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# En Unidad, Hay Poder: Community Activism and Ethnicity in South Martineztown, 1930–1974

Vanessa Macias

# "En Unidad, Hay Poder"

## COMMUNITY ACTIVISM AND ETHNICITY IN SOUTH MARTINEZTOWN, 1930–1974

*Vanessa Macias*

Nestled between downtown Albuquerque and Interstate 25 lies the small Chicano community of South Martineztown. The neighborhood's orderly streets go past a little grocery store, elementary school, park, and rows of town homes with adobe façades. Each morning elderly residents greet each other on their walks, while parents hustle children through breakfast and off to the school bus. The residents come together to spread the hushed glow of luminarias throughout the streets on Christmas Eve and to pick up runaway weeds and forgotten clumps of trash every April. The neighborhood association addresses ordinary concerns like speeding cars along the main thoroughfare. These day-to-day activities and shared experiences could describe many neighborhoods in Albuquerque and the greater Southwest. This particular routine in South Martineztown conceals its residents' triumphant struggle to preserve their homes and claim public space as proud Chicano/as in a changing urban setting.

South Martineztown's survival in the face of local and regional change is the product of a resilient, close-knit community that could support the

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The author thanks Frank Martinez, Maria Martinez, and Sister Marcella Campos for graciously sharing their memories of South Martineztown and their experiences on the CICM's Board of Directors. Vanessa Macias received her Masters Degree in History at the University of New Mexico in 2005. She teaches American History at El Paso Community College and plans to enter a graduate public history program in fall 2007.

organization of a dynamic neighborhood association, the Citizens Information Committee of Martineztown (CICM). In turn, the CICM's board of directors generated a campaign rooted in resident participation. Together, strong community and neighborhood activism resulted in the full rehabilitation of homes, streets, and other infrastructure in South Martineztown. The struggle of South Martineztown residents and the CICM reflected racial injustices present in the larger American society and revealed the ways in which racism affected the implementation of urban renewal programs. The CICM's success, especially when so many other Chicano communities were unable to stop relocation plans, provides an opportunity to compare community activism and ethnic identity in South Martineztown with those in minority communities across the country.

Scholars have examined the challenges faced by Hispano-Chicano Albuquerque neighborhoods similar to South Martineztown.[1] The growth of cities in the post–World War II era placed new pressures on these communities. Often neglected by city government and lacking basic services, these neighborhoods were targeted for "progressive" improvements. Historian Benny Andrés Jr. details the transformation of La Plaza Vieja (Old Town) from an autonomous Hispanic village to a tourist-oriented precinct within Albuquerque. Faced with annexation to the city of Albuquerque in the late 1940s, Old Town residents predicted irrevocable changes to their way of life and political autonomy. As in South Martineztown, city boosters diminished the area's rich cultural heritage to focus on the financial benefits that could result from commercialization and tourism.[2] Old Town annexation prefaced the divergence of city and neighborhood intentions repeated in South Martineztown during the late 1960s. Sociologist Maxine Baca Zinn examines community leadership in her study of South Barelas and the federal Model Cities Program, which ran from 1966–1974. By focusing on the decision-making process, Zinn reveals how local interest groups influenced the residents' decision to accept relocation over rehabilitation of the declining, impoverished neighborhood.[3] Zinn's South Barelas study illustrates shifting power structures within a neighborhood during a period of uncertainty and transition.

Previous studies of the Santa Bárbara–Martineztown area provided general neighborhood histories or examined cultural characteristics of the neighborhood such as kinship networks. Likewise, scholars have provided an overview of the federal Model Cities program as it was applied to Albuquerque neighborhoods.[4] Examining where these two histories intersect provides

a broader understanding of the twentieth-century Chicano urban experience in New Mexico. This article relates South Martineztown's cultural history and the residents struggle to preserve that history through urban renewal redevelopment plans. This study also provides an example against which to compare struggles over urban space and self-determination in other areas of the Southwest. These confrontations are significant because they reflect the pattern of resistance and adaptation that characterizes Chicano history.[5]

Settlement in Martineztown first began in the 1820s. Outposts were established to accommodate travelers on the Camino Real/Bernalillo Road that passed through Albuquerque. Farming along the Acequia Madre de Barelas soon followed. By the early decades of the twentieth century, Martineztown's growth mirrored that of Albuquerque's "new town"; the population of both places grew in response to emerging industry.[6] From 1930 to 1960, South Martineztown fully emerged as a vibrant community, where residents built lasting bonds to each other, their homes, and the neighborhood. The local Catholic Church, grocery stores, dance halls, and other businesses within the boundaries of South Martineztown provided food, goods, services, and meeting places for the residents. Although both Albuquerque and South Martineztown flourished socially and economically during the same period, the future of Albuquerque envisioned by city and business leaders increasingly clashed with the existence of Chicano neighborhoods throughout the city, particularly following the Second World War.

South Martineztown was besieged by an ambitiously expanding Albuquerque. Development along South Martineztown's borders kept the neighborhood from expanding beyond its original boundaries, while the city government acquired property within the neighborhood. Public proposals for the property clearly signaled the city's intentions to clear the historic Hispano-Chicano neighborhood for civic projects.[7] These projects reflect the developing interests of the Anglo middle-class professionals who dominated the city government and catered to Albuquerque's business and growth-oriented factions.[8] Outrage over the designs for the neighborhood and the implementation of the federal Model Cities program led to the formation of a neighborhood association that would act as an important advocate for residents' political rights in the city.

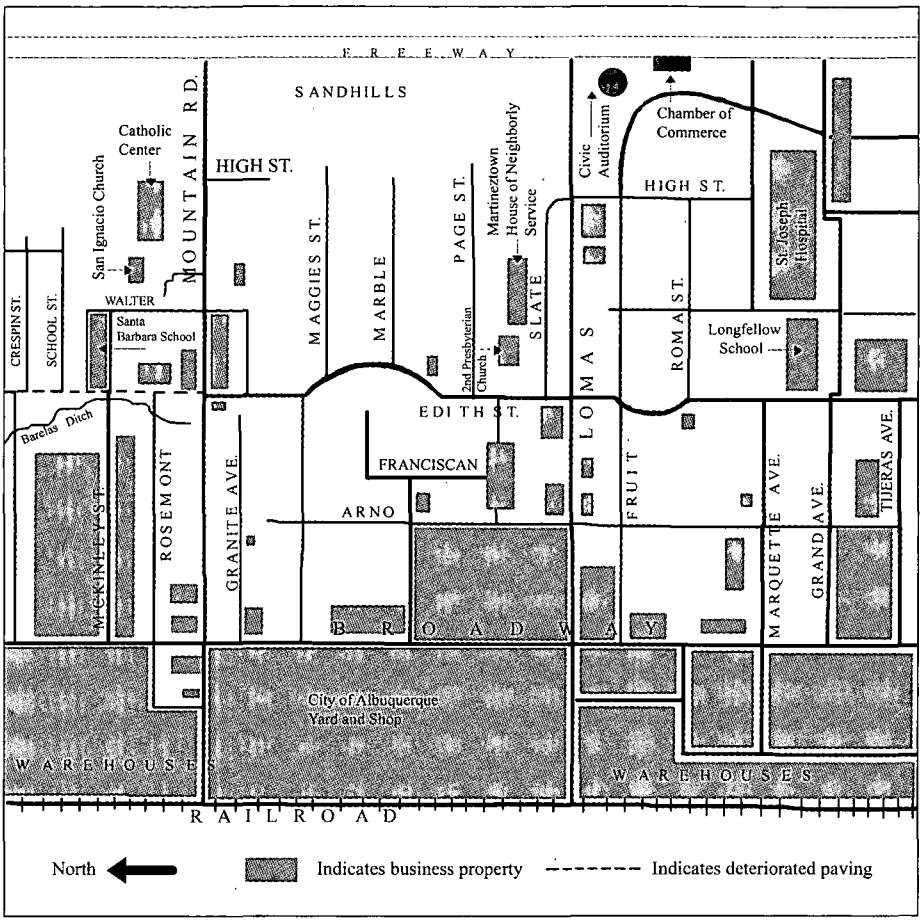
The organization that emerged to represent South Martineztown residents was the CICM. Closely linking its campaign to the Hispano-Chicano identity of the neighborhood, the CICM incorporated existing ethnic networks

