Picturing Arizona

The Photographic Record of the 1930s

Edited by Katherine G. Morrissey
and Kirsten M. Jensen

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The University of Arizona Press

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Manufactured in the United States of America

10 09 08 07 06 05 6 5 4 3 2 1

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Picturing Arizona : the photographic record of the 1930s / edited by Katherine G. Morrissey and Kirsten Jensen.

p. cm. — (The southwest center series)

Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN-13: 978-0-8165-2271-2 (hardcover : alk. paper)
ISBN-10: 0-8165-2271-5 (hardcover : alk. paper)
ISBN-13: 978-0-8165-2272-9 (pbk. : alk. paper)
ISBN-10: 0-8165-2272-3 (pbk. : alk. paper)

1. Documentary photography—Arizona—History—20th century. 2. Photography—Arizona—History—20th century. 3. Arizona—Pictorial works. I. Morrissey, Katherine G. II. Jensen, Kirsten, 1969- III. Series.
TR820.5.P53 2005
779'.99791--dc22
2005004941

Publication of this book is made possible in part by a grant from the Arizona Humanities Council, the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies at Brigham Young University, and the Southwest Center of the University of Arizona.

Contents

vii Preface

xi Introduction: Picturing Arizona
Martha A. Sandweiss

2 ONE Constructing an Image of the Depression: Aesthetic Visions and New Deal Photography in Arizona
Betsy Fahlman

22 TWO Migrant Labor Children in Depression-Era Arizona
Katherine G. Morrissey

42 THREE Refusing to Be "Undocumented": Chicana/os in Tucson during the Depression Years
Lydia R. Otero

60 FOUR Casa Grande Valley Farms: Experimenting with the Human and Economic Phases of Agriculture
Brian Q. Cannon

80 FIVE Dorothea Lange and Russell Lee: Documenting and Imagining Women
Kirsten M. Jensen

102 SIX Pictures for Sale: Making a Living through Photography
Evelyn S. Cooper

124 SEVEN Paper Faces: Photographs of Navajos and Hopis
Margaret Regan

144 EIGHT Scientific Photography? Cameras and 1930s Southwestern Archaeology
Katherine G. Morrissey and Nancy J. Parezo

168 NINE Dams and Erosion: Interpretations and Representations of Arizona's Environment
Katherine G. Morrissey

187 Appendix: Where to Find 1930s Photographs in Arizona

205 Notes

231 List of Contributors

235 Illustration Credits

241 Index

Cruz Robles sits to the center surrounded by two unidentified friends. Her sister Maria Luis Robles is directly behind her. 1930.

LYDIA R. OTERO

Refusing to Be "Undocumented"

CHICANA/OS IN TUCSON DURING THE DEPRESSION YEARS

THREE

In childhood, a particular photograph of my mother, Cruz Robles, always captured my attention.[1] In the picture, she deliberately exudes a flirtatious and somewhat reckless character. Cruz is surrounded by her younger sister, Maria Luisa, and two other unidentified young women, dressed in their finest and most fashionable attire. As a group, they served as the supporting cast that highlighted and encouraged an emboldened Cruz to emulate the posture of a sexy and carefree Hollywood starlet. I must confess that as a girl I felt uncomfortable that my mother, as this photograph confirmed, once delighted in her risqué and unreserved youthfulness. Mostly, however, this image caused me to wonder about the dramatic changes that had occurred in my mother's life. Traces of that playful young girl had all but disappeared. I knew my mother as a hardworking and rather self-effacing woman who went out of her way to avoid cameras. My mother, too busy in life to answer the endless questions this photograph evoked in her young daughter, hid this photograph when I was thirteen years old. It would remain hidden for several decades.[2]

The photograph reemerged in the fall of 2001 when I began to explore how the Depression affected Chicana/os in Tucson, Arizona.[3] Locating oral histories, documents, and especially photographs proved to be a challenging

task. Initially, I had assumed the availability of ample photographs that chronicled the participation of urban Chicana/os in various works programs in Arizona. I was wrong. For a host of reasons, the most well-known images created by federal government photographers are not those that documented the lives or work of urban Chicana/os. Idealized images of rural Mexican people in pastoral settings abound, such as Russell Lee's photographs of Concho, Arizona. These photos, however, deployed ahistorical images of a provincial and picturesque lifestyle that the vast majority of Chicana/os did not enjoy.[4] By 1930 in the United States, most of them lived in cities.[5]

As I researched this period, I was struck by the increased racism and suffering that Chicana/os experienced, exacerbated by the scapegoating that occurred during the nation's most severe economic crisis. I never knew the aspirations and dreams that filled my mother's life as a young girl, but I looked anew at the photograph, taken in the worst of the Depression years, with sympathetic and enlightened eyes. Heightened exclusionary policies and attitudes that swept the country targeted Chicana/os regardless of citizenship status, and precluded their inclusion in the heroic national saga of "ordinary people" who valiantly rallied as they battled to survive hard

