individual
researcher(s) and do not necessarily represent the views of the James A. Baker III Institute
for Public Policy.

Elizabeth Salamanca, Ph.D.

“Mexican Entrepreneurial Migration to the United States: Open Questions,
Policy Challenges”

Introduction

During the last decade, high-skilled migration has captured the attention of policymakers, academicians, the private sector, and nongovernmental organizations. This growing interest is due to the contribution of high-skilled migration to the economic development of both sending and receiving countries and to its relevance as a pool of qualified human resources in an era of talent shortage. In the specific case of Mexico, despite the traditional view of migration as a phenomenon taking place among the poorest and least qualified sectors of the population, the number of high-skilled migrants has been rising while the migration of Mexicans with a low education and socioeconomic level has decreased. The growing migration of high-skilled Mexicans has the potential to affect the relationship between Mexico and the United States because it creates both opportunities and risks. In this paper, I propose a set of questions that need to be answered in order to have a clearer picture of the current and potential implications of the increasing entrepreneurial migration from Mexico to the United States. The first section of this paper places high-skilled migration within the larger context of human mobility. The second section presents some figures about high-skilled migration in Latin America and specifically in Mexico; then the analysis centers on facts about entrepreneurial migration. The core section of this paper raises several clusters of questions about entrepreneurial migration that have been only partially covered or not considered at all. The purpose is to encourage researchers to answer these questions and policymakers to incorporate such research into their proposals. I will also suggest some of the practical implications of the answers to such questions.

High-Skilled Migration Within Human Mobility

International migration is a dynamic phenomenon that has been analyzed from many different angles and perspectives. Globalization, neoliberalism, and economic restructuring have facilitated a noticeable increase in migration (Eraydin, Tasan-Kok, and Vranken 2010), creating one of the most remarkable demographic, social, and psychological events in today's world (Kloosterman and Rath 2003; Lozano Ascencio and Gandini 2012; Gonzalez-Gonzalez and Bretones 2013). According to the International Migration Report of the United Nations (2016, 5), the number of international migrants worldwide grew rapidly over the past 15 years, reaching 244 million in 2015, up from 222 million in 2010 and 173 million in 2000. It is then clear why some scholars consider the 21st century to be the century of migrant societies and why migration is an issue of multilateral interest (United Nations Development Program 2012). During the last 40 years, a vast number of academic articles about this phenomenon (focusing on reasons, profiles, circumstances, consequences, etc.) have been written, many of them devoted to studying the movement of people from less developed countries to developed ones in search of better economic and social opportunities. Even though the traditional immigrant (poor, illiterate, and socially vulnerable) has been the main focus of the literature, the emergence of several immigrant groups with diverse backgrounds and profiles, together with new agreements and more/less flexible migration rules between countries, has led to the examination of migration from a broader perspective.

The multifaceted nature of migration calls for the use of a comprehensive term encompassing the reasons, consequences, context, and actors involved in this phenomenon. Increasingly, the term “human mobility” has played that role. It allows for an all-inclusive approach to analyze migration issues from the personal, economic, and institutional perspective (Curci and Mackoy 2010); the term also recognizes the existence of diverse causes, effects, and circumstances surrounding mobility. Such circumstances vary according to the capacity of people to decide where, when, and why to move, the support they receive, their desire to return home, and their possibility of doing so (Furnham 2010, 24). In fact, the United Nations Development Program uses this term—human mobility— “to broaden and rebalance perceptions of migration to reflect a more complex and highly variable reality” (2009, iii). Hernández León (2012) also relies on this term to characterize migration as an “industry” that involves legal, illegal, formal, and informal activities, and as a social process articulated by governments, employers, migrants, networks, and nongovernmental organizations. The way these human mobility processes are carried out and their results vary with context, conditions, and resources (OIM 2012, 21). The Human Development report of the United Nations dispels some misconceptions about human mobility, such as the perception that most migrants are victims; on the contrary, many of them are successful, both before they leave their original home and on arrival in their new one (United Nations 2009, V). “Human mobility ... comprehends all forms of movement of people, such as refugees, asylum seekers, international migration, forced mobility driven by transnational crimes (human trafficking), mobility caused by environmental issues, and mobility within the framework of systems' integration”¹ (OIM 2012, 17). This paper, however, focuses on international migration as a voluntary movement of people from their customary residence to settle temporarily or permanently elsewhere (OIM 2012, 30).

Among other types of migratory flows, that of highly qualified people has attracted the attention of academicians (Portes 2007, 2009), due to its unprecedented growth in the last two decades (Lozano Ascencio and Gandini 2011; Matiz Bulla and Hormiga 2011; Tuirán and Ávila 2013), both in absolute terms and in comparison to that of medium- and low-skilled migrants (Lozano Ascencio and Gandini 2012, 10). Research about high-skilled migration started in the mid-1960s as a result of the scientific brain drain that the British economy was suffering (Koser and Salt 1997, 285). This kind of migration comprehends a broad set of individuals such as scholars, professionals (lawyers, physicians, architects, scientists, etc.) organizational and self-initiated expatriates, and entrepreneurs. The heterogeneity and dynamism of this high-skilled group calls for the emergence of specific and contextualized studies (Favell, Feldblum and Smith 2007; Rodríguez-Gómez 2009; Lozano Ascencio and Gandini 2011, 680). The need for specialized studies is evidenced by the lack of agreement within the existing literature on a single term for high-skilled migration, with different terms used depending on the meaning ascribed to “expertise,” “skill,” “migration,” and “movement” (Koser and Salt 1997). Furthermore, a deeper study of high-skilled migration is critical for researchers and policymakers, as this type of migration

¹ A system integration framework refers to regional, global, and cross border integration through specific bilateral or multilateral agreements; for example, the movement of European students under the ERASMUS program takes place within a system integration framework.

may contribute to innovation and development (Chrysostome and Lin 2010; Anderson and Platzer 2006, as cited in Thai and Turkina 2013) and reduce otherwise required investments in education and training in both sending and receiving countries (Nijkamp et al. 2009b; Ozgen et al. 2010, as cited in Sahin et al. 2012).