and symbols with grassroots organizing to encourage resident participation. The CICM struck a delicate balance among several interests including providing residents an outlet for their frustrations; incorporating moderate goals of equity in the political and economic system; and persuading city, business, and urban renewal leaders that preserving South Martineztown was an important step toward improving relations between citizens and elected officials. Although South Martineztown's story is particularly situated in the social, economic, and political spheres of Albuquerque, it contributes to the expanding field of Chicano history.

## The Cultural Landscape of South Martineztown

South Martineztown's history is tied to two adjacent neighborhoods. The oldest neighborhood, Martineztown, emerged from outposts along the Camino Real/Bernalillo Road in the 1850s.[9] After the turn of the century, Santa Bárbara developed as a Roman Catholic settlement. Both communities were Spanish-speaking and agricultural. These Hispanos gradually integrated with Mexican nationals and rural Nuevomexicanos who, drawn by job opportunities in Albuquerque, moved into South Martineztown.[10] These populations and subsequent generations born in the United States, Chicanos and Chicanas, imprinted their shared heritage onto the physical appearance of homes, buildings, and streets. The Hispano-Chicano culture recorded in the landscape was sustained through the urban-renewal period.[11] Although South Martineztown's redevelopment created a sharper distinction among the three neighborhoods, the residents consciously chose building styles and materials similar to those found in Santa Bárbara–Martineztown.[12] Current residents consider the area north of Lomas Boulevard to Mountain Road as Martineztown; Santa Bárbara sits between Mountain and McKnight Road; and South Martineztown is the area south of Lomas to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard. Santa Bárbara–Martineztown refers to all three neighborhoods.

Santa Bárbara–Martineztown resembled a classic northern New Mexico village. These characteristics were most evident in the narrow unpaved roads, adobe houses and buildings, and nonuniform plots of land.[13] Adobe remained the most accessible residential building material, creating a key link between the initial Hispano residents and the twentieth-century Chicano residents.[14] City planning and zoning codes also influenced Santa Bárbara–Martineztown's physical appearance. To nonresidents, the area's




MAP OF MARTINEZTOWN
*(Map based on original by C. John Baca, 1965)*

appearance suggested poverty and instability. Chicano/a historians and residents alike have documented that these barrios were stable "pockets of refuge" from an American society hostile to people of color. Barrios are characterized as predominantly Catholic, Spanish-speaking districts with a distinct sense of cohesion and identity among residents.[15] In contrast to mainstream stereotypes, Hispano-Chicano residents of South Martineztown were proud of their homes and neighborhood.

The South Martineztown community enjoyed an active social life generally fostered by San Ignacio de Loyola Catholic Church. Sociedad de San

José (Society of San Jose), Society of Saint Aloysis Gonzaga, and Las Igñacitas (for girls aged 7–15 years) were among several religious societies that sponsored the performance of religious plays and social events throughout the year. Longtime resident Maria Martinez recalls joining a Catholic youth club that focused on neighborhood improvements. She remembers that one youth club project focused on installing a crosswalk at a nearby intersection.[16] The annual San Ignacio festival was a major event for the entire area. Festivities included dressing the San Ignacio *santo* (devotional sculpture), blessing the new *mayordomo* (church warden), observing a special mass, selecting a queen, eating at the various food stands, and attending the dance.[17] These church-sponsored events illustrate the ways that the Catholic Church was integrated into the community. The fact that the yearly festival continues today is a testament to the church's enduring role.

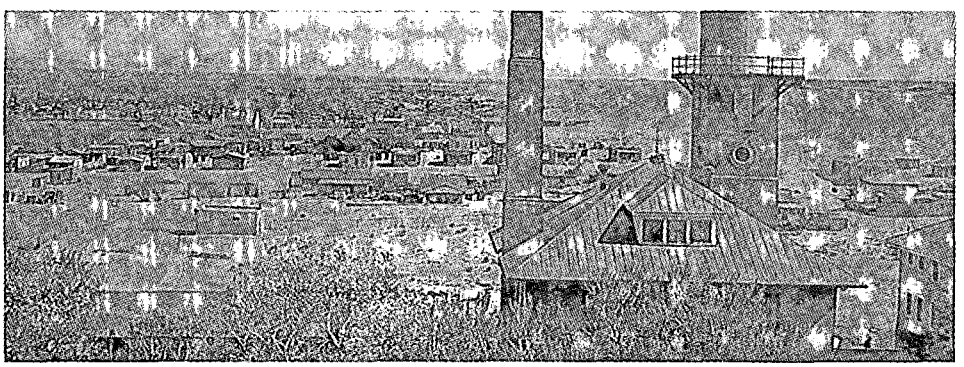
Parish communities used different methods to maintain their church. San Ignacio parishioners took part in a tithing system called *diesmos y premisias* (tithe and promise). In lieu of money, parishioners (many of whom were poor) donated crops, labor, or other valuable items so the church could make a small profit from their sale. Women also sold food and participated in fundraising drives for the church.[18] The parishioners' efforts demonstrates their dedication to the church and to the social rituals that helped maintain community spirit. The church's central location in the Hispano-Chicano neighborhood and the incorporation of Hispano folk culture into Catholic ritual exemplifies the profound connection between residents and institutions.[19]

As fundamental as religion was for many individuals, San Ignacio Church was only one aspect of life in Chicano communities like Santa Bárbara–Martineztown; mutual aid societies and social kinship networks also facilitated bonds among residents and supported resistance efforts. *Padrino/a* (godfather/godmother) and compadre/comadre (coparent or close family friend) relationships and their implied social obligations tied residents together and broadened the definition of family.[20] Although initiated to help pay for baptisms, confirmations, and marriages, those relationships served other needs. Comadres assisted one another with household chores, social events, or caring for the ill. Compadres pitched in with chores related to the upkeep of the home and yard or helped secure employment.[21] These bonds were passed on to sons and daughters through padrino/a relationships, thereby tying younger generations to the elders of the neighborhood. Most importantly, these enduring kinship relationships became the human foundation for community unity in the 1960s.[22] Residents defending South

Martineztown during the urban renewal crisis cited these bonds as one of the primary reasons for wanting to stay in the area. Urban renewal threatened to tear apart the social fabric these early residents created through compadre/comadre and padrino/a bonds.

Several landmarks and institutions surrounding South Martineztown influenced its development during the middle of the twentieth century. *Las laderas* (sand hills) bordered it to the east; railroad tracks and the warehouse district stood to the west. The Acequia Madre de Barelas, an irrigation ditch, ran through the heart of South Martineztown. Although the ditch was no longer used by 1930, it still contributed to severe flooding until the city built a drainage system in the 1970s.[23] St. Joseph Sanatorium, built in 1902 to the east of South Martineztown, soon became an important medical institution in Albuquerque. The Huning's Highland addition, predominantly an Anglo neighborhood, bounded the South Martineztown neighborhood along Grand Avenue and was closely tied to New Town. The two main streets running through the neighborhood were north Edith Boulevard and north Arno. Edith and Marquette Avenue were paved in the 1950s because a major sewer line was built underneath them, but other minor streets in the area remained unpaved until it was redeveloped in the 1970s. New York Avenue, Broadway Boulevard, and Grand bordered the neighborhood and would become important thoroughfares into downtown Albuquerque.[24]

These main streets, landmarks, and large institutions limited the geographical growth of the neighborhood to its original borders. Although busy main



NORTHWEST VIEW OF SOUTH MARTINEZTOWN TAKEN FROM ST. JOSEPH HOSPITAL SOMETIME BETWEEN 1935 AND 1950
*(Photograph courtesy St. Joseph Community Health)*

streets facilitated access to nearby businesses and industries around the railroad tracks and warehouse district, they also placed the neighborhood squarely in the middle of what became a thriving downtown area. With landmarks restraining the neighborhood, South Martineztown accommodated new residents with larger concentrations of homes on subdivided property.[25]

South Martineztown's economic growth likewise defined the community as a thriving area. The number of businesses in South Martineztown jumped from six in 1930 to twenty-four in 1950. These enterprises included new grocery stores, restaurants and cafes, laundries, and construction companies.[26] Located throughout the neighborhood, businesses provided residents with food, goods, services, and venues for socializing.

The mix of both business and residential space in South Martineztown created an urban village. Easy access to consumer goods and employment, and the neighborhood's central location in Albuquerque defined the community as urban, while irregularly sized properties, unpaved roads, and traditional kinship networks gave the impression of a small Hispano-Chicano village. Altogether, these characteristics gave the neighborhood a unique blend of the premodern and modern. Beginning in the mid-1950s, however, this eccentric combination clashed with what business and political elites envisioned for the future of Albuquerque in general and South Martineztown in particular.

## The Model Cities Program Comes to Albuquerque

During the early 1950s, Albuquerque city politics experienced a shift. Clyde Tingley's Democratic Coalition had dominated the city commission through the support of Chicano politicos, unions, and business owners. Tingley's influence declined as the "Better Government" campaign gained momentum among a steadily increasing Anglo population. This campaign viewed Tingley's political networking as unprofessional and a possible roadblock to boosterism. The city commissioners that were elected under the "Better Government" banner connected efficient government with business initiatives intent on stimulating economic growth.[27] In South Martineztown, these ideas were manifested through property acquisition and the construction of the civic auditorium in 1957. In the early 1960s, city leaders called for the demolition of South Martineztown and surrounding areas to build a new convention center and educational complex.[28] The orientation toward growth and business of the new city government, dominated by Anglo middle-class

professionals, struck directly at the social fabric of the Santa Bárbara–South Martineztown neighborhood.[29]

The five-member city commission used zoning as a method to turn South Martineztown into a site for future municipal development. Despite its residential nature, the adoption of the 1954 Zoning Ordinance zoned South Martineztown for commercial and high-density residential activities.[30] That designation initiated a slow decline in the neighborhood, for residents were unable to get permits or bank loans to build additions or improve their homes. A rehabilitation survey completed in 1971 illustrates the ordinance's impact on homes in the area. The survey found that the majority of homes were built about thirty to forty years before city codes were established. Many homes were originally constructed without bathrooms, and their plumbing, electrical wiring, and heating systems were often substandard.[31] People who had grown up in the area as well as prospective new residents increasingly chose to live beyond South Martineztown because of the gradual decline in housing stock and municipal proscription against building new homes. The difficulties in maintaining their homes also drove some South Martineztown residents away from the area. This dislocation disrupted decades of kinship and mutual-aid relationships between Hispano-Chicano families.[32]

Pres. Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society initiative created another potentially destructive program for Santa Bárbara–Martineztown. The Great Society was a collection of federal policies targeting quality of life issues for Americans. Great Society advocates sought improvements in water and air quality, the physical environment, public education, and declining urban areas.[33] The War on Poverty campaign was a major aspect of the Great Society and reflected Johnson's genuine concern over persistent poverty in the affluent United States.[34] Launched as part of the War on Poverty in 1966, the Model Cities Program (MCP) coordinated the assignment of federal funds to redevelopment projects in urban neighborhoods, particularly "blighted" downtowns and impoverished "ghettos."[35] The federal government had practiced redevelopment through urban renewal since the New Deal era. By the mid-1960s, however, residents who were negatively affected by urban renewal publicized their complaints in increasing numbers. In practice urban renewal was more successful in clearing neighborhoods for shopping centers and office buildings than at rebuilding homes for low-income families. This pattern contributed to a pernicious image for the federal program. As a result, the MCP promised a new approach with increased

emphasis on community participation in the allocation of funds and redevelopment plans, although urban renewal programs continued to acquire and sell property in targeted areas.[36]

Approved in 1967, Albuquerque's MCP focused on the Santa Bárbara–Martineztown, South Broadway, San Jose, and Barelas neighborhoods. Its intent was to apply grants and coordinate federal, state, and local agencies and neighborhood residents to address impoverished conditions in targeted areas.[37] From the beginning, however, city officials in Albuquerque neglected citizen participation while they applied federal funds to pave streets, extend water and sewage lines, and institute flood prevention in these communities. Such infrastructure improvements added to the potential for future development projects that would be beneficial to Albuquerque's business community.[38] Liberal programs sponsored by the federal government had the best of intentions, and city fathers wanted and believed that everyone benefited from economic growth, but their plans caused much anger among residents affected by these projects.

Trouble erupted when the Model Cities Citizens Board (MCCB) chose the Santa Bárbara–Martineztown Neighborhood Association to represent South Martineztown, even though association members resided within the boundaries of Martineztown only. Consequently, no South Martineztown residents served on the MCCB. In March 1969, the association voted to decline the MCP funds for physical improvements such as rehabilitating homes and streets. Their vote reflected a deep suspicion toward redevelopment. One of their concerns was the proposed rezoning of the neighborhood from commercial to residential. Association members worried this measure would lower property values. An additional concern was that property taxes would increase after redevelopment. Considering the residents' low-income status, it was imperative that taxes remain unchanged for residents to afford living in Martineztown. The vote limited the MCP's impact on Martineztown.[39]

In the wake of that vote, city planners turned their developing gaze to South Martineztown. Much to the chagrin of South Martineztown residents, Santa Bárbara–Martineztown representatives on the MCCB did not object to this move southward. Residents in South Martineztown had long suspected that their particular concerns about urban renewal projects were not accurately represented by MCCB representatives from Santa Bárbara–Martineztown. The tacit approval of Santa Bárbara–Martineztown residents

and their MCCB representatives to apply urban renewal funds in South Martineztown proved their suspicions. South Martineztown residents were convinced that the MCCB representatives preserved Santa Bárbara–Martineztown at the expense of South Martineztown.[40] From 1969 on, the two neighborhoods would take diverging roads in neighborhood development.

The urban renewal period in South Martineztown was characterized by conflicting visions for the future of Albuquerque. City and business leaders envisioned a kind of "progress" that did not necessarily include downtown ethnic enclaves. Despite their shared history, Santa Bárbara–Martineztown and South Martineztown disagreed on the future of the community. Santa Bárbara–Martineztown residents chose to cast their lot with factions favoring commercial zoning rather than to participate in rehabilitation programs. South Martineztown residents criticized their misrepresentation on the MCCB. Although only one street, Lomas, divided these neighborhoods, their diverse responses to the MCP demonstrate how different definitions of community can exist even within a geographically small space. This conflict also reflects the flexible nature of community unity when personal and political interests are considered.