"Farmstead, Concho, Arizona." Russell Lee, October 1940.

times.[6] Nevertheless, personal photographs, like those of my mother and other *Tucsonenses,* survive to tell their story on their own terms. Most of these photographs are of working-class people, who looked directly into the camera and resisted being "undocumented." These photographs foster alternative representations that challenged manufactured stereotypes designed to construct Chicana/os as a rural and foreign people. Throughout an apprehensive time, and living in a nation that insisted on absolute loyalty, Chicana/os publicly celebrated and articulated their multifaceted ethnic identities in their private photographs. Self-affirming personal and family photographs chronicle the story of indisputable Americans who did not consider themselves "aliens," and challenge contrived representations by asserting their citizenship, ethnic pride, and humanity.[7]

Although the Depression affected everyone across the nation, poor people and people of color experienced additional burdens and hardships. Historically, during times of economic crisis, citizens and public officials avoid examining the complex and inequitable economic forces at the root of problems, and instead prefer to seek simple solutions. During the Depression it became easier to scapegoat women and immigrants, holding them responsible for the nation's soaring unemployment. Throughout the nation, from Washington, D.C., to Los Angeles, many, even President Herbert Hoover, considered Chicana/os to be disposable "aliens" who took jobs away from more deserving "Americans." An estimated one million were both voluntarily and forcibly repatriated back to Mexico during the 1930s.[8]

Although most of the repatriation and deportation fervor is associated with Southern California, the Pima County Welfare Board in Tucson also used these tactics to rid itself of an unwanted population. Historian Charles Leland Sonnichsen documents the large numbers of Chicana/os who were rounded up in Tucson and banished across the border.[9] In Mexico, news reports expressed concern for the repatriates and deportees due to their deteriorated condition. The Mexico City paper, *Excélsior,* reported in 1931 that "thousands of deportees have arrived during the last week through the border port of Nogales, presenting a pitiful and pathetic spectacle, for many of them are hollow-cheeked from hunger."[10] Locally, Organized Charities, a designated relief agency of Pima County, paid to transport Chicana/o families, including minors born in the United States, to the border. Interestingly, the president of this organization, C. Edgar Goyette, simultaneously served as the chairman of the Pima County Welfare Board. This position made him the most important administrator responsible for the direction and implementation of New Deal policies and the distribution of private and public relief funds in Tucson.[11]

Similar to welfare boards in the South, officials in Tucson sanctioned discriminatory policies in their work and relief programs, and designed

them to enforce regional and local racial hierarchies. In her trip through the Southwest, Lorena Hickok, a special investigator for Harry Hopkins and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, singled out the discriminatory conditions she encountered in Arizona. "In Tucson—without any publicity, but so quietly that people didn't even know they were being classified," Hickok noted, "they divided their case load into four groups, Classes A, B, C, and D." A brief description of this classification system indicated that sixty "A" families received fifty dollars a month. Engineers, teachers, lawyers, former businessmen, and contractors composed the bulk of this elite group. The largest numbers of families, 1,490, were classified as "D." Hickok describes this group as "the low class Mexican, Spanish American, and Indian families." This group received ten dollars a month.[12]

Instead of providing assistance when the faltering economy had already inflicted hardship on Chicana/os, public officials placed additional burdens that undermined their survival. These unjust actions give added historical significance to the individual agency, and subjectivity, of Carmen Gomez. In her 1930 photograph, she depicts a public self that counters every prevailing stereotype assigned to Chicanas. Foremost, she does not wish to come across as a deprived or even religious woman. Instead, she prefers to convey sex and glamour. At a time when family and kinship played a central role in survival, Gomez instead chooses to highlight her independence. The lack of children in the photograph underscores her single status and suggests her sexual availability. Far from depicting a solemn frugality, Gomez's aggressive pose, up-to-date dress, hair, attitude, and posture are strikingly different from the suffering and passive Spanish madonnas depicted in Russell Lee's Concho photographs. Instead Gomez's attire and attitude follow a pattern typical of other young Chicanas. As historian Vicki Ruiz notes, the manifestation of Chicana flappers a decade earlier make it plain that "consumer culture . . . [had] hit the barrio full force."[13]

With each decade in the twentieth century the power of advertising, and advances in photography and motion pictures, confirmed the importance of manipulating and controlling visual representations. As federal policymakers attempted a national makeover, they drew on photographs to support their visions, such as the powerful rural agenda of the Farm Security Administration (FSA). The omission of urban populations from the FSA documentary record can be attributed in part to the specific needs of that agency. However, the limited representations of Chicana/o urban life in the larger corpus of New Deal photography need to be considered. This absence echoes, in part, the complicated place Depression-era urban woes held at the national level. The praise heaped on rural works programs that built roads, dams, and rural electrification projects, and on established farm cooperatives and relief camps, strengthened and idealized a national rural myth. This intentional

Carmen Gomez showcases her glamorous dress, hair, and attitude, 1930.

