

THE LINK OF STRATEGIC FACTORS: MANAGEMENT IN XOCHIMILCO

Introduction

The experience described here is that of Xochimilco, a site that was included in UNESCO's list of World Heritage sites due to its particular landscape, with man-made channels and islands built before the arrival of the Spaniards and beautiful buildings from the colonial period. The site was settled on the shores of the lake bearing the same name. Xochimilco is a Náhuatl word from Xochitl- flower and co- place. At present Xochimilco faces serious social and environmental problems. It is located in the metropolitan area of the Federal District, in the southern section of Mexico City.

In addition to my professional and academic experience, I base this presentation on my collaboration, from December 1997 to October 2000, in the management of one of the 16 urban subdivisions of the Federal District, the *Delegación Política de Xochimilco*. These subdivisions have an administrative and legal regime similar to that of *alcaldías* or municipalities.

Our intention is to briefly describe the actions that were undertaken in the Delegación Xochimilco within a social and political context that fostered democracy, immediately after the 1997 elections in the Federal District, these being the first elections for City Governor of the Nation's capital held in the history of the Country. The winning party was the leftist PRD party. At this time the population was longing for a change from ancestral bad habits and corrupt practices whose eradication was and is still difficult. They were used to hearing all kinds of lies or truths about the authorities or power groups and therefore showing a lack of credibility and repulsion for their actions.

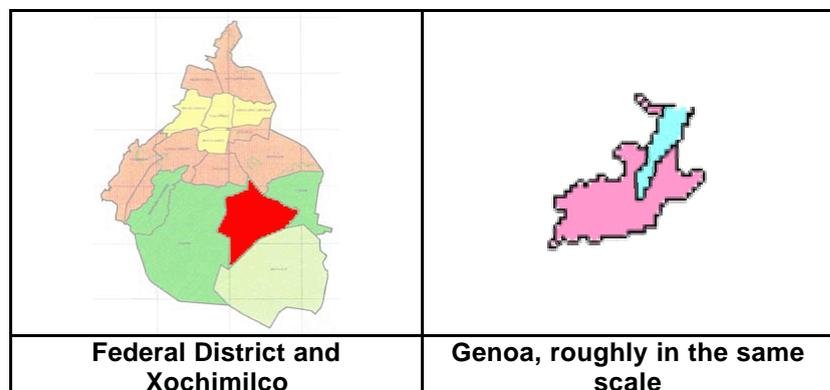
I will describe the actions and efforts undertaken in this period in the *Delegación Xochimilco*, as well as some of the events occurring there in the nearly four years that followed. I will then make various considerations regarding the management of this region during my administration. In order to present the strategies implemented and results obtained, I will likewise explain the main factors taken into account to establish the strategies and policies in the Xochimilco subdivision to achieve results that enabled us to initiate the process of cultural and environmental change in the management of this area under examination.

Historic, Geographic, Social and Cultural Characteristics of Xochimilco

The Xochimilco subdivision covers an area of 125.17 km², and a population of 369,787 inhabitants 8.4 % of the total Federal District area². While Genoa has 282 km², and 414,300 inhabitants³.

Forty percent of the people in Xochimilco engage in farming and agricultural

activities, live in *Pueblos*, towns or rural communities that have colonial churches of great beauty, some dating from the Sixteenth Century. It has beautiful natural landscapes and cultural sites. It used to be a separate corner of the metropolitan area not more than forty years ago, and was communicated with the rest of the Federal District by a long distance.





Colonial Church



Original Landscape

The freeway was extended to Xochimilco in the 90's. It was an area that was seldom visited by the Capital's inhabitants, except as a tourist attraction on weekends, or to buy and then resell

flowers and vegetables. Going out to Xochimilco was seen as a special excursion, and many of its own residents engaged in commercial and productive activities in the region itself as many of them still do. The inhabitants of its towns and head district are proud of belonging to their communities and still maintain a strong local identity that is reinforced by their ethnical groups and their civic, commercial and religious festivities of which there are more than 450 a year, including those dedicated to their patron saints and to the Niño PA, the most venerated image in the region. The people of Xochimilco consider the political, religious and social aspects of life as forming part of a whole and translate this into their daily way of life. They are integrated into their natural environment, created and determined by the astronomic and climatic characteristics of the region.