Mexican High-Skilled Migration

The Latin American and Caribbean region has been very dynamic in terms of high-skilled migration. Lozano Ascencio and Gandini (2010) found out that this region experienced the highest relative world growth of skilled migration between 1990 and 2007; they confirmed this result in a later study (2011, 686) determining that, between 1990 and 2008, high-skilled migration increased by 164% in this region. Within the Americas, Mexico is the country that best portrays the multidimensional nature of international migration (Comisión Interamericana de Derechos Humanos 2013, 26). In terms of qualified migration, Mexico is the country with the biggest number of high-skilled emigrants among the Latin American and Caribbean nations (Lozano Ascencio and Gandini 2012). Moreover, it occupies the sixth place in the world in terms of the number of high-skilled migrants (Cruz-Piñero and Ruiz-Ochoa 2010; Tuirán and Ávila 2013). As Zúñiga and Molina (2008) assert, the skill level of Mexican migrants is gradually increasing. The vast majority of them move to the United States (Lozano Ascencio and Gandini 2012). Actually, Tuirán and Ávila (2013) report that, from 2000 through 2012, the number of high-skilled migrants born in Mexico and residing in the United States has grown by a factor of 2.4. Furthermore, the authors state that one out of 10 Mexicans with a higher education degree (undergraduate level) and more than one out of four with a postgraduate degree live in the United States (p. 49). Chiquiar and Salcedo (2013, 12) also confirm this by showing that, even as the total number of Mexicans in the United States stopped growing or even declined during recent years, the skilled Mexican population in the United States continued to increase (both in gross numbers and as a proportion of Mexicans in the United States). In fact, the pool of university-educated Mexicans in the United States is growing faster than the pool of equivalent individuals in Mexico (Zúñiga and Molina 2008, 10). What is more, the annual growth of controlled admissions of high-skilled Mexicans to the United States has been impressive: from 5,500 in 1995 to around 36,000 in 2008 (Cruz-Piñero and Ruiz-Ochoa 2010). The Pew Research Center (2015, 15) reports that, compared with 1990, Mexican immigrants in 2013 were considerably better educated (42% with high school diploma or more vs. 24% in 1990); around half of these high-skilled Mexicans got their degree in Mexico.

These figures demonstrate that skilled migration from Mexico to the United States clearly deserves more attention in terms of both public policy and research. Nonetheless, the number of studies focused on this group of Mexican migrants is still low (Cruz-Piñero and Ruiz-Ochoa 2010) and the published data about Mexican skilled workers' mobility is scarce (Rodríguez-Gómez 2009) and not consistent among different information sources. This inconsistency is mainly due, as previously stated, to the lack of a uniform and coherent definition of skilled and high-skilled migrants. This is not a new problem since, in the 1990s, Koser and Salt (1997) already reported that data on highly skilled migrants were extremely partial, fragmented, and difficult to compare (p. 289). It is then necessary to conduct a far-

reaching, quantitative and qualitative, longitudinal analysis of this mobility segment. As the Post-2015 United Nations Development Agenda states, it is urgent to generate “comparable, reliable, timely, and accessible data ... to better assess migration trends, and, in particular, to enhance the impact of migration for human development at the national, regional, and international levels” (United Nations Development Program 2012, 12).

Entrepreneurial Migration Within High-Skilled Migration

Up to now, most research on professional migrants has focused on disciplines such as engineering, computer sciences, and information technologies. In contrast, high-skilled migrants performing in other areas such as management, marketing, law, and entrepreneurship, to name a few, have not been carefully studied. Immigrant entrepreneurship lies at the intersection of social (immigration) and business (entrepreneurship) disciplines (Chrysostome and Lin 2010, 82). It constitutes a kind of human mobility that deserves more attention. As Thai and Turkina (2013) assert, the forces of the current globalizing economy intensify entrepreneurial migration, which is a positive factor because entrepreneurship is an essential activity of Western economies and plays a relevant role in the revival of small businesses (Piperopoulos 2010, as cited in Robertson and Grant 2016). The Kauffman Foundation (2015) states that 28.5% of new entrepreneurs (on a global basis) in 2014 were immigrants, which is up from 13.3% in 1997.