This typical 1930s promotional pamphlet by the Tucson Chamber of Commerce offers an ahistorical representation designed to lure tourists to an "exotic" past and place.

propaganda may have also fueled the belief that cities "tainted" their residents. The presence of Chicana/os complicated this conviction and contributed to the convoluted reasoning that furthered the idea that "tainted" cities created a hybrid of unmanageable Chicana/os.[14] These notions buttressed a social reluctance to confirm the presence and lives of Chicana/os who lived in cities. Fueled by the negative stereotypes of the time, images of a hypothetically "uncontained" urban population remained suppressed while more palatable and comforting images of "Mexican" people proliferated.

During the 1930s, New Deal promotional literature and photographers advanced ahistorical propaganda that fueled representations of Chicana/os as being indolent and premodern. In the Arizona state guide, a member of the Federal Writers' Project of the Work Projects Administration (WPA) projected what he thought the nation would find compelling about Chicana/os in Tucson. Depicting them as "local color," he described scenes where "Mexicans stand against the warm buildings with their sombreros pulled down, their Spanish conversation punctuated with long silences."[15] Far from being accurate, this observation reveals preferred and engrained ethnocentric representations, which, despite reality, advanced stereotypes of Chicana/os as lazy, backward, and nonproductive citizens. New Deal photographers also pursued similar disingenuous, preindustrial images through their photojournalistic emphasis on areas like Concho.

Regional and local tourist agents included similar images in their promotional material designed to lure moneyed newcomers to the area. Idyllic and romanticized images of Mexican people and culture flourished. Contented, imaginary *señores* and *señoritas* enjoying a leisurely lifestyle, and devoted to songs that reflected their cultural investment in romance and chivalry, appealed to tourists. These invented and unassimilated Mexican people willingly accepted their "exotic" status and, like those in Concho, were too well mannered to demand citizenship rights. These imaginary and idealized premodern people willingly accepted their marginalized status in society. In these photographs, image-makers bestowed an admirable "strong and good" character to those who expressed no desire to brandish either their consumer goods or their ambitions to acculturate.[16]

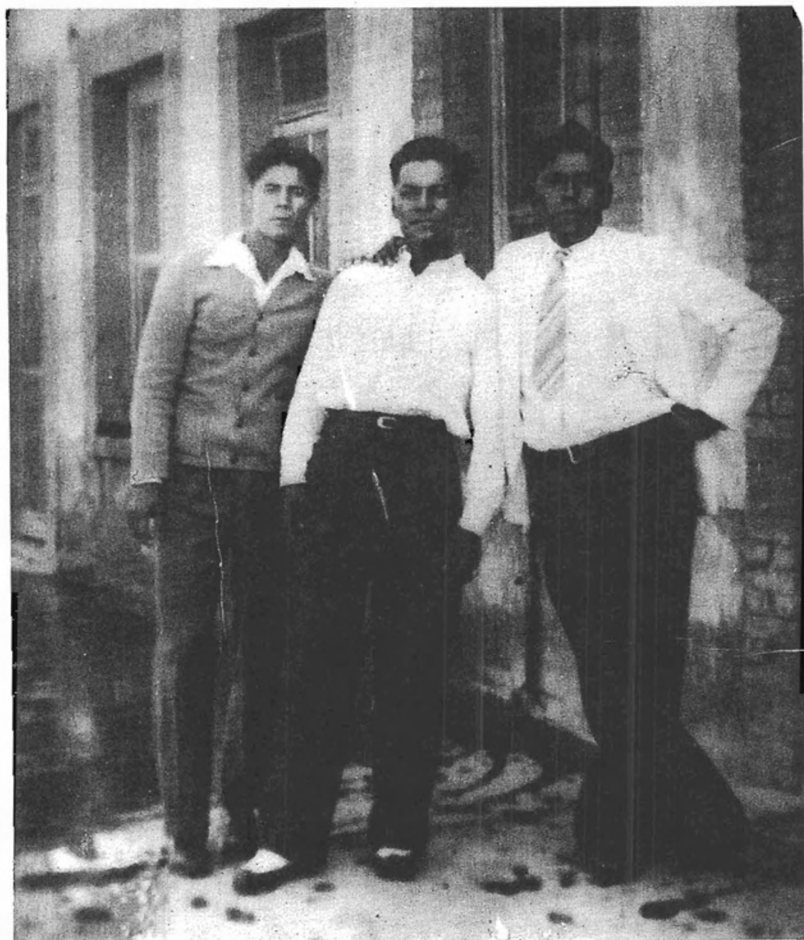
Undeniably, Mexicans were neither foreign nor newcomers to Tucson. The histories of Chicana/os and Tucson are inextricably linked. Demographically, Chicana/os dominated Tucson until the turn of the century. Founded in the Spanish era as a presidio, Tucson was established before the arrival of Anglo Americans. It is doubtful that "Mexicans luxuriating in the shade" flourished during any period of the city's development; its demanding desert environment made mere survival a constant undertaking. Tucson became part of the United States in 1853 with the signing of the Gadsden Purchase. The arrival of the railroad in the 1880s brought

