

A migration study using the method of life story

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Migration has been analyzed from the quantitative component for decades. Odds on who will return and who help but do not do enough to explain the migration phenomenon itself. Life stories emerge in the twentieth century from the work of Thomas and Znaniecki that was about a migrant's life, too. Both quantitative and qualitative studies allow us to give an explanation of what migration is, who those who migrate are, why do they do it and how they do it. However, we often find cases that deviate from those parameters that we established. Its particular characteristics are worthy of being analyzed and that is why we turn to the life stories, to learn about cases like the one presented in this work: a native of the west part of Mexico who became migrant at a young age and who became successful in an area in which he was not capable at the beginning. Moreover, he took his extended family to the United States. Experiences like this one can be rescued by using the life story method to get an understanding of the phenomenon of migration from different areas

Migration, life story, qualitative methodology

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Introduction

The Social Sciences have applied the method of research through the study of life stories for about a century. The first known writers to expose this type of work were William Isaac Thomas and Florian Znaniecki when they published their famous paper "The Polish Peasant in Europe and America" based on the life of a migrant who traveled to the United States and which dazzled not only to scientists but to the general public. In fact, the document was established as the first study of great importance that occurred in the emerging Department of Sociology, University of Chicago (Thomas and Znaniecki, 2004).

The text went around the world and attracted a lot of attention from both the clarity of exposition and for its simplicity; it was difficult to believe in how written stories described the evolution of a single person and his or her development of everyday life in the most mundane activities, and how these stories were opening a new window on the methodologies used in the social sciences. It happened, as you would expect when something new and unorthodox: they were those who accepted it very willingly and who made the fiercest criticism because the social sciences couldn't cheapen both lowering them to the world of simple description of a person's daily life. From the beginning, the applying of this method has had fans and critics.

The study made by the authors was related to the migration of a Pole who was working in the Chicago area as did many of his countrymen and refer to the letters he sent and received. These documents, the interviews and participant observation who conducted themselves since they went to Poland to know the environment in which people were developing before going to the United States.

Methodology

The most important discussion issue is that even a small group or even a person's life can be a scientific issue worth to be discussed, contrary to the social sciences traditional studies where the focus was in a macro-sociological level as was the study of religions the role of the State, the social relations of production, the production of goods in one country and so on. Also in the tradition of migration studies, another classic and who also used the method of life history was Robert Redfield (Arias and Durand, 2011) who was trained at the University of Chicago. His works describing the ways of working of foreign migrants in the northern United States, that pioneered and preserved its image as one of the greatest scientists on the subject, are known and have been well accepted

Another classic among the migration studies is Paul Taylor, who was known in scientific circles when he did some work in the small town of Arandas in the state of Jalisco (Mexico) in the early thirties, using this method among others, when he presented his research results backing itself on information obtained from in-depth interviews.

In the late sixties the famous Oscar Lewis published a study, who incidentally got reviews which could only be won categorized into two: the very bad and the very good. The book "The Children of Sanchez" masterfully recounts the development of a small group of people around the authority of a person, Mr. Sanchez, a parent who fathered children with multiple partners and whose entire family lived tucked in poverty in Mexico City in the mid-twentieth century (Lewis, 2012).

The richness of the analysis was highlighted primarily by its spread because despite of being an anthropological study, most readers thought they were reading a novel. It was so criticized for and against that the prohibition of the sale of the book was requested by legal authorities in the courts at the same time that was being sold in large amounts. Something very unusual in Mexican academic circles and even less at the time in question. "The Children of Sanchez" led to open a new field of study in the social sciences and was called "the anthropology of poverty."

A few years after the appearance of the work of Oscar Lewis, another work came to the public eye with characteristics somewhat similar, specially the one related to gain followers and opponents (in either case, very assiduous), it was "The Teachings of Don Juan" (Castaneda, 2000) by Carlos Castaneda who intended to doctorate by the famous Berkeley University in California. But he met with stiff opposition because they considered that the description of a relationship with a person known as some kind of sorcerer and who had the habit of consuming drug couldn't be, for any reason, considered as an academic work worth it to award him the Doctorate degree. The life story that Castaneda presented was well known in the cultural world and it's considered one of the classic studies that uses the method of life stories. Castaneda's book was prefaced by no other than Octavio Paz.

In this paper we present the story of a Mexican worker from the region characterized by the highest rate of migration for more than a century: The west (During Estrada Iguiniz and Labazée, 2007) in this case, of Yahualica, Jalisco.

Through this exhibition, our interest is to emphasize that the development of his life runs through different lines than the ones prefigured by classical quantitative studies that have been written about the migration of Mexican workers in the United States (and Zenteno Quintero, 2006). The richness of a qualitative work lies largely in that, in having a small group (or person, inclusive) that goes in a different pattern from the standards. In particular, we consider that there are three aspects that are evident as divergent: first, it is a 14-year-old boy who left his nuclear family without even the need for it, traditionally the migrants are adults who are seeking an employment opportunity to improve their economic situation, and in our case, the child who left the family, was located above the local living standards, he was moved by the interest in "coming from America" as they used to say.

That phrase is explained as a person who was going to the northern country and returned the following year on a motorcycle, in a car or just being able to pay music in a social media (like the festivities), which generates prestige in the village where this is very appreciated. He mentions that many of his friends came every year the festival of San Miguel and he also "wanted to come," he says. Despite his young age, he had something in favor, a feature that is very typical of the analysis of migration studies is the existence of social networks in this case these are the families, friends or groups of the same origin that support them with resources, clothing, food, guide for a job or just information in a country with different customs and language.

The second characteristic is about the spirits of returning to settle in their home, which is the dream of every migrant, our subject found no real chance to settle and was sent back to the United States by the circumstances.

The friends he was supposed to visit where no longer there, the work environment he met had fallen far from his claims and he had to start in a new job in an unfamiliar environment which was worse than returning to the United States. The discomforts he found in the neighboring country in his first incursion were no longer as the paradise his hometown represented was not either (Alarcon et al., 2009).

Third, he opened a business in the United States that was unrelated to his skills but had great success, to the extent that it became necessary to ask for family members in Mexico to go to America to help him. What traditionally happens is that the migrant looks for employment in agriculture or services and stays in place for long periods even when the migration process is performed cyclically; having dabbled as an entrepreneur in activities previously unknown to him, stands as a *sui generis*, even more when the product is sent to very large distances.

In addition to bringing his family to America, he organized a group of donors to pay for and bring people to the United States and his family could see. This action takes great significance because migrants have always in mind to attend the festivities of the village and say hello to friends and family, but given the legal limitations, a considerable number of migrants cannot leave the United States because the return is complicated. This migrant story is *sui generis* because he organized the activities to get enough money to bring to a group of thirty people from among those who have family in the area of United States economic uptake. In particular, the group was a team of young members of folk music and of course, all had close relatives in that area of the United States.

Case study: I stopped drinking when I was 18.

I came to America the Fourth of July and turned fifteen in October. I was caught by the border patrol when I arrived; the first time so, as soon as I entered I returned. I made a friend in jail where they put us in and with that I decided to enter again. He said:

'As soon as we are out, we go to a hotel and with everything we had together and we agreed with a coyote and crossed back over here'.

We stayed four days in the wait but we crossed, we did well and thank God, this time everything was fine, now in the United States, we came to Los Angeles where there was one of my brothers who is older than me. One of the things I remember most was to see the letters backwards, it was not like I had learned, now I had to deal with a different culture and all that it implied. I brought money to pay for my travel and coyote and all, but in attempts and spending most like that of the hotel, I ran out of money and I had to help my parents. It was \$350 dollars for the coyote. My parents came, they had papers and brought me money, that was in 1988 and after eight days from my arrival I was offered a job, it was in the same place where my brother was working as a plumber, and I was working on that for about nine months, but with very ugly, very difficult schedules, I took many night shifts.

I was very lucky because I was the only one who did not speak English and also a minor, but I accepted the job and started in good spirits. I was hired by a Texan who was the son of a Mexican and he said, I looked a lot like his dad, when we talked I said:

'I'm a butcher back in Mexico'

'Well you look like him and he was also a butcher, what's your name?' -And then showed me a box of tools his dad used when he was a butcher.

It was an anecdote, but it helped me to get the job and the truth is it was much risk for him because in case of an accident I was an undocumented and minor, it would have caused a lot of headaches. But it went well.

I hesitated a lot with my coworkers, they told me that because I didn't speak English they were not going to say anything in Spanish, I had to learn quickly. I was very angry and a brat, but I think they were considerate to me because the employer appreciated me.

Every day I was sent to buy the food for all, generally at a McDonalds and it was really hard for me but I had to be understood by the people who spoke English. They mocked me and I was really angry, but they did it for my own good. But at my age I felt like it was a humiliation without thinking that they did it to help me and to make the work bearable. I worked there for about three years and it helped me a lot. Once, near the center of what is known as East Los Angeles, there was a small school in a neighborhood called Paramount, we got that job and when we finished there were problems because the union protested.

'The company has to go on bankruptcy - we were explained as a result of this little problem- is the only way to avoid further problems with the Union.

I did well with that because the employer wasn't paying us overtime and all that stuff, then after bankruptcy I received almost \$5,000 dollars apart for the necessary adjustments that had to be done.

At that time it was a \$31 per hour for the Union, when I talk with my friends they don't believe that at that time I should have been paid that. I got paid really well because that was what covered the compensation difference. Sure, we all agreed to work with what we earned, but that bankruptcy fell from the sky. The downside was that I lost my job and with that a very good chance because after that I saw it that was not easy.

Well, that was a nice story, what also happened was that from July to September I felt like dying, with the language and the changes I was not happy and talked to my dad and told him that I wanted to go back and he, who had pleaded me not to go back, was the first who told me:

'No son, suck it up, and earn some money'.

It was now he who told me to stay and not to come back when he had been the main obstacle for me to come.

'I already sold the butchery, I cannot retract myself'.

And he was right, my thing was the butchery back there, and it was sold because I was a stubborn about coming here. How was I going to ask him not to sell it? Or how was I supposed to start in something new? I felt bad. Anyways, I held on and returned to Yahualica my land back in Los Altos de Jalisco and now I was the one who felt uncomfortable in my town. I could find myself that working there was very poorly paid, my friends where on different paths and I had no choice but to return to Los Angeles. It is incredible but I felt bad in here because of the language and customs and when I returned it was worse to be there than here.

Then I came back and now the entrance was a little easier because I spoke some English and we grabbed the coyote who put me in front, next to him when was driving, I wasn't as uncomfortable as the poor guys who go in the trunk. Since being here, I wanted to get a job as before but I did not have the same luck as had now had the opportunity to work with a gardener but earned far less than in the first job, when I received a check every week it made me feel it was very little because I used to earn more than that. My checks were now as 180 a week, it was like earning nothing. Among the successes I had, I will never forget that my brother told me:

'Get a license, is easy right now, they don't ask for the social security number. Get it now because it'll be very difficult later'. He had words of wisdom. I tried once with the written exam and then I failed. But the second try I pass. It was the reason I got the job, because they needed a driver and I had the permission to drive. Later, the license help me to get a social security number, I was able to do it that way.

Another job I got was with my wife's dad, who in that time was just my girlfriend. He bought a butcher shop at the other side of the restaurant that is now my business. It was a butcher shop and now it is a bakery, but back then it was just a butcher shop.

We started badly because we were put in the same street of a large corner shop selling the same as us but cheaper. I imagine that the person who sold it did so because he knew some of that because once opened, we got almost in front of them. They also sold cheap vegetables and people would also buy vegetables for meat or vice versa. Why would people come to us if they had vegetables and their meat was cheaper than ours? We started with the wrong foot because of that. We tried it for three months until my father in law said:

'We have no other choice than to close'.

And we close it. My father in law bought a tub, flour and other things needed to make churros to start with that, we made churros. He taught me how to make them, we made a lump of dough, then he grabbed half and half and I was grabbing practice. We did churros but then we had to sell them, if we offered nothing there in the shop we were not going to get people to buy them in large amounts, then he said:

'You've got to go out and sell them'.

-Let's do it. I said. If you had to look for sales, find sales.

I went to the surroundings, first to the churches at the exit of the masses, first near, then further. The key was finding the people in charge or at least well-connected with the ceremonies, I spoke to them:

-Look, I bring you the churros and you can leave it as a business'.

-No, I cannot handle that, and I have enough with what I do here.

Everyone said the same thing at first, but then I explained to them:

-Look, if two churros are sold, and the cost is 50 cents, one half is for you and one for me, or even if you can sell 75, then 50 are for you and 25 for me. You're not going to lose anything, the day you sell 20 you pay me.

I gave them my pager number, which was what was used at that time, we had no cell, and then my father in law sent me messages:

-Hey, did you leav churros at the Church of St. Gabriel?

-Yes, I left 100.

-Well talked to want another 100.

Things were going well and growing, I did not know that but we were doing much better than with the butch shop. Yet I struggled a bit because I could not stop working on Saturday and Sunday because they were good days of sales and I would like soccer so much. Once our team got to the final and I could not find how to get out of work without notifying my employer, then I invented:

Hey, they called me from this church. It was to take a hundred churros near the football field.

I came and played part time and change faster than me and I would run back to work and when the owner of the League called Jesus Miranda saw me, he said:

-Hey, where are you going?

-To sell churros.

-No, no, no, churros my ass. We are here to play in the final.

-That's my job, I can't leave it or I'll be fired.

-Look, I got the contract of sales now that Chivas and America are coming to play here in Los Angeles. I want a thousand churros but you have to stay.

-A thousand? Is that a deal?

-Yes, but I want them in these measures.

-Sure, we make them and we sell them for 25 cents.

-Then make it three thousand.

-Deal.

-I'll call you on Monday to make the contract- it was Sunday and the next day everything was going to be ready.

I returned to work, it was late but I came back and told my father in law:

-You know what? I was lying to you.

-How come?

-Yes, I told you they ask me to bring 100 churros in this church, but it wasn't true. I went to play in a soccer match, but they ask me to make 3,000 churros for this day when an important match will be played in Los Angeles.

-Well, it is a good business, but how are we going to make 3,000 churros by hand? We're going to have to buy a machine.

Then he was excited and got credit to buy a blender machine. The next day Jesus Miranda called me:

-You know what? We don't want 3,000 churros anymore.

-What?

My father in law saw me when I was answering the phone and noticed something wasn't going well because I certainly made a gesture and then saw him.

I looked at him and then turned to see the machine, then at him, then at the machine and instinctively. Then my father in law told me:

-Give me the phone.

He knew something was wrong when he saw the expression I got.

-Hey, sir, you can't do that. I'm in debt for buying this machine so I could make the work for you without even knowing you. How could you make this to us?

-No, sir, wait. I don't want 3,000. I want 10,000.

We couldn't believe it. He couldn't believe it. So he asked for a deposit of one thousand dollars.

-In two hours my son will be there with your thousand dollars.

We waited until this guy came with the money because we weren't sure that it was going to happen. And it did happen. I drove a little truck to the stadium, well filled with churros. It went really well with him, I worked like that for a long time, but as in my first job, there started arriving demands by Unions and stuff. Not that there were complaints about the churros but they put so many requirements to organize the games that he had to cancel. He has a restaurant, never went bankrupt but stopped organizing parties for all the things they asked, and we did it along with him. This was in 1995, because when we started it was in 1994 and we got a good rise up with the sale in stadiums.

Then my girlfriend started making cakes, and there was more than churros and a lady from Puebla began buy us tamales and tortas, then proceeded to sell what they said, and we had a good variety of products. I think the real hit was the jericalla because we sold orders for wholesale and we were doing great.

There were nights that the entire work, were pots and pots and pots to make Jericallas product, orders were huge. My wife took a few decorating courses to make wedding cakes, birthday, whatever they asked us. Then I had to bring my siblings from Yahualica to work here because it was impossible to supply everything they asked us to do. I brought a younger sister and one older than me to work with me, they came with a passport. My sister and my girlfriend were primarily responsible for the bakery, at some point we thought about not making churros anymore. It wasn't the same as making big cakes. We decided to make only cakes and jericallas because those made the biggest profit for us. We worked day and night because we did not want to upset the distributors, it was a living pulling boxes and boxes and boxes of Jericallas. Then I thought, now I have to find my thing, we did it well together but now I have to do only my thing. We were selling and sending jericallas to Las Vegas, San Jose, it far exceeded our field nearby.

My father in law agreed and we parted. He didn't want me to leave but I needed to earn more money. He used to ask me:

-How much?

-Much more.

-But how much?

-We have done well together but now I want to do my thing. I want to leave the partnership but in a good way, I have a good salary and I can be a supervisor, but I want something that depends only from me. By that time I had already married his daughter, we were a family. It is a different commitment when you're married. In one of the openings of our business we had a party and it was then when I asked my now wife to marry me.

We have been married for 17 years, we have a girl and two boys. So, the problem with my father in law wasn't me leaving, it was the fact that I was taking my wife and my sister, who were the decorators, with me. So, we were looking for solutions when I told him:

-Let me sell churros, where we started and in that way I don't leave the business but I'll be in charge of the churros.

I started to find a market for the churros and we had to buy another fryer, but it didn't fit in the space we had arranged for that. Contrary to what one might think, when the US entered in deep recession, it was the time when we improved the business with. I can imagine a lot of people lost their jobs and selling churros was a good option. I had three or four vendors with their carts, but it was extended, I was getting many orders. I bought some special little backpacks that fit exactly 100 churros. The two fryers were not enough either, so I received my hefty salary increase and I was still getting what my father in law was paying me, so I got another fryer. But it was in that moment when I realized I could not be there.

I got a system by hoses that presses and you have to move the machines really fast from one place to another. It took me around five minutes to fit all the equipment from one place to another to fit.

By that time I already had four fryers and from having three vendors I got to hire 25 or 30. With the recession my sales increased enormously, from selling dozens I ended up selling thousands. I got to prepare 115,000 churros in a week. I have pictures of the sacks I had to prepare.

My father in law had the goal to retire at 55 years old. And he did, he retired two years ago and now he's 57.

I kept working with the restaurant. It wasn't part of my plans, I got there by casualty. When I came back to Yahualica I found that much had changed. I noticed that there is much vanity. They compete to see who has better houses, who dresses better, who has the best car. When I started going well here in business, we would visit people in Yahualica and through football we got in touch with some teachers and we made some donations, a friend and I will donate uniforms to a school students, then we were asked for greater things, my friend told me:

-Let's donate a truck.

I did not agree because the gift did not mean only the vehicle, but also what's around it. I said to my friend:

-And who is going to operate? How we will do for maintenance? No, that's complicated. Why do not we make a club here in Los Angeles where we all work together? We could raise more money and make things much better.

So, we made a club called Yahualica-Los Angeles, the way we started fundraising was organizing parties and the key was that the families' money was not touched, because then they asked:

-How much do we have to pay?

-Nothing. We only ask for your time, we do not want you to take money out from the family budget to give it to the club. We ask you to go to enjoy with your family, to dance, eat and talk with the people you know, that's how you are cooperating. Instead of attending a ball away, do the same here but supporting the cause of our people and also having fun.

But we've always wanted to not ask for cooperation as is done in other places because it angers people and they stop contributing, you'd better see it as a good time for enjoyment and family life drawing to greet friends not easily found on the street even though we live nearby. Even without that we would have proposed, it was very useful because in the conversation and knowing what the friends and people are engaged, some have gotten jobs.

We did an event on August 6 and we gather 600 people, all of them from Yahualica. I brought a ballet from our hometown, managed to get their visas, 26 people came by plane. I hadn't opened the restaurant when a teacher came to ask me for help.

-I had zero pesos right now but I feel the obligation to teach children that not everything is violence, we have to give them a good example of how things can be made if you have the will.

Here at the restaurant we started what is called "Poker night" that consists in meeting after closing the business, making snacks, and selling alcohol just for us, playing cards and get funds for the teacher's folkloric ballet.

We had a tournament and all the money we gather was for the kids that were going to come. The main reason I had to make this event is the fact that a lot of people from my town who have been here for 15, 20 years and haven't been able to legalize their status, can't go there. So we brought people from there, who were their relatives, it was a work that brought good results. The restaurant was full and people were really happy, the ones from here were as happy as the ones from there. Those who haven't been able to go there had the chance to talk to their people and learn what was going on there.

And most of the ones from there hadn't traveled and coming to the United States and talking to their relatives, friends and neighbors was a good experience.

My club had practically three months from its beginning and people were already happy. We reunited around 35,000 dollars. We bought the bus we're taking there in November and we have 9,000 dollars to donate among the people who need it the most.

When we had a meeting, the mayor from Yahualica met with us and told us that a lot of people were supporting us. Yes, there was a lot of people who needed help but we didn't have enough for everybody. We helped to some groups of ladies so they could buy some machines or materials to start a business, but we couldn't help everyone. Some kids couldn't be checked by a doctor because they didn't have 500 pesos to pay for some lab studies, here it is less than 50 dollars, so we helped them. Here in LA, thanks God, kids do have some programs that help them, but they are all by themselves over there. Our club is part of what is called Jalisco Federation. We meet once a month, I'm new at this but I go to the meetings. In Mexico there's this program called Programa del 3 X 1 (three for one), but we are humanitarians, we don't give money to make roads or those things. We focus in cases like the ones of the lady, the kid, the workers group. We don't fix streets, when we can give the money directly to the person that needs it.

My final goal is to go back to Yahualica. I would love to buy a little field there. Now that I went there, that's what I was thinking. I'd like to do that even though now the situation is difficult. If you get there with some money to buy, they say the Zetas are around there and you could get in trouble. I have no money because I've invested it all, but if I could, I'd like to buy some space.

I love the ranch, the sky is different there. It would be nice to have cattle there, I mean, as a long term plan. Here you hear stories of how the drug dealers ask for money to the people who work. They supposedly go for a specific amount of money every month to grant you protection. Maybe it is a good thing to pay it so you can avoid all that violence.

I got the American citizenship because of my wife, and she got it because her brother was born in here. So when we got married we made the paperwork. That was, my paperwork, in 1996. Let's say it was the beginning, because you have to wait for a period of five years, which was my case. When I got the legal residence papers, I waited the time they asked and then I applied to get the citizenship. My in laws did the paperwork almost with me. They weren't citizens and they were called very soon. I studied for the exam, I learned all the questions they make about History, the branches of politics, all the aspects. But the day of the exam the officer made the questions and it was a little complicated.

One of the things I was nervous about was that once I entered to the Los Angeles airport with fake record and they say that these things can go when you do the processing of citizenship, that's what I thought that could complicate things a little bit. And it all started from before, when I was at the airport in Guadalajara; I do not know what reason was, I had been told that one should bring four identifications, so I had all that when I went to the airport and the migration officer, back in Mexico said:

-Do you have ID?

Yes, I showed several and a birth certificate.

-No he said, 'you do not pass, you stay there.

He sent me to a small room. When he came he said to me:

-Look, all these identifications, you are wearing the same shirt.

-Well what do you ask me for? For four identifications or four different shirts?

It was possible that in the same country one would want to be mean, no way that was going wrong in my birthplace.

-Nobody told me that when I take pictures for ID I should wear different shirts.

I fought a lot to the officer, I was in my country and I was coming right, I felt like a humiliation to be treated as a criminal.

I was wearing that shirt because that's my Sunday's shirt, is my best one. For another time if you want me to bring four identifications with different photos, I will bring different ones.

That was no longer a problem at all, but then something came unusual in Los Angeles. They also sent me for a second review of my documents but I defended myself well speaking English. 'I must be firm', I thought. On that occasion I said to the officer:

I know your name, do whatever you want but you'll be called because of me, not like now. What happens is that you are discriminating me because I'm Latino.

Birth certificates are official documents but something struck the officer and I was asked many questions, but as I had lived and worked here, and knew many things, then he couldn't catch me with his questions, what I do had to do was to hold on to my birth certificate.

When I was in a little room there, this boy came and asked:

Where you from?

-From Guadalajara.

Ah, then we are countrymen, I am from also there. Look, we saw that it's not your birth certificate, but just because you are my countryman, we'll return you in the plane to Guadalajara. Generally here we send them to wherever, to Tijuana, to Guaymas, but as you are my countryman, we will send you straight to Guadalajara.

Oh, really? Look, you and that other and that other one, I'm going to get a lawyer to make you pay me, all of you but that one güerito (a blond guy) who has been good to me. But the rest of you, you're going to get a lawyer to put you on the other side now. I said I got company where I worked from two o'clock to eight o'clock in the evening and here I am dealing with you because they see you as insignificant because you're Latin.

-In what do you work?

I don't come to work, I came to study in my country and if you take me to Guadalajara, I'll return because this is my country. I have not made a fault that my dad took me to Mexico when I was very young, but here are my documents; it turns out that in Mexico I'm also illegal, what was I missing?

Give me two phone numbers to call them, they have to be your family'. I was told in an intimidating manner.

I gave them the numbers and they said:

-Well, call them.

-Look, I've never been here before. I don't know how this thing is dialed.

So they made the call and asked for me. Then they answered: 'Yes, he's my nephew. We've been waiting for him since 2 o'clock. What happened to him?'

-No, everything's O.K. He's on his way right now.

Then the American, who I told them that was the one who had been nice, told me:

-Yeah, you can go now.

Here they care a lot that one always tells the truth, for example, when I got the citizenship I told them that once entered illegally. I mean, I told them that I entered here with a certificate that wasn't mine. I also told them that I worked with a social security number that wasn't legal. I told them all of that and there was no problem. Where I had problems was when I asked the officer to talk in a lower voice. I also told them I was in jail, it's because when I came from Mexico I felt very brave. I was drinking since I turned 14 and they made me stopped very soon in here. Around five months after I got here, I was drinking and driving, with no license and I was a minor. They made me take some programs. They do work in here. I have a lot of scars in my hands. I used to drink a lot, smoke, but what I never did was drugs or tattoos. That I can't tolerate. I stopped drinking when I was 18. I stopped at a very young age.

They put me in jail for 10 days and besides that I had to participate in a program for 30 days and do community work. I had to collect 30 signatures, one per day. Then they made me go with the judge. Since I had driven drunk I was fined \$ 1.200 but I had no money. So I paid it with community work. I worked there 12 days cleaning the freeway for eight hours a day.

To prevent me from going thru that once more, I never did it again, and not just for the fines and the work, but because the program is extremely boring. You have to listen to all the presentations. It was on May fifth in 1995. I remember the ticket said: 05-05-05. Since that day, if by any reason I'm drinking, I don't drive. I will never go thru that program again. It's so damn boring. When somebody asks me:

-Have you been in jail?

-Yes.

-What were the reasons?

-Because I was drinking and driving.

-Do you remember when?

-Yes, I will not forget, it was the 05-05-05.

I told them the whole truth, just like they asked me to. I also showed them the record of all my payments to the social security. I've heard from friends who have had problems for not telling the truth. They say they didn't do something and then it shows up in the machine. I decided to tell them the truth whether they gave me the citizenship or not. I have always have the illusion of working in this country and prosper.

Now I'm going to vote and all. In Mexico I never voted, I was 14, you could not, that contradictions, this is where I voted. My plans for the future are likely to create a franchise, and hopefully someday I can make it, if I have my products franchise it is going to be better, but it is certainly long term. My siblings and I, well, we're still helping each other. One of them leaves four blocks from here and when something is needed, we go here and there or there to here. We support each other.

For example, her oven was broken a few days ago and she's preparing her merchandise here with me. I even help to my competitors when I can. Here on the corner there are some and I taught them that we have to help each other all the time.

Here you have a lot of probabilities to succeed, if you are a hard worker and you do things right, you can do very well. It is true that Latins are lazier than others and that we like to litter, we don't pick up trash when we see it in the parks. I like to be very reliable. If I'm ask to go to a school meeting, I'm one of the first go get there. We're not very united, the Americans are more responsible than us, and we need to work on that.

About my passion for soccer, it was lost. My son, the one in the middle one says he does not care, my daughter did, and she was playing in Hawaii this year and finished second, now they'll go to Costa Rica. They were going to go to Spain but it was canceled because of the cost. The youngest seems to like it a lot. I, even when I got married, played on Sunday and trained on Tuesdays and Thursdays, and sometimes played Friday and Saturday, all week was for soccer.

When we were dating my wife and I, we planned that when we got married we wouldn't have children for two years. We were engaged for eight years. Everything I have I owe it to her. I was always a mess; my mother, my father, my brothers and especially my wife struggled a lot for me because I was a mess. There were times when Prohibition, a group of friends bought alcohol and tum to a hotel from a day earlier so we wouldn't stop drinking. We were awful, they put us out the next day all with hangover. But I have experienced firsthand that it is possible to change, if you want, you can change. Still in my village there are people who see me with my family and can't believe it.

They thought I would live all the time drunk and without order; besides, I was very violent. In short: I was not going to end up well.

I do not want to miss opportunities because life is very different from Mexicans to Americans; here, they buy their house, looking for a job where you have good insurance and Saturdays and Sundays you do not work. Many of them buy their motor-home to stroll on Saturday and Sunday, and we do not. I work every Saturday and Sunday. That business, the bakery, thank God it's running alone. I have very good workers, but yet my children claim because we're not more time with them.

I consider that I have no fortune or anything. But with abundance I have a good family. I get along with my wife, my siblings. I think being positive in everything has been what has worked for me. I laugh at everything. I'm good at telling jokes and all that fun and now I read a lot.

Conclusions

Quantitative work dealing migration generally exhibit overall results from surveys and focus to exhibit such as what is the average schooling of migrants, if they crossed the border into documents or if they did illegally, what is their hometown, percentages of women and men, if they were repatriated or returned by themselves, what was their employment status, how much was the amount of remittances sent during the year were, and so on. A qualitative work, for example using the methodology of life stories, focuses on the person and not the average of the crowds. Its implications are obviously very different, while quantitative work averages are set to give an idea to the indicators, in-depth qualitative knows what makes a person or a small group of people but cannot extrapolate the results.

In the case presented we can glimpse how the analysis of the life of a single subject allows us to analyze different aspects of human nature that from a quantitative study would not have been able to analyze so easily: why to quit alcohol 18 years of age, the importance of his passion for football to develop their business and the formation of associations with purposes that go beyond from the economic. Certainly, it is necessary to go to qualitative studies and rescue life stories to get a better understanding of migration in general.

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