Researchers started to get interested in ethnic entrepreneurship in the 1970s due to the increase in business ventures among immigrant populations (Reynolds et al. 2004; Rueda Armengot et al. 2010, 378). From then on, the involvement of traditional (necessity-driven) immigrants in entrepreneurial activities has been extensively covered in the literature, where it has been discussed as a self-employment alternative to traditional migration. (Waldinger and Aldrich 1990; Body-Gendrot and Ma Mung 1992; Rath and Kloosterman 2000; Ndoen et al. 2002; Light 2004). Actually, scholars have generated a significant number of studies about ethnic firms from a cultural, a structural or contextual, and/or an integral approach (Rueda Armengot et al. 2010); nevertheless, the business experience of so-called “opportunity-migrants” has received little attention. In addition, some authors such as Collins (2003, as cited in Ensign and Robinson 2011) have concluded that “immigrants remain confined to low-value, low-profit segments of the business world that offer little benefit to the established mainstream society” (p. 34); this ignores the fact that the emergence and growth of opportunity-migrant entrepreneurs show that this “new migrant class” often starts a new business as a first choice and not just as a second-best option when jobs are hard to find (Li 1992; Kloosterman and Rath 2001, 193; Hiebert 2003). Indeed, high-skilled migrants do not necessarily limit their business activities to ethnic enclaves; they achieve enormous success because their motivation to become self-employed is not related to exclusion or necessity but to opportunity and autonomy (Rodríguez-Gómez 2009; Barakat and Parhizgar 2013). As Koser and Salt (1997, 287) state, some highly-skilled people may move for reasons unrelated to their expertise. Rath and Kloosterman (2000) make reference to the more accentuated entrepreneurial spirit and the lower risk aversion of high-skilled migrants (Kloosterman and Rath 2003). Li (2001, as cited in Robertson and Grant 2016, 2) suggests that the odds of self-employment

are increased for immigrants with higher educational qualifications. In fact, the number of very highly skilled immigrant entrepreneurs is rapidly growing (Kloosterman and Rath 2001). This recent wave of immigrants is involved in setting up companies, freelance work and/or self-employment. These activities lead to wealth, work generation, competition, and innovation (Kloosterman and Rath 2003; Altinay and Altinay 2006; Mushaben 2006; Chrysostome and Lin 2010; Ensign and Robinson 2011; Gonzalez-Gonzalez and Bretones 2013; Tuirán and Ávila 2013). These migrants develop valuable and sustainable business plans (Matiz Bulla and Hormiga 2011; Sequeira and Rasheed 2006, as cited in Barakat and Parhizgar 2013).

Aliaga-Isla and Rialp (2012) discuss the economic role of immigrant entrepreneurship from a three dimensional approach: the micro-level in terms of increasing employment opportunities for immigrants; the meso-level in terms of the revitalization of trade and the creation of substantial investment flows; and the macro-level in terms of the recovery of under-performing areas of the economy (p. 61). In like manner, the potential contribution of opportunity-migrant entrepreneurs to economic development is enhanced by their appealing profile (a university degree, international experience, entrepreneurial experience, industry expertise, international connections, and technical capability [Zolin and Schlosser 2013]). Nonetheless, an in-depth academic treatment of this high-skilled migrant group is still incomplete (Kaushal and Fix 2006; Barakat and Parhizgar 2013). As Ndoen et al. (2002) state, migrant entrepreneurs are underrepresented in the migration literature. Thai and Turkina (2013) also note that the entrepreneurship literature has little to say about the characteristics, causes, and effects of entrepreneurial migration. Furthermore, Barakat and Parhizgar (2013) assert that the studies focused on immigrant entrepreneurship in the United States have historically concentrated on unskilled immigrants (p. 104). Moreover, the emergence of high-skilled immigrant entrepreneurs in the United States is a more recent phenomenon that has largely taken place over the last three decades.

In the specific case of Hispanics, Reynolds et al. (2004) found out that those with higher income levels and male Hispanics with higher education levels are more likely to be involved in business start-up activities. As a matter of fact, Hispanic-owned businesses in the United States are growing at 15 times the national growth rate of new businesses, a trend that has been sustained for at least the last 10 to 15 years. From 2007 to 2015, the revenue of Hispanic-owned businesses jumped by an astonishing 88% (Geoscape 2015, 8).

The study of Mexican entrepreneurs' experience moving to the United States in the last decade has been inadequately studied. As previously stated, Mexican entrepreneurial migration needs to be understood from a holistic perspective that takes into account the economic, personal, and institutional factors shaping this phenomenon. The analysis of these factors leads to the formulation of several unanswered or partially answered questions about specific topics surrounding Mexican entrepreneurial migration. These include the profile of these entrepreneurs; the profile of their business ventures; the push, pull, and retention factors behind their mobility decision; the characteristics of the institutional environment surrounding their business activities; the role played by networks in their entrepreneurial

initiatives; the likelihood of undertaking a transnational migration; and the duration of their of their migration. The next section presents a list of questions related to each one of the aforementioned topics. The aim of posing those questions is to exhort researchers to answer them, so that eventually policymakers can count on more accurate and reliable information to plan and execute targeted and effective policies.