larger numbers of Anglo Americans and solidified the implementation of a new capitalist economic system that cast Chicana/os down an economic and political spiral. By 1929 Chicana/os composed about 33 percent of the city's population. Most of them lived in Barrio Libre, located in the center of the city. There were other barrios, but because of its size and its economic and cultural vitality, Barrio Libre was often referred to simply as *el barrio.*[17]

Throughout the Southwest, Chicana/os in urban barrios were forced to cope with the consequences of unfair and inaccurate representations that flourished during the Depression. Yet in their own photographs, in spite of the repressive period with its threat of possible exile, they created alternative images. A 1933 photograph of Adolfo Morales, for example, reflects a personal portrayal at odds with the cultural understandings that underpinned the promotional literature. Instead of portraying himself as dependent, Morales attempts to empower himself, selecting to showcase not only his car but also his contemporary attire. For a single man, a car enhanced his attractiveness and manhood as he positioned himself to be the center of attention. His vehicle provided more than transportation or a temporary seat; it was a culturally meaningful accessory. These snapshots—portable yet durable images—confirmed individual accomplishment in a society that reserved its bottom rungs for Chicana/os. Adolfo Morales does not look like a poor man in this photograph; he looks confident, striking, and self-reliant.[18]

The Tucson barrio in the 1930s. Today the Tucson Convention Center, which obliterated most of *el barrio* when it was built in the late 1960s, is located behind St. Augustine Cathedral.

Adolfo Morales flaunts his contemporary clothes and automobile, Copper Creek, Arizona, 1933.



My uncle Pedro Robles (right) with his friends "Chapo" Olea and Armando Valencia, ca. 1935.

Although holding a job and protecting and providing for one's family made one a man in both Chicana/o and American cultures, county officials attempted to take that role away from Chicanos. Minutes of a county meeting to distribute relief funds under the Emergency Relief and Construction Act of 1932 confirm these intentions. The committee agreed that Pima County deserved more funding, and Goyette informed the group that "in Pima County men are getting work only every ten weeks, while in Cochise County they get work about every four weeks." Apparently, work relief paid more than direct relief, and Goyette recommended that "many Mexicans and aliens could be taken care of by direct relief with very little work relief, since they have few expenses except for food." In this telling statement, Goyette separates "Mexicans" from "aliens," yet proposes to treat both in the same way. By "Mexicans," as the rest of the report makes clear, he is referring to U.S. citizens of Mexican origin—distinguishing them from "other men." The diversion of funds would take "Mexicans and aliens" off work relief and allow those "other men" to enjoy the psychological boosts and political entitlements that being a breadwinner and working for wages provided. Goyette questions the manhood of Mexican men by implying that "other men" were more qualified and deserving of societal and institutional support. In the end, the committee unanimously agreed that "direct relief should be increased and that all aliens should be put on direct relief in order that men who had a higher standard of living than the Yaquis and the Mexicans could be given work more often."[19]

In addition to suffering economic hardship, it is also clear that Chicana/os suffered a crisis of representation in the 1930s. On one hand, officials judged poor Chicana/os as morally deficient due to their meager material living conditions and lack of material possessions; yet city and county officials continued to reinforce this condition by depriving them of equitable assistance that would improve their living conditions. Perhaps this accounts for Chicana/os insistence on portraying their independence, not dependence, in their personal photographs. The photograph of my uncle, Pedro Robles, for example, with his friends in 1935, highlights a masculine and aggressive character. Comradeship is accentuated in this photo, as are the fine clothes and shoes. The young men's posturing highlights a masculinity that county officials may have preferred to control and suppress. A few years after this photograph was taken, my uncle and his friends encountered no problem finding a new occupation. Along with more than a quarter million Chicana/os across the nation, they served and defended this nation in World War II.[20]

Cars, clothes, and accessories were, and continue to be, potent cultural symbols. Chicana/os in these photographs integrated popular culture, to varying degrees, and created their own individual styles in the process. Young

Chicana/os appropriated these visual markers, which they could purchase, to stake their claim as Americans. The people in these photographs dispute the official record that claimed Chicana/os had "few expenses except for food" and the misleading characterizations manufactured in tourist and promotional material. Despite contradictory messages, Chicana/os continued to believe in the power of the American Dream that promised equality, success, and more material goods.[21]

Although expressing their individuality, the young people in these photographs also understood that it was dangerous to be of Mexican descent in this period of massive deportation, repatriation, and racist welfare policy; U.S. citizenship did not guarantee equal rights or safety in this nation. On the state level, in 1930, the Arizona legislature passed the Box Bill to curb Mexican immigration. Policymakers justified this legislation by holding immigrants culpable for the Depression, asserting that "Mexican peons . . . are in direct competition with American men and women, thus making beggars and tramps of many of our native-born citizens."[22] Chicana/os continued, however, to claim Tucson, and the United States, as their home. Their personal photographs, like those of my mother, indicate that they refused to see themselves as either state burdens, foreigners, or "peons."