The MCCB conflict over neighborhood representation and rehabilitation plans placed South Martineztown residents in a contested relationship with business and city leaders, and even their closest neighbors in Santa Bárbara–Martineztown. This incident foreshadowed the conflict between Albuquerque and South Martineztown. Through the course of its campaign, the CICM transformed these relationships into more amicable associations ready to rally behind the South Martineztown community plan.

## South Martineztown Responds: The CICM and the Formation of a Moderate Campaign

During the late 1960s and into early 1971, the city acquired property in and around South Martineztown. The city's newspapers reported that the Albuquerque Public School Board of Education (APS) was seriously considering building the new Albuquerque High School (AHS) on city property in the neighborhood. In their search for possible locations, APS looked at sites close to AHS's original downtown location, which was only a few streets away from South Martineztown.[41] The AHS location debate played out in newspaper articles, editorials, and letters to the editor. The majority of public opinion supported the central location proposed for AHS as the best

location to serve the interests of Albuquerque. This view changed as the CICM's campaign reached the public.[42]

Residents became more alarmed when urban renewal relocation agents began meeting separately with two or three families at a time to discuss the formal acquisition or condemnation of their property. Concerns over this practice reached the ears of several younger residents who eventually became the CICM's original board members in early 1971. Frank Martinez, Richard Martinez, Maria Martinez, and Sister Marcella Campos formed the CICM to inform residents and to represent them in front of city officials and the public.[43] Through the work of these board members, the CICM came to reflect the ethnic identity of the people they represented and allowed that identity to shape their organizing methods both within the neighborhood and to the public. The CICM's first move was to petition the Urban Renewal Commission to halt acquisition of land in South Martineztown in February 1971; the commission agreed and stopped its acquisition. With the immediate danger removed, the CICM bought itself time for planning the campaign to save the area from urban renewal.[44]

From its inception in 1971, the CICM fought an uphill battle against urban renewal officials, city commissioners, and public opinion. Urban renewal and Model Cities were already hot-button topics for many Albuquerquians. Frank Martinez, CICM president during the conflict, explained that the pro-business atmosphere in Albuquerque meant that the old adage "you can't fight city hall" rang true in the minds of most people.[45] To combat that feeling, the CICM formulated a politically moderate campaign that advocated a public voice for the residents of South Martineztown and that sought to minimize aggravating hostile city officials.

The CICM's campaign was powered by young board members who worked tirelessly while holding full-time jobs and supporting families. Frank and Maria Martinez grew up in South Martineztown. A mine explosion in Madrid, New Mexico, prompted Frank and Maria's parents to migrate to South Martineztown in the early 1930s. Their parents raised sixteen children in their home on the corner of Edith and Marquette. The Martinez parents taught their children a strong sense of responsibility for assisting those in need. By the late 1960s, Maria was an elementary school teacher; Frank was married and a student at the University of New Mexico. Richard Martinez, another board member, helped manage his wife's family's grocery store on Edith and Roma. Richard's father-in-law owned property within South Martineztown and was heavily involved in the Democratic Party. Like Maria and Frank, Richard's

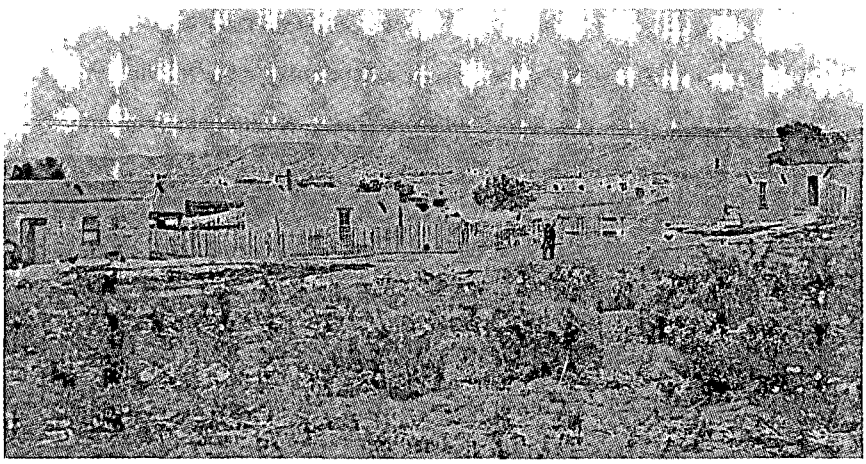
involvement in the CICM stemmed from a desire to help their families and neighbors work through urban renewal red-tape and defend them when they could not defend themselves. The fourth board member, Sister Campos, arrived in the neighborhood in 1970. A native Nuevomexicana affiliated with the congregation of Sisters of St. Joseph in Boston, Sister Campos ran a religious education program at San Ignacio and sought ways to address social issues in South Martineztown. The redevelopment dispute provided an opportunity to work with residents. Soon after attending a MCCB meeting, Sister Campos joined Maria, Frank, and Richard.[46]

In shaping their campaign, the CICM board members avoided making strong alliances to ideology or organizations connected to the Chicano movement. Emerging in the wake of the Black Civil Rights movement, the Chicano movement was a multifaceted group of organizations working for social change, promoting cultural nationalism, and encouraging Chicano self-determination across the Southwest.[47] In New Mexico, the movement addressed land grant issues, political empowerment, and community activism.[48] Reis López Tijerina's Alianza Federal de Pueblos Libres garnered national attention for attempting to arrest Tierra Amarilla's district attorney and for its courthouse takeover in 1967. These actions, combined with Tijerina's support for separatism of Hispanos and Anglos, earned much criticism by moderate and conservative Nuevomexicanos, including Sen. Joseph Montoya.[49] The Raza Unida party created a Bernalillo county chapter that remained active through the 1970s. It served as a third-party alternative to Republican and Democratic parties, promoted issues relevant to Chicanos/as, and advocated for cultural awareness.[50] Chicano students brought the movement to the University of New Mexico through antiwar demonstrations and calls for a Chicano studies program.[51]

The CICM board members were exposed to activities connected to the Chicano movement, but they worried that closely associating with radical elements in the movement might suggest a negative public image for the CICM or alienate city officials. Also, a militant political approach, the CICM speculated, might estrange the elderly, more traditional residents of South Martineztown. The CICM's emphasis on resident-citizen participation in local politics and on achieving equity in the political and economic system was similar to the goals of moderate Mexican American organizations like the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC). With a membership based in the middle-class, LULAC opted for dialogue with elected officials and gradual reform, a position that was strongly criticized by young

Chicanos/as who advocated mass demonstrations.[52] Despite larger rifts in Chicano activism and ideology, the CICM avoided such fissures. During the battle over urban renewal, CICM successfully remained the neighborhood's primary negotiator by avoiding political alliances with the potential to inflame city officials.[53]

The CICM's moderation was reflected in its self-presentation to the public. To maintain a consistent message and public image, the board president and the CICM's legal representation were the only people authorized to speak publicly or read approved statements on behalf of the neighborhood. To avoid endangering the campaign, the CICM board members were advised not to align themselves with political parties or officials, to support militant organizations of any ethnicity, or to take part in "political squabbles."[54] Fliers for the March on City Hall/Marcha por Unidad y Justicia scheduled for 17 May 1971 emphasized the CICM's nonviolent, religious, and social justice aims of the protest. Explaining the purpose of the march, organizers stated, "We hope this march will help re-establish a voice for citizens in the decisions made by the government." Their hope was "to promote and develop unity among minority groups in Albuquerque." The march agenda urged participants: "Remember: it is a non-violent, religious march. Be orderly and do not litter."[55] The CICM believed that it had to project a nonconfrontational image, especially as it battled stereotypes promulgated



"DOG TOWN" (SOUTH MARTINEZTOWN), 1900
*(Photograph courtesy Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe, neg. no. 154192)*

in newspapers. The local press portrayed the organization as representing a minority voice in South Martineztown or as radical "outsiders" causing trouble.[56] Cultivating respectability was critical to the CICM's political success in Albuquerque, particularly as middle-class Americans became weary of radical politics in the early 1970s.