Unresolved Questions About Mexican Entrepreneurial Migration

Due to the increasingly diverse background of migrant entrepreneurs, the development of a typology would be useful to better understand their profile, their motivations, and the influence of the contextual factors (systems of interaction and social conditions [Hedström and Bearman 2009, as cited in Storti 2014] on their business ventures [Sahin et al. 2012])). By the same token, it would be enriching to determine if these migrants are able to face, shape or even remodel the existing opportunity structure (economic, market, and legal conditions) in their favor (Barakat and Parhizgar 2013). Previous studies have proposed a generic profile of high-skilled migrants (Rodríguez-Gómez 2009; Tuirán and Ávila 2013) but very few (Rueda Armengot et al. 2010) have developed a specific one for entrepreneurial migration. A whole set of factors such as educational attainment rates, individual or family personal wealth, demographics, age of enterprise, age of owner, and access to financial capital have been identified as significant variables in explaining Latino self-employment among traditional migrants (Robles and Cordero-Guzmán 2007). However, this research agenda has not fully covered opportunity-migrants, even though a few studies have tried to provide a general description of their profile (Wang and Li 2007; Chrysostome 2010). The general description of this migrant class refers to highly educated people, with a graduate degree from the host country, proficient in English, and with solid work experience. Moreover, as Chrysostome (2010) states, such individuals have access to the financial institutions of the host country and target mainstream industries and labor markets. Nonetheless, there are open questions about the link between entrepreneurial migrants' personal characteristics (gender, education, profession, cultural background, life experience, skills, knowledge, competences, learning capacity) and the kind of business opportunities they undertake. In the same vein, there is not enough information about the relationship between migrant entrepreneurs' profile and their propensity to remain or leave the receiving country (the United States in this case). This profile poses further questions. For example, is there a different entrepreneurial profile and behavior of high-skilled Mexican migrants depending on their location in the United States? Is it different according to the sector of their ventures?

Likewise, few studies have focused on the venture strategy and venture performance of immigrant businesses (Curci and Mackoy 2010; Achidi and Priem 2011). Even though the literature has analyzed country-specific immigrant entrepreneurial experiences, there is not enough information about the characteristics of high-skilled Mexican entrepreneurial ventures in the United States. Nor is there is a precise categorization of their businesses. Are most of them start-ups? Are they still ethnocentric enterprises? Are they established businesses integrated into the mainstream business community? How different are Mexican entrepreneurs' professional activities from those ones performed in their home

countries? What are the most common obstacles (access to information, ignorance of government regulations, poor understanding of local market forces, language barriers, poor business networks [Clydesdale 2008]) faced by these entrepreneurs? In addition, does hostility toward Mexican high-skilled entrepreneurs (which exists with necessity-migrant entrepreneurs) in the host society (the United States in this case) hinder their ability and motivation to undertake business ventures? Is there a significant number of successful entrepreneurial projects among Mexican contemporary immigrants? If there is, what are the main success factors (venture strategy and performance)? How does the business itself (sector, location, business age) affect the success of migrant entrepreneurs? Does the success of the entrepreneurial endeavor vary according to the city in the United States where it is executed? The research agenda must explore the factors that influence the success of opportunity-migrant entrepreneurs.

Some exploratory studies about entrepreneurial groups moving to the United States have shed light on the push, pull, and retention factors surrounding this kind of mobility and have generated stimulating hypotheses (Bates and Dunham 1993; Lorca, Alonso, and Lozano 1997; Fernández and Kim 1998; Shinnar and Young 2008; Zúñiga and Molina 2008; Kans et al. 2009; Brenner et al. 2010; Matiz Bulla and Hormiga 2011; United Nations Development Program 2012; Barakat and Parhizgar 2013; Salamanca 2015; Robertson and Grant 2016). However, there is not enough and accurate information concerning the importance of each one of these factors, the obstacles that these entrepreneurs have encountered, their level of cross-border mobility, and their business' profitability (Barakat and Parhizgar 2013). Moreover, the complexity of the migration phenomenon requires that it be conceived of as a multidimensional social process supported by home and host countries' economic, social, political, cultural, and idiosyncratic factors (Lozano Ascencio and Gandini 2011). For instance, when analyzing the case of traditional migrants, it has been argued that immigrants become entrepreneurs due to push factors (meager wages, few opportunities, primitive conditions, political persecution, language barriers, discrimination) (Light 1984; Omar 2011 as cited in Barakat and Parhizgar 2013). However, are these factors equally important in the case of opportunity-migrants or are pull elements (independence, autonomy, self-reliance, individualism, education and health opportunities, higher earnings potential, ability to accommodate family needs) the main forces behind their entrepreneurial decisions? It is a complex task to determine and classify motivations because a push factor may underlie a pull factor (Robertson and Grant 2016, 9). In addition, there can be some motivations that are not so evident or that are not explicitly recognized by entrepreneurs themselves as such. These could include the search for prestige and recognition, self-esteem needs, the desire to keep their social identity, or even more pragmatic reasons such as finding an easier mechanism to get a specific type of visa that can be more efficient for their purposes. These motivations need to be further examined.

In addition, a lot of attention has been given to the influence of the host societies' institutional environment (opportunity structure) on migrants' entrepreneurial activity but far less to the impact of the home country's institutional environment (circumstances of migration itself) (Matiz Bulla and Hormiga 2011). For instance, previous studies have found that high-skilled entrepreneurial migration does not necessarily take place in order to profit

or to seize a business or commercial opportunity but rather, to leverage a better life style and greater educational opportunities for children (Ho 2002, as cited in Clydesdale 2008). Apparently this is the case of many Mexican migrant entrepreneurs. The institutional environment will determine to a great extent the migration pattern of entrepreneurs. The intention to stay in the receiving country (United States in the case under analysis) is higher if the migrant has a higher level of education (Ndoen et al. 2002). Thus, Mexican entrepreneurial migration research must also determine the kind of migration pattern this new migrant class is adopting. Are Mexican entrepreneurs migrating temporarily (sojourner orientation)? Are they initially migrating for a short period of time but later stay longer? If this is the situation, why are they deciding to remain in the United States?

The mixed embeddedness approach (which stresses the interplay among the social, economic, and institutional contexts) suggested by Kloosterman et al. (1999) or referred to as a two-pronged approach by Barakat and Parhizgar (2013) needs to be revisited. Such an approach helps to determine if the role played by networks (meso-level structure/concrete embeddedness) among the traditional Mexican immigrants² is equally important for the well-off Mexican immigrants. Some researchers (Marlow 1992, as cited in Sahin et al. 2012) have found that high-skilled migrant entrepreneurs do not appear to benefit from or even use social networks because “their higher level of human capital makes them less dependent on their ethnic communities” (Sequeira and Rasheed 2006, 368). In other words, social or bonding capital is not a crucial development mechanism for this new migrant class. Moreover, these migrants do not rely on an ethnic market and do not limit their workforce to ethnic workers (Chrysostome and Lin, 2010, 79). In contrast, other studies have determined that entrepreneurs profit from more developed and deeper social networks (Froschauer 2001; Sequeira and Rasheed 2006; Barakat and Parhizgar 2013; Robertson and Grant 2016). In any case, research on the effects of social connections on immigrant entrepreneurship has been rather limited, displaying a lack of empirical studies (Thai and Turk 2013). Likewise, deeper studies about the role played by these immigrants’ nuclear family are needed to better understand their relocation motivations.

Finally, due to the changing economic role of immigrants (Zolin and Schlosser 2013), transnationalism has been another major research field when studying migration (Wong and Ng 2002; Vertovec 2004; Saxenian 2005; Portes 2009; Lin 2010). In this context, transnationalism is understood as a set of cross-border relations and practices that connect migrants with their societies of origin (Guarnizo 2003). Some researchers have suggested that the participation of immigrants in transnational activities is likelier when they are more educated and have a solid economic position in the host country (Portes, Guarnizo, and Haller 2002; Guarnizo, Portes, and Haller 2003; Portes, Escobar, and Walton Radford 2007, as cited in Portes 2009, 9). In the same vein, Favell, Feldblum, and Smith (2007, 18) suggest that, in a more globalized world, high-skilled people might potentially be hyper-mobile entrepreneurs who are now able to stay at home with the emergence of technological industries or, when they do migrate, use transnational networks and

² See the work of Waldinger et al. 1990, Werbner 1990; Portes 1995; Song 1997; Light and Gold 2000; Rath 2000; Rath and Kloosterman 2000; and Engelen 2001 about the role of networks among traditional migrants.

contribute to the economic development of their countries and regions of origin. Nonetheless, there are still many pending questions about the transnational behavior of Mexican migrant entrepreneurs. Does it exist? If it does, how does it take place? What are the main characteristics of transnational Mexican migrant entrepreneurs? What are the main drivers and factors affecting their success? What kind of role do remittances play when they are sent by high-skilled immigrant entrepreneurs? Traditionally, remittances sent back home by necessity-immigrants have not been considered as developmental because they are used for consumption, but what happens when they are sent back home by highly qualified migrants? Are they invested in productive, innovative projects? Or is it more common that this money is reinvested in the host economy instead of sending it back to the home country?

Discussion About Policy Challenges

Much has been written about the initiatives undertaken by both the U.S. and the Mexican government and by nongovernmental organizations to regulate (through border control and visa issuance) and support traditional migration. In contrast, efforts addressed at high-skilled migrants, particularly to support Mexican entrepreneurs living and working in the United States, are largely nonexistent. Likewise, the direct and indirect costs and benefits associated to this kind of migration are almost unknown. As Matiz Bulla and Hormiga (2011) state, entrepreneurship among high-skilled immigrants should be a central point in the immigration policies of governments in order to profit from the knowledge, innovative capacities (Tuirán and Ávila 2013), and talent of these highly qualified individuals and, in addition, to capitalize on this knowledge through the creation and execution of specific productive projects.

In regard to the first and second sets of questions associated to high-skilled Mexican entrepreneurs' typology and the performance of their businesses, policymakers should take into account the heterogeneity of immigrant entrepreneurs (Robertson and Grant 2016), so that the support provided to them can be tailored to their personal profile and to the characteristics of their business ventures (Curci and Mackoy 2010).

The set of questions about push, pull, and retention factors are closely linked to the questions about the institutional environment since institutional weakness in Mexico explains to a large extent the existence of push factors. Furthermore, the perception of a solid institutional environment in the United States pulls and/or retains Mexican entrepreneurs. In this sense, the absence of concrete policies and support mechanisms causes, among other things, a very low high-skilled return migration despite the fact (mentioned above) that Mexico occupies the sixth place in the world for high-skilled migrants (Tuirán and Ávila 2013). The only way to capitalize this high-skilled migration as a driver of Mexico's development is by explicitly linking migration policy with national development strategies (United Nations Development Program 2009; Tuirán and Ávila 2013). As noted in the Post-2015 United Nations Development Agenda, some progress has been made at the global level in recognizing the linkages between migration and development. However, at the national level, despite many commitments, migration

remains poorly integrated into broader, overarching development frameworks (United Nations Development Program 2012, 10). Policies should be accompanied by adequate physical (universities, research centers, firms) and institutional infrastructure (reliable property regimes, transparent procedures, secure environment) (Portes 2009) that allows the absorption of entrepreneurial migrants' intellectual and financial capital. Nonetheless, as Lozano and Gandini (2012) affirm, the best approach to migration continues to be the commitment of sending countries' governments to ameliorate the economic, political, social, and institutional conditions that push high-skilled migrants to leave their countries. In the particular case of Mexico, the educational reform that is slowly taking place should be accompanied by the expansion of domestic opportunities for professionals.

The fifth set of questions refers to the role played by networks. If scholars find that they do play an important role for Mexican migrant entrepreneurs, the corresponding Mexican governmental agencies can undertake initiatives to bring together entrepreneurs working and living in the United States in order to share best practices. This may take place in Mexico and/or the United States. Although these kinds of meetings already exist, they are often separate efforts by different associations or nongovernmental organizations with limited scope and effectiveness. Thus, an explicit governmental policy related to networks may constitute a more organized and structured effort. Such an approach could even be targeted to specific sectors so that the potential links derived from these encounters become more effective and lasting.

The answers to the final set of questions about transnationalism may demand concrete strategies that foster the definitive or temporary reintegration of this entrepreneurial class. These strategies have to be planned and implemented by government authorities in conjunction with the private and the academic sectors. The involvement of the entrepreneurial migrant class may include basic assistance, such as training and coaching to local entrepreneurs, brainstorming around technological and scientific ideas, and providing their intellectual (scientific and/or technological networks) or financial (investment, endowments) input to foster the strategic development of the country.

References

- Achidi Ndofor, Hermann, and Richard L. Priem. "Immigrant Entrepreneurs, the Ethnic Enclave Strategy, and Venture Performance." *Journal of Management* 37: 790-818.
- Aliaga-Isla, Rocío, and Alex Rialp. 2012. "How Do Information and Experience Play a Role in the Discovery of Entrepreneurial." *Latin American Business Review* 13: 59-80
- Altinay, Levent, and Eser Altinay. 2006. "Determinants of Ethnic Minority Entrepreneurial Growth in the Catering Sector." *The Service Industries Journal* 26: 2013-221.
- Barakat, Areeg, and Kamal Dean Parhizgar. 2013. "Highly-Skilled Immigrant Entrepreneurs in the United States and the Unique Competitive Advantages that They Possess Over Their Unskilled Counterparts." *Competition Forum* 11: 103-115.
- Bates, Timothy, and Constance R. Dunham. 1993. "Asian-American Success in Self-Employment." *Economic Development Quarterly* 7: 199-214.
- Body-Gendrot, Sophie and Emmanuel Ma Mung. 1992. "Entrepreneurs entre Deus Mondes." *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales* 8: 5-8.
- Brenner, Gabrielle A., Teresa V. Menzies, Lionel Dionne, and Louis Jacques Filion. 2010. "How Location and Ethnicity Affect Ethnic Entrepreneurs in Three Canadian Cities." *Thunderbird International Business Review* 52: 153-171.
- Chiquiar, Daniel and Alejandrina Salcedo. 2013. *Mexican Migration to the United States: Underlying Economic Factors and Possible Scenarios for Future Flows*. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute.
- Chrysostome, Elie. 2010 "The Success Factors of Necessity Immigrant Entrepreneurs: In Search of a Model." *Thunderbird International Business Review* 52: 137-152.
- Chrysostome, Elie, and Xiaohua Lin. 2010. "Immigrant Entrepreneurship: Scrutinizing a Promising Type of Business Venture." *Thunderbird International Business Review* 52: 77-82.
- Clydesdale, Greg. 2008. "Business Immigrants and the Entrepreneurial Nexus." *Journal of International Entrepreneurship* 6: 123-142.
- Comisión Interamericana de Derechos Humanos. Relatoría sobre los Derechos de los Migrantes. 2013. "Derechos Humanos de los Migrantes y Otras Personas en el Contexto de la Movilidad Humana en México." (OEA/Ser.L/V/II. Doc.48/13).
- Cruz-Piñero, Rodolfo, and Wilfrido Ruiz-Ochoa. 2010. "Migración Calificada de Mexicanos a Estados Unidos Mediante Visado Preferencial." *Papeles de Población* 16: 103-135.

- Curci, Roberto, and Robert Mackoy. 2010. "Immigrant Business Enterprises: A Classification Framework Conceptualization and Test." *Thunderbird International Business Review* 52: 107–121.
- Engelen, Ewald. 2001. "'Breaking In' and 'Breaking Out': A Weberian Approach to Entrepreneurial Opportunities." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 27: 203-23.
- Ensign, Prescott C., and Nicholas P. Robinson. 2011. "Entrepreneurs Because They Are Immigrants or Immigrants Because They Are Entrepreneurs? A Critical Examination of the Relationship Between the Newcomers and Establishment." *The Journal of Entrepreneurship* 20: 33-53.
- Eraydin, Ayda, Tuna Tasan-kok, and Jan Vranken. 2010. "Diversity Matters: Immigrant Entrepreneurship and Contribution of Different Forms of Social Integration in Economic Performance of Cities." *European Planning Studies* 18:521-543.
- Favell, Adrian, Miriam Feldblum, and Michael Peter Smith. 2007. "The Human Face of Global Mobility: A Research Agenda." *Transaction, Social Science and Modern Society* 44: 15-25.
- Fernandez, Marilyn, and Kim Kwang Chung. 1998. "Self-Employment Rates of Asian Immigrant Groups: An Analysis of Intra-Group and Inter-Group Differences." *International Migration Review* 32: 654–681.
- Froschauer, Karl. 2001. "East Asian and European Entrepreneur Immigrants in British Columbia, Canada: Post-migration Conduct and Pre-migration Context." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 2: 225–240.
- Furnham, Adrian. 2010. "Human Mobility in a Global Era." In *The Psychology of Global Mobility*, edited by Stuart C. Carr, 23-45. North Shore: Springer.
- Geoscape, American Marketscape DataStream Series. 2015. *Hispanic Businesses & Entrepreneurs Drive Growth in the New Economy*. United States: Nielsen Scarborough.
- González-González, José M., and Francisco D. Bretones. 2013. "Pushed or pulled? Entrepreneurial behaviour among immigrants as a strategy to cope with negative social identity." *Identities* 20: 633-648.
- Guarnizo, Luis E. 2003. "The Economics of Transnational Living." *International Migration Review* 37: 666-699.
- Guarnizo, Luis E., Alejandro Portes, and William Haller. 2003. "Assimilation and Transnationalism: Determinants of Transnational Political Action among Contemporary Migrants." *American Journal of Sociology* 108: 1211-1248.

- Hernández-León, Rubén. 2012. "La Industria de la Migración en el Sistema Migratorio México-Estados Unidos." *Travaux et Recherches dans les Amériques du Centre* 61, junio, 2012: 41-61. Centro de Estudios Mexicanos y Centroamericanos.
- Hiebert, Daniel. 2003. "Canada: A False Consensus?" In *Immigrant Entrepreneurs: Venturing Abroad in the Age of Globalization*, edited by Robert Kloosterman and Jan Rath, 39–60. New York: Berg.
- Kauffman Foundation. 2015. "The Economic Case for Welcoming Immigrant Entrepreneurs." September 8, 2015. Available at: http://www.kauffman.org/~media/kauffman_org/resources/2015/entrepreneurship%20policy%20digest/september%202015/the_economic_case_for_welcoming_immigrant_entrepreneurs_updated_september_2015.pdf
- Kaushal, Neeraj and Michael Fix. 2006. "The Contributions of High-Skilled Immigrants." *Insight* 16: 1-19.
- Kloosterman, Robert, Joanne van der Leun, and Jan Rath. 1999. "Mixed Embeddedness: (In)formal Economic Activities and Immigrant Businesses in the Netherlands." *International Journal of Urban & Regional Research* 23: 252-266.
- Kloosterman, Robert, and Jan Rath. 2001. "Immigrant Entrepreneurs in Advanced Economies: Mixed Embeddedness Further Explored." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 27: 189-201.
- Kloosterman, Robert, and Jan Rath. 2003. *Immigrant Entrepreneurs: Venturing Abroad in the Age of Globalization*. Oxford: Berg Publishers.
- Koser, Khalid, and John Salt. 1997. "The Geography of Highly Skilled International Migration." *International Journal of Population Geography* 3: 285-303.
- Light, Donald W. 2004. "From Migrant Enclaves to Mainstream: Reconceptualizing Informal Economic Behavior." *Theory and Society* 33: 705–737.
- Light, Ivan H. and Steven J. Gold. 2000. *Ethnic Economics*. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Lin, Xiaohua. 2010. "The diaspora solution to innovation capacity development." *Thunderbird International Business Review* 52: 123-136.
- Lozano-Ascencio, Fernando and Luciana Gandini. 2010. *Migrantes Calificados de América Latina y el Caribe. ¿Capacidades Desaprovechadas?* México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México-Centro Regional de Investigaciones Multidisciplinarias.
- Lozano-Ascencio, Fernando, and Luciana Gandini. 2011. "Migración Calificada y Desarrollo Humano en América Latina y el Caribe." *Revista Mexicana de Sociología* 4: 675-713.