The experience of my mother, Cruz Robles, born in *el barrio,* mirrors the lives of working-class Chicanas living in Tucson during the Depression years. She was sixteen in 1929, when the Depression began. Cruz was the oldest girl in a family of ten children; three of her siblings were born in the 1930s. Her family's economic setbacks had been in motion before the Depression had taken hold of the nation. My grandfather, Luis Robles, an aging hod carrier, increasingly found himself out of work. Thus, economic necessity required that Cruz forfeit her education in the seventh grade and work for wages.[23]

The Depression further encouraged a family economy where all the family members jointly contributed to the family's survival. During the 1930s, my mother's younger sister, Maria Luisa, also left school in order to contribute to the family economy. Job opportunities were limited. During the first three decades of the twentieth century, as historian Alberto Camarillo documents, Chicanas concentrated on two principal areas of employment: domestic services and agriculture-related work. So, like many other Chicanas throughout the Southwest, with limited career choices, Cruz and Maria Luisa became domestics. Both sisters are listed in the early-1930s Tucson directories as "maids" living on Meyer Street in the barrio.[24]

My mother often told me that as a young woman people would comment on her resemblance to Gloria Swanson. As her 1930 photograph makes clear, finding a likeness to the Hollywood screen star requires stretching the imagination, but the photo and her story provide insight into my mother's

identity. Maids are not featured in this photograph. It depicts Chicanas flaunting their investment in girl, youth, and consumer cultures. Despite the poverty apparent in their physical surroundings, these young women captured a moment in which they stepped beyond the confines of their working-class occupations and created a visual statement that testified to their modernity and independence. Even if my mother had failed to share her Gloria Swanson story with me, this photograph reveals that she aspired to be more than a "maid" and that her dreams and desires were typically American.

In a political environment full of daily reminders that highlighted their vulnerability, it is not surprising that my mother's family avoided relief programs despite their immense need for assistance. Officials diverted most repatriates on Southern Pacific trains from Los Angeles County, which deported the largest number of people to Mexico, through Tucson.[25] Many Chicana/os who voluntarily repatriated passed through the city in loaded automobiles en route to Mexico. The constant flow of repatriates that passed

FORM 688

(ORIGINAL)

U. S. CITIZEN'S IDENTIFICATION CARD

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE

THIS CARD PRESENTED TO AN IMMIGRANT INSPECTOR AT A PORT OF ENTRY OF THE UNITED STATES WILL ENTITLE THE PERSON NAMED AND DESCRIBED ON THE REVERSE SIDE HEREOF, WHO RESIDES AT 334 S. Meyer Street (STREET) Tucson, Arizona, (CITY)

AND WHOSE BUSINESS ADDRESS IS - - - - - (STREET) (CITY) TO ADMISSION TO THE UNITED STATES UPON PROPER IDENTIFICATION.

ISSUED AT Tucson, Arizona

September 26, 1936

DESCRIPTION

NAME Robles, Maria Cruz AGE 23

OCCUPATION Housework

COMPLEXION Med. Drk HAIR Blk

EYES Drk Brn HEIGHT 5' 3"

MARKS: Pin moles on face

Maria Cruz Robles (SIGNATURE)

NO. 58151 (IMMIGRANT INSPECTOR)

Maria Cruz Robles' U.S. citizen's identification card, 1936.