Popular



Civic



And Religious Fiestas

This region was from ancestral times settled around a main seat of government (*cabecera*) and sixteen smaller settlements scattered around the lake shore. Each settlement consisted of a *Calpulli* or main quarter with its ceremonial center, which would be replaced later by a plaza and main church upon the arrival of the Spaniards, and the surrounding *barrios*, the former *Calpultin*⁴, with the *Tecpan* of the *Pochtecas* or merchants and the area for farmers and fishermen, called the *Ayahualtenco*. The *Barrios*. Similar to neighborhoods were organized by occupations⁵ and each *barrio* had special areas dedicated to religious, administrative, political, local commercial, cultural, fish-breeding and agricultural activities, separate from the housing area.

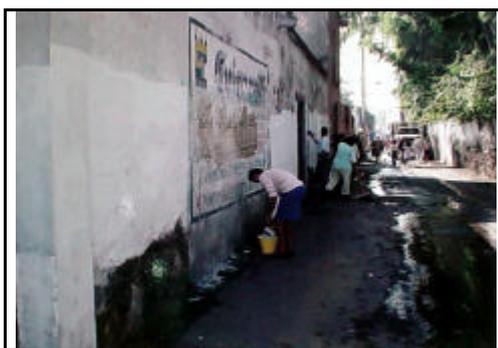
In 1928 the government of the Federal District was centralized in the Capital City, then consisting of what are at present the four central *Delegaciones*, and a year later, in 1929, the 12 surrounding municipalities became *Delegaciones*. At present the *Delegación de Xochimilco* comprises what was the original city with its eighteen *barrios* or neighborhoods, and fourteen towns with their own *barrios*, these are now conurbated with new neighborhoods and illegal settlements and with the rest of the metropolitan area.

In the 1950's, before the urbanization process accelerated, this region had almost no illiterate people and had many school teachers, physicians, lawyers and engineers among its natives. At present more than 50% of its residents are non-natives from different parts of the metropolitan area or the country, some from rural backgrounds that have invaded its environmental reserve area, while others are city dwellers who aspire to globalization and wish to have in their homes modern technologies, sophisticated architecture and lifestyles that are alien to the natives' idiosyncrasy. This state of affairs modifies and changes the urban image of the original towns.

The racial mixing that began in America in the Sixteenth Century is not over yet, but in most of our country assimilation has taken place. This is not the case for Xochimilco, which since the middle of the past century has been receiving an influx of people from cultures different from that of the natives, and where the population growth rate as recorded at the 2000 Census was 7.8%, one of the highest in the Federal District. This influx of people has caused not only the illegal settlement of its areas but also changes in its cultural patterns and its urban patrimony.

Due to the foregoing, it was impossible to try to prevent or stop the damage to the environment and urban image without the participation and support of the residents who had become aware of the seriousness of the problem and those who later on were willing to join in this crusade.

Social and Political Situation



Urban Rescue

We must first describe and then analyze the social and political situation prevailing in 1997, at the time of the first elections for Governor of the Federal District (*Jefe de Gobierno*) and the first local representatives of the Legislative Assembly (*Asamblea Legislativa, ALDF*), and the subsequent appointment of *Delegados* by the City Governor, which were confirmed in their post by the Legislative Assembly. The leftist PRD, who won the majority of elective posts at these elections, had been created ten years before, following the presidential election at which the candidate of a coalition of leftist forces won, but their

triumph was not recognized due to electoral fraud. The relative inexperience of the PRD worked as a disadvantage for those of us who were in charge of governing the *Delegaciones* in the Federal District. In addition, the plurality of the forces that made up the PRD sometimes hampered the formation of homogeneous teams of administrators capable of undertaking the transition project.

