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The Old Town Liquor Dispute: Social Change and Conflict in New Mexico

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INTRODUCTION

Social Protest - 1980

The Old Albuquerque Plaza was quiet and peaceful. In front of San Felipe de Neri Church, which dominates the north side of the plaza, two buses of Sánchez Southwest Coaches Limited slowly filled up with people gathered in the church courtyard. They were parishioners who had laid aside their normal activities at home to attend a highly publicized meeting of the Albuquerque City Council.

As the vehicles circled the plaza, the passengers peered out the windows, observing tourists who walked in and out of shops and strolled around the park. The buses followed San Felipe Street north and went east on Mountain Road, heading toward City Hall in the downtown area. The uneasy silence in one coach was broken by the recitation of the rosary and the singing of hymns.

At City Hall the Council was already in session; the buses emptied and their passengers joined the crowd. Some two hundred people, middle-aged men and women, elders in their seventies, teenagers and small children, mostly Hispanos, milled about and visited in the east mall of City Hall. This was far short of the number predicted in a newspaper article which had quoted a San Felipe Old Town

Community Association (SFOTCA) spokesperson's figure of five thousand.

The anticipation and excitement of the crowd could be felt as TV crews laid cables and set up equipment in the area. A rope strung around the east and south sides of the building creating a fire lane, added an air of authority. Two uniformed policemen stood at the doors of the council chambers turning away almost everyone, except the press. Squad cars circled the block, while officers on foot patrolled the area and a helicopter whirled overhead. Meanwhile, two mounted policemen surveyed the crowd from their horses.

Dusk blurred faces as people clustered in small groups, and a few church members sang hymns. Suddenly, the atmosphere changed when a large group of Baptists, all Anglo, arrived almost doubling the number present. They joined the singing and praying, with a bullhorn now amplifing the voices.

This gathering was unique, not only within the ecumenical church movement, but in the history of New Mexico as well. The coalition between Hispano Catholics and Anglo Baptists was in itself uncommon. They had been unified, however, by the common protest of the sale of liquor near a church and a parish school. And the social movement of which this demonstration was a part is fascinating and significant in the light of New Mexico's social and cultural history.

In brief, the issue was this: the New Mexico State Liquor Control Act of 1939, as amended, prohibited the sale of liquor within three hundred feet from a church or school. This provision had always been subject to waiver by the State Director of Alcoholic Beverages Control. Amended in 1978, this statute now empowered county commissions or city councils to grant waivers.

In early 1980, a waiver application was presented to the City Council of Albuquerque by La Placita Dining Rooms restaurant, which was located well within three hundred feet from San Felipe Church and even closer to the parochial school. After five months of active community opposition, hearings by the Old Town Liquor License Study Committee appointed by the Mayor, and a suit filed by the applicants, the City Council would vote on the waiver at this July 28, 1980, meeting.

A vesper service conducted by Archbishop Robert F. Sánchez had been held a week prior to the Council session. During the service at San Felipe de Neri Church, the Archbishop publicly voiced his support for the Old Town community and had authorized the closing of San Felipe's doors when services were not being held, should the waiver be approved by the City. The Archbishop's posture gained wide publicity and a flurry of controversy followed his announcement. Charges of hypocrisy were leveled against the Catholic Church and against the Archbishop as the

inherent contradictions in his position were exploited by the media. Thus, the Old Town liquor dispute gained statewide publicity.

At the City Council meeting five proponents and eighteen opponents testified, but the final outcome had been accurately predicted by the SFOTCA: a vote of five to four in favor of the waiver. Three Hispano councilors and one Anglo voted against the waiver. The Anglo who voted with the Hispanos made certain his rationale for the vote was understood to be strictly tied to his commitment to neighborhood self determination. One Councilor and the Mayor used a compromise reached by the Liquor License Study Committee which authorized liquor sales only with meals as a basis for supporting the waiver. Two councilors argued that Catholics used liquor on church premises and therefore had no foundation for opposing the waiver. These two also reiterated the charges of hyprocisy. The other two who voted for the waiver felt it was simply good business.

Next day after early morning Mass, Father George Salazar, San Felipe pastor, robed in a black cape, walked from the alter to the entrance of the church with his congregation. There he nailed to the massive wooden doors a letter explaining the closure of San Felipe to the non-worshiping public. The doors and entry archway were draped with black funeral hangings while San Felipe's bells tolled. San Felipe de Neri Church had gone into mourning.

For almost three centuries the historic church had been open every day except during periods of renovation. Now, this stark ceremony marked the end of that tradition. To some parishioners it also signaled the death of their neighborhood - la Plaza Vieja.

But the opposition continued its resistance on another front. Twenty-two people, who were denied entrance to the Council meeting on July 28th because the chambers were filled to capacity, filed a suit to enjoin the City of Albuquerque from validating its action on the waiver. The court ruled in favor of the plaintiffs, citing violation of the open meetings law. Legal entanglements followed, which eventually took the case to the Supreme Court and finally back to the City's Hearing Officer. This stalled the issuance of the liquor license until early 1982. In the interim, the opponents went to the State Legislature and joined a proposed liquor reform movement. The final legislation included a clause that would prohibit waivers three hundred feet from any church or school. The law provided for restaurant beer and wine licenses and more State control over the liquor business; but it denied any more waivers for establishments within three hundred feet from a church or school.

Sociological Dimensions

The assembly in front of City Hall and the social movement of which it was a part raise some interesting

questions about the antecedents of grievances and the rationale and motives of the participants. One wonders, for example, why Hispanic Catholics would be so vehemently opposed to the sale and consumption of liquor near their church and school when the Roman Catholic church had no doctrinal position or policy against liquor. How did the involvement of Anglo fundamentalist Baptists with the San Felipe-Old Town protestors come about when a fairly common stereotype about Anglo fundamentalists is that they hold anti-Hispanic and anti-Catholic sentiments? What tied this group together other than the liquor issue and the fact that Baptists have, if not a doctrinal stance against liquor, a strong policy that opposes its use among its members? More questions were raised when the leaders of the protest group and their supporters asserted the issue was not liquor, but State law in relation to community and parish self-determination, and the cultural exploitation of San Felipe de Neri church. Other important factors were the press, which, for the most part, supported the proponents of the license waiver and printed anti-Catholic slurs; some city councilors who chastized the protestors with racially biased language at the council meeting; and an Old Town native businesswoman, formerly in the San Felipe Old Town Community Association but now a spokesperson for the proponents, who testified in favor of the waiver.

This paper suggests that three interrelated bodies of information are necessary for explaining the seemingly contradictory factors intertwined in the social protest: (1) a history of Old Town from its founding to the present seen within the context of the socio-economic development of New Mexico; (2) the story of evolving cultural and social traits of its Hispanic residents; and (3) an analysis of the events and processes of the protest movement. The conflict and social protest in Old Albuquerque's past and present, understood in conjunction with the social and cultural continuities, help explain the current struggle represented by this movement.

Accordingly, this is a historical case study of social change and conflict and a participant observation study of a social movement involving Hispanics in a Southwestern urban community. The problem, the data, and their analysis are all to be viewed within this context.

This study examines: (1) The social conditions in each of four historical periods to discern their role in the rise, deterrent, or delay of a social movement; (2) the socio-cultural historical continuities or discontinuities across historical periods to help explain the rise and dynamics of a social movement; (3) and the features or characteristics of the urbanization period to explain the rise, dynamics, and successes and failures of a social movement.

The historical part of this study more specifically discerns whether: (1) certain historical periods are particularly conducive to the rise of social movements; (2) there are significant differences, across historical periods, that account for the occurrence of social movements; (3) and whether generalizations regarding conditions that influence the rise of a social movement are applicable to all periods, or are they specific to particular periods.[1]

The narrative that follows summarizes structural changes from one period to the next and highlights the prevailing ideological perspective in each period. How these changing conditions affected the rise, deterrence or delay of a movement is analyzed within the framework of Anthony Oberschall's mobilization theory and the relevant contributions of Neil Smelser and William A. Gamson.[2]

STRUCTURES, IDEOLOGY, AND CONFLICT

Spanish colonial policy to encourage resettlement of New Mexico after the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 gave life to la Villa de Albuquerque in 1706. That policy was defined, in part, by the issuance of land to Spanish and sedentary Indian individuals and communities. Settlement could then proceed at an accelerated pace, and mutual protection against raiding Indian tribes could be offered by the

clustered communities.[3] In the Albuquerque area the recipients of the largest and the most fertile tracts of land were the heirs of pre-Pueblo Revolt latifundists. Reclaiming their ancestors' land, these hacendados used it for sheep raising. Therefore, Albuquerque's economy in the eighteenth century and the early part of the nineteenth century was dominated by the wool industry.

Success for the large sheep rancher rested on the availability of labor. The termination of the encomienda system in 1680 marked the end of an abundant and cheap labor force. After resettlement, some Pueblo Indians left their tribes and accepted Spanish customs and lifestyle. They were among those Indians who comprised the genízaro ethnic strain and became bound servants and day laborers for the better-off españoles. Women and children of nomadic Indian tribes, in constant conflict with Spanish settlements, were also captured and included in the labor force. They became part of the genízaro population as did plains Indian males who accepted hispanicized culture modes and settled in the area as servants and as day laborers.[4]

Genízaros were at the bottom of the social hierarchy in the newly founded Albuquerque. Between the genízaros and the emerging elite ranchers were other españoles-mexicanos and mestizo farmers who built on their initial land grant holdings. As some of these farmers declined economically, they became part of the growing number of poor subsistence farmers and farm workers. This pattern,

developed in Albuquerque's infancy, laid the base for a stratified and segmented society that characterized Albuquerque through the next period.

Españoles, the privileged group in Albuquerque, consisted of ranchers, weavers, and some semi-autonomous farmers who justified their status with a belief rooted in the Iberian peninsula experience known among men of letters as the ánima hispánica. This belief valued hidalguía and catolicismo. Although the español yearned for a true material aristocracy in an isolated frontier community, in his ideology he reflected catolicismo's humanitarian concerns for Indian people. In practice, genízaros were exploited, but their acceptance into the society was manifested in the intermarriage and cohabiting relationships between españoles and genízaros. This racial and cultural mix gave impetus to a new ethnic strain, the Indo-Hispano.

During this historical period genízaro grievances in Rio Abajo against the dominant society never materialized in social movements. In 1746 a claim for land in Belén was rejected. Any impulse to protest through organized resistance was probably dissipated due to the lack of an organizational structure. According to Oberschall's mobilization theory, vertical segmentation breeds shared feelings of oppression, but the absence of horizontally organized internal structure does not allow such feelings to result in mobilization for action.[5]

In addition to the internal weakness of the negatively privileged group and the institutional strength of those in power, the newly founded community faced a situation similar to war with the persistent Indian raids. Therefore, the various racial groups and social classes banded together to ward off the external threat. Among social movement theories there is general agreement that war is a deterrent, or a delaying factor, in the formation of social movements.[6]

Political independence from Spain changed restrictive Spanish colonial policies on trade and on land grants. The abrogation of these policies opened the way for commercial exchange between Mexico and the United States and also invited non-Spanish and non-Indians to settle in New Mexico through a more liberalized land grant policy. These trade policies had a significant short-run impact on Albuquerque's social structures. Albuquerque ranchers found another avenue for their economic ventures. Sheep ranchers, still tied to a latifundist economy, began shipping raw wool to Mexico and to the United States. Conducting the freighting themselves, they also brought in merchandise to New Mexico. Weaving declined and sheep raising and subsistence farming defined the economy.

Genízaros and impoverished españoles-mexicanos dispossessed of land constituted the labor force of sheepherders and farm workers in demand by the ranchers, whose wealth and social status increased. As in other

societies during a post-independence period, the emerging elites took control of the political apparatus for allocating economic resources.[7] Known as the Rio Abajo ricos, these Albuquerque area elites influenced New Mexico's political destiny throughout the Mexican National period. Manuel Armijo of an Albuquerque family was governor three times during the period between independence from Spain and United States annexation. The Armijo and Chávez families, related by marriage and business ties, held important government posts and were the scions of wealth in New Mexico. While governor, Manuel Armijo was responsible for issuing land grants to foreigners and native land speculators.

The latifundist, hacienda economy of the Rio Abajo elites was justified by the ánima hispánica world view, a historical continuity that flowed from one period to the next. Little is documented about the genízaro world view in Albuquerque, but it is assumed that what evolved in the Santa Cruz area in Rio Arriba, where elites were not in force, also existed in Rio Abajo. A new consciousness was emerging around the Santuario de Chimayó, the Virgen de Guadalupe, santos, and the Penitentes.[8] Significantly, the Penitente Brotherhood served as an organizational base. Furthermore, the northern New Mexican emerging genízaro consciousness and ideology were given intellectual legitimacy and organizational guidance by Padre Antonio José Martínez. The new ethnic consciousness, together with

the organizational foundations of genízaros and the corresponding weakness of the elites in the north was probable cause for the Chimayó Rebellion in 1837. This rebellion exemplifies how a generalized belief can spread shared sentiments of oppression in a segmented society, and how a movement may erupt when a strong communal organization with indigenous leaders exists.[9]

Albuquerque had no social movement; a few Penitente moradas existed in the general area but none in the Albuquerque Plaza. Moreover, Albuquerque had the elites, who not only dominated the community but determined the politics of the entire territory. Life in Albuquerque remained almost unchanged through the remaining part of the first period (1706-1821) and through the first half of the second (1821-1870), even though the latifundists were in a much better position and the servants were by then subsistence farmers in debt peonage. The threat of Indian raids prevailed through the 1860s but no longer served as an important determinant for delaying a social movement.

Beneath the apparent social stability, dramatic and irreversible changes were initiated by annexation to the United States in 1848 and the events immediately preceding it. Anglo traders already in Santa Fe and foreign land grant recipients were well established in New Mexico society by the beginning of the Mexican-American war in 1846. These men were to play an important role in the political changeover from a Mexican to American

administration and were to offer business opportunities as well as competition to the native New Mexico elites. An Army post in Albuquerque poured money into the community, stopped Indian raids and better secured vulnerable livestock, giving impulse for the sheep industry to expand. Concurrently, annexation increased demands for Albuquerque wool, providing the Rio Abajo ricos the material foundations for a true hidalguía.

Annexation and especially the Army post in Albuquerque contributed to the change in the class structure in another way. The Post introduced wage labor and a cash economy to the community, providing employment and other business opportunities for subsistence farmers and farm workers outside the latifundist structure. This was one legacy of the middle class in Albuquerque; the other was the intermarriage of Anglo men, who followed the Army to Albuquerque, with the daughters of the rising Mexican middle class. Their line bacame hispanicized and their heirs added to the middle class trend.

Accommodation was also taking place among the lower class. In this regard, the covert forces of social control, which operate before a movement occurs, as Oberschall and Smelser both point out, were preventing structural strain, reducing grievances and thwarting structural conduciveness. In terms of Oberschall's mobilization theory, Albuquerque was gradually moving toward integration.[10] The traditional, communal society

was coming face to face with capitalist industrial development at its earliest stages, and it had not developed any indigenous organizational forms. The northern part of the State, for example, had the Penitente Brotherhood; Old Albuquerque proper did not. Thus the mass of lower class people, the great majority in Albuquerque, found themselves in an absolutely new structural environment without having had the experience of their own organizations and institutions. In the past, they had related to the latifundist society.

The ricos maintained political control up to the Civil War period. Then a new group of land speculators came to New Mexico and assumed control of the political apparatus. Known as the Santa Fe Ring, this group, with the unwitting help of a Rio Abajo elite, took control of the Republican party. By the mid-1870s, an associate of the Santa Fe Ring was established in Albuquerque and gradually displaced the local elites from political power through skillful maneuverings.

In Albuquerque the Catholic Church was not a vehicle for seeking redress to grievances. It did not even have a Penitente morada. And the prospects of its assuming that role were killed when annexation to the United States also brought in a different ecclesiastical administration. With a new bishop, French-born and trained Jean Baptiste Lamy, New Mexico faced radical changes in the religious domain. Native priests, such as Padre Antonio José

Martínez of Taos and Padre José Manuel Gallegos from San Felipe de Neri, were suspended and excommunicated. Without these intellectual, political, and spiritual leaders dedicated to the lower classes, the growing awareness about the meaning of American institutions was thwarted. An ideological curtain was drawn and the intellectual dimensions of the evolving genizaro consciousness were blocked. Bishop Lamy initiated many changes. He brought the Jesuits to Albuquerque but banned Penitentes and derided the presence of santos in churches. Folk Catholicism endured and merged with subsistence agriculture lore. The value of harmony with nature became integrated with the acceptance of destiny. This union is expressed in faith and in what anthropologists call fatalism.

These values were no match for the ideology of progress and the Protestant Ethic that accompanied the Anglo newcomer and were central in the new society. Faith and fatalism coexisted with the ideology of free enterprise and progress, but were not to yield anything dramatic in the social world until the next period.

Albuquerque witnessed no uprising during this period. Accommodation was the key factor in preventing the emergence of a movement. The changes initiated during this period, however, set the stage for what was to happen next. The latifundist system was on its way out, Anglos were in place to gain control, a Mexican middle class was on the rise, and the majority of the people continued to

embrace subsistence agriculture, its lore and folk Catholicism. They carried these traditions on to the third period (1880-1930).

The railcars ushered industrial society into Albuquerque. The promise of prosperity and adequate transportation encouraged massive immigration to Albuquerque after 1880. The racial antagonism that had surfaced sporadically since 1850 intensified as the demographic picture changed. A New Town of immigrants and some pre-railroad Anglos was founded a mile and a half to the east of la Plaza Vieja, the old town; the small growing middle class Mexican community and many poor subsistence farmers, cattle tenders, and sheepherders stayed in Old Town. La Plaza Vieja elites were lured away from their bulwark and invested their resources and wealth in New Town development. In time, their resources dissipated, some of their daughters married Anglos, and assimilation into the Anglo society ensued. The elites fought hard to maintain political control, at some time even bolting the Republican Party, but by 1885, just five years after the coming of the railroad, they had lost that power. And as New Town progressed, la Plaza Vieja declined, becoming a barrio, an isolated Mexican neighborhood next to a growing city.

Old Albuquerque assumed many characteristics of a rural village adjacent to a growing metropolis. It had a small middle class, just coming out if its infancy and still strongly identified with the Mexican tradition. And,

there was a large lower class of improverished subsistence farmers. The residents of Old Albuquerque and their culture were denigrated, and they in turn despised the culture of New Town. Two parellel communitites coexisted with no political links to each other. Albuquerque was the center and Old Albuquerque the periphery.[11] Its truck farms provided some of the produce for the growing city. Most of Old Town residents worked in the truck farms and at a large sawmill situated north of the Plaza. Some worked in New Town industries. The interaction between the two towns was based on and limited to market relations.

La Plaza Vieja community entered this epoch supported by its cultural traditions and strong Mexican ethnic consciousness, the church, and the newly formed mutual aid society. The Church had various religious societies that involved almost the entire community, but it did not perform a truly prophetic role.[12] The mutual aid society was an incorporated entity with associational as well as traditional features. Its leaders were men linked to large extended families, the various societies in the Church, as well as to the indigenous business community and the county and state political systems. After the elites left Old Town, a new patron system headed by the new middle class and tied to the Republican Party emerged. Jesús Romero sustained a strong political machine by giving food and services to his constituency through the mutual aid society and his store. From time to time he communicated his

constitutency's concerns to state and county authorities, but he provided neither an organizational base nor much of an organizational experience for the entire community. The patrón, as well as the majority of people in Old Town, expressed their disdain for New Town and opposed any possible annexation to the growing city.

La Plaza Vieja's isolation in the mid 1880s was a logical result of the railroad and the founding of New Town. But when new Town was born it did more than just leave the cradle of the city behind. Isolation was similar to the barrioization process described by Albert Camarillo in his Santa Barbara study. Mexican people found solace and comfort in a Mexican social universe.[13] In Albuquerque the natives of La Plaza Vieja withdrew from the adversaries who threatened their resources, beliefs, and lifestyles. And, they refused to be under Albuquerque's political control. In this regard, isolation was a delay of social movement. It differs from isolation in general, because here isolation occurred when a former commerical center became a backwater.

The Great Depression marked the end of la Plaza Vieja's isolation, but not necessarily because its residents wanted to be part of New Town culture. In the rest of New Mexico as in Albuquerque the Depression and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration brought isolated and improverished communities out of the hinterland. This coincided with an awareness among Anglos in Albuquerque of

the tourism value of New Mexico's landscape and ethnic communities. Both factors contributed towards urbanization in different ways. On the one hand, Mexicans in general were, for the first time, placed face to face with Anglos. This was a negative experience for most, considering the enmity which had existed before. On the other hand, Mexicans discovered their heritage had value and it became the object of a cultural renaissance and of exploitation. Old Albuquerque was discovered within this context. Some advocates of cultural restoration proposed Old Albuquerque as the "Taos" or "Santa Fe" of Albuquerque, referring, of course, to the art colonies in the two northern communities. Consequently, Old Albuquerque, like other communities where isolation breaks down, became subject, not to the exploitation of its natural resources, but of its culture.[14]

A budding art colony, started in the 1930s in Casa de Armijo, disappeared during the war years.[15] But commercial development in Old Town did not cease. "New Town" ideology and people with "New Town" business interests and with an artistic and historical preservation orientation had moved to Old Town and coexisted with the residents. Apparently the middle class Hispanic community accepted them, and if the lower classes did not, their sentiments were not expressed in action. The native Old Town community remained committed to their values, to folk Catholicism and to some of the subsistence lore that had endured from the

past. San Felipe de Neri Church emerged as the spiritual and social bulwark during the period of isolation and continued to be venerated. Bold class distinctions gradually dissolved as heirs to the genizaro servants attained an education. Jesús Romero, the patrón died in 1935, but his machine had been doomed to extinction after the federal emergency relief programs began to erode its patronage base. The strong and meaningful mutual aid society also was weakened with the urbanization trend initiated with federal programs. But amicable relationships between Old Town native residents and Anglo newcomers were to turn sour in 1948.

Almost twenty years after la Plaza Vieja's isolation broke down, it was brought under city government. It took this long for the breakdown of isolation to rekindle past grievances. But in 1948 many still remembered the 1880s and 1900s when the two towns split, and Old Albuquerque even lost claim to its name, Albuquerque.[16] The animosities harbored through the years of segmentation came to light again. They were translated to a generalized belief about Albuquerque's attempt to control the lives of Old ALbuquerque natives. By then the political patron, who always opposed annexation, was dead; the Church pastor favored annexation; and the mutual aid society's power had eroded and it functioned strictly as a social group and a burial society. Neither communal nor strong associational groups existed. And even though the majority of Old Albuquerque residents oppossed annexation, they lost.

Isolation in this instance was not a true segmentation, because Old Town had only market relationships with New Town and there were no political links. Annexation, however, introduced a true segmentation, since the Old Town community would not have a direct avenue to the seats of power that would run their community. Furthermore, city resources of social control were strong, and this became the case of a community with a long history of political autonomy falling suddenly under alien rule.[17] Grievances not only were revived and shared, but magnified. From another perspective, Gamson's pluralism paradox also seems applicable to an explanation of what happened. Annexation proported to bring Old Town within the authority system. And even though it was brought into the system through legislative action, in practice Old Town was left out. Moreover, as outsiders, its residence confronted an impermeable system.[18] Old Town's internal organizations were weak, making the formation of a social movement impossible. Grievances did not disappear, but Old Town residents learned to live under the City of Albuquerque. City services were available, and Old Town tourist restaurants provided jobs for a few. Consequently, some form of accommodation occurred. In 1958 the Historic Zoning Ordinance was passed, bringing Old Town under a special code which controlled architecture and other historically related activities. People opposed such zoning, but as with annexation, no social movement arose.

Between 1959 and 1970 a younger generation of la Plaza Vieja, some heirs to the middle class with roots in the 1860s and 1870s, others who may have had ancestors who were genizaro servants, and still others who may have had ancestors who had moved to Old Town from New Mexico subsistence farms, dedicated themselves to political organization. Then a Spanish-American rather than a Chicano, Indo Hispano consciousness unified them. Since statehood was achieved in 1912, Old Town had only sporadic represenation in the legislature. Now Old Towners sought a direct connection between their community and the legislature. Politics in the local community and efforts at reapportioning the legislature finally opened the way and the community was reenfranchised. Meanwhile, ethnic consciousness with political overtones spread throughout the country and touched Old Town as well. Concurrently, the War of Poverty gave life to the rhetoric of community control and self-determination through people's participation on citizen boards.

In San Felipe de Neri the parish became embroiled in a dispute over repairing the church building. This dispute entangled the pastor. And the Jesuits, nearly one hundred years in San Felipe de Neri, were removed and replaced by an articulate diocesan Chicano priest. Father Luis Jaramillo preached about social injustice to his congregation and warned that if allowed to continue unchecked, Old Town commercialization would eventually

dictate the Church's role in the community. Father Jaramillo's appointment to San Felipe was symbolic; he was the first native priest to pastor San Felipe de Neri since Jose Manuel Gallegos was suspended by Bishop Lamy in 1852. He left the parish within five years, but the San Felipe de Neri Church had assumed a new role as a voice and advocate for the concern of the native Hispanic community.

Church rennovation, the controversy which led to the transfer of the Jesuits out of San Felipe de Neri, began under Jaramillo's replacement, the Reverend Robert F. Sánchez. Like any other building in the historic zone, the Church was subject to the authority of the Architectural Review Board, which discerned compliance with the Historic Zoning Ordinance. Father Sánchez had the plans approved but left to serve as Archbishop before the job was completed. Sánchez was replaced by the Reverend George Salazar, a Chicano nurtured by the folk Catholic tradition and enlightened by the theology of liberation. He believed San Felipe Church had sovereignty over its buildings so long as public saftey was not at stake and questioned Architectural Review Board authority. The animosity between the pastor and the Review Board intensified and exploded into open conflict over a permastone facade installed in front of the church. Father Salazar was cited for violation of the Historic Zoning Ordinance. That was the precipitating event mobilizing the parish in vocal solidarity,. This was the birth of a movement, festering

since the railroad years, exacerbated by annexation, and guided by an ideology of cultural survival and self-determination.

This issue demonstrated segmentation and shared feelings of political impotence among the people over their resident community and the destiny of their parish. By then there was basic organization expertise among the members of the challenging group. Viewed within Oberschall's model, necessary and sufficient conditions existed for the rise of a movement. Because some basic pluralist assumptions were accepted by the incumbents, structural conducivesness existed, the forces of social control were relaxed, and the system was permeable. The symbol of San Felipe de Neri Church under attack by a historic adversary, the City of Albuquerque, brought about complete solidarity among the challengers.[19] An apology from the mayor to the pastor of San Felipe laid the matter to rest for some, but others in the opposition group perceived this encounter as symptomatic of a deeper and older problem: resident self-determination over Old Town's continued commercial growth.

The challenging group confronted the City over liquor licenses in Old Town, and this issue split the solidarity of the community group. The smaller faction favored liquor; the majority did not. The pastor, in this case, supported the majority and the controversy intensified as the bolters led the fight for liquor and the proponents

strengthened social control. The struggle for resources continued at a high pitch, bringing the Archbishop into the controversy and the press on the side of the incumbents.

This dynamic relationship between challengers and incumbents brings Oberschall`s adaptation of Mancor Olson and the concept of resource management and public goods into play.[20] The mayor tried to handle the liquor question with resource management techniques and the use of non-zero-sum game by appointing a committee. (No one won absolutely, no one lost totally). The challengers disagreed with the committee's compromise and immediately found themselves outside the sytem of authority. Their tactics became confrontative, "unruly", and the forces of social control responded through the press attacking Old Town opponents. Parish participation diminished, but the pastor continued his support, and free legal services were obtained.

From then on, the movement functioned at times within pluralist institutions such as the courts. At other times the SFOTCA was an outside challenger, using tactics such as closing the doors of the church to tourists, holding a candlelight procession in the Old Town plaza, mobilizing Anglo fundamentalist Baptists and barrio Chicanos to demonstrate solidarity against a liquor license in front of City hall. In the end, Old Town business got its liquor license, but SFOTCA gained entrance to proposed liquor reform in New Mexico that struck the liquor license waiver

from the law and froze the provisions that prohibit the sale of liquor 300 feet from a church or school. This, they hoped would allow only one license in Old Town plaza. However, more were bound to come as a result of pending court action.

Conclusions

The fundamental question directing the historical part in this study is: What social conditions in each period account for the rise, deterrent, or delay of a social movement?

The data in this study show unique social conditions specific to each period, most of them acting as deterrents or delays, and only the conditions in the urban period leading to the rise of a movement. These differences across historical periods are accounted for primarily by the social structures and by the ideology or ideologies of a particular period.

Each period in Old Town history was defined by specific structures. It is unlikely, for example, that a latifundist, hacienda economy would exist in an urban, modern period. Yet, the assertion that strong social control in a society where the disadvantaged community lacks both communal and associational organizations would impair a social movement, holds for all periods; it was defined by hidalgo elites and impoverished genízaros in one

period and government and traditional Hispanics in another. The converse would follow: societies with weak social control forces and strong communal or associational groups with shared grievances would be likely to experience social movements in any period.

ANALYSIS OF AN URBAN SOCIAL MOVEMENT

The preceeding narrative has disclosed that significant differences between historical periods account for the rise of a social movement in one period and not in the others. The material also suggests continuities and discontinuities in the historical process affected the direction of the SFOTCA movement. What remains to be discussed are the specific relationships of these historical patterns to the rise and dynamics of SFOTCA and the specific features of urbanization that shaped the direction of the San Felipe - Old Town movement.

Historical Continuities

The impact of incorporation of Albuquerque into the national economy, genízaro consciousness, and the symbol of the Church are three sociocultural patterns that traversed historical periods. Some represent continuities, other

discontinuities, but all three influenced SFOTCA's rise and direction.

Structural conduciveness: Albuquerque in the national economy

The railroad severed the continuous existence of the latifundist mode of production. It was superceded by a capitalist system that ushered in a host of newcomers and a new ideology. The existing demographic pattern was upset and two ethnic communities emerged. The Anglo community was called New Town and the Mexican community Old Town.

The new beginning initiated by industrial capitalism was to create a deep cleavage and racial enmity between the residents of the two towns. When Old Town was discovered and brought under city administration, these negative feelings were transformed to discontent toward the City of Albuquerque. Residents of La Plaza Vieja rejected Albuquerque's extension of its authority over their community, a phenomenon likely to create structural strain. More significantly, this relationship set the stage for a movement to arise when the discontents found meaningful expression in a generalized belief, a precipitating event occurred, and a viable organizational base was possible. Accordingly, 1880 structural changes linked to 1949 poilitical action created the foundations for structural conduciveness, the broadcast of all determinants of collective behavior.[21] The New Town-Old Town split, in concert with the rise of ethnic

consciousness and the meaning of the Church as a symbol, converged to give SFOTCA its ideological posture of self-determination and cultural survival. The two-town phenomenon and the City's extension of authority over Old Town led to the demand for self-determination, whereas the rise of ethnic consciousness and the symbol of the Church were linked to cultural survival.[22]

Genízaro consciousness and the rise of the Chicano[23]

Genízaro consciousness emerged in the early 1800s. Awareness among the carriers of the genízaro strain of their Indian roots diminished towards the end of the century and the beginning of the next and was revived by the rise of Chicano consciousness in the 1960s. In its beginning, part of genízaro consciousness reflected the blending of the Spanish and Indian world views expressed through the belief in santos as intercessors with supernatural powers; the veneration of la Virgen de Guadalupe; the belief in the healing powers in el Santuario del Potrero at Chimayó; and the Penitente Brotherhood.[24] The Brotherhood, furthermore, provided an organizational base for genízaro mixed-bloods. This was a critical social adaptation for people torn form their tribal roots.

The religious aspects of genízaro consciousness have come to be known as New Mexico folk Catholicism, and they have endured through the years. It is suggested here that in its nascent stages, genízaro consciousness was

intellectually nurtured by Padre Antonio José Martínez, who served as an organizational guide. Educated in Canon Law and theology and profoundly influenced by Enlightenment ideology, Padre Martínez provided intellectual apology and ecclesiastical legitimacy for the growing ethnic consciousness. He also gave organizational direction to the Brotherhood of Penitentes in northern New Mexico. It is also suggested on scant evidence that Padre José Manuel Gallegos might have played a similar role in Rio Abajo, though not specifically in San Felipe parish where he was pastor. The excommunication of Padres Martínez and Gallegos and the veiled ban of New Mexico native priests by Bishop Lamy deprived the great majority of the New Mexico population of its traditional intellectual leadership. In time, the Penitentes lost legitimacy in their own communities and became the scapegoats for sporadic violence sparked by land enclosures and racial antagonism. Thus, by 1920 the Brotherhood was operating in secrecy; the Spanish-genízaro mixed-bloods had lost their Indian identity; and Spanish-American and Indian relations were in decline. Within these changes, the core of New Mexican folk Catholicism endured, but it was devoid of either political dimensions or an ethnically contexted organization.

Indo-Hispano consciousness was reborn in New Mexico by the convergence of several forces. On the one hand, Reies López Tijerina affirmed in the Alianza's platform the

Indian heritage among land grant heirs, by then known as Spanish-Americans. At the same time, Mexican-Americans throughout the country were reclaiming their indigenous roots, giving rise to Chicano consciousness. New Mexicans who reclaimed their Indian legacy joined with Mexican-Americans throughout the Southwest, and the thwarted genízaro consciousness was reborn as Chicano. This movement spilled into San Felipe de Neri Church through the work of Padre Luis Jaramillo. He was the first of the native priests to bring this awareness to the congregation.

The rebirth of Indo-Hispano consciousness within the context of a political movement, painful as it may have been for those who cherished a "pure" Spanish identity, was in part responsible for turning San Felipe de Neri towards a prophetic role. This new perspective, carried on by Father George V. Salazar, influenced the SFOTCA movement from its initial outburst to the end of the struggle.

Structural strain and generalized belief. George Salazar reflected a New Mexican folk Catholicism upbringing and affirmed his Chicano identity, supporting as a result the prophetic role of the Church. He clashed with the City's Architectural Review Board in what appeared to be a general value conflict, which, according to Smelser, is responsible for racial confrontations. The source of structural strain was conflict over the allocation of administrative and political power regarding decisions over

the church building.[25] Grievances were aggravated with the strong response of the Architectural Reveiw Board that had the priest cited for violation of the Historic Zoning Ordinance. This action confirmed for San Felipe parishioners the widely held belief in Old Town that the City was trying to tell them how to run their church and communtiy. That incident translated the belief into a hostile outburst which demanded an apology from the mayor. According to Smelser, such strain could only be removed by changing social action at the facilities level; this meant giving Old Town more power over its own destiny. An apology could not accomplish this. As the movement evolved, the value and normative dimensions also grew in importance as did the drive to redistribute authority over the decisions about Old Town control.[26]

Structural conduciveness and precipitating incident. Another aspect of structural conduciveness in this case is tantamount to democratic assumptions that allow for redress of grievances through the system.[27] While the priest and the Architectural Review Board were in dialogue, hostile as it was, both the incumbents and would-be challengers were within the system of authority. The dramatic differences in cultural orientations, Salazar's affirmation of the Church's autonomy, and the Architectural Review Board's frustration over how to deal with him, weakened the institutional system of authority. When the Architectural Review Board members witnessed the permastone facade in the

vestibule wall of San Felipe, they assumed it was a contrived plan to further obstruct and anger them. Rather, it was a culturally contexted incident where a parishioner, who had made a vow to San Felipe de Neri, fulfilled it by repairing the cracked cement wall with the facade. The pastor was cited, and in the eyes of the parish, treated as a common criminal. This precipitating incident mobilized the parish into an outburst.[28]

That dormant ethnic consciousness, part of an historical continuum, was revived and came to affect the rise and dynamics of SFOTCA in several ways. It led the San Felipe Church to a prophetic role in the community; ethnic consciousness was primarily responsible for the conflict between the priest and the Architectural Review Board that led to structural strain over the allocation of decision-making authority; it was in part responsible for the spread of a generalized belief. Ethnic consciousness was at the center of the culturally contexted precipitating incident, since the man who fulfilled his vow by placing the permastone facade was acting within a long Catholic tradition influenced by the Spanish-genízaro mix, which was respected and supported by the Chicano priest. Accordingly, part of the roots of this struggle are found in the cultural and social history of Indo-Hispanic people.[29]

San Felipe de Neri - a symbol

Conflict resolution. Writing from a resources management perspective, Anthony Oberschall argues that

conflict over symbols is the most difficult to regulate.[30] In this case, the church represented the single most important symbol of the community's indigenous past. At the center of a controversy in Old Town, San Felipe de Neri Church mobilized the parish in complete solidarity against the City of Albuquerque. It is no surprise the movement that started with a hostile outburst endured as a well-organized protest. For as long as the San Felipe Church remained at the center of the controversy, the fight continued.

The outburst over the citation issued the priest was resolved with an apology from the mayor, the dismissal of the charges against the priest, leaving the permastone facade, and eventually placing two Old Town Hispanics, including one parishioner, on the Landmarks Urban Conservation Commission, successor to the Architectural Review Board. These were major successes. The apology, an incalculable resource in the language of resource management, was to opponents an absolute win. It was not within the definition of the non-zero-sum game discussed by Oberschall as a conflict management tool.[31] Leaving the facade was a symbolic victory. The revision of the Landmarks Urban Conservation Commission membership to include Old Town residents fell within the resources management context and institutionalized conflict regulation.[32] It was also addressing the issue of changing the allocation of resources, fitting Smelser's model of a facilities-oriented movement.

Mobilization and social control. The effort by the City to institutionalize conflict regulation did not bring an end to hostilities, however. Old Town protesters chose to continue mobilization by confronting the City on the issue of liquor dispensing establishments near the church and parish school. The law prohibited such liquor sales, but it could be waived by action of the City Council. After SFOTCA lost its first battle to stop the waiver, the Church assumed a more visible tactical role in the dispute. It was closed to the non-worshipping public--tourists--and the parish refused to participate in the major Chamber of Commerce luminaria display at Old Town during Christmas. The Archbishop became vocal in his support of these actions that expressed San Felipe de Neri's refusal to be a party to its own exploitation. In response, public statements from the governor urged the controversy be resolved and the church reopened, since historic churches were vital to the tourist industry.

The tactical use of the church as a mobilizing symbol reduced the sacred aura of San Felipe de Neri Church. At this point the press unleashed an attack reflecting the posture of city and state officials and other proponents of the waiver. The Church and the Archbishop became fair game in the struggle for resources, and old racial enmities resurfaced. The dynamics of mobilization and social control were at the point at which the challengers and the incumbents had entered the arena of public opinion to fight

for political resources and legitimacy. This struggle determined the subsequent strategies of the movement and influenced the outcome.

San Felipe de Neri, a cultural symbol extending through centuries, was at the center of the controversy and defined the arena for conflict. Conflict over the church was a source of structural strain; it was the referent in the generalized belief; it was the object around which the precipitating incident occurred. Once mobilized, the protesters kept the symbol of the San Felipe Church highly visible. When defeated in their major demands, the protesters brought the Church tactically into the arena of the struggle for resources. At that point the forces of social control directly attacked the venerated symbol.

Urbanization and Social Movements

Organizational Structures

Old Albuquerque has a long history of weak cultural and associational organizations. Albuquerque's peasant population was made up mostly of genízaros who had severed their organizational foundation. In northern New Mexico the Penitente Brotherhood provided an organizational structure until its erosion following the railroad years. Albuquerque's San Felipe de Neri had no Penitentes, however, depriving the community of internal organization and regional links. Accordingly, the impoverished Mexican

community entered the industrial period devoid of effective organizational structures or organizational experiences. The political machine, the mutual aid society, and various church societies provided organizational networks during the isolation period. Neither left a significant political legacy, however.

The political machine was like any other patronage-sustained American political machine. According to Fainstein and Fainstein, political machines performed a disservice, by, among other things, socializing conservatively a generation of American working class, thwarting the formation of a socialist political party. The patronage-sustained machine was eventually destroyed by the onset of the antithesis, progressive reforms. In Albuquerque, the political machine simply did not leave socializing and politicizing skills among the people. It helped sustain the community while it remained isolated from New Town, but when the progressive reforms of the New Deal reached Albuquerque, the political machine crumbled. Patronage functions were replaced by Federal programs, and the machine died.[33] In Old Albuquerque this coincided with the death of the "patron," creating a double jeopardy.

As opposed to the machine, the Sociedad Nuevo Mexicana de Mutua Protección provided, especially for the leaders, broad organizational experiences in associational groups. Moreover, the Sociedad, as it was known, was linked to large, extended families, building an important community

network. But the functions of the Sociedad were also eroded by the onset of progressive reforms and urbanization, rendering it ineffective for confronting political issues.

Accordingly, annexation, a symbol of urbanization, was opposed by the Sociedad in terms of how its fund raising activities would be restricted. After annexation, the Sociedad went downhill, and in 1956 it voted to dissolve its corporation. Not long after, however, Old Town's young leaders, touched by the nationwide political awreness among minorities, entered the political arena and reinfranchised Old Albuqueruqe. Through reapportionment efforts, a direct link was gained between the predominatly Hispanic Old Town-los Duranes area and the State Legislature. Some of those involved in this political process founded SFOTCA, although not all its members remained loyal after the liquor dispute.

Organizational strategies. The leadership for SFOTCA came from the political arena. Their experience accounted for the tactics and for the overall strategy of the movement. When they found the City relaxing the rules of the Architectural Review Board and apologizing to the pastor, the leadership of SFOTCA moved to organize a bureaucratic group and induced a second precipitating incident. This differs from Smelser's position that movement organizations are not institutionalized, but arise only on occasions when institutions do not meet a need and

remain unstructured.[34] SFOTCA also had centralized authority with a small group of decision-makers in control, another innovation which was not part of the earlier collective behavior literature. Bureaucratization and centralization, affirms Gamson in his work, account for a movement's success. Bureaucracy assures combat readiness, and that, SFOTCA had, as it was capable of marshalling support for public demonstrations of solidarity.[35] Centralization was supposed to assure solidarity and prevent factions from forming, but it did not work accordingly in this case. Centralization was used for establishing boundaries and excluding those who did not agree with the goals.

Factions are an important variable in the success or failure of a movement. The formation of factions in SFOTCA is better explained by Oberschall's adaptation of Olson's logic of collective action.[36] Gamson's criticism of ideology as cement for solidarity will become clear as the discussion of the process evolves. The citation of the pastor mobilized the group in complete solidarity, with parishioners, Hispanic merchants, and Old Town supporters of San Felipe responding together. When the SFOTCA confronted the liquor waiver issue, one of the members, who also belonged to the Old Town Merchant's Association, supported the waiver. She did not leave SFOTCA, but was excluded from further meetings where the liquor waiver was to be discussed. According to Obershall, individuals will

participate in collective action as long as the benefits derived outweigh the cost of investment. For some merchants in Old Town, liquor sales was in their best interest. Opposing the license would be inconceivable from a resource management perspective. For people who assumed that position, neither the symbol of the Church nor the ideology of cultural survival and self-determination could draw them to the group. This affirms Gamson's position that ideology cannot account for solidartity in groups.[37] Of course, in this case, neither did centralized organization bring everyone to agree on one goal when liquor became the issue. SFOTCA supporters of the liquor waiver did not accept the premise that the issuance of a liquor waiver would be harmful to the church. Opponents of the waiver argued that the position of the church in the plaza as a respected spiritual center was declining and the it was being viewed by the proponents of the waiver primarily as a tourist attraction; eventually, San Felipe de Neri Church could become a museum and the resident community would be deprived of its spiritual and social center. These premises could not keep the group together either. Thus, centralization led to the expulsion of potential faction members, consequently preventing factions from forming.

SFOTCA's organizational experiences and the links its leaders had with other community resources were responsible for the major successes of the group in the liquor

dispute. This was in part responsible for the successful tactic in marshalling support from the Baptist community. SFOTCA managed to get an effective attorney, whose free legal services helped stall the liquor license for two years. He worked with two other attorneys, who were SFOTCA members and parishioners. Gamson points out that challenging groups that do not have strong internal resources need outside resources to succeed.[38] These legal services, critical to the success of SFOTCA's protest movement, were internal as well as external resources; the support of the church at the parish level, as an internal resource, and at the Archdiocesan level with the Archbishop, as an external resource, were also critical.

Pluralist Assumptions

Many of the tactics used by SFOTCA might not have worked had it not been for other conditions that were also part of an urban, modern period. New Mexico has been viewed by some students as the ideal place for a truly pluralist society to flourish.[39] The assumptions in pluralism extend beyond the coexistence of several ethnic groups in one social system; pluralism implies that the various groups have access to the seats of authority to seek redress to grievances. Pluralism did not exist in any of the previous periods discussed, and it was only towards the 1950s that movement towards these principles began in the Old Albuquerque area in relation to the dominant community. More specifically, the War on Poverty was a

manifestation of these liberal beliefs, expanding the opportunity structure for the disadvantaged and encouraging citizen participation. These programs emerged concurrent with the Civil Rights Movement and reached the people of Old Albuquerque.

At the onset of SFOTCA's initial outburst, pluralist beliefs went into play, and both sides were within the system. In effect, resource management was initiated as the struggle intensified, and the city council and mayor dealt with the problem by establishing a special committee with sufficient community input. The opponents lost, the committee recommended the waiver, the SFOTCA assumed it was outside the system of authority, rendering resource management ineffective. At that point the challengers brought "unruly," confrontative tactics into play. When the issue went to court and then to the legislature, the challenging group was reentering the system tactically and operating within pluralist assumptions.

Gamson's study shows that the system of authority is not as permeable as pluralism leads one to believe. He notes that the system is "open" only for those who are within. If a protest movement begins within the system, collective behavior theory is an appropriate tool for examining it.[40] If a group is outside the system, its most useful tactics are unruly and confrontative. The San Felipe-Old Town Community Association, as had been pointed out, operated within and without the system; it scored

successes in both arenas. The tactics used corresponded to whether they were in or out of the system at the time. This is something that can happen only in a modern democratic society.

Media

None of the earlier periods had the media capability of the urban period. The media has been identified as supporting the incumbents, after the Church was brought into the controversy tactically. The closing of the church's doors for tourist viewing and the luminaria boycott underscored that this symbol of sacredness was the subject of cultural exploitation by the tourist industry. But the widest coverage given by the media was that Catholics were hypocrites. Perhaps this happened because editors perceived that cultural symbols were used as props for a deeper concern, which was to slow down commerce in Old Town. This clearly placed the media on the side of the proponents. The media, however, did not enter the struggle for resources until after mobilization occurred. SFOTCA had won the public support of the Archbishop, manifested in the closing of a historic church. The Archbishop represented a vital resource that the incumbents also wanted. His silence on the matter would have sufficed for them. Once on the side of the challengers, both the Archbishop and the Church were attacked. It was an effective way to neutralize and weaken his support. This demonstrated the power of the media in the dynamics of

mobilization and social control. The media was in and part of the system of authority. Although both sides wanted the media's support, the incumbent was a more likely and logical candidate to gain it.

CONCLUSIONS

Social changes leading to an urban society and historical antecedents interacting with existing conditions during the contemporary period created a movement in two phases. The first phase, more directly linked to sociocultural historical continuities, was partially amenable to explanation by Niel Smelser's collective behavior paradigm. Within that framework, the most salient aspect is the spread of generalized belief, with non-rational rather than rational characteristics. In contrast, the second phase was a rational, well planned challenge executed at a propitious time when the forces of social control were relaxed, lending itself to explanations proposed by both Oberschall and Gamson. Accordingly, had the collective hostile outburst precipitated by the citation issued the pastor not progressed further, the protest movement could have been fully explained by collective behavior theory. History may have been important only to explain that two towns had formed in the railroad years, and they had been in tension ever since.

The second phase--the movement--as a rational outgrowth of the hostile outburst, requires a more thorough scrutiny of the sociocultural historical antecedents in relationship to the existing conditions. This suggests that contemporary Hispano social movements in the Southwest must be examined within the context of the region's social history. Social history becomes a method for explanation as well as for prediction of social movements.

Social History as predictor

Camarillo's work about Santa Barbara, California, charts a course that Albuquerque or any Southwestern community founded during the Spanish Colonial or Mexican National period would be likely to follow. Within thirty years after annexation to the United States, the extreme structural changes, the dramatic demographic shifts, and Anglo political takeover in Santa Barbara created out of a Mexican community a dominant Anglo town and an isolated Mexican-American barrio. Annexation did not immediately produce in Albuquerque the same results as in Santa Barbara. However, Albuquerque began to resemble Santa Barbara in its social change patterns in the 1880's after the railroad passed through the region.

The two most important variables for examining the impact of radical social change in Santa Barbara and Albuquerque are economic structural changes and Anglo population growth. In Santa Barbara these occurred in the

1850s and 1860s. The native Californio lost his traditional latifundist stockraising economic base; simultaneously, increased capitalist economic activity lured many Americans to southern California, upending the existing demographic structure. Mexicans found themselves in the minority and their political dominance shattered. Economically defeated and politically disenfranchised, Mexicans withdrew to the barrio where they occupied the lower levels of the occupational and class structures.

Annexation had a different short-run impact on Albuquerque. An Army post, established in Albuquerque early in the Territorial period, did several things to improve the local economy and enhance the native elite's economic position. Most significant in terms of Old Albuquerque's future, however, was the emergence of the Mexican middle class out of the subsistence agricultural community. The Army also attracted a few Anglo merchants, who posed competition to the natives elites but did not displace them from economic or political dominance. Many of these Anglo merchants married the daughters of the better off subsistence farmers, creating another strain of the Mexican middle class. Capitalist economic expansion in the 1880s destroyed the latifundist economy and also created a New Town, giving further impulse to Anglo immigration. The Old Town Mexican elites joined New Town business enterprises, dissipating their economic power and losing political control. They left the Old Albuquerque

Plaza behind as a rural, isolated Mexican village where the evolving middle class assumed economic and political control.

American economic expansion into the territory and rapid immigration produced barrioization, loss of political control, and economic deterioration in the Mexican community of both Santa Barbara and Albuquerque. The onset of these activities differed between the two towns by a few years, but the outcomes in aggregate terms were the same for both. Despite the similar outcomes, Old Albuquerque's specific characteristics may have accounted for the different direction it took during the middle of the twentieth century. The Albuquerque region had a larger native Hispanic population that was not totally overcome by Anglo immigration between the 1880s and 1930s. Moreover, Old Albuquerque had a substantial Mexican middle class that had originated at the lower levels and was augmented by hispanicized Anglos and some Mexican elites moving downward. Although in economic decline, Old Town was sustained as a vital and cohesive community during its period of barrioization and isolation. The fruits of the middle class base and the large Hispanic population were harvested in the 1960s when young, aware political leaders gained representation for Old Albuquerque and other Hispanic neighborhoods in the State legislature. This process launched the careers of several prominent Hispanic politicans and also served as a foundation for the SFOTCA movement.

Camarillo's work does not deal specifically with Santa Barbara's pueblo viejo's rediscovery and the subsequent cultural exploitation which defined the Old Albuquerque experience. In Old Albuquerque the value of the Spanish and Mexican presence in architecture and cultural symbols such as the San Felipe de Neri Church nurtured economic development around the tourist and hospitality industry from the 1940s on. This was no doubt related to the economic boom pricipitated by the defense industry and the concomitant population explosion of the war years. Thus, the same variables that isolated the Mexican barrio in Albuquerque in 1880 were responsible at a different period for its economic growth and the gradual destruction of its residential qualities.

Accordingly, economic expansion, the magnitude of population shifts, and the influence of an indigenous middle class, measurable at each stage of intrusion into an isolated community, serve as predictors of social change outcomes. Such variables are related to the segmentation or integration of a society and reveal the level of organizational capabilities along a communal to associational continuum, as proposed by Oberschall's mobilization theory. Other variables, also derived from historical research such as the endurance and rise of consciousness and specific cultural symbols, are additional predictors of social movement.

Communities with histories similar to Albuquerque and Santa Barbara, where the Mexican or Spanish presence still prevails, are experiencing economic expansion, immigration and the process of a growing indigenous middle class. Increased Anglo immigration into northern New Mexico villages, for example, is turning some of these formerly isolated communities into art colonies. The stage at which these events are occurring compares to Old Town Albuquerque's rediscovery and the Word War II economic boom. In the 1980s the rural, sunbelt-high tech attraction coupled with the tourist economic potential are encouraging Anglo immigration into the villages. Using Old Town's experience since its rediscovery as a base, one can predict with some degree of reliability what lies in store for these villages. Gradually, the artistic enclaves will displace the native dwellers and the "Old Town villages" will be incorporated into the national tourist economy. With increased immigration, the demographic picture will change in favor of the newcomers, causing the existing local political hold to wane.

Will there be a social movement in protest? There is little doubt that economic expansion and population shifts will affect northern New Mexico as they did Albuquerque. The answer rests partially on the role of the indigenous middle class in economic development and politics. The Albuquerque case shows that the Mexican middle class either did not mind the art and tourist intrusion in the 1930s and

1940s or may have even supported it, hoping to benefit economically from it. When political annexation to the city occurred, it became an issue mostly for the more traditional parts of the community. Two decades later the younger generation of middle class acquired political organization skills. The group was prepared for the generation of a social protest movement. The social changes that are taking place along the Rio Grande cultural corridor, in which an indigenous middle class confronts rapid economic development and accelerated immigration, will be highly conducive to the emergence of the same sequence of events that led to the rise of a social movement in Old Albuquerque.

The corollary to this conclusion is, therefore, if social history serves to predict, analysis of current sociocultural changes may serve to control and determine outcomes in the future.

END NOTES

1. William A. Gamson, The Strategy of Social Protest (Homewood, Ill: The Dorsey Press, 1975), pp. 110-111. The Four Historical periods to be discussed are: 1) from Albuquerque's Founding in 1706 to 1821, Mexican Independence; 2) 1821 to the Post-Civil War period in the early 1870s; 3) from 1880, the Incorporation of Albuquerque into the national economy via the railroad to 1930; and 4) The Urbanization period from 1930 to the 1980s.

2. Gamson; Neil J. Smelser, Theory of Collective Behavior (New York: The Free Press, 1962); Anthony Oberschall, Social Conflict and Social Movements (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1973). Gamson argues that pluralism as the philosophical foundation for a theory of social movements logically leads to collective behavior theory. Collective behavior theory is inadequate to explain social movements. Smelser is the anchor for current collective behavior theory. His widely acclaimed model poses a combination of interdependent determinants with their value for predicting a certain type of collective behavior growing incrementally from one to another. There are four categories of collective behavior and six determinants. The six are: 1) structural conduciveness, 2) structural strain, 3) spread of generalized belief, 4) precipitating event, 5) mobilization and 6) social control. These determinants are used in the second part of this paper. Obserchall proposes a theory of mobliization that rests on the integration or segmentation of society on a verticle axis, and the relative strengths of either communal or associational organizations, on the horizontal axis. Segmentation on the vertical axis and strong horizontal organization may lead to successful social protest.

3. In Albuquerque, the settlement around a cluster of houses did not occur. Old Town had a few pre-Pueblo Revolt dwellings, but the Villa was spread along a two mile route by the Rio Grande riverbed.

4. The term genizaro was a category in the Spanish caste system. It is also known as an ethnic strain created from Indians who severed their tribal ties and culture and hispanicized.

Genizaro has also been applied to mixed bloods who were hispanicized but identified Indian and often times behaved in socially unacceptable ways.

5. Oberschall, pp. 112-113 and 118-125.

6. Ibid., pp. 71-73; Gamson, pp. 114-116.

7. Oberschall, p. 44.

8. Fray Angelico Chavez, My Penitente Land (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1974), pp. 201-202.

9. Oberschell, pp. 113-121; Smelser, pp. 73-130.

10. Oberschall, pp. 118-125.

11. Guillermo A. O'Donnell, Modernization and Bureaucratic Authoritarianism: Studies in South American Politics (Berkeley, CA., Institute of International Studies, 1979); pp. 23-24.

12. Patrick H. McNamara, Religion American Style (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1974), p. 323, Citing Max Weber, The Sociology of Religion (Boston: Beacon, 1956), pp. 46-47.

13. Albert Camarillo, Chicanos in a Changing Society (Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press, 1979), p. 53.

14. Oberschall, p. 67.

15. Casa de Armijo, after its purchase by Brice and Nelda Sewell became, the home of the Placita Dining Rooms, a factor in the social movement discussed in this paper.

16. Because of confusion in delivering mail to Albuquerque after the birth of New Town, the U.S. Postal Service officially named the New Town Post Office Albuquerque and closed Old Town delivery service. After an organized protest in Old Town, the post office was reopened there under the name Armijo.

17. Oberschall, p. 44.

18. Gamson, pp. 130-143.

19. Oberschall, p. 50.

20. Ibid., pp. 113-118.

21. Smelser, p. 15.

22. Oberschall, pp. 178-184.

23. Chavez, My Penitente Land, p. 270. The link between genizaro consciousness and Chicanismo is credited to Fray Angelico, and is believed by the author to be a significant insight, since genizaros in New Mexico were of the lower class as Chicanos were in California at the turn of the century. In addition both have Indian roots and became hispanicized. Genizaro consciousness is selected as the concept to define this emerging World View because of the Indian identity.

24. Chavez, pp. 216-218 and 261-262.

25. Smelser, pp. 53-54.

26. Ibid., pp. 101-109.

27. Gamson, p. 5.

28. Smelser, p. 107.

29. Camarillo, p. 4.

30. Oberschall, p. 50.

31. Ibid., p. 51.

32. Ibid., p. 266-267.

33. Norman I. Fainstein and Susan S. Fainstein, Urban Political Movements (Englewood Cliffs: N.J: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1974), pp. 14-30.

34. Smelser, p. 73.

35. Gamson, pp. 107-108.

36. Oberschall, pp. 116-118.

37. Gamson, p. 115.

38. Ibid., pp. 61-65; Oberschall, p. 115.

39. Nancie L. Gonzalez, The Spanish Americans of New Mexico (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press), p. 195.

40. Gamson, p. 133.