The CICM activists sought to change the relationship between elected officials and their entire constituency through a campaign of moderation that worked within the established political system. The CICM suggested alternative downtown sites for the high school that would not displace families and proposed a viable plan to rehabilitate the South Martineztown neighborhood. They consulted with community agencies such as the Legal Aid Society of Albuquerque to help maneuver through baffling terminology and complex urban renewal bureaucracy. The CICM unified minority voices by garnering the support of neighborhood associations throughout Albuquerque. Through resident empowerment and petitions filed within the political system, the CICM activists and the community provided a model for responsible government-citizen relations.[57]

The CICM utilized this approach to enlist the aid of Sen. Clinton P. Anderson. In June 1971, Frank Martinez asked Anderson to assist with the CICM's administrative complaint against the city. Submitted in October 1971, the administrative complaint addressed inequities in urban renewal policy as applied to South Martineztown. Based on this evidence, the formal complaint asked the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) to reject plans for the neighborhood.[58] Anderson responded that he could do nothing because the matter was "now before the Courts." In fact HUD was still reviewing the administrative complaint. Correcting the senator about its status, Martinez stated that residents believed "elected representatives should keep up to date about issues concerning them." To his credit, Anderson apologized for the misunderstanding and promised to intercede on South Martineztown's behalf.[59] The Anderson episode demonstrated the CICM's commitment to the idea that elected representatives should answer to their constituency, a position that the CICM urged on the federal, state, and local level throughout its campaign.

## The Role of Kinship and Catholicism in the CICM's Campaign

Despite its moderate ideology, the CICM did adopt one tool of the larger Chicano movement: promoting cultural awareness. The CICM used kinship

networks and the Catholic Church in South Martineztown to mobilize resident participation in their campaign against urban renewal and to thwart the city's attempts to undermine resident unity. Strong Hispano-Chicano social and familial networks provided an indispensable foundation to the support and implementation of the CICM's campaign. South Martineztown's elderly residents had the most to lose with relocation: their close neighbors and lifestyle, barrio enclave and, most importantly, their homes. These seniors were integrated into the social and familial networks that had developed over many decades. Urban renewal threatened to disrupt these important bonds by displacing people to different, alien neighborhoods in Albuquerque. Also, such relocation would inevitably incur the household expenses that accompany the purchase or lease of any new home. Those costs would put additional pressure on fixed incomes. The CICM activated South Martineztown kinship networks among elderly Hispano-Chicanos for letter-writing sessions, meetings, and public protests. The CICM repeatedly cited kinship bonds as one of the primary reasons why residents wanted to stay in the area.[60]

The residents' faith was also an important aspect of the campaign to save South Martineztown. The CICM incorporated religious symbols and prayer in its movement and secured support from influential figures in the Catholic Church. The San Ignacio de Loyola Catholic Church was historically an institution that unified South Martineztown and reinforced a sense of community.[61] The congregation provided encouragement, assistance, and prayers throughout the campaign. All of the general neighborhood meetings opened with a Catholic prayer, and the CICM letterhead and emblem featured three crosses. Incorporating Catholic iconography and prayer helped clothe the CICM in legitimacy and respectability.

One of the CICM's most significant victories was securing the support of James Peter Davis, archbishop of Santa Fe. Sister Campos obtained Davis's endorsement and his presence at key events like the March to City Hall/Marcha por Unidad y Justicia and the groundbreaking ceremonies for home construction in South Martineztown. Davis also asked priests in Albuquerque parishes to declare publicly their backing for the CICM campaign, dramatically expanding the base of support for South Martineztown throughout Albuquerque. Davis's request also helped short-circuit, at least among Albuquerque Catholics, biased newspaper reports that championed the MCP and urban renewal.[62] The archbishop and Catholic imagery worked in much

the same way that familial and social networks worked; they formed the foundation for unity and helped reinforce those bonds among the residents.

## Grassroots Organizing in South Martineztown

The CICM was ultimately a grassroots organization. It disseminated accurate information and promoted resident participation. Urban renewal was a complicated program that integrated federal, regional, and local bureaucracies. Many residents were confused by the voluminous misinformation reported by the city and its newspapers.[63] The CICM activists wanted the residents to be able to make educated decisions about whether to accept an urban-renewal offer. The CICM's bilingual letters, notices, and newsletters explained urban-renewal policies, new developments in the campaign, and the results of meetings with city officials. One CICM letter from spring 1971 advised residents to seek several appraisals of their property to ensure a fair settlement and to investigate the cost of relocating to another neighborhood before making any agreements with the urban renewal office. General and block meetings were also held both to dispel rumors and to discuss urban-renewal issues in an open forum.[64]

The CICM tapped national and local agencies for assistance with legal contracts, urban renewal jargon, community planning, and the administrative complaint with HUD. Three local agencies advised the CICM: the Design and Planning Assistance Center of the University of New Mexico (DPAC), the Albuquerque Legal Aid Society, and the Albuquerque Urban Coalition. In a politically astute move, the CICM contacted several national agencies as well, including the Community Relation Section of the Department of Justice, the Earl Warren Legal Institute of Berkeley, the Catholic Church's Campaign for Human Development, and the American GI Forum.[65] These agencies provided the specialized professional expertise the CICM's board members lacked. They also ensured that the CICM and South Martineztown residents had accurate information about the legal system, planning policies, and planning methods.[66] The CICM took advantage of community agencies whose mission was to advise and help disempowered groups. Once equipped with these advisors, the CICM could formulate an even more effective campaign.

One significant result of this relationship among the CICM, DPAC, and South Martineztown residents was the drafting of the Martineztown Community Plan in 1971. Reflecting the CICM's role as advisor, the plan explains

different housing types, private and federal programs to help build new homes, and neighborhood densities and maps. The CICM ensured each family in South Martineztown received a bilingual copy. To solicit feedback, residents were asked to fill out an attached comment card addressed to the CICM. The CICM established trust with South Martineztown residents by reconsidering every aspect of its community plan campaign to make sure that residents were getting the best deal possible.[67] The final plan provided the residents a blueprint—a viable alternative to relocation and demolition—that they could present to city commissioners and urban-renewal officials in March 1972. The community plan and the process of creating it show a dedication to remaking South Martineztown into a neighborhood that would nurture familial and social bonds within a planned community.

From its inception in 1971, the CICM had promoted resident participation and neighborhood unity as crucial to the success of the campaign against relocation. The CICM wanted city, state, and federal officials to know that South Martineztown residents should play an integral role in discussing and approving all decisions affecting their lives and neighborhood. Resident participation took place on many levels and took many forms such as general and block meetings, letter-writing campaigns, city-commission meetings, and door-to-door visits by board members. The intention was to leave residents feeling empowered in their personal lives and confident in their cause.[68] The concept of unity, stressed in the association's motto, "En unidad, hay poder" (In unity, there is power), was reiterated in general meetings, notices, letters, and bulletins. The CICM's push to present a united front extended into the public sphere the strong kinship and neighborhood bonds that already existed among residents. Building on those relationships, the CICM benefited from a neighborhood that was mostly united against relocation.