- Lozano-Ascencio, Fernando, and Luciana Gandini. 2012. "Skilled-Worker Mobility and Development in Latin America and the Caribbean: Between Brain Drain and Brain Waste." *Journal of the Office of Latino/Latin-American Studies* 4: 7-26.
- Matiz Bulla, Francisco Javier, and Esther Hormiga. 2011. "Highly-skilled Colombian Immigrants in Spain." *Education + Training* 53: 448-461.
- Mushaben, Joyce Marie. 2006. "Thinking Globally, Integrating Locally: Gender, Entrepreneurship and Urban Citizenship in Germany." *Citizenship Studies* 10: 203-227.
- Ndoen, Marthen L., Kees Gorter, Peter Nijkamp, and Piet Rietveld. 2002. "Entrepreneurial Migration and Regional Opportunities in Developing Countries." *The Annals of Regional Science* 36: 421-436.
- Organización Internacional para las Migraciones (OIM). 2012. *Módulo II: Movilidad Humana Gestión Fronteriza Integral en la Subregión Andina*. Lima: WR Impresores.
- Pew Research Center. 2015. "More Mexicans Leaving Than Coming to the US." Washington, DC: November.
- Portes, Alejandro, Luis Eduardo Guarnizo, and William J. Haller. 2002. "Transnational Entrepreneurs: An Alternative Form of Immigrant Economic Adaptation." *American Sociological Review* 67: 278-298.
- Portes, Alejandro. "Economic Sociology and the Sociology of Immigration: A Conceptual Overview." In *The Economic Sociology of Immigration*, edited by Alejandro Portes, 1-41. Nueva York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Portes, Alejandro. 2007. "Migration, Development, and Segmented Assimilation: A Conceptual Review of the Evidence." *The Annals of the American Academy* 610: 73-97.
- Portes, Alejandro. 2009. "Migration and Development: Reconciling Opposite Views." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 32: 5-22.
- Rath, Jan. 2000. *Immigrant Businesses. The Economic, Political and Social Environment*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan Press.
- Rath, Jan, and Robert Kloosterman. 2000. "Outsiders' Business: A Critical Review of Research on Immigrant Entrepreneurship." *The International Migration Review* 34: 657-681.
- Reynolds, Paul D., Nancy M. Carter, William B. Gartner, and Patricia G. Greene. 2004. "The Prevalence of Nascent Entrepreneurs in the United States: Evidence from the Panel Study of Entrepreneurial Dynamics." *Small Business Economics* 23: 263-284.

- Robertson, Daniel W. and Peter R. Grant. 2016. "Immigrant Entrepreneurship from a Social Psychological Perspective." *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 46: 394-409.
- Rodríguez Gómez, Roberto. 2009. "Migración de Personal Altamente Calificado de México a Estados Unidos: Una Exploración del Fenómeno." *Revista Electrónica de Investigación Educativa* 11: 1-34.
- Rueda Armengot, Carlos, Frances Solé Parellada, and Joaquín Rieta Carbonell. 2010. "The immigrant entrepreneur in the international change: A Managerial Analysis According to Demographic Profile." *Journal of Organizational Change Management* 23: 377-395.
- Sahin, Mediha, Alina Todiras, Peter Nijkamp, and Soushi Suzuki. 2012. "Bright Stars in the Urban Galaxy. The Efficiency of Ethnic Entrepreneurs in the Urban Economy." *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research* 25: 209-227.
- Salamanca, Elizabeth. 2015. "New Migration Patterns: High-Skilled Entrepreneurial Migration from Mexico to the United States." James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy, Rice University. November. Available at: <http://bakerinstitute.org/research/entrepreneurial-migration-mexico-united-states/>.
- Saxenian, AnnaLee. 2005. "From Brain Drain to Brain Circulation: Transnational Communities and Regional Upgrading in India and China." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 40: 35-61.
- Sequeira, Jennifer M., and Abdul A. Rasheed. 2006. "Start-up and Growth of Immigrant Small Businesses: The Impact of Social and Human Capital." *Journal of Developmental Entrepreneurship* 11: 357-375.
- Shinnar, Rachel S., and Cheri A. Young. 2008. "Hispanic Immigrant Entrepreneurs in the Las Vegas Metropolitan Area: Motivations for Entry Into and Outcomes of Self-Employment." *Journal of Small Business Management* 46: 242-262.
- Song, Miri. 1997. "Children's Labour in Ethnic Family Businesses: The Case of Chinese Take-Away Business in Britain." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 20: 690-716.
- Storti, Luca. 2014. "Being an Entrepreneur: Emergence and Structuring of Two Immigrant Entrepreneur Groups." *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development* 26: 521-545.
- Thai, Mai Thi Thanh, and Ekaterina Turkina. 2013. "Entrepreneurial Migration: Characteristics, Causes and Effects." *Journal of Enterprising Communities* 7: 188-195.
- Tuirán, Rodolfo, and José Luis Ávila. 2013. "Migración Calificada entre México-Estados Unidos. Desafíos y Opciones de Política." *Migración y Desarrollo* 11: 43-63.

- United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division. 2016. *International Migration Report 2015: Highlights* (ST/ESA/SER.A/375).
- United Nations Development Program. 2009. *Human Development Report 2009. Overcoming Barriers: Human Mobility and Development*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- United Nations Development Program, Department of Economic and Social Affairs. 2012. *Migration and Human Mobility*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Vertovec, Steven. 2004. "Migrant Transnationalism and Modes of Transformation." *International Migration Review* 38: 970-1001.
- Waldinger, Roger, and Howard E. Aldrich. 1990. "Ethnicity and Entrepreneurship." *Annual Reviews* 16: 111-135.
- Wang, Qingfang and Wei Li. 2007. "Entrepreneurship, Ethnicity and Local Contexts: Hispanic Entrepreneurship in Three U.S. Southern Metropolitan Areas." *GeoJournal* 68: 167-182.
- Wong, Lloyd. L., and Ng, Michele. 1998. "Chinese Immigrant Entrepreneurs in Vancouver: A Case Study of Ethnic Business Development." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 30: 64-85.
- Zolin, Roxanne, and Francine Schlosser. 2013. "Characteristics of Immigrant Entrepreneurs and their Involvement in International New Ventures." *Thunderbird International Business Review* 55: 271-284.
- Zúñiga, Elena and Miguel Molina. 2008. *Demographic Trends in Mexico: The Implications for Skilled Migration*. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute.