BRAIN-WASTE AMONG HIGHLY-SKILLED MEXPATRIATES: THE UNDEREMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCES OF TERTIARY-EDUCATED MEXICANS IN THE UNITED STATES

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We respectfully acknowledge the University of Arizona is on the land and territories of Indigenous peoples. Today, Arizona is home to 22 federally recognized tribes, with Tucson being home to the O'odham and the Yaqui. Committed to diversity and inclusion, the University strives to build sustainable relationships with sovereign Native Nations and Indigenous communities through education offerings, partnerships, and community service.

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GLOSSARY

- **MeXpatriate.** *American pronunciation:* M/eksˈpātrēət/

  Noun: A person born in Mexico resettled abroad

  Plural noun: MeXpatriates

  Synonym: Mexican-native international immigrant

- **MeXpatriating.** *American pronunciation:* M/eksˈpātrēət/ɪŋ

  Verb: The situations and actions embedded in the interplaying of a Mexican's emigration and immigration, and by which it becomes a MeXpatriate.

- **Pasante.** An individual who completed a bachelor coursework in Mexico but did not complete the requirements to obtain the corresponding degree. Examples: non-having the 480 hours of community service or non-having paid the graduation fees off.

ABSTRACT

This study acknowledges the potential contribution of Mexican highly-skilled immigrants settled in the United States. Then, to better understand how the brain waste phenomenon (unemployment/underemployment) functions among these immigrants in the United States, by using the lens of neo-racism, Latina/o Critical Race Theory (LatCrit), and Bourdieu's Reconnaissance of Capitals, this qualitative study analyzed tertiary-educated Mexican immigrants (MeXpatriates)´ lived-experiences in securing and maintaining employment in the United States, as well as the meaning that these actors make of these experiences.

Through Hermeneutic (Interpretive) Phenomenological Analysis (IPA), the study captures the lived-experiences of 21 MeXpatriates residing in the Arizona, U.S. – Sonora, Mexico border region, collected via in-depth, open-ended interviews and analyzed using Atlas-Ti software. The study finds that tertiary-educated MeXpatriates do not necessarily arrive in the United States with a meticulously outlined migration plan or the intention of permanently settling in this country. Also, it consistently reveals the existence of a broad range of migration stories and the recurrent reliance of these MeXpatriates on family legal migratory status to complete its legal migration process to the United States. Additionally, it highlights the presence of intense emotional bonds with their partners and relatives and the belief in a positive future after relocating from Mexico to the United States.

Another significant finding is that within the U.S. labour market, tertiary-educated MeXpatriates are not subject to involuntary unemployment as these individuals become employed upon actively seeking jobs. However, as part of their migratory pathway in this land, these MeXpatriates frequently experience underemployment (brain waste phenomenon).

Interviewed MeXpatriates also informed on life situations and major conditionals that they perceive as contributing to their experiences with underemployment: individual-based life situations and environmental-based life situations. Individual-based situations contributing to tertiary-educated MeXpatriates' underemployment experiences in the U.S. labour market are the status of facing in-process migratory paperwork, lack of a U.S. work permit, responsibilities on child-care, the personal need to have an entry-level job, a feeling of fear grounded on the decision of not to participate in the workforce for a long term, monetary necessity, the personal decision to stay in the field of expertise, and the lack of appropriate local credentials. On the other hand, environmental-based life situations include an existing model of human resources exploitation & profits, a business mindset supporting having high-quality laborers with low pay, a must-have experience in the migration from Mexico to the United States, and racism.

Within the life situations shared by this study participants, three major conditionals emerged in fostering the underemployment of tertiary-educated MeXpatriates in the United States: a restricted English language proficiency, unfamiliarity with the U.S. labour market & tertiary education, and an underdeveloped social capital. Additionally, four underemployment scenarios are identified within tertiary-educated MeXpatriates' employment experiences: high physical labor (housekeeping, food preparation), office labor (front-desk receptionist, call center representatives), experienced labor (entry-level international business jobs), and professional labor (with demand of high expertise/formal education but in job positions below their level of formal education).

This study also revealed the rationalization of underemployment as part of the adjustment to a new country and a necessary component of the migration Mexico – United States. Although

underemployed, these participants perceived their U.S. earnings as superior to potential earnings in Mexico, leading to gratitude for employment and its associated benefits.

Despite all the aforementioned challenges, some tertiary-educated MeXpatriates in this study demonstrated an active approach to pursuit better employment opportunities, including enhancing English language proficiency through employment and ESL classes, valuing Spanish as an employability asset, pursuing further education in U.S. institutions, securing community support, participating in internships, and leveraging their social networks via educational programs focused on highly-skilled migration.

This study advanced the current understanding of the U.S. brain waste phenomenon among highly-skilled immigrants by providing a comprehensive first-hand portrayal of tertiary-educated MeXpatriates' employability experiences as expressed by these contemporary phenomenon's living actors.

Key words: MeXpatriates
MeXpatriating
migration Mexico – U.S.A.
highly-skilled migration
brain waste phenomenon
tertiary-education
underemployment
phenomenology

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Background

A notable characteristic of contemporary migration is the transnational migration of highly-skilled individuals, a phenomenon gaining ground in modern societies such as in the case of the United States (U.S.) The Pew Research Center (2019a) has found that from 1960 to 2010, the educational attainment of immigrants in the United States aged 25 and older was predominantly of a high-school degree or less. However, in 2017, half of the population of immigrants in the United States aged 25 and older had a sort of tertiary education (two-year degree/some college/a bachelor's degree or more). Along with this increment in schooling, it highlights the privileged position of the United States as a destination for tertiary-educated immigration. In 2017, almost a third (31.2%) of immigrants in the United States age 25 and older had a bachelor' s degree or higher (Pew Research Center, 2019a). In like manner, worldwide, the United States hosts the most significant number of immigrants with a postsecondary diploma or college degree (14.7 million), exceeding numbers of other economically advanced countries such as Canada (4.4 million); the United Kingdom (3.4 million); and Australia (3.0 million) (Pew Research Center, 2019b). That is to say that the United States has a unique position as a center for skilled international migrants (Bonikowska, Hou, & Picot, 2011; Pande, Tigau, & Yuan, 2017), but lately, especially for those who hold tertiary education degrees (Bonikoska, Hou, & Picot, 2011; Gandini & Lozano-Ascencio, 2016).

In light of the phenomenon of migration of tertiary-educated individuals into the United States, the implications related to the mobility of this particular group of

immigrants have typically used a two opposite poles approach: "brain-drain" and "brain-gain" (Boeri, Brücker, Docquier, & Rapoport, 2012; Mackey & Liang, 2012; Mahroum, 2005). These two opposite poles approach offers a limited perspective by supporting either a drain, a loss of talent for the country where the immigrant was born and educated, or a gain of innovations, patents, and profits for the host country. Furthermore, brain-drain and brain-gain concepts reinforce the idea of a race between countries to attract the best brains from around the world to generate innovations (Kerr, 2019; Robertson, 2006), which undoubtedly is part of modern transnational migration but are an insufficient perspective to have an understanding of the heterogeneity of experiences among tertiary-educated immigrants once they arrived at the United States. Almost 15 million of tertiary-educated immigrants in the United States (Pew Research Center, 2019b), may seem like such a large crowd of triumphant internationals utilizing their skills and knowledge in their maximum capacity and therefore contributing to the U.S. productivity and competitiveness. However, data from the U.S. contemporary immigration suggests uneven opportunities for all immigrant groups (Gaspar-Olvera, 2017; Ramírez-García & Lozano-Ascencio, 2017; Roy, 2019; Semu, 2020) as well as the occurrence of unemployment and underemployment, a phenomenon named "brain-waste," that significantly affects tertiary-educated immigrants (Batalova, Fix, & creticos, 2016).

There are four main countries of origin for tertiary-educated immigrants in the United States: India, China, the Philippines, and Mexico (Zong & Batalova, 2016). While Canada, China, Oceania, and India have the smallest number of underemployed tertiary-educated immigrants in the United States (Batalova et al., 2016), Mexico stands out because its college-educated immigrants in the United States tend to work in occupations that do not necessarily

commensurate their skills and expertise (Pande et al., 2017; Vázquez-Maggio & Dominguez-Villalobos, 2018). That situation is a waste of human talent with severe implications because not being employed or being underemployed may relate to immigrants' issues of physical and mental health, poverty, family, social mobility, professional career, and workplace productivity. Furthermore, such negative effects aforementioned can spread to the socioeconomic growth of the society that hosts them as well as their communities in Mexico (e.g., remittances, transnational knowledge circulation). Thus, fighting the occurrence of brain waste benefits the well-being of societies, locally and transnationally.

Purpose of the Study

While brain waste occurs among the U.S.-educated population as well, this study focuses on immigrants educated in higher education institutions in Mexico, one of the leading groups of tertiary-educated immigrants in the United States. To better understand how the brain waste phenomenon (unemployment/underemployment) functions among highly-skilled immigrants in the United States, this qualitative study explores tertiary-educated Mexican immigrants' lived-experiences in securing and maintaining employment in the United States, as well as the meaning that these actors make of these experiences by using the lens of neo-racism, Latina/o Critical Race Theory (LatCrit), and Bourdieu's Reconnaissance of Capitals.

At this stage in the research, there are important clarifications:

When using the term highly-skilled migration, I refer to the generally large and heterogenous foreign-born workforce in the United States with knowledge, abilities, and/or experience acquired overseas. It is important to mention that U.S. highly-skilled immigrants

may vary in the length of their migration visa and their migration status. Hence, one individual may hold a nonimmigrant visa, as in the case of workers with temporary visas, and another one may hold an immigrant visa intended to permanently live in the United States, such as a family sponsorship visa. Based on their documented/undocumented status, there are cases of "documented" tertiary-educated immigrants who hold a U.S. postgraduate student visa, a diversity (lottery) visa, or a visa granted for family reunification. Furthermore, "undocumented" individuals may include cases of baccalaureates who arrived in the U.S. with a tourist visa and work without a work visa, as well may include a worker without any tertiary education with an outstanding specialization in a particular area, without permission to work and live in the United States. In short, the term highly-skilled migration includes diverse cases of human capital in which tertiary-educated immigrants are one subgroup within highly-skilled migration.

This study focuses on the phenomenon of brain waste (unemployment & underemployment) in the United States; specifically, among individuals who were born in Mexico and attained tertiary-education in Mexico prior to their migration into the United States. Thus, through this dissertation, I use the term tertiary-educated MeXpatriates to refer to Mexican-born individuals who, before migrating to the U.S., possessed either an associate degree, a bachelor' s degree, or a postgraduate degree. Furthermore, in this study I use the term tertiary-educated MeXpatriate to refer to a Mexican-born individual who is "*pasante*," that is, someone who completed a baccalaureate' s coursework in a tertiary-education institution in Mexico but did not complete the requirements to obtain the corresponding degree, such as the case of an individual who is pending paying graduation fees off.

This study with a phenomenology-based approach provides the research community with a comprehensive first-hand portrayal of the brain waste phenomenon among highly-skilled immigrants in the United States, as expressed by these contemporary phenomenon's living actors.

Also, while previous research uncovering neo-racism in the higher education sector has been done within the boundaries of a tertiary-education institution either with undergraduate students (Lee et al., 2017; Lee & Opio, 2011; Lee & Rice, 2007) or postdoctoral students (Cantwell & Lee, 2010), this study extends the concept of neo-racism in higher-education by focusing on internationally tertiary-educated immigrants resettled in the United States and their experiences of unemployment and/or underemployment. Additionally, this study builds upon the Lat Crit framework and Yosso's Model of Community Cultural Wealth by addressing the subgroup of tertiary-educated MeXpatriates in the United States. Furthermore, this research advances the understanding of Bourdieu´s framework; particularly the relationship between employability and social capital among these immigrants and issues related to the recognition (Reconnaissance) of cultural capital, such as tertiary education diplomas and the Spanish language.

Additionally, by gaining a deeper understanding of the challenges faced by tertiary-educated MeXpatriates in the U.S. labor market, this study can inform policymakers and employers on how to best support, leverage, and utilize the talents that these immigrants can provide to the United States, their new homeland. Last but not least, I hope the experiences shared by tertiary-educated MeXpatriates in this study serve as a source of learning and inspiration for other expatriates and expatriates "to be."

Dissertation's Preview

The dissertation is composed of five chapters, beginning with this Introduction. Chapter two offers a comprehensive review of the relevant literature covering three major topics: Expatriates' brain-waste in the United States and the negative implications and conditions, the state of the art on tertiary-educated MeXpatriates in the United States, and phenomenological studies on employment-related issues among tertiary-educated Mexpatriates in the United States. Additionally, chapter two explains the theoretical & conceptual lenses that inform this study, including Neo-racism, Latina/o Critical Race Theory (LatCrit), and Bourdieu's Reconnaissance of Capitals.

Chapter three outlines the methodology framework utilized in this qualitative study, which includes the question guiding this work, research design, selection of setting and participants, data collection and analysis, and the validity and limitations of this study.

Chapter four presents this study´s results, organized into six sections: the arrival of tertiary-educated MeXpatriates in the United States, their experiences of brain waste as underemployment (four scenarios), the conditions that foster their underemployment, actions implemented to overcome this form of brain waste, and MeXpatriates' agency and meaning towards their underemployment experiences in the United States.

Chapter five summarizes this study's findings and answers the research question. Furthermore, this last chapter addresses this study's contribution to theory and literature, implications for policy and practice, and for future research. Appendices containing crucial information about the implementation of this research and a list of consulted references supporting this study are included at the end of this dissertation.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

To inform the brain waste phenomenon among tertiary-educated MeXpatriates in the United States, this literature review presents scholarship that helps to identify overlooked or under-researched approaches, laying the foundation to identify new research question for the study of such a serious phenomenon. This review of literature builds on three supporting themes: 1) brain waste in the context of the migration of tertiary-educated individuals into the United States, 2) employment-related phenomenological studies on tertiary-educated expatriates in the United States, and 3) the case of Mexican tertiary-educated migration into the United States. Following these three themes, this literature review ends with a summary revealing the research gap.

Expatriates' brain waste in the United States

Literature has claimed that highly-skilled expatriates have low probabilities of experiencing unemployment (Greenwood & McDowell, 2011). Also, it has suggested that foreign-educated expatriates are less skilled than U.S. degree holders (Richwine, 2019) and that rather than skill-underutilization, "under-placed" expatriates suffer primarily from low or poorly transferable skills (Matoo, Neagu, & Ozden, 2008, p. 255). Nevertheless, recent literature on highly-skilled migration in the U.S. reports evidence of significant brain waste in the U.S. affecting the workforce that was born and educated in U.S. higher education institutions, but with greater extent among the corps of tertiary-educated expatriates (Batalova et al., 2016; Beckhusen, Florax, Poot, & Waldorf, 2013; Lu & Hou, 2020).

In the U.S., immigrant college graduates are less likely than comparable U.S. natives to work in college-based intensive occupations (Enchautegui, 2015). The Wang and Lysenko's

(2014) study of underemployment across U.S. metropolitan areas found that highly educated foreign-born individuals who have settled in metropolitan areas have more chances of being overeducated for their jobs than native whites living in those same zones. Moreover, the study of Fogg and Harrington (2012) revealed that 36.2 % of non-elderly foreign-born individuals with a foreign tertiary degree were either underemployed or underutilized in the U.S. labor-market while only 24% of their domestic-born counterparts shared the same experiences. U.S. brain waste among tertiary-educated expatriates occurs either as involuntary unemployment or underemployment. Unemployment is when those individuals are actively searching for employment but unable to get employed while underemployment happens when their employment is as workers in positions substantially below their level of training, such as tertiary-educated expatriates holding jobs as cashiers, cooks, housekeepers, and taxi drivers.

Negative Implications

In light of such a critical issue in contemporary U.S. migration, scholarship about brain waste addresses it as a problem with significant negative implications for the expatriate and beyond. In the case of unemployment, it can impact people's psychological health, but also physical health, suicide, and mortality (Wanberg, 2012). Therefore, there may be physical and mental issues related to being an unemployed expatriate. Furthermore, in terms of underemployment, scholarship agrees with its potentially detrimental effects for individual workers, organizations, and our larger society (Mckee-Ryan & Harvey, 2011). Then, underemployed expatriates also may experience negative job attitudes (Hosoda, 2016), which may range from affective organizational commitment, job dissatisfaction, to high turnover intentions (Wang & Lysenko, 2014). That is to say that tertiary-educated expatriates facing

unemployment or underemployment are at risk of dampening their overall career trajectory. Also, brain waste may seriously affect expatriates' relatives because it signifies unrealized gains to their families, increasing the likelihood of poverty and decelerating social mobility (Batalova et al., 2016). To put it differently, having a job commensurate with skills/knowledge is beneficial in terms of health, career, and family' well-being.

Brain waste constraints societies' development in varied dimensions. U.S. underemployment may impact crime rates and political participation (Pedulla & Newman, 2011). Moreover, when tertiary-educated expatriates hold low-skilled jobs, this obstructs these individuals' contributions to the national economy (Ayoung, Waldorf, & Duncan, 2017; OneAmerica, 2015); e.g., restricting the U.S. tax base (Gaspar-Olvera, 2017). Also, brain waste can be detrimental beyond the frontiers of the country that hosts the tertiary-educated expatriate. Well incorporated highly-skilled expatriates in their new societies (e.g., fair employment and earnings) relates to high probabilities for remittances (Bollard, McKenzie, Morten, & Rapoport, 2011) and knowledge circulation across borders that may facilitate the development of these expatriates' communities of origin. Lee and Kim's (2010) study with U.S. doctoral recipients returning to South Korea showed that this country benefitted from increased brain gain since participants in the science-based fields readily applied their U.S. education to their current research. On the contrary, expatriates experiencing unemployment or underemployment possess a limited capacity to contribute to communities' knowledge and expertise, both in their host country as well as in their country of origin.

All the above discussion about the negative implications of brain waste leads to the scholarship that has examined determining factors, discussed in the following section.

Conditioning Factors

Type of Degree (Nation's issuance, field or specialization, and level of educational attainment). The literature has identified main circumstances related to the occurrence of brain waste among tertiary-educated expatriates. Despite the United States is one of the countries that for many years have promoted the value of a learning abroad experience for developing analytical and employability skills, such as problem solving and teamwork (Potts, 2015), the condition of having a foreign tertiary education degree is a critical factor in the phenomenon of brain waste among expatriates. Scholarship has addressed an existing penalty for foreign-earned degrees (Batalova et al., 2016; Arbeit & Warren, 2013). As an illustration, expatriates who obtained their highest degree abroad and migrated into Canada and the United States face a high risk of experiencing overeducation (Lu &Hou, 2020). Nevertheless, such a punishment seems to function differently depending on which region these individuals obtained the foreign degree. That is, except for degrees earned in Canada, the United Kigdom, and Ireland, foreign degrees possess less worth to expatriates than U.S. degrees (Arbeit & Warren, 2013).

Furthermore, there is a credential recognition matter tied to expatriates' degrees' place of issuance since "gaining recognition for professional experience overseas is arguably the greatest barrier for professional practice" (Rabben, 2013, p. 1). Literature has discussed the frustration faced by highly-skilled immigrants regarding U.S. education and regulatory systems because this certification can be a long, high cost, complex process (McHugh &Morawski, 2017), whereby these immigrants "take on menial and contingent survival jobs that entail a loss of status and that

do not engage their skills" (Lane & Lee, 2018, p. 316). However, the study of Bergson-Shilcock and Witte (2015) on the integration of immigrant professionals in the United States demonstrated that fully and partially credential recognition relates to a high likelihood of achieving success in the United States while null credential recognition relates to significantly poor outcomes. Additionally, Bergson-Shilcock and Witte's (2015) study found that even partial U.S. education is sufficient to add value in the labor market, revealing an almost null difference between individuals who had received "blended education" (p. 10) and those who were only educated in the United States.

Regarding the type of degree, there are other impactful conditions linked to underemployment or unemployment among expatriates in the United States. For example, because of the easy transnational transferability of knowledge among scientists and engineers (Tong, 2010) and the idea supporting the profitability of science and technology industries for U.S. economic growth (Khachikian & Bandelj, 2019), scholarship has found a reduced risk of overeducation and marginal overeducation among workers in knowledge-based industries in the U.S. and Canada (Lu & Hou (2020). Likewise, a longitudinal study based on National Surveys of College Graduates (Kaushal, 2011) showed that post-1969, U.S.-educated, foreign-born professionals in the fields of science and engineering in the first 15 years after their arrival were likely to have higher earnings than similar foreign-educated professionals. Similarly, Batalova et al. (2016) stated that there are high levels of brain waste across expatriates' all degree fields, but to a lesser extent, within biological, computer, and physical sciences. Also, the condition of having a postgraduate degree protects recent expatriates from overeducation (Lu & Hou, 2020).

Otherwise stated, brain waste behaves in different ways depending on the degree's nation of issuance, the field or specialization, and the level of educational attainment.

English Proficiency & Foreign Accent. Moreover, English fluency & literacy is a major piece in the brain waste phenomenon (Batalova et al., 2008; Batalova et al., 2016; Beckhusen et al., 2013; Bergson-Shilcock & Witte, 2015). For instance, the study of Ni, Wang, and Gogate (2018) with professional expatriates from India in southern United States, among others, found that ineffective expression and insufficiency in culture-specific knowledge and skills were chief stressors in the adaptation of those individuals. Furthermore, a study on international students' employment searching in the United States (Sangganjanavanich, Lenz, & Cavazos, 2011), reported these individuals' perception of being discriminated against during a job search process because of their accent. Further, a more recent report (Bernstein & Vilter, 2018) revealed that "limited English proficiency is a common issue among expatriates employed in lower-and middle-skilled jobs" (p. 9). In light of such facts, McHugh and Morawski (2017) defended that building professional-level English language skills would be one of the main challenges that foreign-trained expatriates face when seeking skilled work in the U.S. on the basis of advanced education and training completed abroad. That is to say that English language proficiency reduces the risk of overeducation among highly-skilled expatriates (Beckhusen et al., 2013).

Social Network. Scholarship has addressed the brain waste phenomenon as related to expatriates' social networks. These networks strongly influence those individuals' outcomes that may range from finding a job and house, opening up a business, participating in the development of their home country, and accessing health-care (Poros, 2011). A U.S. census data examination

revealed that recently arrived expatriates tend to locate in the same occupations than their compatriots who previously migrated into the United States, fostering the development of local niches in specific occupations (Patel & Vella, 2013). Moreover, a study on the labor market integration of refugees to the U.S. (Mayda, Dagnelie, & Maystadt, 2018), found that the probability that a refugee is employed 90 days after arrival is positively affected by the number of business owners in their network. Concurring with those findings, a report drawn from the survey responses of more than 4,000 tertiary-educated expatriates living in the United States (Bergson-Shilcock & Witte, 2015) found that a large size of an immigrant social network corresponds to a substantial likelihood of achieving professional success in the United States, namely as the ability to earn a salary of at least 50,000 dollars per year, making at least "some use" of their higher education on the job, and employed in a managerial or professional occupation (p. 1). To put it another way, the lack of professional connections may be a significant obstacle for foreign-trained expatriates when seeking to enter the professional workforce in the United States (McHugh & Morawski, 2017).

U.S. Immigration Status. The scholarship also shows that becoming a naturalized U.S. citizen decreases the likelihood of experiencing brain waste and makes a significant difference in expatriates' employment outcomes, such as earnings, employment rate, and homeownership (Enchautegui & Giannarelli, 2015). In light of this situation, highly-skilled immigrants with temporary permits probably suffer from some degree of exploitation associated with anchoring a worker's permission to remain in the U.S., forcing them to work continuously for a specified employer (Somerville & Walsworth, 2009). Therefore, a hierarchy supported on possessing U.S. citizenship is unveiled. That is, undocumented expatriates with foreign tertiary education are substantially more likely to be underemployed or unemployed in comparison to expatriates with

foreign tertiary education with legal permanent residency, and similarly, these legal permanent residents experience higher levels of skill underutilization in comparison to expatriates with foreign tertiary education who have reached U.S. naturalization (citizenship).

Place of Origin & Race/Ethnicity. In like manner, place of origin & race/ethnicity are determinants in the brain waste phenomenon. Wang and Lysenko (2014) argued an "obvious" competition among the highly educated, whose effects differ by nativity (p. 14). In 2016, the most considerable share of underutilized tertiary-educated expatriates was represented by individuals from Mexico, Central-America, Africa, the Caribbean, European countries outside the European Union, and the Philippines, while the smallest share of underutilized tertiary-educated expatriates was represented by individuals from Canada, China, Australia, and India (Batalova et al., 2016). Most recently, empirical findings (Lu & Hou, 2020) showed that comparing expatriates with at least a bachelor's degree from Central-America, the Caribbean, South America, Southern Europe, Eastern Europe, Africa, and Asia, had significantly higher rates of working in occupations that require only a high-school diploma or less in comparison to their counterparts from Northern Europe, North America, Western Europe, and Oceania. In light of such findings, it raises the fact that two or more contributing factors interplay within the brain waste phenomenon; that is, in the United States, race and physically visible ethnic differences are barriers to upward economic mobility (National Academy of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, 2015). In the case of Hispanics, the intersection of ethnicity and non-citizenship results in high underemployment (Slack & Jensen, 2011).

Age & Length of Residence in the U.S. Scholarship about age & length of residence in the U.S. has found conflicting findings since there is no agreement about the effects of those

factors on brain waste. Bergson-Shilcock and Witte (2015) found that tertiary-educated immigrants' likelihood of achieving professional success went up with age. These researchers' study showed that only 3% of immigrants in the U.S. between 18-24 years old reported being professionally successful, while 33% of immigrants 55-64 years old reported such success. On the contrary, Batalova et al. (2016) showed that foreign-tertiary-educated expatriates over 25 years were much more likely to be employed in low-skilled jobs than those immigrants who arrived before age 12. In the case of women who arrived after age 25, those researchers found that this group had a 62% higher likelihood to be in a low-skilled job in comparison with women who immigrated to the United States before age 13.

Likewise, regarding the length of residence in the U.S. as a conditioning factor for experiencing brain waste, scholarship indicates ambiguous outcomes (Richwine, 2018). In terms of overeducation, recent findings (Lu & Hou, 2020) suggested that length of residence reduces highly-skilled immigrants' chance to exceed their jobs' required skills. However, there is scholarship supporting the idea that the length of residence/time in the U.S. positively influences brain waste risk among highly-skilled immigrants (Beckhusen et al., 2013; Bergson-Shilcock & Witte, 2015). Similarly, the study of Batalova et al. (2016) stated that length of time in the U.S. does not substantially reduce the skill underutilization of male immigrants (either foreign or U.S. educated); however, it directly correlates with lower underutilization for foreign-educated immigrant women.

Marital Status & Gender. In light of those results, the discussion about gender stands out as part of the study of brain waste among tertiary-educated expatriates in the U.S. Thus, Arbeit & Warren (2013) found that the number of children at home and marital status negatively

predicts employment for women, and positively predicts employment for men. In brief, recent scholarship has shown a higher tendency for experiencing low-skilled jobs among female tertiary-educated immigrants than their male counterparts. Not least important are the conditions as being young, female, and separated, divorced, or widowed, which are circumstances fostering a higher likelihood of overeducation among tertiary-educated expatriates in the U.S. (Lu & Hou, 2020).

Synopsis

All discussed in this section thus far suggest that unemployment and underemployment among tertiary-educated expatriates in the U.S. are major issues that may directly affect these individuals in terms of physical and emotional well-being, and whose effects may expand beyond the community that hosts them. There are particular factors that may influence the U.S. brain waste phenomenon among tertiary-educated immigrants, such as Type of Degree (Nation's issuance, field or specialization, and level of educational attainment); English Fluency/Foreign Accent; Social Network; and Demographics (Migration Status/U.S. Citizenship; Place of Origin & Race/Ethnicity; Age & Length of Residence in the U.S.; and Marital Status & Gender).

Tertiary-educated MeXpatriates. The State of the Art

This section provides an overview of the current research landscape regards with the following subtopics: pending issues in the scholarly on MeXpatriates with tertiary education living in the United States; the shift from a bracero-demand to a knowledge-based economy; these MeXpatriates profile & demographics; and lastly, employability issues among these immigrants.

Researching Pending Issues: Phenomenon's Term & Population's Identification

Overall, the state of the art on the topic of the transnational migration of skilled individuals reveals a lack of agreement when naming the phenomenon as well as when identifying its population, a situation that includes the case of Mexico. Thus, scholars have addressed the term "migración calificada" as referring to individuals with tertiary education, at least the age of 25 before their transnational migration (Bermúdez, Vazquez, Najera, Lindstrom, and Giorguli, 2017; Galicia, 2012). On the other hand, Gaspar-Olvera and Chavez-Elorza (2016) classify as "skilled-immigrants" those Mexican immigrants with a bachelor's degree and as "highly-skilled immigrants" those Mexican immigrants with postgraduate degrees. Also, scholarship uses the expression "Mexican tertiary-educated immigrant" as the same that "Mexican highly-skilled immigrant" (Ruiz-Soto & Selee, 2019) or as a subdivision of the Mexican crowd of highly-skilled immigrants (Gaspar-Olvera & Chavez-Elorza, 2016; Vázquez-Maggio & Domínguez-Villalobos; 2018). As part of the latter approach, Vázquez-Maggio and Domínguez-Villalobos (2018) discuss that "migrantes calificados" may include different cases such as 1) qualified expatriates who moved into a developed country by utilizing a labor program sponsorship; 2) international students in higher education institutions; 3) qualified expatriates with refugee status; 4) qualified expatriates who left their country because of the precarious capacity of its labor market; 5) an expatriate possessing any tertiary-education degree, and so on. Moreover, based on different migratory pathways of tertiary-educated expatriates from India and Mexico in the U.S. labour market, Alarcón (1999) provided a typology system of highly-skilled expatriates originating from developing countries:

The first group is composed of individuals born in Mexico who came to the United States as graduate students and subsequently secured positions with high-technology companies that

sponsored their permanent residency in the country. The second group comprises Mexicans who obtained their tertiary education in Mexico and then worked for subsidiary high-technology companies abroad before being transferred to work in headquarters, such as those in Silicon Valley. The third group, known as the "1.5 Generation," consists of a small number of Mexican-born individuals brought to the United States by their parents, who later earned tertiary education degrees in the United States. Finally, the fourth group, referred to as "High-Tech Braceros," is similar to the Mexican "braceros" of the last century, and includes individuals who arrived in the United States as temporary workers, holding non-immigrant H-1B visas.

Equally important is the approach of Calva-Sanchez and Alarcón (2015), who discuss the existence of two sub-groups among what is considered the “calificada” (highly-skilled or qualified) Mexican population in the United States: 1) individuals born and tertiary-educated in Mexico, and 2) individuals born in Mexico but tertiary-educated in the United States; a classification that differentiates their pathways but also captures their different U.S. labour integration, which according to these researchers, is more successful for the latter case.

Therefore, the interplaying of MeXpatriates’ educational, professional, personal, and migratory conditions nurtures varied approaches in defining what is skilled and highly-skilled migration, as well the necessity for a clearer portrayal of Mexican individuals who are part of such a contemporary stream.

Shifting from a Bracero-Demand to a Knowledge-Based Economy

As Alarcón and Ramírez-García (2011) stated, “migration of Mexicans into the United States has a centennial history” (p. 73). Around the 1890s, agriculture and mining business opportunities in the American Southwest combined with an adverse social-political-economic

situation in Mexico during the Mexican Revolution time (1910-1920) nurtured a massive migration of Mexicans into the U.S. territory, a phenomenon that favored both these expatriates' employment and the growth of Southwest's economy (The John W. Kluge Center at the Library of Congress, 2015). Afterward, there have been ups and downs in the number of Mexican expatriates in the United States (Borjas & Katz, 2005), almost all of these individuals without high levels of formal education (Clemens, 2013; Calva-Sanchez & Alarcón, 2015), but with certain positive qualities that made them better labor expatriates than the other groups such as physical strength and ability to put up with demanding working conditions (Steinhauer, 2015). Hence, it is not unusual that the image of a Mexican expatriate in the U.S. evokes it as an agricultural worker (Clemens, 2013), that is, a "bracero" —someone who works using his arms ("Brazos") (Craig, 2014).

Such stereotypical view of expatriates from Mexico becomes outdated when considering recent research on Mexican migration into the United States. For instance, scholarship strongly supports the notion that the United States demands knowledge-based economy professionals; tertiary-educated Mexican immigrants in science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) fields, which contributes to the U.S. productivity, innovation, and development (Delgado-Wise, 2013; Delgado-Wise, 2014; Delgado-Wise, 2015; Delgado-Wise, Chavez-Elorza, & Hernández, 2016; Ramírez-García & Lozano-Ascencio, 2017; Vázquez-Maggio & Domínguez-Villalobos, 2018). Moreover, the scholarship also has identified models of public policies for qualified diasporas, such as the case of Mexican scientists. In the discussion on the knowledge-based economy and the transnational migration of these highly-qualified Mexicans, Tigau (2010; 2011) identified three models of public policies for qualified diasporas: nationalist, internationalist, and trans-nationalist. The nationalist perspective considers professionals'

migration as leading to brain drain phenomenon, and hence return and repatriation policies are proposed. The internationalist perspective asserts that migration of professionals can result in two-way benefits through the circulation of these individuals across borders; examples public policy based on this perspective are brain circulation, networks, and/or working from abroad for the home country. The trans-nationalist perspective considers professionals as free individuals, and governments use their diasporas for cooperation, image promotion, or economic development. In the trans-nationalist model, the practice of brain exchange surfaces as the primary concept.

All that said indicates that Mexican migration into the United States is a long-lived phenomenon whose contemporary materialization is seemingly rooted in a knowledge-based economy that places a high value on the contributions of scientists.

Profile & Demographics

There are particular characteristics among the Mexican population who lately migrated to the United States. To begin with, Sáenz (2015) explains that in comparison to earlier Mexican migration, Mexicans who lately migrated into the U. S. are older (median of 27 years old) and tend to have higher socioeconomic status and English-language fluency. In addition, data shows that during the migration from 1996 to 2000, around one in 20 MeXpatriates held a tertiary-education degree before entering the United States, while from 2013 to 2017, the rate was around 1 in six (Ruiz-Soto & Selee, 2019). Similarly, in their study on Mexican students' international mobility factors, Grediaga and Gérard (2019) found that a strong linguistic, traveling, and social capitals, are enabling these students to take advantage of institutional opportunities in the U.S.A.

and beyond, and positively influencing their educational and labour opportunities (both back to Mexico and abroad).

Late migration of MeXpatriates into the U.S. has experienced not only higher educational attainment than earlier migration but also a massive arrival. As stated by Delgado-Wise (2015), in the last two decades highly-skilled Mexican migration into the United States has shown a greater growth pace than overall Mexican migration. As of 2013, it is calculated that above 1 million Mexicans with a baccalaureate and/or a postgraduate degree were living in the United States (Gaspar-Olvera & Chavez-Elorza, 2016). Similarly, Vázquez-Maggio and Dominguez-Villalobos (2018) found a growing proportion of tertiary-educated/middle-class individuals born in Mexico who migrates to other countries, such as Canada, Spain, Australia, and the United States, but who most frequently resettle in the United States. Otherwise stated, 90% of tertiary-educated MeXpatriates are located in the United States (Pande et al., 2017).

Further, contemporary scholarship has addressed the migratory status of tertiary-educated MeXpatriates in the United States, with contradictory findings that reveal an unclear landscape in this matter. A quantitative study on highly-skilled migration in the United States (Calva-Sanchez y Alarcón, 2015), revealed that from 2000 to 2011, there was a high proportion of undocumented individuals and a low proportion of individuals possessing U.S. naturalization (citizenship). On the other hand, Ruiz-Soto and Selee (2019) found that among all Mexican immigrants in the United States from 2012 to 2016, temporary visa holders were the most likely to have a tertiary education degree, while permanent residents (green-card holders) and unauthorized immigrants were the least likely to have one. According to these authors, the explanation is that most temporary-visa holders were admitted either to study in the U.S. tertiary education system or to

work in high-skilled and low-skilled agricultural jobs. A stance that relates to Pande et al. (2017) study, which showed that in 2015, Mexico had 10th place in the top ten list of countries with temporary visa holders earning doctorates in the United States.

Moreover, contemporary Mexican migration to the U.S. reveals a shift in terms of gender. Thus, scholarship has found increasing participation of female MeXpatriates with tertiary education (Gaspar-Olvera & Chavez-Elorza, 2016; Ramírez-García & Tigau, 2018; Sáenz, 2015). According to Gaspar-Olvera and Chavez-Elorza (2016), the most significant growth in the last decade was in the segment of female MeXpatriates with bachelors and postgraduate degrees. Among MeXpatriates holding graduate degrees in the United States from 2000 to 2005, the annual growth rate for male individuals was 4.1% and for female individuals, it was 10.4%.

Employability

In addition to a significant rise in the number of female tertiary-educated MeXpatriates who relocate in the U.S. has also been found that a large number of them not participate in the U.S. workforce: 40% in 2011 (Calva-Sanchez & Alarcón, 2015) and almost 33% latest years (Ramírez-García & Tigau, 2018); a situation that may be explained by the traditional role that makes women the responsible one for household chores (Ramírez-García & Tigau, 2018). As declared by Vázquez-Maggio and Domínguez-Villalobos (2018), tertiary-educated Mexican women living in the U.S. face a two-folded vulnerability: as immigrants and as women, since male tertiary-educated MeXpatriates have a high probability of participating in the U.S. workforce at any skills' level, while their female counterparts have a high probability to no-participate in the U.S. workforce, at all.

Another noteworthy aspect of the employability of tertiary-educated MeXpatriates is their comparatively low average income, in contrast to other groups of tertiary-educated expatriates working in the United States. According to a study by Ramírez-García and Lozano-Ascencio (2017), as of 2015, Americans had an average annual income of $89,883 dollars, Europeans and Canadians earned an average of $115,457 dollars, Asians (Chinese and Indians) earned an average of $94,061 dollars, while Mexicans earned an average of $83,027 dollars. This situation is further corroborated by the findings of Ramírez-García and Tigau (2018), who observed a salary gap of 33% between MeXpatriates with tertiary education in the United States and non-Hispanic white Americans. This gap indicates that for every dollar earned by a non-Hispanic white American with similar credentials, a MeXpatriate earns only 67 cents. Similarly, Pande et al. (2017) compared the labor integration of three major diasporas of skilled immigrants in the United States - Indian, Mexican, and Chinese - and found significant differences in earnings, with skilled Indians and Chinese earning as much as or more than U.S. natives, while skilled Mexicans tend to earn less.

Further, tertiary-educated MeXpatriates in the U.S. face a high level of underemployment. These highly-skilled Mexicans tend to work in occupations not necessarily commensurate with their skills and expertise (Pande et al. (2017), and have jobs for which tertiary-education is not needed (Calva-Sanchez & Alarcón, 2015). Rodríguez-Gómez's (2009) study illustrates this situation by finding that MeXpatriates with both associate and bachelor degrees mostly work in non-professional activities. In this regard, Calva-Sanchez and Alarcón (2015) addressed the non-highly-skilled jobs among tertiary-educated individuals from India and Mexico. This study showed that 71% of MeXpatriates in the U.S. who earned tertiary-education in Mexico participated in the U.S. job-market either in technical jobs or in low-skilled

occupations, namely, construction, food preparation/service, and buildings' cleaning/maintenance services. In contrast, among those tertiary-educated expatriates from India employed in non-highly-skilled jobs, the majority worked in sales, clerical, and administration fields. Similarly, Ruiz-Soto and Selee (2019) found that tertiary-educated MeXpatriates in Texas and its metropolitan areas experience "significant underemployment" (p. 8). Those researchers reported that the top industries of employment for tertiary-educated MeXpatriates in Texas range from primary/secondary education and legal services to construction and food service, highlighting that legal services and primary/secondary or higher education may allow these expatriates to utilize the skills they acquired through tertiary education. However, industries such as construction and food services do not require them either any tertiary education degree or fully utilize their skills.

Scholarship on tertiary-educated MeXpatriates in the U.S. defends that for those individuals underemployed in fields that may not allow them to make the most of their tertiary education degrees, the main barriers to them may include: having a non-native accent (Domínguez -Villalobos, et al., 2022) and limited English proficiency (Calva-Sanchez & Alarcón, 2015; Ruiz-Soto & Selee, 2019; Vázquez-Maggio & Domínguez-Villalobos, 2018), lacking a legal status (Alarcón, 2016; Calva-Sanchez & Alarcón, 2015), and/or difficulties getting recognition for professional credentials earned abroad (Ruiz-Soto & Selee, 2019). Nevertheless, in that labor-market context, possessing a postgraduate degree increases MeXpatriates' likelihood of having a highly-skilled job (Vázquez-Maggio & Domínguez-Villalobos, 2018).

Scholarship on the migration of tertiary-educated MeXpatriates in the U.S also has provided insights about how the highly-skilled expatriates' jobs shape U.S. labour industries. For example, by comparing tertiary-educated expatriates from India to tertiary-educated MeXpatriates (Calva-Sanchez & Alarcón, 2015), among those tertiary-educated expatriates working in highly-skilled jobs, the majority from India worked in the fields of Math and Computational Sciences (42.9%), while the majority from Mexico worked in the fields of teaching (25.9%) and business/management (16.5%). In like manner, a more recent study found that in the case of Mexicans, probabilities for becoming employed in a highly-skilled job in the U.S. favor tertiary-educated MeXpatriates who hold a degree in the field of Humanities, followed by tertiary-educated MeXpatriates who hold a degree in fields such as Social Sciences, Business, Art, STEM, and Health Sciences, correspondingly (Vázquez-Maggio & Domínguez-Villalobos, 2018).

Synopsis

All that discussed in this section showed that Mexican migration into the U.S. is an old phenomenon whose demographics are different from the migration that occurred one century ago. Despite such a long and close relationship between the U.S. and Mexico, current scholarship finds difficulties in agreeing on who must be considered part of the corps of tertiary-educated MeXpatriates in the U.S. Regardless modern economy seems to demand highly-skilled migration, such as in STEM industries, scholarship on employability of tertiary-educated Mexpatriates unveil unequal opportunities for this population (e.g., high level of underemployment and low incomes) when compared to their counterparts from other origins, to individuals who were born in Mexico but earned their tertiary education in the U.S., and also to U.S. born individuals.

Employment-related phenomenological studies on tertiary-educated expatriates in the U.S.

Phenomenological scholarship providing first-hand insights about what is transpiring in labor markets that host expatriates with foreign tertiary education already pays attention to some nations with highly-skilled migration, addressing the experiences of these individuals living in Australia (Mohyuddin & Pick, 2016; Omeri & Atkins, 2002), Canada (Ogbuagu, 2012), Iceland (Kristjansdottir & Christiansen, 2017), Ireland (Troy, Wyness, & McAuliffe, 2007), Netherlands (Bergh & Plessis, 2012); Sweden (Mozetič, 2018), and U.K. (Alexis & Vydelingum, 2004; Alexis & Vydelingum, 2005; Alexis & Vydelingum, 2007; Alexis, Vydelingum, & Robbins, 2007; Zschomler, 2019). However, phenomenology-oriented research on the experiences of expatriates with foreign tertiary education participating in the U.S. workplace is almost non-existent. There are few studies (Dicicco-Bloom, 2004; Jose, 2011; Lane & Lee, 2018; Nwabah & Heitner, 2009; Xu, Gutierrez, & Kim, 2008), all of them conducted in the U.S. healthcare sector, for the most part, grounded on interviews, with a significant proportion of female nurses' participation, and most of the time with nurses born and raised in countries such as Nigeria, Philippines, India, and China. Among those phenomenological studies, most of them addressed expatriates who had tertiary education before migrating to the United States (Dicicco-Bloom, 2004; Jose, 2011; Lane & Lee, 2018; Xu et al., 2008), while one study (Nwabah & Heitner, 2009) included individuals who migrated into the U.S. both with tertiary education degrees (63.6%) and with high-school degrees (36.4%). Nonetheless, in general terms, all these studies are important in laying a foundation of knowledge and vocalizing the experiences of tertiary-educated immigration and its participation in the U.S. labor market.

Overall, phenomenological research supports the notion that internationally educated immigrants face significant challenges - particularly during the initial stages - when attempting to work in the United States. These expatriates may encounter a lengthy and arduous migration process (Jose, 2011), cultural differences (Xu et al., 2008; Jose, 2011), and frustration stemming from the U.S. education and regulatory systems (Lane & Lee, 2018). Furthermore, studies have identified divergent professional roles given that in some cases, when comparing a professional practice in the United States to the home country, it differs (Jose, 2011; Nwabah & Heitner, 2009; Xu et al., 2008). For instance, nursing in the U.S. involves more independent clinical judgment than nursing in China (Xu et al., 2008), which may leave these professionals feeling overwhelmed in this new work environment.

Also, findings of phenomenology-based studies consistently expound discriminatory experiences and unequal treatment lived by professional expatriates in the U.S. workplace that undervalues them. As Xu et al., (2008) stated, Chinese nurses in the northeastern U.S. experienced marginalization, inequality, and discrimination, "a feeling of "otherness" based on race, culture, and language" (p. E39). Furthermore, Nwabah and Heitner's study (2009) with Nigerian women in Texas with a high school degree or beyond before migrating, reported a differential treatment because "being an immigrant, a black, a woman, an African" (p. 34). Thus, as expressed by these women, such treatment may be attributed to either accent, gender, skin color, and/or being from another country. In addition, Dicicco-Bloom (2004) discussed similar findings in her study with Indian immigrants working as nurses in New Jersey and Pennsylvania areas, whose stories unveil racism and marginalization as being a "female nurse, an immigrant, and non-white" (p. 30); for example, regarding limited promotion opportunities at the workplace.

Along with a complex identity as individuals settling in a new and different environment, the phenomenological scholarship also has shown communication-based issues that narrow down tertiary-educated expatriates' expression and well-being, which -among other sources- may ground either on an English language deficiency and/or unfamiliarity with technical terminology and colloquial English but that limit to express a "full self" opinion in English (Lane & Lee, 2018, p. 321), a constraint for "what you can hear, what you can speak, and how much you can explain" (Xu et al., 2008, p. E37). Scholars also defend that these frequent encounters may nurture feelings of lack of voice (Lane & Lee, 2018), embarrassment, frustration, and humiliation (Xu et al., 2008) among these individuals.

In such a reported difficult scenario for tertiary-educated expatriates in the U.S. labor market, phenomenological studies have also gotten fruitful insights for discussing those individuals' reasons for staying in the U.S., finding that career-related opportunities (Jose, 2011; Nwabah & Heitner, 2009; Lane & Lee, 2018) and high wages (Jose, 2011) emerge as impelling factors for continuing living and working in the U.S. In this way, phenomenological scholarship has revealed a pro-active learning behavior that helps this group of expatriates in coping with their new lives' demands. For instance, female nurses from the Philippines, India, and Nigeria, identified useful pathways to rise above the challenges, such as willingness to learn new ways, persistence, and development of support networks, among others (Jose, 2011). Likewise, female Nigerian immigrants in Texas, U.S. provided first-hand recommendations for new female expatriates that include volunteering, working hard, going back to school, and updating educational qualifications (Nwabah & Heitner, 2009); similarly reported by Chinese nurses who recommended attending continuing education to keep their medical knowledge up to date (Xu et al., 2008).

Moreover, previous phenomenological studies have uncovered a social dimension to the experiences of tertiary-educated expatriates in the United States, emphasizing the critical role of family and connections in their success. For instance, family responsibilities may hinder the leadership success of Nigerian female immigrants, but family support may also influence their adjustment to the host country and subsequent success (Nwabah & Heitner, 2009). Furthermore, network development that integrates mentoring services, immigrant associations, and church & neighborhood organizations is considered as beneficial for these expatriates and therefore, highly recommended (Jose, 2011; Nwabah & Heitner, 2009).

To a lesser extent, phenomenological studies in the United States have claimed a need for developing programs targeted to highly-skilled expatriates and their particular needs. In the words of Xu et al. (2008), providing transition programs attending issues such as language training, cultural and clinical differences, etc., as well as workshops on topics such as U.S. law and logistics would facilitate Chinese resettled nurses' adaptation and integration in the United States. Similarly, Nwabah and Heitner (2009) suggested using their study findings to inform the development of programs that expand the educational credentials of new expatriates in the United States and build their English language acquisition and communication skills. Otherwise stated, early-stage phenomenology-based scholarship in the United States has shown potential benefits of attending to the specific educational needs of professional expatriates in this country.

Synopsis

In summary, this section showed that employment-related phenomenology studies on tertiary-educated migration in the United States have initiated a discussion about the value of understanding the experiences of those who experience this phenomenon. At an early-stage,

these studies have provided first-hand evidence of the challenges faced by expatriates in adjusting to life in this country, including issues related to discrimination and communication, as well as their reasons for staying, coping strategies, and practical recommendations for peers. Also, these studies have highlighted the power of social factors such as family and networking, and the worth of developing programs that address the unique needs of this population. Nevertheless, there is still a need for research into the experiences of transnational tertiary-educated expatriates in the United States who did not emigrate from Nigeria, the Philippines, India, or China, as well as studies beyond the U.S. healthcare sector.

Literature Review's Summary and Gap

After analyzing the literature on the U.S. brain waste phenomenon, it is evident that the negative consequences of underemployment and unemployment are well-established. The literature also highlights several conditioning factors that may contribute to this phenomenon. However, there is a notable gap in scholarship when it comes to understanding how brain waste affects a specific group of highly-skilled immigrants: tertiary-educated MeXpatriates in the U.S. While existing research has shed light on unequal opportunities faced by this group, including high levels of underemployment and low incomes compared to their U.S. and non-U.S. counterparts, there is a lack of in-depth explanation from the perspective of the individuals experiencing this phenomenon. Therefore, this qualitative/phenomenological research addresses a pressing need in the literature and becomes a valuable study in providing a deeper understanding of MeXpatriates' lived experiences in securing and maintaining employment in the U.S.

Theoretical & Conceptual Lenses

In order to provide a deeper understanding of tertiary-educated Mexpatriates' lived experiences in the United States, this study utilizes significant contributions of neo-racism, Latina/o Critical Race Theory (LatCrit), and Bourdieu's sociological view. These are frameworks that offer a comprehensive lens for examining the specific case of tertiary-educated MeXpatriates, immigrants of Latin origin living in the U.S.

Neo-racism

Neo-racism defends there is "a form of discrimination based on the belief about a hierarchy of cultures and on negative perceptions about an individual's region of origin, in addition to his or her race" (Lee, Jon, & Byun, 2017, p. 141). Given that previous research uncovering neo-racism in higher-education institutions has addressed the case of international students at the baccalaureate level (Lee et al., 2017; Lee & Opio, 2011; Lee & Rice, 2007) and postdoctoral level (Cantwell & Lee, 2010), this study extends the concept of neo-racism in the higher education sector by approaching the intersection of overseas tertiary-educated migration into the U.S. and the phenomenon of brain waste in this country; specifically, among tertiary education-degree holders from Mexico who migrated into the U.S.

Neo-racism goes beyond the traditional conception of racism that rationalizes the subordination of people of color in connection with their biology (Cantwell & Lee, 2010; Lee et al., 2017; Lee & Opio, 2011; Lee & Rice, 2007). That is, the common idea about racism is the belief supporting that the physical appearance of a human being (such as skin pigmentation, skull shape, hair texture) determines their behavior and distribution of abilities; however, neo-racism

re-energizes such traditional conception by appealing to "natural" tendencies to preserve a group cultural identity -in this case, the dominant group (Lee & Rice, 2007).

Neo-racism addresses the existence of a cultural superiority in which the host society is superior to outsiders (not because of biological superiority but because of culture), but that it eventually suggests a sociological/cultural/racial hierarchy that excludes and oppresses human beings assumed as inferior. Hence, ethnic minorities from low-income countries can be negatively viewed and mistreated by the dominant majority group (Lee et al., 2017). For example, in terms of tertiary-educated immigrants and their labor market integration, neo-racism supports structural barriers to social mobility, negative assumptions about foreign-earned credentials, and justified underutilization of immigrants' skills & knowledge.

Latina/o Critical Race Theory (LatCrit)

Emerged in the mid-1990s (Aoki & Johnson, 2008), "Latina/o Critical Race Theory (LatCrit) is a theoretical branch extending from Critical Race Theory" (Perez-Huber, 2010, p. 77), which in turn, it builds upon Critical Legal Studies (Aoki & Johnson, 2008; Solorzano & Yosso, 2001; Shelton, 2018). In essence, LatCrit,

> "Bring attention to the ways in which conventional, and even critical, approaches to race and civil rights ignore the problems and special situations of Latino people -including bilingualism, immigration reform, the binary white/black structure of existing race remedies law, and much more" (Stefancic, 1997, p. 424).

This study addresses LatCrit's interest in disaggregating Latinos into diverse subgroups, such as Chicanas/os, Puertoriqueñas/os, and Cubanas/os, so as to inform their particular stories, commitments, and potentialities as important constituents of this large community in the U.S. (Montoya, 1999). Furthermore, this study recaptures Critical Race Theory (CRT) work in educational scholarship, particularly, the model of community cultural wealth crafted by Yosso

in the context of the chicana/o educational pipeline (Yosso, 2006), which challenged "traditional interpretations of Bourdeuean cultural capital theory" (Yosso, 2005, p. 70), often narrowing cultural capital as defined by white middle-class values (the norm or standard), and prioritizing individuals assets and resources accumulation (Yosso, 2005).

The model of community cultural wealth "is an array of knowledge, skills, abilities, and contacts possessed and utilized by Communities of Color to survive and resist macro and micro-forms of oppression" (Yosso, 2005, p. 77). According to Yosso (2005; 2006), communities of color in the U.S. develop cultural wealth through -at least- six neither static nor exclusionary forms of capital:

- *Aspirational capital*: The resilience, the ability to retain dreams and hope for a better future despite unfavorable resources and/or circumstances. E.g., expectations for graduate studies.
- *Linguistic capital*: Unique intellectual and social skills that students of color learn through communication experiences in more than one language and/or style. E.g., bilingualism.
- *Navigational capital*: Skillful maneuvering through institutions not created with communities of color into account. E.g., higher education degree achievement in a predominantly white institution.
- *Social capital*: Those contacts' networks and community resources that may provide emotional and instrumental support for successful navigation in the American system. E.g., drawing on friends and community resources in identifying post-secondary scholarship opportunities.

- *Familial capital*: Kinship ties to the nuclear and extended family that foster a sense of community and caring. E.g., providing emotional and instrumental support.
- *Resistant capital*: The conscious cultivation of knowledge, skills, and behaviors that challenge inequality. E.g., teaching daughters to assert themselves as worthy of respect.

Based on all the above discussion, LatCrit fits in this study to explore the experiences of Mexicans in the United States, a subgroup of the Latina/o community, part of American society. Furthermore, Yosso's model of community cultural wealth is appropriate as a starting point explanation of what this community of expatriates of color in the United States identifies as its wealth and how they utilize it after their migration into the United States.

Bourdieu's Reconnaissance of Capitals

Pierre Bourdieu's sociological view considered culture as a resource within relations of power and distinction between classes, in which social groups battle in order to consecrate those cultural styles and products consistently to their values, interests, and imaginations (Neveu, 2018). In the occurrence of such relations, individuals possess varied resources or capitals (e.g., money, contacts, memberships, credentials, etc.), which can be activated beneficially, but also, they are objected to interpretation (Woodward, 2018).

As per Bourdieu (1986, p. 243), conceptualization, "capital can present itself in three fundamental guises:" economic capital, which pertains to monetary assets; social capital, which encompasses the resources that arise from one´s association with a group; and cultural capital, which can take on three forms: embodied state, where knowledge and skills are acquired through

continuous cultivation; objectified state, where cultural artifacts such as books and musical instruments are accumulated; and institutionalized state, where the cultural capital is recognized and certified by formal institutions such as academic degrees and government-issued licenses. Bourdieu also introduced the term symbolic capital, which denotes the legitimacy accorded to various forms of capital, once they are recognized and deemed acceptable (Bourdieu, 1989). Symbolic capital cannot be acquired through monetary means but rather denotes the moral authority, prestige, and recognition conferred upon an individual or group by other forms of capital.

This perspective has important implications, namely that cultural and social capitals can be transformed into economic capital through effective mobilization by agents. For example, Expatriates' strong community ties can translate into economic growth for them and their families. As Neveu (2018) observes, social and symbolic capitals demand continuous cultivation and personal investment. In this fashion, individuals must invest time and effort in building and maintaining relationships to accrue social capital, such as professional connections.

Furthermore, symbolic Capital requires acknowledgment, the existence of an audience using its power to validate capitals held by an individual or group. As Neveu (2018) explained, symbolic capital exists because of a double process: "the accumulation of another capital and the recognition of the extraordinary meaning of this accumulation by a public possessing the interpretive tools and the socialization necessary for making sense of the situation" (p. 360). Then, culture as capital becomes an issue of perception, conditioned by a specific social context or field that it will form distinct impressions corresponding to its particular interests, values, etc. For example, in the study of Iheduru-Anderson (2020), professionals working in the United

States with non-native accents reported being perceived as having low intelligence regardless of their higher education attainment and facing accent-bias grounded barriers when seeking managerial and faculty positions because of that unfavorable interpretation towards the foreign accent. Thus, “the others” perception in the Recognition (Reconnaissance) of Capitals surfaces as a key condition to understand opportunities among communities or subgroups often not considered part of the American mainstream.

CHAPTER 3. METHODS

Research Question

As previously discussed, there is a high preponderance of the brain waste phenomenon among tertiary-educated expatriates in the United States, and tertiary-educated MeXpatriates stand out since their occupations in the U.S. labour market are not necessarily commensurate with their educational achievements and expertise. Therefore, to assist the understanding of the brain waste phenomenon among these immigrants in the United States, the following question guided this study:

What do tertiary-educated MeXpatriates' lived-experiences in securing and maintaining employment in the U.S. look like, and what do these immigrants understand those experiences to mean?

Research Design

In order to answer the research question of this qualitative study, the researcher implemented a Hermeneutic (Interpretive) Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) given its quality to describe the essence of a phenomenon by exploring it from the perspective of those who have experienced it in the context of a real individual's social and historic life circumstances. IPA, also called Heideggerian Phenomenology, provided a unique opportunity to study the meaning, "the what and the how" (Neubauer, Witkop, & Varpio, 2019, p. 91), in securing and maintaining employment among tertiary education degree holders from Mexico who have migrated into the United States.

Ethical Considerations

This study was subjected to the University of Arizona's institutional review board (IRB) policies and procedures for human subjects' protection (See Appendix A). It is important to note that the initial approval granted permission for face-to-face interviews. However, due to the COVID-19 threat to human being health and its stay-home restrictions, both the recruitment script, the informed consent, and the interviewing format were adapted to transition from a face-to-face interview to an on- distance interview, ensuring no spreading of COVID-19 virus among interviewees.

Participation in this study was voluntary, and participants were informed of their right to withdraw at any stage. No financial support for the research or authorship was received from any participants. All participants' names are kept confidential and pseudonyms were employed to prevent identification of MeXpatriates and workplaces addressed throughout the dissertation. All other identifying information will be kept confidential to preserve anonymity and protect participants´ welfare.

Setting and Participants

This section provides an overview of the setting and participants involved in the study, highlighting the context in which the research was conducted, the selection of participants, and their characteristics of the MeXpatriates who participated. The information presented here is crucial for understanding the background and experiences of the participants, which subsequently contributes to the interpretation of the study's findings.

Location & Temporality

The present study was conducted from May 2020 to May 2023 in Tucson, a city in southern Arizona, United States (See Appendix B). Tucson locates approximately 118 miles (188 km) southeast of Phoenix and 60 miles (98 km) north of the United States-Mexico border (Map Quest, n.d.). As reported by the U.S. Census Bureau (n.d.), the median household income in Tucson in 2021 was US$48,058, with two primary racial populations: approximately 60% of the population identifying as White alone (not Hispanic or Latino) and about 40% identifying as Hispanic or Latino.

Purposeful Selection

The researcher employed a "purposeful selection" strategy (Maxwell, 2013), also referred to as "purposeful sampling" (Creswell, 2012), by deliberately choosing individuals who were particularly pertinent to the research question and objectives of this study. Consequently, to obtain a sample of critical cases that could meaningfully contribute to understanding the lived experiences of securing and maintaining employment among tertiary-educated MeXpatriates living in the United States, the participant selection criteria for this study were as follows:

1. Being a Mexican-born individual living in the United States.
2. Holding any type of tertiary education degree via a higher education institution in Mexico prior to migrating to the U.S. or been a *"pasante"* (having completed bachelors´ course work in a tertiary-education institution in Mexico).
3. Possessing professional experience in the Mexican labour market.
4. Possessing lawful residence in the United States.

5. Having experience securing and maintaining employment in the United States´ labour market.
6. Expressing willingness to participate in this study.

The participants' recruitment in this study involved a word-of-mouth approach and the distribution of recruitment cards within the Tucson community, targeting individuals who could provide the necessary information to address the posed research question (s) (Maxwell, 2013). The investigator designed and printed recruitment cards in the Spanish language (See Appendix C), which were subsequently disseminated among tertiary-educated MeXpatriates residing in the local area.

The MeXpatriates who participated in this study are affiliated with English language courses and/or organizations, clubs, and institutions that serve the Mexican community in Tucson, such as the Mexican Consulate in Tucson, WYCA Southern Arizona, National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM), University of Arizona – Eller Entrepreneurship Program, Tucson Son Jarocho Collective, among others. In addition to the word-of-mouth approach, the researcher periodically encountered potential MeXpatriate interviewees, elucidating the purpose of the study and extending invitations for collaboration as participants. It is noteworthy that a few potential participants opted not to engage in the study, citing discomfort with the exposure of their lives abroad. However, on the majority of occasions, potential participants manifested a readiness and willingness to contribute to the research. Therefore, upon meeting the participation criteria and providing their consent, the MeXpatriates were scheduled for a one-hour long interview.

MeXpatriates in this Study

A total of 21 tertiary-educated MeXpatriates participated in this study. Their shared experiences, encapsulating facets of their early lives, educational experiences at university, labor market engagements, and circumstances surrounding their MeXpatriating to the United States, serve as the foundation for the introductions that follow. These introductions are also available in Spanish, the original language of the participants' interviews, in Appendix D. In accordance with the ethical guidelines of research, and to ensure both anonymity and confidentiality, the participants are referred to using pseudonyms, chosen from surnames that are prevalent in Mexico.

1. "Estrada"

The Early Years...

I was born in Monterrey, my parents were doctors, psychiatrists and they went to do the equivalent of a doctorate in Mexico City. So, I grew up in Mexico City. We were there for ten years [...] Then we went to England for one-year staying before returning to Monterrey. Back to Monterrey, we were Regios. Attending middle school... high school, and then a university.

Experiencing the University and the Labour Market...

There was an obvious idea supporting that I would attain tertiary education. Well…imagine…if my parents with a doctorate and I only earn high school, it's nothing! I mean, it's like kindergarten, "¡bravo, you graduated from kindergarten!" I mean, you're going far. That was like a fact in my family. So, and why architecture? Well, my dad really liked art...and architecture. When we were in England, he enjoyed admiring the buildings and then I started to be passionate about it. And architecture because it combines. I'm very good at math and stuff like that. The sciences and... I love art and all that field. Then, architecture is the career that kind of combines the two. These two parts that I liked a lot and I am passionate about. I'm passionate about architecture, I love it. This... The truth is that I do not regret having studied architecture [...]

I earned my bachelor's degree in architecture at the Tec de Monterrey [...] Yes, there was a lot of work, a lot because in architecture you can spend sleepless nights, especially before a due date, but it was team work! It was with music, with coffee. A few wake-up nights that... rich, so... all already with dark circles, but look, this is coming out and so... this... Very nice relationship with my colleagues, peers... this... Well, a very good time, a lot of work, but also... Well, freedom at my home, this... we spent time in the Tec... hey... this... well... A truly unforgettable time, very beautiful my university years [...]

Before graduating I was hired by a teacher who was one of my teachers at Tec de Monterrey to work and get some work experience. So, I worked part-time and I also studied part-time, in the last semester, in the last year of the degree. When I graduated he offered me a full time job [...] Then I quitted, I changed my job to a private architectural firm because a friend invited me. Everything is networking here, that is... the friend tells me "Listen, here there is this experience Adriana, this opportunity for this... to make some plans in AutoCat" [...] Then, another colleague who studied in Tec, hires us [...] paying us more to do some ... to work in another construction company in planning design [...] So, I worked in three different offices before I got married.

At the Tec de Monterrey, there I met my... the one who was later my husband. We were companions. After we got maried we relocated to his hometown. And well, there... A very conservative, very traditional city. He did not allow me to work...The woman in the house, the woman this... to take care of the husband... hey... Very macho.

And then when I got married, because who was my husband, he is an architect, because this... I did jobs for him, but he never paid me, he never recognized me [...] In that situation... That's why I said, "Well, teaching, right? that they paid you more in teaching"... not at all! ...But there was less conflict in my marriage when it came to being a teacher.

MeXpatriating to the United States...

I arrived in Tucson in 2007 on a tourist visa with the idea that my children would study English. They are Americans, they were born in Tucson. So, the initial plan was that they attended one school year in a public school here in Tucson and that way they had the experience and learn English. I came with no plans to work, no plans to stay, just to take care of them while they attended school [...] Before I migrated, I was a teacher at the university... of two universities. So, to continue teaching there I was required to earn a master's degree[...] In the initial stage of my master's degree [already in the United States] my marriage ended…so this... Well, I finished the master's degree by myself, with...and my children depending on me.

2. "Torres"

The Early Years...

I was born in Monterrey, Nuevo Leon, I belonged to a very intellectual family. My father was a lawyer-politician, and when I was little... my mother was a teacher. My mother used to take care of the house chores, she was not employed and...but she taught me reading at the age of three. I grew up in a house full of books... many, many books. My dad really liked to read and write and my mom too... She was a great reader [...] We are two brothers. My brother is younger than me one year, and he is also far away.

My first years I went to a public school because my parents were looking for a secular education for me, a not religious education. And then in middle school, I went to a protestant school because it was more... No, there was no religion and because it was more... Well, freer, more liberal. And well there was... They taught English as well.

Experiencing the University and the Labour Market...

In my house, I don't know... It was assumed that we would earn tertiary education, that we would attend a university, that we were going to study at a university. I was supposed to earn tertiary education, and being twelve years old I decided I wanted to be a writer, because of course, I

was... That is the consequence of reading, one ends up wanting to write. And for that... Well... I did high school at the Instituto Tecnológico de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey [...] I studied four years of Literature. I did a Bachelor's Degree in Hispanic and Latin American Letters... and in Linguistics as well.

I continued taking Literature classes right there at the Tecnologico. It was four more years [...]

And well, one of the memorable things is that in high school we were ten women and a thousand men, because women in my time did not go to college. Well... not all... well... my friends because they didn't go to college [I'm talking about the 60's in Monterrey] I think I was the only one of my friends who went. They were getting married.

Something memorable that...well, something that changed my life was that one summer abroad and one semester during my university years... I wanted to improve my English Language and well... My parents gave me the opportunity... They paid my university cost and I also attended Georgetown University in Washington, DC. There, I spent a summer and a whole semester. There I improved English, the English language...I loved it, I loved living in the United States and I always cherished the idea, as a dream of "I want to live in the United States"... I'm loving it... I love living in the United States.

However, after completing my bachelor's degree, I immediately got married, had children, stopped teaching... Well, before that, I did an internship and when my children were born I stopped teachi…working. I had to... I worked but against the believe of the person who was my husband at that time because he didn't allow me to work...When the children were born, he told me, "You can't work anymore," and then I didn't work anymore. However, when they went to kindergarten I went back to work. This... and I started working at the Universidad Iberoamericana and started doing my master's degree. I did my master's degree, I did a master's degree, and then I did a doctorate. After that... that in Mexico City because I was living in Mexico City... It was a long master's degree because I took one class per semester and the summer I didn't take classes... And so I was doing it in a slow way, just like the doctorate, I was doing it slowly but... this... It helped me a lot to have a PhD because after this I got divorced and it was a way to... Well, to continue working in the academy and teaching, which is what I like to do the most.

[...] I was a teacher, and I taught and I loved that. I taught at the School of Journalism. Then... Well, I liked it a lot. Then I started writing in the newspaper, the newspaper hired me, and... I had a live TV show... two live TV shows... And to survive and thanks to what I had studied, I opened a literature center for adults, adolescents and children ... and... which worked very successfully.

MeXpatriating to the United States...

I lived in Mexico City, I went to the Benjamin Franklin library and looked for... it was about May and there were advertising camps for children. And I started looking summer camps. I wrote down the addresses, wrote a letter and sent it to 50 schools. They offered me a job in three schools [...] the one I liked the most was the one in Vermont because they had horses, they had a lake to swim in... this... and... there I was hired to teach Spanish in the summer.

[...] Why was I never afraid to go to Vermont? Because I had already studied in George Town and... And I liked it a lot. I had really liked the American way of life, and that's why I asked for

work too…and went to work in Vermont…and I also loved it. And it was always in my mind, there, there in ... ah maybe, but I couldn't find how. I couldn't figure out how.

... It was a lucky shot that I was invited. The National Institute of Fine Arts, the Department of Children's Literature invited me to give a lecture on children's literature because I had been researching and had been specializing in children's literature [...] There they were... a manager... a director... well, some scholars from the University of Arizona, and when I finished giving my talk, they came up to me and asked me if I knew about Tucson, Arizona. And yes, because I had been here once. I had been to Tucson, Arizona once. They told me that they were going to have a conference, that if I wanted to participate, that they would send me the plane ticket and everything. I told them yes, I did want to participate, of course, oh! They asked me if I possessed English language skills and I said, "Yes, I do speak English." And then they told me if I wanted to go to a teaching conference. I asked them what topic they wanted me to speak about, and they said, "This. Same thing in English." Ah, OK, perfect, well, it's done!"

3. "Guerrero"

The Early Years...

I'm from 1980. This... My dad was a teacher because he's retired, my mom, a housewife. I became interested in... science. Well, we are three. Two brothers and I are three in tota…and I was always interested in the area of science [...]

In high school we had to do what is called social service [...] Many did it in a school setting and I decided to do it in a laboratory [...] Then... this... A relative managed to allow me to go as an shadow. So, this... That's how I became a little more interested in the area of... of chemistry, clinical chemistry and [as in '98], I decided to enter the Faculty of Chemistry here and that's where I met my wife... We are both chemists [...]

Experiencing the University and the Labour Market...

[...] The Department of Chemistry organized what they call pharmaceutical days. Normally they did it in Mazatlan, because obviously... because we were in Culiacán... what we wanted was to travel, then most of the students, what we were waiting for were those dates to be able to attend the days that we…today… in Culiacán do not have pharmaceutical industry because of the weather and humidity [...] So the pharmaceutical industry, which is more in the area of Jalisco and Mexico City, is because there is less humidity...it also organized these types of events to somehow recruit students who were about to graduate and be able to hired them. So, it was a nice activity because it complemented what it was like to attend these events and learn about the pharmaceutical industry.

[...] I was also interested in the area of... of computing. Then, at the same time that I was attending college, in the afternoon, I was attending a private computer school. I was not from the university and there I finished a degree that is related to programming and that taught you the Office packages. [...]

Later, when I finished my degree, I decided to do a postgraduate degree and some of my options were in southern Mexico and other places, but for different reasons it did not materialize to study there ... well ... and I enrolled to a master's degree, postgraduate, in Culiacán in a research center called the Center for Research in Food and Development.

[...] So, that's how... I finished my education there in Mexico. Later, when I finished, I was offered a job and I was working there in the Microbiology area of the Culiacán Unit. I have always known that when you leave the university or any school it is very complicated well... getting a job by applying... well ... And I had the advantage of... That I was offered in the same day…First I was offered to be an advisor to undergraduate students, and I was paid through a scholarship. Thus, I said yes, it's very good because I'm already here and my wife was also studying in the same research center the... the... the master's degree, then I can help her on weekends without any problem so that she worked on her lab experiments.

[...] Then the scholarship ended up and it was when the research center hired me as a staff and I was working and learning many other things as a worker and not as a student…because you have to do all the cycles.

[...] I experienced to know, to know how it is... what is the process where all the vegetables go through, when they arrive, when they arrive, here in the United States everything is... the... vegetables, in the supermarket, very nice, very cold, but everything behind that vegetable you have no idea. That is, there are people who come from the south of Mexico, they are working the crops, their hands, they have them all, all black, of the land and of the type that sticks to them. They are twelve or 14 hours working in the field, so what I had to do was to take people by the hand and to do sampling, looking for pathogenic bacteria such as salmonella or ecological, because unfortunately people coming from the south do not have so much culture. They are already trying to educate them a little more. I'm alking about towns like Oaxaca, Chiapas, people who come to work in the fields. I'm not generally talking about all people of southern Mexico, I'm talking about very, very specific populations of people who have a lot of needs and have to migrate, have to come to work in the agricultural fields. So many of these people defecate in the mountains, near the crops so obviously there is no paper there, there is not, there is no sanitary condition…well…and frequently their hands get bacteria, then at the time of collecting the fruit, so they can contaminate the product. Anyway, apart from the analysis that we did in the... there, in the warehouses of the farmers in Culiacán, before the trailer crosses to the United States, another analysis is performed, what is called... the civilian, the cost, a protection value. There is an area there that takes random sampling to see if there is contamination from any bacteria.

[...] There was also an outbreak of salmonella in chile and they were FDA officers to the agricultural fields of Culiacán and you know, Culiacán, that is, is, is always dangerous. Culiacan. So, the governor of Sinaloa at that time, facilitated his personal escort to the FDA officers, that is, he lent his escort and it escorted them because do you imagine, what can happen if something happened to an FDA officer in a city in Mexico? It may become something very, very, very dangerous. Well, I had that experience! Well, we joined them too, because we accompany them and we also take samples to analyze them for the Mexican side and on behalf of the United States, an FDA official and his staff collected samples to do that study. It was a very notorious case of salmonella contamination in chile, in chile serrano.

MeXpatriating to the United States...

Later, for family reasons…my wife's mother had a health problem. They were living here in Tucson, then…well…because of that health problem we decided to relocate to Tucson, to be closer to her [...] Several years, well... I came in and went out. Then, when my second daughter was born, it was when, already well, I decided, we decided that we were going to permanently

stay [...] It was like the flash point of saying, "That is, we should be all together on behalf of our family."

4. "Pérez"

The Early Years...
Well, me, I grew up in two states in Mexico. I grew up between Baja California Norte, in Mexicali, and Sinaloa, Guamúchil. I was actually born in Mexicali, the capital of Baja California [...] I am the eldest of four siblings [...] Then in Guamúchil, [...] I went to the university in Culiacán to study chemistry, pharmacology.

Experiencing the University and the Labour Market...
I always liked the natural sciences very much, but I remember a teacher... in fifth and sixth grade we did all the experiments of the Natural Sciences book, and Do you remember that book? Sometimes I thought it was my favorite, right? Because before I liked natural sciences a lot, but we were told to work by teams and... And everybody, we all did all the experiments, we helped, we took things around the house and we did it. And then I think the teacher sowed that seed, because curiously several of my classmates... of the primary school in Mexicali we are in the area of health, doctors, chemists like me. I think she gave us that like... that little push; love natural sciences. Then I already knew I wanted to be something in the natural sciences, but I didn't want to be a doctor, I don't want to be a doctor... And I like science, plus the area of research.

[...] I remember when we were in high school once... because we were already preselected to compete in the Chemistry Olympics, but we were from a small town, we did not have the laboratory to practice the whole section, because in the Chemistry Olympics you do a theoretical part and a practical part, so for the theoretical part we were all well ready but for the practical part, well, no, because it was a small high school. So we went to Culiacán, we went to Culiacán to train and well... the Autonomous University of Sinaloa, the Faculty of Chemistry lent the facilities, and that's where I told myself, "I want to study here, I want to study here." And so it was [...]

And I went with scholarships from Guamúchil, I went with scholarships to study there, to Culiacán, from 98 to 2003, which is my time at the university. After the period I was there studying, I started performing what social service is before it was the official time to do it, in a research laboratory. They were looking for parasites. Eventually, it did not count for what social service is, but I learned many things and I was also practicing bacteriology with a teacher [...] who told me... He invited me to participate in his lab.

[...] In '98 we were having... we were still in trouble with the disease that is related to the pig, it had affected in Sinaloa. It caught my attention doing something to prevent... for how... So when I entered the laboratory they were already finishing the last efforts... But then a larval problem started... it migrates! and this problem was affecting the south of Sinaloa a lot. So I think that being, having the opportunity to participate in events that were directly affecting and being able to make a little by little the difference in the improvement was what helped me to understand how important public health is and how sometimes with the work of the community, from the universities, from the government, these problems can be controlled.

In 2003 I finished the classes, but this one had the degree process and precisely after in this laboratory we have to do a thesis with methodological rigor, which is like a thesis, but you do not defend it. Then you see everything that involves doing a thesis, but we do not have to defend it. So, I completed it about 2005.

[...] In the research project, there, I was able to work for projects all the time and I was also working as a teacher at the Autonomous University of Durango, Culiacán Campus, and at another university, in the area of nutrition, well…I was teaching microbiology, pharmacology, food safety [...]

MeXpatriating to the United States...
My dad is a resident of…has his residence in the United States and since we were in Mexicali, bout 99, he initiated the migratory paperwork for the family. Thus, in '92...we went...93! I think, we went to Sinaloa. Then he had to pause the process.

Then, in 2006... Yes, around…already in 2005, the migration process was carried out [...] I was single. My parents and my brothers decided to move before I came, because I had to stay to finish my university paperwork.

After the migration process took place, we were accepted as residents. Since I came [to the United States] I started studying English [...] I was coming in and coming out for a while, a time here and then I went there... I decided to do the ten-month master's degree [...] Education is definitely more accessible in Mexico, but also, because I was granted a scholarship from CoNaCyT. So when I got the scholarship they were, they were paying what is the registration and also they gave us money to pay monthly expenses. Well, that's how I was... I came in and came out. I was with my parents because my husband was there [...] In the time I was doing the master's degree I was going back and forth to be able to... this... continue with my...so that my English language skills does not atrophy ... Then at that time, I gave birth my eldest son and after I finished the master's degree, my girl was born.

5. "González"

The Early Years...
I am originally from Caborca, Sonora, in Mexico and it is a town, a very small city eh ... It's here in the north, isn't it?... It is a city, it is border city, it is very close to here, about three hours from here, from... of the United States. So, uh... well, I spent my whole life in Mexico and I did elementary school, kindergarten, elementary school, uh... the high school in Caborca. Later, I was attending English classes and I started to get the idea: "What such a cool thing!" and... getting interested a little bit of the culture from here, right? but never with the plan to come and live here, because no, there was no bond or something that led me to say: "Well, I'm going to live in the United States."

Experiencing the University and the Labour Market...
I was 17 years old…I was very young at the time of earning my bachelor's degree, 22 years old. So, it was a very confusing time. It was said, "Well, I want to study" Ehhh ... It was like between economics, marketing, but what pulled me the most, what caught my attention was international trade because I liked that whole area and I always said: "I want to have a company of... of trucks, of transportation…I think is... I think it is cool because my dad has a mechanical workshop and there they do trucks mechanics [...]" Then, you know, they give them like some

forms in the border where it says you have to repair this and that. Then, I was always told: "Translate it, tell me what it says". Thus, there I saw many things, terms of trade and it caught my attention. So, I think that's where that interest in studying something like was born, because in high school I also helped him with billing and everything... I was going to do invoicing, but above all, what most caught my attention was that part that I tell you, when the trucks cross in the [inaudible] I saw all the terminology and I wanted to know more and I found out very technical things and I said "Well, what does this mean?" And then I'd go in and research the internet to see what it meant. And that's where I started to get my attention to make a career in International Trade.

I attended a university in Hermosillo, Sonora, which is the capital of Sonora. So there, uh... I studied International Trade… the classes were very cool, uh... But I was told, "No, hey, but there's not a lot of international trade employment... Why are you in that program?" And I, "But I like it, that is, I want, I want to do that, I am interested in everything related to the... with... With all that, with the treaty between countries." And well, anyway, I was very interested in the field and I studied for five years in Hermosillo and by the end of high school, I already met the one who is now my husband and well... right?... and we dated while I was in high school; He was also here at school and then for a while we stopped seeing each other and then in the middle of semester ... As 4th semester of the university again we meet again, right? Because we lasted like two years, three years without having contact, or seeing each other or anything [...]

I completed the bachelors' program in 2002 and it was a five years program [at the] Center for Higher Studies of the State of Sonora, now called UES.

You learn and know many things. It is leaving your home, the comfort you are in your home. It's going to see different things, knowing new things. I had several experiences in college that make you like more the career, you become a little more interested in it. We made school trips, we went, for example, to Ensenada and we arrived at the port of Ensenada and saw how they unload the boats ... We went, too... we had to go to Long Beach. They could only get ten people on a cargo ship. Then I was one of those ten lucky people who wore closed shoes and I had the opportunity... I got on a cargo ship and I saw how they are organizing all the logistics, how they are accommodating all those containers so that they go to their final destination. So all that was very interesting. That truck came loaded with... from China over there. Sorry! No truck... That ship came loaded with... from China... Then they explained to us how they are accommodated depending on which port they are going to. At the Long Beach port only arrived in passing, it was going to Los Angeles port, and then it was going to finish his route elsewhere then, it was very cool, very interesting to know all those things and there he was just like in the third semester of ... of the... of the university. So I think that all those experiences at an early point in the career were very important to say, "Hey, this is what I like, this is what I want to know more." And then, as in the fifth or sixth semester we made more trips, but now we went to visit the internal customs of Mexico, then we went to the airport... to the air customs of Mexico City. Then we were at the airport in Mexico City, where all the cargo planes arrive. We saw where all the merchandise arrives, how all the commerce moves. From there we also went to Colima, to Manzanillo, then we were also in a customs office of... Maritime, isn't it? I had already been in a maritime one, in Ensenada and in Long Beach, but other experience served to reinforce, and then we went to a border ... hey... which was here in Nuevo Laredo. Then we toured the three types of customs that we have in the... in the country, in Mexico. So, there it was

like reaffirming the knowledge we had. We saw how they moved all the goods... What... What documentations is needed. For everything that goes to arrive, it will be abandoned if does not bring the correct information. So all that is making you interested and wanting to learn more and continue and continue in this, right?

Parents, there are more conservative, of "No, you have to focus on your studies because it's like the inheritance!" So, focus on studying and doing well so you can get a job. Thus, in summer sometimes I didn't have time to work because sometimes I advanced subjects or had things uh... related to school or simply because I was already very tired of the whole year and they said [my parents] "Come home!". There was also a dispute.

[...] When I finished my degree, I was still dating and then I started working. And yes, thank God I found something related to international trade, like something... that something I wanted in a very small town, but at the end of the day it was uh... working on the field of my studies, right? putting into practice what I had studied, which was international trade, in the Import - Export department as a manager, right? There I had a position of great responsibility, it was a small company, but at the end of the day it was a lot of responsibility. There I learned a lot, they were the foundations of my career. [...] That assembly plant was my first job [...]

Well... the best experience was that my job was related to what I had studied. My graduation was in October, and I started working in September and by the day I was going to my graduation it was like I'm already working and I'm working in some foreign trade. And it felt so cool because everyone, "Seriously, that's great! We're still looking for jobs". And most I can tell you, of the... Among the members of my cohort; I believe that 10% are working in the area of foreign trade. Everyone else went to different clerical jobs or to work in banks... or to work in others fields because, because it is very little...here, the employability is... or you have to move to the border [...] And the guy who was leaving that job turned out to have studied at the same school as me and he was leaving because he was going to get married and move to live in San Luis, Rio Colorado. Then... Well, it's a border and there I had a job opportunity too. So when he knew he was... It was applying a person who came from the same university as him, he was very pleased. And…and besides I think that there was not someone also from foreign trade who applied…There were no people from another ... Interested... but they were from other fields. And even so when I was young and inexperienced, they wanted to hire me, right? Which I appreciate because I learned, I learned a lot, right?

MeXpatriating to the United States...

Already having four years working there, uh... Well, my husband already says, "Well, we have something to do, let's do something. Time is already passing and he eventually proposes to me. We plan wedding, everything... and that's when in 2011 we got married and I came to live in the United States [...] Well…it comes eh ... a difficult time, isn't it? Because it's hard in the sense that... Well, you're working, you have a very active life, suddenly... You come from another country and "Let's see, wait... Let's do it step by step, right? Here the thing is by steps..." and and... And that is how happened, "OK", and well, I came here.

6. "García"

The Early Years...

I was born in Puebla, in the capital, from a Catholic family. Most poblanos are Catholic. Well… my parents and two sisters and a brother. All my education was in Catholic schools, including university.

Experiencing the University and the Labour Market...

When you graduate from high school, we don't have much vocational guidance there. So, I've always liked numbers, I've really liked numbers, so I've been... I thought that this accounting career would be more focused on numbers, which I like, right? And that's why I decided on accounting [...]

The friendships you have there, the friendships you have, that I have, I got them in college in the university. We still keep the friendship even being here, abroad. I meet with them every month, we see each other, we talk to each other since almost thirty years…35 years, and we still see each other; that is, friendships are very are very beautiful, they are for lifelong.

[...] It was on January 85, in 1985, I guess it was in May…June 85. That's when I finished my bachelor's degree in accounting. I earned my degree as Public Accountant and Auditor at the Autonomous University of Puebla.

[...] You finish studying and you dedicate yourself more to looking for work and I found a job with a teacher. He offered some of the students a job in his company and we started working there, but already working in accounting did not feel that it was my real interest, as if I was already working ... I said to myself, "No, this is not what I want." I liked management more, that's when I started looking for a master's degree in management [...] My dad offered me to enroll the master's degree at the University of the Americas, there in Puebla, and I said yes, of course!

I studied the Master of Business Administration at the Universidad de las Américas. The last year of the master's degree I went to Canada to study English.

[...] Then I quitted and entered Bancomer in... As part of the bank... there were different... you could choose going to banking, you could choose going to fiscal, you could choose going to mortgage, that is, there are different Bancomer units. So, I entered what was the fiscal unit because we had a lot to do with the tax regulations, migration, products ... and mostly, products.

[...] I never really had trouble finding a job. This... I do not know if because the family is rooted in Puebla and is a well know family, settled in the city for many years, but I never had problems finding a job, not at all. Not at all. If I quitted one job, maybe the next week ... within 15 days I already had another job, so I never had problems finding work.

MeXpatriating to the United States...

When I came back [from Canada] I started working at Bancomer, which is a bank there in Puebla. And while I was there, one of the friends married an American and that's where I met my husband.

[...] It was at a wedding, at my friend's wedding, well... I met the one who is now my husband [...] I got married and came here to the United States, and well... My husband is American, and I think that this fact obviously opened a lot of doors for me here in this country; the fact that he was American...

7. "Ramírez"

The Early Years...

I was born in the city of Moroleón, Guanajuato [...] We are seven brothers in total, four brothers, three sisters [...] My parents were... my dad was a baker [...] In the first economic crises in Mexico, in '58, he had to leave the job he had, the small bakery industry he had, and emigrated to the United States [...] He was working in Chicago for several years, until he retired [...] After he settled down for several years, my mom started coming with him as well, and it was a while. So I would say that we really grew up with our grannies, with grandparents.

[...] At school, really, I don't really remember it much, but I was always very interested... some of the subjects. I really liked drawing, which is what I liked at my elementary school. In high school, maybe in high school, knowing a little more about things that were more interesting, like physics, chemistry started to caught more my attention, math a little more, but not as a science but as a... something like something that entertained you. So, I was finally a little bit dedicated to school. Eventually we were in school in the United States, in Chicago, and I spent a few months in school also in the grammar school in elementary school, where during the summer we came and took classes, learned a little English, but above all, interacted with children who had also emigrated from Mexico, who unfortunately had not returned to Mexico. Fortunately, every summer, at the end of each summer we returned to Mexico and continued schooling. Eventually, eventually, I earned... a university degree, high school, high school in Mexico, I went to Guanajuato to study at the University of Guanajuato.

Experiencing the University and the Labour Market...

I kept coming [to Chicago] in the summers. A sister of mine stayed here to study but eventually started working. My dad saw it as a sign that if we came too, we were going to quit school. So, they decided that we should stay in Mexico, and those of us who stayed all finished college. From there it was: "You stay, you live in Mexico and until you finish college, then, you decide."

[...] Initially I enrolled to... my intention was to study physics and/or medicine, but finally I ended up studying Chemical Engineering because in Guanajuato there was no physics. Physics was at the Autonomous University of Puebla that at that time was... there was a strike, so I couldn't go and I went to the baccalaureate of Medicine, of Engineering. For a while I was participating in both, but the friends I had were more, they were better in the chemistry field, so I followed chemical engineering [...] I finished chemical engineering in Guanajuato in 1976 [...]

Friends who were studying chemical engineering, in engineering were, we were... They were better friends than those in medicine. Then I stayed, already in Chemical Engineering. A professor told me, "No, listen, when you finish chemical engineering, in a year, you're going to physics... because they are similar with the same subjects." So when I completed chemical engineering I stayed to finish, I thought... I took extra courses in Guanajuato for when I finished chemical engineering, return or go to Physics study, but then some professor told me: "Why don't you go to..." Actually, I was going to go to Physics in France, to the University of Po, where we had been admitted, to another colleague of mine. Then I was studying French for four years at the Franco-American Alliance, the Franco-Mexican, the Alliance Française. About four, four years of French, with the idea of going to study physics at the University of Po, in the south of France, but as soon as this happened it was one of the inflation crises in Mexico and the scholarships were suspended and I could no longer go to France. So, my other option was... it

was to go to UNAM or Chicago. So from there I decided to go to the University of Illinois, in Chicago, where I had been admitted to Physics [...]

After finishing chemical engineering, again, every summer I came to work in the United States. There was a prospect that... of... that things will be a little different. In Guanajuato there were many friends, many students, we enjoyed things, life. In Chicago, the concept was working, working, working. There was not much fun, I mean, it was, getting a job and collected money to go back Guanajuato, where it performed better.

When I finished chemical engineering, I was working as a teacher in high school, in Moroleón Guanajuato; Physics and mathematics courses for six months. Then, when I received the news that I had been admitted to Chicago, I went to Chicago...I was admitted to... for the fall of '77.

MeXpatriating to the United States...
Arriving in Chicago, the first thing I did was enter an English school and study English. and I started working as a teacher... GED teaching. Since I arrived, a week after I arrived in Chicago, I immediately started working immediately, in '77. Well, I worked and studied English and taught many hours a week and then this... I entered the University of Illinois in physics, where I spent a year in physics and this... Then being in Chicago I received a fellowship [...] and from there I started thinking more about chemistry and when I returned to Chicago I went back to chemical engineering. I already stayed in chemical engineering with the idea of finishing the doctorate. Then I stayed until 1980, where I was also working in a research laboratory, a national lab, but at that time the doctorate was very long and I had the offer in Guanajuato that there was an academic position.

Then I went back to Guanajuato thinking that... that I would return in another year to finish my doctorate. Then I returned to Guanajuato to work, already as a teacher. I lasted three years; from there arose the idea of continuing the doctorate, but already in another university because the intention had been to go to another university in California, but also with support, with support from the Guanajuato Unit, and eventually I also received a scholarship from CoNaCyT. I was in California.

[However], when my teacher went to North Carolina, that's where I went.

8. "López"

The Early Years...
I was born in...a very small city. You knew the neighbors, relatives [...] Initially, we were three women, and after 12 years, I think, my mom got pregnant again and gave birth a boy. So, I think they were excited because it was a boy and they had another girl. So, we are four women and one man... well... Curiously, all women achieved tertiary education, my brother did not. He was very attached to the... well, my parents... well... My dad had a farm, so since he was young, he was incorporated into the .... I helped my dad. That is... On the farm, right? And well... He got very attached and stayed with my dad. Eventually the farm no longer worked, it was no longer a business, and he had to create his own business there in the...but there he is [...]

I had some aunts nearby, a block away, they were my dad's sisters who didn't get married. Grandmothers that I know... older... Rebozos... but... traditionally [...] rural areas. I have very fond memories of them, this... Carrying me with their rebozos, well... as a baby. Me and my sisters were very attached to them, even in times... probably more than my mom because

my mom was very young and she was…obsessed with the house chores, well... with...The turmoil caused by raising children, of having a house, of the husband, what do I know. They were like a haven of tranquility. They loved us very much. We were the granddaughters or nieces closest to them [...]

And I went to school. I was a very shy child who had a lot of phobias at school; I was very afraid of the school, of the teachers. Well... I attended... kindergarten, elementary school, middle school, and high school... well... We left because the town high school was just created then... Besides, I wanted to go out of the town. I mean, I don't know, since I was a kid, I wanted to get out of there, and it thought there was an atmosphere... maybe because I was very shy, I wasn't very social... Then I had a very restricted, limited environment, and in part, I think, all young people want to explore other places. The only way we, women, could get out was via moving out of town.

And I went to Morelia.

Experiencing the University and the Labour Market...
I wanted to... at that time, I just said that I wanted to know the world, that I wanted to travel, but well, I didn't have... Obviously the only careers at that time…people told you... My mom would say, "No... Get in to be a teacher." I didn't want to be a teacher. And my dad would say, "No, no teacher, nurse! or not, she will goes to work at the bank, there, with my compadre so-and-so."

And I thought "Nooo! I want this... Going out, I want to travel, I want this, I don't know... Being a flight attendant," what do I know, right? Something different now, right? And well... I went to attend high school in Morelia [...] I wanted some languages; I wanted something and I didn't know exactly what thing. So, this is not, because they are going to open an international airport in Morelia and then it will be necessary of everything, right? Of... for bilingual secretaries, and that for this and that. Then I started studying to be a bilingual secretary [...] and well... Eventually we found out that this bilingual secretary, so it was not stimulating enough [...]

Well, where is there something for me? My mom didn't know either, she wanted to give me a chance, but she was not very informed. "Well, let's go to Guadalajara." Well, there we went to Guadalajara to explore. "Well, there are languages and linguistics." Well, linguistics sounds like languages, doesn't it?" And there I studied. I moved to Guadalajara to study linguistics. My sister has already stayed in Morelia. It was another very difficult step again because you are in a strange place ... With this...very far from the family, the cities were not so close... this... all... You have to find out this... by yourself... Again [...]

... The coolest thing. Living with roomates, meeting other people, exploring other worlds [...] Obviously, it opens up the world for you. I mean, it opens up the world that you are in your hometown and you say, "You're learning, you're growing!" Because I was coming back and then I saw my little group of friends... Well, I didn't feel anymore…I didn't fit anymore, that is, I wanted to read, I wanted to continue growing and many of them were happy there in the hometown, right? And I think that's what... The coolest thing.

[...] I finished in 81, Bachelor in linguistics [...] In a private university, the Autonomous University of Guadalajara.

I was working when I was... I was in a private university, the Autonomous University of Guadalajara, so it was here, I knew... my parents...we didn't have many things, "they must be

making sacrifices"... well... and soon I found a job; I spoke very good English, so well... they needed teachers because the Autonomous offers education from elementary school to bachelors, masters, etc., so they hired me as an English teacher for elementary school, full time, so, well ... Well, I already had the job, practically.

[The next job] was practically a clerical. That is, if some foreign trade of gringos who wanted to export handicrafts to the United States, which I always really did not socialize with them, that was my supervisor... So, I typed documents for him in the machine... The documents, then he stamped and ... I don´t know what else, right? So that was the job when... after I graduated.

MeXpatriating to the United States...
Well... the boyfriend was in Guanajuato, so I started looking for a job in Guanajuato, who also had a sister who lived and was working in Guanajuato, who was studying...well... then I started looking for work in Guanajuato and there I found work, in Guanajuato. [...] We strengthen the relationship...well... We got married, but he already had, he had already started applying to do a doctorate, to go abroad to earn a doctorate [...] That's when I had my daughter.

[...] While the transition... all... I went with my parents for a few months. He came [to U.S.A.] to start settling down and well...when he had an apartment and everything, I joined him.

9. "Martínez"

The Early Years...
I am the last of ten siblings. I have ten female sisters [inaudible]. I almost didn't... live with them because they had already married. I lived with the five youngest girls. [I lived] in Nogales since I was three years old... My parents had two food trucks and we woke up every morning with them, to go to work with them and from there, we went to school.

Experiencing the University and the Labour Market...
Well, I got into college. I wanted to go to Mexicali, but because of the graduation dates and things I didn't... I couldn't go to take my turn to enroll to and then I attended a new university opened in Magdalena... it was a new university in Sonora.
I wanted to become a chemical biologist, to study chemical biology, but by those years, as I tell you, no…I could not and not to miss the school year. Then, I entered this institution offering international trade. However, at that time no… I did not know anything related to the field, but after attending the program´s first year, I liked it and I stayed.

[...] I decided that was the best thing for me because of the border, because I was going to find more work opportunities. Maybe they would be able to pay me a little more for what was said, for international trade and the border. So that's also why I decided to study, to choose this career[...]

Well, I had the plan to finish the first year. Initially, when I enrolled to that international trade program, I used to wish to finish it ASAP and attend another university. However, I was sharing a house with other friends and one of them also went with me to Mexicali; when we were in the first year of university we liked the program, I liked it and I decided… and decided to stay and my friend too.

[...] I was in college for four years. Well, originally, I didn't like it. I didn't like it because I was away from my family and apart from people, because the place was different, so I would say that

lived in Nogales. As soon as we finished classes on the weekend, I returned to Nogales. I returned on Sunday or Monday morning directly to school. I did not interact much with my classmates because although from parts very close to Nogales, they were very different, the culture, right? their customs. Although it was an hour different from Nogales, was more... They took everything more relaxed, they always wanted no more party, party and because I was away from my family and I wanted to earn my degree, I wanted to finish the program, study and… right? It wasn't like I was going to have fun every weekend, every time I was at school, I went to school, I attended classes, and I went straight home, anything else more.

[...] When we hung out... that there were special events like the October festivities there, in Magdalena, we used to attend them and always happened during mids, so when we finished the exams yes, we went and had fun, nothing else. However, I didn't do much fun while I was studying at the university, only when I returned to Nogales on weekends, I did enjoy the weekend, Saturdays, Sundays and yes, I used to gather with my friends and hang out.

I earned my bachelors' degree in international trade. It was four years [...]

Well, I graduated, for example a... I do not know... one Monday, and Friday I was…I was offered a job proposal, so I said yes, and I had completed social service before graduating from the customs agency, make the merchandise paperwork for the factories; everything related to this paperwork.

[...] I was back and initiated working at a trade agency, because it was from a customs services agency and they made such merchandise paperwork and I was working in the area of merchandise traffic; I had to receive the invoices and pass them on to the colleagues to create the corresponding invoices, etc.

[...] I spent four and a half years working there [...] I met a lot of people from different places; Obregon, Empalme, Tucson, Arizona, Nogales, Arizona. They used to called me to clarify invoices-related issues and there I met my... my ex-husband. I met him there through emails, calls; So, when I quitted the job, he kept looking for me and he became my boyfriend.

MeXpatriating to the United States...
I ended up my work at the agency and I continued the relationship with the boyfriend. I was studying in Tucson Arizona for six months English and then got married. Here, in Tucson, I have my sisters, so it was easier for me to relocate here with them and be able to attend school [...] I'm talking about 2008 [...] About four months later I became pregnant...I got married in May or so... I got married in December and in May, I got pregnant, and I was not employed, I only used to help my sister. All my pregnancy was risky and I was uncapable to do much [...] So, when I arrived, by the time of having the baby... I gave birth the baby...within three months, I divorced, separated, separated from my husband and... and I got divorced.

10. "Bonilla"

The Early Years...
I was born in 1980 in Hermosillo, Sonora.

Experiencing the University and the Labour Market...
I had the opportunity to enroll to the program in Engineering, no! Bachelor´s degree in Computer Science, at the Technological Institute of Hermosillo. My parents' decision because I

was very young, but it was not my passion. So, being in the third semester, I changed to the University of Sonora to study psychology, my... my passion.

I had always wanted to study university, but the career was more inclined to meet their needs and not mine. They believed computer science was like the career of the moment. I'm talking about 1997 it was believed all the opportunities were there. But my passion was always behavior, mind, everything related to human behavior. And then I make a decision. I was a good student, but I decided to change careers and then they, as a way to pressure, perhaps because I was very young, "you will have to completely pay for your it". Thus, I started working in 2016 and enrolled to the University of Sonora.

The university, you are in the prime of youth, then it is the world... It's new, the world huh? You are inserting yourself into the world as an adult, so all experiences are lived magnified... your freedom, the...acquiring your own responsibilities, but also partying, friends, everything that comes along with no…living and interacting with other young people, of course.

[...] I started my working life at the age of 19 to pay for my university studies. So, I start working in small jobs related to service, customer service. And simultaneously, studying at the University of Sonora, I start working and developing a career in pharmacy business, I start working with medicines, prescriptions, all these things about 2003 ... I start working in the state government.

I practiced as... as a therapist. I move into the real estate industry and make a career as... as a real estate seller. I have two businesses for 2013, my real estate company and my…a small restaurant and then [...] Everything is happening very, very quickly.

[...] I had the opportunity of facing very sad experiences in economic matters, but the most remarkable thing is that I had the opportunity to develop professionally and to make my source of income, to make it and that it is an opportunity that sadly most people in my country do not have. Education is very good, the educational level is very good, but unfortunately the labor market is small for the number of graduates we have in my country. So, this results in engineers selling hot dogs and selling tacos... which is not bad, but you are not working in your field of work. And many, many professionals tend to look for other ways of income because of this, precisely because the level and number of graduates probably exceeds the needs of... the country's labour market, at least in my region.

Then I had the joy of creating my source of income, creating a career, creating a name and establish my own business, having this professional development, a good source of income and also train other professionals in my field so that they could also develop themselves.

MeXpatriating to the United States...

In 2016 I am a victim of violence in my country, insecurity, I experienced a kidnapping. I missed for more than seven days and this is why I left my country. I never really thought about leaving my city, because basically I had a fulfilled life, in the professional field and in the personal field. So, in 2016, this happens in April 2016, and by July 2016, I was already here in Tucson, Arizona.

[...] When I get here, I am 36 years old. It's a very weird feeling of losing everything, because really, as I say, I had basically everything covered in my country, in my city, and suddenly that bittersweet feeling of a new place. Having to start one more time, and start again in a country

where the culture is different... The work culture is very different, the opportunities are totally different in several ways… and above all I lived it as an immigrant, but as a non-undocumented immigrant because I arrived with my tourist visa, but without having a social security here that would allow me to have a formal job.

Then I had to face the abuse of... of people who paid... When the minimum wage was $10 dollars when I arrived, they paid about $6 dollars to a person who didn't have documents, as in my case. And, then there's this kind of win-win agreement: "I give you something you need, which is your job, but you have to bow your head and accept what is offered."

11. "Gómez"

The Early Years...

I am the eldest daughter of four brothers, three sisters and one brother. So, I studied in Sonora, in a very small town, I studied until middle school, I used to live with my parents.

[...] In fact, when I was going to enter middle school we lived in a very, very small fishing town, near Guaymas, and since he saw that I was close to start high school and there was no middle school there, in the town, we had to travel to Guaymas. Then he bought another house in another town where middle school, even high school were offered. And we relocated, that is, he made that change so that we access that level of schooling and that we did not struggle.
[...] I survived, already very independent and after that, I went to study at the University in Hermosillo.

Experiencing the University and the Labour Market...

In my last year of high school was when computers started coming out and I fell in love... I fell in love with computers, so I quickly started researching and I found a university in Hermosillo. I talked to my parents and they helped me. My dad always like... We are three women and one man, and my dad never studied... He could not go to college because from a very young age he had to help his mother and elder siblings, so he had to work to support the house.

Then he told us that was what I was like the inheritance for me. So, if one day I got married, well… if one day I got married, I was going to have a career and I did not have to live being abused or these types of s because I did not know how to work or did not have skills that able myself to live by my own. So that's what he gave to me and my brothers too, but some didn't take advantage and others did. So that's what motivated me. And apart from the fact that I had already lived in the town for a long time and since I felt that that was not my place, that is, I had other aspirations, then I knew that education... apart from what my dad had told me and how he had seen a... The role model of an aunt who already, after she was widowed, started studying and everything, then she was…after my dad, she was like a role model for me. I... Because me and a cousin were like the first ones in the family who were able to get an education... From there it is like being a role model to others. I was the one who gave me this vision that there was more beyond being a wife and having a bunch of kids. And apart from that, such idea didn't attract much attention to me at that age. Thus, that happened, this idea and the support of my dad, because without that, I think I would not have achieved it and having that worldview that there was something more for me, I don't know, it was like something that, since I was little, my dad made us feel that.

In high school, when... when I moved to Guaymas, I felt free and I didn't care much about school, in fact I finished ... shame on me... I ended up with a GPA of less than eight... seven point and I don't know how much. And I said, "That doesn't happen to me again in college. I want to get good notes because I want to find a good job." Then I realized that the... It was, "Do your job, study for the exam" And my school was nothing else [...] Before I left for a party, I had to have finished my jobs. That's how I had to do that. It was my responsibility. And besides my dad had already told me, "You're going to go there but I don't want to..." I mean, you're going to keep good notes and all that.

[...] I studied at the Technological Institute of Hermosillo; a Computer Science degree and I finished... I graduated with honors. I would say I was something smart or responsible [...] I finished in '94, but the degree was in '95, in February.

[...] I started working, I worked for about two years until I met my husband, who is now my husband. He already lived here in Tucson and for a year we were dating every weekend.

The first job I find, the... The lady who hired me was in a manufacturing company's IT unit. Well, it sold not only... construction materials, but more like iron and metals, so... Then they had the computer center and when I go to the interview, I had no experience, nothing more than the social service, required to graduate. It was my only experience and when I go, I apply, I took my transcript with me because I was very proud to have such a good average. When I showed it to her, "You're hired." She says, "I know you have no experience, but your notes show me that you are responsible." She gave me the job right there. It was very intense, I was very nervous, but it was like she gave me... like confidence and…and that was my first and only job there.

MeXpatriating to the United States...

One of the decisions we made was that after the wedding, we would come to live here, because here he had his job, even though I was already working as a professional in Mexico, the salaries are not so high ... As a professional, they are not as high as here, for example, as a professional.

[I came to the United States] in '98, when I got married in June. My husband was already a resident here and he had his job in a sort of a construction company. At that time he wasn't a carpenter, he was just... ummhh... Well, the entry-level is not only a construction worker, but despite that, it was much better paid than it is in Mexico, but evaluating the cost of housing and all the other things, it is good.

[...] When I arrived here in the United States, I entered as... As a tourist and then we initiated the immigration paperwork, if... I did not have work permit, at first. I didn't have the documents and what I was doing... At that time there were not so many restrictions to study English, so I started attending English classes for about two years, while the documents were authorized.

12. "Juárez"

The Early Years...

Well, I tell you that I grew up in an indigenous community. In my childhood, I used to take care of my grandmother [...] She inspired me to love earth, traditional medicine, plants, animals. She was like the typical village's healer that people feeling no good visited her to ask for help.

[...] My grandmother experienced language discrimination within her lifetime. They spoke Zapoteco and for that reason he forbade my mother, all her children, to speak it. Then, we were

almost like one of the first monolingual families, in Spanish, although I had that interest as a child to learn the indigenous language of the community where I was growing up. I played with them, but I didn't speak it. I understood…I mastered speaking, speaking when I grew up.

[...] My grandmother talked to me a lot about my great-grandfather, my maternal great-grandfather. It was at the dawn of the Mexican Revolution, in the 20s, when he worked as a "municipal" teacher, they called him at that time.

[...] It was a very macho culture, according to my grandmother. My cousin, all my cousins, I remember like we had a certain privilege. My grandmother was very tough with women, I wanted them to always be in the metate and doing housework.

Experiencing the University and the Labour Market...

Finishing high school, I have the dream of studying architecture, but my mom was very clear with me, she told me, "I don't think I can continue supporting you, you need to figure it out!" So, I decided, I saw in Indigenous Education an opportunity for growth. Besides, yes, it caught my attention and I took advantage of the fact that my dad had a certain prestige there, that he was someone was recognized by the base, my mom too. Well, they were recognized people within the community [...]

They sent me to do teaching in the countryside, which I enjoyed very much as a rural teacher or field teacher. I really enjoyed traveling with the colleagues, climbing mountains, living with people. All of that.

[I enjoyed] the coexistence with the communities, knowing the reality of people living in towns. The aspirations of my colleagues, the sense of continuous improving, growing as people and as professionals. I also saw the limitations of our Mexican educational system, because I also worked in school shelters and I said, "If I can make the change, I have to get into menus supplying, for the young people, not taking the money for me as other shelters' directors used to do, utilize resources for what should be utilized... even beyond; for example, computers for students so that they do their homework, programs, games, and so on. Those are experiences that stayed in my mind, yet. I also think there is one, the problem, a substantial problem is labour unions. I think I didn't like that part very much, as I repeat, because it didn't make sense to be watching protest marches, to be marching, to be protesting. I would rather be in communities more and not spending money. And I don't know, I was a little upset. I think trade unionism is good, but not in an extreme way.

[I finished] like in 1998. A bachelor's degree in Primary Education, focused on indigenous education. When I'm done with... I kept doing teaching. Then as I say, there, they have the system that one enters with the baccalaureate, with the opportunity to attending classes on weekends. A person in such a part-time schooling system traveled on weekends to Ciudad Ixtepec.

[...] I was already working, but I also wanted to make a career in teaching. So, I decided to change school; Experimenting in school type shelters. Then, I was appointed as a pedagogical technical advisor and I was in the latter position when I obtained the scholarship.

MeXpatriating to the United States...

I arrived one year on a scholarship to a university in Arizona. I tried to do everything the scholarship required of... But I met the person who now is my wife. We felt in love. So, there was

a paradigm there: Between arranging immigration documents or to pay and complete my bachelors' degree. I truncated the graduation process so that starting my immigration process, and that's how I got here to the United States.

[...] Those who come with scholarships from Mexico must return to Mexico and live there for two years, and then, is able to leave the country again. Then, I had to be back to my work as a teacher, another two years there. I was doing my wedding planning; I do all the social thing, right? Personal…I get married there, joined by my family while we begin to figure out how, how the documentation should be arranged, and all the required requirements.

[...] About six months, I was living in Nogales, Sonora. And I had to sell some properties in order to live in Nogales, Sonora. I sold my house, other things I had while waiting for my document, the green card.

13. "Obregón"

The Early Years...

I was born in Hermosillo, Sonora [...] I was born in ´54 and we grew up in a town in Sonora. It's called Chiquito, near Caborca. My mom was from Caborca. My dad was from Mexico City. When we were four years old, we went to live in Cananea, which is in the southern region. I started my elementary school in the sixties [...] The only channels there, were the commercial ones, ABC, CBS and NBC, it was... Cananea was very isolated from Sonora so radio stations, television were exclusively in English and almost all trade were done with Arizona, with Douglas and Sierra Vista ... Disney.

And you know, I grew up, I grew up in that culture. I cpmpleted elementary school, high school. My dad possessed basic English language skills, so that helped to practice, and additionally, we listened radio and television in English, because it was basically the culture of Arizona. Sometimes, heavy snowfall fell and the communication of Cananea with the south of the State was interrupted. So almost all foods... milk... we got them from Arizona... After finishing high school, I went to Hermosillo to study high school.

Experiencing the University and the Labour Market...

Finishing high school, I remember taking a vocational test to know what careers I could take. I am the second one of eight children. My oldest brother, he also studied high school in Hermosillo, and when he finished high school at that time, he still had the two-year program and could go to study at UNAM. He studied electronic, electrical, electronic engineering and I followed him, but I experienced the three-year program of high school and when I finished, I chose, I wanted to know what, what programs, what careers I liked. Total, in the orientation testing I was told that that my vocation was scientific, so that I could study Biology and Geology, Physics or Mathematics, and at that time my dad said that it was too much that I study at UNAM. I would have liked to study geology at UNAM, but no, I couldn't. I had to stay in Hermosillo. In Hermosillo at that time there was no geology and there was no biology [...] so I said, "I don't like math," and I got into physics. And it turned out studying a lot of math!

And well, eventually, I finished the baccalaureate. I still felt a little rough in the field of physics and I was offered a thesis topic at UNAM and the opportunity to start doing the master's degree in Physical Sciences at UNAM. In the 77 I went to UNAM. I finished the thesis there and I enrolled to the master's degree, and I got a scholarship from the... To study the master's degree

in 78 to 80… and then I began to know the different campuses. I was interacting in many seminars, I become informed about the different options that existed and I was captivated by a topic that at that time was novel, of problems of nonlinear physics and chaos…and new topics appeared such as fractals... All this, and space geometries of dimensions, not integers. And the opportunity came up to apply for a scholarship to the Soviet Union on these issues and in August of 80, I finished my general exams at UNAM with my master's degree ...

All the learnings, of all the programs, in fact, left their mark on my training. I am still very grateful for the opportunity I had to study at UNAM. At UNAM I made good collaboration networks with researchers and throughout all the years after finishing my studies at UNAM, I maintained relationships with researchers, there were several SEP programs to... for...well... and agreements between the University of Sonora and the UNAM, launched every year... collaborative projects.

[...] In August of 1980 I finished my general exams at UNAM with my master's degree and I already had a plan to continue the doctorate at UNAM [...] At that time I received a notification that I had been accepted to study in the Soviet Union [...] When I got there, I learned that the family could not be taken. [In addition] scholarships were suspended. Faced with this situation, I finished my semester in Moscow. In June I was already authorized to go on vacation; I returned to Mexico,

[...] The University of Arizona and the University of Sonora have always had a close relationship. I met some friends of mine who were studying at the University of Arizona and eventually, I came to ask about the master's program in Applied Mathematics [...] After having finished in Arizona my master's program, as the program was in Applied Mathematics, what I learned at the University of Arizona is to see them…researching from an interdisciplinary point of view and that it is not really possible to do research as a ... As an individual, but one has to do research in collaborative networks… and if that collaborates belong to other disciplines, because each... Each scientist makes contributions from his or her field to solve interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary problems. When I returned to the University in Sonora, after having been at the University of Arizona, I already had that perspective that research had to be applied and interdisciplinary and look for a research problem that was relevant and pertinent to the region.

I decided to look for work, I looked for work at UNAM and I looked for work at the University of Sonora, in Hermosillo, where I had more relatives. Well, I returned to Hermosillo and started working as a subject teacher at the University of Sonora, in Mathematics and then I started teaching physics courses.

[...] In '98 we launched the bachelor's degree program in Computer Science at the University of Sonora and that happened because my experiences obtained here at the University of Arizona and the group of researchers who supported us from the University of Arizona to... to start thinking about creating a bachelor's degree in Computer Science. At that time UNAM also played an important role because in '95 UNAM opened its bachelor's degree in Computer Science and it was the first bachelor's degree in Computer Science in Mexico.

MeXpatriating to the United States

There are many tools to find work... There are many platforms where employers post their offering. I found a job using the Indeed platform, where Arizona University and Arizona State University post. So, at one point I said, "Well, there's no point to work in Washington, in New

York, in Florida, if my family is here." And yes, my idea was to come to Tucson because my family was there.

14. "Gutiérrez"

The Early Years...
I am from Sinaloa, Guasave, Sinaloa [...] I had a normal childhood in high school. Already, even college is a little more different, you might say. More... More difficult for me in economic matters, because I decided to go to a private school.

Experiencing the University and the Labour Market...
I remember that I liked Psychology and I liked nutritional topics... as a career in nutrition health, but always I has been that... I like freedom, traveling and a Bachelor's Degree in Tourism caught my attention…and I decided on a Bachelor's Degree in Tourism because it facilitates many opportunities to travel, to be able to study abroad, to do student exchange and that is what interesting for me, eventually at the end of everything, what caught my attention because I really like journeys and traveling. And that is a thing I like a lot, culture, getting to know new cultures, gastronomy. I hate math. I never imagined that I had so much mathematics. Half of the program was math! All the…how does is called?... Finance, because everything is based on numbers, like tourism.

[...] My father did not want to help me with college expenses because my father's macho mentality said that women get married before finishing college. Thus, he did not want to support me. I wanted to prove him wrong. And I decided to study, work on my own and pay for my studies, which was very difficult for me because I was studying and working at the same time.

I decided to move to Los Mochis instead of going back and forth to my house. As I worked and studied, and in addition commuting took many hours, I preferred to stay in Los Mochis, rent a small house there...I decided to start living on my own there, at the age of 19 years old.

[...] I worked as a stylist; I worked in an aesthetic and that... complemented by going to school, right? to university.

[...] We traveled a lot [...] I remember a lot a teacher who was from Guadalajara, but she taught there. A very fine woman, very very educated, of a very well know family, very well recognized family name. I admired her very much because she was very intelligent and very fine. She gave us a trip there. In our group we were as they said, a group, as it was a very small group because it was from a private school [Universidad del Valle, del Fuerte], and not... At that time when I started studying, which was in 2001m there were not so many students [...] I remember she rented a small van. We paid the cost as a class and went to Guadalajara. It was a four-day trip and we got to know Guadalajara a lot. And that trip was very sweet. I will always remember that trip because it was very, very fun, we learned quite a bit. And I don't know... it taught me a lot of things, I don't know what it is like... culture and how people live [...] At that time, I did not know, you could say, I did not know anything, so that trip for me was very like it began to open my world and in the same country that I did not know then. I started living, you could say, at the age of 19, and that trip opened my eyes about... different.

When we finished college, I proposed to her [my best friend] that we go to Cabo San Lucas, to Baja California. I proposed that we go there to try to make it, because there are things... obviously, a lot of sightseeing and it's like more Grand Tourism. I always thought of Cancun or

Cabo San Lucas. I convinced her and she convinced another friend and another person. The fact is that four of us left. We had nowhere to go and arrived at a hotel. We stayed in that hotel for a month. In that month we looked for housing and employment. At that time, we did not find work, but we found a house and we moved to a house all of us [...] I had some savings that allowed me to stayed there, in Cabo, those... almost a month and a half, two months without working [...] Housing cost was paid by all the roomies.

[...] I started working in a very exclusive hotel, located opposite the arch. I was hostess. They hired me as a hostess. At that time my English language skills was very basic. I practically learned a script of what I should ... what to say... And I memorized them. Ah, if they asked me something else, I did not know how to answer because I already had my speech prepared, but memorized the menu. I learned to taste wines, I learned how to haute cuisine, I met many well-known chefs.

[...] In fact, I was recognized because they saw the numbers that supposedly… because I brought a lot of people to the restaurant. And as you ... As I say, I didn't know English, but I don't know... They liked my charisma or I also gave them discount coupons and in this coupon my na was written, and they gave us commission for each purchase. They gave us $2 dollars back. Then, for me... well I don't... But nowadays, the truth as people says, what misery! At least, minimum 5 dollars... that is offensive because the people who went there, minimum, spent $150 dollars on a bottle, we had very thin bottles [...] At that time I was very motivated, not so much because of money, because I think about how much I was paid there biweekly. I say myself, "I don't know how I survived!" But I was happy because I was doing something I liked.

[...] I left because... Because I wanted to do my thesis. Then, they offered me a... promotion, since... that if I wanted to be the chef's secretary. The secretary earns a lot! It's very important because it's the manager... as the manager of the food and beverage area. I was impressed, but I turned it down because I said, "I have to go back to complete graduation paperwork."

MeXpatriating to the United States

Well, to be in a better job position and all that stuff I had improve English language [...] At that time, I and they [my mother and sisters] had contact with my now husband. He lived here in Tucson and they talked to him. I didn't know what they talked about with him and he offered me to come here to Tucson [...] He said to me: "What do you think if you come here and come to study English? There are places that offer English classes for free" ... And I was convinced.

[...] We used to date when I was in college, like a year and a half. When I came here to Tucson, we were friends. The got reconnected and in a month, he proposed marriage to me, and in a month, we got married. That's it. The rest is history... with two chamacos [kids].

15. "Rosas"

The Early Years...

I was born in Hermosillo, Sonora. My dad was born in Ciudad Obregón and mom in Empalme, Sonora. They marry and settle in Hermosillo. When I am one year old, they go to live in Nogales, Sonora. Well, I would say, I grew up there in Nogales. In fact, I'm more from Nogales than Hermosillo, right? because I lived very little time in Hermosillo. My childhood was very beautiful. My parents, they both worked. It had a... They had a candy factory and a story where they distributed the candy made. I am the oldest one. I have two younger brothers. The three of

us earn a bachelor's degree. They left me behind. They have masters. I don't, I don't, I didn't earn a master's degree.

[...] My brother, as we lived on the border, he was in Nogales, Arizona. He did elementary school there. And we said to my dad, "Well, why not us, why do we attend school in Mexico if we also want to learn English language?" ... We wanted to experience how different it was. My dad at that time said, "Because he's the man, he's the head of a home, you're the girls, you don't need it as much as your brother." At the time, obviously, we didn't understand it, right? Now, as adults... Like... what such a macho is my dad! But the reality was that a Mexican child going to American school costs a lot of money. So, it wasn't like...like my dad could afford having the three of us in... in a school in the United States. The point is that I finished... I attained elementary, middle and high school in Nogales.

Experiencing the University and the Labour Market...

At that time, it was a new career international trade. In fact, I was part of the first... second generation in the university, in the program of Commerce, because Nogales is plagued by maquiladoras, it is plagued by customs agencies. From then on, more and more. Therefore, because on that.. I felt I had the opportunity to... for me... that I would secure job. Well, I wasn't passionate about it at that time, I didn't know I was passionate about it, I didn't know what I liked, that career was just trendy and I said, "Well, maybe this is the right way, I'm going to have job opportunities at Nogales," I feel like I was going there. But once attending classes, I realized that I loved the career, because I loved everything that entailed, the learning. So I was, I was happy, I was fine. I never, ever thought about changing, never! I was happy.

[...] When I decide to enroll a university, it was found that, in Nogales there are no schools, there are no universities! The only university we had did not offer the program I wanted. I wanted to study international trade; Well, I'm going to Hermosillo to study and I attended college in Hermosillo, four years.

I studied in Hermosillo, at the Kino University [...] I liked the program a lot. Then... When you like something, you pay close attention... But apart from everything, from school and other things, it was so cool because you had classmates from all over the state [...] It was my first experience to leave my hometown as they say, and to meet, to meet different people. Same all from the state of Sonora, but different people because of another, another other ideas ... I can't tell you different cultures, because we all have the same culture, but yes, yes... How do I explain? One... Well, with other... other... other faces... other places' life styles. So, that became a father to me. In fact, it was very funny because being in the city of Hermosillo, in the same class, out of 33, 34 classmates, only four people were from Hermosillo. The rest of us were from other places and had... I had two classmates from Nogales that I had never seen before in Nogales, who I got to know there, there in Hermosillo, at the university, too.

[...] I graduated in the university in '98.

I finish the baccalaureate; I'm going to Chicago for a while. I spend six months in Chicago, Illinois learning English. [...] I go back Nogales and start working. I'm going to a customs agency. The person who hires me, the owner of the customs agency, I know her because of the university... We invited her to Hermosillo to give us lectures, talks. Eventually, we...we became friends, she was the one who helped me with my thesis, she was my mentor. Well, I'm going to work with her and start from scratch, to know everything in the customs agency, but she hires me

to work in Nogales, Arizona. She had her office in Mexico, in Nogales, but they also had their warehouse in the United States and she takes me to Nogales, Arizona to work, hired, but as a Mexican, because being hired as Mexicana you do not have Mexican holidays because you are on the other side, and as she was on the other side, but she hires Mexicans. She also must work on American holidays. Then I never enjoyed holidays, but that experience was very cool because I learned a lot [...] I was there for three years being there, I got married, I had, I had my boyfriend, this one who already had eight years of girlfriend with him.

MeXpatriating to the United States…

I got married in 2001 and the problem was living in Nogales, right? That there are no houses, it is a very small city. Renting rate is dollars-based, is very expensive. Because he was ... he's a citizen and he says to me, "How about looking for a house in Nogales, Arizona? Well, it is fine, home in Nogales, Arizona! We relocated to Nogales, Arizona. At that time, at the border, you went back and forth without any problem.

[...] I crossed illegally every day, coming in and coming out. I got pregnant, and I kept coming and going... and coming and going. It gets complicating a lot for me... who takes care of my son? My parents worked, my mom worked anyway then... it wasn't easy taking care of the baby, implied looking for daycare. It was complicated to live in Nogales, Arizona, to bring him to Nogales [Mexico]. The case was that my husband told me, "What if you stay at home for a while, as the child grows?... and I don't know what else..." And I agreed to stay at home, quit my job and then I definitely come to live in the United States, still without arranging the documentation. Once unemployed, I started having problems crossing the border, the child, and so on. My husband, "Do you know we need to arrange the documents paperwork?"

We initiated the documentation. And for me it was like a shock, that is, I knew he was a citizen, but I never thought, and even, I never imagined living here in the United States. Well... well... The fact is that we do all the paperwork. I stay a year and a half without crossing because you know, right? immigration procedures. After having a year and a half without crossing, I am still in shock. But it was like well "I have to do it because we already live on this side, because it's not like we're going back to Mexico." My husband already worked in Nogales, Arizona and there is not another way, we had to do it, we had to do it! And when I go to the interview in Immigration and the first thing the woman asks is, "Why do you want to come and live in the United States?", unconsciously my answer was: "I don't want to come and live in the United States" ... and my husband, pale, pinching my legs.. she laughed and said, "Why?" Because in Mexico I had a job, I had health insurance will full coverage. I had status, I had my career, and I know that coming here is going to face a new start... And your career or your degree or everything that I had already achieved in Nogales, in Mexico, here, to start from scratch! And the girl laughed and said, "Congratulations! She said, You are already a resident of the United States!"

16. "Valenzuela"

The Early Years...

I am originally from Ensenada, Baja California and used to live in Los Mochis, Sinaloa [...] We are four brothers, my dad and my mom. I am the eldest daughter.

[...] My childhood was this... there, in Los Mochis, Sinaloa, uh... I had a very nice childhood eh, thank God I didn't miss any school year. I attended...from kindergarten, elementary school, there, in the place where I live. When I was in middle school, it was something new for me since I had to take a bus... then... things that were changing. And high school was a total change for me because I must take two buses, and college was the same situation.

Experiencing the University and the Labour Market...

Well, of those times that in high school you are given a little brochure, right? They give you... hey... workshops to find out what career you want to take... something like promotion of programs they offer. This... "No business administration, no, I don't want to," I said, "I don't want to be there just in an office, well!"

[...] Well, they opened a new baccalaureate program... we were given information on international trade relations. It was barely the second, it was the second... the second cohort. So, this...well, I was encouraged because it offered several branches, marketing; business...also… also administration, I mean, everything. There were several branches that encompassed that program and I said, "This is, this one offers a multidisciplinary approach... There are more opportunities to work. In the other way I would focus only on a discipline, yes, management, accounting or something, but it's very specific. On the other hand, if I choose trade, it offers diverse branches that I can reach more than only one discipline." Thus, I dared to choose that career.

[...] I attended university, I was at the Autonomous University of Sinaloa, I studied International Commerce, in International Trade Affairs.

Thank God I did not have the necessity to work while studying, my parents supported me because... the costs of studies. Already in the university was when... when I started working. Already in my last grade you could say. My parents never let me work; Yes, there was a necessity, of course, of others to contribute to the house expenses, but my parents so that I do not, I do not ... It won't distract me from... of the... not to be distracted and to be focused on studying.

[...] I was a very dedicated student, 100% focused on school, as I say, I was not working. My only responsibility was studying and having good grades. This... I am a very very friendly person. I'm very social... My parents, "You're studying" and that kind of thing. I participated in the university's field trips, I was trying to... that if there was no travel, we did fundraising activities... And that's it, but if not, I didn't want to miss any field trip, because we visited companies and learned more, and apart from that, we hung out, right? all the class.

[...] Well, we used to do homework at my classmates' houses...We prepared our presentations. Once we did a... an event type; An exhibition where we cooked international cuisine from different parts... from several countries... dishes that I didn't even know existed. It was a Russian dish that we had to make. Well, on the internet we search recipes and there were ingredients that we did not know about... "Do you want to try it out?" No one wants to try it out, we didn't want to! ... But that type of experiences...well, new, isn't it? and that they are real, that in other parts of the world are different dishes, things and traditions. And... and... well... and thing you don't know, right? And that at college you learn them and that was such of a cool experience [...] I also remember the field trips we made... this... we went to Mazatlan. We went, we came to Nogales to the customs here in Nogales. We visited several factories to know the

processes, how things arrived, we went to "Masatún" right? to Mazatlán...how the ships arrived, the unloading, the loading, the storage...He was so cool then.

In 2011, I finished my baccalaureate. I came to Nogales in 2010. It was my last college year in 2011 [...] I worked in a pawn shop, but I was still in the last year at the university. I worked...well...they pawn jewelry, appliances and all that kind of things. I worked there for about a few months, right? five or six months... That was my first job, it was my first job, well…we had a grocery store. So, I was in the grocery store, because there I was working in, but it was owned by my family, so it's always, we lasted about three years with the grocery store. And it's like I liked it too, because I initiated socializing. New people arrived that I did not meet before, and there, I met many people in that grocery until the... up to... The suppliers of... this... I learned a lot of things from that little grocery store. Of... to be strong... to do more well...mmhh…to publicly speak... It is... and already in...an the pawnshop it is...well, the same, right? I was in customer service. [...] The first one already professionally because it was where I did my internship, the customs agency there in Nogales Sonora. I did my internship in... The internships that will last a whole semester but there extended because they wanted to hire me. So, they signed my reports, they signed them and one month later I think someone quitted and it was... The one that quitted a job position was the one who was training me. So, I was like... I had acquired the knowledge possessed by this girl who was going to leave... then...a person was needed, and then they hired me. So, I stayed there, I continued with my internship, but they were already paying me, so this is because I... all my graduation paperwork. And I already had a job thank God I did not have that problem of looking for job [...] In that job it was in charge of invoices, talking to customers to this... call to...calling to the offices, to the warehouses, I did a lot of customer service.

MeXpatriating to the United States…

I just hung out with colleagues from my work. Because I didn't know anyone, just those at work. So, well... We... we hung out... We visited clubs, there I met a guy who was my first boyfriend, to whom I dated long term [...] I didn't know he was...well...someone from here. He told me that he lived there, in Nogales, because I imagine that for the same reason, because he must have thought, "Well, if I say that I am from here or something, well, frequently, the documents or something like that."

[...] We got married and about eight months later, we came here to get married in the United States. We came to get married, to get married... we had the religious ceremony there, in the church and so on, but after eight months later we got married here in the United States. My entry port was Juarez, he did the... He sponsored me and well...and I was granted the residency for ten years.

17. "Hernández"

The Early Years...

I was born in Nogales Sonora. My parents are from other states of Mexico, my dad is from Chihuahua, my mom is from Sinaloa, they met in Nogales and there, there we were born because all my siblings; there we were born and raised in Nogales. Well, I lived in Nogales almost all my life, until I went to college.

Experiencing the University and the Labour Market...

I was always an outstanding student, since elementary school and high school, because I was always on the honor roll and outstanding academically. And then because of this, when I could... from high school I got a scholarship to study in Hermosillo [...] What I studied was a Bachelor's Degree in International Trade and honestly... I was very interested…well... I wanted to study Industrial Engineering because I really liked calculus, mathematics, physics. I always liked all that a lot, but eventually, I was inclined to study a degree in international trade because I lived on the border and because it was a new career at that time and there will be a lot of [...] opportunity.

Academically, the most memorable thing I can tell you is that all my life I attended public school, high school... So, I'm going to Hermosillo, a private school... Anyway, that's good... A lot of pride, let's say... I have to... that I came from a public school and I was the student who helped and taught them.

[...] In personal terms, I made many very nice friendships that I have... that I have had the opportunity to keep to date and... And as for the college experience, yes... I had a lot of extracurricular activities, swimming, basketball, swimming was that...what I... What I focused on [...] I studied there five years. So, I finished this five-year career at the TEC and almost to finish I participated... Well, I had the opportunity to do an exchange a year before, a semester before graduating, because I was studying abroad almost like ten months. I was in Poland; I was an exchange student. Ah, truly, one of the best experiences of my life was being there, because I had the opportunity to learn everything academic, and additionally, to visit and explore many more places in Eastern Europe, right? And the most I knew there, as the closest, Central Europe, let's say even Germany, but very very good, very happy, truly. Since that opportunity, I graduated from Hermosillo del Tec, in 2005, and well...it was also with honors [...] high GPA... They gave me honorable mention there too and... And then, they gave me the opportunity of studying a master's degree, a scholarship to pay only 10% and they are covering 90%.

[...] When I entered university... In the university I studied, in some level it was mandatory to take classes 100% in English, make presentations, essays in English. Then, I took a one semester break and came here to study by my own, not so much as a foreign student. I came to study English language, here, for a semester, in Tucson. I returned with 100% of English Language level. English, the one that also helped me to be an exchange student there in Poland.

So, it was like two years after graduating from...from the bachelor's degree, I started with the master's degree. In the master's degree, I studied a MBA. And well [...] I graduated from TEC in Hermosillo. I returned to Nogales and began to...well, I started in a maquiladora and because they liked me... because I found out that there was something related to international trade [...] Then I move to another company, to another maquiladora... I lasted twelve years and in those twelve years, I grew professionally. I started as an analyst and then I was promoted as a coordinator... and well... Eventually, before I came here, I was already a supervisor of... of... a customs department.

MeXpatriating to the United States

In the place I used to work I met my husband, I get married, I come to live here [...]

I got married... I got pregnant. During my pregnancy time, I did not work [...] I decided not to work to take care of my baby and to… to dedicate time to him, right? So, I waited until he were...well... He was about four or five months old when I started looking for work.

18. "Rodríguez"

The Early Years...

I was born in Hermosillo, Sonora. Well, my first years of my personal history and my family mainly were that I always went to school. My dad helped me with homework and so, in the first years of elementary school, which are a total of six years, I almost always was the first/second of my class and so... Good grades...Then in high school I decreased a little bit my grades because of rebellion or what do I know.

Then I went to college, to the University of Sonora, to high school first. And during high school I also had the same as in middle school, 8.4, 8.5. Then, I enroll to university and studied a bachelors' in Nursing and I also achieved good grades overall.

Experiencing the University and the Labour Market...

Well, I decided to study nursing for... I do not know... I mean, it's like I always want to know what to do in case someone feels no good... or myself, right? So, it was like the need to know what to do in case my loved ones need me. And then I really liked the career. There are many very humanized subjects, very very important. You think that caring is like the doctor's assistant. I do not know... But the truth, care encompasses everything. Well, because the doctor says based on the patient's observations what the disease is, but it could be said that the nurse is more maternal, as she covers everything, all the needs of a person, takes care of how it feels, if something hurts or a pain medication is needed, monitoring, if she's going to take a bath... It was very, very cool the fact that the career was so humanized and then I also liked the scientific part, right? There are subjects of the core courses that are mandatory to take, but there are other areas that are optative classes; for example, there is one called Nursing in the Care of Children and Adolescents; Nursing... in Alternative Health Care, for example, aromatherapy... All alternative therapies, for example Reiki, magnet therapy. There are thousands of therapies that nursing must also have a basic knowledge about them to know how they really and scientifically influence the body and so, that is, if they really function and all that, the disease…must know about it and in the process of learning, the experience is cool.

[...] And you live everything that the patient really lives. I mean, it's easy for us to be on the other side and say, "Oh, no! It hurts!" or so, but also to experience it on the side as if one were the patient. With two classmates it was very memorable because I also had a classmate who struggled a lot to find the vein and then as a patient there, that is, practicing the... the arm, the vein and you feel the... You also put yourself on the other side. That's what I liked, which encourages you to be empathetic with the patient because you can be on the other side too.

[...] I finished the cursework in 2013, 2014, I think in 2014 and there are some... I am not graduated because I did not complete it, I missed the social service, but it was about 2014.

[...] I dropped out of college. I started working to support my parents and I didn't finish anymore. But I was informed that here in the United States they can revalidate the subjects... of the subjects you study there and continue, that is, continue educating here.

[...] I worked at the General Hospital of the State of Sonora. I worked six months in the emergency department, the intensive care unit. They rotate you throughout the hospital, but they kept you where you are most skilled or in the most demanded area, right? And then I worked in another hospital. And then a friend who is a doctor invited me to work with him in Tijuana, to

collaborate with...women surgeries, who wanted to do liposculpture, breast augmentation and all that, right?

Then he told me about the salaries and they were very good, they were $3,000, $ 3,500 a week and it was what I earned in the hospital in Sonora, every other week. Obviously, I accepted and I moved to Tijuana to work as a nurse, but already in the cosmetic surgery area [...] Then I continued working in the field of aesthetic medicine, I returned to Hermosillo and I also continued working there [...] I collaborated, right? in nursing; in the recovery unit, aesthetic medicine. We also put bótox, plasma with platelets, everything else, so beautification and body molding.

MeXpatriating to the United States

A nurse friend had an accident going home with her mom and aunt. They were a little drunk because they were coming from a party and a horrible accident happened. Then, she was dying; It was very bad and so on. She had planned a trip. I already had it all paid for. Then, since she owed me money, she said, "You know what? I'm going to give this trip to you as a paying back, because I can't…for the expenses I had from the accident." And so, I did the trip and there I met my husband who is a resident here in Tucson, Arizona. I met him in Chiapas. And being me from Hermosillo…he was also from Hermosillo. Then he became a resident here. We met and we can no longer separate; we became boyfriends. Then he asked me to marry him. I came here, we got married and I had a baby. The baby was born here.

[...] I arrived here in September 2020.

19. "Fernández"

The Early Years...

I've always had a passion for soccer since I was a kid. Football well... It was my, it's what attracted me most as a student in elementary school, in the break time of middle school was, was, well... It was to play. Playing soccer, playing soccer, the coolest stage that I think I had was of high school, where I experienced by first time taking classes as part of a mixed group. Well, in elementary school too, but well, now as teenagers…and soccer was still my passion... Finishing high school classes I barely ran out to go to soccer training.

Experiencing the University and the Labour Market...

Broadly speaking, during the university, in second and third year [we did in-field-training] at an experimental field they had in La Huerta, Jalisco.

What I handled most in my area, loans for cattle workers; agriculture was self-consumption. What I used to do, I designed the investment project [...] I charged them a fee depending on the type of case. If it was agricultural-type, for planting, it was something symbolic, it was $200 pesos at that time and if it was...for machinery or equipment... that was different [...] I was told that I was, that I was a sort of bad competition because these people were familiar to me... I no longer wanted to charge them much and those other companies charged [...] Well, it was not such of a complicated thing, because what are you going to evaluate? The house... a company, financial statements if it was...a farmer, a rancher, so, visiting the ranch to see the possessions there, and then I would know if this borrower had possibilities or not [...] I did the investment projects.

MeXpatriating to the United States

My sisters-in-law, they already have their life here. In fact, I didn't meet them. They always, always were... referred to as the sisters in the United States. They first arranged documents to their mother, to my mother-in-law, and applied to legally bring the whole family. And during the process they were already married and with their own family. Then, the spouses became part of the immigration paperwork, with the documentation that we had to fill out, the police letter, the birth certificate, well, the husbands'criminal record. And as in that time, still, not yet... well...there were no initiative to emigrate. I had a job. I don't remember in what year, my wife told me, "Hey, my mom and sisters did this paperwork..." And I said, "I'm not interested, I'm not interested in this ... I don't think we would move there." And since that was the third call; the last one, when she said, "You know that's the last chance? I think we should try," and I thought..."OK, yes," I agreed.

We would say, the working conditions were very difficult...The education system is also very deficient. It was becoming to be noticed that in Mexico... Well, the lack of interest of the teachers. I do not know... They said we were filling out the paperwork and until it was in '97... '98! when we have already been authorized. We came to the border to Ciudad Juarez to arrange all the documentation. They didn't take our passports, they told us the timing to cross the border... They gave us a talk. The immigration officer told us, "Where are you going?" ... "Let's come here, ok?" And he already told us how to park the car there and address to the offices where they were giving a citizenship talk. I remember, they played a video... well, "welcome!" and... we returned to Mexico. Ah, to start planning the relocation's what and when. When I lost my job, that there was nothing... That we said: "Well, we have a way to go there, let's go there to see what happens. And here we arrived, to permanently stay in April 2004 [...] First my son and I, and then... My son was about to finish his...his high school, that he graduates and come to start here. She [my daughter] attended another year of high school here. I consider myself lucky because I did arrive, I initiated in a easy way, my sister-in-law was already living here, the oldest one, here. Additionally, the other two sisters-in-law, the... the oldest one…my wife also already with documents. All of us all were granted with documents and they migrated first; then, when I arrived, my sister-in-law already had a house.

20. "Cortés"

The Early Years...

I am from a town called Frontera Coahuila, which actually in the 40s was Estación Monclova. It is a town that is now linked to Monclova or Villa and that at that time was a railway station where my ancestors came from Jalisco and settled there, on the limits of Monclova. My elementary school was... Indeed, there was still no kindergarten, there were no nurseries. I attended elementary school there, in a town in Frontera, Coahuila, and I graduated there when I was eleven years old and then I was relocated to Monterrey, to live in Monterrey, to study middle school, high school and my professional career in Monterrey.

[...] I am the youngest of four siblings. All of us attended the Frontera´s elementary school. Well... and we all eventually emigrated to Monterrey. They all studied, either tertiary education in Monterrey or high schools, but I was the first one, always the youngest.
The nice thing is that I participated in... within three years of middle school, in the company of dance, regional folkloric dance, and the sad thing, very significant for me, not attending the graduation because I had already started working since January, and the graduation was in

June, and that day I preferred to work all day. I am the youngest of four siblings. All my siblings attended primary school in Frontera. I was just turning 15 years old and I worked with an American company, a department store in Monterrey that had a restaurant, they had a cafeteria and toys, gifts, everything! ... Type type...department store chain! And the store manager I think needed staff. He hired me even though I was a minor, who at that time in Mexico could work from the age of 16.

[...] I grew up with a strange philosophy because I have been working since my childness and I got used to the philosophy that everything you want to eat costs you and that you have to work for it. I am criticized by some friends, some relatives [...] I understand that...things happens because of hard working, that is an issue that we would have to agree on. I think you have to work very hard to have things. Yes, I understand that work has to be paid fairly. So, from my point of view as a business or labor advisor, I have always recommended that there should be a communion between the work and the employer, between the worker and the employer, that the jobs should be paid fairly [...] And I tell you that I have a very special philosophy because I learned that if I was the best worker, they were going to pay me more and it was always like that.

Experiencing the University and the Labour Market...

I attended evening classes at high school, since I was 15 years old, I was a worker paid by... for this company Woolworth of Mexico. I think it was a very very important lesson in my whole career, because I started as a dish washer... at the Woolworth cafeteria, and at some point, they incorporated me into the warehouse where, besides doing physical work such as accommodating and rearranging and cleaning the goods, the inventory, gradually, I was offered the opportunity to work with the records, the inventory and in the third year, when I was almost about to graduate from high school, I became part of the accounting department as an assistant. And I learned the first steps of accounting there, working with payroll and social security taxes and Treasury tax. And I was in charge of paying taxes at the Treasury office. All that led me to what later became my career, the career I decided to have as a public accountant. Well, enrolled in high school and having the opportunity to work in the accounting department, [...] I got interested and somehow, probably, my passion for business despite the fact that in childhood I worked in the stores of my family, uncles, my dad, my grandparents. Sales, for example, were never something strange to me.

[...] In fact, my first attempt was Economics, to study economics but at that time the strikes of '68 were happening as well the great conflicts of '68 worldwide, right? Mexican...very important, Tlatelolco conflicts in Mexico and student movements in the country that provoke to close the University of Nuevo León´ School of Economics, for almost a year. And I already accustomed to work and study, not wanting to waste time, I changed to the Accounting School that did not close so that I continue with my studies, already enrolled. Enrolled, working and study. At one point I attended classes at night... the five years of the bachelors of Public Accountancy, just like I did in high school...

Then I worked in accounting firms all my university years, and graduating I opened my own office and became the accountant of an Association in the orange business. I had a lot of contact with foreign companies, basically from Japan and Germany, that consumed... some Russians who consumed oranges from Montemorelos. Also, from my first years of college I started teaching accounting classes at a high school, and also my preference for teaching was born there.

MeXpatriating to the United States

We are in Mexico until 1990. I was married with three children and my wife was from the border, nearby the border Matamoros – Brownsville; Matamoros, Tamaulipas, Texas. She had a lot of influence from the American culture as living less than half an hour from the border and logically, she grew up educated from elementary and secondary school, in her early years with a lot of approach to English language and the commerce culture between... between Tamaulipas and Texas, and her dream was, therefore, to become proficient in English. And at one point... We were already married with three children... She was a special education teacher; director of Special Education Centers of the Federal Government…She wanted to continue studying. Basically, to extend her proficiency in English language, first. And at the peak of my career, basically because at that time I was... I had a very good job. And she gives me an ultimatum: "We're going to America, my children, and me, and you. If you don't want to leave, if you want to stay, you're welcome to stay. We're moving to" ... And I decided to be with my family.

21. "Negrete"

The Early Years...

I was born in Michoacán, but grew up in Nogales, Sonora, Mexico. [I attended] elementary, middle, high school and university in Nogales, Sonora, because it is a family of ten... Okay, 11, 11.

Experiencing the University and the Labour Market...

I decided to achieve tertiary education because as I had a large family, none of my siblings wanted to enroll to a university; Then I decided to be the first one because as you already see other siblings are older than you and you see that they do not make it, that they do not want to educate, that they do not progress, then I told myself, "I do not want that for my life," and then I decided to study tertiary education.

I studied at the Tecnológico de Nogales, a Bachelors in Accounting [...] I finished my degree in 1999 [...] I graduated in 2000.

[...] Well, I really liked the economics class, I liked the accounting class. The balance of the income statement. And the truth is that I just focused on studying and studying. A lot of teamwork. I never had a boyfriend, I never do date, I never did anything, just college. My goal was to earn my degree, get a degree and then look for a partner, get married.

[...] In Mexico, I got a job in a private accounting firm before I finish the baccalaureate , but it lasted less than a year [...] I was in an accounting office; I was a volunteer, I wasn't paid. Then, as they saw that I worked well, they paid me; I started to earn a little money. It wasn't much, like $250 a week, but it was okay because I was a volunteer... And then…they talk to me in the Secretary [Tax revenue office] offering me a job...

[...] Before finishing I was doing my social service at the Secretary of Finance and I stayed working there [...] There I lasted almost ten years [...] It was also little payment, but it was fine, okey [...] I started in this position, I say, "it's God or good luck", because I never really suffered or struggled to get a job, they offered it to me. I don't feel like I struggled a lot or had a lot of trouble getting a job.

MeXpatriating to the United States

When I was living in Mexico, I met a guy. I married him and three years later he sponsored me... the papers. I continued working in the Secretary until I separated from him and that's when I decided to come here, in 2008, and I quit my job. [...] It was a very big emotional problem for me. I'm not saying I fell into depression because no, no, I didn't allow it, but it was such of a abrupt change, from being there, right? Office-based labour, doing audits... to come here, to start from the bottom level, washing floors, making hamburgers, washing the strainers... Emotionally... me... a sort of, at the beginning, because if I earned less money than the money I used to earn there. There, in Mexico I earned more than here. I should work here. My goal was to come, work, make my citizenship and then, return. But not anymore... I stayed. I am here, I am living here.

As showed in Table 1, the gender distribution among participants consisted of 14 female MeXpatriates and seven male MeXpatriates. All interviewees possess tertiary education qualifications. Among the 21 participants, 18 reported having obtained a bachelor's degree from a tertiary education institution in Mexico, while three were classified as *"pasantes,"* indicating that they had completed their bachelor's coursework in Mexico but had not fulfilled the requirements to receive the corresponding degree. For instance, participant "Rodríguez" completed the necessary coursework for a bachelor's degree in nursing but did not complete the required 480 hours of community service nor pay the graduation fees. Similarly, participants *Juárez* and *"Fernández"* are *"pasantes,"* having completed the coursework for their bachelor's degrees in education and engineering, respectively, but failing to pay the graduation fees, resulting in their inability to secure their tertiary education degrees.

Among the 21 tertiary-educated MeXpatriates in this study, before migrating to the U.S., one of them had obtained both a masters and a doctorate in Mexico, and three of them had earned master's degree. Notably, after having arrived in Arizona state, participants "*Pérez"* and "*Hernández"* earned master's degrees in tertiary education institutions in Mexico via hybrid and on-line formats, correspondingly.

All MeXpatriates in this study reported having professional experience in Mexico and migrated to the United States between the period of 1977 to 2020.

Table 1. Participants

#	Gender	MeXpatriate's Pseudonym	Tertiary Education in Mexico	Professional Experience in Mexico	Arrival to the U.S.A.
1	Female	Estrada	Bachelors in architecture (1989)	-Architecture planning -Tertiary education teaching	2007
2	Female	Torres	-Bachelors in Spanish & Latin American literature (1970) -Masters in modern literature & hermeneutics (1986) -Doctorate in modern literature & hermeneutics (1992)	-Tertiary education teaching -Cultural community Center Management -Writer	1994
3	Male	Guerrero	-Bachelors in chemical pharmaceutical biology (2002) -Masters in food & environmental microbiology (2007)	-Microbiology research	2007
4	Female	Pérez	-Bachelors' degree in chemical pharmaceutical biology (2003) -Masters in food & environmental microbiology (2010) (hybrid format)	-Teaching in Tertiary Education	2006
5	Female	González	-Bachelor's degree in international trade (2002)	Imports & Exports management	2011
6	Female	García	-Bachelor's degree in accounting (1985) -Masters in business and administration	Banking & Tax Management	1999

Table 1 (Continued). *Participants*

	Gender	MeXpatriate's Pseudonym	Tertiary Education in Mexico	Professional Experience in Mexico	Arrival to the U.S.A.
7	Male	Ramírez	-Bachelor's degree in chemical engineering (1976)	-Tertiary Education teaching & research	1977
8	Female	López	-Bachelor's degree in linguistic (1981)	-K12 educator -Public servant	1977
9	Female	Martínez	-Bachelor's degree in international commerce (2004) -Masters in international trade & customs (2007)	-Customs brokerage	2009
10	Male	Bonilla	-Bachelor's degree in psychology (~2003)	-Therapy -Real State -Entrepreneur -Public servant	2016
11	Female	Gómez	-Bachelor's degree in informatics (1995)	-Factory's Systems Administration	1998
12	Male	Juárez	-*(Pasante)* Bachelor's degree in Spanish in elementary Education (1998)	-Elementary education teaching (specialist in indigenous education)	2015
13	Male	Obregón	-Bachelor's degree in physics	-Tertiary education teaching and research	2020
14	Female	Gutiérrez	-Bachelor's degree in tourism (2009)	-Hospitality industry hostesses	2009
15	Female	Rosas	-Bachelor's degree in international trading (1998)	-International Trading & Factory Supply	1999
16	Female	Valenzuela	-Bachelor's degree in international business relations (2013)	-Customs brokerage	2015
17	Female	Hernández	-Bachelor's degree in international trading (2005) - Masters in management (on line, 2012)	-Senior management in customs and Mexico-U.S. commerce	2006

Table 1 (Continued). *Participants*

	Gender	MeXpatriate's Pseudonym	Tertiary Education in Mexico	Professional Experience in Mexico	Arrival to the U.S.A
18	Female	Rodríguez	-*Pasante* in nursing (2014)	-Emergency room nursing -Aesthetic surgery nursing	2020
19	Male	Fernández	-*(Pasante)* Bachelor's degree in agronomic engineering (1984)	-Bank officer (specialized in agricultural funding)	2004
20	Male	Cortés	- Bachelor's degree in accounting	-Accounting Free lancer -Business in sports -Tertiary education teaching	1990
21	Female	Negrete	-Bachelor's degree in accounting (2000)	-Public Servant (Tax Audit)	2008

Data Collection & Analysis

This section offers a comprehensive account of the procedures and techniques utilized to gather and examine the data pertinent to the research question, as well as of this study's validity and limitations.

Interview Protocol

Due to the constraints imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic, which necessitated adherence to stay-at-home measures, the researcher implemented on-distance interviewing as a way to collect the data without compromising participants' safety or this study's purpose and timeline. The pandemic encouraged social distancing while also fostering people's willingness to connect beyond messaging and texts, seeing one another (Koeze & Popper, 2020). The researcher found that because of such a global disease outbreak, Zoom company offered free service, resulting in widespread popularity as individuals increasingly used the platform for

various purposes, “whether for work, attending lectures, or keeping in touch with friends and family” (Matulin, Mrvelj, Abramović, Šoštarić, and Čejvan, 2021). During initial phone or WhatsApp conversations with potential participants, they expressed familiarity with the "Zoom app link" and its video capabilities. Consequently, Zoom was chosen as a suitable "digitally-mediated communication tool" (Maulana, 2022) for the study, providing free access and ease of use for participants. In summary, interviews were conducted via the Zoom application, as participants were comfortable using it and the platform allowed for recording video meetings.

Prior to the interview, participants received the consent form, which was signed and returned to the researcher via email. The researcher designed a semi-structured interview that supported participants’ “freedom to add anything and interviewer’s flexibility to ask additional questions to clarify certain points or to delve further into a topic” (Corbin & Strauss, 2015, p. 39). The interview guide, presented in both English and Spanish, can be found in Appendix F and was designed for a one-hour, in-depth, semi-structured interview. Interviews were conducted in the participants’ native language (Spanish) to facilitate comprehensive perspectives on their lives, experiences, or situations as expressed in their own words (Taylor, Bogdan, and De Vault, 2015). It is important to note that the interview guide was reviewed by two bilingual researchers to ensure an accurate reflection of the investigated phenomenon both in English and Spanish languages.

To ensure data accessibility and backup, the researcher recorded the Zoom meetings (interviews) using both the "Zoom App" installed on a laptop and the "Voice Recorder App" on a smartphone. The researcher collected a total of 21 recordings/interviews, which were stored in a

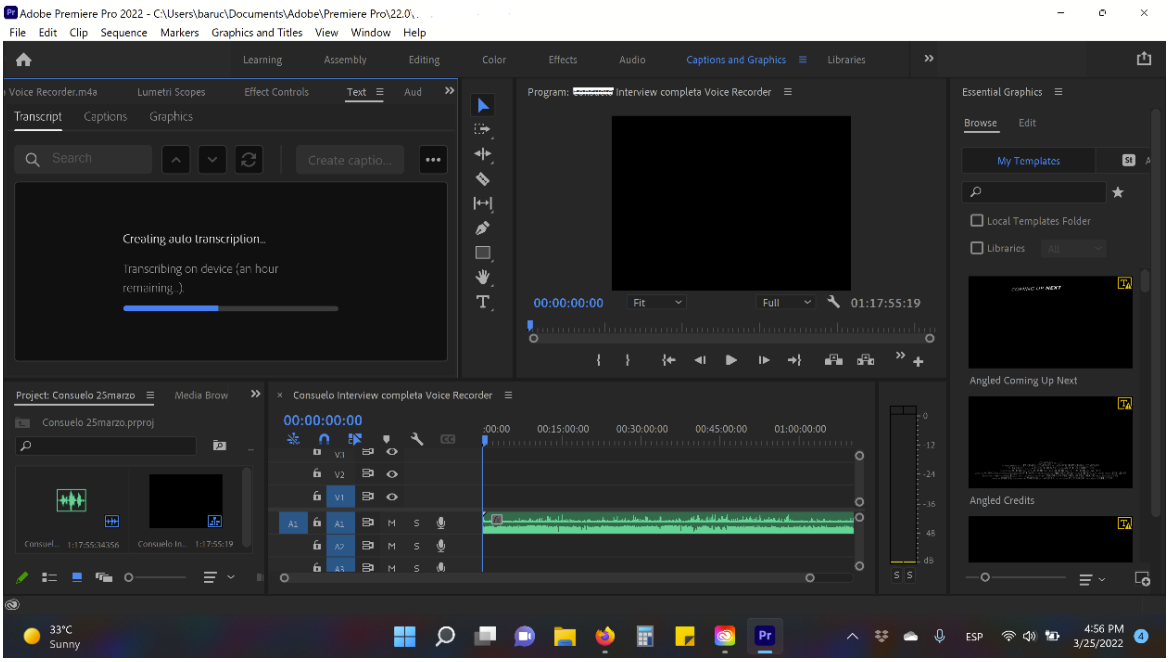
University of Arizona Box folder, an online cloud service that enables secure file storage and access from anywhere and at any time.

Transcribing & Coding

The data collection consisted of audio and video recordings of interviews with tertiary-educated MeXpatriates. The researcher decided to listen the interviews and subsequently, transcribe them verbatim, transcribing in a way that shows pauses, overlaps, silence, and the details of struggling for the right word" (Gubrin & Holstein, 2019 as cited by Glesne, 2016, p. 119). The underlying rationale for this approach was the recognition that data analysis begins during the transcription phase, thus facilitating a deeper understanding of the brain waste phenomenon as she transcribed the MeXpatriates shared experiences and perspectives.

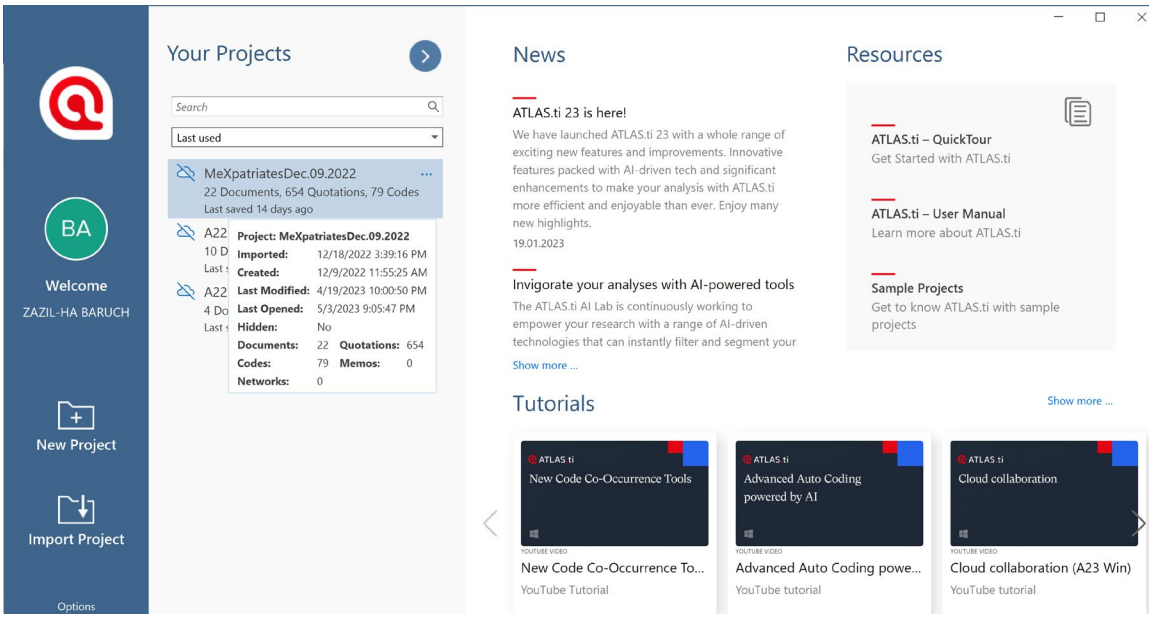
Each of the initial four verbatim transcriptions took approximately six hours to complete. Consequently, the researcher investigated potential software solutions that could streamline the transcription process while maintaining accuracy in the Spanish language. She assessed the automated live transcription feature in the Zoom application but found to support only the English language. Also, the researcher tested the closed captioning feature by using a personal channel on YouTube, but it demonstrated insufficient accuracy in Spanish, the language utilized during this study interviewing. Ultimately, the researcher identified "Adobe Premiere Pro 2022" as a suitable video editing software, capable of generating closed caption and subtitle tracks for video projects, thereby providing a more efficient and precise transcription solution for Spanish-language interviews. (See Figure 1).

Figure 1. *Adobe Premiere Pro 2022 Auto-transcription*



Utilizing the auto-transcription functionality of "Adobe Premiere Pro 2022," the researcher obtained fast and satisfactory transcriptions in the ".txt" format. To guarantee the verbatim accuracy of the interviews, these transcriptions were saved as a Word document, and the researcher refined them by listening to each interview and supplementing any information missing when compared to the original audio. Then, interviews were stored on a folder and through the ATLAS-ti official website, the researcher acquired a six-month student license for the ATLAS-ti software compatible with the Windows operating system. This acquisition enabled the researcher to install the ATLAS-ti software on their laptop and proceed with the qualitative analysis of the 21 collected interviews.

Figure 2. *The ATLAS-Ti Project*



By using the theoretical and conceptual lens in this study, the researcher implemented a thematic analysis (reading, thinking, re-reading, and rethinking the data) as the strategy to come up with codes and themes that answer research question in this study. Thus, while reading transcriptions, the researcher was looking for and selecting impactful and evocative vocabulary; for example, “explotación” (exploitation), "riqueza" (wealth), and “discriminación” (discrimination). Moreover, the theoretical and conceptual framework played two main roles in the researcher´s coding process: as lenses to look throughout the data corpus and as a provocative and continuous alarm that kept her alert for new learning and findings. During coding analysis, the researcher considered Corbin and Strauss's recommendation to separately list all emerging codes to be kept as analysis continues to help researchers visualize their work in progress and to avoid duplication (qtd. in Saldana, 2016, p. 118).

During the coding process, the researcher consulted Saldana's Coding Manual for Qualitative Research (2016) as a guiding reference. The coding objective was to identify words or brief phrases within the interview transcripts that symbolically represented a summative,

salient, essence-capturing, or evocative attribute for segments of language-based data (Saldana, 2016). Specifically, "Descriptive coding," recognized as the foundation for qualitative inquiry, proved useful in addressing the overarching question, "What is happening here?" (Saldana, 2016, p. 102). Furthermore, the researcher employed "In Vivo coding" as a technique that captures behaviors or processes that explain how the actors' underlying problem is resolved or processed and helps preserve participants' meanings of their views and actions (Saldana, 2015). In essence, In Vivo coding aligns with the present study by introducing the researcher to an overview of the meaning that participants make of their experience in their native language.

In the initial coding stage, over 60 codes were generated. By implementing a second round of coding via Atlas-ti, codes were evaluated, merged and organized into four final categories: Underemployment Conditions, Underemployment Meaning, Unexpected Event & Explanation.

It is noteworthy to mention that the ATLAS-ti was a resourceful tool to storage the qualitative data, name and rename codes, move them from one category to another one, as well as to conduct content analysis that generated a word cloud based on frequency of words expressed by the participants at the interviewee time (See Figure 3 in the Chapter 4 - Findings).

Validity

According to Maxwell (2013, p. 123), unlike quantitative researchers, qualitative researchers rarely have the benefit of previously planned control for plausible threats. However, he recommends that researchers do not ignore validity issues; instead, they must consider the specific validity threat for their studies and develop ways to attempt to rule them out. With all

that said, the following paragraphs discuss the potential issues of researcher bias and reactivity within this study.

Researcher Bias

The researcher acknowledged the possibility of a bias that may influence the study's implementation and conclusions. Before initiating this study, she possessed the assumption that tertiary-educated MeXpatriates think of working in their field degrees once they arrive in the U.S. With that in mind, the researcher implemented the following strategies to cope with it:

-Maintaining awareness of this assumption through the overall development of the study;

-Collecting rich data, transcribing it verbatim, and coding it In Vivo;

-Searching for what Maxwell (2013) describes as “discrepant evidence/negative cases” (p. 127), a way to reach alternative explanations; which eventually allowed the researcher to see that in several cases, female tertiary-educated MeXpatriates migrate into the U.S. because of marriage and opted for voluntary unemployment/underemployment to raise their children before seeking employment in the U.S. labour market. This strategy effectively prevented the researcher from influencing outcomes unrelated to the expressed experiences of brain waste among tertiary-educated MeXpatriates.

Reactivity

The researcher was aware of potential reactivity issues during the interview, also referred to as "reflexivity" (Maxwell, 2013, p. 125). According to Maxwell (2013, p. 99), researchers can alleviate “validity concerns and ethics” by acknowledging that their role as interviewers may affect the interview process. Accordingly, the researcher was attentive, unprejudiced, and

respectful, fostering open communication and avoiding leading questions that could influence what participants say/do not say during the execution of the interview.

According to Maxwell (2013), completely eliminating researchers' influence is "impossible" (p. 125); instead, it should be comprehended and used productively. Therefore, the researcher's presence was utilized as an opportunity to highlight the rigorous protocol set forth by the University of Arizona's review and authorization process for this research, and to professionally explain the consent form to participants.

Additionally, there was awareness about the potential influence of the researcher sharing the condition with participants of being a MeXpatriate with tertiary education living in the United States. However, rather than obstruct the interviewing process, such similarity in identity and experiences facilitated appropriate rapport and empathy with participants, who showed enthusiasm for being part of a research that inform on a phenomenon affecting this specific subgroup within the Mexican community living in the southern United States.

Study Limitations

This phenomenological study depicts the lived-experiences of tertiary-educated MeXpatriates settled in the southern United States, specifically within the Tucson, Arizona (United States) - Nogales, Sonora (Mexico) border region. It captures the unique perspectives of these MeXpatriates at a particular point in their personal journeys and the broader historical context, as the researcher collected the data during the most challenging phases of the COVID-19 pandemic. Therefore, it is essential to recognize the valuable contribution of these first-hand accounts in understanding the phenomenon of brain waste among highly-skilled immigrants in

the United States, all while maintaining a thorough awareness of the contextual and temporal framework within which this study is situated.

CHAPTER 4. FINDINGS

This chapter showcases the answer to this study's primary research question, what do tertiary-educated MeXpatriates' lived-experiences in securing and maintaining employment in the United States look like, and what do these immigrants understand those experiences to mean? To that end, it comprises four main sections. The first section covers tertiary-educated MeXpatriates' migration pathways and initial vision upon their arrival in the United States, the second section depicts what these MeXpatriates identified as underpinned life situations and major conditionals contributing to their underemployment experiencing in the U.S. labour market, the third section unveils four underemployment scenarios embedded in their experience with the U.S. brain waste phenomenon, and the fourth section unravels the agency and underlying meaning of U.S. labour market underemployment experiences among tertiary-educated MeXpatriates.

The Arrival in the United States

A detailed analysis of participants' accounts revealed that migration to the U.S. among MeXpatriates with tertiary education may relate more to familial ties than to job offerings or professional development objectives. The majority of MeXpatriates in this study revealed that their migration to the U.S. was heavily influenced by an emotional attachment, particularly to their spouse, children, or other relatives. Thus, other drivers, such as concerns for safety, health, employability, or further education, were found to be present but subordinate to the familial strong influence. This is a situation that applies even to participants "Torres" and "Ramírez," who expressed having relocated to the U.S. as a visiting professor and a Ph.D. student, respectively.

Along with a strong influence of family and relatives on migratory pathways, participants in this study also informed on the utilized via to obtain their legal migration to the U.S. As Table 2 shows, most of the tertiary-educated who participated in this study utilized their direct relationship with a family member with legal status and its capability to sponsor them as the via to legally migrate into the United States.

Table 2. *MeXpatriates' via of U.S. Legal Immigration*

MeXpatriate (Participant)	Gender	U.S. legal immigration via Family relationship/sponsorship			Domestic Violence	Asylum	Work visa
		Marriage	Father	Child			
"Guerrero"	Male	x					
"Juárez"	Male	x					
"Fernández"	Male	x					
"González"	Female	x					
"García"	Female	x					
"Gómez"	Female	x					
"Gutiérrez"	Female	x					
"Rosas"	Female	x					
"Valenzuela"	Female	x					
"Hernández"	Female	x					
"Rodríguez"	Female	x					
"Negrete"	Female	x					
"Ramírez"	Male		x				
"Cortés"	Male		x				
"Pérez"	Female		x				
"López"	Female		x				
"Estrada"	Female			x			
"Obregón"	Male			x			
"Martínez"	Female				x		
"Bonilla"	Male					x	
"Torres"	Female						x

Hence, marriage to a U.S. citizen or to a lawful permanent resident emerges as a popular source of sponsorship among tertiary-educated MeXpatriates in this study to legally migrate into the United States. This pattern was observed in both male and female participants in this study,

but in an evident bigger proportion among female MeXpatriates. For instance, participants "Guerrero," "Juárez," and "Fernández" are male participants who obtained legal migration based on their roles as spouses. The "González," "García," "Gómez," "Gutiérrez," "Rosas," "Valenzuela," "Hernández," "Rodríguez," and "Negrete" are female participants who also used a marriage-based sponsorship to legally relocate to the U.S. The story of participant "García" is an exemplar case of this pathway:

> *"One of my friends married an American, and I met the man who became my husband at the wedding party. I quitted my job and came to the United States in May 1999 [...]In June, I married him; then we went to see an immigration lawyer and we processed my U.S. residency right away. In July/August my residency still was being processed, so during that time I did not work, but I was getting trained to work in a U.S. tax preparations job. In October…in December I got my Social Security, my work permit, and also traveling authorization to visit Mexico"* (Participant "García").

Along with marriage-based sponsorship, a parent or a child-based sponsorship also served as a means of facilitating the legal process of migration of MeXpatriates in this study. Participants "Ramírez," "Cortés," "Pérez," and "López" are tertiary-educated MeXpatriates sponsored by their parents. Participants "Estrada" and "Obregón," with children with U.S. citizenship, are participants who were sponsored by their children. In the former case, in previous years, this participant has traveled to the U.S. to give birth to their children, returned to Mexico, and recently migrated to the United States in her children´s college years, using this link to sponsor her U.S. legal migration. In the latter case, children of participant "Obregón" have migrated independently to the U.S. as adults and obtained legal migration status; a link that in subsequent years served to sponsor this participant's legal migration. The following account corroborates the notion that children's ties in the United States may be a source of sponsorship and motivation among tertiary-educated MeXpatriates to legalize their migration to this country:

> *I have two daughters and I even have grandchildren [in the U.S.], and they had been saying for a while that it would be good for me to move to Tucson. So, in 2020, I applied for a sabbatical year in Mexico to go to a university in Arizona and collaborate with a research group [...] When I arrived at Arizona, I applied for my permanent residency...It took them a year and a half to grant me...It was in the last Trump year and pandemic times…They approved my residency in May 2021* (Participant "Obregón").

To a minimum extent, it was also unveiled that escaping domestic violence and seeking asylum are other ways by which tertiary-educated MeXpatriates in this study have become lawful residents in the United States. One female participant in the research, referred to as participant "Martínez," entered into marriage with a U.S. citizen who met in Mexico and subsequently accompanied him to the United States on a visitor visa. Over time, as she faced domestic violence, participant "Martínez" was helped to file the U.S. immigration petition as an abused spouse that eventually let her stay as a lawful resident in the United States:

> *[...] I went to a postpartum depression clinic. A psychiatrist informed me that I was experiencing domestic violence...I wanted to leave my home with my son, but he advised me not to do it because at that time the father could claim that I had kidnapped him. Then, through domestic violence I was able to arrange my residency [in the United States]. One lawyer helped me, she took my case for free [...] I got my residency in 2013, but we started the paperwork in 2010.* (Participant "Martínez").

Alternatively, a male participant, referred to as participant "Bonilla," entered the United States on a tourist visa for the sole purpose of recovery from severe post-traumatic stress disorder. This illness, a consequence of an experience of kidnapping in his hometown, prompted him to visit relatives in southern Arizona for the sole purpose of short-term recovery stay, which ultimately spanned over five years. As he recounted, he did not take the decision to migrate; instead, the hostage event prompted him to seek refuge in the United States despite having established personal roots in Mexico and having a successful professional career there. He added:

> *"I became a refugee thanks to the support of the Migration Clinic of the University of Arizona, which helped me for free [...] It is my understanding that I was the only asylum seeker from Mexico in 2019 who was granted" (*Participant "Bonilla").

Finally, the case of participant "Torres" draws attention because it is the only participant in this study who reported having come to the U.S. on a work visa. She stated:

> *It was a lucky shot that the National Institute of Fine Arts in Mexico invited me to talk at a Conference on Mexican literature for kids [...] At the conference, there were some directors from a university in Arizona [...] I was asked to come to the U.S. to give that talk. "OK, perfect. Deal!" [...] I came on a three-year contract as a Visiting Professor which eventually was extended to four years. I stayed as a lecturer. I came with the same salary that I was earning in my job in Mexico, but the plus was the university's tuition scholarships for my children. Eventually, the university became my sponsor to get my U.S. citizenship...I have stayed here for 20 years.* (Participant "Torres").

Hence, this study shows that tertiary-educated MeXpatriates do not necessarily arrive in the United States with a meticulously outlined migration plan or the intention of permanently settling in this country. Nevertheless, this investigation consistently reveals the existence of a broad range of migration stories and the recurrent reliance of these MeXpatriates on family legal migratory status to complete its legal migration process to the United States. Additionally, it highlights the presence of intense emotional bonds with their partners and relatives and the belief in a positive future after relocating from Mexico to the United States.

Underemployment Life Situations & Major Conditionals

A major finding in this study is that in the U.S. labor market, tertiary-educated MeXpatriates typically do not face involuntary unemployment as a manifestation of the brain waste phenomenon, as they secure employment when actively searching. However, as part of their migration journey, these highly-educated immigrants frequently encounter underemployment, representing another aspect of the brain waste phenomenon.

In describing lived experiences, MeXpatriates that participated in this study reflected upon the underpinnings for their U.S. underemployment experiences. Based on the interview data, life situations linked to the underemployment experiences among the 21 participants in this study were identified (See Table 3). This table is organized by pseudonym and lists the situation(s) expressed as contributing to these participants' underemployment:

Table 3. *Underemployment Underpinning Life Situations & Conditionals*

	MeXpatriate	Underemployment Underpinning Life Situation
1	"Estrada"	-Human resources exploitation & Profits
2	"Torres"	-High quality working with low paying -Racism
3	"Guerrero"	-Limited English Proficiency
4	"Pérez"	-Limited English Proficiency
5	"González"	-Unfamiliarity with the U.S. Tertiary Education & Labour Market -Underdeveloped Social capital
6	"García"	-Entry-level job
7	"Ramírez"	-NA (reported as underpaid; no underemployed)
8	"López"	-Unfamiliarity with the U.S. Tertiary Education & Labour Market -Underdeveloped social capital
9	"Martínez"	-Limited English Proficiency & Fear to use it
10	"Bonilla"	-Lack of U.S. work permit -Lack of U.S. credentials
11	"Gómez"	-Immigration process -Limited English Proficiency & Fear to use it -Child care responsibilities
12	"Juárez"	-A Migration Mexico – U.S. must have experience -Uncompleted Mexican tertiary education degree ("Pasante")
13	"Obregón"	-A way to stay in the field of expertise
14	"Gutiérrez"	-Monetary Necessity -Limited English Proficiency & Fear to use it
15	"Rosas"	-Limited English Proficiency -Fear (long term voluntary unemployment because of child care) -Unfamiliarity with the U.S. Tertiary Education & Labour Market
16	"Valenzuela"	NA (thankful with the job)
17	"Hernández"	-Underdeveloped social capital
18	"Rodríguez"	-Lack of U.S. credentials

19	“Fernández”	-Limited English Proficiency
20	“Cortés”	-Limited English Proficiency
21	“Negrete”	-Limited English Proficiency

Overall, tertiary-educated MeXpatriates' reported underemployment life situations that can be organized in two dimensions: individual-type life situations and environmental-based life situations.

Individual-type based situations included: in-process migratory paperwork, lack of a U.S. work permit, responsibilities on child-care, the personal need to have an entry-level job, a feeling of fear grounded on the decision of not to participate in the workforce for a long term, monetary necessity, the personal decision to stay in the field of expertise, and the lack of appropriate local credentials. This latter whether because having completed coursework but no-having a tertiary-education degree (being a *pasante*) or because the possessed tertiary-education degree is a U.S. regulated profession that requires some tertiary education or certification to practice it, or because experiencing these two situations, such as the case of participant “Rodríguez,” who completed a bachelor’s in nursing course-work and in addition must earn a local certification in nursing.

On the other hand, tertiary-educated MeXpatriates expressed environmental-based life situations underpinning their underemployment in the United States such as a model of human resources exploitation & profits, the business mindset supporting having high-quality laborers with low paying, a must-have experience in the migration from Mexico to the United States, and racism.

Additionally, within the life situations showed in Table 3, three major conditionals emerged in fostering the underemployment of tertiary-educated MeXpatriates: a restricted

English language proficiency, unfamiliarity with the U.S. labour market & tertiary education, and an underdeveloped social capital. To further elucidate these life situations and conditionals underpinning the underemployment of these MeXpatriates, the ATLAS-Ti frequencies/word cloud feature was utilized. This approach provided a word cloud that visually depicts the prevalence of limitations on the English language, familiarity with the U.S. labour market & tertiary education, and social capital as the top three major conditionals for the phenomenon of brain-waste (underemployment) among this study participants (See Figure 3).

Figure 3. *Word-Cloud - Underemployment Life Situations & Major Conditionals*

The forthcoming segments will address these three major conditionals for underemployment among tertiary-educated MeXpatriates in the U.S. labour:

Limited English Proficiency & Feeling Apprehensive to Use English as a Second Language

> *"Obviously, language is the first barrier that we face here"*
> (Participant "García")

Tertiary-educated MeXpatriates in this studio expressed that their limited English language proficiency is what most conditions for securing employment that aligns with their educational qualifications and skills. Participants “Rosas,” “Cortés,” and “Negrete” stated that being acknowledged that they were not proficient in the U.S. language, they decided to settle for jobs outside their field of tertiary-education degree and below their formal qualifications in order to accelerate their employment upon their arrival in the United States. For example, participant “Cortés” shared the story about his first job in the United States. He stated:

> *"And since I didn't speak English, my first job was [...] I had to go into the city sewage system and do maintenance on those pumps... well, you get all muddy there, but it was part of my job; a decent job!* (Participant “Cortés”).

Limitations in the English language also restrain employability among MeXpatriates with tertiary education who try to have a job commensurate with their educational attainment and field of expertise. Thus, non-English proficient MeXpatriates with tertiary education may find it challenging to find this type of employment and eventually be restricted to be employed to physically demanding jobs that do not require using their formal training. For instance, participant “Fernández,” illustrates the situation in which there was an attempt to secure employment according to his credentials as a tertiary-educated individual, but that eventually turned into an unsuccessful effort, *“I applied to four or five jobs…but I didn’t speak the English language [...] one week upon my arrival to the United States I started painting apartments.”*

Also, tertiary-educated MeXpatriates in the United States may experience scarce employment opportunities because feeling apprehensive about using their limited English language skills. Thus, due to their fear of using English, they may settle for jobs that do not require a high level of proficiency in English or professional terminology but instead entail

arduous physical labor. The following statement by the "Participant "Martínez" illustrates this standpoint:

> *"Since I didn't have much English or maybe because I was afraid of using it, I started to work in a hotel here. So, I started as a hotel housekeeper. I lasted a few months until January or so. I quit. It was very heavy work, very heavy work. I was very tired…"* (Participant "Martínez").

Therefore, being and/or perceiving oneself as lacking proficiency in the English language may foster a diffident mindset limiting tertiary-educated MeXpatriates' employment options, preventing them from applying for more professional employment despite having the requisite degrees, and even, after having achieved a distinguished career overseas. For instance, the "Pérez," who attended English as second language classes and passed English language testing as a bachelor's requisite in Mexico, declared *"It was something that I felt. Working in science is a lot of responsibility; the public health of our patients. I wanted to be sure that what I told them was understood, and that I understood what I was told. So, until I became confident…"* Another exemplary case is the situation of participant "Guerrero," who expressed having fears about an irresponsible performance in their role as competent professional because feeling unsure of their English abilities, and therefore, taking jobs below their tertiary-education degrees and outside of their expertise:

> *"I don't feel very comfortable yet, right? I don't feel very strong yet in English, especially in writing. For example, I know that I have all the background to be an inspector, maybe in the vector control area. I know I could apply, but I don't feel very comfortable yet if I need to write a report because obviously, it is an official report where there should be no mistakes [...] Writing is something that I still have to work on. I don't...I don't feel very confident. So I have to advance more in that part to be able to, to be able to apply for a more formal job."* (Participant "Guerrero")

Unfamiliarity with the U.S. Labour Market & Tertiary Education

> *"A tutoring center was the first one that contacted me with a job offer. I was stupid." When an environmental organization contacted me I already had accepted that first job*

> *offer. I did not possess experience [in the U.S.] The job in this organization was 1,000 times better than my job as a tutor in the tutoring center but I did not know!"* (Participant "Estrada")

Based on the information provided by the interviewees, unfamiliarity with the U.S. labour market and its tertiary education system emerges as a major condition in the underemployment experiences among tertiary-educated MeXpatriates in the United States. As the quote of participant "Estrada"" above illustrates, a lack of knowledge about the organization and the applying position may mislead tertiary-educated MeXpatriates' decision-making process when evaluating job offers and, consequently, mislead their career in their new country. Also, it was found that non-possessing or possessing a scarce familiarity with the American work culture may reduce tertiary-educated MeXpatriates' confidence as professionals in a new work environment often assumed as unconnected to their professional experiences in Mexico, but that can involve similar practices. According to participant "Rosas:"

> *"When you migrate into the United States, you might think that a company would not hire you…This is a self-created mindset since I demonstrated to myself that it is possible, you can do it [...] When I started working in a company in the United States, full of fear and unconfident, while getting trained in the U.S. company it was as if I was dusting my knowledge off since all my professional experience emerged…"* (Participant "Rosas").

In addition, it was found that this awareness of lack of understanding and experience in the American job market may drive tertiary-educated MeXpatriates' to secure bottom-level jobs as a starting point strategy, a way to initiate their participation in the workforce and become familiar with it. As participant "López" explained, *"It happened because I didn't know how and where to start."* Participant "González," also identified her unfamiliarity with the U.S. labour market functioning as a major condition for her unemployment after their migration into the United States.

In terms of tertiary-education familiarity, this study revealed that tertiary-educated Mexpatriates may not possess precise knowledge about the local functioning of their formal education earned abroad and the pathway to use their credentials in the U.S. labour market. However, these MeXpatriates possess an awareness of particular professional requirements and regulations that may apply in the United States to their careers, such as in the case of the "Rodríguez" and "Bonilla," in the fields of nursing and psychology, correspondingly. These participants expressed their aim to eventually earn local certifications that will enable them to secure job positions commensurate to their educational achievement and practice of interest. In the words of participant "Rodríguez:" *"I did not try to do nursing, yet...I know certification is needed or something like that; that is my understanding."*

Undeveloped Social Capital

> *"I had no contacts, no connections here [...] My husband works in a different field."* (Participant "Hernández").

Aside from the challenges inherent in navigating the U.S. labour market and American tertiary education, undeveloped social capital emerges as another major condition for underemployment among tertiary-educated MeXpatriates in the United States. The qualitative data revealed that limited interactions and lack of professional connections contribute to the occurrence of their underemployment. The shared experience of participant "González," exemplifies the difficulties and strain associated with lacking social connections and guidance on navigating career paths within the U.S. labor market. She argued:

> *"I didn't even have the slightest idea of "What am I going to work on here?" It was to some extent stressful...I had already been developing professionally in Mexico [...] coming here and start from zero, with no idea of anything, that was really difficult. Difficult in the sense that I didn't... I didn't have much... I mean, anyone to count on!"* (Participant "González")

In like manner, “López,” “Gutiérrez,” and “Hernández” defended that upon arrival, tertiary-educated MeXpatriates may face a sort of social isolation or minimal interactions that prevent them from being acquainted with U.S. employment opportunities for them which may lead them to secure employment in the easiest hire jobs in which no professional experience and recommendations are requested; missing out on jobs that align with their credentials and skills set.

Furthermore, this study disclosed that the majority of tertiary-educated MeXpatriates rely on their local contacts and the vicinity to obtain employment -at least in the first years after U.S. migration. Spouses, new acquaintances, neighbors, and relatives living in the community, as well as places such as their children’s school or local libraries, serve as critical sources for their employment. As an illustration, participant “García” stated that her spouse connected her with a local banker, leading to her employment as a bank teller. Furthermore, participant “López” secured her first job by inquiring at her daughter's daycare center. Also, participant “Rosas” began working as a cafeteria aide at her child’s school; participant “Guerrero” has a job as a catering attendant given his connection to a relative who owns the catering service company; participant “Fernández” obtained his job as a maintenance technician via a recommendation from his brother-in-law, who had a connection to an apartment complex management; participant “Martínez” secured her job as an aide at the fast food chain in which her sister was an employee; and participant “Gutiérrez” was employed as a retail store merchandise aid based on a new friendship upon arrival to the town. Therefore, those tertiary-educated MeXpatriates able to leverage their social and professional networks may find it simpler to secure managerial positions or use their tertiary education degrees in their jobs than their counterparts who do not expand their social and professional connections.

U.S. Brain Waste Experiencing (Underemployment Scenarios)

This third section delves into the experiences of U.S. brain-waste among tertiary-educated MeXpatriates and subsequently depicts four scenarios embedded in the underemployment experiences of these immigrants in the United States.

As noted previously, in this study was found that tertiary-educated MeXpatriates in the United States labour market are not subject to involuntary unemployment as a manifestation of the brain waste phenomenon since these immigrants attain employment upon actively seeking it. For instance, participant "Pérez" explained that always that she needed a job, she was confident that she would be hired:

> *...When I needed to search for a job here, I would ask in the check center and they always hired me. They always employed me because they already trusted in me. I already knew how things operated and they always gave me back my position as a teller there, with them.* (Participant "Pérez").

Nonetheless, as part of their migratory pathway in the United States, tertiary-educated MeXpatriates regularly experience underemployment, which is the other variation of the brain waste phenomenon. The vast majority of participants in this study declared that —at least in the first years after their migration to the United States— they held occupations that did not match their tertiary education field of study and in which no tertiary education degree was required, at all.

Resulting from the combination of three key components: MeXpatriates´ tertiary education field, a tertiary education degree requirement during the hiring process, and the job position level, the accounts shared by these participants revealed that the phenomenon of brain waste in the United States as underemployment can materialize it in four scenarios (See Table 4).

Table 4. *Underemployment Scenarios. Components Matrix*

Scenario	Underemployment (Brain Waste) Examples	Required tertiary-education degree at the time of hiring	Job matches tertiary-education field
1. High Physical Labour	-Housekeeper	No	No
2. Office labour	- Call center representative	No (a tertiary-education degree could be an additional value)	No
3. Experienced labour	- Imports & Exports Specialist	No	Yes
4. Professional labour	-Instructor	Yes (but the job position is below MeXpatriate's educational attainment)	Yes

The subsequent segment of this chapter outlines the Brain Waste phenomenon in the four distinct underemployment scenarios, which emerged through the lived experiences of these tertiary-educated MeXpatriates in their efforts to secure and maintain employment in the United States.

Underemployment Scenario 1. High Physical Labor

In a similar situation to participant "Pérez," who in her first years after migrating to the United States used to be employed as a teller in a "Check Center," the majority of tertiary-educated MeXpatriates in this study reported having experienced employment or having a job that did not match to their tertiary-education field and in which non-tertiary education degree was required, at all. Concerning this first scenario of underemployment, it should be mentioned that it characterizes when a tertiary-educated MeXpatriate is employed in what is known as a low-skilled job, with a high demand for physical work and in which high level of thinking skills

(analysis, evaluation, critical thinking, etc.) are not necessarily implemented, such as housekeeper and food preparer jobs.

Table 5 presents a summary of the job roles occupied by MeXpatriates in the context of the first underemployment scenario. It is important to highlight that a considerable proportion of the MeXpatriates in this studio reported encountering this particular underemployment scenario.

Table 5. *MeXpatriates Jobs under Scenario 1 of Underemployment*

MeXpatriate	Underemployment Job Experiences
"Guerrero"	-Catering attendant
"Pérez"	-Cashiers' check teller
"López"	-Childcare worker
"Martínez"	-Hotel housekeeper -Baby sitter -Fast food chain aide
"Bonilla"	-Hotel housekeeper -Grocery clerk & *Tortillero*
"Gómez"	-Housekeeper
"Juárez"	-Mall housekeeper -Cemetery housekeeper
"Gutiérrez"	-Retail store merchandise aid -Baby sitter
"Rosas"	-school cafeteria aide
"Rodríguez"	-Housekeeper -Kitchen helper
"Fernández"	-Apartment complex maintenance technician
"Cortés"	-Plumber -Construction cleaner crew
"Negrete"	-Fast food chain aide

In turn, the listed occupations in Table 5 can be grouped according to similarities in their job occupations as follows:

-Housekeeping and Cleaning Occupations (Participant "Guerrero": Catering attendant; participant "Martínez": Hotel housekeeper; participant "Bonilla": Hotel housekeeper; participant

"Gómez": Housekeeper; participant "Juárez": Mall housekeeper/Cemetery housekeeper; and participant "Rodríguez": Housekeeper).

-Childcare and Caregiving Occupations (Participant "López": Childcare worker; participant "Martínez": Baby sitter; and participant "Gutiérrez": Baby sitter).

-Food Service and Retail Occupations (Participant "Martínez": Fast food chain aide; participant "Bonilla": Grocery clerk & *Tortillero*; participant "Rosas": School cafeteria aide; and participant "Negrete": Fast food chain aide).

-Maintenance and Manual Labor Occupations: (Participant "Fernández": Apartment complex maintenance technician; and participant "Cortés": Plumber and Construction cleaner crew).

In the first scenario of underemployment (brain waste), additional low-level occupations were observed, such as participant "Gutiérrez," with a job as a retail store merchandise aid; and the case of participant "Pérez" who used to work as a cashiers' check teller."

Underemployment Scenario 2. Office Labour

> *"The minimum requirement is a high school diploma, but if you achieved a higher education degree it is better; for example, I presented my bachelor's degree in accounting, which is what I possess…"* (Participant "Negrete").

Similar to the underemployment scenario 1, this second scenario happens when a tertiary-educated MeXpatriate experienced employment that did not match their tertiary-education field and in which a non-tertiary education degree was required. However, contrarily to scenario 1 (also characterized by these components), in the underemployment scenario 2, exhibiting a tertiary-education degree could be an additional value for MeXpatriates employability as a

resource to become employed in jobs with less physical work and more clerical duties. Jobs in the underemployment scenario 2 are illustrated by the experiences of participant “Negrete,” employed as a youth care worker; participant “Estrada” employed as a front desk receptionist; participants “Cortés” and “Bonilla” roles in general administrative functions; and participants “Gutiérrez” and “García,” both of them with jobs as call center representatives.

Underemployment Scenario 3. Experienced Labour

> *“I know how to do my job very well [...] In this job it is not very important having a tertiary education degree; however, it is not an impediment either. It is not like in Mexico, where to achieve a job position like mine, you must exhibit your higher education degree in the field of International Trade [...] Here, what matters is your performance.”* (Participant “González”).

The third underemployment scenario occurs when a tertiary-educated MeXpatriate secures employment within their field of tertiary education, but the job position does not require a tertiary education degree. This study identified two tertiary-educated MeXpatriates who experienced this form of underemployment. Alongside the previously mentioned account of participant "González", the narrative shared by participant "Rosas" further illustrates this scenario, which is primarily based on practical knowledge or “know-how.” After having her first job in the United States as a school cafeteria aide, participant "Rosas" obtained an entry-level international business job at an international trade company focused on conducting business in the border area. She explained that the hiring process emphasized having commercial experience in the northern Mexico-southern U.S. region, instead of the requirement of a tertiary education degree. She stated, *"The job interview was on Monday...I had the job offer on Wednesday.”*

Underemployment Scenario 4. Professional Labour

This fourth scenario occurs when a tertiary-educated MeXpatriate's employment matches MeXpatriates' tertiary-education field, a tertiary-education degree in the field is a job requirement, but the job position is below their formal educational level (See Table 6).

Table 6. *MeXpatriates Jobs under Scenario 4 of Underemployment*

MeXpatriate	Underemployment Job Experiences
"Obregón"	Instructor
"Torres"	Lecturer
"Hernández"	Specialist level 1
"Valenzuela"	Specialist level 1

This underemployment scenario is illustrated by the experiences of participant "Obregón," working as an instructor after doing scholarship for over 25 years in the Mexican tertiary education system, as well by jobs of participants "Hernández" and "Valenzuela", in which they deployed high-level skills and knowledge related to their tertiary education degrees and expertise developed in senior positions in the Mexican industry.

Likewise, the situation faced by participant "Torres," with a bachelor's degree, a master's degree, and a Ph.D. earned in Mexico, illustrates this fourth scenario. According to this participant, a Ph.D. degree was required at the time of hiring in a job that matched its tertiary-education field. However, over time she realized that she was hired to come to the United States to perform duties in a job position below their educational level and expertise. She explained:

> *"I stayed there for 20 years [...] I used to be hired as a lecturer, with short term contracts [...] I was always underemployed because I could have been a full professor or gotten a tenure, but...my superior's argument was that my doctoral dissertation was earned in Mexico; that my education was in Mexico. So that's why I wasn't offered a tenured appointment. So that is being underemployed. I was underemployed all the time…"* (Participant "Torres")

Concluding this section on the four scenarios of brain waste phenomenon among tertiary-educated MeXpatriates in the U.S. labour market, it is essential to note that those aforementioned scenarios are not mutually exclusive and they are not sequential either. This means that, during their employment history, tertiary-educated MeXpatriates may encounter more than one of these scenarios of underemployment, and these experiences are not consecutive ordered (See Table 7).

Table 7. *Participants' Different Underemployment Scenarios' Encounters*

	MeXpatriate	Types of Scenarios Encountered			
		1	2	3	4
1	"Estrada"		x		
2	"Torres"				x
3	"Guerrero"	x			
4	"Pérez"	x			
5	"González"			x	
6	"García"		x		
7	"Ramírez"	He reported being "underpaid" not underemployed			
8	"López"	x			
9	"Martínez"	x			
10	"Bonilla"	x	x		
11	"Gómez"	x			
12	"Juárez"	x	x		
13	"Obregón"				x
14	"Gutiérrez"	x	x		
15	"Rosas"	x		x	
16	"Valenzuela"				x
17	"Hernández"				x
18	"Rodríguez"	x			
19	"Fernández"	x			
20	"Cortés"	x	x		
21	"Negrete"	x	x		

Thus, the experience of participants "Rosas" illustrates the potential for encountering not sequential and multiple instances of underemployment throughout one's employment history. Participant "Rosas" has experienced two of the four underemployment scenarios described below. Her initial job in the United States was as a school cafeteria aide, which represents

scenario 1 of underemployment, where an individual works in an occupation that does not align with their tertiary-education field of study and that does not require a tertiary education degree. Later, she acquired an entry-level business job under the scenario 3 of underemployment, where an individual works in their field of study but in a job position below their formal educational level. In like manner, participant "Gómez" encountered underemployment scenarios 1 and 4 before attaining a job commensurate with their educational achievements and skills level.

Equally important is to clarify that a tertiary-educated MeXpatriate may succeed in moving from a low-skilled job to a more administrative one such as the case of participant "Negrete," who after their migration into the U.S. worked six years as a fast-food chain aide and more recently, she became employed as a youth worker. However, it is mandatory to clarify that these four underemployment scenarios are not consecutive since a tertiary-educated MeXpatriate may face any of these scenarios at any point in their economically active lifetime. This situation is illustrated by participant "Torres" and the "Obregón," who started their working life in the United States as underemployed in scenario 4 without experiencing the other types of scenarios. An exceptional case that also is imperative to mention is the experience of participant "Juárez", who initially encountered scenario 1, working as a housekeeper, then overcame underemployment as he became a teacher at a non-profit organization. However, because being a *pasante* (having completed the tertiary-education coursework but non-having the corresponding degree), lately, he had to accept a downgraded job position as a care worker in the same organization, experiencing underemployment one more time; this time as a materialization of scenario 2.

The Compound: "Make-Sense" - Agency

This last section focuses on the underlying meaning of tertiary-educated MeXpatriates' experiences of underemployment within the U.S. labor market. Concurrently, it also addresses the strategies and practices employed by some tertiary-educated MeXpatriates in their efforts to overcome this form of the brain-waste phenomenon. By shedding light on these aspects, it is aimed to depict where the experiences of underemployment find meaning as expressed by these participants in the phenomenon as well as the forms in which these immigrants advocate for themselves.

Hence, as expressed by tertiary-educated MeXpatriates who participated in this study, there is a type of rationalization of their encounters with the underemployment experiences in the United States. For instance, participant "Obregón" defended, "Well, in your life people will perform varied job roles throughout professional life," conveying the notion that individuals will occupy diverse jobs throughout their workforce participation. In addition, other participant shared his positionality about working on a low-skilled job that he never before experienced when living in Mexico, unveiling a perspective supporting a natural origin in the occurrence of the brain waste phenomenon among tertiary-educated MeXpatriates in the U.S. labour market. He stated, *"Unfortunately, we came to this country to work on something we may never have worked on in our home country."* (Participant "Juárez").

Overall, the point of view of MeXpatriates in this study disclosed two prime interpretations of their underemployment experiences. On one hand, rationalizing this phenomenon links to their adjustment to the United States; that is, their encounters with underemployment are interpreted as connected to their status as individuals settling in a "new"

country and the duration this adjustment entails. For instance, participant "Pérez" recounted their initial experience in the United States, highlighting the necessity of working in fields unrelated to their expertise. Despite comments from family and friends, this MeXpatriate recognized this event as a part of the adjustment process and did not let such remarks affect them. The interviewee emphasized that transitioning to a new country does not necessarily entail immediate employment in one's academic field. She also stated, *"Sometimes people have the idea that if you go somewhere else, if you move to another country, you immediately have to go to your bachelor's or master's degree area, and that is not necessarily the case. In fact, it takes time"* (Participant "Pérez").

On the other hand, rationalizing the phenomenon of brain waste explains it on a basis of the benefits of having employment, particularly in the form of thankfulness and earnings. Participant "Rodríguez" expressed he has been underpaid rather than underemployed, featuring as the unique case that did not report having experienced underemployment. Nevertheless, most of tertiary-educated MeXpatriates addressed possessing a job as beneficial for them. As participant "Martínez" argued, being employed allow her and her family to cover basic needs. Similarly, the following quote highlights the case of a participant described their persistence and gratitude towards their job during a challenging period marked by staff reductions due to the COVID-19 pandemic:

> *"There were about 22 of us and now all of a sudden there are four of us left. Both because of the [COVID-19] pandemic and because of the personnel cutbacks...but look at me, I am still in the battle (...) I am still with the company; it has given me many opportunities and I am very grateful for that! It has allowed me to work from home before the pandemic because I got pregnant (...) For me, it is very important to work even if I didn't need to at some point, which I do now..."* (Participant "Valenzuela").

Moreover, tertiary-educated MeXpatriates addressed the fact that in the U.S. labour earnings are higher than the labour market in Mexico. In the words of participant "Estrada," *"I think I earn more here at McDonald's than what I was paid as a university teacher at private universities [in Mexico] …In both of them, uuuy, a real pittance!"* With this statement, this tertiary-educated MeXpatriate highlights a striking contrast in earnings if she were working at a job at McDonald's in the United States and their previous position as a university teacher at private institutions in Mexico, an observation that underscores the potential financial incentives that may drive tertiary-educated MeXpatriates to secure employment in low-skilled jobs in the United States. This comparison also was addressed by an asylee, participant "Padilla," noting his surprise in realizing that in the United States, even earning the minimum wage suffices to cover necessities such as a house, food, and clothing. He also highlighted, "*That is not the case in Mexico."*

Along with this rationalization of the underemployment experience that find it as a necessary piece in their U.S. migration adjustment process, this study also found an existing agency among tertiary-educated MeXpatriates that drives them to put actions in the fighting of this form of the brain waste phenomenon. For instance, it is worth mentioning that along with the issue of insufficient command of the English language and the apprehension that often carries among tertiary-educated MeXpatriates, some of them revealed some language-related actions that helped to upscale their employability and broaden their opportunities in the U.S. labour market. One such action is attending adult literacy programs in which these MeXpatriates were taught English as a second language with a focus on adult needs, such as the case of participants "Pérez," "González," "Gutiérrez," "Cortés," "Negrete," and "Gómez," the latest who — despite having earned a bachelor's degree in Mexico — additionally participated in a literacy program

aimed to take the General Educational Development Tests (GED) as a way to test her English language skills and earn the high-school equivalency credential in the United States. She defended: *"That gave me a lot of confidence because I did everything in English [...] Then, I applied... I started taking some training classes with a company to work as a tax preparer,"* eventually upgrading her job position.

Securing employment was reported as another effective initiative to become more proficient in the English language. For example, participant "Rosas" expressed having applied at a school cafeteria as her first job in order to overcome the fear attached to using the English language ("*perder el miedo*"), and later, when she felt confident in her English language competencies, she applied to a job position in her career field and obtained an entry-level job in her tertiary-education field, in which she utilizes her knowledge acquired through her tertiary-education in Mexico. Likewise, it highlights the case of participant "García," who chose to work as a call center representative as one of her first jobs in the United States, aiming to be in a work setting in which would practice her English language skills learned before her migration into this country. She expressed, *"I forced myself because I felt a little bit unsure about how I was speaking in English."*

Of particular importance is to note that the experiences of some tertiary-educated MeXpatriates in this study evidenced the worth of their native language (Spanish) as an additional value in their employability. For instance, participant "González" and the "Valenzuela" found their bilingualism in Spanish and English languages as advantageous in securing employment in their tertiary education field by applying for jobs in U.S. companies locally located that conduct international trade with industry in Mexico. In the words of participant "Valenzuela," *"The fact that I spoke Spanish in the job interview became*

advantageous because all the clients are located in Mexico. [Among the total number of job applicants], I was the only one with experience in a customs agency [Then], the director called me on my telephone and offered me the salary! I couldn't believe it!"

The same case applies to the "MeXpatriate in Hotel Management & Tourism," who upgraded her employment from a retail store merchandise aid position into a bilingual (English & Spanish) call center representative, and the "MeXpatriate Linguist," who overcame her underemployment by securing a job at a bilingual school focused on English & Spanish language with a Hispanic community service orientation.

In terms of unfamiliarity with the U.S. Labour Market & Tertiary Education and Undeveloped Social Capital, some participants in this study addressed noteworthy initiatives implemented to vanquish these limitations. For instance, participants "Guerrero" and "Pérez" shared their experiences of participating in internships that helped them to gain a feeling of self-assurance in the American work environment. In the words of participant "Pérez," *"I became more confident."* Furthermore, this opportunity allowed them to enhance their skills, build professional networks, get informed of employment opportunities according to their tertiary-education, and meet professional peers in their field of tertiary-education.

Likewise, "González" mentioned that she enrolled in classes at an organization centered on adult education literacy and participated in a program that guided highly-skilled immigrants in the United States in topics in topics as job-interview preparation and U.S. cultural immersion, which became a source of connections, socializing with immigrants with similar interests, and eventually a key element in her experience finding a job according to her expertise. Participant "González" explained she was told, *""You can do it, you can obtain a job in the United States in*

accordance to the field of your tertiary education […] You have to start to network; you must be surrounded by people or the community where you want to be as a professional. So, it was very cool!" Thus, the experience of this tertiary-educated MeXpatriate underlies the importance of putting action to connect with organizations in the community centered on supporting professional immigrants settling in the United States as well to other individuals to whom career interests are shared.

Also, it is important to mention the experiences of participant "Gómez" and participant "Bonilla," who served as volunteers in the local adult literacy sector and were subsequently employed. The latter also supported in processing his asylum in the United States.

Getting further training and tertiary education degrees in the United States was proven as a strategy to update and improve tertiary-educated MeXpatriates' qualifications. Participant "García" attained local training in the banking area that allowed her to become promoted and make a corporate career. Furthermore, the experiences of other MeXpatriates who earned graduate studies in tertiary education institutions in the United States demonstrate that pursuing U.S. master's and/or Ph.D. degrees can expand employability opportunities for MeXpatriates who earned their tertiary education degrees in Mexico, such as is the case of participants "López," "Estrada," and "Ramírez," whose current jobs positions do not correspond to any scenario of underemployment.

Last but not least, the experience of "Cortés" highlights as a participant who earned a bachelor's degree in accounting in a tertiary education institution in Mexico and obtained the same degree in the United States upon his migration, a pathway that he implemented for

overcoming his employment as a plumber and for being enabled to continue his accounting career in the United States.

CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Contribution to Theory and Literature

The purpose of this study was to build upon prior research to advance the understanding of the U.S. brain waste phenomenon among highly-skilled immigrants, particularly, the population of tertiary-educated Mexican immigrants in the United States, capturing this phenomenon actors' lived-experiences and interpretations. Led by the research question, what do tertiary-educated MeXpatriates' lived-experiences in securing and maintaining employment in the U.S. look like, and what do these immigrants understand those experiences to mean? this study collected and analyzed the accounts of 21 tertiary-educated MeXpatriates residing in the border region of Arizona (United States) - Sonora (Mexico), allowing to have the following contributions to the literature:

Individuals from Mexico with a tertiary education who have immigrated to the United States often do so without a detailed and formalized migration strategy for permanent settlement. They carry with them a plethora of unique migration stories, frequently intertwining with the legal migratory status of their family members, which often acts as a critical determinant in the successful completion of their legal migration process. Also, it highlights the remarkable emotional bond that these highly educated individuals maintain with their partners and families and their hopeful outlook for a more prosperous future post their migration from Mexico to the United States. Thus, this observed pattern suggests a potential relationship between the migratory routes undertaken by these MeXpatriates (e.g., work visa, family visa), and their experiences with the U.S. brain-waste' phenomenon.

This study corroborates previous scholarship (Greenwood & McDowell, 2011) supporting that highly-skilled immigrants have a low probability of experiencing unemployment as was reported a zero case of this form of the U.S. brain waste phenomenon among tertiary-educated MeXpatriates in the U.S. labour market. However, as part of their migration journey, these immigrants frequently encounter underemployment, the other materialization of the brain-waste phenomenon; a similar pattern that also was found in previous research on tertiary-educated Mexican migration (Calva-Sanchez & Alarcón, 2015; Pande et al. (2017); Rodríguez-Gómez (2009); Ruiz-Soto and Selee (2019).

Moreover, this study further substantiates the observed shift in contemporary Mexican migration patterns to the U.S. defending an increased number of female MeXpatriates with tertiary education living in the United States (Gaspar-Olvera & Chavez-Elorza, 2016; Ramírez-García & Tigau, 2018; Sáenz, 2015). It corroborates prior research indicating distinct labor participation patterns between male and female MeXpatriates, with women typically assuming domestic roles and family caregiving responsibilities (Calva-Sanchez & Alarcón, 2015; Ramírez-García & Tigau, 2018; Vázquez-Maggio and Domínguez-Villalobos, 2018). Based on the observations of female tertiary-educated MeXpatriates who participated in this study, another conclusion of this study is that voluntary underemployment and voluntary unemployment may serve as mechanisms enabling these women to fulfill traditional Mexican gendered roles.

In terms of conditional factors, this study expands the understanding of the phenomena of brain waste and highly-skilled migration in the United States by suggesting a framework of life situations and major conditionals underpinning their underemployment experiences in the U.S. labour market. That is, rather than independent variables causing brain-waste among immigrants

with tertiary education relocated in the United States, there are life situations that interplay to foster it. The shared lived-experiences of tertiary-educated MeXpatriates unveiled individual and environmental life situations contributing to their underemployment experiences in the U.S. labour market.

This study expands the understanding of the brain-waste phenomenon by incorporating phenomenological-based insights that address an interpretative perspective as expressed by tertiary-educated MeXpatriates. This study adds the following contributors to the experiences of underemployment among this community: an existing model of human resources exploitation & profits, a business mindset supporting having high-quality laborers with low pay, the personal need to have an entry-level job, a feeling of fear grounded on the decision of not to participate in the workforce for a long term, and the personal decision to stay in the field of expertise.

Previous phenomenological studies have uncovered a social dimension to the experiences of tertiary-educated expatriates in the United States, emphasizing the critical role of connections in their success. In a similar way to Jose (2011) and Nwabah and Heitner (2009) who found that network development that integrates mentoring services, immigrant associations, and neighborhood organizations is considered beneficial for foreign-trained expatriates, this study confirmed social, linguistic and social capital's roles, in shaping employability outcomes as tertiary-educated MeXpatriates in this study frequently relied on their bilingualism and their social connections to secure jobs in the U.S. labour market.

Also, this study is consistent with previous phenomenological research (Lane & Lee, 2018), revealing that communication-based issues may narrow down tertiary-educated expatriates' expression and well-being, which -among other sources- may be grounded on a

limited English language proficiency. Along with feeling apprehensive to use English as a second language, this study corroborates the studies of Calva-Sanchez and Alarcón (2015), Ruiz-Soto and Selee (2019), Vázquez-Maggio and Domínguez-Villalobos (2018) highlighting limitations in the English language as a chief contributor in brain-waste among tertiary-educated Mexican immigrants in the United States. In a similar manner to the study of Ruiz-Soto and Selee (2019), this study found that recognition issues for professional credentials earned abroad function as a barrier to making the most of their tertiary education. Moreover, findings in this study also confirm previous studies (Alarcón, 2016; Calva-Sanchez & Alarcón, 2015) addressing lack of legal status in the United States as a chief determinant in underemployment outcomes among tertiary-educated MeXpatriates in the United States. Similar to a previous study on highly-skilled migrants from Africa living in the United States (Jose, 2011), this study found an economic motivation for participating in the U.S. labour market.

Another way in which this study contributes to the literature includes the brain waste/underemployment scenarios and the matrix explaining the interplay of three key components: MeXpatriates´ tertiary education field, a tertiary education degree requirement during the hiring process, and the job position level; which support that a tertiary-educated MeXpatriate may become employed under four scenarios: " High Physical Labour," "Office Labour," "Experienced Labour," and "Professional labour."

Furthermore, this study expands the understanding of the U.S. brain waste functioning and the underlying meaning as unveiling a rationalization of the underemployment experiences among tertiary-educated MeXpatriates, who link it to their adjustment process in a new country, perceive it as a natural progression, as accepted as an unfortunate necessity of immigration. It is

noteworthy to highlight that a few tertiary-educated MeXpatriates in this study demonstrated an active approach to pursuit better employment opportunities addressed in previous studies (Nwabah & Heitner, 2009; Xu et al., 2008), such as English language proficiency enhancement through employment and ESL classes, pursuing further education, securing community support, participating in internships, and leveraging their social networks via educational programs focused on highly-skilled migration. The value of Spanish language skills as an additional employability asset emerged as a significant finding, which has not been reported in previous studies on tertiary-educated Mexican immigrants.

To sum up, this study's phenomenological approach has deepened the understanding of the brain waste phenomenon among highly-skilled immigrants in the United States by providing a comprehensive portrayal of the unemployment and underemployment experiences of tertiary-educated MeXpatriates, as expressed by these contemporary phenomenon’s living actors.

Implications for Policy and Practice

The findings of this study on tertiary-educated MeXpatriates' lived experiences in securing and maintaining employment in the United States have significant implications for both policy and practice. To address the issue of brain waste and underemployment among these skilled immigrants, policymakers and practitioners should consider several key areas for intervention.

First, language proficiency plays a crucial role in securing suitable employment for tertiary-educated MeXpatriates. Policymakers and educational institutions should invest in targeted language training programs specifically designed for skilled immigrants, which not only focus on general English language skills but also include U.S. labour market introduction,

cultural immersion, industry-specific terminology, and communication strategies to facilitate their integration into the U.S. labor market.

Second, the recognition of foreign credentials and qualifications is another critical aspect that affects MeXpatriates' employability. Policymakers should work towards developing standardized processes and guidelines for evaluating and recognizing foreign academic credentials and professional experiences, thus ensuring equitable treatment of skilled immigrants in the labor market.

Third, the findings of this study highlight the importance of social capital and networking opportunities for tertiary-educated MeXpatriates. Practitioners and community organizations should collaborate to create platforms and networking events that connect skilled immigrants with potential employers, mentors, and peers in their respective fields, thereby increasing their chances of securing appropriate employment.

Lastly, addressing racism and gender-based issues faced by highly-skilled immigrants, practitioners and policy makers could promote more equitable opportunities for male and female immigrants that fight their experiences with the U.S. brain waste phenomenon, a situation with serious negative implications among this population but in worst extent to female immigrants, including women with tertiary education as the case of tertiary-educated MeXpatriates who by being voluntary unemployed or underemployed, increased the likelihood of poverty and obstructs upper social/economic mobility in their new land. Then, policymakers should enforce anti-discrimination laws and implement diversity and inclusion initiatives to promote a more inclusive participation for female immigrants of all backgrounds.

By addressing the fact that not every member of the population of the highly-skilled migration in the United States arrives to this country under work or student visas, policymakers can develop comprehensive strategies that not only support the successful integration of skilled immigrants into the U.S. labor market but also contribute to a more inclusive and equitable society that fully harnesses the potential of its diverse workforce.

Implications for Future Research

This study identified potential avenues for future inquiry on tertiary-educated MeXpatriates and highly-skilled immigrants in general. To begin with, it encourages future research to build on the theoretical and conceptual insights provided by the study, particularly the concept of the "tertiary-educated MeXpatriate" as a population with particular characteristics and challenges, but also part of the community of highly-skilled immigrants settled in the United States. By further exploring and refining this concept, scholars can contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the experiences that shape their employability and integration in the receiving society. For example, a potential avenue for future scholarship includes a study on social networks that elucidate its functioning and outcomes among tertiary-educated MeXpatriates from diverse social backgrounds.

Also, this study calls for a scholarship that investigates the role of various stakeholders, such as employers, non-profit organizations, tertiary-educated, and governmental agencies, in shaping the experiences of tertiary-educated MeXpatriates. Understanding the role of these actors in facilitating or hindering the integration of skilled immigrants into the labor market can help inform the design of more comprehensive and coordinated support strategies and programs.

Moreover, this study emphasizes the need for studies that examine the intersectionality of various factors, such as gender, race, and social class, in shaping the experiences of tertiary-educated MeXpatriates. Recognizing the diversity of this population and varied life situations interplaying in their integration into American society and its labour market, will support the development of more inclusive and responsive policies and practices. For instance, an opportunity for continued research is the motivations to migrate among female tertiary-educated MeXpatriates as well as their gender roles perspectives and employment expectations in comparison to their male counterparts.

Further, this study suggests that future research should explore the experiences of tertiary-educated MeXpatriates in other countries and contexts, as well as comparative studies between MeXpatriates and other immigrant populations. By comparing and contrasting the experiences of these immigrants in different national and regional settings, scholars can expand on the knowledge of conditionals for their successful integration and develop more targeted and effective policy interventions.

By deepening our understanding of the lived-experiences of these skilled immigrants, we can strive towards creating a more inclusive and equitable society that harnesses the full potential of highly-skilled individuals from Mexico, the nation within the Latin American region contributing the most tertiary-educated individuals to the United States, and ranking fourth world-wide.

APPENDICES

Appendix A. IRB

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
Research, Discovery & Innovation

Human Subjects Protection Program

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Date:	July 16, 2020
Principal Investigator:	Jenny J Lee
Protocol Number:	1810054440A001
Protocol Title:	Employment Among Highly Skilled Internationals
Determination:	Approved
Expiration Date:	November 24, 2023
Change Description:	Both the Recruitment Script and the Informed Consent should indicate that the one-hour interview will be performed ON-distance by using phone calls or WhatsApp calls. Due to the COVID-19 stay-home restrictions and its threat to human beings health, in order to accomplish this study timing/aims,and above all, to ensure that COVID-19 will not spread among interviewees, conducting ON-DISTANCE interviewees is an suitable alternative to face-to-face interviews.

Documents Reviewed Concurrently:

HSPP Forms/Correspondence: *Amendment_approved_research_v2019-06_zb.pdf*
HSPP Forms/Correspondence: *Appendix Waiver v2019-08_zb.pdf*
Informed Consent/PHI Forms: *Consent Form_high skilled immigrants_07.02.2020 EDIT.doc*
Informed Consent/PHI Forms: *Consent Form_high skilled immigrants_07.08.2020.pdf*
Recruitment Material: *AMENDMENT FOR THE RECRUITMENT SCRIPT_07.08.2020zb.docx*

Regulatory Determinations/Comments:

- The project is not federally funded or supported and has been deemed to be no more than minimal risk.

This project has been reviewed and approved by an IRB Chair or designee.

- The University of Arizona maintains a Federalwide Assurance with the Office for Human Research Protections (FWA #00004218).
- All research procedures should be conducted according to the approved protocol and the policies and guidance of the IRB.
- The Principal Investigator should notify the IRB immediately of any proposed changes that affect the protocol and report any unanticipated problems involving risks to participants or others. Please refer to Guidance Investigators Responsibility after IRB Approval, Reporting Local Information and Minimal Risk or Exempt Research.
- All documents referenced in this submission have been reviewed and approved. Documents are filed with the HSPP Office.

Appendix B. Location of Tucson, Arizona, U.S.A.

Source: Google maps

Appendix C. Recruitment Card

Appendix D. MeXpatriates' Introductions (Spanish)

1. "Estrada"

Los Primeros Años…
Yo nací en Monterrey, mis papás médicos, psiquiatras y se fueron a hacer lo equivalente a un doctorado a la ciudad de México. Entonces, yo crecí en la Ciudad de México. Estuvimos ahí diez años [...] Luego nos fuimos a Inglaterra un año antes de regresarnos a Monterrey. De ahí empezamos este…como Regios, otra vez secundaria…terminar la la secundaria, la prepa, y luego carrera.

La Experiencia en la Universidad y en el Mercado Laboral…
De que iba a estudiar, iba a estudiar. Pues si mis papás…imagínate, con doctorado y yo prepa ¡pues no es nada! O sea, es como kinder, ¡Bravo, te graduaste de kinder! O sea, vas pa largo. Eso era como que en mi casa, un hecho. Entonces, y ¿por qué arquitectura? Pues mi papá le gustaba mucho el arte…este…y la arquitectura. Eh...cuando estuvimos en Inglaterra se fijaba en los edificios y pues a mí me empezó a apasionar. Y arquitectura porque combina. Yo soy muy buena para las matemáticas y cosas así. Las ciencias y…me encanta el arte y todo eso. Entonces arquitectura es la carrera que como que combina los dos. Estas dos partes que me gustaban mucho y me apasionan. La arquitectura me apasiona, me encanta. Este…la verdad no me arrepiento de haber estudiado arquitectura [...]

Hice la carrera de arquitectura en el Tec de Monterrey [...] Sí había mucho trabajo, muuucho porque en arquitectura te puedes pasar las noches en vela, sobre todo antes de una entrega, ¡pero era en equipo.! Era con música, con café. Unas desveladas que...ricas, así de que… todos ya con ojeras, pero mira, esto está saliendo y así…este…muy bonita relación con mis compañeros, compañeras…este…pues una época padrísima, de mucho trabajo, pero también de...pues libertad también de mi casa, este…nos las pasábamos en el Tec…eh...este...pues…una época realmente inolvidable, muy bonitos mis años de universidad [...]

Desde antes de graduarme me contrató un maestro que era uno de mis maestros en el Tec de Monterrey para que trabajara y tuviera algo de experiencia. Entonces, trabajaba medio tiempo y también estudiaba medio tiempo, en el último semestre, en el último año de la carrera. Y ya que me gradué me ofreció trabajo completo [...] Luego de ahí me fui, me cambié de trabajo a un despacho de arquitectos privado porque una amiga me jaló. Todo es aquí networking, o sea…la amiga me dice "Fíjate que aquí hay esta experiencia Adriana, esta oportunidad para este…hacer unos planos en AutoCat" [...] De ahí este... otro colega que había sido más arriba de nosotros, otro conocido nos contrata [...] nos paga más para ahora hacer unos...trabajar en otra constructora haciendo planos [...] Entonces, yo alcancé a trabajar en tres diferentes despachos antes de casarme.

En el Tec de Monterrey, ahí conocí a mi este…el que fuera después mi esposo. Éramos compañeros. Después de que nos casamos nos fuimos a su ciudad de origen. Y pues, ahí…una ciudad muy conservadora, muy tradicional. No me dejaba trabajar…la mujer en la casa, la mujer este...para atender al marido…eh…muy machista.

Y ya luego al casarme, pues como el entonces marido, es arquitecto, pues este…a él le hice trabajos, pero pues nunca me pagó, nunca me reconoció [...] En esa situación…por eso dije

"Bueno, docencia, ¿no? que te pagaran más en docencia"… ¡para nada! Pero bueno, había menos conflicto en mi matrimonio a la hora de ser docente.

MeXpatriating a los Estados Unidos…

Yo llegué en el 2007 a Tucson con visa de turista con la idea que mis hijos estudiaran inglés. Ellos son americanos, nacieron en Tucson. Entonces, que estuvieran un año en escuela pública aquí en Tucson y de esa manera tuvieran experiencia y aprender inglés. Yo me vine sin planes de trabajar, sin planes de quedarme, nada más de atenderlos mientras ellos iban a la escuela [...] Antes de venirme yo era maestra de la universidad…de dos universidades. Entonces, para seguir yo dando clases allá me requerían ahora elevar a nivel de maestría [...] Muy empezando mi maestría [ya en Estados Unidos] pues tronó mi matrimonio, entonces este…pues yo terminé la maestría ya sola, con...a cargo de mis hijos…

2. "Torres"

Los Primeros Años…

Yo nací en Monterrey, Nuevo León, de una familia muy intelectual. Mi padre era abogado-político, y cuando yo era pequeña…mi madre maestra. Mi madre se dedicaba al hogar, no trabajaba y…pero me enseñó a leer a los tres años. Crecí en una casa llena de libros…muchos, muchos libros. Mi papá le gustaba mucho leer y escribir y a mi mamá también…era gran lectora [...] Somos dos hermanos. Mi hermano es menor que yo un año y también está lejos.

Mis primeros años fui a una escuela pública porque mis padres buscaban para mí una educación laica, que no fuera…que no fuera religiosa. Y después en la secundaria fui a una escuela protestante porque era más…no, no había religión y porque era más…pues más libre, más liberal. Y bueno había…enseñaban inglés también.

La Experiencia en la Universidad y en el Mercado Laboral…

En mi casa, no se…se asumía que íbamos a estudiar, que íbamos a ir a una universidad, que íbamos a estudiar en una universidad. Se suponía que yo iba a tener una carrera, y yo a los doce años decidí que quería ser escritora, porque claro, era…esa es la consecuencia de leer, termina uno queriendo escribir. Y para eso…bueno…la preparatoria la hice en el Instituto Tecnológico de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey [...] Estudié cuatro años de Literatura. Hice una Licenciatura en Letras Hispánicas y Latinoamericanas…y en Lingüística también.

Seguí estudiando Letras ahí mismo en el Tecnológico. Fueron cuatro años más [...]

Y bueno, una de las cosas memorables es que en la preparatoria éramos diez mujeres y mil hombres, porque las mujeres en mi época no iban a la universidad. Bueno…no todas…este…mis amigas pues no iban a la universidad [Yo estoy hablando de los años 60´s en Monterrey] Creo que fui la única de mis amigas que fui. Ellas se casaban.

Algo memorable que…bueno, algo que cambió mi vida fue que un verano y un semestre durante la carrera…este…yo quería aprender mejor inglés y este…mis padres me dieron la oportunidad…me pagaron la universidad y estudié en Georgetown University, en Washington, DC. Ahí pasé un verano y todo un semestre. Ahí afiancé Inglés, el idioma Inglés…pero me encantó, me encantó vivir en Estados Unidos y pues yo siempre acaricié la idea, como un sueño de "Yo quiero vivir en los Estados Unidos"…me va encantando…me encanta vivir en los Estados Unidos.

Sin embargo, pues terminé de estudiar la carrera y me… inmediatamente me casé, tuve hijos, dejé de dar clases…Bueno, antes de, hice prácticas profesionales y cuando nacieron mis hijos dejé de dar…de trabajar. Tuve que…trabajaba pero en contra del que era mi esposo en esa época porque él no quería que trabajara…pero ya cuando nacieron los niños pues ya me dijo "Ya no puedes trabajar", y entonces ya no trabajé. Pero cuando se fueron al kínder volví a trabajar. Este…y empecé a trabajar en la Universidad Iberoamericana y empecé a hacer mi maestría. Hice mi maestría, hice una maestría y luego hice un doctorado. Después me…eso en la Ciudad de México porque me fui a vivir a la Ciudad de México…y pues fue una maestría larga porque tomaba una clase por semestre y el verano no tomaba clases…y así fui haciéndolo en una forma lenta, igual el doctorado, fui haciéndolo lento pero…este…me sirvió mucho el tener un doctorado porque después de esto me divorcié y fue una manera de… pues de seguir trabajando en la academia y dando clases, que es lo que más me gusta hacer.

[...] Era profesora, y daba clases y eso me encantaba. Di clases en la escuela de Periodismo. Entonces…pues eso me gustaba mucho. Entonces empecé a escribir en el periódico, me contrató el periódico, y…tuve un programa de televisión en vivo…dos programas de televisión en vivo…Y para sobrevivir y gracias a lo que había estudiado, abrí un centro de literatura para adultos, adolescente y niños…y… que funcionó con mucho éxito.

MeXpatriating a los Estados Unidos…

Yo vivía en la Ciudad de México, me fui a la biblioteca Benjamín Franklin y busqué...era como Mayo y estaban anunciando campamentos para niños. Y empecé a buscar todos los campamentos que me gustaron. Apunté las direcciones, hice una carta machote y la mandé a 50 escuelas. Me ofrecieron trabajo en tres [...] el que más me gustó fue el de Vermont porque tenían caballos, tenían lago para nadar…este…y…ahí me contrataron para dar clases de Español, en el verano.

[...] ¿Por qué nunca tuve miedo ir a Vermont? Porque yo ya había estudiado en George Town y…y me había gustado mucho. Me había gustado mucho la forma de vida Estadounidense, y por eso, pues, también me volví a lanzar así a pedir trabajo y me fui a trabajar a Vermont, y también me encantó. Y siempre lo tenía ahí, ahí en …ah pues a lo mejor, pero no encontraba como. No encontraba el cómo.

…Fue un golpe de suerte que me invitaron, el Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, el Departamento de Literatura Infantil me invitó a dar una conferencia sobre literatura infantil porque yo había estado investigando y me había estado especializando en literatura infantil [...] Ahí estaban este…un directivo…un director…bueno, unos directivos de la Universidad de Arizona, y cuando terminé de dar mi plática, se acercaron y me dijeron que si conocía Tucson, Arizona. Y si, porque había estado aquí una vez. Había estado en Tucson, Arizona una vez. Me dijeron que iban a tener una conferencia, que si quería participar, que ellos me mandaban el boleto de avión y todo. Yo les dije que sí, que sí quería participar, que como no ¡Ah! Me preguntaron si sabía inglés y les dije, "Sí, sí hablo inglés". Y entonces me dijeron que si quería ir a la conferencia, que era para maestros, y les pregunté, que querían que hablara, y me dijeron: "Esto. Esto mismo, pero en inglés." "Ah, OK, perfecto, ¡Pues ya está hecho!"

3. "Guerrero"

Los Primeros Años...

Soy de 1980. Este…Mi papá era maestro porque está jubilado, mi mamá, ama de casa. Yo me interesé por…por la ciencia. Bueno, somos tres, tres de dos hermanos y yo somos tres en total de familia y siempre me interesé por el área de la ciencia [...]

En la preparatoria teníamos que hacer lo que le llaman servicio social [...] Muchos lo hacían en la escuela y yo decidí hacerlo en un laboratorio [...] Entonces… este…un familiar me consiguió poder ir como observador. Entonces, este… así fue como yo me interesé un poco más por el área de…de química, química clínica y [como en el 98], decidí entrar a la Facultad de Química acá este y pues ahí fue donde yo conocí a mi esposa…los dos somos químicos [...]

La Experiencia en la Universidad y en el Mercado Laboral…

[...]Química organizaba lo que le llaman jornadas farmacéuticas. Normalmente lo hacían en Mazatlán, porque obviamente…porque estábamos en Culiacán… lo que se quería era salir, entonces la mayoría de los estudiantes, lo que lo que estábamos esperando eran esas fechas para poder asistir a las jornadas que nosotros hoy en Culiacán no tenemos industria farmacéutica por la cuestión del clima y la humedad [...] Entonces la industria farmacéutica, que está más en el área de Jalisco y en la Ciudad de México, es porque hay menos humedad…organizaba también este tipo de eventos para de alguna manera reclutar estudiantes que estuvieran por salir y poder llevarlos a sus asuntos. Entonces era una era una bonita actividad porque complementaba lo que era ir a aprender acerca de la industria farmacéutica.

[...] Yo tenía también interés por el área de la…de la computación. Entonces al mismo tiempo que yo estaba ahí yendo a la universidad, por la tarde, iba a una escuela de computación particular. No era de la universidad y ahí terminé la carrera que está relacionada con programación que antes te enseñaba todos los paquetes que había de Office. [...]

Posteriormente, cuando terminé la carrera decidí hacer un posgrado y algunas de mis opciones estaban en el sur de México y otros otros lugares, pero por diferentes cuestiones no se concretó estudiar allá…este… y entre a la maestría, posgrado, en Culiacán en un centro de investigación que se llama el Centro de Investigación en Alimentación y Desarrollo.

[...] Entonces, así fue como…como yo concluí mi educación allá en México. Posteriormente, cuando terminé, me ofrecieron trabajo y estuve trabajando ahí en el área de Microbiología de la Unidad Culiacán. Yo siempre he sabido que cuando sales de la universidad o de cualquier escuela es muy complicado este…conseguir trabajo aplicando... este... Y yo tuve la ventaja de…de que hoy mismo me ofrecieron…Pimero me ofrecieron ser asesor de estudiantes de licenciatura, y me pagaban por medio de una beca. Entonces yo dije pues sí, está muy bien porque ya estoy aquí y mi esposa estaba estudiando también ahí la…la…la maestría, entonces yo la puedo ayudar a ella los fines de semana sin ningún problema porque ya no trabajaba para que avanzara con sus con sus experimentos.

[...] Después se acabó la beca y ya fue cuando me contrató ya como personal el centro de investigación y estuve trabajando y aprendiendo muchas cosas. Por qué había cosas que yo no, que yo no hacía como estudiante y ya como trabajador, pues tú tienes que hacer todos los ciclos.

[...] Me tocó, me tocó conocer a como es el…cómo es el proceso por donde pasan todos los vegetales, cuando llegan, cuando llegan, aquí en Estados Unidos todo es…el…vegetales, en el en el supermercado, muy bonito, muy frío, pero todo lo que está detrás de ese vegetal no tienes ni idea. O sea, hay personas que vienen desde el sur de México, están trabajando los campos, las

manos, las tienen todas, todas negras, de la de la tierra y del y del tipo que se les pegan. Están doce o 14 horas trabajando en el campo, entonces a mí lo que me tocaba era tomarles a las personas de la mano, tomarle una muestra para saber si había buscaban bacterias patógenas como salmonela o ecológica, porque lamentablemente las personas del sur no tienen tanta cultura. Ya las están tratando de educar un poquito más. Estoy hablando de pueblos como Oaxaca, Chiapas, personas que vienen a trabajar en el campo. No estoy hablando en general alto todo el sur de México, estoy hablando poblaciones muy, muy específicas de personas que tienen muchas necesidades y tienen que venir, tiene que migrar a trabajar a al, a los campos agrícolas. Entonces muchos de estas personas hacen del baño en el monte, en el campo, entonces obviamente ahí no hay papel, ahí no hay, no hay ninguna condición sanitaria este y muchas veces pues sus manos quedaban como con bacterias entonces ellos al momento de colectar la fruta, por eso la la se puede contaminar el producto. De todas maneras, aparte del análisis que nosotros hacíamos en las…ahí en las bodegas de los agricultores en Culiacán, antes de que el tráiler pasara a Estados Unidos, le hacían otro análisis a él, lo que sería el…el civil, el costo, un valor de protección. Hay un área ahí que toma muestreos aleatorios para saber si hay contaminación de alguna bacteria.

[...]También hubo un brote de salmonela en chile y fueron oficiales de la FDA a los campos agrícolas de Culiacán y pues tú sabes, Culiacán, eso es, es, es siempre ha sido peligroso. Culiacán. Entonces el gobernador de Sinaloa en ese tiempo le puso su escolta personal a los oficiales de la FDA, o sea, dejó su escolta y andaban con ellos **¿**Por qué te imaginas que puede pasar si le sucediera algo a un oficial de la FDA en una ciudad de México? Puede ser algo muy, muy, muy peligroso. ¡Pues entonces eso nos tocó! Pues ahí andamos nosotros también, porque nosotros lo acompañamos y tomamos muestras también. Nosotros para analizarlas por parte de México; nosotros, por el lado de Culiacán. Y por parte de Estados Unidos, un oficial de la FDA y su personal recolectaba muestras para para hacer esa investigación. Fue un caso muy sonado de contaminación por salmonella en chile, en chile Serrano.

MeXpatriating a los Estados Unidos…

Después por cuestiones de de familiares…la mamá de mi esposa tuvo un problema de salud. Ellos estaban viviendo acá en en en Tucson, entonces este por ese problema de salud decidimos movernos hacia hacia Tucson, para estar más más cerca de ella [...] Varios años, este…yo iba y venía. Entonces cuando cuando nació mi segunda hija, fue cuando ya, ya este, decidí, decidimos que nos íbamos a quedar ya definitivo [...] Fue como que el parteaguas de decir o sea, tenemos que estar ya todos, todos juntos, porque es pues por el bien de la familia.

4. "Pérez"

Los Primeros Años...

Pues yo, yo crecí en dos estados en México. Crecí entre Baja California Norte, en Mexicali y Sinaloa, Guamúchil. Yo de hecho nací en Mexicali, la capital de Baja California [...] Yo soy la mayor de cuatro hermanos [...] Después en Guamúchil, [...] me fui a la universidad a Culiacán a estudiar química, farmacología.

La Experiencia en la Universidad y en el Mercado Laboral…

A mí siempre me gustó mucho las ciencias naturales, pero me acuerdo de una maestra…en quinto y sexto hicimos todos los experimentos del libro de Ciencias Naturales y ¿Te acuerdas de ese libro? A veces me decía era mi favorito ¿no? Porque antes me gustaban mucho las ciencias

naturales, nos hacían trabajar en equipos y…y todos, todos hicimos todos los experimentos, ayudábamos, llevábamos las cosas en la casa entre el equipo y ahí lo hacíamos. Y entonces creo que la maestra sembró esa semillita, porque curiosamente varios de mis compañeros de…de la primaria en Mexicali estamos en el área de la salud, médicos, químicos como yo. Yo creo que ella nos dio ese como…ese empujoncito; querer más las ciencias naturales. Entonces yo ya sabía que quería ser algo de ciencias naturales, pero no no quería ser doctora, no quiero ser doctora…y me gustan las ciencias, más el área de la investigación.

[...] Me acuerdo que cuando estábamos en la prepa una vez…porque ya estábamos preseleccionados para competir en las Olimpiadas de Química, pero íbamos de una ciudad pequeña, no teníamos el laboratorio para practicar toda la sección, porque en las Olimpiadas de Química haces una parte teórica y otra práctica, entonces para la teoría estábamos todos bien listos pero para la práctica, pues no, porque era una prepa chiquita. Entonces nos fuimos a Culiacán, nos fuimos a Culiacán a entrenamiento y pues la Universidad de… la Universidad Autónoma de Sinaloa, la Facultad de Química prestó las instalaciones, y ahí fue donde a mí me dije, "Quiero estudiar aquí, yo quiero estudiar aquí." Y así fue [...]

Y me fui con becas de Guamúchil, me fui con becas para estudiar allá, a Culiacán, del 98 al 2003, que es mi carrera en la universidad. Después de durante el periodo que estuve allá estudiando, pues empecé a practicar lo que es el servicio social desde antes de que me tocara, en un laboratorio de investigación. Estaban buscando parásitos. No me contó el tiempo para lo que es el servicio social, pero yo aprendí muchas cosas y también estaba practicando bacteriología con un maestro [...] quien me…me invitó a participar en su laboratorio.

[...]En el 98 estábamos teniendo…estábamos todavía en problemas con la enfermedad que se relaciona con el puerco, había afectado en Sinaloa. A mí me llamaba la atención como qué hacer, algo para prevenir…para como…Entonces cuando yo entré al laboratorio ya estaban terminando los últimos esfuerzos…pero después empezó un problema de larva… ¡migran! y este problema estaba afectando mucho al sur de Sinaloa. Entonces yo creo que el estar, el tener la oportunidad de participar en eventos que estaban afectando directamente y poder hacer un poco a poco la diferencia en la mejora fue lo que a mí me ayudó a entender cómo es importante la salud pública y como a veces con el esfuerzo de de la comunidad, de las universidades, del gobierno, se puede llegar a controlar esos problemas.

En el 2003 terminé las clases, pero este tenía el proceso de titulación y precisamente después en este laboratorio tenemos que hacer una tesis con rigor metodológico, que es como una tesis, pero no la defiendes. Entonces ya ves todo lo que implica hacer una tesis, pero pues no la tenemos que defender. Entonces, me desocupé como en 2005.

[…] En el proyecto de investigación, ahí pude trabajar por proyectos todo el tiempo y también estuve trabajando como maestra en la Universidad Autónoma de Durango, Campus Culiacán y en una universidad en el área de nutrición este…Yo estuve dando clases de microbiología, farmacología, seguridad en los alimentos […]

MeXpatriating a los Estados Unidos…

Mi papá es residente de…tiene su residencia a Estados Unidos y desde que estábamos en Mexicali, como en el 99, empezó a poner los papeles para la familia. Entonces en el 92…nos fuimos…¡93! creo, nos fuimos a Sinaloa ..pero después tuvo que poner en…poner una pausa.

Entonces en el 2006…sí, por ahí, pero ya en 2005, finales de 2005, se llevó a cabo el proceso de migración [...] Yo estaba soltera. Se decidieron mis papás y mis hermanos antes de que yo me vine, porque yo me tenía que quedar a terminar esos trámites de la universidad.

Después de que se dio el proceso de migración nos aceptaron como residentes. Desde que me vine empecé a estudiar Inglés [...] Me fui un tiempo aquí, un tiempo aquí y luego me fui para allá…me decidí a hacer la maestría de diez meses [...] Definitivamente la educación es más accesible en México, pero también, pues es el que yo obtuve una beca de CoNaCyT. Entonces al obtener la beca ellos me estaban, estaban pagando lo que es la inscripción y aparte nos daban un dinero para pagar los gastos mensuales. Pues así estuve… me iba y venía. Estaba con mis papás porque mi esposo estaba allá [...] En el tiempo que estuve haciendo la maestría estuve yendo y viniendo para poder…este… continuar con mi…para que el inglés no se me atrofiara… así, entonces en ese tiempo también tuve mi hijo mayor y después de que terminé la maestría nació mi niña.

5. "González"

Los Primeros Años...

Yo soy originaria de Caborca, Sonora, en México y pues es un pueblo, una ciudad muy chiquita eh...que está aquí en el norte, ¿no?...es una ciudad, es fronteriza, esta está muy cerca de aquí, como a tres horas de aquí, de…de Estados Unidos. Entonces eh…pues yo pasé toda mi vida en México e hice la primaria, el kínder, la primaria la secundaria, eh...la preparatoria en Caborca, después de ahí pues iba a clases de inglés y me empezó a entrar ese como que "¡Hay, qué padre me gusta!" y...interesarme un poquito, ¿no? de cultura para acá, pero pues nunca con el plan de venir a vivir para acá, porque no, no había ningún lazo o algo que dijera "Pues me voy a venir a vivir a Estados Unidos."

La Experiencia en la Universidad y en el Mercado Laboral…

Yo tenía 17 años…Salí joven de la licenciatura, a los 22 años terminé la universidad, entonces era un tiempo en que era bien confuso. Se decía, "Bueno, es que quiero estudiar" Ehhh…estaba como que entre economía, mercadotecnia, pero lo que más me jalaba, lo que más me llamaba la atención era comercio internacional porque me gustaba todo ese ámbito y yo siempre decía: "Es que yo quiero tener una compañía de…de trailers, de autotransporte eso se me hace …eso se me hace bien padre porque mi papá tiene un taller mecánico y ahí arreglan todos los trailers [...]" Entonces ya ves, les dan como unas hojas en la aduana donde dice tienes que reparar esto, esto que lo otro, Entonces siempre me decían: "Tradúcemela, dime que dice." Entonces ahí veía muchas cosas, términos de comercio y me llamaba la atención. Entonces, yo creo que fue ahí donde nació ese interés de estudiar algo así relacionado, porque aparte también le ayudaba cuando estaba en la preparatoria…le ayudaba a hacer las facturas y todo…Iba a hacer los cobros y lo que, pero de todo lo que más me llamaba la atención era esa parte que te digo de cuando llegaban los camiones que cruzan en el [inaudible] y veía toda la terminología y quería saber más y veía que eran cosas bien técnicas y decía "¿Pues que significa esto?" Y entonces entraba y revisaba en el internet a ver qué significaba. Y es ahí donde me empezó a llamar la atención estudiar Comercio Internacional.

Me fui a la Universidad a Hermosillo, Sonora, que es la capital de Sonora. Entonces ahí, ehh...estudié comercio internacional y pues muy padre la carrera, eh…pero decían "No, oye,

pero es que no hay mucho trabajo de comercio internacional...como...¿Cómo estudias esa carrera?" Y yo "Pero es que pues me gusta, o sea, yo quiero, yo quiero hacer eso, me interesa todo lo que tiene que ver con el…con…con todo eso, con el tratado entre países". Y bueno, en fin, me interesaba mucho la carrera y me estudié por cinco años en Hermosillo y ya pues para esto, para finales de preparatoria, pues ya conocí al que ahora es mi esposo y y de este…¿no?… y anduvimos de novios mientras estaba yo en la preparatoria; él también estaba acá en la escuela y después por un tiempo nos dejamos de ver y ya después a mediados de semester… como 4.º semestre de la universidad otra vez nos reencontramos ¿no? porque pues duramos como dos años, tres años sin tener contacto, ni vernos ni nada [...]

Terminé en el 2002 y fueron cinco años de carrera [en el] Centro de Estudios Superiores del Estado de Sonora, ahora se llama UES.

Aprendes y conoces muchas cosas, aparte es salir pues de tu casa, del confort que estás en tu casa. Es irte a ver cosas diferentes, saber cosas nuevas. Me tocó varias experiencias en la universidad que te hacen como que "Ah", te guste más la carrera, te interesas un poco más en ella. Hicimos viajes escolares, fuimos, por ejemplo, a Ensenada y llegamos al puerto de Ensenada y vimos como descargan los barcos…Fuimos, también…nos tocó ir a Long Beach. Solo podían subir diez personas a un barco de carga. Entonces fui de esas diez personas suertudas que llevaba zapatos cerrados y me tocó… me tocó subirme en un barco de carga y ver cómo van organizando toda la logística, cómo van acomodando todos esos contenedores para que se vayan a su…a su destino. Entonces todo eso fue bien interesante. Ese camión venía cargado de…de China por allá. ¡perdón! No camión…ese buque venía cargado de…de China, por allá…Entonces nos explicaron cómo de origen los van acomodando dependiendo a que puerto van a llegar. A Long Beach solamente llegaba de pasada, iba a ir a Los Ángeles y luego iba a terminar en otra parte su ruta entonces, fue muy padre, muy interesante conocer todas esas cosas y ahí apenas iba como en tercer semestre de…de la…de la universidad. Entonces yo pienso que todas esas experiencias vivirlas en un momento temprano de la carrera fueron muy importantes para decir, "Oye no, es que esto sí es lo que me gusta, esto es lo que yo quiero saber más." Y ya después, como en quinto o sexto semestre hicimos más viajes, pero ahora fue a recorrer las aduanas interiores de México, entonces fuimos al aero… a la aduana aérea de la Ciudad de México. Entonces estuvimos en el aeropuerto de la Ciudad de México, donde llegan todos los aviones de carga. Vimos dónde llega toda la mercancía, cómo se mueve todo el comercio. De ahí nos fuimos también a Colima, a Manzanillo, entonces también estuvimos en una aduana de…Marítima, ¿no? Yo ya había estado en una marítima, en Ensenada y en Long Beach, pero ahí sirvió para reforzar, y luego nos fuimos a una fronteriza…eh… que fue acá en Nuevo Laredo. Entonces recorrimos los tres tipos de aduanas que tenemos en el… en el país, en México. Entonces ahí era como que ya reafirmar el más conocimiento que llevábamos. Vimos como movían todas las mercancías… que…que documentaciones necesitaban para que para que llegara todo lo que se va, se va a abandono porque no trae la información correcta. Entonces pues todo eso te va haciendo interesarte y querer aprender más y seguir y seguir en esto ¿no?

Los papás, allá son más conservadores, de "¡No, te tienes que enfocar en tus estudios porque es como que la herencia que te vamos a dejar!" Entonces, pues enfócate en estudiar y hacerlo bien para que puedas conseguir un trabajo. Entonces en verano a veces no tenía tiempo de trabajar porque a veces adelantaba materias o tenía cosas eh…que hacer relacionadas con la escuela o

simplemente pues ya estaba muy cansada de todo el año y decían [los papás["¡No, vente para acá!". Hubo una disputa también en ese entonces.

[...] Cuando yo termino la carrera seguía de novia y luego empecé a trabajar. Y sí, gracias a Dios encontré algo relacionado con comercio internacional, como algo…que algo que yo quería en un pueblito bien chiquito, pero al fin de cuentas era eh… trabajando en lo que yo había estudiado, ¿no? poniendo en práctica lo que había estudiado, que era comercio internacional, en el departamento de Import - Export como gerente ¿no? Ahí pues tuve un cargo de mucha responsabilidad, era una compañía pequeña, pero al fin de cuentas era mucha responsabilidad. Ahí aprendí mucho, fueron las bases de mi carrera.

[...] Esa maquiladora fue mi primer trabajo [...]

Pues la mejor experiencia fue que mi trabajo tenía que ver con lo que yo había estudiado. Mi graduación fue en octubre, y yo empecé a trabajar en septiembre y para el día que yo iba a mi graduación era así como que yo ya estoy trabajando y estoy trabajando en algo de comercio exterior. Y se sentía muy padre porque todos, "¡En serio, qué bueno! O sea, no, nosotros estamos todavía buscando trabajos". Y pues la mayoría te puedo decir, de los…de la generación con que me gradué, yo creo que un 10% estamos trabajando hasta la fecha en el área de comercio exterior. Todos los demás se fueron a trabajos administrativos diferentes o a trabajar en bancos… o a trabajar en otras se fueron por otros giros pues porque es muy poco el… pues lo laboral que hay…o te tienes que mover a frontera [...] Y el muchacho que estaba dejando esa plaza resultó que había estudiado en la misma escuela que yo y él se iba porque se iba a casar y se iba a mover a vivir a San Luis, Río Colorado. Entonces…pues que es una frontera y allá tenía oportunidad de trabajo también. Entonces cuando supo que estaba… estaba aplicando una persona que venía de la misma universidad que él, pues le dio mucho gusto. Y y aparte creo que no hubo alguien también de comercio exterior que aplicara…sí, no había personas de otro…interesadas… pero eran de otras ramas. Y aun así cuando yo pues estaba joven y sin experiencia, pues me quisieron contratar ¿no? Cosa que agradezco porque aprendí, aprendí muchísimo, ¿no?

MeXpatriating a los Estados Unidos…

Ya teniendo cuatro años trabajando ahí, eh…pues ya mi esposo dice "Pues tenemos qué hacer, vamos a hacer algo. Ya está pasando el tiempo y ya me propone matrimonio. Planeamos boda, todo… y ya es entonces cuando en el 2011 nos casamos y ya me vengo a vivir para Estados Unidos [...] Pues ahí sí, pues viene eh…el tiempo una etapa difícil ¿no? Porque es difícil en el sentido de que…pues estás trabajando, tienes una vida bien activa, de repente…Vienes de otro país y "Vamos a ver, espérate…vámonos por etapas, ¿no? Aquí la cosa es por pasos…" y y…y fue así de que ok, pues ya, me vine.

6. "García"

Los Primeros Años...

Yo nací en Puebla, en la capital, de una familia católica. La mayoría de los poblanos son católicos. Este…mis papás y dos hermanas y un hermano. Toda mi educación fue en escuelas católicas, inclusive de la universidad.

La Experiencia en la Universidad y en el Mercado Laboral…

Cuando sales de la del de la preparatoria no tenemos mucha orientación vocacional ahí. Entonces siempre me han gustado los números, me han gustado mucho los números, entonces he… pensé que esta carrera de contabilidad sería pues abocarme más a los números, que me gusta ¿no? Y fue por eso que me decidí por la por la contabilidad [...]

Las amistades que tienes ahí, las amistades que tienes, que tengo hice en la universidad en la carrera aún las conservamos, aún estando aquí fuera del país, me reúno con ellas cada mes, nos vemos, nos platicamos ya que son casi treinta años, 35 años y aún nos seguimos viendo ósea las amistades son muy son muy bonitas, son como para toda la vida.

[...] Fue en el 85 de enero en 1985, me imagino que fue en mayo. Junio de 85. Fue cuando terminé la licenciatura en contabilidad. Terminé a la carrera de Contador Público y Auditor en la Universidad Autónoma de Puebla.

[...] Sales de estudiar y te dedicas más a buscar trabajo y encontré trabajo con un profesor. A unas de las estudiantes nos ofreció un trabajo en su compañía y empezamos a trabajar ahí, pero ya trabajando en contabilidad como que no sentí que era mi fuerte, como que ya estaba trabajando…Me dije: "No, como que esto no es lo que yo quiero". Me gustaba más la administración, entonces fue cuando empecé a buscar una maestría en administración [...] Mi papá me ofreció estudiar la maestría en la Universidad de las Américas, ahí en Puebla y este pues le dije que sí, claro que sí!

Estudié la Maestría en Administración de Empresas en la Universidad de las Américas. El último año de la maestría fui a Canadá a estudiar inglés.

[...] Después me salí y entré a Bancomer en…dentro de lo que es el grupo de banco…había diferentes…podías ir a la banca, podías ir a lo que era almacenamiento fiscal, podías ir a hipotecario, o sea, hay diferentes grupos de Bancomer. Entonces, yo entré a lo que era almacenamiento fiscal porque teníamos que ver mucho con las reglas de este, de los impuestos, de migración, de productos…y más que nada de productos.

[...] Realmente nunca tuve problemas para encontrar un trabajo. Este…no sé si porque pues la familia está arraigada en Puebla y es una familia de muchos años y es el nombre que se conoce, o sea, pero nunca tuve problemas para encontrar un trabajo, no en lo absoluto. En lo absoluto… me salía de uno, a lo mejor a la siguiente semana…15 días ya tenía otro trabajo, o sea, nunca tuve problemas para encontrar trabajo.

MeXpatriating a los Estados Unidos…

Cuando regresé [de Canadá] empecé a trabajar en en Bancomer, que es un banco allí en Puebla. Y estando ahí una de las amigas se casó con un americano y ahí fue donde conocí a mi esposo.

[...] Fue en una boda, en la boda de mi amiga, este… Yo conocí al que ahora es mi esposo [...] Me casé y me vine para acá para Estados Unidos, y este...mi esposo es americano, y yo creo que eso obviamente me abrió muchas puertas aquí en este país, el que el hecho de que él fuera americano…

7. "Ramírez"

Los Primeros Años...

Yo nací en la ciudad de Moroleón, Guanajuato [...] Somos siete hermanos en total, cuatro hermanos, tres hermanas [...] Mis padres eran...mi papá era él panadero [...] De las primeras crisis económicas de México, en el '58 tuvo que dejar el trabajo que tenía, la pequeña industria que tenía de panadería y emigró a Estados Unidos [...] Estuvo trabajando en Chicago por varios años, hasta que se retiró prácticamente [...] Después de de que él se estableció por varios años, empezó mi mamá a venir también con él y ya pasaban un tiempo. Entonces crecimos realmente con nuestras abuelitas, con los abuelitos prácticamente.

[...] En la escuela, realmente, realmente no lo recuerdo mucho, pero siempre me interesaron mucho...algunas de las materias. Me gustaba mucho dibujar, que es lo que me atraía de la primaria. En la secundaria, tal vez en la secundaria, saber un poco más sobre sobre cosas que eran más interesantes, como física, la química me empezó a atraer más, las matemáticas un poco más, pero no como como una ciencia, sino como una...algo como algo que te entretenía. Entonces, finalmente fui un poco dedicado a la escuela. Eventualmente estuvimos en la escuela en Estados Unidos, en Chicago, y estuve unos meses en la escuela también en la grammar school en la primaria, donde durante el verano veníamos y tomamos clases, aprendimos un poco de inglés, pero sobre todo, interaccionar con niños que también habían emigrado de México, que desafortunadamente ya no habían regresado a México. Nosotros, afortunadamente, cada verano terminaba el verano y nos regresábamos a México y seguíamos en la escuela. Eventualmente, eventualmente, terminé la...una carrera universitaria, la secundaria, la preparatoria en México, fui a Guanajuato a estudiar a la Universidad de Guanajuato.

La Experiencia en la Universidad y en el Mercado Laboral…

Seguí viniendo [a Chicago] los veranos. Una hermana mía se quedó aquí a estudiar pero eventualmente empezó a trabajar. Mi papá lo vio como un signo de que no si nos veníamos también nosotros, íbamos a salirnos de la escuela. Entonces decidieron que nos quedáramos en México y los que nos quedamos todos terminamos la universidad. Ya de ahí era: "Te quedas, terminas en México y hasta que termines la universidad, después, ya tú decides.
[...] Inicialmente entré a..mi intención fue estudiar física y/o medicina, pero finalmente terminé estudiando Ingeniería Química porque en Guanajuato no había física. Física había en la Universidad Autónoma de Puebla que en ese momento estaba...había una huelga, así que no pude ir y entré al bachillerato de Medicina, de Ingeniería. Por un tiempo estuve participando en los dos, pero los amigos que tenía eran más, eran mejores en química, así que seguí ingeniería química [...] Terminé ingeniería química en Guanajuato en 1976 [...]

Entonces los amigos que tenían ingeniería química, en ingeniería eran, éramos...eran mejores amigos que los que estaban en medicina. Entonces me quedé, ya en ingeniería Química. Un profesor me dijo: "No, mira, cuando termines ingeniería química, en un año, te vas a física...porque son similares con las mismas materias". Entonces cuando terminé ingeniería química me quedé a terminar, pensé...tomé cursos extra en Guanajuato para cuando terminara ingeniería química, regresarme o irme a Física estudiar, pero entonces algún profesor me dijo: "por qué mejor no te vas a…" En realidad yo iba a ir a Física a Francia, a la Universidad de Po, donde nos habían admitido, a otro compañero mío. Entonces estuve estudiando francés cuatro años en la Alianza Franco Americana, franco Mexicana, la Alianza Francesa. Unos cuatro, cuatro años de francés, con la idea de ir a estudiar física a la Universidad de Po, al sur de Francia, pero en cuanto pasó esto fue una de las crisis de inflación en México y las becas se suspendieron y ya no pude ir a Francia. Entonces mi otra opción era…era ir a la UNAM o a

Chicago. Entonces de ahí me decidí ir a la Universidad de Illinois, en Chicago, donde me habían admitido en Física [...]

Después de terminar ingeniería química, nuevamente, cada verano venía a trabajar a Estados Unidos. Estaba una perspectiva de que…de…de que las cosas ser un poco diferentes. En Guanajuato había muchos amigos, muchos estudiantes, disfrutábamos un poco más las cosas que hacíamos. En Chicago, el concepto era trabajar, trabajar y trabajar. No había mucha diversión, o sea, era, llegábamos a trabajar y juntábamos un poco de dinero y en Guanajuato me rendía un poco más.

Cuando terminé la ingeniería química, estuve trabajando de maestro en la preparatoria, en Moroleón Guanajuato; cursos de de física y de matemáticas durante seis meses. Después, cuando recibí la noticia de que me habían admitido en Chicago, me fui a Chicago...me admitieron para...para el otoño del 77.

MeXpatriating a los Estados Unidos…

Llegando a Chicago, lo primero que hice fue fue entrar a una escuela de inglés y estudiar inglés..y empecé a trabajar de prof...de maestro para para la equivalencia de secundaria. Desde que llegué, una semana que llegué a Chicago enseguida empecé a trabajar inmediatamente, en el 77. Pues trabajaba y estudiaba inglés y daba clases muchas horas a la semana y y después este...entré a la Universidad de Illinois en física, donde estuve por un año en Física y este...después estando en Chicago recibí una una fellowship [...] y de ahí empecé a pensar más en la química y cuando me regresé a Chicago ya me regresé a ingeniería química. Ya me quedé en ingeniería química con la idea de terminar el doctorado. Entonces me quedé hasta 1980, donde estuve trabajando también en un laboratorio de investigaciones, a national lab, pero en ese tiempo el doctorado se me hacía muy largo y tuve la oferta en Guanajuato de que había una posición académica.

Entonces me regresé a Guanajuato pensando que…que me regresaría en un año más a terminar el doctorado. Entonces me regresé a Guanajuato a trabajar, ya como profesor. Duré tres años; de ahí surgió la idea de continuar el doctorado, pero ya en otra universidad porque la intención había sido ir a otra universidad en California, pero también con apoyo, con apoyo de la Unidad de Guanajuato y eventualmente también recibimos una beca de CoNaCyT. Ya me quedé en California.

Cuando mi profesor se fue a Carolina del Norte, pues ahí voy.

8. "López"

Los Primeros Años...

Nací en…una ciudad muy chiquita. Conocías a los vecinos, familiares [...] Fuimos tres mujeres inicialmente y después de 12 años, yo creo, mi mamá volvió a quedar embarazada y tuvo un varón. Entonces yo creo que se emocionaron porque fue varón y le siguieron y tuvo otra niña. Entonces somos cuatro mujeres y un hombre…este…Curiosamente todas las mujeres estudiamos una carrera, mi hermano no. El estuvo muy pegado a los…este, a mis papás…este…mi papá tenía granja, entonces a él desde chiquito lo incorporaron a la …. Le ayudaba a mi papá. O sea… en la granja ¿no? Y este…se apegó y se quedó con mi papá. Eventualmente la granja ya no funcionó, ya no fue negocio y él tuvo que crearse su propio negocio ahí en el…pero ahí está [...]

Yo tenía unas tías cerquita, a una cuadra, eran hermanas de mi papá que no se casaron. Abuelas que se yo…más antiguas…rebozos…mas…tradicionalmente […] las zonas rurales. Tengo recuerdos muy gratos de ellas, este…cargándome con su rebozo, este…de chiquita. Yo y mis hermanas fuimos muy apegados a ellas, incluso en tiempos…probablemente más que a mi mamá porque mi mamá estaba muy joven y pues tenía…siempre obsesionada con el quehacer., este…con…el ajetreo de criar hijos, de tener casa, del marido, qué sé yo. Ellas eran como un remanso de tranquilidad. Nos querían mucho. Éramos las nietas o las sobrinas más cercanas a ellas [...]

Y asistí a la escuela. Yo era una niña muy tímida que tenía muchas fobias en la escuela; le tenía mucho miedo a la escuela, a las maestras. Este…asistí a la…al kínder, la primaria, la secundaria, ya a la preparatoria…este…salimos porque apenas empezaba a haber prepa ahí entonces… además yo tenía ganas de salir. O sea, no sé, desde chica quise salir de ahí, y se me hacía un ambiente… a lo mejor porque era muy tímida, no era muy social…entonces se me hacía un ambiente muy restringido, limitado y en parte, yo pienso, todos los jóvenes queremos salir. La única manera que teníamos de salir las mujeres era salir fuera del pueblo.

Y me fui a Morelia.

La Experiencia en la Universidad y en el Mercado Laboral…

Yo quería…como en aquel tiempo, pues yo nomás decía que quería conocer el mundo, que quería viajar, pero pues o sea, no tenía…obviamente las únicas carreras en aquel tiempo…te decían…Mi mamá decía "No…métete para que seas maestra". Yo no quería ser maestra. Y mi papá decía, "No, maestra no, ¡enfermera! o no, que se vaya a trabajar al banco ahí con mi compadre fulano de tal."

Y yo así como que "¡Nooo! Yo quiero este…salir, yo quiero viajar, yo quiero este, no se…ser aeromoza, qué sé yo, ¿no? otra cosa ya diferente ¿no? Y este…entonces me fui a estudiar la prepa a Morelia [...] Quería algo de idiomas, quería algo y no sabía qué. Entonces este no, pues que van a abrir un aeropuerto internacional en Morelia y pues se va a ver necesario de todo ¿verdad? De…para secretarias bilingües, y que para que esto y lo otro. Entonces empecé a estudiar para secretaria bilingüe [...] Y este…eventualmente vimos que esa secretaria bilingüe, o sea como que no era lo suficientemente estimulante [...]

¿Pues en dónde hay algo? Mi mamá tampoco sabía, ella quería darme una oportunidad, pero pues no sabía. "Pues vamos a Guadalajara." Pues ahí vamos a Guadalajara a ver que había. "No pues, hay idiomas y hay lingüística". Pues lingüística suena así como de idiomas ¿verdad?" Y ahí voy a estudiar. Me fui a estudiar lingüística a Guadalajara, mi hermana ya se quedó en Morelia. Entonces pues ya fue otro paso muy difícil y nuevamente porque pues estás en un lugar extraño… con este… muy lejos de la familia, no estaban tan cercanas las ciudades… este…todo… te tienes que averiguar este… sola…nuevamente [...]

… lo más padre. La convivencia con las amigas, conocer otras gentes, conocer otros mundos [...] Obviamente, pues te abre el mundo. O sea, te va abriendo el mundo de que regresas y dices o sea, "¡Estás aprendiendo, estás creciendo!" Porque regresaba y pues veía a mi grupito de amigas… pues ya no me sentía… ya no cabía, o sea, yo tenía ganas de leer, tenía ganas de seguir creciendo y pues muchos de ellas estaba contentas allí en la ciudad ¿no? Y creo que eso fue lo… lo más padre.

[...] Terminé en el 81, Licenciatura en lingüística [...] En una universidad privada, la Autónoma de Guadalajara.

Yo estaba trabajando cuando estaba…estaba en una universidad privada, la Autónoma de Guadalajara, entonces pues era acá, yo sabía…mis papás…no teníamos muchas cosas, "deben estar haciendo sacrificios" …este… y pronto encontré trabajo; hablaba muy bien el inglés, entonces este… necesitaban maestras porque la Autónoma tiene desde primaria hasta carrera, maestrías, etc., entonces me contrataron de maestra de inglés para la primaria, tiempo completo, entonces, este…pues ya tenía el trabajo, prácticamente.

[*El siguiente trabajo*] pues era trabajo de secretaria prácticamente. O sea, si algo de comercio exterior de gringos que querían exportar artesanía a Estados Unidos, que siempre realmente yo no tenía convivencia con ellos, el que tenía era mi jefe…así que yo le escribía a máquina, pues era máquina…este…los oficios que se yo, ya él los sellaba y los… que se yo ¿no? Entonces ese era el trabajo de cuando…después de que me recibí.

MeXpatriating a los Estados Unidos…

Este…el novio estaba en Guanajuato, así que empecé a buscar trabajo en Guanajuato, que además tenía una hermana que vivía y estaba trabajando en Guanajuato, que estaba estudiando…este…entonces empecé a buscar trabajo en Guanajuato y allí encontré trabajo, en Guanajuato. [...] Afianzamos la relación…este…nos casamos, pero él ya tenía, ya había empezado a solicitar para hacer doctorado, para hacer un doctorado en el extranjero [...] En eso tuve yo a mi hija.

[...] Mientras la transición… todo… me fui yo con mis papás unos meses. Él se vino [a U.S.A.] para empezarse a establecer y este…ya cuando tuvo un departamento y todo, pues me vine yo.

9. "Martínez"

Los Primeros Años...

Soy la última de diez hermanos. Tengo diez hermanas mujeres [inaudible]. Casi no me tocó estar…vivir con ellos porque ya se habían casado. Me tocó convivir con las cinco más chicas. [Viví] en Nogales desde que tenía tres años [...] Mis papás tenían dos puestos de carritos de tacos y nos levantábamos todos los días en la mañana junto con ellos, para ellos, para irse a trabajar y de ahí nos íbamos a la escuela.

La Experiencia en la Universidad y en el Mercado Laboral…

Pues entré en la universidad. Yo me quería ir a Mexicali, pero por las fechas de graduaciones y cosas no…no pude ir a agarrar mi turno a apuntarme y tuve que entrar en una escuela que habían abierto en Magdalena…era una universidad nueva de Sonora.

Yo quería estudiar químico biólogo, estudiar químico biólogo, pero pues por los tiempos, como te digo no, no pude y para no perder el año entramos, entré a esta escuela que era de comercio internacional, pero en ese tiempo no, no sabía nada relacionado por la materia, pero ya cuando estuve un año pues me gustó y me quedé ahí.

[...] Decidí que eso era lo mejor por la frontera para mi, porque iba a encontrar más trabajo. Iba pues… a lo mejor me iban a poder pagar un poco más por lo que se decía, por el comercio internacional y la frontera. Entonces por eso también decidí agarrar, inclinarme sobre esta carrera [...]

Pues yo tenía el plan de terminar el primer año. Al principio, cuando entré a esa universidad del comercio internacional, yo quería terminarlo pronto y entrar a otra universidad, pero yo estaba compartiendo casa con otras amigas y una de ellas también se iba conmigo a Mexicali, pero cuando estuvimos en el primer año de la universidad pues nos gustó la carrera, me gustó y decidí y decidí quedarme y mi amiga también.

[...] Estuve en la universidad cuatro años. Pues al principio no me gustaba. No me gustaba porque pues estaba lejos de mi familia y aparte las personas, pues es diferente el ambiente, así que yo diría que vivía en Nogales. Nada más terminábamos el fin de semana las clases, me regresaba a Nogales, me regresaba el domingo o el lunes en la mañana directo a la escuela. No me relacionaba mucho con los compañeros porque, aunque de partes muy cerca de Nogales, eran bien diferentes, la cultura ¿no? sus costumbres. Aunque era una hora de diferencia de Nogales, era más…Ellos tomaban todo más relajo, siempre querían nomás fiesta, fiesta y pues yo estaba lejos de mi familia y yo quería salir adelante, quería terminar mi carrera, estudiar y… ¿no? No era como que me iba a divertir cada fin, cada que estaba en la escuela. Yo iba a la escuela, entraba a las clases y me iba directo a mi casa, nada más.

[...] Cuando salíamos…que había eventos especiales como las fiestas de octubre ahí en Magdalena, era a lo que íbamos y siempre nos tocaban en fechas de exámenes entonces cuando terminamos los exámenes pues sí, íbamos y nos divertíamos nada más. Pero yo no hice mucha diversión cuando estaba estudiando en la universidad, solo cuando me regresaba a Nogales los fines de semana, entonces sí disfrutaba el fin de semana, sábados, domingos y si me la pasaba con mis amigos y salía.

Terminé mi carrera de comercio internacional. Fueron cuatro años [...]

Pues yo me gradué, por ejemplo, un…no sé… un lunes y el viernes ya estaba, ya me estaban buscando para una propuesta de trabajo, entonces pues yo les dije que sí, y yo había hecho el servicio social antes de graduarme en la agencia aduanal, hacer los pedimentos de mercancías que más destinado hacia las maquiladoras, todo lo que se hacían los pedimentos.

[...] Regresé y entré a trabajar a una agencia de comercio, pues era de una agencia de servicios aduanales y hacían pedimentos y a mí me tocó en el área de tráfico de mercancías; me tocaba recibir las facturas y pasarlos a los compañeros para que hicieran los pedimentos o las facturas, etcétera.

[...] Ahí duré cuatro años y medio trabajando [...] Me relacionaba mucho con gente de diferentes partes; Obregón, Empalme, Tucson, Arizona, Nogales, Arizona. Me hablaban de diferentes partes por relacionado a las facturas que enviaban para hacer sus pedimentos y ahí conocí a mi… a mi exmarido. Lo conocí ahí por medio de correos electrónicos, llamadas; entonces cuando yo salgo de trabajar, él siguió buscándome y nos hicimos novios.

MeXpatriating a los Estados Unidos…

Terminé en la agencia y pues seguí con el novio. Estuve estudiando en Tucson Arizona por seis meses inglés y luego me casé. Aquí en Tucson están mis hermanas, entonces se me hacía más fácil estar aquí con ellas y poder estar en la escuela [...] Estoy hablando del 2008 [...] Como a los cuatro meses me embaracé…estaba casada…en mayo más o menos…Me casé en diciembre y en mayo salí embarazada y pues yo seguía sin trabajar nada más, ayudando a mi hermana. Todo ese tiempo mi embarazo fue pues de alto riesgo y no podía hacer mucho [...] Entonces cuando

llegué, al tener el bebé…llegué a tener el bebé…a los tres meses, me divorcié, me separé, me separé de mi esposo y…y me divorcié.

10. "Bonilla"

Los Primeros Años...
Nací en 1980 en Hermosillo, Sonora.

La Experiencia en la Universidad y en el Mercado Laboral…
Tuve la oportunidad de ingresar a la carrera de Ingeniería, ¡no! Licenciatura en Informática, en el Instituto Tecnológico de Hermosillo, y eso fue por decisión de mis padres porque era muy jovencito, pero no era mi pasión. Entonces yo me cambié al tercer semestre a la Universidad de Sonora a estudiar psicología, así es como mi…mi pasión.

Yo siempre había querido estudiar la universidad, pero la carrera era más inclinada a satisfacer sus necesidades y no las mías. Ellos pensaban que la informática era como la carrera del momento. Te hablo de 1997 y era así como ahí…todas las posibilidades ahí. Pero mi pasión siempre fue la conducta, la mente, todo lo referente al comportamiento humano. Y entonces yo decido. Era buena estudiante, pero yo decido cambiarme de carrera y entonces ellos como una manera de presionar, quizás porque era muy joven, "tendrás que pagar toda tu carrera". Entonces yo cuando yo comienzo a trabajar en el 2016 y cambio de carrera a la Universidad de Sonora.

La universidad, pues estás en la flor de la juventud, entonces es el mundo…es nuevo, el mundo ¿eh? Te estás insertando en el mundo como un adulto, entonces todas las experiencias se viven magnificadas…tu libertad, la…adquirir responsabilidades que te pertenecen solamente, pero también la fiesta, los amigos todo lo que viene con no…convivir e interactuar con otros jóvenes, por supuesto.

[...] He comenzado mi vida laboral a los 19 años para pagarme mi carrera, entonces comienzo a trabajar en pequeños trabajos de atención al público, de atención al cliente. Y a la par, estudiando en la Universidad de Sonora, comienzo a trabajar y a desarrollar una carrera de farmacia, comienzo a trabajar con medicamentos, prescripciones, todas estas cosas en lo que es 2003 más o menos…Comienzo a trabajar en el gobierno del Estado.

Ejercí como…como terapeuta. Paso a la industria de los bienes raíces y hago una carrera como…como vendedor de bienes raíces. Tengo dos negocios para 2013, mi casa inmobiliaria y mi un restaurant pequeño [...] todo va aconteciendo muy muy rápidamente.

[...] Yo tuve la oportunidad de experiencias muy tristes en cuestión económica, pero lo más remarcable es que yo tuve la oportunidad de desarrollarme profesionalmente y de hacerme mi fuente de ingreso, hacerla a mi medida y que es una oportunidad que tristemente no la tienen la mayoría de la gente en mi país. La educación es muy buena, el nivel educativo es muy bueno, pero el campo laboral desgraciadamente es reducido para el número de egresados que tenemos en mi país. Entonces esto da como resultado que haya ingenieros vendiendo hot dogs y vendiendo tacos…que no es malo, pero no estás trabajando directamente en tu campo laboral. Y muchos, muchos profesionales tendemos a buscar otras vías de ingreso debido a esto, precisamente a que el nivel y el número de egresados probablemente supera las necesidades de…el mercado laboral del país, al menos en mi región.

Entonces yo tuve la dicha de yo crearme mi fuente de ingreso, crearme una carrera, crearme un nombre y formar mi propio negocio para poder tener este desarrollo profesional, una fuente de ingreso buena y pues también preparar a otros profesionales de mi campo para que pudieran ellos también desarrollarse.

MeXpatriating a los Estados Unidos…

En el 2016 soy víctima de la violencia de mi país, la inseguridad, sufro un secuestro. Estoy desaparecido por más de siete días y es este el motivo por el cual yo salgo de mi país. Yo realmente nunca pensé ni salir de mi ciudad, porque básicamente tenía mi vida resuelta en el ámbito profesional y en el ámbito también personal. Entonces en 2016, en abril del 2016 sucede esto y para julio del 2016 yo ya estaba acá en Tucson, Arizona.

[...] Cuando yo llego acá tengo 36 años. He es un sentimiento muy raro de de perder todo, porque realmente, como te digo, tenía básicamente todo cubierto en mi país, en mi ciudad, y de repente ese sentimiento agridulce de un lugar nuevo. Tener que comenzar lo nuevo y comenzar de nuevo en un país donde la cultura es diferente…La cultura laboral es muy diferente, las oportunidades son totalmente diferentes en varios sentidos. Y sobre todo yo lo viví como inmigrante, pero como inmigrante no indocumentado porque yo llegué con mi visa de turista, pero sin tener un una seguridad social aquí que me permitiera tener un trabajo formal. Entonces me tuve que enfrentar al abuso de…de personas que pagaban…cuando el sueldo mínimo eran 10 dólares, cuando yo llegué, pagaban alrededor de 6 dólares a una persona que no tenía documentos, como en mi caso. Y entonces está este tipo de acuerdo de ganar-ganar: "Yo te doy algo que necesitas que es tu trabajo, pero tú tienes que agachar la cabeza y aceptar lo que hay."

11. "Gómez"

Los Primeros Años...

Yo soy la hija mayor de cuatro hermanos, tres hermanas y un hermano. Entonces estudié en Sonora, en un pueblo muy pequeño, estudié hasta la secundaria, estuve con mis papás.

[...] De hecho cuando yo iba a entrar a la secundaria vivíamos en un pueblo pesquero muy, muy pequeño, cerca de Guaymas, y él como ya vio que yo iba a entrar a la secundaria y no había secundaria allá en el pueblo, teníamos que salir hasta hasta Guaymas. Entonces él compró otra casa en otro pueblo donde sí tenía secundaria y hasta preparatoria. Y nos cambiamos, o sea, él hizo ese cambio para que nosotros tuviéramos esa educación y que no anduviéramos batallando. [...] Sobreviví, ya muy independiente y después de eso me fui a estudiar a la Universidad a Hermosillo.

La Experiencia en la Universidad y en el Mercado Laboral…

En mi último año de preparatoria fue cuando empezaron a salir las computadoras y me enamoré…me enamoré de las computadoras, entonces yo rápido empecé a investigar y ya encontré esa universidad en Hermosillo. Hablé con mis papás y ellos pues me ayudaron. Mi papá siempre como…somos tres mujeres y un hombre, además mi papá nunca estudió…Él no pudo estudiar porque desde muy pequeño él tuvo que ayudar a su mamá para los mayores, entonces él tuvo que trabajar para ayudar a sostener la casa.

Entonces él nos dijo a nosotros que eso era lo que como la herencia que me iba a dejar. Entonces que si yo un día me casé, que si un día me casaba, que, que yo iba a tener estudios y que yo no

tenía porque andar aguantando ningún tipo de maltratos o cosas nada más porque no sabía trabajar o no tenía como salir adelante. Entonces eso fue lo que él me dió y a mis hermanos también, pero unos no aprovecharon y otros sí. Entonces eso fue lo que me motivó. Y aparte de pues yo ya había vivido mucho tiempo en el pueblo y como yo sentía como que ese no era mi lugar, o sea, yo tenía otras aspiraciones, entonces yo sabía que la educación…aparte por lo que me había dicho mi papá y como había visto a un…el modelo de una tía que ya después de que enviudó y empezó a estudiar y todo, entonces era como ella, era como mi modelo a seguir después de él. Yo…porque yo y una prima fuimos como las primeras de la familia, que pudimos conseguir una educación…ya pues de ahí es como abrir el camino a otros. Yo así era como mi tía fue la que me dio esa visión de que había algo más que ser esposa y tener un montón de niños. Y aparte que eso no me llamaba mucho la atención a esa edad. Entonces eso fue y el apoyo de mi papá, porque sin eso yo creo que no lo hubiera logrado y tener esa cosmovisión de que había algo más para mí, no sé, era como algo que mi papá desde pequeña nos hizo sentir eso.

En la prepa, cuando…cuando me voy ya a Guaymas es como que me sentí libre y no me importó mucho la escuela, de hecho terminé…hasta vergüenza me…Terminé con un promedio de menos de ocho…siete punto y no sé qué tanto. Y dije yo, "Eso no me vuelve a pasar en la universidad. Quiero sacar buenos grados porque quiero encontrar un buen trabajo." Entonces me di cuenta de que la…la razón era simplemente hacer tu trabajo, estudiar para un examen y mi escuela era nada más [...] Antes de irme a una fiesta, yo tenía que haber terminado mis trabajos. Era así como yo tenía que hacer eso. Era mi responsabilidad. Y aparte que mi papá ya me había dicho, "Te vas a ir hasta allá pero no quiero…" O sea, vas a mantener tus promedios y todo eso.

[...] Estudié en el Instituto Tecnológico de Hermosillo; licenciatura en Informática y terminé…me titulé por promedio. Así es que era algo inteligente o responsable, diría yo [...]Yo terminé en el 94, pero la titulación fue en el 95, en febrero.

[...] Empecé a trabajar, trabajé como dos años hasta que conocí a mi esposo, el que es ahora mi esposo. Él ya vivía aquí en Tucson y durante un año estuvimos en visitas cada fin de semana.

El primer trabajo que encuentro, la…la señora que me contrató era en un centro de cómputo de una empresa de manufactura. Bueno, vendía no solo…como materiales para construcción, pero más como fierro y metales, así…Entonces tenían el centro de cómputo y cuando voy a la entrevista, pues yo no tenía nada de experiencia, nada más lo que había hecho el servicio social que te exigen para poder titularse y todo eso. Era mi única experiencia y cuando voy, solicito, pues llevo yo mis calificaciones, porque yo estaba muy orgullosa de tener un promedio tan bueno. Entonces yo le enseño y dijo ella "Estás contratada". Me dice, "Yo sé que no tienes experiencia, pero tus grados me demuestran que eres responsable". Me dio el trabajo ahí mismo. Fue muy intenso, estaba muy nerviosa, pero fue como ella me dio…como la confianza y y pues eso fue mi primer mi único trabajo allá.

MeXpatriating a los Estados Unidos…

Una de las decisiones que tomamos que sabíamos que después de la boda era venirse para acá, porque pues aquí estaba el trabajo de él, a pesar de que ya estaba trabajando como profesional en México, ya los salarios no son tan a…como profesionista, no están tan altos como aquí, por ejemplo, como profesionista.

[Llegué a los Estados Unidos] en el 98, cuando me casé en junio. Mi esposo ya era residente aquí y él tenía su trabajo como en una compañía de construcción. En ese tiempo no era

carpintero, era simplemente…ummhh…pues el nivel primero no es solamente un trabajador de construcción, pero a pesar de eso, pues era mucho mejor pagado de lo que es en México, pero ya viéndolo con el costo de vivienda y todos los demás cosas, pues estaba bien.

[...] Cuando yo llegué aquí a Estados Unidos, pues entré como…como turista y ya pusimos los papeles de migración, si…Es que no podía trabajar al principio. No tenía los documentos y lo que hacía…En ese tiempo todavía no había tantas restricciones para estudiar inglés, así es que me puse yo a estudiar inglés como por dos años, en lo que se arreglaban los documentos.

12. "Juárez"

Los Primeros Años...

Pues te platico que que yo me crié en una comunidad indígena. En mi infancia estuve al cuidado de mi abuelita [...] Ella me inculcó todo el amor a la tierra, a la medicina tradicional, las plantas, los animales. Ella era como la típica curandera del pueblo que llegaban las personas que tenían un malestar, iban a consultarla para ver cómo cómo curarse.

[...] Mi abuela tuvo un historial de discriminación lingüística. Ellos hablaban el zapoteco y por esa razón le prohibió a mi mamá, a todos sus hijos, hablarlo. Entonces fuimos casi como una de las primeras familias monolingües, en Español, aunque yo tenía ese interés de pequeño de aprender la lengua indígena de la comunidad en donde yo me estaba criando. Jugaba con ellos, pero no lo hablaba. Entendí…hablar, a hablar ya, ya de grande.

[...] Mi abuela me hablaba mucho de mi bisabuelo, de mi bisabuelo materno. Fue en los albores de la Revolución Mexicana, en los años 20, cuando él trabajó como maestro municipal, le llamaban en aquel tiempo.

[...] Era una cultura muy machista, según me contaba mi abuela. Mi primo, todos mis primos. Yo me recuerdo como que teníamos cierto privilegio. Mi abuela era muy dura con las…con las mujeres, quería que siempre estuvieran en el metate y haciendo las labores del hogar.

La Experiencia en la Universidad y en el Mercado Laboral…

Terminando el bachillerato, yo tengo el sueño de estudiar arquitectura, pero mi mamá fue muy clara conmigo, me dijo, "Yo no creo poder seguir apoyándote, ¡tú búscale!" Entonces decidí, vi en Educación Indígena una oportunidad de crecimiento aparte. Sí, me llamaba mucho la atención y aproveché que mi papá tenía cierto prestigio allí, que era reconocido por la base, mi mamá también. Bueno, eran personas reconocidas dentro del del gremio [...]

Me mandaron a la sierra, cosa que yo disfruté mucho como maestro rural o maestro de campo. Yo realmente lo disfruté yendo con los compañeros, subiendo montañas, conviviendo con la gente. Todo eso.

[Disfruté] la convivencia con las comunidades, conocer la realidad de los pueblos. Las aspiraciones de los compañeros, el sentido de querer seguir creciendo como personas y como profesionales. Vi también las limitantes de nuestro sistema educativo mexicano, porque yo trabajé también en albergues escolares y yo decía, "Si yo puedo hacer el cambio, tengo que adentrarme en esto de surtir bien los menús, a los jóvenes, no clavarme el dinero como hacían otros directores de de albergues y darles el recurso para lo que es…incluso gestionar más allá; por ejemplo, computadoras para que hagan sus tareas, programas, ponerles juegos, cosas así entonces esas son experiencias que se me quedaron en la mente. También creo que hay una, el

problema, un problema sustancial es el sindicalismo. Creo que esa parte no me gustó mucho, como te repito, porque no le hallaba sentido estar viendo a los plantones, estar marchando, estar protestando. Yo preferiría estar más en las comunidades y no estar gastando dinero. Y no sé, me disgustaba un poco. Creo que el sindicalismo es bueno, pero no al extremo.

[Terminé] como en el 1998. Licenciatura en educación primaria para el medio indígena. Cuando yo termino con…sigo trabajando de maestro. Luego como te digo, allí tienen el sistema de que uno entra con el bachillerato, te dan la oportunidad de seguir estudiando los fines de semana. Uno en un sistema semi escolarizado iba los fines de semana a Ciudad Ixtepec.

[...] Yo ya estaba trabajando, pero también tenía ganas de estar ascendiendo dentro del mismo gremio magisterial. Entonces decidí cambiar de Primaria; experimentar en albergues escolares. Luego me nombraron así como asesor técnico pedagógico y en esas últimas me encontraba cuando obtuve la beca.

MeXpatriating a los Estados Unidos…

Llego un año becado a una universidad en Arizona. Traté de hacer todo lo que la beca requería de…pero por azares del destino conozco a la que ahora es mi esposa. Nos enamoramos. Entonces hubo un paradigma ahí: Entre arreglar papeles de migración o seguir tramitando mi titulación. Trunqué la titulación para poder empezar mi trámite de migración, y así fue como llego aquí a los Estados Unidos.

[...] Quien viene becado de México tiene que esperar dos años en México para volver, para poder volver a salir del país. Entonces yo tuve que volver a mi labor de maestro, otros dos años ahí. Yo estuve haciendo mis preparativos de boda. Hago toda la cuestión social, ¿no? Personal. Me caso allá, con mi familia, en lo que empezamos a ver cómo, cómo es el arreglo de los papeles y todos los requisitos que se requieren.

[...] Estuve viviendo como seis meses en Nogales, Sonora. Y tuve que deshacerme de algunas propiedades para poder subsistir en Nogales, Sonora. Vendí mi casa, otras cosas que tenía en lo que llegara mi documento, la tarjeta verde.

13. "Obregón"

Los Primeros Años...

Yo nací en Hermosillo, Sonora [...] Soy del 54 y crecimos en una población en Sonora. Se llama Chiquito, cerca de Caborca. Mi mamá era de Caborca. Mi papá era del Distrito. Como a los cuatro años ya nos fuimos a vivir a Cananea, que está al sur. Total, que yo empecé mi primaria en los sesentas [...] Los únicos canales que entraban eran dentro, son las cadenas comerciales, el ABC, CBS y NBC, estaba…Cananea estaba muy aislado de Sonora entonces casi lo que las estaciones de radio, la televisión exclusivamente en inglés y casi todo el comercio se hacían con Arizona, con Douglas y Sierra Vista…Disney.

Y bueno, crecí, crecí en esa cultura. Terminé la primaria, la secundaria. Mi papá sabía un poco de inglés, entonces ayudaba que practicábamos y como escuchábamos radio y televisión en inglés, pues básicamente era la cultura de Arizona. A veces caían nevadas fuertes y se interrumpía la comunicación de Cananea con el sur del Estado. Entonces casi todos los alimentos…leche… los conseguíamos de Arizona…Terminando mi secundaria, me fui a Hermosillo a estudiar la preparatoria.

La Experiencia en la Universidad y en el Mercado Laboral…

Terminando la preparatoria, recuerdo haber tomado un examen de orientación vocacional para ver qué carreras podía estudiar. Yo soy el segundo de ocho hermanos. Mi hermano mayor, pues también estudió la preparatoria en Hermosillo y cuando él terminó la preparatoria en aquel entonces, a él todavía le tocó el programa de dos años y se pudo ir a estudiar a la UNAM. Estudió ingeniería electrónica, eléctrica, electrónica y yo seguía de él, pero a mí me tocó el programa de tres años de la preparatoria y al terminar pues escogía, quería ver qué, qué programas, qué carreras me gustaban. Total, que en los exámenes de orientación me dijeron que mi vocación era científica, entonces que podía estudiar Biología y Geología, Física o matemática, Y en ese entonces mi papá dijo que era muy pesado, que yo me fuera a estudiar en la UNAM. Hubiera querido estudiar geología en la UNAM, pero no, no se pudo. Me tuve que quedar en Hermosillo. En Hermosillo en ese entonces no había geología ni había biología [...] Entonces dije, "Las matemáticas no me gustan", y me metí a física. ¡Y resultó que eran puras matemáticas!

Y bueno, al fin pude terminar la licenciatura. Me sentía todavía un poco áspero en el campo de la física y me ofrecieron un tema de tesis en la UNAM y la oportunidad de empezar a hacer la maestría en Ciencias Física en la UNAM. Me fui en el 77 a la UNAM. Terminé la tesis ahí de licenciatura y me inscribí en la maestría y conseguí una beca de la…para estudiar la maestría en 78 al 80 y ya, empecé a conocer los distintos campus. Estuve interactuando en muchos seminarios, empecé a ver las distintas opciones que había y me llamó la atención un tema que en aquel entonces era novedoso, de problemas de física no lineal, de lo que era el caos…y aparecían nuevos temas como eran los fractales…todo esto y geometrías de espacios de dimensiones, no enteras. Y salió la oportunidad de aplicar a una beca la Unión Soviética sobre estos temas y en agosto del 80 terminé mis exámenes generales de la UNAM con mi grado de maestría …

Todos los aprendizajes, de todos los programas, en efecto, dejaron huella en mi formación. Sigo muy agradecido de la oportunidad que tuve de estudiar en la UNAM. En la UNAM mucho hice buenas redes de colaboración con investigadores y y a lo largo de todos los años después de haber terminado mis estudios en UNAM, mantuve relaciones con investigadores, había varios programas de la SEP para…para…bueno… y convenios entre la Universidad de Sonora y la UNAM, para para lanzar cada año…en proyectos de colaboración.

[...]En agosto del 80 terminé mis exámenes generales de la UNAM con mi grado de maestría y ya tenía un plan de continuar el doctorado en la UNAM [...] En eso ya me llegó una notificación que había sido aceptado para estudiar en la Unión Soviética [...] Llegando allá me enteré de que no se podía llevar a la familia. [Además] se suspendieron las becas. Ante esa situación pues yo terminé mi mi mi semestre en Moscú. En junio ya tuve autorización para para salir de vacaciones; me regresé a México,

[...] La Universidad de Arizona y la Universidad de Sonora siempre han tenido una relación estrecha. Conocí a algunos amigos míos que estudiaban en la Universidad de Arizona y total, que vine a preguntar sobre el programa de maestría en Matemáticas Aplicadas [...] Después de haber terminado en Arizona mi programa de maestría, como fue el programa en Matemáticas Aplicadas, lo que aprendí en la Universidad de Arizona es a verlas… la investigación desde un punto de vista interdisciplinario y que realmente no es posible hacer investigación como…como individuo, sino que uno tiene que hacer investigación en redes de colaboración… y si eso colabora ahora pertenecen a otras disciplinas, pues cada…cada científico hace aportaciones de su

campo para resolver problemas interdisciplinarios o multidisciplinario. Cuando regresé a la Universidad en Sonora, después de haber estado en la Universidad de Arizona, pues ya llevaba esa perspectiva de que la investigación tenía que ser aplicada e interdisciplinaria y buscar un problema de investigación que fuera que fuera relevante y pertinente para la región.

Decidí buscar trabajo, busqué trabajo en la UNAM y busqué trabajo en la Universidad de Sonora, en Hermosillo, donde tenía más familiares. Pues ya me regresé a Hermosillo y empecé a trabajar como profesor de asignatura en la Universidad de Sonora, en Matemáticas y después empecé a dar cursos de física.

[...] En el 98 lanzamos el programa de la licenciatura en Ciencias de la Computación en la Universidad de Sonora y eso se pudo dar en base a mis experiencias que obtuve aquí en la Universidad de Arizona y el grupo de investigadores que nos apoyaron de la Universidad Arizona para…para empezar a pensar sobre la creación de una licenciatura en Ciencias de la Computación. En ese momento en la UNAM también jugó un papel importante porque en el 95 la UNAM abrió su licenciatura en Ciencias de la Computación y fue la primera licenciatura en Ciencias de la Computación en México.

MeXpatriating a los Estados Unidos

Hay muchas herramientas para encontrar trabajo…hay muchas plataformas donde los que ofrecen trabajo ponen sus ofertas. Yo encontré un trabajo usando la plataforma Indeed y es ahí donde publican la Universidad Arizona y la Universidad Estatal de Arizona. Entonces yo en un momento dije, "Bueno, no tiene caso que me vaya a hacer un trabajo en Washington, en Nueva York, en Florida, si mi familia está aquí." Y sí, mi idea era venirme a Tucson porque estaba mi familia.

14. "Gutiérrez"

Los Primeros Años...

Yo soy de Sinaloa, de Guasave, Sinaloa [...] Tuve una niñez normal en la preparatoria secundaria. Ya, hasta la universidad es un poco más diferente, se podría decir. Más...más difícil para mí en cuestiones económicas, porque decidí irme a una escuela privada.

La Experiencia en la Universidad y en el Mercado Laboral…

Yo me acuerdo que me gustaba Psicología y me gustaba la alimentación…como Nutrición, pero siempre mi naturaleza ha sido que…me gusta ser libre, viajar y me llamó la atención de Licenciatura en Turismo…Y decidí por Licenciatura en Turismo porque tenía muchas conexiones de viajar, de poder estudiar en el extranjero, hacer intercambio y es lo que me llamó al final, al final de todo, lo que me llamó más la atención porque me gusta mucho viajar y hacer muchos viajes. Y eso me gusta mucho, la cultura, conocer nuevas culturas, gastronomía. Odio las matemáticas. Nunca me imaginé que tuviera tanta matemática; ¡Mitad de la carrera fue matemáticas! a todo lo que es, ¿cómo se llaman? …finanzas, porque todo se mueve bajo números, como el turismo.

[...] Mi padre no me quiso ayudar en los gastos porque la mentalidad machista de mi padre decía que las mujeres nos casábamos antes de terminar la escuela. No me quiso apoyar. Quise demostrarle que estaba equivocado. Y yo decidí estudiar, trabajar por mi cuenta y pagarme mis estudios, lo cual fue muy difícil para mí porque estaba estudiando y trabajando a la vez.

Decidí yo moverme a Los Mochis en vez de estar yendo y viniendo a mi casa. Como trabajaba, estudiaba y aparte del camión eran muchas horas para mí, preferí quedarme en Los Mochis, rentar una pequeña casa ahí…Ahí decidí empezar a vivir por mi cuenta, desde los 19 años.

[...] Trabajaba de estilista, trabajaba en una estética y eso…y eso lo complementaba con ir a la escuela, ¿verdad? a la universidad.

[...] Salíamos mucho [...] Me acuerdo mucho de una maestra que ella era de Guadalajara, pero ella daba clases ahí. Una mujer muy fina, muy muy educada, de familia, de abolengo. Yo la admiraba mucho porque era muy inteligente y muy fina. Ella nos dio un viaje para allá. En nuestro grupo éramos como dijeron, un grupo, como era un grupo muy pequeño porque era de escuela privada [Universidad del Valle, del Fuerte], y no…en ese entonces cuando yo empecé a estudiar, que fue en el 2001, no había tantos alumnos [...] Recuerdo que ella nos rentó una pequeña van. La pagamos entre todos y nos fuimos a Guadalajara. Fue un viaje creo que de cuatro días y conocimos mucho Guadalajara. Y fue muy dulce ese viaje. Siempre recordaré ese viaje porque fue muy, muy divertido, aprendimos bastante. Y no sé…como que me enseñó muchas cosas, no sé como es…de cultura y cómo vive la gente [...] Entonces yo no conocía, se podría decir más, yo no conocía nada, entonces ese viaje para mí fue muy como que me empezó a abrir mi mundo y en mismo en un mismo país que yo no conocía entonces. Empecé a vivir, se podría decir, a partir de los 19 años, y ese viaje me abrió los ojos de cómo…diferente.

Cuando terminamos la universidad, yo le propuse a ella [mi mejor amiga] de irnos a Cabo San Lucas, a la Baja California. Le propuse irnos para allá a buscar, porque hay cosas…obvio, mucho turismo y es como más Gran Turismo. Siempre pensé en Cancún o Cabo San Lucas. Y la convencí y ella convenció a otra amiga y a otra persona. El caso es que nos fuimos cuatro. No teníamos dónde llegar y llegamos a un hotel. Nos estuvimos en ese hotel por un mes. En ese mes buscamos casa y buscamos trabajo. En ese tiempo no encontramos trabajo, pero encontramos una casa y del hotel nos movimos a una casa las cuatro. [...] Yo ahorré un poco de dinero. Fue el con el que me mantuve allá, en Cabo, esos…casi un mes y medio, dos meses sin trabajar [...] Cada quien ponía su parte.

[...] Yo empecé a trabajar en un hotel muy exclusivo enfrente del arco. Yo era hostess. Me agarraron de hostess. En ese tiempo mi inglés era muy básico. Yo prácticamente aprendí unas líneas de lo que debía…que decir…y me las aprendí de memoria. Ah, si algo me preguntaban más, yo no sabía contestar porque yo ya tenía como mi speech preparado, pero me aprendí el menú de memoria. Aprendí a degustar vinos, aprendí como alta cocina, conocí muchos chefs muy reconocidos.

[...] De hecho, me dieron un reconocimiento porque vieron los números que supuestamente… pues traje mucha gente al restaurant. Y como le…como te digo, yo no sabía inglés, pero no sé… les caía bien o mi carisma o también les daba cupones de descuento y en este cupón venía tras mi nombre y nos daban comisión por cada compra que llegaba. Nos daban $2 dólares en ese entonces, para mí…que yo no…Pero ahorita la verdad como dicen, ¡Qué miseria! De pérdida mínimo 5 dólares…que ofensa porque la gente que iba ahí, mínimo, gastaba $150 dólares en una botella, teníamos botellas muy finas [...] Yo en ese entonces estaba muy motivada, no tanto por el dinero, porque ahora pienso lo que me pagaban allá en una quincena. Digo, "¡yo no sé cómo sobreviví!". Pero yo estaba feliz porque estaba haciendo algo que me gustaba.

[...] Me salí porque…porque quería hacer mi tesis y fue ahí que me ofrecieron una…subir a otro, puesto…que si quería ser la secretaria del chef. La secretaria gana muchísimo ! Es muy importante porque es el gerente…como el gerente del área de alimentos y bebidas. Sí me impresionó, pero lo rechacé porque dije, "yo tengo que ir a terminar".

MeXpatriating a los Estados Unidos

Pues para para estar en un mejor puesto y todo eso tenía que saber mejor el inglés [...] En ese entonces yo y ellas [mi mamá y mis hermanas] tenían contacto con el ahora mi esposo. Él vivía aquí en Tucson y hablaron con él. Yo no sabía qué hablaron con él y él nos ofreció de venirme aquí a Tucson [...] Me dijo él: "¿Qué te parece si te vienes para acá y vienes a estudiar inglés? Hay lugares que te lo dan gratis, el inglés" ...y me convenció.

[...] Duramos de novios cuando yo estuve en la universidad, como año y medio. Entonces cuando yo vine aquí a Tucson, éramos amigos. Y como que otra vez se hizo como la conexión de nuevo y en un mes me propuso casarnos y en un mes nos casamos y ya. Lo demás ya es historia…con dos chamacos.

15. "Rosas"

Los Primeros Años...

Yo nací en Hermosillo, Sonora. Mi papá nació en Ciudad Obregón y mamá en Empalme, Sonora. Se casan y se establecen en Hermosillo. Cuando yo tengo un año de edad se van a vivir a Nogales, Sonora. Pues como quien dice pues me crié ahí en Nogales. De hecho, soy más de Nogales que de Hermosillo ¿no? porque viví muy poco tiempo en Hermosillo. Mi infancia fue muy bonita. Mis padres, los dos trabajaban. Tenía un…tenían una dulcería y un almacén donde distribuían pues el dulce hecho en la dulcería. Yo soy la más grande. Tengo dos hermanos más chicos. Los tres estudiamos. Ellos me dejaron atrás. Ellos tienen maestría. Yo no, yo no, yo ya no hice maestría.

[...] Mi hermano, como vivíamos en frontera, él estuvo en Nogales, Arizona. Él hizo la primaria ahí. Y nosotros le decíamos a mi papá, "¿Pues porque nosotras no, porque nosotras en México si nosotros también queremos estudiar inglés?" ...queríamos ver lo diferente que era. Mi papá en aquellos tiempos decía, "Porque él es el hombre, es la cabeza del hogar, ustedes son las niñas, ustedes no nos necesitan tanto como su hermano." En su momento, pues obvio, no lo entendíamos, ¿no? Ahora de grande…como que…¡qué macho mi papá! Pero la realidad de las cosas era de que un niño mexicano ir a escuela americana, pues costaba mucho dinero. Entonces no era como que…como que mi papá podía tenernos a los tres en…en escuela en Estados Unidos. El caso que yo terminé…Yo hago mi primaria, secundaria y preparatoria en Nogales.

La Experiencia en la Universidad y en el Mercado Laboral…

En aquel tiempo era una carrera nueva el comercio internacional. De hecho fui primera…segunda generación en la Universidad, de Comercio, pues Nogales está plagado de maquiladoras, está plagado de agencias aduanales. De entonces más, más. Por eso, pues por ese lado de que..de que sentía que tenía la la oportunidad de que...en mí…uno iba a tener trabajo seguro. Pues no me apasionaba en aquel momento, no sabía que me apasionaba, no sabía lo que me gustaba, simplemente estaba de moda esa carrera y dije bueno, "pues a lo mejor es bueno, oportunidades de trabajo voy a tener el Nogales, siento que sí va por ahí". Pero cuando me voy a estudiar pues me di cuenta que amé la carrera, pues amé todo lo que conllevaba, lo que estudié.

Entonces estuve, estuve feliz, estuve bien. Nunca, nunca pensé en cambiarme, ¡nunca! Estuve contenta.

[...] Cuando decido entrar a la universidad pues te topas que, ¡en Nogales pues no hay escuelas, no hay universidades! La única universidad que teníamos pues no tenía la carrera que yo quería. Yo quería estudiar comercio internacional; pues total que me voy a Hermosillo a estudiar e hice mi carrera en Hermosillo, cuatro años.

Estudié en Hermosillo, en la Universidad Kino [...] La carrera me gustaba mucho. Entonces…cuando algo te gusta pones mucha atención…pero aparte de todo, de lo escolar y de todo eso estaba padre, porque pues tenías compañeros de todo el estado [...] Era mi primera experiencia salir del pueblo como quien dice, y conocer, conocer otro tipo de gente. Igual todos del estado de Sonora, pero diferente gente pues de otra, otra otras ideas…no te puedo decir qué culturas, porque tenemos la misma cultura, pero sí, sí…¿Cómo te explico? Un...pues con otras…otras…otras caras…otros modos de vivir de otros lugares. Entonces, eso se me hizo padre. De hecho, era muy chistoso porque estando en la ciudad de Hermosillo, estudiando, de 33, 34 compañeros, solamente cuatro personas eran de Hermosillo. El resto éramos de fuera y tenía…tenía dos compañeros de Nogales que en mi vida había visto en Nogales, que los llegué a conocer ahí, ahí en Hermosillo, en la universidad también.

[...]De la universidad salí en el 98.

Termino la carrera, me voy por un tiempo a Chicago. Seis meses me fui a Chicago Illinois para aprender el inglés. [...] Me regreso y comienzo a trabajar en Nogales. Me voy a una agencia aduanal. La licenciada que me contrata, la dueña de la agencia aduanal, la conozco por la universidad…La llevábamos a Hermosillo a que nos diera conferencias, pláticas. Total, que nos… nos hicimos amigas, ella fue quien me ayudó con mi disertación, fue mi mentora. Pues me voy a trabajar con ella y a trabajar desde cero, a conocer todo lo que es la la agencia aduanal, pero me lleva a Nogales, Arizona a trabajar. Ella tenía pues tenían sus oficinas en México, en Nogales, pero también tenían su almacén en Estados Unidos y me lleva a Nogales, Arizona a trabajar contratada, pero como mexicano, pues al estar contratada como Mexicana pues ni tienes festivos mexicanos porque estás del otro lado y como era del otro lado pero contrata mexicanos. También tiene que trabajar los festivos americanos. Entonces nunca tenía días festivos pero estuvo muy padre esa experiencia porque aprendí mucho [...] Estuve ahí tres años estando ahí, me casé, tenía, tenía a mi novio, este que ya tenía ocho años de novia con él.

MeXpatriating a los Estados Unidos

Me caso en el 2001 y pues la problemática era Nogales, ¿no? Que no hay casas, es muy chiquito. Rentas en dólares, es muy caro. Pues él era…es ciudadano y me dice, "¿Que tal que buscamos casa en Nogales, Arizona?" ¡Pues está bien, casa en Nogales, Arizona! Nos vamos a vivir a Nogales, Arizona. En ese tiempo, pues en la frontera ibas y venías sin ningún problema.

[...]Yo cruzaba a diario ilegalmente, iba y venía y venía. Salgo embarazada, y yo seguía yendo y viniendo…y yendo y viniendo. Se me complica mucho el…quien me cuide a mi hijo. Mis papás trabajaban, mi mamá pues igual trabajaba pues…no era como que como que yo me encargo del bebé, pues era buscar guardería, se complicaba vivir en Nogales, Arizona, traerlo hasta Nogales [México]. El caso fue que mi esposo me dijo, "¿Qué tal se te hace estar en la casa por un tiempo, en lo que el niño crece?...y que no sé qué…" Y acepté quedarme en la casa, renuncio al trabajo y pues me vengo ya completamente Estados Unidos, todavía sin arreglar

papeles. Ya que estoy sin trabajar y ya empiezo a tener problemas, pues en la cruzada, el niño y el otro. Mi esposo: "¿Sabes que necesitamos meter papeles?"

Metemos los papeles. Y para mi fue así como que un shock, o sea, sabía que él era ciudadano, pero jamás pensé y menos jamás me imaginé estar viviendo aquí en Estados Unidos. Pues…pues como que…El caso es de que hacemos todos los trámites. Me quedo un año y medio sin cruzar porque pues tú sabes ¿no? los trámites de migración. Me quedó un año y medio sin cruzar y yo sigo en shock. Pero era era así como que pues "lo tengo que hacer porque pues ya vivimos de este lado, pues no es como que nos vamos a regresar a México". Mi esposo ya trabajaba en Nogales, Arizona y pues ni modo, ¡Había que hacerlo, lo teníamos que hacer! Y cuando voy a la entrevista en Migración y lo primero que pregunta la mujer es, " ¿Por qué quieres venir a vivir a Estados Unidos?", inconscientemente mi respuesta fue: "Yo no me quiero venir a vivir a Estados Unidos" …y mi esposo pálido, pellizcándome las piernas…ella se rió y me dice: "¿Por qué?" Porque en México yo tenía un trabajo, tenía seguro médico y gastos mayores. Tenía estatus, tenía mi carrera y sé que al venirme para acá va a ser volver a empezar…Y tu carrera o tu título o todo lo que ya yo ya había logrado en Nogales, en México, pues ¡ya aquí era empezar de cero, pues! Y se rió la muchacha y me dijo, "¡Felicidades! Me dijo, ¡Ya eres residente de los Estados!"

16. "Valenzuela"

Los Primeros Años...

Yo soy originaria de Ensenada, Baja California y residí en Los Mochis, Sinaloa [...] Somos cuatro hermanos, mi papá y mi mamá. Soy la hija mayor.

[...] Mi infancia fue este…allá, en Los Mochis, Sinaloa, eh…tuve muy bonita infancia eh, gracias a Dios no perdí un año. Estuve cursando pues…desde kínder, primaria, ahí en el lugar donde vivo. Ya entré a la secundaria y ya fue algo nuevo para mí porque tenía que agarrar un camión…entonces…cosas que fueron cambiando. Y ya la preparatoria fue un cambio total para mi porque agarraba ya dos camiones, y la universidad fue igual.

La Experiencia en la Universidad y en el Mercado Laboral…

Pues de esas veces que en la preparatoria van a ofrecerte a que te dan un folletito ¿sí? Te dan…eh… cursos de decir para ver qué carrera quieres tomar…como promocionar las carreras que tienen. Este... "No administración de empresas, no, no quiero", dije, "¡No quiero estar ahí nada más en en una oficina, pues!"

[...] Pues abrieron una carrera nueva que hicieron…nos dieron información sobre relaciones comerciales internacionales. Apenas era el segundo, era la segunda…los segundos egresados. Entonces este…pues fue por eso que me animé de que traía varias ramas, mercadotecnia; traía este pues…el comercio…traía…Ah, ahí también mirábamos administración, o sea todo. Había varias ramas que englobaba esa carrera y dije yo, "Esta es, esta trae varias ramas…Hay más oportunidades de trabajar. De la otra forma me enfoco solamente en una carrera, sí, administración, contabilidad o algo y pues es como muy específico. En cambio, si elijo comercio, son varias ramas las que puedo acaparar más de desde de la carrera". Y este y pues me animé a agarrar de esa carrera.

[...] Cursé la universidad, estuve en la Universidad Autónoma de Sinaloa, estudié la carrera de Comercio Internacional, en Relaciones Comerciales Internacionales.

Gracias a Dios no tuve la necesidad de trabajar para estudiar, mis papás me solventaron pues…los gastos de los estudios. Ya en la universidad fue cuando…cuando empecé a trabajar. Ya en mi último grado se podría decir. Mis papás nunca me dejaron trabajar; sí había la necesidad, claro, de demás este de aportar a la casa, pero mis papás para que yo no, no me...no me distrajera de…de los…que no me distrajera y que siguiera adelante con los estudios.

[...]Fui una estudiante muy dedicada, al 100% a la escuela, como digo no estaba trabajando. Mi única responsabilidad era estudiar y tener buenas calificaciones. Este…soy una persona muy muy amiguera. Soy muy social…Mis papás, "Tú estás estudiando" y ese tipo de cosas. Salía de viajes de la…de la universidad, trataba de…de que si no había para los viajes, hacíamos actividades para juntar dinero...y ya este, pero si no, no me quería perder ningún viaje, pues porque visitábamos empresas y aprendíamos más, y aparte pues salíamos ¿no? todos.

[...] Pues nos íbamos a ir a las casas de los compañeros y a trabajar en…íbamos a preparar nuestras exposiciones. Una vez hicimos un…un tipo evento; una exposición donde hicimos platillos de varias partes…de varios países…platillos que ni yo conocía que existían. Fue un platillo ruso que nos tocó hacer. Pues en internet a buscar recetas y que se le echaban cosas que nosotros ni conocíamos los ingredientes y que… "¿Lo quieres probar?" ¡No lo quiere probar nadie, no queríamos probar! …pero ese tipo de experiencias pues de cosas que que que…pues nuevas no? Y que son reales, que en otras partes del mundo son platillos diferentes, son cosas y tradiciones. Y…y…este…y cosas que uno no conoce ¿no? Y que en la escuela las aprendes y esa fue una experiencia padre [...] Me acuerdo también de los viajes que hicimos… este… fuimos a Mazatlán. Fuimos, vinimos a Nogales a la aduana de aquí en Nogales, visitamos varias plantas para conocer los procesos, como llegaba este, fuimos a Masatún ¿no? a Mazatlán, es… de cómo llegaban los buques de este, como eran las descargas, las cargas, donde el almacenaban… entonces era muy padre.

En el 2011 terminé mi carrera. Yo me vine en el 2010 a Nogales. Era mi último grado en el 2011 [...] trabajé en una casa de empeño pero todavía estaba yo en el último grado de universidad. Trabajé…este pues…en donde empeñan joyería, electrodomésticos y todo ese tipo de cosas. Ahí trabajé como unos meses nada más ¿no? cinco o seis meses…que fue mi primer trabajo, fue mi primer trabajo, para eso teníamos un abarrote. Entonces en el abarrote yo, pues ahí estaba trabajando en, pero era de la familia, entonces es de siempre, duramos como unos tres años con el abarrotes. Y es como que yo desde ahí también me gustaba, pues porque me empecé pues a tener relación con las personas. Llegaba gente nueva que no conocía y ahí conocí muchas personas en ese abarrote hasta los…hasta los…los proveedores de…este…aprendí muchas cosas de ese pequeño abarrotes. De...a perder el miedo…a hacer más este mhhh...más suelta para hablar…es de...Y ya en…en la casa de empeño es de…pues igual ¿no? estaba en atención a clientes. [...] El primero ya profesionalmente pues fue donde hice mis prácticas, que fue la agencia aduanal allí en Nogales Sonora. Hice mis prácticas en…las prácticas que van a durar pues todo un semestre pero ahí me tuvieron firmando porque me querían contratar. Entonces, me las firmaron, me las firmaron y al mes creo se salió alguien y era…esa que se salió era quien me estaba entrenando a mí. Entonces, yo estaba como…yo tenía como los conocimientos que esta muchacha se iba a ir…entonces…una persona y pues ahí me agarraron a mí. Entonces ahí me quedé, seguí con mis prácticas, pero ya me estaban pagando, entonces este pues ya me…de titular y todo. Y yo ya tenía trabajo gracias a Dios no tuve ese problema de buscar trabajo [...]

En ese trabajo era pedimentos de facturas, hablar con los clientes a este…hablar a… hablar a los despachos, a los almacenes, tenía mucha pues mucha atención al cliente.

MeXpatriating a los Estados Unidos

Yo nomás salía con compañeros de mi trabajo. Porque no conocía a nadie, nomás a los del trabajo. Entonces este…salimos…nos salíamos…salimos de antro, ahí conocí a un muchacho que ese fue mi primer novio, con él me quede [...] No sabía que era…este… que vivía acá. Él me dijo que vivía ahí en Nogales, pues yo me imagino que por lo mismo, porque ha de haber dicho, "Pues si digo que soy de acá o algo, pues muchas veces por los papeles o algo así."

[...] Nos casamos y como a los ocho meses ya nos vinimos a casar acá a Estados Unidos. Nos vinimos a casar, a casarnos…casamos allá por la iglesia y así, pero hasta después de ocho meses nos casamos aquí en Estados Unidos. Me arreglaron por Juárez, él metió…él me pidió y este…y pues llevo la residencia por diez años.

17. "Hernández"

Los Primeros Años...

Nací en Nogales Sonora, Mis papás son de otros estados de México, mi papá es de Chihuahua, mi mamá es de Sinaloa, se conocieron en Nogales y pues ahí, ahí nacimos pues todos mis hermanos; ahí nacimos y crecimos en Nogales. Pues viví en Nogales casi toda mi vida, hasta que me fui a estudiar.

La Experiencia en la Universidad y en el Mercado Laboral…

Siempre fui destacada y desde la primaria y secundaria, pues siempre estuve en cuadro de honor y destacada académicamente. Y entonces debido a esto, cuando pude…de la preparatoria pude conseguir una beca para estudiar en Hermosillo [...] Lo que estudié fue Licenciatura en Comercio Internacional y sinceramente…estuve muy inclinada…bueno…este...yo quería estudiar ingeniería industrial porque me gustaba mucho todo esto de cálculo, matemáticas, física. Todo eso siempre me gustó mucho, pero al final me incliné por estudiar Licenciatura en comercio internacional porque vivía en la frontera y porque era una carrera nueva en ese entonces y va a haber mucha [...] oportunidad.

En cuanto a lo académico lo más memorable que te puedo comentar que pues yo de toda mi vida estuve en una escuela pública, o sea, la preparatoria…Entonces, me voy a Hermosillo, una escuela privada…en fin, que…bueno…más que el orgullo, digamos… tengo de que…que me venía yo de una escuela pública y yo pues era la que les ayudaba y les enseñaba.

[...] Ya en el lado personal, pues hice muchas amistades muy bonitas que tengo…que he tenido oportunidad de seguir manteniendo hasta la fecha y…y en cuanto a la experiencia de la universidad, sí…tenía muchas actividades extracurriculares que natación, basquetbol, natación era lo que…lo que yo…en lo que me enfoqué [...] Estudié los cinco años de carrera ahí, a fin de cuenta. Entonces, terminé esto de los cinco años de carrera en el TEC y casi para salir tomé… pues tuve la oportunidad de hacer intercambio un año antes, un semestre antes de graduarme, pues estuve estudiando que fue casi como diez meses. Estuve en Polonia, estuve como estudiante de intercambio. Ah, pues muy la verdad es una de las mejores experiencias de mi vida haberme ido a estudiar para allá, pues tuve oportunidad de aprender de aparte de todo lo académico, pues de visitar y de conocer muchos lugares más en Europa del Este ¿no? Y lo más acá, que conocí, porque lo más cerca, al centro de Europa, digamos hasta Alemania nomás ahí,

pero muy muy bueno, muy contenta la verdad. En esa oportunidad me gradué de Hermosillo del Tec, en el 2005, y pues…pues también era con honores [...] promedio…Me dieron ahí mención honorífica también y…y me brindaron la oportunidad de después de estudiar una maestría. Entonces de una beca de que tenía que pagar nada más el 10% y están cubriendo el 90%.

[...] Cuando entré a la universidad…en la universidad que estudié después de ciertos semestres era obligatorio tomar clases al 100% en inglés, hacer presentaciones, ensayos en inglés. Ah, entonces, yo después me salí un semestre de la universidad y me vine aquí a estudiar como pues por fuera, no tanto como estudiante extranjero. Me vine a estudiar aquí un semestre inglés aquí en Tucson, ya me regresé y pues ya poseemos niveles de inglés, el 100%. El mismo inglés, el que me ayudó también estar de estudiante de intercambio allá en Polonia.

Así que que fue como dos años después de graduarme de…de la licenciatura, empecé con la maestría. Y en cuanto a la maestría, estudié maestría en ciencias de la Administración. Y bueno [...] Entonces yo me gradué del TEC de Hermosillo. Me regreso a Nogales y empecé a…pues empecé en una maquila y porque me querían…porque me enteré de que había algo de comercio internacional [...] Después me cambio a otra empresa, a otra maquiladora…Duré doce años y en esos doce años pues yo crecí profesionalmente. Empecé como analista y ya después como crecí a coordinadora…y este…y después y al final pues ya antes de venirme ya era supervisora de…de…un departamento de aduanas.

MeXpatriating a los Estados Unidos

Donde trabajaba conozco a mi esposo, me caso, me vengo a vivir para acá [...]

Me casé…me embaracé. En lo que estuve embarazada, no trabajé [...] Decidí no trabajar para atender a mi bebé y para ir…para dedicarle tiempo, ¿no? Entonces esperé a que estuviera…pues si…tenía como cuatro o cinco meses cuando ya empecé a buscar trabajo.

18. "Rodríguez"

Los Primeros Años...

Nací en Hermosillo, Sonora. Pues mis primeros años de mi historia y mi familia principalmente fueron que siempre fui a la escuela. Mi papá me ayudaba con la tarea y así, en los primeros años de la escuela primaria, que son seis, casi siempre tuve el primero/segundo lugar de aprovechamiento y así…buenas notas. eh…después en la secundaria bajé un poco el promedio por la rebeldía o qué sé yo.

Después entré a la universidad, a la Universidad de Sonora, a la prepa primero. Y la prepa también tuve lo mismo que en la secundaria, 8.4, 8.5. Ya después entré a la universidad y estudié licenciatura en Enfermería y pues también tuve buenas calificaciones en general.

La Experiencia en la Universidad y en el Mercado Laboral…

Pues decidí estudiar enfermería por…no sé…o sea, es como que quisiera saber siempre qué hacer en dado caso de que alguien le pase algo malo o se sienta mal…o yo mismo pues ¿no? Entonces como que fue la necesidad de saber qué hacer en caso de que mis seres queridos me necesiten pues. Y pues ya después me gustó mucho la carrera. Son muchas materias muy humanizadas, muy muy importantes. Uno piensa que el cuidado de eso es como el ayudante del médico. No sé…pero la verdad, el cuidado engloba todo. Pues porque el médico dice en base a lo que ve en el paciente que cuál es la enfermedad, pero la enfermera es como más maternal podría

decirse, como que enfoca todo, pues todas las necesidades de la persona, la cuida de cómo se siente, si le duele algo o le da un medicamento para el dolor, la está checando, si se va a bañar…Se me hizo muy, muy padre el hecho de que estaba tan humanizada la carrera y después pues me gustó también la parte científica ¿no? Hay materias del tronco común que debes de llevar, pero hay otras áreas que son optativas y por ejemplo hay una que se llama Enfermería en el Cuidado de los Niños y el Adolescente; Enfermería…en los Cuidados Alternativos de la Salud, por ejemplo, aromaterapia…todas las terapias alternativas, pues por ejemplo reiki, terapia por imanes. Hay miles de terapias que también enfermería debe de tener un conocimiento básico sobre ellas para saber cómo influyen realmente y científicamente en el cuerpo y así, o sea, si realmente sirven y todo eso, la enfermedad…debe conocerlas y en el proceso de conocerlas está padre la…la vivencia …

[...] Y vives todo lo que realmente el paciente vive. O sea, a nosotros se nos hace fácil estar del otro lado también y decir "¡Ayyy esto no! ¡Duele!" o así, pero también vivirlo de parte como si uno fuera el paciente en el ámbito de la práctica. Con dos compañeros fue muy memorable porque también tuve una compañera que batallaba mucho para encontrarme la vena y entonces como paciente ahí, o sea practicando la…el brazo, la vena y sientes el…también te pones del otro lado. Eso fue lo que me gustó, que incita mucho a que seas empático con el paciente porque puedes estar del otro lado también.

[...] La carrera la terminé en 2013, 2014, creo que en 2014 y quedan algunos…No estoy titulada porque me faltaron, me faltó el servicio, pero fue como el 2014.

[...] Dejé la escuela. Me puse a trabajar para ayudar a mis papás y ya no terminé. Pero supe que aquí en Estados Unidos pues pueden revalidar las materias… de las materias que cursas de allá y seguir, o sea, continuar con la educación aquí.

[...] Trabajé en el Hospital General del Estado Sonora. Trabajé seis meses en el área de urgencias, la unidad de cuidados intensivos. Te rotan por todo el hospital, pero al final te dejan en que es donde te ocupan más o donde eres más habilidosa ¿no? Y ya después trabajé en otro hospital. Y después un amigo que es médico me llamó para que trabajara con él en Tijuana, para colaborarle con…cuando él operaba a mujeres que se querían hacer lipoescultura, aumento de senos y todo eso, ¿no?

Entonces me habló de los sueldos y eran muy buenos, eran $3,000, $3,500 a la semana y era lo que ganaba yo en el hospital en Sonora en la quincena. Entonces pues como obviamente acepté y me fui a Tijuana a trabajar de enfermera, pero ya en el cuidado de una parte de cirugía estética [...] Después seguí trabajando en el rubro de la medicina estética, me regresé Hermosillo y también seguí trabajando allá [...] Colaboré con ese lado, ¿no? de enfermería; en el post operatorio, el de medicina estética. También poníamos bótox, plasma con plaquetas, todo lo que sea, pues embellecimiento y moldeo corporal.

MeXpatriating a los Estados Unidos

Una amiga de enfermería tuvo un accidente yendo para su casa con su mamá y su tía. Estaban un poco bebidas porque venían de una fiesta y tuvo un accidente horrible. Entonces se estaba muriendo; estaba muy mal y así. Ella tenía programado un viaje. Ya lo tenía todo pagado y así. Entonces como me debía dinero, me dijo, "¿Sabes qué? Te voy a dar de dar este viaje a ti por el dinero que te debo y porque no puedo…por los gastos que tuve del accidente". Y pues fui y ahí conocí a mi esposo que es residente aquí de Tucson, Arizona. Lo conocí en Chiapas. Y siendo

yo de Hermosillo…él también era de Hermosillo. Después ya se hizo residente aquí, pues nos conocimos y ya no nos podemos separar. Nos hicimos novios. Después me pidió que me casara con él. Me vine para acá, nos casamos y tuve una bebé. La bebé nació aquí.

[...]Yo ingresé aquí en septiembre de 2020.

19. "Fernández"

Los Primeros Años...

Siempre he tenido una pasión desde chico por el fútbol. El fútbol este…era mi, es lo que más me atraía en las horas de la primaria, en los recreos de la secundaria era, era, este…era jugar. Jugar futbol, jugar futbol la etapa más este padre que considero que que tuve fue la de la de la prepa, donde este fue la primera vez que ya estoy en un grupo mixto. Bueno, en la primaria también, pero bien con mixto este…pero ya de adolescentes…y seguía siendo el fútbol mi pasión. De las clases de la prepa salía apenas corriendo para irme dizque a los entrenamientos.

La Experiencia en la Universidad y en el Mercado Laboral…

A grandes rasgos, la universidad, en segundo y tercer año [practicábamos] en un campo experimental que tenían en La Huerta, Jalisco.

Lo que más manejaba mi zona, créditos ganaderos; la agricultura era de autoconsumo. Lo que yo hacía, yo les hacía el proyecto de inversión [...] Les cobraba una cuota dependiendo de lo que fuera. Si era agrícola para siembras era algo simbólico, eran 200 pesos en ese tiempo y si eran…ya para proyecto de maquinaria, equipo…eso si ya [...]Me decían que yo era, que yo era como mala mala competencia porque yo los conocía… ya no les quería cobrar mucho y los que estaban por externos cobraban [...] Pues no es tan complicado, pues ¿qué vas a checar? su casa…una empresa, sus estados financieros si era este…un agricultor, un ganadero, pues ir al rancho, ver lo que con lo que contaba ahí y ahora ahí sabía si es si tenía posibilidades o no [...] Yo les hacia los proyectos de inversión.

MeXpatriating a los Estados Unidos

Mis cuñadas, ellas ya tienen su vida aquí o más. De hecho, no las conocía yo a ellas. Ellas siempre, siempre eran las…las referidas como las hermanas de Estados Unidos. Ellas primero le regalaron documentos a su a su mamá, a mi suegra y metieron la solicitud que se mete para arreglar a toda la familia. Y ya cuando les tocó a ellas pues ya estaban casadas y con familia. Ya cuando le decían de lo que aquí, en inmigración, ya tenían familia, entonces ya nos involucraron a los esposos con los papeles, con la documentación que teníamos que llenar, la carta de policía, el acta de nacimiento, pues, así la de antecedentes penales, del esposo. Y pues como ya en ese tiempo, todavía, todavía no…este… no había señas de emigrar. Yo estaba en mi trabajo. No me acuerdo en qué año mi esposa me dijo: "Oye, fíjate que mi mamá y mis hermanas hicieron este trámite" …Y dije, "No me interesa, no me interesa este…no creo que…que vayamos por allá". Y como esa era la tercera, es la vencida. Cuando dijo, "¿Sabes que esa es la última oportunidad? Yo creo que deberíamos ver" y pensé…dije… "Bueno, sí", dije.

Las condiciones de trabajo estaban muy difíciles…el sistema educativo también está muy deficiente, diríamos. En México se empezaba a notar el…pues la falta de interés de los maestros. No sé…dijeron que íbamos llenándonos los papeles y hasta que fue en el ´97… ¡´98! cuando ya nos autorizaron. Vinimos a la frontera a Ciudad Juárez a arreglar toda la documentación. No se llevaron los pasaportes, nos dijeron que teníamos tanto tiempo para para cruzar la frontera [...]

Nos dieron una plática. Nos tocó con el oficial de migración para pasar, nos dice, "¿A dónde van?" … "Venimos aquí, ¿ok?" Y ya nos dijo, "estacionen su carro allá y ustedes caminen hacia acá", hacia las oficinas donde daban una plática de ciudadanía. Me acuerdo, fue un video que nos pusieron…pues de la bienvenida" y …nos regresamos a México. Ah, pues a empezar a ver qué y cuándo. Cuando me quedé sin empleo, otra vez que no hubo nada…Que dijimos: "Pues tenemos la forma de ir para allá, vamos para allá a ver qué pasa". Y aquí llegamos, ya para quedarnos en Abril de 2004 [...] Primero mi hijo y yo, y después… mi hijo estaba por terminar su…su grado en la prepa, que terminara y ya se viniera para que empezara acá. Ella [mi hija] hace otro año de preparatoria.
Me considero afortunado porque yo sí llegué, yo caí en blandito, ya estaba mi cuñada, la mayor aquí. Aparte las otras dos cuñadas, la…la mayor…mi esposa también ya con documentos. Pues a todos les arreglaron y se vinieron ellos primero; entonces, cuando yo ya llegué, mi cuñada pues ya tenía casa.

20. "Cortés"

Los Primeros Años...
Yo soy de un pueblo que se llama Frontera Coahuila, que en realidad en los años 40 era Estación Monclova. Es un pueblo que está ahora unido a Monclova o Villa y que en aquel tiempo era una estación de ferrocarril donde mis familiares antepasados vinieron desde Jalisco y se establecieron ahí, en esa orilla de Monclova. Mi escuela primaria fue…en realidad todavía no había kindergarten, no había párvulos. Fui a la escuela primaria ahí en un pueblo de Frontera, Coahuila y únicamente ahí me gradué cuando tenía once años y me mandaron a Monterrey, a vivir a Monterrey a estudiar la secundaria, la preparatoria y mi carrera profesional en Monterrey.

[...] Yo soy el menor de cuatro hermanos. Todos estudiaron en la escuela primaria de Frontera. Bueno…y todos emigramos en un momento a Monterrey. Todos estudiaron, ya sea sus carreras en Monterrey o sus preparatorias, pero yo fui el primero, siempre el menor.
La cosa bonita es que participe en…en los tres años de secundaria, en los grupos de danza, danza folklórica regional y la cosa triste, muy significante para mí, no asistir a la graduación porque ya había empezado a trabajar desde el mes de enero y la graduación fue en junio y ese día preferí trabajar todo el día. Yo soy el menor de cuatro hermanos. Todos estudiaron en la escuela primaria de Frontera. Yo apenas iba a cumplir 15 años y trabajé con una compañía americana, una tienda departamental en Monterrey que tenía restaurant, tenía cafetería y juguetes, regalos, ¡todo! …tipo tipo… ¡departamental! Y el gerente de la tienda yo creo que necesitaba de personal. Me dio trabajo a pesar de que yo era menor de edad que en ese tiempo en México se podía trabajar desde los 16 años.

[...] Yo crecí con una filosofía rara porque trabajo desde niño y me acostumbré a la filosofía de que de que todo lo que te quieres comer te cuesta y que tienes que trabajar por ello. Y desde niño me acostumbré a trabajar. Soy criticado por algunos amigos, algunos familiares [...] entiendo de que…de que hay que ganar las cosas, esa es una cosa aquí que tendríamos que ponernos de acuerdo. Creo que tienes que trabajar muy duro para darte las cosas. Sí, entiendo que el trabajo se tiene que pagar justamente. Entonces, desde mi punto de vista de asesor empresarial o laboral, siempre les he recomendado que debe haber una comunión entre el trabajo y el patrón, entre el trabajador y el patrón, que los trabajos deben pagarse justamente [...] Y te

digo que tengo una filosofía muy especial porque aprendí que si yo era el mejor trabajador me iban a pagar más y siempre fue así.

La Experiencia en la Universidad y en el Mercado Laboral…

Mi preparatoria, desde los 15 años, fue nocturna como trabajador y pagada por…por esta compañía Woolworth de México. Creo que fue una enseñanza muy muy importante en toda mi carrera, porque empecé lavando las vasijas de…de la cafetería de Woolworth y luego en un momento dado me incorporaron a la bodega donde ya aparte de hacer trabajos de físicos como acomodar y reacomodar y limpiar las mercancías, el inventario poco a poco me fueron dando oportunidad de trabajar con los registros, el inventario y ya para el tercer año cuando ya estaba casi por graduarme de high school, me incorporaron al departamento de contabilidad como ayudante. Y aprendí los primeros pininos de contabilidad ahí, trabajando con nóminas y cálculo de impuestos de seguro social y de los impuestos de Hacienda. Y era el encargado de ir a pagar los impuestos directamente a la oficina de Hacienda. Todo eso me acercó a lo que después fue mi carrera, la carrera que decidí tener como contador público. Pues enrolado en la preparatoria y teniendo la oportunidad de trabajar en el departamento de contabilidad, [...] se me abrió el gusto y de alguna manera, probablemente, mi pasión por negocios a pesar de que en la infancia trabajé en las tiendas de mi familia, tíos, mi papá, mis abuelos. Las ventas, por ejemplo, nunca fueron algo extraño para mí.

[...] De hecho, mi primer intento fue Economía, estudiar economía, pero en esa época se vinieron las huelgas del ´68 y los grandes conflictos del ´68 mundiales ¿no? Mexicanos…muy importante, conflictos en México con lo de Tlatelolco y movimientos estudiantiles en el país que hicieron cerrarse la Escuela de Economía de la Universidad de Nuevo León por casi un año. Y yo ya acostumbrado a trabajar y estudiar, no queriendo perder tiempo, me cambié a la escuela de Contaduría que no cerró para seguir continuando con mis estudios, ya enrolado. Enrolado, trabajar y estudiar. En un tiempo estudié mi carrera de Contador Público de noche…los cinco años, igual que la preparatoria…

Después trabajé en despachos contables toda mi carrera y graduándome abrí mi propia oficina y me convertí en el contador de una Asociación de Naranjeros. Yo tuve mucho contacto con empresas extranjeras, básicamente de Japón y de Alemania, que consumían… algunas rusas que consumían la naranja de Montemorelos. También desde mis primeros años de la universidad empecé a dar clases en la preparatoria, clases de contabilidad y también mi gusto por la docencia nació ahí.

MeXpatriating a los Estados Unidos

Estamos en México hasta el año de 1990. Yo estaba casado y tenía tres hijos y mi esposa era de la frontera, cerquita de la frontera de Matamoros con Brownsville; Matamoros, Tamaulipas, Texas. Ella tenía mucha influencia de la cultura americana por vivir en menos de media hora de la frontera y lógicamente que creció educada de la primaria y secundaria en sus primeros años y con mucho acercamiento al inglés y a la cultura del comercio entre…entre Tamaulipas y Texas y su sueño por lo tanto era aprender inglés bien. Y en un momento dado…Ya estábamos casados con tres hijos…Ella era maestra de educación especial, directora de Centros de Educación Especial del Gobierno Federal…Le entra el gusanito de seguir estudiando. Seguir estudiando básicamente inglés, primero. Y en la cúspide de mi carrera, básicamente porque en ese tiempo yo estaba…tenía mi trabajo pues muy bien. Y ella me da un ultimátum: “Nos vamos a Estados

Unidos, mis hijos, y yo, y tú. Si no te quieres ir, si te quieres quedar, eres bienvenido a quedarte. Nosotros nos vamos" …y yo decidí seguir a mi familia.

21. "Negrete"

Los Primeros Años...

Yo nací en Michoacán, pero crecí en Nogales, Sonora, México. Lo que es la primaria, secundaria, preparatoria y la carrera en Nogales, Sonora, porque es una familia de diez…okay, de 11, de 11.

La Experiencia en la Universidad y en el Mercado Laboral…

Decidí estudiar porque como tenía una familia grande, ninguno de mis hermanos quería estudiar una carrera profesional; entonces decidí ser la primera porque como tú ya ves como son varias personas antes que tú y ves que no salen adelante, que no quieren estudiar, que no progresan, entonces yo dije: "Yo eso no lo quiero para mi vida," y pues yo decidí estudiar una carrera.

Estudié en el Tecnológico de Nogales, eso de Licenciado en Contaduría [...] Terminé la carrera en 1999 [...]Me gradué en el 2000.

[...] Pues me gustó mucho la clase de economía, me gustó pues la de contabilidad. El balance del estado de resultados. Y pues la verdad es que nomás me la llevé estudiando y estudiando. Mucho trabajo en equipo. Nunca tuve novio, nunca salí, nunca hice nada, solo estudiar. Mi objetivo era terminar la carrera, titularme y después ya buscar pareja, casarme.

[...] En México tuve un trabajo antes de terminar la carrera en un despacho contable privado, pero duró menos del año [...] Estaba en un despacho contable; era voluntaria, no me pagaban. Después como vieron que trabajé bien, pues ya me empezaron a pagar; ya empecé a ganar un poquito de dinero. No era mucho, como $250 a la semana, pero pues estaba bien porque yo era voluntaria…Y, me hablan en la Secretaría para darme el trabajo…

[...] Antes de terminar estaba haciendo mi servicio social en la Secretaría de Hacienda y ahí me quedé trabajando [...] Ahí duré casi diez años [...] También era poco, pero pues estaba bien, okey [...] Yo empecé, yo digo, es Dios o la suerte, porque yo la verdad nunca sufrí o batallé para conseguir trabajo, es más me lo ofrecieron. No me siento como que batallé mucho o tuve muchos problemas para conseguir trabajo.

MeXpatriating a los Estados Unidos

Cuando estaba viviendo en México conocí a un muchacho. Me casé con él y a los tres años me emigró… los papeles. Yo continué trabajando en la Secretaría hasta que me separé de él y fue cuando yo decidí venirme para acá, en el 2008, y renuncié a mi trabajo. [...] Fue un problema emocional muy grande para mí. No digo que caí en depresión porque no, no, no me lo permití, pero sí fue un cambio muy brusco, de estar allá, ¿no? Oficina, haciendo auditorías…a venir acá, a empezar desde abajo, lavando pisos, haciendo hamburguesas, lavando las coladeras… Emocionalmente…a mí…más o menos, al principio, porque si ganaba menos de lo que ganaba allá. Allá en México ganaba más que aquí. Tenía que trabajar yo acá. Mi meta era venirme, trabajar, hacer mi ciudadanía y pues regresar. Pero ya no…me quedé. Aquí sigo y aquí estoy.

Appendix E. Interview Guide

"Experiences of Tertiary-Educated *Mexpatriates* in the U.S."
Guía de Entrevista/Interview Guide

MeXpatriate ID:
Date:

QUESTIONS
Spanish: SALUDO/RUPTURA DE HIELO **English: GREETINGS/ICE BREAKING**
Q1.Spanish: Para empezar, me encantaría escuchar la historia de sus primeros años, de su escuela, de su familia… **Q1.English:** To begin with, I would like to hear the story about your first years, about your school, about your family…
Q2.**Spanish:** Y de ahí, por favor, cuénteme, ¿Cómo fue lo de ir a la universidad? PREGUNTAS A PROFUNDIDAD: - ¿Podría decirme qué factores fueron considerados al decidir su carrera profesional? (e.g. género/mercado laboral/planes de emigrar) - ¿Cuáles calificaría como experiencias memorables de sus años universitarios? **Q2.English:** Then, please, tell me, what did college decision look like? PROBING QUESTIONS: - What factors were considered in her/his degree choice? (e.g. gender/labor market/migration plans) - What would you identify as memorable experiences in your college-experience?
Q3.**Spanish:** ¿Y una vez que obtuvo su grado? …platíqueme sus experiencias. PREGUNTAS A PROFUNDIDAD: -¿Cual diría que fue su mejor experiencia en el mercado laboral Mexicano? -¿Y en el sentido opuesto, cuál diría que fue un problema substancial que usted enfrentó en el mercado laboral Mexicano? **Q3.English:** Once you earned your degree?…Tell me your experiences. PROBING QUESTIONS: - What would you say was your best experience in the Mexican job market? -On the contrary, what would you say was a substantial issue that you faced in the Mexican job market?

QUESTIONS
Q4.**Spanish:** Y sobre su historia de migración a los Estados Unidos, por favor, platíqueme, ¿Cómo es que llega a este país? PREGUNTA A PROFUNDIDAD: -¿Qué sucede después de su arribo a este país? **Q4.English:** About your migration story into the U.S., Please, tell me, How did you come to this country? PROBING QUESTION: -What did happen after your arrival in this country?
Q5.**Spanish:** Específicamente en relación con su búsqueda y/o conservación de empleo en este país, podría compartirme alguna situación en la que usted experimentó desempleo o subempleo? PREGUNTAS A PROFUNDIDAD: -¿Qué piensa de que esto suceda? -¿Qué identificaría como factores o circunstancias que contribuyeron a que usted tuviera dicha experiencia de desempleo/subempleo? **Q5.English:** Specifically in terms of seeking and/or maintaining employment in this country, could you share with me a situation in which you experienced unemployment/underemployment? PROBING QUESTIONS: -What do you think this experience is meant to be? -What would you identify as contributing factors or circumstances in you having this unemployment/underemployment experience?

Q6.**Spanish:** Si habláramos de tipos o manifestaciones de riqueza poseída por Mexicanos graduados en alguna institución de nivel superior en México pero que ahora viven en los Estados Unidos, ¿Qué diría que aplica a su persona?

PREGUNTA A PROFUNDIDAD:
-¿Podría darme más detalles sobre el uso de dicha riqueza? (ejemplos).

Q6.English: If we discuss types or manifestations of wealth possessed by Mexicans that earned their degree in higher education institutions in Mexico but now live in the U.S., What would you say is your case?

PROBING QUESTION:
-Could you provide further details about that wealth maneuvering? (examples)

Spanish: COMENTARIOS FINALES

English: CLOSING REMARKS

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