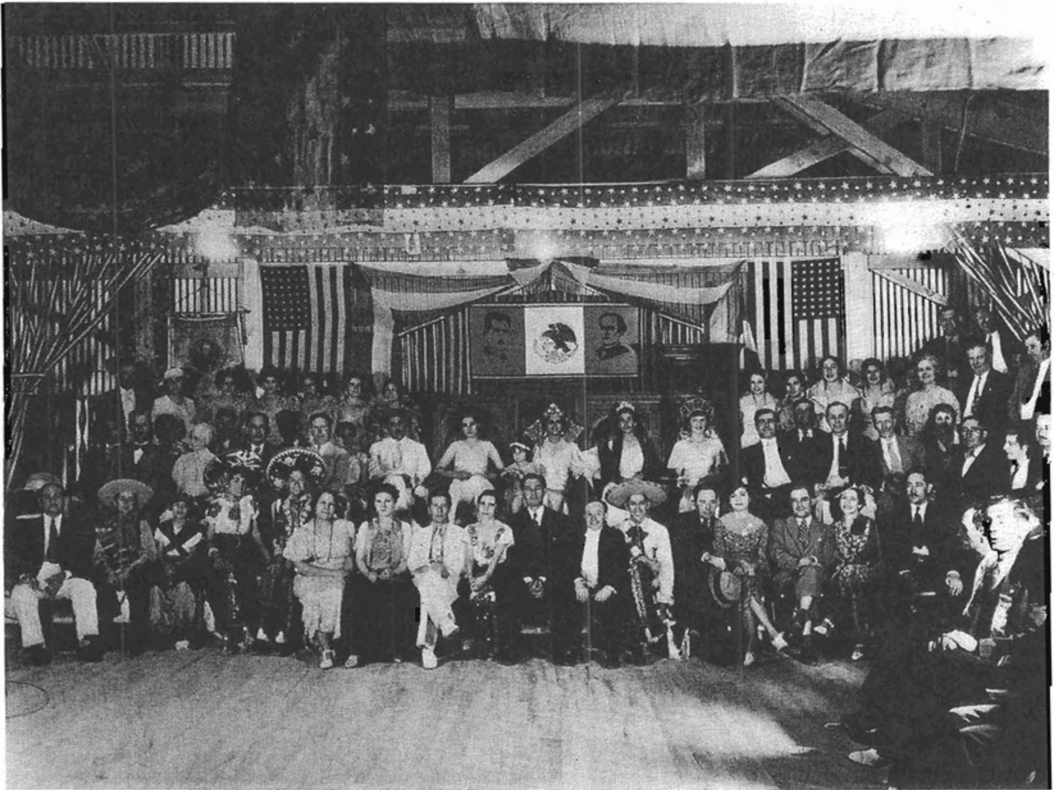
through Tucson served as a daily reminder to Chicana/os of their unwanted status. Amidst claims of "jobs for Americans" it is no coincidence that my mother, a third-generation Tucsonan, felt the need to acquire a photo identification card that confirmed and allowed her to claim U.S. citizenship status. The public face on this card, however, contrasts sharply from her private photographs. My mother could not control this image. Instead of the glamorous image that she preferred to exhibit, this card accented her flaws by pointing out her "pin moles on face." That the identification card is tattered indicates that Cruz always needed to have it in her possession, testimony to the precautions a young Chicana in 1936 needed to take in a time of heightened xenophobia.

Chicana/os not only faced economic and political burdens—a major health crisis had developed by the 1930s. Tucson touted itself in the first two decades of the twentieth century as an ideal place to battle tuberculosis. Some cited the low rates of tuberculosis among its long-term residents to substantiate the advantageousness of the local climate by asserting "it is well known that tuberculosis is very rare among Indians and Mexicans." But by the 1930s the disease had become racialized.[26] Limited access to health care forced infected and otherwise ill Chicana/os to seek out traditional community healers, or *curanderas,* but the death rate of Chicana/os escalated. As the photograph of Rosendo Perez indicates, poor Mexican families continued to honor their dead in difficult times. Unable to afford a marble or machine-made marker, Rosendo proudly holds a homemade marker that will be placed on his grandmother's grave. The fact that the Perez family chose to take a photo of their well-scrubbed child carefully holding and displaying the marker indicates that they felt this moment, like their deceased family member, deserved to be remembered.

Private photographs fostered a family identity and provided a way to remember individuals, but they also captured Chicana/os collectively celebrating their ethnicity. A photograph taken at the Riverside Ballroom indicates that despite the anti-Mexican backlash, Chicana/os continued to identify with and support their former homeland. This photograph raises an interesting paradox, and indicates that Chicana/os needed to execute a tenuous balancing act by openly celebrating their links to Mexico and Mexican culture while claiming to be Americans during the 1930s. Whereas public officials attempted to promote Chicana/os as "aliens," this photograph depicts an unidentified organization's members staking their claims to citizenship on a public stage. In order to highlight their patriotic stance, two large United States flags dominate the stage. The flags, however, frame and draw attention to past Mexican heroes known for advancing equality and civil rights.

All of the Chicana/os included in this chapter carefully manipulated

Rosendo Perez holds his grandmother's homemade burial marker, 1930.



