Social Policies towards Indigenous Migrants in Mexico City: Case of Otomi Migrants from Santiago Mexquititlán, Querétaro State

Hiroyuki Ukeda
I Introduction

In Mexico, according to the 2000 Population Census (Censo General de Población y vivienda 2000), there live 6,044,547 speakers of indigenous language, 7.13% of the total population of 5 years and more of age [INEGI 2001]. Indigenous people of Mexico, like those of other Latin American countries, have occupied the lowest position after the conquest by Spaniards. The post-revolution governments allocated part of their budgets to the so-called ‘indigenous policies (políticas indigenistas)’ that they claimed was designed to improve the living standard of indigenous people with due attention paid to their particularities. Still today, poverty of indigenous people is striking, in its width as well as depth. World Bank organized and published a study about poverty of indigenous people in four Latin American countries (Mexico, Guatemala, Peru and Bolivia). This study made it clear that indigenous people suffer economic poverty, which is measured by an absolute shortage of income, much more than non-indigenous people [Psacharopoulos and Patrinos 1995]. With respect to other elements than (the minimum) income that are indispensable for decent human lives, indigenous people in Mexico are considerably deprived [CONAPO 1994: Capítulo 3; INI 2000; Valdés 1995: 50-53]. Along with the urgency of indigenous poverty's reduction, now increasing number of people gets interested in the realization of indigenous autonomy, as an alternative to the alien (occidental) and exclusive development model imposed upon by the government and dominant sectors. It is in this context, i.e. recognition of indigenous people’s plight and/or awakening to their rights, that we see proliferating social policies towards indigenous people -defined here as a set of projects carried out by non-indigenous actors, which include not only the government but also Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), for tackling at least one of the multi-dimensional problems (deprivations) that suffer indigenous people in Mexico-.

Nobody will deny the importance of social polices. Yet it is not well known how and in what condition they can effectively enhance well-being of indigenous people. One reason is that indigenous people are not

1 Use of indigenous language is the least ambiguous measure of defining and counting indigenous population. We must, however, have in mind that linguistic definition can sub-count indigenous population, especially urban ones, when taking account of prejudice or discrimination against them and of those people with some indigenous (ethnic) customs and/or identities that no longer speak their original languages. Some scholars believe that there must be ten million indigenous people in Mexico, constituting about 10% of the total population [SEDESOL 2000].

2 As for indigenous policies, see [Aguirre-Beltrán 1991; INI 1978; 2000; SEDESOL 2000].

3 Social policies, in a narrow sense, mean public polices targeted for the poor. But we also include as actor non-governmental actors and as projects those not directly related to poverty alleviation such as cultural events.
uniformly deprived of development, each of them living under different constrains and with different kind of problems. The present article, based on qualitative data obtained through the author’s fieldwork experience, intends to contribute to the heated debate on indigenous people in Mexico, by presenting and evaluating the social policies towards some poor indigenous migrants in Mexico City. Most of the past ethnographic researches dealt with indigenous communities in rural areas, while indigenous policies used to limit their targets to those residing in rural communities. This rural focus, however, is irrelevant now that migration becomes a crucial strategy for the majority of indigenous households to advance or simply to survive [ Departamento de Investigación Básica del INI 1998 ; INI 2000 : Capítulo 5 ]. Mexico City excels other places in attracting indigenous migrants, the ever-expanding capital of Mexico that today contains 16 delegations of the Federal District (Distrito Federal: DF) and 27 adjacent municipalities of the State of Mexico (Estado de México: EDOMEX). The 1990 Population Census registered 213,324 speakers of indigenous languages there, which was equivalent to 3.93% of the total indigenous population [ INI 1994 : 176 ] 4. A fraction of them is the native indigenous population of the Mexico Valley (los originarios), who speak náhuatl and inhabit the southern-ecological zone of the DF. But, if we added temporary indigenous migrants (they cannot be counted in Population Census) and those permanent migrants who don’t speak their mother tongue but conserve some ethnic characteristics, the capital would attract much more indigenous people than what census data counts. In recent years, diverse organizations, governmental and civil, have embarked on projects to support indigenous migrants in Mexico City.

In the capital almost all the ethnic groups are found, most of whom came from the Central Plateau (Altiplano Central) Region or Oaxaca State. Among them the author decided to investigate otomi (otomi) migrants from Santiago Mexquititlán (SM), the Querétaro State. They are one of the poorest residents in Mexico City, and not all but many families live together with other otomi families in irregularly occupied settlements -that is, formerly vacant lands on which several families ‘invaded’ to dwell without acquiring legitimate property rights-. The author has been dedicated to the fieldwork of otomi migrants for two years, divided into three periods, from July 1998 to April 2000, between August and September of 2000, and August 2001.

During two years’ fieldwork, the author sought to understand poverty of otomi migrants principally by looking into the lives of 108 households 5: 90 households living in four irregularly occupied settlements, all of

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4 The weight of Mexico City may have increased in the previous decade. The DF (thus not including adjacent municipalities of the EDOMEX) absorbed 111,552 indigenous people in 1990, 2.11% of the total indigenous population (TIP). But, according to the 2000 Census, there live 141,710 indigenous people, 30 thousand more than ten years ago, constituting 2.34% of the TIP.

5 In this article, family is conceptualized as the unit defined by consanguinity and affinity, whereas household is the economic unit whose members live under the same roof and usually share expenses. Thus one family can include
which are located in the Colonia Roma, Cuauhtémoc Delegation of the DF, and 18 who live ‘separately’, some of them living alone and others with up to 5 or 6 related nuclear families in varied popular zones of the capital, such as Colonia Santo Domingo, Coyoacán Delegation of the DF, and the Municipality of Ecatepec, EDOMEX. The migrants who receive more supports are those cohabiting with other families 6, who are more ‘visible’ and draw attention of the government and NGOs. Therefore, this article will deal mainly with the case of 90 otomi households living in the four settlements.

Many santiaguense otomies are very distrustful of persons strange to them, especially of investigators, thus the author had to obtain data in diverse ways: regular visits to the main informants’ houses and participant observation; household survey 6; moving observation on the streets and squares where otomi migrants are engaged in commerce activities or begging; formal and informal interviews including with the migrants who are not the main informants; information exchange and cooperation with the government and NGOs. With some otomi informants the author has visited their community of origin, SM, in several occasions. In addition, informal class of mathematics was given to otomi children. By means of that practice the author got familiar with educational deficiency, one of the most serious problems that face otomi migrants. During two years’ fieldwork, the author has communicated basically in Spanish with otomi migrants, who are bilingual except some aged women. But, the author tried to learn otomi language until he could speak not-complicated phrases with informants.

We will, first, describe and interpret the history of otomi migrants and the problems they have. Then the social policies carried out for them will be presented and evaluated. We begin by surveying in Chapter II actual debate on the indigenous question of Mexico in which two approaches are influential: economic approach and autonomy one. In chapter III the nature of poverty of otomi migrants is argued, after sketching the history of SM, their place of origin. Chapter IV tries to show and explain the reality of social policies towards otomi migrants in the following order: 1) their background, 2) what projects are realized with what results, 3) methodological question of social policies (group-based or individual-based) and 4) case study of two support organizations: CATIM and Colibri Center.

6 The survey was conducted by the author between March and April of 2000 to the head of 85 households in their houses: 67 households living in the four irregular settlements and 18 ‘separate' households. Its aim was to confirm basic information of principal informants, such as family composition, schooling, permanence in Mexico City, occupation, income, access to social insurance, land possession in SM and so on. In two of the four irregular settlements not all of the 90 resident households were surveyed, although the data about 67 households represent well their characteristics.
II Two Approaches to Indigenous People

Two normative questions of indigenous people are (alleviation of) poverty and (preservation of) cultural diversity. Actually in Mexico, when talking about indigenous people, two dominant approaches are distinguished: 1) economic approach and 2) autonomy approach. The former approach mainly addresses poverty of indigenous people, whereas the latter is concerned for cultural diversity without ignoring socioeconomic deprivation.

Economic approach is backed up among economists and the federal government after the Salinas administration, constituting the theoretical foundation of public social policies whose targets are millions of poor Mexicans. Under this technocratic approach, it is assumed that the best way to reduce poverty is to combine pro-market reforms with accumulation of human capital -schooling, skills, health and other personal characteristics that increase labor productivity-. In accordance with this proposition, indigenous people's poverty must be explained primarily by their scarce human capital. The federal government pretends to be a promoter of cultural plurality by reforming the Constitution in 1992 and implementing pro-indigenous-culture policies through some of her dependencies such as INI (Instituto Nacional Indigenista: National Institute for Indigenous People) \(^7\). However, it is safe to say that the government gives priority to improving human capital of indigenous people by means of social policies. And social policies should be put into practice in an integral (comprehensive), transparent and decentralized manner for its efficiency, effectiveness and exact targeting. Hence participation of indigenous communities and of development (i.e. project-oriented) NGOs, especially at the stage of implementation, are recommended [ Progresa 2000 ; Salinas de Gortari 2000 ; Sedesol 2001 ].

Accumulation of human capital is certainly a necessary condition for most of indigenous people to get rid of poverty, but it is not sufficient. Panagides [ Panagides 1995 ], in the mentioned study of World Bank, conducted some statistical analysis based on income earning function, in order to explain poverty of indigenous people in Mexico. It showed that the main cause of low income of indigenous people lies in their limited amount of human capital. But, according to a decomposition analysis, 34% or 48% of the income difference isn't attributable to

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\(^7\) INI is a decentralized organization of the federal government established in 1948 with the purpose of designing and coordinating public policies towards indigenous people. It was a dependency tied to the Ministry of Public Education (SEP) until May 1992, when it became integrated to the Ministry of Social Development (SEDESOL). INI takes as its mission (1) to alleviate poverty of indigenous people and (2) to promote cultural plurality.
(supposed) productivity gap between the indigenous and the non-indigenous. Concrete reasons of this non-negligible residual, -discrimination, lack of official language (Spanish) skills, geographical and cultural segregation and so on- cannot be confirmed solely by statistical analysis. Besides its restricted power in explaining poverty of indigenous people, economic approach, usually drawing upon statistical information, has difficulty in understanding why indigenous people have little human capital and, within them, some ethnic groups less than others. In short, economic approach is, despite its emphasis on local knowledge and decentralization, insensitive to the history and regional diversity of indigenous people.

The second approach, autonomy, is more cultural and holistic than the first. Among anthropologists, indigenous intellectuals, and some agents of social movements and of the government (ex. local government and INI), that approach has been consolidated since the 1970s. The great impulse for advocates was the uprising of neo-zapatists in 1994, who comes to insist on the autonomy of indios at regional level. Autonomy approach assumes and honors the uniqueness and cohesion of survived ethnic societies, which are defined by their language (there are 62 indigenous languages in Mexico) and their territory (in each language group there can exist several societies (communities), each of them with its proper identity). Autonomists denounce the ‘ethnocide’ committed by the post-revolution governments through their indigenous policies which, by their judgement, was built upon integrationist ideology and sought for cultural homogeneity [ Bartolomé and Barabas 1996 ; Bonfil-Batalla 1994 ]. Nevertheless, as regards economic development, autonomists, like economists, suggest that economic situations be improved. We have no space here to present certain divergences within autonomists nor criticisms made against them [ Aguirre-Beltrán 1992 ; Bartolomé 1997 ; Favre 1998 ; García-Canclini 1989 ; INI 2000 ]. It suffices to point out that the legitimacy of autonomy model will depend on 1) whether indigenous

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8 For the detail of decomposition analysis method, see [ MacIssac and Patrinos 1995 ]. The author conducted the same decomposition analysis with different micro-data set (Encuesta Nacional de Empleo en Zonas Indígenas 1997) from that of Panagides’ study (Encuesta Nacional de Ingresos y Gastos de los Hogares 1989). Our analysis also found the residual but smaller one: 16% or 18% of the income difference isn’t attributed to productivity gap between the indigenous and the non-indigenous [ Ukeda and Hisamatsu 2001 ].

9 Panagides refers to discrimination in labor market as a possible cause of the residual. Chiswick, in his article, interprets the disadvantage of Bolivia’s indigenous people as the consequence of their inadequate Spanish skills [ Chiswick, Patrinos and Hurst 2000 ]. For Aguirre-Beltrán, a famous Mexican anthropologist who was actively involved in indigenous policies as director of the INI, poverty of indigenous people is partly explained by the risk-averse and closed traditional cultures they have maintained for their survival in remote communities [ Aguirre-Beltrán 1991 ].

10 See [ Harvey 2000 ; Sánchez 1999 ] for the background and claims of neo-zapatist movements.
people themselves want it or not (autonomy as the goal of development) and 2) whether it works well for poverty reduction (autonomy as an instrument of development). We cannot assert a priori the relevancy of autonomy as both the end and/or means of development for indigenous people. In fact, autonomists often justify their arguments by condemning the ‘failure’ of past development models, without verifying the extent to which their alternative proposal can function in each indigenous society.

Two main issues to be examined in the following chapters are a) how significant lack of human capital as a cause (and an element) of otomi poverty and how to improve it, in relation to economic approach, and b) whether autonomy approach can be applied well in carrying out social policies towards poor otomi migrants.

III Otomi Migrants in Mexico City

III-1 Santiago Mexquititlán as Place of Origin

Otomi (ńañño) is the most populous of the five linguistic groups that belong to otopame family [Lastra 1998]. The 2000 Census registers 291,722 speakers of otomi language, 4.8% of the total indigenous population. Otomi habitat has been the Central Plateau Region. Otomi people have often been associated with maguey plant, to symbolize their dry territory with low yield [Granberg 1970]. Otopame-family societies, forming the northern border of Mesoamerican civilization, flourished between 700 and 1100AD, but decayed since then (1100-1520AD) in contrast with development of the Central Mexico Region [Parsons 1998]. Under the colonial regime otomi people continued to be culturally and socio-economically marginalized [Gibson 1967]. But, their situation has changed after the Mexican Revolution, particularly during the latter half of XX century. Massive migration is one component of the transformation. Among 32 Mexican states, top five states in otomi population in year 2000 are the State of Mexico (EDOMEX, 104,357 otomi), Hidalgo (114,043) Querétaro (22,077), Veracruz (17,584) and DF (17,083). Remarkably the DF occupies the fifth place. Many otomies in EDOMEX are also urban residents 11.

Santiago Mexquititlán (SM) 12, ‘pueblo’ or ‘rancho’ called by migrants, is located in the Valley of Santiago,
whose altitude varies from 2,000 to 2,400 meters above the sea. Previously SM belonged to the Municipality of Xilotepec, northwestern part of the EDOMEX. In 1942 it was added to the Municipality of Amealco, southeastern part of Querétaro State. SM is divided into six barrios, of which Barrio I has the longest history of otomi habitation, where today we find the main church, the Delegation, Health Clinic, some stores and tianguis. The santiaguense population live disperse on their dry and hilly land.

During the Porfiriato around SM there were seven haciendas in which otomi worked as peones. The Mexican Revolution ended the latifundism, many otomi families being distributed of land. But, in 1947 a tragedy happened which is remembered among ancient otomies as the 'slaughter of animals (la matanza de los animals)'. The army arrived to take their livestock, insisting that they were infected with aftosa fever. Economic loss was so great that many santiaguense began to migrate periodically or permanently. The rhythm of migration has been accelerated with the fragmentation of land caused by demographic growth. Many adult men could not maintain their household with land inherited from their father. The 1970 Census registered 4,977 inhabitants in the six barrios of SM, and, 25 years later, the number was duplicated to 9,469 santiaguenses according to the Conteo de Población 1995 [INEGI 1974; 1996]. 93.5% of the population of 5 years and more spoke otomi. Mestizo population, in socioeconomic terms, live better than otomies.

In 1972, INI established at the center of Amealco its XXII 'Centro Coordinador', destined to manage public policies for otomies living in Amealco. In relation to the access to SM, the state government constructed paved road of 17 kilometers in 1978. During the day, a bus hourly passes for Mexico City. As a result of this direct connection, migration and visits between SM and the capital of Mexico were facilitated. The trip takes nearly four hours. Bus ticket cost 58 pesos in the autumn of 1998, but by the summer of 2000 it raised to 73 pesos, a non-insignificant increase for the poor households.

The economy of SM has been based on small-scale farming that uses family labor. In a typical household are sown maize and a little frijol, reared one or two pig and/or sheep, around five fowls and/or turkeys, and in its garden grow maguey, nopal, quelite (edible grass) and pumpkin. Commercial production for market remains limited due to technological bottlenecks, to dry and cold (in winter) climate that makes it difficult to harvest twice a year, to the fall of maize price and to minifundio. At present, most of the households have only two hectares or less of cultivatable land. Among migrants, more than half of the head of households the author surveyed do not have land in SM. Fragmentation of land with low yield, along with insufficient non-agricultural job opportunity, are the main cause of massive migration to cities. In recent years migration has crossed the national border. Many young otomies went or plan to go to the United States as illegal migrants.

study of Ewald Hekking [Hekking 1995] and socioeconomic study of Lourdes Arizpe [Arizpe 1979].
When entering the 90s, the government, both federal and state, has come to allocate more resources to SM. Nevertheless, quality of socio-economic life, as can be indicated by census data, stays behind not only vis-à-vis the DF but the mean of all the indigenous population in Mexico. Especially, the enormous disadvantage in human resources, which will not be overcome in the short run, is of great importance for otomi migrants, since it confines occupations within their reach to manual jobs such as construction work or locates them in so-called Urban Informal Sector (UIS). According to the 1990 Census, (a) literacy rate in SM is 65.1% among the population of 6 to 14 years and 47.6% among 15 years and more, whereas in the DF is of the order 93.4% and 96.9%, respectively; (b) in SM 53.8% of the population of 6 to 14 years go to school, whereas in the DF 95.1%; (c) as for schooling years of the population of 15 years and more, 57.4% in SM and 5.2% in the DF do not have any instruction while 6.9% in SM and 64.6% in the DF have been instructed at least until finishing primary school.

III-2 Lives of Otomi Migrants in Mexico City

Before describing and interpreting the lives of otomi migrants from SM, let us position them in the whole picture of indigenous migrants. Indigenous migrants in Mexico City do not constitute a homogenous group not only in their ethnic composition but also in socio-economic situations. Until the 1950s or (in less degree) 60s in which the stable growth of Mexican economy allowed migrants to obtain formal employment and in the rural areas demographic pressure (population / land ratio) was not so high, a great part of indigenous migrants were smoothly adapted to the urban-industrial way of life. By contrast, many indigenous migrants who arrived at the capital during the late 60s or 70s, particularly during the 80s and later, can be rather characterized as the poor who fled from misery of rural communities. In rural indigenous communities, lack of land, technological backwardness and little chance of getting non-agricultural jobs expel lots of individuals or entire families to cities, whose scarace human capital no longer matches the requirement of urban formal sector.

In this way, it is evident disparity among indigenous migrants, depending on the period of arrival and the condition of their rural communities. At one extreme there are mature and not-poor migrants with long experience of urban jobs. Their children frequently occupy better economic position than them and 'cease to be indigenous' (they don't speak maternal language of parents more). At other extreme of migrants, poverty may be reproduced not only in a generation (from countryside to metropolis) but also from generation to generation (from parents to children). Most of the migrants from Santiago Mexquititlán fall into the second category. In the circle of the government and NGOs work for indigenous migrants, three ethnic groups are well known: otomies of SM, mazahuas of the EDOMEX and triquis of Oaxaca. Many families of these three groups have occupied vacant lands to live together under precarious conditions. Some of them are found even in the highly risky buildings to
inhabit in the Historical Center (Centro Histórico). Staffs of the support organizations agree that of these three groups otomi migrants live the most deprived lives, as denoted by their lowest schooling attainment, diffusion of begging and alcoholism \(^{13}\) [ Arizpe 1978 ; 1979 ; 1986 ; Ce-Acatl 1999 ; Centro de Derechos Humanos Miguel Agustín Pro Juárez A.C. 1999 ; Kemper 1973 ; 1976 ; INI 1996 ; Proceso, August 16th, 1998 : 28-32 ].

Hereafter, we will see what sort of problems otomi migrants face in their daily lives, focusing on the migrants who reside in the four settlements in Colonia Roma. The finding cannot be generalized for all the indigenous migrants. However, it should be taken seriously by the students and practitioners of social policies and by those interested in indigenous autonomy. Table 1 shows some results of the survey carried out by the author to 85 households (67 households living in the four settlements and 18 ‘separate’ households) between March and April of 2000. We did not include temporary migrants, who stay in a house of some relative principally during summer and/or winter in order to earn monetary income \(^{14}\).

Table 1. Surveyed Otomi Households (March-April 2000)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HOUSEHOLDS LOCATED IN THE FOUR IRREGULARLY OCCUPIED SETTLEMENTS</th>
<th>NUMBER OF SURVEYED HOUSEHOLDS</th>
<th>MEAN SIZE OF HOUSEHOLDS</th>
<th>YEARS LIVING IN MEXICO CITY OF THE HEAD OF HOUSEHOLDS</th>
<th>PRINCIPAL OCCUPATION (INCLUDING STUDENTS) OF MEMBERS OF 15 YEARS AND MORE</th>
<th>SCHOOLING YEARS OF MEMBERS OF 15 YEARS AND MORE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HOUSEHOLDS LOCATED IN THE FOUR IRREGULARLY OCCUPIED SETTLEMENTS</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td></td>
<td>CONSTRUCTION</td>
<td>42.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEPARATE HOUSEHOLDS OWN HOUSE</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>0-5 YEARS</td>
<td>CRAFTS (ARTESSAÑA)</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEPARATE HOUSEHOLDS NOT OWN HOUSE</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>6-10 YEARS</td>
<td>COMMERC IN HORDOUTHARE</td>
<td>36.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEPARATE HOUSEHOLDS NOT OWN HOUSE</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>11-20 YEARS</td>
<td>LIMPIAPARABRISAS</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEPARATE HOUSEHOLDS NOT OWN HOUSE</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>21-50 YEARS</td>
<td>BEGGING</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>51-YEARS</td>
<td>STUDENT</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>51-YEARS</td>
<td>OTHERS</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note*: Only valid answers were counted.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 presents characteristics of the four otomi settlements. Number of resident households is restricted by

\(^{13}\) Mazahuas and triquis barely resort to begging, though they also suffer economic poverty. According to a survey of the indigenous households living in more than ten irregularly occupied settlements in Mexico City, which was conducted by the two governmental organizations of the DF, CATIM (Centro de Atención al Indígena Migrante) and SECOI (Servicios Comunitarios Integrales), otomi migrants from SM had lower schooling attainment than mazahua and triqui migrants, some young members of the latter going to high school or university.

\(^{14}\) They often visit Mexico City together with some their children in vacation that do not have classes in SM. Among them men are principally dedicated to construction work and women and children to commerce and/or begging on the streets. The government and NGOs are not able to support them in continuous manner.
surface area of each settlement. The maximum case has 34 households (settlement C), and other three 23 (B), 18 (A) and 15 (D), respectively.

**Table 2. Some Characteristics of the Four Settlements in Colonia Roma**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Settlement</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of households</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal owner of land</td>
<td>Three owners (the government and private)</td>
<td>A private owner who demands evacuation</td>
<td>The federal government</td>
<td>A private owner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing materials</td>
<td>Cement, sheet and waste</td>
<td>Cement, sheet and much waste</td>
<td>Iron plate with asphalt floor</td>
<td>Galvanized iron sheet and roof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alternative housing project</td>
<td>Stagnated by the internal conflict</td>
<td>Land obtained in Chimalhuacán, EDOMEX</td>
<td>Agreement with the government to buy land and a self-construction project</td>
<td>Project with INVI (Instituto de Vivienda)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcoholism and drug consumption</td>
<td>Some households</td>
<td>Prevailed</td>
<td>Some households</td>
<td>Prevailed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leader (sex, age, education, occupation in the spring of 2000)</td>
<td>MALE 38 years</td>
<td>MALE 42 years</td>
<td>MALE 25 years</td>
<td>MALE 29 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No instruction</td>
<td>No instruction</td>
<td>3rd Primary</td>
<td>Complete secondary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Construction work / crafts</td>
<td>Construction work / crafts</td>
<td>Commerce on the streets / Crafts</td>
<td>Small grocery store in his house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Group division</td>
<td>In January 1999 the group was divided in two organizations</td>
<td>By the autumn of 2000 the group was divided in two organizations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### III-2-1 Housing Problems

Almost all the otomi households in Mexico City that the author has visited have some deficiencies in their housing, such as inadequate access to basic services (ex. Of the four settlements in only settlement A each household has faucet and toilet), poor materials used in the ‘self-construction’ process which include wastes, and/or crampedness and promiscuity due to lack of space. As is expected, these housing problems are outstanding in irregularly occupied settlements. The rise of real estate’s price has made it more and more difficult for otomi households to get their proper land to dwell in. In general, they rent a small room, which cost 400 or 500 pesos per month in the spring of 2000, or occupy a vacant land in irregular way. There are families who during some period have slept on the streets, as the case of some families who are sheltered now in settlement B [La Jornada, September 15th 1996].

The four otomi settlements are located in commercial zone (settlement A and B) or in residential one (C and D). They have a locational advantage of being near the Zona Rosa, Avenida Reforma and the Historical

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15 In the four settlements, the space a household occupies is, on the average, about 4m X 4m.
Center, excellent marketplaces not only in demand side (passengers and tourists) but also in supply (wholesalers of goods and materials) for commerce activities or begging on thoroughfare, in which one or more members are engaged in most of the otomi households. The disadvantage, however, is that land seems too expensive for otomi occupants to buy from the legitimate owner some day. Insecurity of land tends to impede adequate investment for housing improvement. If a legal landowner urges illegitimate occupants to vacate his land as in the case of settlement B, they have to live with the feeling of insecurity and seek for an alternative housing opportunity.

Leader of each otomi settlement tries to get from the government and NGOs any support dealing with housing problems, whose solution are the most pressing need for many member families. On the other hand, from the standpoint of the government and NGOs, especially of the government, miserable housing conditions are, together with begging, the most obvious and appealing dimension of urban otomi poverty.

III-2-2 Occupation and Income

The living standard of otomi migrants mostly depends on monetary income available to each household. According to the survey conducted by the author, complemented with participant observation, in the spring of 2000 the minimum household monetary income is about 1,500 pesos per month, the maximum 6,000 pesos and the average between 2,500 and 3,000 pesos monthly. When considering increasing costs of urban life, mean size of the household of nearly 6 persons (Table 1) with great deviation, and absence of self-consumption, the majority of otomi migrants (whom the author investigated) are urban poor and many of them live in extreme poverty.

The five main economic activities to which otomi migrants are dedicated to make ends meet are: (manual) construction work, fabrication and sale of craft products (artesanía) such as hand-made dolls and tablecloth, commerce on thoroughfare (comercio en la vía pública), cleaning car windshield (limpiaparabrisas) and begging (mendicidad) (Table 1). They are easy to enter, since they hardly require human capital. In each occupation income increases, although within certain limits, according to the scale of activities and/or to skills. Among residents of the four settlements nobody has access to social security: neither IMSS (Instituto Mexicano del Seguro Social) nor ISSSTE (Instituto de Seguridad y Servicios Sociales para los Trabajadores del Estado). Many adult women, in the morning and afternoon, are dedicated to domestic works and manufacturing of crafts. At night, from six or seven, they go to the Zona Rosa to sell crafts or sweets, which, in some cases, may be a kind of ‘veiled or disguised’ begging, or plainly to ask for alms. They load a baby on their shoulder with quechquemitl, and some women wear traditional otomi dress, which arouses exoticism or compassion of tourists. As in SM,
children of schooling age contribute something to their household by their work, in the capital cleaning windshield of the cars waiting for traffic light to change, selling chicles and/or begging at the ticket window of subway. As we shall see in the next section, these street works negatively affect the studies.

**III-2-3 Human Capital**

Otomi migrants have suffered economic poverty principally by lack of human capital, which is the cause of their marginalization in labor market. Without significant upgrading of human capital, they cannot be free from poverty in future. Here we talk about education and health. Their educational achievement is dismally low (Table 1) due to the interaction of multiple factors. As for health problems, alcoholism among adults and drug consumption (ex. thinner) among children stand out. Both 'vice', which some migrants call these habits cynically, devour scarce human capital they have and can shorten their life.

The gravest problem of education resides in high repetition and drop out rates observed among otomi children who go to primary or secondary school in the capital, particularly among primary school students. Normally, if they have failed two or three times (years), they will not finish primary school. Through the teaching of mathematics, the author noticed that understanding of a child depends on economic condition in the household and attitude of parents much more than on his/her innate ability. Usually are restless and lagged behind the children whose parents let them be on the streets. As a child spends more time on the streets, his/her future will become more gloomy, since child work on the streets 1) takes away time available to the study, 2) discourages a child worker to continue going to school by having him/her be trained how to earn money, some part of which can be spent for him/herself, and 3) is always accompanied with the danger of learning 'vice' as consumption of drugs on nocturnal streets through elder children or non-otomi children who sleep on the streets (i.e. children of the streets). Drug-addicted children cannot maintain their concentration at solving simple addition and subtraction problems. From the gender perspective, women have less formal education (Table 1) owing to household chores and to pregnancy in early age before they have 18 years. The reproduction of scant human resources in most otomi households results from not only economic poverty but also from low appreciation of educational attainment by the parents, many of whom have never gone to school. Thus, it is a time-consuming task to elevate schooling of the children who belong to the poor otomi households.

16 The author has known five young otomies in Mexico City who are attending or have dropped out from (senior) high school, less than 10% of the otomi informants of 16 to 20 years. Like their parents, they want to finish high school and, if possible, go on to study in university. Nevertheless, economic disadvantage is notorious. Although high school students are still minority among young otomi
On the question of alcoholism, the author estimates that almost 10% of adult otomi migrants are chronically alcoholic (drink almost every day) and 15 or 20% of them alcoholic at their first stage (don’t drink daily, but when drink continue to do so two or three days to a week). Even if they are not diagnosed alcoholic, they prefer to drink until intoxicated. Compared with men, alcoholism is a less grave problem among women, although its diffusion is alarming. It is no exaggeration to say that every otomi migrant from SM has at least one relative who has died of illness caused by excessive ingestion of alcohol such as hepatic cirrhosis. Alcoholism also has a harmful effect on human capital formation of children. If one alcoholic takes five ‘caguamas’ -bottle which contains a liter of beer- a day, normal quantity for alcoholic adults, the household budget will diminish by 50 pesos.

As the positive change occurring in recent years for accumulation of human capital, we must mention religious conversion. One fifth of otomi informants have already been converted into evangelists. Many of them changed their religion to free from the ‘vice’. Generally, once converted, they stop drinking, do not spend money on fiestas nor ceremonies and often send their children to school more. However, conversion has an emotional and cultural cost, and is neither necessary nor sufficient condition for socio-economic advance.

III-2-4  Dilemma of Being Otomi in the Capital

We finish the history of otomi lives by reflecting on the meaning of being (santiaguense) otomi in the metropolis of Mexico. To be otomi is defined here to conserve otomi culture and sustain relationships with otomi (family and non-family) people -those migrated and/or those staying in SM- in urban society, where being otomi or, more generally, being indigenous are rather negatively valued. Many factors are linked with the attitude of otomi migrants. The elder, the less instructed and the more recently arrived migrants are, they tend to be ‘more otomi’ in Mexico City. In addition, in comparison with ‘separate’ families, those living together with other otomi families in irregularly occupied settlements, ceteris paribus, sustain more otomi characteristics. The latter has much opportunity to use and learn otomi language, which, however, tends to be modified into ‘urban otomi’ with the grammar simplified and many Spanish vocabularies introduced, whereas in the former case children, in particular younger ones, usually speak only Spanish although many of them ‘understand what they say’ in otomi.

Autonomists advocates culturally plural society in cities as well as in rural areas. As a political statement, migrants (in the four settlements until now no one has gone to high school), their problem is also important when we regard high educational achievement of the youth of Mexico City today. In the DF of school year 1998-1999, the proportion of students registered in high school among population of 17 to 19 years amounts to 82.28%, and that of students registered in university among population of 20 to 24 years 39.2% [Reséndiz-Núñez 2000].
this sounds respectable. But, as suggested in chapter 2, when taking the indigenous diversity into consideration, it is necessary to ponder benefits and costs of being indigenous in each context. In the case of santiaguense migrants, there are certain benefits of being indigenous in the capital. But, this strategy has some costs.

Living as urban otomi of SM has many advantages: to save rent; to reduce economic uncertainty through cooperation, lending and borrowing, and information sharing; to have emotional security; to be able to receive assistance of the government and NGOs more as member of urban marginalized indigenous group (ex. the four otomi settlements). In spite of these positive functions, another face of being otomi in the capital, socio-cultural isolation, can reinforce poverty given the severe marginalization as their initial condition. A Mexican anthropologist Lourdes Arizpe, in her study published in 1979, investigated indigenous street vendors, mazahuas migrated from three communities in the EDOMEX and otomi migrants from SM. She was shocked at the distrust and hostility of otomi migrants towards the 'national society' dominated by mestizo population. Their isolation results in less years of schooling than among mazahua migrants, as well as in their resort to begging in which mazahuas are not engaged:

In general, indigenous people of Mezquititlán, as is well known to investigators, are very distrustful and even hostile towards the national society…….This consciousness of ethnic separation definitely has influence on their pattern of migration. It conditions the disinterest or frank rejection by the indigenous side to acquire schooling or technical knowledge. Of the four communities studied Mezquititlán is the one that presents the lowest schooling achievement. It is also the most marginalized in both cultural and occupational sense in their proper region…….Due to this situation of cultural isolation in their region and given their disagreeable and distrustful character, their integration to urban system is more difficult than for the mazahua group…….Mazahua sell fruits or make a living as construction worker or carrier. Otomi of Mezquititlán do construction works, but, above all, beg for alms (translated by the author from Spanish) [ Arizpe 1979 : 88-90 ].

Twenty years after her study, schooling has not progressed much and begging continue to be frequent among santiaguense migrants. Lack of liquidity alone cannot sufficiently explain the scarce interest in accumulating human capital, begging as an ‘easy’ way to earn money, child work on the streets at the expense of his/her education and health, early marriage and alcoholism, which are particularly observed among households living in the four otomi settlement. There exists a dilemma of living as urban otomi, the dilemma between continuity and comfort, on the one hand, and socio-cultural isolation, on another. In fact, some otomi migrants such as relatively instructed migrants and (religiously) converted migrants acknowledge this anguished dilemma and try to adapt themselves more to the urban environment. And those staffs of the government and NGOs with years of
experience of supporting poor otomi migrants have suggested or confessed the author many times that they have to change their attitude for the socio-economic improvement 17.

IV  Social Policies towards Otomi Migrants

IV-1  Background

Until recently indigenous migrants have not been recognized as such or merely ignored in the political sphere. They were not other than what might be categorized as ‘the mass of urban poor’. The idea that the indigenous is a rural affair [ Aguirre-Beltrán 1991 : 99, 278 ] and the lack of data for locating dispersed urban indigenous population is the two main reasons of such an omission. But, as deprivation of indigenous migrants gets visible as dramatized by otomi women and children who sell chicle or simply beg on the side of luxurious hotels and as autonomist discourse and movements are gaining the ground especially after 1994, the social policies targeted for indigenous migrants have emerged and grown.

It is since the 1990s that many organizations have begun to support indigenous people in Mexico City. But, in the case of otomi migrants from SM, during the 70s local government of the DF opened and administered Otomi Center (Centro Otomí) near the Coyoacán Square. It offered several gratuitous services such as health clinic, bath and workshops to otomi ‘Marías’, the label used by urban residents to call pejoratively female street vendors or beggars dressed with traditional clothes. And one of the services that the Center offered would have a long-run effect that lasts after it was closed in the mid-80s. Craft workshop was imparted in which female participants learned to fabricate with their hands and sewing machine indigenous-baby-looking dolls made of cloth and jute, and embroidered tablecloth. They handed their products over the government. But, according to what told the author more than ten women interviewed, the government paid them too little, so they came to sell by themselves on the streets or squares. Some women sold dozens to hundreds of dolls at lower price to the itinerant wholesalers, who distributed them throughout Mexico. The acquired skill was transmitted to daughters, sons, husband and other relatives until the fabrication and sale of craft products became one of the most important sources of monetary income. Their artenanías cannot be ranked as those of high quality since they do not use precious materials nor special skills that require years of learning, though some experienced artesanos try to differentiate their crafts from others in their design and materials used. Thus, Otomi Center was an exceptional attempt of the local government in the 70s to assist poor and visible indigenous migrants. And one of

17 See [ Ukeda 2001 ] for an ethnographical study which shows the dilemma of being indigenous in Mexico City through comparing two distinct otomi migrant families.
its projects, craft workshop, has changed many otomi migrants into craftswomen(men), although this relatively new tradition created with the help of government does not generate more income than do other occupations available to them.

In 1989, INI set up its Department of the Metropolitan Area. With the support of some sociologists and anthropologists, it obtained data of indigenous people there, a good part of which was about those migrants cohabiting in irregularly occupied lands, who are more perceptible and often poorer than dispersed migrants. When undertaking its projects, INI promoted indigenous migrants to organize themselves. In August 1994 it assisted 38 indigenous organizations composed of 1,207 families (households) in sum. In one of its publications INI justified its group-based approach as follows:

"...the Program started from the conviction that indigenous population have the capacity to take their own decisions, none other than defining or constructing their options and alternatives of life. It tried to pass from a paternalistic indigenismo to other one which would recognize self-management capacity of the indigenous themselves" [INI 1994: 177].

Another important change in the capital's policy environment favorable for indigenous migrants (after the establishment of INI's metropolitan department) was the victory (in both the governor and local congressmen) of the PRD (Partido Revolucionario Democrático), leftist opposition party of Mexico, in the election for the term 1997-2000 DF government. The first elected governor of the DF, Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, declared his support and commitment to indigenous people, unlike previous prista governments:

"(In Mexico City) more than half million of indigenous people live and work in situation of serious marginalization and disadvantage as opposed to other sectors of the society. The new government sets out to work with those groups in order that, with positive actions, they can improve their condition, develop own forms of organization and social participation and promote and spread their traditions and cultures, guaranteeing at the same time protection of their basic human rights" (Inaugural speech of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas on December 5th 1997. Translated by the author).

Many indigenous people in the DF is deprived of basic opportunities, so for the leftist government they

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18 Until 1997 the governor of the DF had been appointed by the president of the federal government, which was dominated by the PRI (Partido Institutional Revolucionario) during 71 years.
constitute priority population, just as the handicapped, aged people, women and street children. In addition, the emphasis on cultural plurality is congruent with the PRD’s support to neo-zapatists and to the agreement of San Andrés. Hence the new leftist DF government ordered her several dependencies that carry out social policies to be more sensitive to the specific problems of indigenous people, organized various events and campaigns for the recognition of indigenous cultures and rights, and opened a center called the CATIM (Centro de Atención al Indígena Migrante) to directly address demands of indigenous migrants.

Along with governmental organizations, during the 90s, a lot of NGOs became actors of social policies for indigenous migrants such as Cáritas, a large organization of the catholic church, and CIDES (Centro Interdisciplinario para el Desarrollo Social), an institution of private assistance founded in August 1995 for integral development of the indigenous children who work on the streets. The government and NGOs have been two principal actors in the development of social policies, and the relationships between them is rather complementary than competitive or adversary.

**IV-2 Evaluation of Social Policies**

Table 3 presents the organizations of the government and civil society that the author has observed realize some projects for otomi migrants of SM living in the four settlements between August 1998 and September 2000. By their abject poverty and ‘indigenousness’, numerous organizations support them. The author found at least five governmental organizations and seven NGOs carry out some projects. There are some more organizations which are not included in Table 3 whose activities the author did not know well or that had a contact with otomi migrants but could not get to any concrete projects during the period of investigation.

NGOs are often conceived a superior actor to the government in development policies (including social policies) because of their 'bottom-up' nature, although their relationship tends to be rather complementary in the successful efforts [Sanyal 1994]. Concerning the social policies towards otomi migrants, despite the negative government image held among autonomists, the government and NGOs often cooperate or coordinate for the better performance. Staffs of the support organizations sometimes exchange informations and experiences each other. NGOs have an advantage of being engaged in a determined project in longer period than many governmental organizations whose staffs and projects change more frequently. In contrast, NGOs usually have financial problems such as low salary for staffs, though the government budget left for indigenous migrants is not abundant, either. So, in many projects, NGOs and the government as the INI join forces, the former being responsible for project implementation with financial assistance of the latter. Coordination among the actors of social policies is not complete yet. But, a sort of 'division of labor' is observed among them to avoid the
overlapping of projects, as is suggested by the right column of table 3.

IV-2-1 Projects Realized

We classify the projects carried out by the government and NGOs into two groups: projects aimed at human capital accumulation (education, labor skill and health) and other projects (legal, housing and cultural). As economic approach emphasizes, lack of human capital is the most serious problem for otomi migrants' human development, so projects for human capital accumulation deserve special treatment. Given the amount and variety of projects it is impossible to evaluate the effects of each project with some statistical method. Here, on the basis of author's observation and interviews, the main projects are presented in its intent as well as its reality.

Table 3. Governmental and Non-Governmental Organizations Which Support Otomi Migrants (Between 1998 and 2000)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Main projects</th>
<th>Beneficiaries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government (DF)</td>
<td>CATIM (Centro de Atención al Indígena Migrante)</td>
<td>Human capital: Scholarship (with DIF-DF: Desarrollo Integral de la Familia), alphabetization (with INEA: Instituto Nacional de la Educación para los Adultos: INEA), craft workshop (dolls and jigsaw puzzle) and infant vaccination (with Secretaría de Salud), etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Legal: Legal consultancy (asesoría jurídica), indigenous translator project, etc.</td>
<td>Households living in settlement A, C and D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cultural (and social communication): To organize events and campaigns (with many other organizations such as INI)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Housing: Alternative housing project (with INVI: Instituto de la Vivienda)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government (Federal)</td>
<td>Metropolitan Department of INI (Instituto Nacional Indigenista)</td>
<td>Human capital: Craft workshop (silk screen printing and sewing)</td>
<td>Settlement A, B, C and D. In recent years mostly for B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Legal: Legal consultancy, etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cultural: To organize events and campaigns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government (DF)</td>
<td>Cuauhtémoc Delegation</td>
<td>Housing: To give used housing materials (galvanized iron sheet and roof, an equipment of shower)</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government (Federal)</td>
<td>SEP (Secretaría de Educación Pública)</td>
<td>Human capital: Scholarship</td>
<td>A few households</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government (DF)</td>
<td>Secretaría de Trabajo y Provisión Social</td>
<td>Legal-economic: Relocation of street vendors working within the Historical Center (with CATIM and other governmental organizations)</td>
<td>Some street vendors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Centro Colibrí</td>
<td>Human capital: To impart diverse classes, breakfast and lunch, and school equipment on condition that participant children go to school in the evening. Adult education (with INEA), communication with parents and schools, events and excursion, etc.</td>
<td>A, B, C and D (In D only two households).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO (catholic church)</td>
<td>Cáritas Arquidiócesis de México</td>
<td>Legal: Legal consultancy, etc.</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Human capital: Craft workshop (silk screen printing and sewing), etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Fundación de Servicios Legales y Sociales para la Comunidad Indígena</td>
<td>Legal: Legal consultancy, etc.</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Human capital: Alfabetization (with INEA) and psychological attention, etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>UPREZ (Unión Popular Revolucionaria Emiliano Zapata)</td>
<td>Housing-political: To press the government to accept demands of the poor sector</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Casa y Ciudad</td>
<td>Housing: Self-construction project (after the beneficiaries obtain their land)</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>FINCOMUN (Servicios Financieros Comunitarios)</td>
<td>Saving: Group-saving project</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>FOSOVI (Fondo Solidario de Vivienda)</td>
<td>Housing: Self-construction project</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Projects for Human Capital Accumulation

1-a. Education

- Scholarship

To give scholarship to the poor households on condition that their child attends at school regularly and gets a satisfactory record is considered an effective measure for their welfare among economists and the
government. Concerning otomi migrants, some children receive the scholarship of CATIM and SEP (Ministry of Public Education). As the majority of otomi households are economically poor and all of them cannot receive scholarship given the budget constraint, beneficiaries must be selected upon some balance of equity and efficiency criteria: if equity criteria is used, a child belonging to the most severely poor household should be supported first, but, among otomi households, the poorest child often does not go to primary school in regular way spending much of his/her time at home and on the streets; in contrast, with efficiency criteria taken, relatively ‘prospective’ otomi children should be granted although they are not so poor, as in the case of SEP which gives several hundred pesos per semester to a few otomi children who regularly go to primary or secondary school.

Scholarship alone is of no great use for many otomi households, especially for the poorest ones. In the case of CATIM, with the financial support of DIF (Desarrollo Integral de la Familia) of the DF government, it distributed scholarship of 600 pesos per month to 12 primary school children living in settlement A, C or D during the 1999-2000 school cycle. For the better involvement of beneficiaries, staffs of CATIM gave children complementary classes and their parents some course of INEA every Thursday between January and March of 2000. However, the effect of scholarship on school attendance and record varied from one household to another, since CATIM included as beneficiaries some children whose parents paid little attention to their child’s education. Three of the 12 grantee children did not diminish their absence days nor got better marks after receiving scholarship.

- Adult Education

Adult education is a very popular menu served to otomi migrants -here adults mean otomi men or women (usually more than 15 years of age) who never have gone to school or who ceased to go in some school year of basic education-. For one thing, it is supposed to improve human capital of the entire household (adult participant and their children) and also to enhance participant’s self-esteem. For another, in Mexico an official educational system for adult population is institutionalized from alphabetization course to high school by the INEA (Instituto Nacional de la Educación para los Adultos), a branch of SEP. INEA freely distributes adult students necessary materials such as texts and chalkboard. Almost all the adult residents of the four settlements have participated or at least have been invited to participate in some adult education projects organized by the government or NGOs, which provide the teachers who may be their staffs or students of Social Service.

However, the outcome of adult education is generally disappointing due to the short duration of otomi adults’ attendance. Very few participants got to pass one schooling year of INEA. This is the consequence of poverty and little incentive and/or interest in obtaining formal education, of the otomi adults, and also of some problems of INEA such as inadequate preparation of the student teachers who work as their Social Service only
some months. For example, in settlement D, a NGO called Fundación by some of its residents (Fundación de Servicios Legales y Sociales para la Comunidad Indígena), undertook adult education project in 1999 organizing classes at the meeting room, for women (mainly alphabetization) in the morning and for men in the evening. But it lasted only a few months with no significant results.

1-b. Skill Training

For adult otomi migrants, to receive a short (two or three months) training course to acquire some special labor skill is less time-consuming and appears more practical than the INEA's adult education system. We have seen the craft skills acquired in a workshop of Otomi Center during the 70s would be 'embedded' in otomi migrant lives. Today, to impart poor indigenous migrants some craft workshop-for them to learn such skills as sewing, silk screen printing (serigrafía) and jigsaw puzzle made of wood which figures indigenous women- has probably become more popular among the support organizations which are struggling to seek relevant economic projects. In the case of four otomi settlements, between 1998 and 2000 the author saw INI and Cáritas organize craft workshops for settlement B and CATIM for A. While support staffs feel otomi adults participate more actively than in the INEA program, they are not sure of their economic effects when taking into account competition among craft producers. Acquired skill could be applied to the quality improvement of their now established crafts (dolls and tablecloths) and to some new products like the hats with printed figures for Christmas and the Independent Day. However, it seems to the author that craft workshops will not have as much economic impact as did Otomi Center bring any more.

1-c. Health Projects

On health issues, in the summer of 1999, CATIM organized a campaign of infant medical checkup with the Ministry of Health and many otomi infants were vaccinated. But, the main activities aimed at the maintenance of good health condition rather lie in preventive actions such as the courses of maternal health, gender, sexual education given to adult women and children, and in psychological care (ex. Both Colibri Center and Fundación have a staff with the bachelor degree of psychology). Notwithstanding these efforts, only slowly do lessen the two mentioned habits which lead to health deterioration: alcoholism among adults and drug consumption among

19 As an example of frustrated economic project, before 1998 INI had a group-lending project with no interest and no mortgage: if an indigenous debtor does not pay back, other members of the same group (ex. residents of an irregular settlement) are not to borrow. But, as far as otomi migrants are concerned, this 'generous micro-credit' scheme failed. Many debtor migrants did not repay the principal and the lending had to be suspended.
children. Above all, it is difficult to solve the alcoholism, since it is the result of economic poverty, indigenous tradition tolerant of drinking and socio-cultural isolation in the metropolis. Until now, the most effective measure to quit alcoholism has been religious conversion, although it can cause a conflict with non-converted families.

2. Other Projects

2-a. Legal Projects

Many organizations such as INI, CATIM and Fundación have a lawyer to offer various legal services, to which indigenous migrants usually have no access. The legal services that the author has seen are to issue the certificates like Birth Certificate which they need but do not have, to investigate legal situation of irregular settlements, to impart a short course or workshop of human rights and indigenous rights and to attend those migrants involved in some case. In addition, there was a legal-economic project which touched the economic interest of some otomi migrants: relocation of street vendors occupying certain streets within the Historical Center as an ingredient of the Historical Center Rescue Plan of the PRD government. Those street vendors who had always worked at the area banned by the government was to be relocated to another public space through the coordinated efforts of CATIM, Ministry of Labor and Social Provision and some other governmental organizations of the DF. For the government, however, it was hard to offer a ‘profitable’ space that could satisfy them, given the attractiveness of the Historical Center for street vendors.

2-b. Housing Projects

It is natural that, among many residents of the four otomi settlements, projects for the improvement of housing condition are most needed. But, because of the (great) amount of resources required and other reasons, they have not been realized swiftly. Housing projects can be divided in two: improvement of housing conditions within each settlement and search for an alternative residence (it is known each settlement has some legitimate landowner). As for the first, all the settlements have received some kind of supports in housing materials (ex. plate used for wall and roof), construction of the meeting room and/or toilet (for common use) and so on. Ironically, settlement C now presents the best appearance, all of the 34 houses there uniformly built with robust iron plate on asphalt floor, because on April 4th, 1998 the fire broke out which burned off all the previous houses made of waste [La Jornada, April 5th 1998] and the unsheltered otomi migrants turned out to be, during some months, beneficiary of enormous material supports from the government and NGOs. In Settlement A, which is the oldest of the four with 13 years of irregular occupation, 18 households have little by little reformed their houses by themselves while some poor households remain suffering roof leaks when it rains heavily. Settlement D, though it
has barely four years, experienced in 2000 an improvement of its houses thanks to the material support of Cuauhtémoc Delegation (also governed by the PRD) which gave second-hand iron sheet and roof, and an equipment of shower (see table 2).

With respect to the second phase of housing projects, CATIM proposed an alternative residence project for settlement A and D in coordination with INVI (Instituto de la Vivienda) of the DF government, which provides the poor and vulnerable sector of the society with apartment houses at subsidized price, less than half the market price according to some staff of CATIM. Residents of D accepted the offer and now is waiting for their turn (i.e. supply of subsidized apartments does not catch up with demand), but in the case of A, because of the internal division, they rejected the offer. The land occupies residents of settlement C, largest of the four, is the property of the federal government. C is a rare case in that they succeeded in obtaining landowner’s concession to sell them the land despite of being located in a residential zone. This can be explained by the fact that the land belong to the government and that otomi occupants had suffered fire, and also by the enduring efforts of the leader and other otomi members to gain the land, to which we refer in the next section. Finally, in the case of settlement B, dispute with its private landowner was intense and 23 otomi households has been left (for failed or false offers of alternative residence) and returned there three times since their occupation in 1995. However, they receives legal and financial supports of INI, Cáritas, FOSOVI (Fondo Solidario de Vivienda) and FINCOMUN (Servicios Financieros Comunitarios), and in 2000 they obtained a land in the Municipality Chimalhuacán, EDOMEX for their alternative settlement. They still stay in the same locality saving money regularly for the payment for their alterative land and for housing construction so that they can move in future. Though collective saving scheme, promoted by various support organizations, has functioned well in settlement B, in A it was suspended by the group division and in D by bad management of bank account.

3-b. Cultural and Social Communication Projects

It will not be usually regarded as part of social policies the projects which consist of organizing events, campaigns and workshops in order for indigenous migrants to esteem and develop their cultures of origin and for non-indigenous citizens to recognize various ethnic cultures of the capital. Promoters of cultural projects like some staffs of INI and CATIM are sympathized with autonomist movements and they attach no less importance on the activities they organize than other projects each of which tries to reduce some dimension of poverty. Nevertheless, the response of otomi migrants is different from what they have expected: Little or nothing is the santiaguense otomi’s presence in cultural projects as we see through the experience of CATIM.

Let us summarize this section. Indeed, since some years ago, a great variety of projects have been
realized for the sake of otomi migrants living in severe poverty. But, many of them have not changed or changed only meagerly the quality of otomi lives, because the poverty of otomi migrants has a historical root and is so broad and deep that social policies must be of long-run and integral character to produce some significant results. However, modest result of many projects is partly explained by the attitude of otomi beneficiaries, which does not coincide with the expectation of support organizations.

IV-2-2 Difficulty of Group-based Approach

Here we deal with the methodological question of social polices. We define as group-based approach the approach that carry out projects through the beneficiary's organization, which are often created and/or supported to grow by the government and NGOs, and as individual-based approach one that designs and realizes projects on individual basis being careful of each beneficiary's peculiar situation and needs. Autonomists will cherish the former approach embracing the idea that indigenous people should be stimulated to organize themselves not only by its intrinsic value but also because their own organization may function as a device for the better performance of social policies. The latter is consistent with the economists' position, though they admit the role of beneficiary community's participation in preventing the government failure. As for indigenous migrants in Mexico City, the government and NGOs often promote indigenous migrants, usually of the same ethnicity, to form and develop an organization headed by their leader. They adopt a group-based approach in part for pragmatic reasons such as the poverty of those indigenous migrants cohabiting in irregular settlements and the possibility of attending dispersed migrants (ex. through indigenous organizations for cultural activities or of street vendors). However, as concerns otomi migrants from SM, group-based approach has faced a lot of problems and it has to be complemented with individual-based one.

All of the four otomi settlements are now registered as Civil Association, each of which has its own name and leader. And they have their meeting room where member families gather regularly (ex. once per week) and are also used as the space for various projects such as alphabetization and craft workshop. What otomi families expect of their organizations and leaders is mainly to get economic assistance from the government and NGOs, so the organizing process itself has little meaning for them. On the other hand, existence of their organization does not always contribute to social policies (i.e. as a means of development), either. Not a few projects have stagnated or failed by inadequate cooperation and/or conflicts within them. As for internal conflicts, between 1998 and 2000 settlement A and C was divided in two groups (organizations). We can add to these two cases another episode that before 1998 there had been a short-lived attempt to form a large otomi migrant organization that covered various settlements.
These results can be explained by three factors. We can point out, first, lack of cooperation or conflicts between different families. The author has observed that cooperations with non-family (i.e. non-kinship) members exists but much less than those within family and that some families are confronted with others. And inter-family conflicts can have religious dimension. We give an example of settlement A. At a meeting held on January 1999, then group leader, Roberto (pseudonym), was dismissed by a majority of resident votes, blamed for having favored his family, who formed five households there. The newly elected leader, Julio, and his family with the same presence (five households), had always quarreled with Roberto. The former had been converted into evangelists five years ago and began to reproach the 'vice', aggravating the gap between two families. In fact, Julio had incited other families to remove Roberto. However, Julio, in turn, could not enjoy better reputation than Roberto, and by the spring of 2000 the group was divided in two, one of 10 households headed by Julio and the other of 8 households by Roberto.

Second factor is historical one. It is very probable that otomi people of SM do not possess a tradition of well-organized collective action, due to the marginal position they have occupied in the whole social system and to dispersed habitational pattern in their territory. This historical character, combined with the low santiaguense educational attainment which retards the advent of intellectual leaders, would result in the paucity of organized and continuous cooperation beyond family ties. In SM until today any movements directed for autonomy have not been observed.

Finally, there are problems related to the leadership (see Table 2). All of the otomi migrant leaders, who are married men and can speak Spanish well, have some kind of problems. First of all, a leader has to cope with free-rider problem. Given severe poverty and scarce tradition of collective action, it is rational for member families to wait for their leader to bring them benefits without helping him. But, the leader also must maintain his household whereas in order to secure a project he often needs to keep on talking with and calling on the staffs of the government or NGOs at the sacrifice of his labor time. Therefore, each leader finds his proper way of solving this problem, arranging his labor schedule, increasing or reducing the number of contacts with support organizations, asking for the help of some reliable member and/or collecting 'cooperation fee' from member households.

In the ideal world for the actors of social policies, leaders should have various desirable characteristics at the same time such as intelligence, patience and tenderness. But, the real otomi world is different. The leader of settlement D, Gilberto, is alcoholic though he spends much of his time in seeking for supports, and, in addition, some staffs of the government and NGOs have the impression that he is prone to demand short-term economic benefits. In the case of settlement B, the leader, Antonio, had sustained a good relationship with the staffs of INI, who presented him other organizations such as Cáritas, FOSOVI and FINCOMUN. However, Antonio is not
capable for controlling the maybe gravest problem of his settlement:: alcoholism and drug addiction.

The leader of settlement C, Pablo, is different from other otomi leaders in many aspects. He has grown in Mexico City and finished secondary school. As well as his relatively high educational achievement, he is special in that he has a personality strong enough to make a speech in the events organized by the government and to insist that his member families refrain from excessive drinking (though he is not evangelist), and in that he is politically active: Among the santiaguense otomi leaders whom the author has known (including leaders other than of the four settlements) he is the only one that supports neo-zapatist movements. He makes his house a small grocery store for the 34 member households whom his wife attends when he is absent, and gathers as fee 10 pesos per household a week, so that he can concentrate his time and energy on activities as indigenous leader. He has worked with UPREZ (Unión Popular Revolucionaria Emiliano Zapata), a leftist social movement organization one of whose activities is to press the government to accept demands of the poor sector, and Casa y Ciudad, a NGO that supports self-construction, with which settlement C has a detailed plan of constructing an apartment of four floors with a wide space given for group activities. Without his strong commitment and links with various support (including political) organizations, the federal government might not have admitted the otomi occupants to go on living in her expensive land. Thus, Paulo is deservedly regarded as a competent leader among many support organizations. However, to some member families his words and behavior seemed authoritarian and too political. By the autumn of 2000, those families who disagreed with Paulo’s leadership and/or projects (as self-construction project), formed another organization.

IV-3 Case Study of Two Organizations

In this last section, we present the experience of two organizations, one is governmental and the other civil, both of which the author is well acquainted with.

IV-3-1 CATIM (government)

CATIM (Centro de Atención al Indígena Migrante: Center of Attention for Indigenous Migrants)\(^{20}\), an organization of the DF government, was born on April 29th, 1998, after an agreement of co-investment 1998-2000 celebrated between the new local government and a Dutch foundation for international cooperation

CATIM is located near the Zócalo, heart of the Historical Center. There have worked more than 10 staffs including lawyer and anthropologist, some of whom was formerly employed in INI.

Like INI, CATIM has basically worked for organized indigenous migrants, although it does not ignore non-organized ones, taking care of the migrants with some problems that visit its office (ex. relative of a family who belongs to some indigenous organization). The indigenous organizations with which CATIM has some contact go increasing, in August 2001 amounting to near 100 ones. But, the organizations it attends on regular basis are reduced to around 30 ones. And the most attended organizations belong to the three ethnic groups: otomies of SM, mazahuas of EDOMEX, and triquis of Oaxaca.

CATIM itself does not have much resources and is obliged to seek constantly for the source of finance. It generally designs and implements projects in collaboration with other governmental organizations and NGOs. Its projects try to answer various needs of indigenous migrants, which are grouped into four areas according to the definition of CATIM: 1) immediate attention (alphabetization, scholarship, day-care center for some indigenous families and so on), 2) legal projects (legal consultancy and indigenous translator project), 3) indigenous culture and social communication and 4) economic promotion (craft workshops, relocation of the street vendors working in the Historical Center, to organize indigenous craft fairs, etc). So far as otomi migrants are concerned, many projects organized by CATIM have not attained their goal, which could be understood given the nature of otomi poverty and the insufficient time (only three years) and resources that CATIM had. Here we show the experience of two projects: 1) cultural and social communication projects and 2) an alphabetization project.

- Cultural and Social Communication Projects

CATIM has organized, almost once a month, some events, campaigns or workshops titled as 'the Cultural Week of Indigenous Migrant', 'the Fair for Cultural Diversity', 'Indigenous Word', 'Workshop of Indigenous Rights', 'Encounter of Indigenous Organizations' and so on. They were the space set by CATIM and other collaborating organizations for indigenous migrants to express their cultures, to make their demands and activities known to the government and civil society and/or to learn their rights. CATIM invited the leader and member families of indigenous organizations to participate. In the case of otomi migrants, however, their usual response was indifference. Paulo, leader of settlement C, was exception since he often participated and manifested his opinion. The little participation of otomi migrants is in contrast with the case of some culture-identity oriented organizations (to perform dance or music and to support the community of origin, etc) of other ethnic groups such as mixes and zapotecos. For otomi migrants economic demands count for much more than cultural expression or

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21 See [ Gobierno del Distrito Federal 2000 ] for a presentation of the activities of various indigenous organizations in the
reaffirmation of identity, as suggests some staffs of CATIN in saying "To them (otomi migrants) survival matters". But, another important factor that explains their little participation is their lack of education, which deters them from expressing their opinion (in Spanish) and culture outside their home or settlements.

- Alphabetization Project

A staff of CATIM who once had worked in INEA proposed an ‘innovative’ alphabetization project and was accepted. He came to think through his experience that the main defect of INEA when applied to indigenous people lied in the inappropriate teaching practice, since INEA normally send the young students (of Social Service) as teacher. In the approved plan, however, teachers were chosen among the literate members of indigenous organizations, instead of the young mestizo students who speak only Spanish. Indigenous teachers were to be paid by CATIM. They had to take two weeks' training course before giving class in their settlements at the time convenient to adult students. In the otomi case, the project started in settlement C from January 2000. They had two teachers. One was Paulo, the settlement leader who had finished secondary school, and the other a married woman of 25 years who had gone up to the third year of primary school. At the beginning, everything worked well. More than 20 adults were registered and in the meeting room free texts of INEA were piled up. Class was given five nights a week, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Saturday and Sunday, since Monday was the day of group meeting and on Friday adult women went out to sell crafts or sweets. Some staffs of CATIM periodically visited the settlement to monitor and support the project. But, gradually, the students ceased to come. By the end of March the class was suspended by lack of attendance. This disappointing result reveals that to learn something in school system costs much labor for the indigenous adults in poverty who are not engaged in the occupation that require formal schooling (i.e. construction work or UIS) and many of whom have never gone to school. Besides this general cause (of the failure), the teaching style of Paulo was too demanding, which was unexpected for the staff of CATIM.

IV-3-2 Colibri Center (NGO)

Colibri (Centro Colibri: Colibri Center) is the organization among all the support organizations to indigenous migrants that has contributed most to human capital formation of otomi children. Colibri constitutes, together with another Center called TRACA (Atención a los Niños Trabajadores Auténticos en la Calle), CIDES. The mission of CIDES is to improve the quality of life of those indigenous children working on the streets through
creating positive alternatives to the conditions that caused their stay on the streets.

Whereas TRACA realizes their activities directly on the streets where indigenous children (mazahuas, triquis and mixtecos) work, Colibri has given most of its services to otomi children in a building of three floors. It is within ten blocks from each of the four otomi settlements in Colonia Roma. In the winter of 1999 seven persons, apart from one cook and two young assistants of Social Service, were employed. They had studied in university social work, psychology, pedagogy or public administration. CIDES takes charge of obtaining the fund for Colibri (and TRACA) from several sources such as Nacional Monte de Piedad, international organizations like UNICEF, the government and personal donation. Colibri has sometimes worked together with other organizations such as INI, CATIM and Cáritas.

The history of Colibri dates back to a seminar of social education for street children organized by the government in 1992. Tens of social workers participated in it. Director of Colibri also participated and got familiar with some otomi families whose children was taking thinner on the streets. The seminar did not last a year, but later the participants began to form several small associations. Some of them came to have an idea that their projects would work better if they were integrated into an organization, thus Colibri (and TRACA) was founded. In the spring of 2000, 114 otomi children (of school and preschool age) of the 55 households living in the four settlements and 6 children of 2 ‘separate’ households were registered in Colibri, although some of these children did not participate in continuous manner. The services that Colibri offers to the participant children and their parents are the following:

- to impart school children and preschool children 1) complementary classes and courses of art, gender, hygiene, danger of drug, human rights and emotional development, 2) breakfast and lunch and 3) used school materials like school uniform, on condition that they go to school in the evening,
- to visit the settlements to give classes for the children who do not come to Colibri including some non-registered children,
- communication and cooperation with the teachers of public school, one example of which is to make arrangements for some children who lag two or three years behind ‘ordinary’ students to be able to finish primary school (not of INEA) as fast as possible,
- regular meeting with the parents (usually mothers) and visits to their households to motivate them for the better educational attainment,
- psychological attention to the children who have some serious problem such as drug addiction and family violence,
- to organize various events (only for the children who participate in other activities),
- to give some course of INEA in the evening to the adults who have interest (though they are few),
Like other support organizations Colibri does not charge their services: only 5 pesos per month as a symbolic payment. But mothers have to clean rooms by turns. In order not to fall into the paternalism or asistencialismo, under which otomi families would participate nothing but to receive immediate benefits as food, toys and uniform, it conditions material supports on more efforts for education on the part of beneficiaries. Methodology of Colibri is integral not only in the contents of its projects -school and pre-school education, health, recreation and psychological attention- but also in the involved persons -children, parents and school teachers-. It is a great advantage of Colibri. Another advantage constitutes the trust of participant households (in the staffs of Colibri) and the detailed knowledge about them, both of which were made possible through the long support experience (more than five years) to otomi families. The approach of Colibri is rather individual-based one, though it keeps a communication with the leader of each settlement. The Colibri’s experience indicates that social policies towards severely marginalized indigenous people must have three characters: comprehensiveness of the projects, long-term commitment and adequate attention to the situation of each beneficiary.

According to the director, the positive changes which its projects have contributed in significant way are:
- The repetition rate diminished from 51% to less than 10%, of the primary school children registered in Colibri,
- In settlement B, when it began to work only 10% of the children (of two households) regularly attended primary school. But now, the majority goes to school,
- On the 1999 school cycle, two children entered secondary school,
- Consumption of drugs was reduced,
- Hygienic situation was improved,
- Many children stay less time on the streets.

The author also could confirm these positive effects by comparing the otomi children who regularly participate with those of the similar family background that has not participated.

Thus, Colibri’s experience is a relatively successful case of the social policies carried out for the poor otomi migrants from SM. However, Colibri has a big problem which can halt its activities: it needs to gather a great amount of resources to sustain its comprehensive projects. The staffs of Colibri are paid little. In the winter of 2000 young staffs, although they had gone to university, only earned between 1,400 and 2,000 pesos per month, which was ironically even less than the income of many otomi adults as the experienced construction workers or street vendors. At the beginning of 2000 Colibri moved to other (secondhand) building, which was less old and larger than the previous one. But, the purchase cost so much that Colibri had to liquidate its assets and that many staffs had to leave before reopening its activities.
V Conclusion

In this empirical work about social policies and indigenous people, the author has tried to show in detail what projects were carried out towards some poor indigenous migrants in Mexico City and to explain their results. The indigenous beneficiaries investigated as an interesting case were the nearly 100 otomi migrant households from Santiago Mexquititlán (SM) who lived together in four irregularly occupied settlements in Colonia Roma, Federal District. Though during the 70s the local government created and administered a space (Otomi Center) for supporting female street vendors, it is only recently that various organizations, governmental and civil, have approached indigenous migrants to realize projects for their sake. Due to their poverty and ‘indigenousness’, the otomi migrants studied here draw much attention of these support organizations, which are eager to carry out effective projects often collaborating within them. However, only some part of the numerous projects undertaken had lasting impacts on the quality of otomi lives. This rather disappointing result is understandable if we take into account the nature of their poverty including their socio-cultural isolation and given bottlenecks for the success of group-based (i.e. beneficiaries’-organization-based) approach such as inter-family conflicts, limited tradition of collective action and problems related to the leadership. As a final remark, let us argue the implication of these otomi experiences for the two dominant approaches in discussing the indigenous question, that is, economic approach and autonomy one.

In the first place, economic approach is right when it stresses the importance of human capital accumulation for poverty reduction. But, in the case of severely marginalized indigenous population like many otomi migrants from SM, whose scarce human capital is explained by the interaction of economic and socio-cultural factors, it is necessary to modify their rigorous but narrow perspective. For example, scholarship alone may not change the situation.

Second, for autonomy approach to be relevant many conditions have to be met. In the otomi case, they had little interest in the idea of autonomy and their organizations have not functioned in the way like some support organizations had expected, due to their economic poverty, their historical character and the absence of intellectual leaders. But, this statement of actual otomi migrants does not deny the possibility that as socio-economic condition of otomi people improves in Mexico City as well as in SM and they become more confident in themselves, there will emerge autonomous movements among them.

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