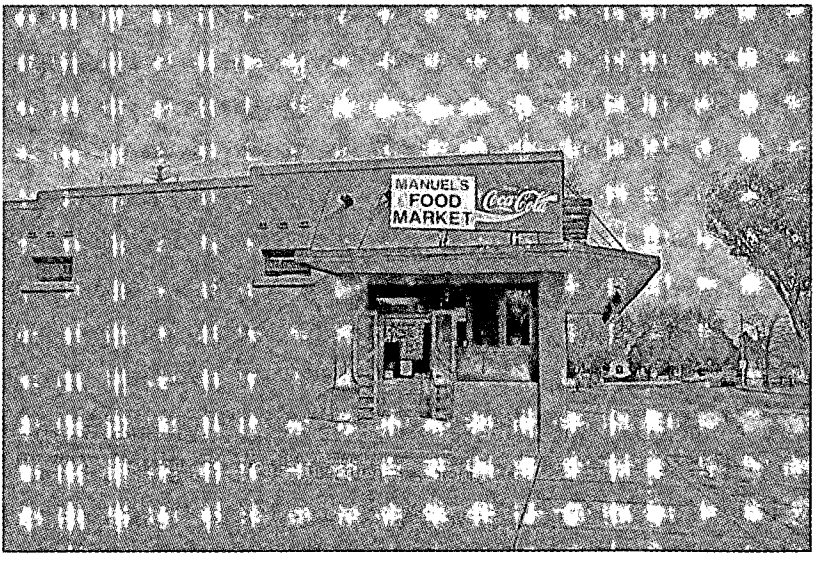
## The Legacy of South Martineztown

The CICM's politically moderate campaign was appropriate for the social turmoil that plagued the entire nation in the late 1960s and early 1970s. This approach, however, did not guarantee immediate reaction from the federal government. HUD's response to the administrative complaint filed by the CICM in June 1971 was characteristic of most large bureaucratic bodies; it placed accountability elsewhere. HUD insisted that the Dallas field office and local Albuquerque urban renewal office held the main responsibility for resolving the dispute.[69] Although neither agency ever re-

sponded to the document, the administrative complaint publicized the CICM's grievances and prompted APS to begin investigating alternative sites for the new high school. In January 1972, APS officially announced that the South Martineztown site was no longer under consideration.[70]

In 1972 mounting tensions within Albuquerque spurred the business community to aid in the search for a new AHS site. The Roosevelt Park riot in the summer of 1971 had splashed the ugliness of social unrest into the public view. The New Mexico National Guard was called in to assist local police in quelling the disturbance. Several businesses were looted and burned along Central Avenue from University Avenue to Fourth Street in downtown Albuquerque.[71] Worried about the economic impact of social instability, prominent Albuquerque business leaders agreed to sponsor the formation of the Albuquerque Urban Coalition (AUC). The Springer Corporation (SC) in particular, and its chairman Gen. Emmanuel Schifani, later played a key role in resolving the AHS stalemate.[72]

The AUC was formed in affiliation with the National Urban Coalition to provide a forum where businesses, city government, and the community could resolve existing and future conflicts.[73] The AUC's first chairman,




MANUEL'S GROCERY STORE, 2006
This local grocery has served residents of Martineztown since 1927.
*(Photograph by and courtesy Kim Suina)*

Schifani, could rely on his business and civic connections to address problems that fit the organization's interests. Schifani brought the South Martineztown–AHS issue to the AUC's attention and proposed a solution: SC owned available, undeveloped downtown property and would sell it to APS for the new high school. The AUC also looked into appointing Frank Martinez as its executive director. By this point, Frank was locally recognized for his skillful handling of CICM's campaign in front of the public media, city commission, and planning meetings. Serving concurrently as AUC executive director and CICM president provided an opportunity for Frank to monitor South Martineztown's rehabilitation and apply his talents to other AUC community projects.[74]

The AUC-sponsored agreement was supported by leading businessmen and the CICM. With a new AHS location secured, the CICM persuaded the city to accept the Martineztown Community Plan to rehabilitate the neighborhood in July 1972.[75] The conflict was eventually resolved through the CICM's continual campaigning and bargaining, the AUC's negotiations, and the hard-won compliance of business leaders. Residents were finally able to focus on the next step of complete neighborhood renovation.[76]

The reconstruction of the South Martineztown neighborhood spanned from the city's approval of the Martineztown Community Plan in 1972 to its completion in 1982. Street paving, the installation of new water and sewer lines, construction of a neighborhood park at Longfellow Elementary School, and rebuilding single-family and low-rent homes were only a few of the projects undertaken to address the impoverished conditions in South Martineztown. Throughout the difficult and long redevelopment process, the CICM emphasized the project's value as a productive, working partnership between the residents, city government, and urban-renewal officials. The CICM board members also envisioned a redeveloped South Martineztown serving as a model for communities across the United States that struggled with redevelopment projects slated for their particular areas—a substantial leap from the public perception of South Martineztown in the early 1960s.[77]

The CICM and residents continue to face challenges to the integrity of South Martineztown, even after the neighborhood construction was completed in 1982. Overcrowding at Longfellow Elementary School, expanded business development on the neighborhood's perimeter, and the neighborhood's designation as a Superfund Site in 2002 are only a few of the issues pressing the community today.[78]

Still a vibrant organization, the CICM has initiated a historical landscape project. Slated to begin in 2007, the public history project documents the neighborhood's dynamic history for its residents and Albuquerquians. The project plans to install plaques throughout the neighborhood designating important historical moments, landmarks, and institutions to South Martineztown. The markers will help visitors understand and appreciate the efforts of South Martineztown residents to maintain and perpetuate their urban barrio in the face of the encroaching city.

The hardships endured by South Martineztown since the urban renewal crisis of the 1970s point to the difficulties of maintaining modern Chicano communities. The battle to save South Martineztown shows how Chicanos/as have vigorously responded to challenges that threaten their families and communities. Although the struggle of each Chicano community is complex and unique, their collective responses have called for fair treatment and respect of Chicano culture. The resistance narratives of Chicano communities, regardless of outcome, significantly enrich our understanding of Chicano historical experiences in the United States.

## Notes

1. I am using the term *Hispano-Chicano* to describe a community that has its roots in Hispanic nineteenth-century New Mexico, but was later shaped by the influx of Mexican immigrants during the early twentieth century. When used alone, the term *Hispano* refers to Nuevomexicanos living in the area during the period from before 1848 up until an influx of Mexican nationals moved to the United States during the early twentieth century. I use the term *Chicano/a* to refer to the generation of people who followed Mexican migration and who were born and/or grew up in the Untied States.
2. Benny Andrés Jr., "La Plaza Vieja: The Transformation of an Hispano Village, 1880s–1950s," in *The Contested Homeland: A Chicano History of New Mexico*, ed. Erlinda Gonzales-Berry and David R. Maciel (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), 253–56.
3. Maxine Baca Zinn, "The Power Structure of an Urban Barrio: South Barelas, New Mexico" (master's thesis, University of New Mexico, 1970), 75–78.
4. For general neighborhood histories, see Lynée Busta, "South Martineztown: The History, Cultural Landscape, and People: An Annotated Chronology and List of Relevant Documents," (unpublished paper, Center for Regional Studies, University of New Mexico, in box A, Citizens Information Committee of Martineztown, Neighborhood Files, privately held, Albuquerque, New Mexico [hereafter CICM-NF], 2002); Vicki Scott Kaplanides, "A Brief History of Martineztown" (unpublished paper, CICM-NF, 1986); and Maria Girard Vincent, "Ritual Kinship in an

Urban Setting: Martineztown, New Mexico" (master's thesis, University of New Mexico, 1966). On the Model Cities program, see Erin L. Emery, "The Model Cities Program in Martineztown, 1967–1976" (unpublished paper, 1994); Amy Scott, "The Politics of Community in the Albuquerque Model Cities Program, 1967–1974" (unpublished paper, in author's possession, no date); and Zinn, "Power Structure."

5. On Chicano resistance and adaptation, see Nelson Alexander Pichardo, "The Role of Community in Social Protest: Chicano Working Class Protest, 1848–1933" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1990), 2; Ronald William López, "The Battle for Chavez Ravine: Public Policy and Chicano Community Resistance in Postwar Los Angeles, 1945–1962" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1999), 5; and Albert Michael Camarillo, "The Making of a Chicano Community: A History of the Chicanos in Santa Bárbara, California, 1850–1930" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1975), 2. For an in-depth study of continuity and change in Southern California, see Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society: From Mexican Pueblos to American Barrios in Santa Barbara and Southern California, 1848–1930* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979).
6. Citizens Information Committee of Martineztown, *South Martineztown: A Brief History* (Albuquerque: Citizens Information Committee of Martineztown, 1994), 2–3, box 1, CICM-NF.
7. "To Explore Entire District's Needs: City Future Schools Project Returning to Original Intent," *Albuquerque Journal*, 1 September 1968; "Decision Nears on Convention Center Complex: Study 3 Downtown Locations," *Albuquerque Journal*, 26 September 1968; Frank Martinez, telephone interview by author, Albuquerque, 3 December 2003; and CICM, *South Martineztown*, 4.
8. Scott, "Politics of Community," 10; and Marianne Johnson, "City to Take Option on Two Lomas Tracts," *Albuquerque Journal*, 5 April 1961.
9. I have used the following terminology to distinguish between the various parts of Santa Bárbara–Martineztown: *Martineztown* has been used for colonial references to the area and to refer to the neighborhood north of South Martineztown; *South Martineztown* refers to the CICM-represented neighborhood after 1930; *Santa Bárbara* is a community on the north side of Martineztown (only minimally connected to the South Martineztown struggle); and *Santa Bárbara–Martineztown* refers to the entire area covered by the three neighborhoods above.
10. Marc Simmons, *Albuquerque: A Narrative History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 338, 370.
11. Busta, "South Martineztown," Appendices A–C, E, F. Busta's study draws heavily on the collected papers of the CICM. This rich collection includes the minutes and tape recordings of board, neighborhood, city planning, and commissioner meetings, as well as fliers, newsletters, photos, maps, and urban renewal applications and workbooks. Surveys of residents for the urban renewal period are located in CICM-NF.
12. Arley Sanchez, "Martineztown Divided by Old, New," *Albuquerque Journal*, 16 May 1982, A1; Minutes of Planning Committee, 4 August 1971, box 5, Design and Planning Assistance Center [hereafter DPAC], CICM-NF.

13. Sanchez, "Martineztown Divided," A1; and Simmons, *Albuquerque*, 338.
14. CICM, *South Martineztown*, 1.
15. Lopez, "Battle for Chavez Ravine," 8, 48.
16. Maria Martinez, interview by author, tape recording, Albuquerque, 19 April 2004.
17. San Ignacio Parish Historical Committee, *Sixty Years for the Greater Glory of God, 1916–1976: A Booklet Commemorating the Diamond Anniversary of the Founding of the Church and the Golden Jubilee as a Parish* (Albuquerque: San Ignacio Parish Historical Committee, 1976), 24; and Vincent, "Ritual Kinship," 15.
18. San Ignacio, *Sixty Years for the Greater Glory of God*, 23; and Vicki L. Ruiz, *From Out of the Shadows: Mexican Women in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 138.
19. Further research is needed to examine the role of other religious institutions in the area, particularly the Second Presbyterian Church on Edith Boulevard and God's House Pentecostal Assembly on Arno Street and Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard.
20. Historian Richard Griswold del Castillo defines *la familia*, for Chicanos, as incorporating kinship networks into family households. La familia is an important source of emotional and economic support. Richard Griswold del Castillo, *La Familia: Chicano Families in the Urban Southwest, 1848 to the Present* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1984), 40.
21. Vincent, "Ritual Kinship," 89–91, 145–46.
22. Javier del Valle, "Martineztown: An Island of People," *Seer's Catalogue* (Albuquerque), 14–28 April 1976.
23. According to former resident and CICM board member Sister Marcella Campos, the unpaved streets turned to rivers of mud whenever it rained. Sister Marcella Campos, interview by author, tape recording, Albuquerque, 22 April 2004.
24. New York Avenue was changed to Lomas Avenue in 1952. Grand Avenue was changed to Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard in 1995. Survey Section, Construction Services Division, Department of Municipal Development, City of Albuquerque, New Mexico.
25. CICM, *South Martineztown*, 3.
26. Neighborhood boundaries used to determine South Martineztown businesses were Grand, Broadway, New York, and High. Busta, "South Martineztown," Appendix C.
27. In 1972 the city commission of Albuquerque was replaced by the mayor and council form of government. Juan Gómez-Quiñones, *Chicano Politics: Reality and Promise, 1940–1990*, The Calvin P. Horn Lectures in Western History and Culture (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990), 76–79; Michael F. Logan, *Fighting Sprawl and City Hall: Resistance to Urban Growth in the Southwest* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995), 96, 103–5; Gerald D. Nash, *A Brief History of the American West since 1945* (Fort Worth, Tex.: Harcourt College Publishers, 2001), 21; and Scott, "Politics of Community," 9–10.
28. "To Explore Entire District's Needs"; "Decision Nears on Convention Center Complex"; Frank Martinez, interview, 3 December 2003; and CICM, *South Martineztown*, 4.

29. Scott, "Politics of Community," 10; and Johnson, "City to Take Option."
30. The zoning ordinance was initiated in 1959. CICM, *South Martineztown*, 4, 10.
31. Planning Meeting Notes, 14 December 1971, box 5, DPAC, CICM-NF.
32. Kaplanides, "A Brief History," 6; and CICM, *South Martineztown*, 4.
33. Irwin Unger, *The Best of Intentions: The Triumphs and Failures of the Great Society under Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon* (New York: Doubleday, 1996), 16–17.
34. Ibid., 76.
35. Raymond A. Mohl, "Shifting Patterns of Urban Policy Since 1900," in *Urban Policy in Twentieth-Century America*, ed. Arnold R. Hirsch and Raymond A. Mohl (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1993), 18.
36. Unger, *Best of Intentions*, 221–23.
37. "Urban Renewal Knowledge Hard to Apply," *Albuquerque Journal*, 13 October 1968.
38. Scott, "Politics of Community," 13–16. For Rodolfo F. Acuña's discussion of the lack of citizen participation in the Model Cities Board in East Los Angeles from its inception in 1969, see *A Community under Siege: A Chronicle of Chicanos East of the Los Angeles River, 1945–1975*, Chicano Studies Research Center, no. 11 (Los Angeles: Chicano Studies Research Center, University of California, Los Angeles, 1984), 187–88.
39. Emery, "Model Cities Program," 8–10; Sanchez, "Martineztown Divided"; "¡Viva Santa Bárbara-Martineztown!" *Seer's Catalogue* (Albuquerque), 13–27 May 1976; and Frank Martinez, telephone interview by author, Albuquerque, 10 June 2003.
40. Sanchez, "Martineztown Divided"; and Frank Martinez, interview, 10 June 2003.
41. "Board, Commission Reaffirm School Site," *Albuquerque Journal*, 20 April 1970.
42. "Urban Renewal"; "Residents Protest Proposed Site for Albuquerque High," *Albuquerque Journal*, 16 February 1971; and "LULAC Blasts AHS Decision by Schools, URA," *Albuquerque Journal*, 21 February 1971. On shifts in public opinion, see Editorial, "Relocation Issues Are Solvable," *Albuquerque Journal*, 3 March 1971; Charlie Burgess, "Prevent Injustices," *Albuquerque Journal*, 31 March 1971; and Alex Cruz, "Supports Martineztown Fight," *Albuquerque Journal*, 16 May 1971.
43. Maria Martinez, interview. Frank Martinez and Maria Martinez are siblings. Richard Martinez is not related.
44. "Renewal Unit Halts School Land Taking," *Albuquerque Journal*, 19 February 1971.
45. Frank Martinez, interview, 3 December 2003.
46. Frank Martinez, telephone interview by author, 12 July 2006; Maria Martinez, interview; and Campos, interview.
47. Ernesto Chávez, *"¡Mi Raza Primero!": Nationalism, Identity, and Insurgency in the Chicano Movement in Los Angeles, 1966–1978* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 7; and Gómez-Quiñones, *Chicano Politics*, 142.
48. David R. Maciel and Juan José Peña, "La Reconquista: The Chicano Movement in New Mexico," in *The Contested Homeland: A Chicano History of New Mexico*, ed. Erlinda Gonzales-Berry and David R. Maciel (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), 270.
49. Maciel and Peña, "La Reconquista," 274–75.

50. Ibid., 281–82.
51. Ibid., 285–88.
52. Benjamin Márquez, *LULAC: The Evolution of a Mexican American Political Organization* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993), 64–67; and Gómez-Quiñones, *Chicano Politics*, 62–63.
53. Frank Martinez, interview, 3 December 2003 and 12 July 2006.
54. Board of Directors Meeting Notes, 21 July 1972, box 1 CICM, CICM-NF; Planning Committee Notes, 6 January 1972, box 1 CICM, CICM-NF; and Board of Directors Meeting Notes, 22 March 1972, box 1 CICM, CICM-NF.
55. Flier for March on City Hall, 17 May 1971, box 1 CICM, CICM-NF.
56. Minutes of Planning Committee Meeting, 6 August 1971, box 5 DPAC, CICM-NF; and Minutes of Block Meetings, 6 January 1972, box 1 CICM, CICM-NF.
57. Frank Martinez, interview, 3 December 2003; "Talk of AHS Compromise Is Heard," *Albuquerque Journal*, 15 August 1971; and Del Valle, "Martineztown."
58. "Committee Issues Complaint to HUD," *Model Cities News*, 25 June 1971.
59. Anderson to Martinez, 28 June 1971; Martinez to Anderson, 9 July 1971; and Anderson to Martinez, 12 July 1971, box 5 DPAC, CICM-NF. The CICM corresponded regularly with elected representatives in the state and federal legislature. Sen. Joseph Montoya was much more receptive to the residents' point of view in the conflict over South Martineztown than was Anderson. See Montoya to Sister Petrita Sanchez, 24 March 1971; and Montoya to Sister Marcella Campos, 19 May 1971, box 5 DPAC, CICM-NF.
60. Frank Martinez, interview, 3 December 2003; "Speech Given by CICM," *Model Cities News*, 11 February 1971; and Del Valle, "Martineztown."
61. San Ignacio, *Sixty Years for the Greater Glory of God*, 24; and Vincent, "Ritual Kinship," 15.
62. Frank Martinez, interview, 3 December 2003.
63. Ibid.
64. Informational letter regarding Urban Renewal Land Acquisition Plans, 3 March or April 1971, box 1 CICM, CICM-NF; Memo to residents and landowners in Martineztown regarding Urban Renewal, n.d., box 1 CICM, CICM-NF; and General Meeting Notes, 22 August 1973, box 1 CICM, CICM-NF. The CICM published five newsletters at the height of the conflict; see box 5 DPAC, CICM-NF.
65. Other agencies include the Clark Foundation, LULAC, and the National Catholic Conference of Bishops. Incidentally, the Catholic Church began the Campaign for Human Development in 1970 as a response to criticism that the Church was not socially responsible. The program distributed funds to community organizations in impoverished areas. See Michael Warner, *Changing Witness: Catholic Bishops and Public Policy, 1917–1994* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1995). The CICM's not-for-profit status made it eligible to apply for funding from the Campaign for Human Development. General Meeting Notes, 20 August 1971, box 1 CICM, CICM-NF.
66. Summary statement about urban renewal, n.d., box 1 CICM, CICM-NF.

67. Project Area Committee meeting notes, 15 August 1973, box 1 CICM, CICM-NF; and Sanchez, "Martineztown Divided."
68. Letter attached to notice of public hearing, 1 March 1972, box 1 CICM, CICM-NF; and Notice for General Meeting, 5 December 1973, box 1 CICM, CICM-NF.
69. Newspapers reported that HUD did not want to get involved unless local agencies failed to reach an agreement. Richard Chamberlain, Senior Assistant for Congressional Relations to Sen. Clinton P. Anderson, 7 September 1971, box 5 DPAC, CICM-NF; "Talk of AHS"; and "Committee Issues Complaint to HUD."
70. "School Withdraws: 'No Relocation,' Says Ted Martinez," *CIC News*, 1972; Mike Padget, "Martineztown Win against School Apparent," *Albuquerque Journal*, 9 January 1972; and Frank Martinez, telephone interview by author, Albuquerque, 21 April 2004. Articles from *CIC News* are in box 7 Urban Renewal, CICM-NF.
71. Simmons, *Albuquerque*, 376–77.
72. Frank Martinez, interview, 3 December 2003, 21 April 2004, 12 July 2006.
73. "Albuquerque Urban Coalition," *Albuquerque Tribune*, 6 October 1973.
74. Frank Martinez, interview, 3 December 2003, 21 April 2004, 12 July 2006. Frank served as the AUC executive director from 1972 to 1976 and as CICM president from 1971 to 1978. He is currently serving as CICM spokesperson.
75. Frank Martinez, interview, 3 December 2003, 21 April 2004, 12 July 2006; "Chapter of Urban Coalition to Be Activated Today," *Albuquerque Journal*, 14 June 1972; "Martineztown Leader Heads Urban Coalition," 14 June 1972; and Art Bouffard, "Martineztown Project Approved," *Albuquerque Journal*, 14 July 1972. The events related in this article are based on preliminary research and my interviews with Frank Martinez. Future research and interviews with urban renewal officials will provide another perspective on why business interests made such a dramatic turnaround concerning social issues.
76. "Martineztown: Turnabout in the Making," *Albuquerque Journal*, 11 June 1972. Under Martinez's his directorship, the AUC's projects included rehabilitating South Martineztown, negotiating the location of a new jail site, and working toward improved relations between the Albuquerque Police Department and minority Albuquerque residents. The AUC ceased its work due to lack of funds in March 1976.
77. "City Commission Approves Martineztown Plan," *CIC News*, 21 April 1972; and "Statement to City Commission June 12, 1972," *CIC News*, 21 August 1972. Articles from *CIC News* are in box 7 Urban Renewal, CICM-NF.
78. The Fruit Avenue Plume Superfund Site project is decontaminating groundwater polluted by a dry-cleaning business in the vicinity. Decontamination should be completed by 2012. In April 2004, heavy rains caused a collapse in the neighborhood's storm drain and sewer collector line. The collapse created two large sink holes on the neighborhood's main artery, Edith Boulevard. The street was closed for fifty days during the federal cleanup process. Frank Martinez, interview, 12 July 2006.