A September 16, 1937, celebration at the Riverside Ballroom in Tucson.

their images to claim their rightful place in American society. The desires and attitudes these photographs capture, and the strategies this targeted population employed to dignify themselves and their position in society, provide important information for those who wish to understand the past. The photograph of Alicia Morales Mendoza best exemplifies the struggle to counter dehumanizing stereotypes by disguising poverty. Hoping to ground her identity in good hygiene and generate a sense of modernity, the Mendoza family carefully positioned Alicia in the photograph. This calculated placement and the child's contemporary attire, especially the shoes, required that a curtain obscure reality. This photograph was taken in front of an outhouse.[27] The Morales family, like most Chicana/os in Tucson, did not live in a vacuum. They understood and endured the consequences of the intolerance that had taken hold of this nation. The Depression brought much hardship, but instead of portraying themselves as suffering and poor, Chicana/os highlighted their survival and their urban lifestyles. They sought to define and represent themselves and insisted on being recognized as equals in their empowering photographs. Alicia Morales, Cruz Robles, and other Chicana/os refused to be "undocumented" as they pursued their visions of equality and success in a city and a nation that attempted, but failed, to render them invisible.

Alicia Morales
Mendoza.

Chapter 3. Refusing to Be "Undocumented"

1. I would like to thank Katherine Morrissey, Karen Anderson, and Yolanda Chávez Leyva for their advice and guidance in writing this chapter. Additional thanks to Sarah Deutsch and the members of the University of Arizona's History Department's Women's History dissertator group for their comments. Last, I wish to thank Martha Sandweiss for suggesting that I cease my fruitless search for photographs that featured Mexican American participation in relief and work programs and instead concentrate on family and personal photographs.
2. My mother's given name was Maria de la Cruz Robles, but she preferred to use only Cruz. Friends and family called her Chita. She passed away on April 21, 2002 while I was writing the initial drafts of this article.
3. I use *Chicana/os* as an inclusionary term that incorporates all Mexican-origin people, including Mexican immigrants living in the United States.
4. See Arizona State Parks Board, *Historic Resource Survey of Concho, Arizona,* for more background on Concho. Photographers associated with the Farm Security Administration also focused their energies on Chicana/os in rural settings and migrant camps.
5. Ricardo Romo, "The Urbanization of Southwestern Chicanos in the Early Twentieth Century" in *En Aquel Entonces: Readings in Mexican-American History,* ed. Manuel G. Gonzales and Cynthia M. Gonzales (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 132. Scattered among the photographs produced to document Arizona Works Progress Administration programs are some images of Mexican Americans.
6. Both of the following works provide a more comprehensive treatment of this period and its impact on Chicana/os: Francisco E. Balderrama and Raymond Rodriguez, *Decade of Betrayal: Mexican Repatriation in the 1930s* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995); and Abraham Hoffman, *Unwanted Mexican Americans in the Great Depression: Repatriation Pressures, 1929–1939* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1979).
7. Most of the photographs featured in this chapter, with the exception of family photographs, are from the Mexican American Heritage Project, located at the Arizona Historical Society (AHS), in Tucson. The photographs of Carmelo Corbellá, the priest of Holy Family Church during the early part of this century, are also included as part of the Mexican American Heritage Project. This collection offers another source of Chicana/o celebrations, outings, theatrical performances, and religious activities. Most of the individuals in Corbellá's collection, unfortunately, are not identified, and most of the photographs are not dated, a crucial factor that persuaded me not to include them in this chapter. Additionally, I did not include photographs of older adults because I could not find them. Even with the help of my cousin, Rita Lockas, the family archivist, we could not locate a single photograph of my grandfather or grandmother in the 1930s. Overall, families may have wished to express their optimism about the future and pride in their ability to provide their children with contemporary clothing and accessories during this difficult period, resulting in a predominance of photographs of youths.
8. Balderrama and Rodriguez, *Decade of Betrayal,* 121–22.
9. Charles Leland Sonnichsen, *Tucson: The Life and Times of an American City* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982), 238.