Since 1929 and up to 1997 the *Delegados* had been appointed by the *Regente* of the Federal District, who was designated to this post by the President. Until this first democratic government came into power, both the federal and central authorities of the Federal District had paid little attention to the needs of the *Delegaciones* that were not predominantly urban, such as Xochimilco, since they had less voter potential and still had extensive areas of forests and croplands that were not taken into account in the budgetary appropriations for the *Delegaciones*, and this meant having fewer resources.

Moreover, as regards human resources, the local PRD cadres varied widely and had different social, cultural, professional and ideological backgrounds. There were those who had fought to achieve a change while there were groups striving to maintain old and corrupt practices, such as the invasion of croplands by squatters to promote housing and the offering of urban services in forbidden areas and street vending. These corrupt groups used to make their claims to the new authorities at the beginning of each administration, and were one of

the major factors working against the PRD, the democratically elected government and the people of the Federal District who had voted for real change. There were other forces working against the new Government. Mexico City had to suffer the boycott at the federal level by the PRI, the so called “official party” that was still in power and exerted its influence over most of the mass media, which were implacable in their destructive criticism, and the slow change in the attitude of the legislative power both at the federal and local level, and in that of the judiciary. Only through the political will of the Governor, his honest intention of making a true change and the support of many of his close collaborators was it possible for those who wanted to contribute to this effort to remain in our posts and work to achieve this change.

In addition, many promises had been made during the campaign, which were included in a document entitled “A City for Everybody” (*Una Ciudad para Todos*) that had been prepared as a Governance program by university scholars who were unfamiliar with the magnitude and deep-rooted nature of many of the vices and inertia which the new Government wished to eradicate, and that had been tolerated and even fostered by past administrations. Unfortunately, this document offered drastic changes, some to be achieved within the short span of one hundred days. It was thought that many problems could be solved in this time and most of them in three years. These “experts” failed to take into consideration the prevailing situation of the country which acted as a brake on change.

In Xochimilco, past local authorities, starting with most Delegados and Subdelegados had been accustomed, in order to avoid conflicts, to appease the population by conniving or establishing hidden agreements with regional and local leaders which allowed the latter to continue controlling and exploiting the population for their own benefit and that of the authorities while providing a semblance of peace, thus enabling them to “enjoy the considerable advantages of misrepresented power”. Other leaders that were in collusion with former authorities were a kind of popular or community leaders who were designated at the time as Auxiliary Coordinators, who acted as the traditional *Calpuleques* (these popular leaders numbered sixteen). At the time we took office, these people lacked any kind of real representation or authority but still benefited from their sinecures, while they levied charges on the population for services to which the latter were entitled, while others had abandoned their posts for fear of the new administration but still collected their salaries. All these pseudo-representatives had been given permanent job-positions by former administrations; some of them had been on the payroll for more than 25 years, in order to guarantee their permanence and the vote of the people under their control. The new administration considered that real community representatives with authority and knowledge of the administrative efforts and the processes taking place in their communities were required, in order for them to serve as a link between the people and the Government and thus contribute to the governance of urban regions. Therefore their role was considered to be essential and not to be eliminated.

In the course of the talks the new administration conducted, the people asked that the Territorial Coordinators be replaced by open election. This decision gave rise to the first work stoppages at the Delegación that were organized by some union leaders who were “on the take”, and received money from such coordinators. This work stoppage also served to measure the force of the two participants in the conflict, the new administration and the union, and allowed the administration to establish a direct relationship with its workers.

The local and regional leaders also organized multitudinous acts by manipulating groups of people around just claims, when they found that dishonest practices would no longer be tolerated. The customary approach had been that the leaders would negotiate at meetings while the people were left in the dark about any “irregular arrangements”. This practice came to an end in 1998 when meetings were opened to the public by broadcasting the negotiations to the plaza via the sound system, thus inviting the people to take part and discuss the

issues, eliminating intermediaries. This was not easy; many groups, such as “*Antorcha Popular*”, the “*Frente Popular Francisco Villa*” and others who head street vendors, are used to extremely aggressive tactics and are really not willing to reach agreements, usually put forward impossible demands, swindle and deceive their members and seek advantages in the most dishonest and despicable manner. At the time I took office, there were also more than one hundred leaders, some of which headed clientelist style groups that deceived, exploited and trespassed upon the rights of the population, operating not only in Xochimilco, but in other areas of the City, who were pernicious and untrustworthy. Nevertheless, one of the greatest achievements of the new local government was the decrease in the number of dishonest leaders, and this allowed the authorities to establish closer ties with the population.

There were other groups that exerted unexpected pressure because they belonged to the PRD itself. In 1997, the people had given their vote not only to the Governor but also to the PRD Representatives, and the latter felt they had the right to make all kinds of demands such as asking for administrative jobs for people recommended by them (including that of the Delegado), special agreements, sinecures and lastly a say in how the actions and decisions of government had to be taken. There were still other groups, so called “environmentalists”, or those who pretending to protect the “traditions” of the community really wanted to control the considerable profits made during popular festivities, that exerted continuous pressure by organizing public demonstrations, sit-ins and the closing of the Delegación offices, to which the people had already grown accustomed. These practices were abandoned slowly and for the first time a less aggressive mode of negotiation was undertaken, that has been maintained by the following administration, since the present Head of the Delegación (from the PRD party) was elected by the people.

The Central Government considered that due to the prevailing situation of social decomposition and difficulty in communicating with the population, governability in Xochimilco would be difficult. The people of Xochimilco boasted at the start of my administration that they had ousted all but one of their local administrators. None of the Xochimilco Delegados has been a native of the towns that make up the region. In addition, natives of one town do not wish to be governed by a native of another of the towns and argue that he or she does not belong to their own town.

The total population of Xochimilco is made up of natives and others who have taken up residence there and has differing characteristics, this has forced the various local administrations to react and act in different ways, not always appropriately. Former practices in the management and organization of this region had accustomed the population to react habitually in a very violent and aggressive manner against local authorities. The people of Xochimilco were notorious for and boasted of this.

In this confrontational context, the rules changed. We had assumed the commitment of explaining to the population all actions that were to be undertaken according to our government plan and this improved the dialog between the authorities and the people. Little by little the mood changed and some of the leaders and people began to understand the new style of governing with the people through dialog, the purpose of which was to earn their confidence and establish credibility by explaining at meetings and public demonstrations the reasons for the situation faced by the Delegación, what we had to do to improve it, how to increase participation and improve negotiations to reach agreements. It is worth mentioning here that the first times I talked about love, affection, solidarity and the process of change that seemed so distant, I was met with mistrust and skeptical smirks. Those same people, during the final months of my administration recalled with affection that we had achieved what seemed at the beginning to be impossible. Some people said that they no longer had to pay the leader for their demands to be heard, that they no longer needed to bribe the authorities in processing licenses and the like and that unreasonable demands were just that, and therefore unattainable.

Operational Administrative Structure

The human resources on the payroll of the Xochimilco subdivision consisted of 3000 unionized workers and 70 non-unionized workers in key positions. Forty percent of these key positions were occupied by people designated by the local PRD. These people had very little or no administrative experience although they had good group leadership skills, and therefore they tended to look after their own interests and were disinclined to implement the policies of the *Delegación*. Others were occupied by people recommended by the Central Government and a few remaining positions were occupied by local or resident professionals invited by me to collaborate due to their experience and familiarity with the region.

The Administration was divided into the following areas: Legal, Administrative, Public Works, Services, Community Participation, Social Development and Farming and Agricultural Services.

Most of the employees had low scholastic levels, very low salaries, high levels of alcoholism, were used to the corrupt practices of former administrations, and demanded payment for overtime for which they did not actually work. More than 40% were over sixty five years old and most of them had links to their corrupt union leaders. This was the state of affairs we intended to change by adhering to sound principles of public service.

One of the first measures implemented was that of raising the workers' salaries, that were increased adequately on an annual basis, while the salaries of the *Delegados* remained the same during the whole term. Savings were made in fuel, electricity, water, transportation vehicles and sundry expenditures, while significant and more transcendental savings were accomplished in regards to public works. After that we proceeded to establish channels of communication with employees and strove to promote the participation of the people from the very beginning.

Preservation of the Habitat and Cultural Landscape

Xochimilco has unique ancestral agricultural areas and built environment, such as its hilly area, which is of the utmost importance since it is the main area of aquifer replenishment for the Federal District, and the area of *chinampas* (popularly known as "floating gardens", small artificially made islands used for agriculture for more than six centuries), highly productive croplands that used to yield up to three crops a year. These were built on the lake with extremely fertile silt in a gridlike configuration, surrounded by channels and limited by *ahuejotes*, trees that are endemic to the region.

Xochimilco was until the middle of the last century, the regional vegetable and flower supplier of the Federal District, the flowers and vegetables were distributed by canoes, or the so called *trajineras*. After the war of Independence in 1810, Xochimilco remained autonomous from the Metropolis. The exploitation of the springs to supply water to Mexico City began at the end of the Nineteenth Century. At the beginning of the Twentieth Century new routes and land transportation were introduced as an effect of urban sprawl, which accelerated from the 60's.

At present the urban area of Xochimilco includes urban settlements established in the area of environmental protection. What were once croplands are now the site of more than 350 illegal settlements, sixty



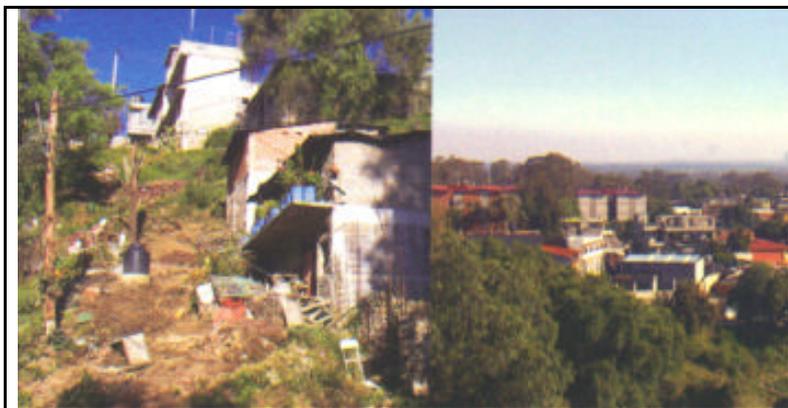
Gridlike configuration of Chinampas



Flowers and vegetables suppliers

new neighborhoods and twelve housing complexes. Most of these human settlements are not more than 35 years old. Most of the native residents of Xochimilco consider this as an aggression. Forty percent of new residents live in irregular settlements and therefore are not legally entitled to have complete urban services, and the natives feel they are being invaded through the illegal sale of land, which encroaches on the hills, aquifer replenishment area, the *chinampas* and other croplands.

The area has also been threatened by real-estate developers intending to privatize and develop a considerable extension of communal lands and turn them into residential areas, a golf club, and a hotel and recreational area, on the pretext that they intended to prevent illegal settlements. These were not allowed because illegal settlements would have sprouted anyhow around the development itself due to the demand for labor, because they would modify the socioeconomic structure of Xochimilco by widening the gap between the rich and the poor and entail other negative environmental impacts such as: a greater demand for drinking water, soil pollution by the chemicals used on the golf course, and the increase in the traffic carried by the already saturated traffic lanes serving and connecting the area with the northern part of the Federal District.



Invaded through the illegal sale of land

Special attention was given to the conservation and productivity of the tree and plant nursery and the region's mountain forest, protecting at the same time the replenishment of aquifers. With the participation of various groups and social organizations, financial support was provided to foster the agricultural and farming activities that are specific to the region by granting loans, in

order to improve traditional crop growing techniques, make the local economy more competitive and stop the deterioration of the land and channels.

Habitat Management and Construction

To foster a new culture and provide infrastructure and urban equipment to this region that had been neglected for many years, we had to change the strategy not only as a matter of conviction and principles, but also because of the very limited resources we had. During my administration the Central Government of the Federal District allocated an annual average of 350 million pesos (32 million Euros) to the *Delegación*. No financial or other type of support was received from the Federal Government.

The collaboration of all social groups and sectors who live, endure, enjoy and know the region, of city planners, and of the representatives of two of the three levels of government was necessary to improve the image of Xochimilco, satisfy the expectations of its population and enhance the quality of its natural and man-made environment. All those involved had to make a great effort, invest all our time and willingness to serve. In addition, greater consensus and coordination of the Administration's employees with the general population was needed.



In addition to the invasion of croplands both in the hills, forest and *chinampa* areas, further harmful activity could also be seen on its streets and sidewalks, with the proliferation of street vendors, most of them non-native residents expelled from the central areas of Mexico City, who had come to the *Delegación* as a result of unemployment, corruption, political pressures and venal leaders who had no interest in preserving its cultural and environmental legacy.

Because Xochimilco is a World Heritage site, its inhabitants and authorities have been interested in fostering tourism as a means to stop its deterioration and salvage it. My Administration contacted UNESCO Mexico and gave the initial steps to seek support for the preservation of the *chinampas* and channels. Although we did not receive immediate response, we promoted the maintenance of the channels and this effort was maintained during the three years of my administration, although the deterioration continued in the next administration. I have been informed that recently UNESCO sent an expert to continue with the work of coordination and the fostering of social awareness that we had begun.

Although at the beginning of my Administration some people were interested and pressured us to have Xochimilco included in the List of World Heritage in Danger in order to be able to have access to the additional financial support provided in this case, we felt this course of action was not advisable, since conditions of difficult compliance would have been imposed in order to carry out the project involved.

In addition to the social and political issues described above, the administration had to address other difficult and permanent problems such as the maintenance of long-neglected public utility networks, guarantee the water supply to an area where water is scarce because water is diverted to Mexico City, see to the replenishment of treated water for the channels of the *chinampa* area, and provide other public services which the population had long been asking for, such as cemeteries, a fire station, general hospital, markets, etc., provide information on ownership legalization of property to those who had been offered urban services in exchange for their vote, remove squatters from high risk, aquifer replenishment and *chinampa* areas, eradicate insalubrious areas, provide maintenance to the sewage and storm water system to control urban flooding, and respond to many other demands regarding public safety, property trespassing and many other problems arising between neighbors that were frequently impossible to solve in full. Another reason for the people's discontent was the general neglect of public buildings, some of which had not been serviced for more than forty years. The effort to satisfy all of these demands required that they be presented and

explained to the people, to establish their order of priority taking into account that the budget the first year was 40% less than that of 1997, and to remove all administrative obstacles for their satisfaction and this had to be done with the citizens' participation.

The task of satisfying all the foregoing demands was undertaken by the people on my team, mostly honest people willing to serve who established the channels to improve the quality of life of the inhabitants, acting jointly with those that have been designated by the UN as the "partners", that is, natural leaders who are familiar with the usages and customs of the community and with the mechanisms behind the interests of different groups.

We established a permanent dialog with the population to obtain information on their expectations and inform them on the administration's projects and programs, on the basis of the concepts and principles of social development, the available technology and the social sciences. We strove to combine the knowledge and experience of all involved.

Given the brevity of the time allocated for its presentation, it was not possible to include numerical figures in this paper; it should suffice to say that the population was kept informed by various means through Neighborhood Committees and the Territorial Coordinators and by means of leaflets and public meetings. Although this paper does not address in particular the specific actions undertaken to carry out the governmental program, it is necessary to say that future evaluation of their impact needs to be done, as they have continued, and this confirms the belief, that the people's attitudes and their cultural expression constitute the alpha and omega of public action. We have been informed that unfortunately it has not been possible to prevent the formation of new power groups acting in collusion with political parties that are interested in the sale of land for urban development purposes and in the manipulation of street vendors, who are part of the informal economy.

The main goal of my administration as head of the *Delegación Xochimilco* was that of organizing a joint effort that would serve as the basis for the all-encompassing development of the subdivision and to foster the respect of the population for one another. Although difficult, we strove to give impulse to the enthusiasm of its residents by reorienting attitudes to achieve harmony between the natural and built environment. We sought to replace accumulated animosity, that was the product of unsatisfied and conflicting demands, with an attitude that favored agreement and contributed to building the confidence of many of the community groups in their authorities. Everybody contributed to this task: the men and particularly the women of Xochimilco, their popular representatives and the representatives of the City Government.

As regards action for women, we created the Women's Support Center (*Centro Integral de Apoyo a la Mujer*) and the Support Centers for Victims of Domestic Violence (*Unidades de Atención a la Violencia Intrafamiliar*), to aid women who are now part of the workforce and that are still hesitant about seeking help of this kind. These actions helped to strengthen the bond between the people and their government

With the passage of time, former croplands have been turned by the residents into areas for commerce and to provide services. This change in the land use with the concomitant change in the socioeconomic and cultural structure was given special attention in order to slow down, insofar as possible, the environmental and cultural deterioration of this beautiful region, while contributing at the same time to the well-being of the population, and providing the works, urban services and employment demanded by the present circumstances.

The patterns and characteristics of this region have changed with the passage of time. The rural housing and habitat has been significantly affected by the urbanization process, which has altered its former image that had characteristics of great historical, patrimonial, economic, environmental and without doubt tourist value. This image was replaced by the

construction of housing complexes entailing different lifestyles. Furthermore, the supply of housing, land and urban equipment has not kept up with demand due to the disproportionate population growth, and therefore the population has not been able to balance the need of conservation against the overwhelming rate of urban change. In this sense, there will always be a lot that needs to be done. In this regard, the issue was not that of understanding the problems arising from the unfettered growth of irregular settlements or as a result of the informal economy. These are a reflection of the corrupt practices and of centralized actions around Mexico City carried out for more than 40 years by the federal government in the past; therein lies the difficulty is finding proper solutions to the problems. Concerning the infrastructure and urban equipment deficit, my administration was able to reduce it and exceed the goals set as regards paving with permeable materials, public lighting and other urban services, as well as that set for environmental conservation.

If there is a place in Mexico City where one can talk about sustainable activities, it is Xochimilco. Our actions were oriented towards improving the environment where future generations will live. We endeavored to salvage the cultural values and customs of Xochimilco and to turn urban spaces into fully livable places. In this regard, there is still much to do. Nevertheless, Xochimilco has the human resources and the resources for tourist and productive development that give it the competitive advantage needed so that Xochimilco, together with the other City Subdivisions and the Country as a whole, face the challenges brought by the globalization process in this new century. Only with a gradual change in the attitudes of both the authorities and the residents and their committed participation within a context of a democratic government will it be possible for Xochimilco to attain the image that we wish to give as a legacy to those who will live in the Federal District in this century that is just beginning.

We sought to establish a new alliance based on the mutual trust between the population and its government by assuming an attitude of respect and honesty that would identify us with the people we served for three years.

Urban spaces are certainly the reflection of their various actors and authors, of their inhabitants, governing authorities and of urban professionals who collaborate with them. We cannot change urban spaces if we do not change our attitudes in this respect.

As regards the future, I would like to mention that although some clientelist practices have been reinstated, other actions oriented towards the preservation of values and the fostering of citizen participation have been maintained by the new authorities, while the population has even rejected other practices because most of them are no longer willing to condone further damage to their environment and to the region.

¹ GARZÓN LOZANO, Luis Eduardo, 2002, *Xochimilco Hoy*, Delegación Xochimilco, GDF, Instituto de Investigaciones Dr. Jose María Luis Mora

² Intituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática, 2001

³ http://www.statistik.admin.ch/stat_ch/ber00/ekan_ge.htm

⁴ CHAVEZ DE ORTEGA, Estefanía, GUZMÁN, Ma. Teresa, 1999, "Latin-American Plazas, Beginning and Evolution", City-Planning TUAAL International Congress Puebla, Mexico.

⁵ Farmers, chinamperos, floriculturists, farmers, tule weavers, tlacuilos or notaries, fortune-tellers or soothsayers, Wise men from Chililco, stone or ceramic artisans, bricklayers, carpenters, stonemasons, basket-makers, musicians and singers, among others.