10. George C. Kiser and Martha Kiser, *Mexican Workers in the United States: Historical and Political Perspectives* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1979), 36–37.
11. "Charities Plan to Aid Mexican," *Arizona Daily Star*, April 10, 1932; Pima County Welfare Board to Isabella Greenway, February 8, 1936, Isabella Greenway Papers, MS 311, box 118, Political Activity, folder 1619, AHS.
12. "Lorena Hickok Reports on the Great Depression's Ravages in Texas and the Southwest, 1934," in J'Nell L. Pate, *Document Sets for Texas and the Southwest in U.S. History* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Company, 1991), 144.
13. Vicki L. Ruiz, *From Out of the Shadows: Mexican Women in the Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 50; Vicki L. Ruiz, "Star Struck: Acculturation, Adolescence, and the Mexican American Woman, 1920–1950," in *Building with Our Hands: New Directions in Chicana Studies*, ed. Adela de la Torre and Beatríz M. Pesquera (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 109–29.
14. Bryant Simon discusses the rural and gendered imaginary that underpinned New Deal programs in "'New Men in Body and Soul': The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Transformation of Male Bodies and the Body Politic" in *Gender and the Southern Body Politic*, ed. Nancy Bercaw (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2000), 132–60.
15. Workers of the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Arizona, *Arizona: A State Guide* (New York: Hastings House, 1940), 253.
16. This type of image appeared frequently in promotional material such as *Tucson: A Magazine of the Activities of the Local People and Interesting Things for Visitors and Newcomers*, 11, no. 3 (May 1938).
17. Workers of the Writers' Program, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Arizona* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989). Page 252 states 36,818 as the population of Tucson in 1940. Thomas E. Sheridan, in his *Los Tucsonenses: The Mexican Community in Tucson, 1854–1941* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1986), also uses this population figure for 1940 but does not provide a population estimate for Tucson in the 1930s. I estimated the Chicana/o community to comprise 33 percent of the total population in 1930 by averaging the "Hispanic Percentage" of both 1920 (54.7) and 1940 (29.9) in Sheridan's table 1, page 3. Granted that this percentage may be overinflated because of deportations and repatriations.
18. Numerous photographs of Chicana/os posing next to and on their automobiles during the 1930s are part of the Mexican American Heritage Project, AHS. For more on the cultural meanings of automobiles, see Virginia Scharff, *Taking the Wheel: Women and the Coming of the Motor Age* (New York: Maxwell Macmillan International, 1991).
19. Minutes of meeting for the Pima County Advisory Board, January 17, 1933, Isabella Greenway Papers, MS 311, box 118, Political Activity, folder 1619, AHS; Suzanne Metter, in her *Dividing Citizens: Gender and Federalism in New Deal Public Policy* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998), contends that two oppositional forms of citizenship evolved in the welfare state. This system conferred more material and societal rewards on European American males characterized as hardworking and "deserving" citizens.
20. Rodolfo Acuña, *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos* (New York: Longman, 2000), 264.
21. For further discussions of Chicana/o appropriation of popular culture, see

Ruiz, *From Out of the Shadows*, 67–68; Ruiz, "Star Struck"; and George J. Sanchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900–1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 171–87. See also Laura Lee Cummings, "*Que siga el corridor:* Tucson Pachuchos and Their Times," Ph.D. diss., University of Arizona, Tucson, 1994, 13. Cummings argues that the attire associated with *pachuchos* was evident in Tucson as early as 1935.

22. *Congressional Record*, 71st Cong., 2nd sess., 1930, part 7, 7226, quoted in Kiser and Kiser, *Mexican Workers*, 50.
23. Hod carriers physically moved heavy loads associated with construction projects, such as bricks and mortar, usually on their backs; 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), 91.
24. *Tucson City Directory* (Tucson: Arizona Directory Company, 1932); Ruth Milkman, "Women's Work and the Economic Crisis: Some Lessons from the Great Depression," in *A Heritage of Her Own: Toward a New Social History of American Women*, ed. Nancy F. Cott and Elizabeth H. Pleck (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), 507–41. Milkman studied employment patterns during the Depression and found that women were able to find work and keep working because they worked at lower-paying jobs in service industries. In addition, adherence to gendered stereotypes dictated which jobs men and women could perform. The opportunity to earn more money persuaded my mother to work at the Rialto Apartments after the Depression; she later moved to the Holiday Inn. She worked as a domestic until 1965.
25. Most trains were destined for El Paso, Texas, making their way to Ciudad Juárez, in Chihuahua, Mexico, but some repatriates were separated in Tucson and shipped to Nogales, Sonora. See Hoffman, *Unwanted Mexican Americans*, 118; and "Hardship Told by Emigrants: Starving Hordes Are Sent Back into Mexico," *Arizona Daily Star*, March 5, 1931.
26. As quoted in Charles Leland Sonnichsen, *Tucson: The Life and Times of an American City* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982), 148; "Births Top Deaths Here during 1933," *Tucson Daily Citizen*, January 6, 1934, p. 6. In 1933, tuberculosis accounted for 331 deaths, or 42 percent of all deaths for persons over five years old, in Tucson. Fred P. Perkins, *Health Problems of Arizona* (Arizona State Board of Health, Press Release, 2, no. 16), Ephemera-Tuberculosis, AHS. WPA project no. 2-10-128 intended to turn an abandoned Civilian Conservation Camp in the Tucson Mountains into a "Children's Preventorium" for "undernourished and incipient tubercular children." Peter Riley to Isabella Greenway, December 17, 1935, Isabella Greenway Papers, MS 311, box 118, Political Activity, folder 1619, AHS.
27. This information was handwritten on the side of the photograph by the family member who submitted it to the archives.

Chapter 4. Casa Grande Valley Farms

1. Studies of the New Deal's rural resettlement program include Paul K. Conkin, *Tomorrow a New World: The New Deal Community Program* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1959); Sidney Baldwin, *Poverty and Politics: The Rise and Decline of the Farm Security Administration* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina