"State on the Celluloid":

Identity and the Film Industry in Arizona

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the role of film industry boosterism in Arizona from 1911 to 2014; it argues that boosters consistently employed film as a promotional tool toward building state identity for Arizona. These boosters harnessed a variety of strategies catered specifically to a combination of personal interests and historical circumstances. Consequently, their efforts produced a variety of identities for Arizona that changed over time as new generations of boosters addressed different concerns. These state identities that boosters wanted to build relied heavily on the power of perception, often attempting to overcome or reinforce stereotypical imagery and iconography associated with Arizona. Over time, boosters used the film industry to project Arizona as: a modern and progressive state that had outgrown its frontier past; an ideal setting to make films that relived the mythical Wild West; a film-friendly place of business ideally suited for Hollywood production; and a cultural haven for filmic sophistication. Textual analysis of primary sources comprises the methodology of this thesis. Primary sources include historical newspapers, such as the *Arizona Republican*, and archival records of Arizona's past governors, including Governors Jack R. Williams and Raul H. Castro. These sources constitute valuable documentation created by boosters in the course of their day-to-day activities promoting Arizona, providing a window into their aspirations, worldviews and strategies. Personal interviews with active and retired members of Arizona's film boosting community are also included as primary source material, intended to capture firsthand accounts of filmic activity in the state. Using these sources as its foundation, this thesis fills a gap in the historiography by analyzing the relationship between the film industry and Arizona's state identity. While a handful of scholarly works have discussed

Arizona's film history to a minor extent, they tend to take a pure narrative approach, or offer a "behind-the-scenes" look that focuses on the production aspects of films shot in Arizona. No other work focuses explicitly on boosterism or explores the statewide meaning of Arizona's film history over such a comprehensive period of time. Thus, this thesis offers a previously neglected history of both film and Arizona.

DEDICATION

To my wife, who convinced me to go to college.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"I always felt that we and the film business kind of grew up together."[1]

Movies are a fascinating phenomenon. As film historian Robert Sklar noted in *Movie-Made America*, "For the first half of the twentieth century … movies were the most popular and influential medium of culture in the United States."[2] Sklar argued that scientists first recognized the utility of motion picture technology because it "subjected time and motion to the human will," but the United States' urban industrialism from 1890-1910 turned movies into entertainment for the masses. Costing as little as one nickel, almost everyone could afford to see a movie.[3] Because of their universal accessibility and popularity, movies have touched every rung of the socioeconomic ladder and engrained themselves in American society. As such, historians can use them to explore almost any historical theme, including race, class, gender, war, labor, politics, economics, censorship, nationalism, immigration and public health. Located in Los Angeles, California, Hollywood has deservedly received much scholarly attention as the unofficial center of motion picture production in the world. Hollywood is but one node, however, in a larger filmic network.

This thesis will argue that Arizona boosters have contributed to building state identity using the medium of film. In the immediate context of this thesis, a booster is

[1] Robert Shelton, interview by Ryan Ehrfurth, Tucson, Arizona, April 3, 2014.

[2] Robert Sklar, *Movie-Made America: A Cultural History of American Movies* (New York, Vintage Books, 1994), 3.

[3] Ibid, 3-5.

defined as: *any individual or organizational body that actively promoted or encouraged some aspect of Arizona's film industry, regardless of motivation*. Significantly, these boosters began this process even before Arizona became a state in 1912. Arizona's transition into statehood coincided with the film industry's formative years in becoming the nation's most popular form of entertainment, thus giving boosters a powerful new promotional tool to shape Arizona's perception and identity. In many ways, early boosters felt like Arizona needed to "catch up" with the rest of the country. Nicknamed the "baby state" by Arizona state historian Marshall Trimble, for example, urban development came much later to cities in Arizona than places like Los Angeles and Denver.[4] Boosters saw film as an effective way of advertising Arizona's economic accomplishments, such as the growth of Phoenix and the completion of Roosevelt Dam. Boosters also believed that a booming film industry could cause Arizona to progress by putting it "on the map." Boosters more interested in the production process saw film as an opportunity to generate revenue for Arizona, since film production required hundreds of expenditures, including food, lodging, and rental equipment. In all cases, boosters consistently conjoined the success of the film industry with the success and positive imagery of Arizona as a whole. This thesis will further explore questions about how boosters in Arizona understood film as a benefit to the state, and the strategies they used to achieve such gains.

Exploring this theme reveals how the film industry has been a vitally connected part of Arizona's state identity. Arizona's portrayal in film both challenged and

[4] Marshall Trimble, *Arizona: A Cavalcade of History* (Tucson, Arizona: Rio Nuevo Publishers, 2003), *Arizona*, 235.

reinforced public perception of what the state looked like, and its policies on supporting film production created reputations that reflected on the state as a whole. Boosters knew well how important it was for Arizona to project a good public image for their purposes, and they understood the consequences of a negative reputation. As a visual medium, film is especially qualified for crafting such perceptions.

Arizona's film history is intertwined with Hollywood. Boosters in Arizona explicitly invoked Hollywood on several occasions to suggest what Arizona could achieve. A filmmaker named Roy Hughes, for example, wanted Tempe to become the "Hollywood of Arizona" in the 1920s following the city's film experience with *The Yaqui* (1916).[5] Originally built as a filming location for *Arizona* (1940), Old Tucson Studios has long been referred to as the "Hollywood of the Desert" and still operates today as a Western theme park.[6] This association with Hollywood, however, runs deeper than making simple comparisons. Legend contends that Hollywood could have been established in Arizona if a single event had occurred otherwise. The story goes that when director Cecil B. DeMille arrived in Flagstaff to film *Squaw Man* (1914), bad weather convinced him to press on to California. This makes for an intriguing "what if," scenario, but two details poke irreparable holes in the story. First, motion picture companies had arrived in Los Angeles by 1907.[7] Second, DeMille personally debunked this legend in his autobiography, recalling that "whoever … made up the story about the rainstorm at

[5] Mark Jay, "1916 Film Led to Failed Effort to Create 'Hollywood of Arizona,'" *Arizona Republic*, March 7, 2014, 6.

[6] Old Tucson Studios, "Film History," accessed April 7, 2014 at http://oldtucson.com/films-producers-directors/film-history/

[7] Sklar, *Movie-Made America*, 67.

Flagstaff, was particularly unkind to us, I feel. We should have been a sorry lot if a little rain discouraged us." The real reason for moving on had to do with DeMille's misunderstanding of the Western United States' heterogeneous landscape. *Squaw Man* took place in Wyoming, and DeMille recalled that he had "blithely assumed that the West, after all, was the West." Scouting the scenery only after arriving, he concluded that "beautiful, healthful, sunny Arizona, was all wrong" and he continued to California.[8]

Factual errors did not discourage some Arizonans from using this myth as an inspirational story to encourage the growth of Arizona's film industry. Robert (Bob) Shelton, former owner of Old Tucson Studios, believes that if DeMille had arrived in Tucson instead of Flagstaff, he would have found the scenery he was looking for and decided to stay.[9] Arizona Governor John (Jack) R. Williams echoed this sentiment, stating, "Had their little company … taken a different train, the motion picture capital of the world might have been founded in Arizona rather than California."[10] Even a journalist for the *Hartford Courant* repeated this story, writing, "Arizona's role in the fledgling motion picture industry vanished as quickly as the snow that drove DeMille further west."[11] Non

[8]Cecil B. DeMille, *The Autobiography of Cecil B. DeMille*, ed. Donald Hayne (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice- Hall, Inc., 1959), 77- 78.

[9] Shelton, interview.

[10] Governor Jack Williams, "Sunny Arizona-A Favorite Location for Film Producers Since Nickelodeon Days," no date, Box 552, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[11] Holly Williams, "Old Tucson: Theme Park, Stage for Moviemakers," *Hartford Courant*, September 27, 1981, E1.

e of these observations account for the fact that Hollywood had already been founded, in effect, the previous decade. It is also implausible that DeMille's production would have single-handedly turned the tide of history.

However counterfactual, the myth has value because the alleged loss of Hollywood set the tone for the rest of Arizona's film history. Film boosters in Arizona tried to emulate or otherwise incentivize Hollywood into the state ever since the industry's inception. As Shelton described the fallout of DeMille's departure, "Thus began a … struggle to drag the industry back to Arizona."[12]

This dual strategy of emulation and incentivization forms the foundation of two distinct types of boosterism. The first type is inward boosterism, which accounted for the emulation approach. Boosters in this category attempted to compete with Hollywood by invigorating Arizona's own motion picture industry, primarily through establishing and promoting the work of local companies and studios. The second type is outward boosterism, which followed the incentivization strategy. As the name suggests, these boosters looked past Arizona's borders to work with Hollywood producers and draw them into the state, rather than directly competing with them. As another key difference, outward boosters worked to attract a steady stream of temporary Hollywood productions with the expectation that they would leave, whereas inward boosters wanted to build a permanent infrastructure of local studios. Of course, the boundaries of these two approaches sometimes overlapped, creating a hybrid boosterism that tried to harmonize both strategies. In effect, this variety demonstrates that boosterism was neither monolithic

[12] Art Ehrenstrom, "Arizona Pushed as Film Location," *Arizona Daily Star*, January 14, 1971, in Box 600, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

nor universally applied. Rather, boosters customized their efforts according to circumstance, which changed over time. Boosters did consistently enter into symbiotic partnerships with other individuals and organizations to promote their interests, notably with newspapers, private businesses, government, and, in some cases, Hollywood itself.

Scholarly work on the subject of film has exploded since the 1970s, but very few works focus specifically on the subject of film history in Arizona. This is not to say that the field is entirely devoid of work. In, "The First Moving Picture in Arizona: Or Was It?" amateur historian "Professor" George C. Hall "retraces the route of two traveling exhibitors" who passed through Arizona with motion picture shows. Having discovered the earliest known account of an Arizonan motion picture tour, occurring in 1897, Hall's work is a valuable source for establishing provenance.[13] Joe McNeill's *Arizona's Little Hollywood* focused on every major motion picture production in Sedona and Northern Arizona, from 1923 to 1973. McNeill identified his desire to "set the record straight" on the facts related to this history. At over six hundred pages, the book is certainly exhaustive, but narrowly defined in its regionalism.[14] This thesis shares McNeill's long-view approach, but the focus is on how boosters attempted to build Arizona identity, rather than challenge some alternative version of the truth. In, "Cinema Western in Arizona 1912-1929," Carlo Gaberscek provided an overview of various motion picture production activities in Arizona, offering only straight narrative without any particular

[13] George C. Hall, "The First Moving Picture in Arizona: Or Was It? The Tragic Tale of C. L. White's Marvelous Projectoscope Show in Arizona and New Mexico Territories, 1897-1898," *Film History* 3 (1989): 1-9.

[14] Joe McNeill, *Arizona's Little Hollywood: Sedona and Northern Arizona's Forgotten Film History 1923-1973* (Sedona, Arizona: Northedge & Sons, 2010).

argument.[15] For the purposes of this thesis, his work is best suited for establishing basic facts. Bette Stanton's *Where God Put the West* centered on the boosterism of Monument Valley as the ideal representation of the West, but emphasized the production aspects and almost exclusively discussed the Utah side of the Valley.[16]

Retired film and literature professor at Arizona State University, Jay Boyer came closest to a meaningful exploration of Arizona's earliest film days, with his essay, "No Fit Place for Any Man, Woman or Child: Depictions of Arizona in Our Earliest Films." As the title alludes, Boyer argued that some of the earliest motion pictures made in Arizona created an image of contrarianism and antithesis toward the way of life in the Eastern United States.[17] This thesis will expand on the theme of perception by demonstrating how boosters consistently worked to craft a positive image for Arizona based on its filmic output. The latest related work is travel writer Lili DeBarbieri's *Location Filming in Arizona: The Screen Legacy of the Grand Canyon State.* Although geared as a travelogue written for a general audience, the book is historical and noted the appeal of Arizona's climate, landscape and Western heritage in attracting filmmakers to the state.[18] Each of these elements will be explored in greater detail in chapters two and three of this thesis. This historiography demonstrates some scholarly attention to film and

[15] Carlo Gaberscek, "Cinema Western in Arizona 1912- 1929," *Griffithiana* 25 (2003): 18- 57.

[16] Bette L. Stanton, *"Where God Put the West": Movie Making in the Desert* (Moab, Utah: Four Corners Publications, 1994).

[17] Jay Boyer, "No Fit Place for Any Man, Woman or Child: Depictions of Arizona in Our Earliest Films," in *Beyond the Stars*: *Studies in American Popular Film Volume 4*, eds. Paul Loukides and Linda K. Fuller (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1993), 22.

[18] Lili DeBarbieri, *Location Filming in Arizona: The Screen Legacy of the Grand Canyon State* (Charleston, South Carolina: The History Press, 2014).

boosterism in Arizona, but nobody has substantially combined these two elements together. As the first scholarly work that explicitly connects boosterism to Arizona's film history, this thesis fills two gaps in the historiography. By focusing on film, this thesis will uncover a largely untapped history of Arizona; by focusing on Arizona, it will reveal a largely neglected history of film.

This shortage of scholarly attention to Arizona's film history is not for lack of sources. For this thesis, I searched a variety of repositories. Historical newspapers proved an indispensable resource, particularly for the 1920s and earlier. Archival collections at the Arizona State Archives house a wealth of information on this subject, particularly on the efforts of Arizona's past governors to promote the film industry. I also had the opportunity to interview some boosters, including Bob Shelton and the directors, both former and present, of various local film promotion organizations. They provided valuable insight into how Arizona's film industry has changed over the years.

Since the majority of sources used are records created by or about boosters, the primary methodology employed for this thesis is textual analysis. Analyzing the records left behind provided a window into their mentalities, their goals, and their strategies. In the process, this also revealed how they perceived Arizona and how they believed others perceived Arizona. This method produced a number of challenges. I found David Wrobel's *Promised Lands: Promotion, Memory, and the Creation of the American West* to be of great value in addressing these challenges.[19] Although Wrobel focused on

[19] David Wrobel, *Promised Lands: Promotion, Memory and the Creation of the American West* (Lawrence, University of Kansas Press, 2002).

boosters settling the American West, his observations are general enough to apply to my own purposes for this thesis.

One of the challenges was the issue of bias. Since boosters always had a direct interest in the outcome of whatever they were promoting, taking their word without criticism would have been foolhardy. The most important caveat I kept in mind when analyzing these sources is the boosters' tendencies to idealize the future as a foregone conclusion. Historian Daniel Boorstin wrote that boosters generally "thought they were not exaggerating but only anticipating-describing things which had not yet quite gone through the formal reality of taking place."[20] Much of the energy boosters expended also went toward convincing others to join them. This extra effort means that boosters' work was collaborative in nature, which fortunately introduced a number of skeptical individuals whose exchanges with the boosters kept their zeal in check. In the end, I heeded Wrobel's words, "But it is important to treat these sources as reflections of the purpose of their creators rather than as accurate descriptions of past places and events."[21]

Another challenge was the issue of metrics: how to determine the effectiveness of these boosters' campaigns. As Wrobel noted, "It is difficult to assess the extent to which organized, institutionalized promotional efforts were the determining factor in drawing settlers in western lands."[22] When applied to Arizona's film industry, I could accurately claim that it grew every year since Arizona formally adopted a statewide motion picture development program. But how accurate would it be to claim causation without

[20] Quoted in Wrobel, *Promised Lands*, 6.

[21] Ibid, 4.

[22] Ibid, 7.

considering other outside factors, such as television's rising popularity after World War II and the emergence of modern, independent cinema in the 1970s? Some evidence did connect the dots, however, such as correspondence in which Hollywood producers explicitly stated that they chose Arizona because of the personal attention given to them by a local booster. These instances will be addressed accordingly.

Because of the difficulties in assessing the direct impact a particular booster might have had, identifying common themes across multiple boosters over an extended period of time became increasingly important. I chose to cover the entire twentieth century in order to examine a long history that provided context for why boosters made certain efforts when they did. This is not to say that each chapter of this thesis argues causation for the successive chapter; rather they are designed to cumulatively show change over time while demonstrating that Arizona's film industry has never been without a lodestar. This thesis will therefore progress both chronologically and thematically, with some inevitable overlap and backtracking, which I acknowledge now. Beginning in the early twentieth century, each chapter will move forward in time to a new subject that demonstrates another example of boosting Arizona's identity and image through film.

Chapter 2 sets out to explore the early years of Arizona's motion picture history, from 1911 to the 1920s. One of the most important points to consider is that Arizona's motion picture history is almost as old as the industry itself. The first motion pictures produced in Arizona emerged during a time that film historian David Robinson called an age of "experiment and evolution."[23] This chapter will focus on two local businesses, the

[23] David Robinson, *From Peep Show to Palace: The Birth of American Film* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1996), xiii.

Arizona Motion Picture Company, which began production in 1911, and Arizona Motion Pictures Inc., which opened in late 1920 or early 1921. To supplement the significance of these businesses, the chapter will also discuss the work of Romaine Fielding, an actor and producer who shot many motion pictures on-location in Arizona as an employee of Philadelphia-based Lubin Studios. Fielding is important not only because of the many local motion pictures he shot, but also for the attention that he brought to Arizona as a result. As a nationally known figure, Fielding brought his reputation and celebrity status with him to Arizona, where he became noted for his use of local scenery and technological innovation. Methodologically, this chapter will be an historical analysis of the *Arizona Republican*, later changed to the *Arizona Republic* in 1930. As one of the state's oldest newspapers, the *Republican* spanned years' worth of motion picture coverage and proved an indispensable source for exploring early motion picture boosterism in Arizona. Because so much of the *Republican*'s effort focused on local production, inward boosterism is at play in this chapter.

Chapter 3 will focus on the Western genre of motion pictures and how it manifested in Arizona as an idealization for what producers considered authentic settings. This chapter will primarily encompass the 1930s through the 1960s. Of all the sub-topics explored in this thesis, the Western genre by far has garnered the most scholarly attention. Theories abound for the popularity of the Western, and many scholars have deconstructed the genre in an attempt to identify common tropes and themes that made them palatable and predictable.[24] Rather than make a marginal contribution to this

[24] The scholarly consensus is that much of the Western's appeal stems from romanticizing and mythologizing the frontier, and the genre's tendency to reinforce social values. See, for example, Holly George-Warren, *Cowboy: How Hollywood Invented the West* (Pleasantville, New York/ Montreal: The

crowded space, this chapter will focus on Old Tucson Studios. Built in 1939 for Columbia Pictures' *Arizona* (1940), Old Tucson still operates as a privately owned Western theme park.[25]

The most notable work available on the park is *Old Tucson Studios*, published in 2008 by Arcadia Press as part of its Images of America series.[26] Written by Paul J. Lawton, an employee of Old Tucson, the book is mostly a pictorial history of the site, with the "narrative" largely limited to captions. The main thrust of the book is to demonstrate the park's importance to the legacy of filmmaking in Tucson that began in 1910. This chapter will place Bob Shelton at the center of outward boosterism efforts to promote Old Tucson, as he continuously worked to improve his park and transformed it from a dilapidating movie set into a Hollywood hot spot for filming Westerns.

This chapter will complementarily feature a film analysis of *Arizona*, the first motion picture completed at Old Tucson. Since the central plot of *Arizona* focuses on the

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Reader's Digest Association, Inc., 2002); Jim Hitt, *The American West from Fiction (1823- 1976) into Film (1909- 1986)* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 1990); Candace C. Kant, *Zane Grey's Arizona* (Flagstaff, Arizona: Northland Press, 1984); R. Philip Loy, *Westerns and American Culture, 1930- 1955* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2001); Michael T. Marsden, "The Rise of the Western Movie: From Sagebrush to Screen," in *Western Films: A Brief History*, ed. Richard W. Etulain (Manhattan, Kansas: Sunflower University Press, 1988); David H. Murdoch, *The American West: The Invention of a Myth* (Wales, Welsh Academic Press, 2001); Scott Simmon, *The Invention of the Western Film: A Cultural History of the Genre's First Half- Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978); Nanna Verhoeff, *The West in Early Cinema: After the Beginning* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006); Michael Welsh, "Origins of Western Film Companies, 1887-1920," in *Western Films: A Brief History*, ed. Richard W. Etulain (Manhattan, Kansas: Sunflower University Press, 1988); Will Wright, *Six Guns and Society: A Structural Study of the Western* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1975); David Wrobel, *Promised Lands: Promotion, Memory and the Creation of the American West* (Lawrence, University of Kansas Press, 2002).

[25] In January, 2014, management at Old Tucson began the process of turning the park into a nonprofit heritage center. See Becky Pallack, "New Plan for Old Tucson Calls for Education Emphasis," *Arizona Daily Star*, January 18, 2014, accessed May 26, 2014 at http://azstarnet.com/news/local/new-plan-for-old-tucson-calls-for-education-emphasis/article_45dcf2ee-41fe-54ac-9eff-901e6d657561.html

[26] Paul J. Lawton, *Old Tucson Studios* (Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2008).

growth of Tucson, analyzing it provided an opportunity to juxtapose the inward boosterism of *Arizona*'s world with the outward boosterism of those who promoted Tucson in the "real" world.

Chapter 4 will transition from the declining popularity of the Western to the era in which Arizona's film industry received official support with the creation of state film commissions and film offices. This chapter will cover 1940 to the present day. Although Arizona had a dedicated Motion Picture Development Program (MPDP) by 1940, the same year *Arizona* premiered in Tucson, the bulk of the MPDP's activity started in the 1960s during the Governorship of Jack Williams. This chapter examines how the MPDP's outward boosterism projected to Hollywood an image of Arizona as film-friendly and convenient. Whereas an inward booster like Romaine Fielding only concerned himself with promoting Arizona's lush environment, outward boosters needed to provide extra motivation to convince Hollywood why it should leave home to film in Arizona. The creation of commissions was tied directly to increasing the economic health of the state, but achieving this goal required building a reputation for Arizona as a film-friendly state that welcomed Hollywood and delivered on promises to make production as convenient and inexpensive as possible.

Wrobel noted that rivalries help explain why boosters exaggerated so much,[27] and nowhere is that observation more clear than in Arizona's attempt to attract Hollywood production. Not only did Arizona have to contend with the rest of the United States, but other nations such as Canada increased the competitive stakes when they implemented incentives programs of their own. Boosters repeatedly used the metaphor of "leveling the

[27] Wrobel, *Promised Lands*, 4.

playing field" in describing their efforts to keep Arizona competitive. This chapter, therefore, will also focus on the issue of incentives, which commonly took the form of tax breaks for expenses incurred during filming. Incentives were designed to draw in production crews and get them to spend money in the local economy, but again, a successful program relied on a good reputation. Arizona's most significant tax incentive debuted in 2005, a five-year program known as MOPIC. While dozens of Hollywood producers utilized MOPIC, the legislature thought it was a waste of money and did not renew it in 2010. Subsequently, Arizona no longer has any formal incentives program at the time of this writing. Fortunately, the Arizona State Archives houses plenty of records related to film activity for the entire period this chapter covers.

Chapter 5 will focus on the emergence of film festivals in Arizona, from 1990 to the present. Starting only in the last two decades, a distinctly different kind of film culture emerged in Arizona. Film festivals allowed boosters to showcase Arizona as a place of sophistication and class. Beginning in 1990 with the Arizona International Film Festival, film festivals started sprouting and rapidly found success with a growing audience and unique films to exhibit. The festivals are important because their appeal largely rests on perceived notions of higher taste and distinction from Hollywood's alleged formulization and lack of quality. This chapter will focus specifically on the Scottsdale International Film Festival (SIFF), which debuted in 2001 just seventeen days after the 9/11 terrorist attacks. This chapter will explore how Executive Director Amy Ettinger promoted the SIFF as a cultural event intended to create an image of Arizona as a classy and sophisticated filmic oasis, an elitism which attendees internalized. Since the

enthusiasm for the SIFF is attached to Scottsdale itself, and draws much of its support from the community it serves, Ettinger's efforts constitute inward boosterism.

Ettinger graciously granted access to her personal collection of records, plus the anonymous survey results and testimonials from past attendees. These sources provided a firsthand look at Ettinger's efforts to promote the SIFF and the responses from those who experienced it. Newspaper sources also proved valuable, and the *Arizona Republic* proved its dependability, still reporting on film activity in Arizona over one hundred years after it first mentioned the Arizona Motion Picture Company.

Before beginning the next chapter, the issue of terminology needs attention. Many terms in this thesis's subject are used to describe the same concept. The terms "motion picture," "moving picture," "film," and "movie" are all used interchangeably in various contexts. This presented a challenge in how to use them in the thesis's narrative. I will no longer use the term "movie" because it implies a product that is over an hour in length and generally follows certain storytelling principles, such as a three-act story structure (i.e. a beginning, middle and end). Many of the earliest products, however, might have only lasted a few minutes with no editing or other post-production work. The term "movie," moreover, has long been considered slang.[28] The terms "motion picture" and "moving picture" are much more accurate descriptors, for they refer to a product that is literally a sequence of still images projected in such a way as to create the illusion of motion. I will not use "moving picture" because it is superfluous and only appears rarely in source material. The term "motion picture," however, does not account for other formats such as television shows, commercials and documentaries, which also caught the

[28] See DeMille, *The Autobiography of Cecil B. DeMille*, 73.

attention of boosters starting in the 1950s. While the focus of the thesis remains on "motion pictures," these other formats must be acknowledged because they became inseparable with the rising popularity of television.[29]

The term "film," therefore, encompasses the entire industry, but its use is also problematic because it conveys multiple meanings and spans two parts of speech. As a noun, it could refer to either a "motion picture" or the physical film stock; as a verb, it refers to the act of recording events with the camera (i.e. filming). Exclusive use of such a homonymic word could have easily produced awkward sentences like, "Filmmakers brought extra film to film their film in Arizona." To counteract this hazard, I have chosen to alternate between "motion picture" and "film" depending on which term provided more clarity and contextual accuracy.

With terminology established, this thesis will now continue with the beginning of the twentieth century, during Hollywood's formative years and Arizona's transition into statehood. As Bob Shelton stated, "I always felt that we [Arizona] and the film business kind of grew up together.[30] The next chapter takes place against the backdrop of this twin development, a relationship that started so early and continued for the rest of the century and into the present day.

[29] Robert Sklar argued that the popularity of television caused a "collapse" in Hollywood's traditional system of making motion pictures, forcing it to adapt, for example, by producing television shows and made-for-TV movies. See "Hollywood's Collapse," in Sklar, *Movie-Made America*, 286-304.

[30] Interview, Robert Shelton.

CHAPTER 2

"ARE YOU AN ARIZONA BOOSTER?"[31]

"Arizona and motion pictures are attractively combined."[32]

Cinematographers in Europe recognized the importance of motion pictures as a "new source of history" by 1898.[33] While this conclusion should come to no surprise from pioneering producers, journalists expressed greater interest in films for their cultural and social impact. In the United States hundreds of newspapers and magazines, such as *Motion Pictures News* (1913-1930) and *Photoplay* (1911-1980) published thousands of articles about the film industry, covering a wide range of topics including the lives of newly minted celebrities, traveling companies and screenings at local theaters. Even general-subject newspapers reported on the motion picture industry, and Arizona was no exception.

This chapter will analyze the *Arizona Republican*'s coverage of the motion picture industry in Arizona, from 1911 through the 1920s. I argue that inward boosters established local motion picture companies to emulate Hollywood and advertise Arizona at the same time. In particular, this chapter will look at the *Republican*'s coverage of the Arizona Motion Picture Company (AMPC), Arizona Motion Pictures, Inc. (AMPI) and Romaine Fielding. The AMPC and AMPI were two Arizona-based production companies that primarily filmed local events such as parades and picnics. Romaine Fielding was an

[31] No title, *Arizona Republican*, July 19, 1921, 8.

[32] "Booklet Tells of Arizona and Movies," *Arizona Republican*, June 25, 1921, 6.

[33] Sam Kula, *Appraising Moving Images: Assessing the Archival and Monetary Value of Films and Records* (Lanham, Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, 2003), 9.

actor, producer and director, who first came to Arizona in 1912 as an employee of Lubin Studios, a Philadelphia-based production company that branched out with a southwestern division in search of new settings.[34] Fielding also covered local events in his early work, but he soon expanded into telling complete stories in narrative form. As he spent more time filming, Fielding grew personally attached to Arizona, establishing his own studio and buying a house. The AMPC, AMPI and Fielding all wanted their motion pictures to promote Arizona by emphasizing that they were filmed on-location. As such, their works represent the earliest efforts to specifically connect motion pictures with boosting Arizona's image to the rest of the world.

Although records on the early motion picture industry in Arizona can be found in a number of archives and other repositories, the *Republican* is one of the only available sources that covered the AMPC and AMPI. Although these repositories include relatively good documentation on Fielding's work, this discussion rests not on those sources but on the *Republican*'s coverage of his work, since that paper directly addressed the theme of local boosterism, which is the focus of this chapter. Unfortunately, Fielding's motion pictures, and those of the AMPC and AMPI, are no longer available. In fact, film archivist Sam Kula estimated that half of all motion pictures made before 1930 are gone. In the absence of a systematic preservation strategy, the film stock itself has all since turned to dust. The highly flammable nature of nitrate stock also made the task of storing the film dangerous, causing most historical institutions to turn them away.[35] Sources like the *Republican*, therefore, are all the more important because they enable historians to

[34] Linda K. Woal, "Romaine Fielding: The West's Touring Auteur," *Film History* 7 (1995): 402.

[35] Kula, *Appraising Moving Images*, 12.

piece together information about early motion pictures in the absence of the physical films themselves.

The *Republican* began as the brainchild of political machinations. In 1889, President Benjamin Harrison appointed fellow Republican Lewis Wolfley as Governor of Arizona Territory. Tasked to "bring the Territory into Republican line," and wanting a front to push his own political views without losing popularity with a constituency not particularly thrilled with his appointment, Wolfley commissioned two journalists from California, Charles O. Ziegenfuss and Edwin S. Gill, to found the newspaper.[36]

The *Republican* published its first issue on May 19, 1890 in the throes of this political climate. An anonymous article titled "The Republican" explained the genesis of the paper, its purpose and its ideology. According to this article, the *Republican* started as "an outgrowth of a visit to the [Arizona] Territory by a newspaper man in search of health."[37] In justifying the *Republican*'s entrance into Arizona's journalism scene, the same article elicited a tone of having something to prove. The article first explained the merits of the *Republican*, namely that a journalist founded the paper while the rest of the staff consisted of professionals with sufficient experience in their field to competently handle this publication. The article lauded the paper's Republican political views as providing a contrast to its Democratic rival, the *Arizona Gazette.* The article defended the *Republican* against charges of bias, however, announcing that its goal was not to be "the mouthpiece of any set clique or faction. It will not descend to abuse … other political

[36] Earl Zarbin, *All the Time a Newspaper: The First 100 Years of the Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, Arizona: Phoenix Newspapers, Inc., 1990), 4-7.

[37] "The Republican," *Arizona Republican*, May 19, 1890, 2.

parties or other individual members thereof." The article also tried to dispel any misunderstandings about the paper's purpose, explaining that it had no intentions of bankrupting its competition. As a Republican-based publication that would cover all of Arizona, the *Republican* claimed that it would not infringe on anyone else's journalistic space: "We come to build up, not to pull down."[38]

In its infancy, the *Republican* endeavored to "give Arizona the first full news service she has ever had," which included covering topics like mining, agriculture, water issues, "everything calculated to build up the Territory and enhance the interests of the people will receive the earnest and undivided support of THE REPUBLICAN."[39] There are two elements in this statement that bear pointing out. First, the language of "building up" Arizona demonstrates that the *Republican* began as a tool for inward boosterism. Second, its model of boosterism included constituent participation. It was not enough for the *Republican* to announce its position on a particular topic; their duty included inciting the interest of the people of Arizona. As will be shown later in the discussion of Romaine Fielding's work in Phoenix, the *Republican* unabashedly sought to shame and shake the people out of a perceived apathy, arguing that this made the city look bad.

Motion pictures as an entertainment industry did not really exist in 1890, but only twenty years later the *Republican*'s promise to cover "everything calculated to build up" Arizona would come to include this industry, as it argued that Arizona was ideal for film and vice versa. Hollywood had established itself during the opening decade of the

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid.

twentieth century, and in this early stage, boosters in Arizona saw no reason why local production companies could not get in the game.

In 1911, three Phoenix photographers founded the Arizona Motion Picture Company: Robert Turnbull, John H. Coyle and Arnold T. Smith. The AMPC owed its origins to other motion picture companies who passed through Arizona and created travelogues of their experiences. Inspired by the efforts of such companies as the Los Angeles-based Co-Operative Film Manufacturing Company, the three founders created the AMPC to begin motion picture projects of their own. Jay Boyer, former professor of film and literature at Arizona State University, wryly stated that the AMPC's motion pictures "don't seem to have taken the motion picture industry by storm," but he credited the company for finding a distributor in New York, which at least earned the company a penumbral position in the industry's spotlight.[40] However limited its national significance, the AMPC gained considerably more attention at home.

Reporting on the AMPC gave the *Republican* fertile ground in which to plant its stories. As the *Republican* noted, "Few people in Phoenix are aware that there is such a concern" as the AMPC.[41] More connected filmmakers like Edwin S. Porter could create nationally recognized epics like *The Great Train Robbery* (1903), produced in New York and distributed by the [Thomas] Edison Manufacturing Company. Lacking studio resources, the AMPC's motion pictures were not as sophisticated, consequently finding a niche and generating most of their appeal from the novelty of watching live events

[40] Jay Boyer, "No Fit Place for Any Man, Woman or Child: Depictions of Arizona in Our Earliest Films," in *Beyond the Stars*: *Studies in American Popular Film Volume 4*, eds. Paul Loukides and Linda K. Fuller (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1993), 14.

[41] "Movies of the Big Sun Fete: Local Motion Picture Concern to Make Films Which Will Have Their First Run at Coliseum in About Ten Days," *Arizona Republican*, February 14, 1913, 2.

captured on film. Rather than present a story arc, the AMPC's motion pictures constituted little more than what the *Republican* called "moving pictures of actual happenings," or actualities.[42] In 1913, for example, Turnbull traveled to Prescott to film the National Guard of Arizona at Fort Whipple, which the *Republican* hailed as a masterpiece and expected "record- breaking" attendance in local theaters.[43] Other motion pictures that the *Republican* covered included a large outdoor picnic at the Hieroglyphic Rocks in Tonto National Forest, attended by Arizona Governor George P. Hunt.[44] Screened at the Coliseum theater, the motion picture was praised by the *Republican* as "so realistic that one can almost hear the Phoenicians shown in action, as they are speaking. It is one of the best films shown recently in any house in Phoenix."[45] Additional motion pictures included a Phoenix motorcycle race,[46] the Florence prison, and mines in the Hayden and Ray communities.[47]

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[42] "Pictures From Aztec Sun Fete: Films Turn Out Excellent and Will Have First Run at Coliseum Theater in About a Week or Ten Days," *Arizona Republican*, February 23, 1913, 9. The Library of Congress Motion Picture Broadcasting & Recorded Sound Division defines an "actuality" as, "Nonfiction work … usually of a very short length, that demonstrates the capacity of moving pictures to advance over still photography by recording a world in motion." The definition also stipulates that actualities predate 1910, but I disregarded this because the AMPC did not start production until the following year and its motion pictures otherwise matched the description impeccably. See "The Moving Image Genre-Form Guide," Library of Congress, Motion Picture Broadcasting & Recorded Sound Division, Motion Picture & Television Reading Room, accessed May 31, 2014 at http://www.loc.gov/rr/mopic/miggen.html

[43] "Encampment Is Seen In Movies: Test Run Is Made of the Turnbull Film Taken While National Guard of Arizona Was in Camp at Whipple Barracks," *Arizona Republican*, August 13, 1913, 3.

[44] "Weather Signs Are Favorable: Every Prospect of a Good Attendance at the Picnic of the Illinois Society at the Hieroglyphic Rocks Tomorrow," *Arizona Republic*, March 7, 1913, 9.

[45] "Local Movies Tonight," *Arizona Republican*, March 31, 1913, 6.

[46] "Turnbull Will Take Movies of the Race: Arizona Movie Company Man Announces He Will Be on Course With His Speed Box," *Arizona Republican*, April 5, 1914, 8.

[47] "Local Movies Tonight," *Arizona Republican*, March 31, 1913, 6.

The *Republican* gave the majority of its attention to the AMPC's motion picture of the 1913 Aztec Sun Fete parade. The *Republican* never specified the details of the parade, but the *Chandler Arizonan* described it as a retelling of the historic meeting between Hernán Cortez and Montezuma II in 1520. The parade constituted one part of a larger celebration for Arizona's first anniversary of statehood, held on February 14-15.[48] Thus, the parade gave the *Republican* the opportunity to pull out all the stops in publicizing the fact that the AMPC planned to film this event, exclaiming that "no moving picture house in Phoenix has ever been enabled to offer anything more attractive than the presenting of these pictures."[49] The Phoenix filmgoing public would have to wait, however. Since the AMPC did not have its own development studio, it had to ship the negatives to New York for processing.[50]

But this also gave the *Republican* more time to build up to the screening and generate interest. The *Republican* reported the progress of the film's development as a news story, quoting a telegraph from the New York studio that acknowledged its receipt of the negative prints, and promising that the finished film would arrive back in Phoenix within a week. The article also added, "For local interest it is doubtful if there have ever been shown in Phoenix equaling these."[51] The film arrived in Phoenix one week later as a complete motion picture, and screened for four days at the Coliseum and Empress

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[48] "Arizona Celebrates Statehood Day at Phoenix in Pageant of Splendor," *Chandler Arizonan*, February 14, 1913, accessed January 25, 2013 at http://www.chandlerpedia.org/Chandler_Arizonan/1913/02-1913/02-14-1913/02-14-1913_-_Page_1

[49] "Sun Fete Pictures Here," *Arizona Republican*, March 2, 1913, 6.

[50] "Pictures From Aztec Sun Fete: Films Turn Out Excellent and Will Have First Run at Coliseum Theater in About a Week or Ten Days," *Arizona Republican*, February 23, 1913, 9.

[51] Ibid.

theaters, both managed by Al H. Reeves.[52] The *Republican* reported that the motion picture "immortalized" the parade and "brought forth favorable comment and no small amount of wonder."[53] What this motion picture and others like it lacked in star appeal or grandeur, they made up for in appealing content.

The *Republican*'s coverage of the parade particularly illustrated its understanding of the impact that a local motion picture could have for Arizona. One article noted that the Sun Fete motion picture showed "the modern structures, broad paved streets, the scurrying automobiles and the hundreds of pedestrians," which gave Phoenix a "metropolitan appearance."[54] Another article expressed hope that the wide viewership for this motion picture would help in "placing Phoenix on the map."[55] With screenings scheduled in California, New Mexico and Texas, the motion picture gained regional distribution.[56] The *Republican* also noted that the AMPC had plans to build its own developing studio, eliminating the need to send negatives to New York, as necessary for the Sun Fete footage, and cutting down the processing time from weeks to hours.[57] It is clear that the *Republican* tried hard to boost such films as tools for promoting the state.

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[52] "Sun Fete Pictures Here," *Arizona Republican*, March 2, 1913, 6.

[53] "Film Made Here Immortalizes First Sun Fete: Work of Arizona Motion Picture Company Reproduces Important Features of the Midwinter Festival of One Week Ago: Many Familiar Faces Are Seen: Principal Streets of Phoenix With the Hurrying Throngs, Modern Buildings and Paved Streets Most Inspiring of All," *Arizona Republican*, March 3, 1913, 1.

[54] Ibid.

[55] "Movies of the Big Sun Fete: Local Motion Picture Concern to Make Films Which Will Have Their First Run at Coliseum in About Ten Days," *Arizona Republican*, February 14, 1913, 2.

[56] "Sun Fete Pictures," *Arizona Republican*, March 6, 1913, 6.

[57] "Film Made Here Immortalizes First Sun Fete: Work of Arizona Motion Picture Company Reproduces Important Features of the Midwinter Festival of One Week Ago; Many Familiar Faces Are Seen; Principal

The *Republican*'s coverage suggests that the AMPC found some success, but this was short-lived. The company abruptly fell off the newspaper's radar after 1914. Since the *Republican* followed the AMPC so closely until this point, it is likely that it stopped reporting on the company because it went out of business. The final *Republican* article about the AMPC, published on April 5, 1914, provided details about a motorcycle race that Turnbull filmed, but nothing more.[58] The *Republican* either did not cover the AMPC's final days, or the records are no longer available. Small clues do exist. A 1913 article from the *Bisbee Daily Review*, for example, noted that Coyle and Smith had recently left the AMPC.[59] A man named Peter O. Venne replaced them two months later; while the *Republican* reported that the AMPC remained strong, it could have been ignorant of the business impact of losing two founding members.[60] A House Congressional Record from 1969 also provides a hint as to the disappearance of the AMPC. Upon the death of Representative Barratt O'Hara, a Democrat from Illinois, the Record included bibliographic profiles of O'Hara's career, offered by his House colleagues. A single sentence from a Mr. Ryan mentioned that O'Hara served as the president of the "Arizona Motion Picture Co." in 1917 before resigning to enlist in World

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Streets of Phoenix With the Hurrying Throngs, Modern Buildings and Paved Streets Most Inspiring of All," *Arizona Republican*, March 3, 1913, 1.

[58] "Turnbull Will Take Movies of the Race: Arizona Movie Company Man Announces He Will Be on Course With His Speed Box," *Arizona Republican*, April 5, 1914, 8.

[59] "Copper Mining on The Movies: Picture Men Coming to Handle Highly Interesting Subject- Will Show Phases, from Ore to Blister Product," *Bisbee Daily Review*, May 30, 1913, no page number, accessed February 27, 2014 at http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84024827/1913-05-30/ed-1/seq-6/#date1=1836&index=1&rows=20&words=Arizona+Motion+Picture&searchType=basic&sequence=0&state=&date2=1922&proxtext=%22arizona+motion+picture%22&y=7&x=19&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=1

[60] Kenneth Meaker, "Will Take Soldier Movies," *The Arizona Republican*, July 23, 1913, 6.

War I.[61] The *Republican* never mentioned O'Hara in its coverage of the AMPC, so he may have served as president of a different company, or a successor firm.

Whatever the AMPC's fate, in 1921 the *Republican* began covering a company called Arizona Motion Pictures, Inc. Located on the second floor of the Heard building in downtown Phoenix, named for its financier Dwight B. Heard, the AMPI's main office sat one floor above the headquarters of the *Republican*, which Heard owned. The *Republican* did not always refer to the AMPI by its official name, but the paper also made it clear the AMPI was not the same company as the AMPC. A *Republican* article published in July of 1921, for example, stated that the AMPI started "about eight months ago."[62] Since the *Republican* published this article ten years after the founding of the AMPC, it is reasonable to conclude that the AMPI was a different company. A student essay from the University of Arizona, moreover, claimed that the AMPC only lasted about two years, citing an interview that the author conducted with Arnold Smith, one of the AMPC's original founders.[63]

What is important for the purpose of this thesis is that the *Republican* continued to boost the state, this time covering the activities of the AMPI. As the *Republican* glowingly stated, "There is no doubt that Arizona Motion Pictures, Inc. will bring before the world the beautiful scenery of Arizona and also the possibilities of Arizona and will

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[61] House Congressional Record, September 3, 1969, 24058, accessed February 19, 2014 at http://www.mocavo.com/Congressional-Record-Volume-115-9/758611/940.

[62] "Realism in Pictures Often Is Overlooked By Movie Directors," *Arizona Republican*, July 21, 1921, 5.

[63] Kenneth Hufford, "On Location: The Lubin Motion Picture Company in Arizona- 1912," student essay, Tucson: University of Arizona, 1967, 4. In John A. Carroll Class Papers 1963- 1968, MS 603, Box 1, Folder 24, Arizona Historical Society, Library and Archives, Tucson, Arizona.

boost the state in every extent of the word."[64] The *Republican* also utilized its print shop to produce a booklet for the purpose of promoting the "plans of the Arizona Motion Picture company for putting this state on the celluloid and into national prominence."[65] This article points to a sign that the AMPI intended to build a legacy.

The AMPI's founders and Board of Directors were all local businessmen and appeared to have prominent standing in the Phoenix community. These men believed themselves to have upstanding reputations, "whose character and financial responsibility will be cheerfully attested to by any bank in Phoenix."[66] This kind of notoriety would have given their filmic endeavors more respect than if they had been a group of unknown people. Norman H. Morrison served as President, with J.B. Bayless as Vice-President and George H. Hillis as the Secretary and Treasurer. All three served on the Board of Directors, along with Cal Messner and Elton E. Kunselman.[67] Despite their common interest in motion pictures, they came from diverse backgrounds. Morrison earned a degree in dentistry before moving to Arizona and opening his own private practice.[68] Significantly, he earned an entry in *What Made Arizona*, a biographical compilation of "empire builders."[69] Bayless founded a chain of grocery stores in Phoenix, the first of

[64] "Realism in Pictures Often Is Overlooked By Movie Directors," *Arizona Republican*, July 21, 1921, 5.

[65] "Booklet Tells of Arizona and Movies," *Arizona Republican*, June 25, 1921, 6.

[66] No title, *Arizona Republican*, July 21, 1921, 7.

[67] No title, *Arizona Republican*, July 19, 1921, 8.

[68] *What Made Arizona: MEN*, comp. George Daws (Phoenix, Arizona: Daws Publishing Co, 1920(?)), 38.

[69] Ibid, foreword.

which he opened in 1917.[70] Messner and Hillis both worked in automobile sales.[71] Messner also screened motion pictures in his showroom.[72] Kunselman worked in professional photography, including motion pictures. In fact, the *Republican* employed him as its staff photographer.[73] His work also contributed to screenings of Pathé News (1910-1970), a newsreel provider, giving the *Republican* a golden opportunity to plug Arizona: "Possibly no other medium has been a greater advertisement for Phoenix recently than the Pathe [sic] News motion pictures depicting timely happenings in this city."[74]

Beyond the good publicity itself, the AMPI also found success in its operations. Like the AMPC before it, the AMPI attracted the attention of a motion picture distributor from New York, in this case Aubrey M. Kennedy. According to the *Republican*, Kennedy "believes this district offers limitless location for making outdoor pictures."[75] The *Republican* also quoted Kennedy's representative, Edward Alexander, who personally visited Arizona. The *Republican* enthusiastically relayed Alexander's praise of Arizona's landscape, noting, "With little encouragement Phoenix could become an ideal center for the motion picture industry." Alexander also reportedly extolled Arizona because the "climatic and atmospheric conditions here are almost perfect for photographic work" in

[70] Jo-An Holstein and Debbie Roth, "A Historical Look at Arizona's Food Industry," *Arizona Food Industry Journal* (2003): 13, accessed May 21, 2014 at http://afmaaz.org/documents/AFMAHistory.pdf

[71] "Dealers Leave to Attend Big Show," *Arizona Republican*, January 8, 1922, C6.

[72] "S.X. Picture is Full of Thrills," *Arizona Republican*, November 4, 1919, A1.

[73] "To Show Movies of Pioneers' Reunion," *Arizona Republican*, May 6, 1921, 14.

[74] "Phoenix Well Advertised in Motion National Movie Magazine," *Arizona Republican*, March 7, 1920, A13.

[75] "Party of Picture People in Phoenix," *Arizona Republican*, September 21, 1921, 6.

addition to the "unusual scenic wonders of the state." Alexander continued, "There is an ever increasing demand for clean out-door pictures … And in the Arizona Motion Pictures, Inc. Phoenix has an organization prepared to give the public this class of work…. Arizona has an opportunity to assume a leadership from the inception of the industry here." By Alexander's estimates, Phoenix stood to gain $1 million in annual revenue from motion picture production in the city.[76] By this time, Hollywood had already established itself as the unofficial center of motion picture production, but Alexander's comments suggest that he believed Arizona's leadership would come from the competence of a local company that could take advantage of the state's unparalleled landscape beauty, something that Hollywood ostensibly could not replicate at home.

Within a short time, the AMPI experienced a high point. In 1921, the AMPI opened a complete motion picture laboratory, installed by Kunselman himself. Whereas the AMPC's motion pictures required a long round trip to New York for processing, the AMPI could complete the entire process in-house. The *Republican* reported that the studio had the capacity to process up to fifteen full reels per day, at 1,000 feet each.[77] For context, a full reel of 35mm film, the most likely kind the AMPI would have used, could contain approximately eleven minutes' worth of footage.[78] The AMPI also enjoyed

[76] "Cinema Authority Forecasts Phoenix as Picture Center," *Arizona Republican*, September 22, 1921, 2.

[77] "Laboratory for Motion Pictures Has Been Installed in This City," *Arizona Republican*, October 6, 1921, 14.

[78] A. Shapiro, "Trends in 16-Mm. Projection, with Special Reference to Sound," *Journal of the Society of Motion Picture Engineers* 26 (1936): 93, accessed May 21, 2014 at https://archive.org/details/journalofsociety26socirich

success in its production, having secured a contract for fifty-two Westerns from the Canyon Pictures Corporation in New York.[79]

The AMPI also felt confident enough in its future to start selling capital stock. In July, 1921, the AMPI placed an ad in the *Republican* headed by the statement, "We Are Ready" and promised stockholders "an earning possibility that has no equal."[80] The AMPI designed the ad to sell the company, both literally in terms of stocks, and figuratively in terms of convincing people of the company's value. The ad explained that the AMPI had hired Leon de La Mothe, a man who had been making Westerns for eleven years. The ad continued making bold promises, assuring potential investors that the AMPI's business efficiency enabled them to sell their motion pictures to distributors one year in advance. As such, the stock "does not present a gamble, but is the most legitimate and profitable investment opportunity that has been offered the citizens of Arizonans for many years." At a rate of one dollar per share, the AMPI marketed its stock as "your opportunity to stimulate a State-wide interest and co-operation in this Arizona Undertaking."[81] Two days later, the AMPI took out ad space again, imploring readers to consider investing in the company, asking, "Are you an Arizona booster?"[82] Because the AMPI's work focused on showcasing Arizona, the ad suggested to readers that whoever invested in the company would contribute to the production of more motion pictures, which in turn would give Arizona additional publicity.

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[79] No title, *Arizona Republican*, July 17, 1921, A2.

[80] Ibid.

[81] Ibid.

[82] No title, *Arizona Republican*, July 19, 1921, 8.

To help create interest in this stock, the AMPI also launched a tie-in promotional campaign for women that doubled as a beauty contest, spearheaded by de La Mothe. This campaign fit well with the national phenomenon of the "movie-struck girl" occurring around the same time, a social development in which women from all over the United States flocked to Hollywood because of its numerous job opportunities. Some women even tested their luck to become a famous actress.[83] The AMPI first announced the contest in the form of an ad that referenced current stars and inquired, "Is there a Pickford or a Nazimova in the Salt River Valley? (We will find out)."[84] Mary Pickford and Alla Nazimova were both famous Hollywood actresses who started their careers in the 1910s. The AMPI's ad, therefore, suggested to contestants that starring as the heroine in their production could propel them into national stardom, and everyone would know they came from Arizona. The ad also included stereotypical Western imagery and characters, depicting two Indians sneaking up behind a cowboy with a raised knife, and a Mexican bandit carrying a young woman away on horseback. Off to the side, a cameraman and a director are capturing the whole scene on film.[85] This imagery suggests that the AMPI "sold" Arizona as the mythos of the Wild West, a topic that will receive more attention in the next chapter of this thesis.

[83] Robert Sklar, *Movie-Made America: A Cultural History of American Movies* (New York, Vintage Books, 1994), 74-75.

[84] No title, *Arizona Republican*, July 12, 1921, 10.

[85] Ibid.

For the actual contest, women sold AMPI stock for the first part of the competition.[86] Those who sold the most stock would advance to the second round, a beauty contest. The women would be "photographed in several scenes of expression and these scenes will be thrown on the screens of valley theaters." The final four winners would be chosen by audience vote and given six-month contracts for roles in an upcoming AMPI serial western. The *Republican* did not report the final outcome of this contest, but only nineteen women entered.[87]

Despite all of this activity, from the Western films contract to marketing campaigns, the company seems to have experienced the same fate as the AMPC, suddenly disappearing from the *Republican*'s articles in 1921. It is not known how much longer the AMPI remained active, but its activity points to a campaign of inward boosterism that valiantly attempted to make Arizona a prominent motion picture center.

The AMPI and AMPC were not the only studios in Arizona, however; a third, more successful film company arrived in Arizona, and the *Republican* spent considerable energy promoting it. Only a month after Arizona earned its statehood in 1912, the Lubin Company arrived to start making motion pictures. The Lubin Company began in the opening decade of the twentieth century, founded by a German immigrant, Siegmund Lubin. Starting off as an optician based in Philadelphia, Lubin expanded into making

[86] This certainly seems like an odd task given the objective of the contest. In December, 1920 the Arizona Corporation Commission granted the AMPI a permit to sell 200,000 shares of company stock at $1.00 per share. Given such volume, and the fact that the contest occurred just seven months after the issuance of the permit, the first round of the contest is better seen as the AMPI crowdsourcing this undertaking. See, Arizona Corporation Commission, *Ninth Annual Report*: *Arizona Corporation Commission* (Phoenix: Board of Directors of the State of Arizona, 1921), 465, accessed May 22, 2014 at https://play.google.com/books/reader?printsec=frontcover&output=reader&id=pngXAQAAIAAJ&pg=GBS.PA465

[87] "Entries Come in for Movie Contest to Start Monday," *Arizona Republican*, July 17, 1921, 2.

camera lenses, and then motion pictures. In addition to running a legitimate production business, Lubin also hedged his bets by running what Jay Boyer described as a "movie pirating operation in his basement."[88] In 1911, Lubin expanded once again, dispatching some of his directors and actors out to the southwestern United States in order to scout for locations.[89] After making its way through El Paso, the Lubin team stopped in Douglas, Arizona for the summer before moving north to Prescott, then south to Nogales for the winter and finally into New Mexico.[90]

One of Lubin's actors, Romaine Fielding, secured the position as the head of the newly established Lubin Southwestern Motion Picture Company and almost immediately landed in the *Republican*'s headlines. In the publication's eyes, Fielding earned a reputation as a jack-of-all-trades because he managed, wrote, directed, and acted in motion pictures. His diversity and skill reportedly translated into a marked prolificacy, as "he has struck a pace unprecedented in the history of photoplays."[91] The *Republican* also singled him out among his colleagues, noting, "Among the very successful Lubin pictures that are being sent over the country nowadays, the western Lubins, made right here in Arizona, are among the most popular. In fact, the work of Romaine Fielding … has been the subject of universal favorable comment."[92] By 1915, Fielding established a studio in

[88] Boyer, "No Fit Place," 14-15.

[89] Carlo Gaberscek, "Cinema Western in Arizona 1912- 1929," *Griffithiana* 25 (2003): 19.

[90] Boyer, "No Fit Place," 14- 15.

[91] "Something About The Man Who's Making Movies Here: Remarkable Character Is This Romaine Fielding, Doctor, Student, Playwright, and Most Popular Moving Picture Man," *Arizona Republican*, January 20, 1915, 10.

[92] "Amusements," *Arizona Republican*, August 7, 1913, 3.

Phoenix named Cactus Films, which the *Republican* reported "gives promise of placing Phoenix and the Salt River valley more firmly than ever on the moving picture map of the world."[93] The *Republican* also praised Fielding for "leaving no stone unturned in preaching the gospel of Phoenix and the Salt River valley, his home."[94] As a testament to his activity, film historian Linda K. Woal credited Fielding with over one hundred motion pictures over the course of his career.[95]

The *Republican* later reported that Fielding's early work in Tucson and Prescott had reached a national audience and "attracted wide attention to Arizona."[96] Fielding's work reached the Phoenix community in local theaters like the Empress, the Lion, the Amuzu and the Lamara, each having secured the rights to show his motion pictures. Fielding also crossed paths with the AMPC at one point, as he and Robert Turnbull worked together filming a picnic at Echo Canyon, Arizona.[97]

Now obscured by time, Fielding exerted a great deal of influence on Arizona's motion picture history in its early years. Woal, for example, argued that Fielding's filmic influence should earn him the status of an auteur.[98] French for "author," auteur theory

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[93] "Fielding Has Close Call," *Arizona Republican*, November 30, 1915, 6.

[94] "Fielding in Print on Pacific Coast: Phoenix Moving Picture Star Given Publicity By Coast Papers," *Arizona Republican*, March 20, 1916, 10.

[95] Linda K. Woal, "Romaine Fielding: The West's Touring Auteur," *Film History* 7 (1995): 402.

[96] "Moving Picture Troupe May Come to Phoenix: Romaine Fielding Heading Party of Lubin Artists," *Arizona Republican*, December 9, 1914, 6.

[97] "Picnicking Motorists Enjoy Concert in Big Out Doors Band Hall: Between Twenty-five Hundred and Three Thousand Visit Echo Canyon When Arizona Band Renders Sublime Music; Fielding's Movie Folk Were There; Exciting Auto and Motorcycle Occasion was Yesterday's Camelback Run; so Popular it May be Repeated Yearly," *Arizona Republican*, February 8, 1915, 1.

[98] Woal, "Romaine Fielding," 420.

essentially holds that a director is equivalent to the author of a book; despite the collaboration required in the production process, the director's artistic vision comes out the other end intact.[99] Unlike with the AMPC or the AMPI, the *Republican*'s coverage of Fielding's work focused on him as an individual, rather than the company he worked for, with a trademark filming style unique to him.

Like the AMPC, Fielding's early work in Arizona covered actualities. At Echo Canyon, for example, Fielding filmed a large band concert that played to a crowd of approximately 3,000 people.[100] He also created a documentary of the manufacturing process at the local Pacific Creamery milk plant. The plant's owner remarked that "such a film would mean much to the Salt River Valley, not to mention the untold value" to the company itself.[101] Fielding also captured footage at Roosevelt Dam, Arizona's first Bureau of Reclamation project, completed in 1911. The dam created Roosevelt Lake, and local boosters kept a close eye on it. When water levels reached one million acre-feet[102] in the dam's reservoir, state officials knew that it would not be long before water levels raised high enough to reach the spillways, enabling the dam to fulfill its purpose by

[99] For more on auteur theory, see Andrew Sarris, *The American Cinema: Directors and Directions, 1929-1968* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Da Capo Press, 1996).

[100] "Picnicking Motorists Enjoy Concert in Big Out Doors Band Hall: Between Twenty-five Hundred and Three Thousand Visit Echo Canyon When Arizona Band Renders Sublime Music; Fielding's Movie Folk Were There; Exciting Auto and Motorcycle Occasion was Yesterday's Camelback Run; so Popular it May be Repeated Yearly," *Arizona Republican*, February 8, 1915, 1.

[101] "Fielding Says He Will Film the Lily Plant," *Arizona Republican*, April 3, 1915, 8.

[102] By volume, one acre-foot is about 325,000 U.S. gallons. In terms of water management, one acre-foot is measured as how much water a family of four will consume in one year.

providing controlled delivery of water down the Salt River. For the resultant "big boost celebration,"[103] Fielding attended to capture the event on film.[104]

Fielding produced about three reels of film, which previewed at the Empress. The *Republican* praised the work for "showing the celebration itself, the crowds on the dam, the speakers-'close up.'" The *Republican* also extolled Fielding for "capturing beautiful scenic effects … of sunrise on Lake Roosevelt. … In the dim light of early dawn, the artificial lake resembles one of the beautiful Italian lakes, and the cloud effects are superb."[105] After its local preview, Phoenix Chamber of Commerce Secretary Harry Welch traveled to an exposition in San Francisco, "bent on impressing the natives and all the visitors with the importance of the Salt River valley."[106] To do this, Welch planned to screen the motion picture to a number of audiences. The *Republican* did not report on exactly what kind of exposition Welch had attended, but it did describe Welch as Arizona's "advance man for the movies," indicating that the screenings of Fielding's work would bring much-desired attention to Arizona.[107] Other than Arizona's serene environment, the motion picture also showed the engineering marvel of the dam itself. Like the *Republican*'s coverage of the Sun Fete parade that highlighted Arizona's urban

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[103] "High Water Is Today's Topic: Conference Committee and Special Delegates to Talk Over Celebration to Be Held at Roosevelt Late Next Month," *Arizona Republican*, February 20, 1915, 10.

[104] "Water Nears Spillway and People Prepare for Trip to Roosevelt Water Fete: Nine Inches of Dry Concrete Between Lake Level and Overflow Point: Water May 'Spill' Into River Tonight: Preparations Are Complete Salt River Valley and Gila County Ready to Mobilize for Motorcade to Dam Tomorrow: Some Already on the Way," *Arizona Republican*, April 14, 1915, 1.

[105] "Welch Goes Into Movies: Secretary of Chamber of Commerce to Take Fielding's Dam Celebration Pictures to San Francisco Exposition," *Arizona Republican*, September 4, 1915, 12.

[106] Ibid.

[107] Ibid.

modernity, film of the finished dam would symbolize Arizona's progress in water management, a desperate need in order for the desert state to grow.

Fielding also garnered attention because of his innovation. In 1915, Fielding unveiled a portable lighting setup that sourced electricity from a truck-mounted generator, allowing him to film at night. As the *Republican* reported, Fielding "is now equipped to stage scenes in the darkest corners of the world … in order that he may amuse the movie-mad world with unusual things."[108] These unusual things included Fielding's summer trip to the Grand Canyon to shoot footage of its "dark recesses, caves and trails" for his upcoming motion picture, *The Great Divide*.[109]

If Linda Woal is correct in her classification of Fielding as an auteur, then Arizona's climate and landscape constitute two components of his "stamp." Whereas the Phoenix Chamber of Commerce wanted Fielding's work to showcase Arizona's built environment, Fielding's passion lay in highlighting the state's natural landscape. As travel writer Lili DeBarbieri noted, "Arizona has been considered an almost ideal place for filmmaking for its beautiful climate and diverse settings of every human and natural environment imaginable."[110]

Fielding was one of the first notable local filmmakers to take advantage of this gift. His narrative motion pictures repeatedly praised Arizona's desert scenery in particular, and emphasized the landscape to such an extent that Arizona itself became a

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[108] "Night- Piercing Movie Stuff: Fielding Tries Out Portable Juice Maker," *Arizona Republican*, July 13, 1915, 2.

[109] "Movie Motors Invade Wilds: Arizona Feature Man Drives Armored Fleet: Great Motion Picture will be Projected: Squad of Great Stars Lined up for Cast," *Los Angeles Times*, August 8, 1915, VI6.

[110] Lili DeBarbieri, *Location Filming in Arizona: The Screen Legacy of the Grand Canyon State* (Charleston, South Carolina: The History Press, 2014), 12.

character. *From Champion to Tramp* (1915), for example, tells the story of a disgraced athlete who retreats into the mountains of Arizona, where he confronts the man who framed him. As the *Republican* reported, Fielding had the best eye for landscape shots and he "used to the utmost advantage the beautiful valley and mountain scenery to be found about Phoenix."[111] The following year, the *Republican* characterized *A Desert Honeymoon* (1916) as a "splendid desert classic."[112] In *The Desert Rat* (1916), the city look is contrasted with the Arizona desert, where, "There is not the slightest monotony, every desert and mountain scene is distinctively different."[113] The *Republican* praised Fielding for his artistic caliber, owing to his utilization of "the great out doors for his stage, and God's handiworks for his artist."[114] This kind of filming landscape reflected a personal preference of Fielding, who stated, "'I came to Phoenix because, to my mind, it offers greater advantages than any other section of the country that I know of … the climate and the wonderfully clear atmosphere makes this section a movie paradise."'[115] More than anyone else at his time, Fielding employed Arizona's scenery as a tool for generating an identity for the state as a place of natural wonders.

Fielding also sounded particularly proud of his discoveries. He declared himself the pioneer of Arizona's motion picture industry and believed that his work would create

[111] "Phoenix Film Is at Empress: Second Local Picture Produced by Romaine Fielding to Be Shown Tonight Many Local People Will Appear in It," *Arizona Republican*, July 12, 1915, 3.

[112] "Vinnie Burns at Amuzu," *Arizona Republican*, February 2, 1916, 10.

[113] "'Desert Rat' Cactus Film: Midnight Run of Romaine Fielding's New Picture Receives Approval of the Favored Audience on Saturday Night," *Arizona Republican*, February 28, 1916, 10.

[114] "Romaine Fielding Utilizes Natural Beauties in Producing Arizona Moving Pictures," *Arizona Republican*, May 23, 1915, D8.

[115] Maitland Davies, "News of the Theaters, Music, Drama, and the Picture Plays," *Arizona Republican*, January 10, 1915, B4.

a whirlwind of attention, inevitably increasing Arizona's popularity.[116] Once the rest of the nation saw the beauty of Arizona, he predicted, they would all "stampede" to drink of its health and prosperity. When they arrived in this "Eutopia," Fielding proclaimed that Arizona would create "ardent, dyed-in-the-wool boosters on the spot."[117] He had been "imbued with the spirit of Phoenix and the Salt River valley."[118]

Soon after Fielding started turning out his motion pictures, he began to attract a local following and made a name for himself. This developed on two fronts: theater managers filled their seats on the quality of Fielding's work, and the *Republican* attached a celebrity status to him. The Empress, for example, dedicated Monday and Tuesday evenings as "Fielding Nights," leading the *Republican* to report that "more interest is constantly being taken in his pictures,"[119] which reinforced Woal's claim of Fielding as an auteur filmmaker. The Empress repeatedly screened Fielding's *A Species of Mexican Man* (1915) to a full house, which the *Republican* largely attributed to Fielding's strong presence in the community. "No wonder that it draws the crowds," the *Republican* mused.[120] According to another article in the *Republican*, when word reached the Phoenix community that Fielding would be filming in the area, they wanted to know where they could see the final product. Soon after, they learned that the Lion Theater had secured the

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[116] "Phoenix Always My Home Says Romaine Fielding Arizona's Movie Pioneer," *Arizona Republican*, September 28, 1915, 7.

[117] "Romaine Fielding Utilizes Natural Beauties in Producing Arizona Moving Pictures," *Arizona Republican*, May 23, 1915, D8.

[118] "Lubin Recalls Local Company: Centralization of Forces Will Take Phoenix Picture Company to Philadelphia and Temporarily, at Least, Fielding," *Arizona Republican*, August 23, 1915, 3.

[119] "Romaine Fielding at Empress," *Arizona Republican*, May 4, 1915, 5.

[120] "Amusements: High Class Amusement at the Amusu Tonight," *Arizona Republican*, October 2, 1915, 3.

rights to screen Fielding's motion pictures, which "are bound to prove a tremendous drawing card. Every picture that Fielding appears in is popular and those which will carry the brand of the Salt River valley will be doubly so."[121] Thus, the theaters played an important role in forging state identity, because this is where patrons visually encountered Fielding's work.

However important Fielding considered his own work, local officials also recognized its value for boosting the state. Fielding's announcement that he would be coming to Phoenix in January, 1915 for about six months of filming created a stir in the *Republican*. On the day of his arrival, it reported, "If Phoenix oversleeps this morning, it will wake to find itself on the motion picture map."[122] To prepare for Fielding's visit, the Phoenix Board of Trade organized a welcoming committee to meet him that included a band and an escort designated to showcase the city and convince Fielding that Phoenix offered everything he needed to make quality motion pictures. Mayor George Young also greeted Fielding, informing him that "your presence is going to call a great deal of valuable attention to Phoenix." Fielding is reported to have responded that "if we can increase its fame, we shall certainly do so."[123]

Such attention gave Fielding a platform to boost his own boosterism. At a meeting of the Phoenix Adclub, a group of businessmen who promoted the city through

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[121] "Leecraft's Lino Loudly Roars: Popular Manager Announces Radical Change of Program. The Lion Will be Home of all Romaine Fielding's Pictures," *Arizona Republican*, February 12, 1915, 8.

[122] "Fielding's Artists Arrive This Morning: Committee Makes Preparations to Welcome Motion Picture Troupe--Breakfast at the Arizona Club at Nine," *Arizona Republican*, January 8, 1915, 1.

[123] "Picture-Folk Here for Six Months' Work: Romaine Fielding's Lubin Troupe Arrives on Schedule, and is Duly Welcomed as Part of Phoenix--Adopt Climate Instantly: Score Of Well Known Artists: Pretentious Studio to Be Built at Fair Grounds-Plans Not Yet Complete, But Will Probably Keep Company Till Summer," *Arizona Republican*, January 9, 1915, 1.

advertising, Fielding gave a talk entitled, "The Advertising Phoenix Will Receive by the Lubin Co.- How and Why."[124] Although the *Republican* did not cover the contents of this speech, follow-up meetings reveal how Fielding approached the task of boosting the city. The use of subtitles in his motion pictures, for example, informed the audience whenever a particular scene had been filmed in Phoenix.[125] Fielding also approached the Phoenix Chamber of Commerce to help finance an "All-Arizona" motion picture designed to include scenes from all over the state, "truthfully labeled" to inform the audience of where Fielding's crew had filmed. The manager of Fielding's Cactus Films also discussed plans to open a vocational school so that graduates could work on projects coming out of the studio, including the "All- Arizona" motion picture.[126] This desire to build a local infrastructure underscores the inward boosterism so prevalent in Fielding's approach to advertising Arizona.

By utilizing subtitles, Fielding found a way to physically stamp his motion pictures in addition to the auteuristic stamp that characterized the way they looked. Fielding later boasted to the Adclub of his success in putting Arizona on the map. Three weeks after his first meeting with them, Fielding allegedly presented a pile of correspondence that he received from places like New York and New Zealand, all related to the publicity that Phoenix received in those places.[127] Such outside attention is

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[124] "Guaranty Goes with the Ad Club Dinner: Both the Program and the Menu Have the Good Faith of the Club Behind Them," *Arizona Republican*, January 14, 1915, 7.

[125] "Admen to Hear About Autos and Movies at Lunch Today," *Arizona Republican*, February 8, 1915, 4.

[126] "Movie School for Phoenix Is Fielding Plan," *Arizona Republican*, March 8, 1916, 7.

[127] "Ad Club Hears Results of Phoenix Publicity: Mutely and Effectively Romaine Fielding Displays Columns and Columns of Space-McArthur Tells of Autos," *Arizona Republican*, February 9, 1915, 4.

important because it legitimated Fielding's efforts as a producer and Arizona's recognition as a player in the film industry. When the Amuzu Theater released *Deputy Daring* (1916), the *Republican* lauded its quality, stating, "No longer will Phoenix have to look to California or the east for art, for it is right here."[128] The subtext in this article reveals the *Republican*'s desire to see Arizona emulate Hollywood's success.

At the end of this filming run in September, 1915, Fielding decided to stay in Phoenix permanently. Excited by this development, the *Republican* expressed elation that, "More firmly than ever before is Phoenix, the Salt River valley and the state of Arizona to be placed upon the map of the film making world." As Fielding himself put it, "'come what may I am a Phoenician from now on.'"[129] The important change to note here is Fielding's conversion to an inward booster. Fielding had come to Arizona because his employer decided to branch out in search of new and adventurous locales. When Fielding first arrived, the *Republican* noted that he might stay in town for several months, only as long as necessary to complete his filming schedule.[130] Now Fielding had decided to stay and his work become associated with Arizona as a hub of production. The *Republican* certainly welcomed him. Acknowledging the positive impact he had on the community,

[128] "Made-At Home Cactus Film Pleases on Initial Showing," *Arizona Republican*, February 7, 1916, 8.

[129] "Phoenix Always My Home Says Romaine Fielding Arizona's Movie Pioneer," *Arizona Republican*, September 28, 1915, 7.

[130] See, for example, "Picture-Folk Here for Six Months' Work: Romaine Fielding's Lubin Troupe Arrives on Schedule, and is Duly Welcomed as Part of Phoenix--Adopt Climate Instantly; Score of Well Known Artists; Pretentious Studio to Be Built at Fair Grounds-Plans Not Yet Complete, But Will Probably Keep Company Till Summer," *Arizona Republican*, January 9, 1915, 1.

the newspaper declared, "What Phoenix especially needs is more Romaine Fieldings," for his success would mean "profit and prosperity" for all of Arizona.[131]

The *Republican* also measured this success in economic terms. In an article from April, 1915, it reported that Fielding pumped $15,000 into the local economy for every month he filmed. It also noted that the state essentially received free advertising from Fielding's work. Fielding titled his first local motion picture *Mr. Carlson of Arizona* (1915), which the *Republican* pointed out had "Arizona" right in the title, an advertisement "that could not be purchased at any price." With a prospective audience of millions who would all see "Arizona" on their theater screens, so went the *Republican*'s logic, the motion picture industry offered an effective marketing strategy.[132] Maitland Davies of the *Republican* noted, "It would mean a great deal to Phoenix if any company of note were to locate here, but the advent of such a splendid organization as the Lubin Co. under the direction of a man like Fielding is an asset that will keep on paying dividends long after they have left us."[133] Fielding himself regarded his motion pictures as, "'Advertising that will turn the hearts of [t]housands of people, all over the world to this great southland that is the vendor of the universe and of which comparatively nothing is known to the American people at large.'"[134] Fielding wanted to make sure that by the time he finished his career, plenty would be known about the state.

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[131] "World Stars for Phoenix Lubin Films: Arrangements Being Made to Bring Pre-eminent Dramatic Stars to Interpret Leading Characters in Notable Film Dramas," *Arizona Republican*, July 16, 1915, 1.

[132] "Romaine Fielding's Pay Roll $15,000 A Month to Phoenix," *Arizona Republican*, April 6, 1915, 1.

[133] Maitland Davies, "News of the Theaters, Music, Drama, and the Picture Plays," *Arizona Republican*, January 10, 1915, B4.

[134] Ibid.

Despite the frequent praise he received, Fielding's relationship with Arizona was not always positive. In 1916, Fielding accused Phoenix of withdrawing its support after it became clear that Fielding had chosen to stay permanently. According to Fielding, "'First you are treated with every courtesy. Then you buy property. What further use have they for you? You are cinched in other words, and they let you go." Fielding also reported that some people in Phoenix spread lies and rumors, claiming that he banned his employees from shopping at any business "whose owner did not speak favorably of the 'Fielding' pictures." Fielding further accused them of "throwing out suggestions of failure," and publicly announcing, "'He'll not last long.'"[135] The *Republican* did not explain why anyone would circulate these ideas. Perhaps the people of Phoenix did not enjoy Fielding's work as much the *Republican* reported they did; or maybe they felt that Fielding was failing to deliver on his promise to put Phoenix "on the map." Nevertheless, the *Republican* jumped to Fielding's defense, asking, "Has the public appreciated to the fullest extent the motion picture industry as an advertising medium to this state?" The *Republican* considered the city's crime even worse because Fielding contributed to the community both as a taxpayer and as a producer who put Arizona in the spotlight through his work.[136]

The most revealing aspect of this account is the charge that Arizona somehow stood behind California in motion picture prestige only because of the negativity from the people, which in turn, created bad publicity. Fielding noted, "Phoenix has many

[135] "Co-Operation Is Lacking In Local Film Making: Romaine Fielding, Producer, Regretting Indifference of Phoenix. Intends to Keep on Trying to Make This a Small Universal City," *Arizona Republican*, February 4, 1916, 4.

[136] Ibid.

advantages over Los Angeles. The air here is clearer, rarer, better. You can get twice the results that you can on the coast in the way of photography … Oh it's a glorious country-but the people."[137] According to the *Republican*, "This is the reason why Los Angeles has a pay roll for motion picture stars of $18,000,000 a year while Phoenix has but the Fielding forces." From the *Republican*'s perspective, Phoenix needed an attitude adjustment, for Fielding held the key to unlocking Arizona's true potential as a motion picture icon: "he will make Cactus City mean to this city what Universal City means to southern California."[138] With the cooperation of the city, so the *Republican* argued, Fielding could turn Phoenix into a second Hollywood.

In further response to this perceived apathy of Phoenicians, the *Republican* published an article designed to stress the positive economic impact that Fielding's motion pictures had on local business. In an article headlined, "BUSINESSMEN APPRECIATE CACTUS CITY," local business owners described their high opinions of Fielding. W.L. Pinney, president of the Merchants and Manufacturers Association, understood Fielding's presence as "capital and advertising," both positive elements in the local economy. Charles Korrick, the general manager of Korrick's, a department store, complained that "too little boosting has been the trouble." The state should do everything it can, he argued, to keep Fielding in the state because it meant outside capital and publicity that could not be quantified in terms of money. As the *Republican* further noted, "Fielding has a great booster in Fred Barrows," the owner of a local furniture business who enjoyed the "splendid results for this state" that Fielding's motion pictures provided. The president of

[137] Ibid.

[138] Ibid.

the Phoenix Chamber of Commerce also chimed in, expressing support and cooperation from the city. Finally, in the words of Sam Wilson, who managed another department store named Goldwater's, the people of Arizona needed to "boost the game."[139] What these testimonies reveal is an understanding of the way that Fielding's motion pictures had the power to strengthen the local economy, a strength which boded well for Arizona's overall image.

The *Republican* seemed happy to keep Fielding in Arizona so he would continue his work, but external forces also influenced his decision to stay in Phoenix. In the end, it would be his downfall. In 1915, a federal court ruled to dismantle the Motion Pictures Patent Company (MPPC), a monopolistic, vertically integrated trust founded in 1908 that controlled most production in the United States. The Lubin Company represented one of nine studios that made up the trust, so when the court ordered the MPPC to break apart, Lubin took a financial blow. In response, the studio recalled all of its regional branches in order to centralize all of its operations in Philadelphia.[140]

Rather than return to Philadelphia, Fielding stayed in Phoenix. Fielding's credentials allowed him to become an independent filmmaker and to continue developing Cactus City, a manifestation of the inward boosterism that Fielding had come to represent. The *Republican* reported that once the people of Phoenix snapped out of their apathy, outside capital suddenly started flowing in the state to finance the development of

[139] "Businessmen Appreciate Cactus City: Merchants and Commercial Organizations Recognize the Value to Phoenix of the Work of Romaine Fielding," *Arizona Republican*, February 5, 1916, 7.

[140] Woal, "Romaine Fielding," 419.

Fielding's studio.[141] The *Republican*'s final mention of Cactus City, however, took a sharp turn. Published on December 29, 1917, the article reported that Fielding's studio had changed hands to the owner of a bank, indicating its failure.[142] The *Republican* could have been exaggerating about the promise of outside capital, or Fielding could not make it on his own, detached from his former employer. As Linda Woal noted, when Fielding ended his relationship with Lubin, he also effectively ended his career. He could only subsequently find work as a "hack director" and "kicked around the country doing an assortment of odd jobs" before he died in 1927.[143]

In spite of repeated short-lived success, the early motion picture industry in Arizona demonstrates the multi-faceted nature of inward boosterism. Companies like the AMPC and AMPI spearheaded some of the first efforts to create motion pictures in Arizona. Where these companies lacked prominence, Romaine Fielding brought his fame and reputation to the state, giving it a jolt of attention that entities like the Phoenix Chamber of Commerce tried to capitalize on by using these films to showcase Arizona's modernization. These early works may have been relatively crude, but they were nonetheless important to get Arizona's feet wet, allowing new generations of boosters to promote developments in the industry. To that end, Fielding's death by no means meant the death of Arizona's motion picture industry. One particular genre within Fielding's work would continue to grow in popularity until it became a staple of Arizonan motion pictures and a defining characteristic of the state as a whole. This is the Western.

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[141] "Cactus City's Solidly Built: Abundant Outside Capital to Be Invested in the Complete Development of Mr. Fielding's Moving Picture Enterprise," *Arizona Republican*, February 13, 1916, 5.

[142] "Real Film Plot Finds Its Hero in Henry Stark," *Arizona Republican*, December 29, 1917, 5.

[143] Woal, "Romaine Fielding," 419.

CHAPTER 3

"HOLLYWOOD IN THE DESERT"[144]

"And out in the desert will stand for a long time to come, a complete town, open for all to see."[145]

As travel writer Lili DeBarbieri observed, "Without a doubt, the most significant film genre to Arizona's statewide culture and identity is the western."[146] This chapter will demonstrate how outward boosters capitalized on Western imagery to develop Arizona's identity by emphasizing stereotypical landscape and behavioral imagery in film.

"Authenticity" best encapsulates why so many Western motion picture productions came to Arizona in the first place. Early filmmakers working in the Eastern United States often tried in earnest to pass off places like New Jersey as the Southwest. The audience could usually tell the difference, however, so production moved west to film on-location in the desert.[147] As a result, Arizona became a hotspot for production. Ever the booster for local motion picture production, one *Arizona Republican* article noted, "The demand for western pictures is always very active in the east."[148] Another *Republican* article reported that even though a "stern insistence upon realism" governed most production, some directors still used faked props and scenery to build an artificial

[144] "Hollywood in the Desert," *Old Tucson Citizen*, no date. Although no date is given, this particular issue celebrates Old Tucson Studio's fiftieth anniversary, which provides a publication year circa1990.

[145] Louise Price Bell, "Hollywood Moves to Arizona Desert," *The Washington Post*, June 23, 1940, A1.

[146] Lili DeBarbieri, *Location Filming in Arizona: The Screen Legacy of the Grand Canyon State* (Charleston, South Carolina: The History Press, 2014), 15.

[147] Michael Welsh, "Origins of Western Film Companies, 1887-1920," in *Western Films: A Brief History*, ed. Richard W. Etulain (Manhattan, Kansas: Sunflower University Press, 1988), 9.

[148] Kenneth Meaker, "Will Take Soldier Movies," *The Arizona Republican*, July 23, 1913, 6.

desert without actually going to one. "It is for this reason," the *Republican* announced, "that the bigger stars of the movie industry, who insist upon absolute realism of Western pictures, come to Arizona."[149]

Studios also came to Arizona because of the rich source material. Since the Western, the "most original of all American genres,"[150] had already been established in literature by the time motion pictures gained traction, adapting existing Western stories was simply a matter of picking low-hanging fruit.[151] Prolific American novelist Zane Grey, for example, provided filmmakers with a cornucopia of stories. As historian Candace C. Kant noted, "Over two-thirds of his western romances [out of fifty-six] contain plots based on events in Arizona's past, are peopled by characters modeled after Arizonans, or actually take place in Arizona." Studios have adapted Grey's books into one hundred and thirty motion pictures, sixty-eight of which came from an Arizona story. Grey's work is notable because he personally traveled to Arizona for inspiration when writing his novels, and he joined motion picture production crews as a creative consultant to make sure they got the details right.[152]

This focus on accuracy produced unintended consequences. As Jay Boyer pointed out, "Much of America's first exposure to a newly formed state such as Arizona came through the motion pictures being made there on location." Since relatively few people had visited Arizona, the volume of fairly homogenous Westerns gave the outlying

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[149] "Realism in Pictures Often Is Overlooked By Movie Directors," *Arizona Republican*, July 21, 1921, 5.

[150] Jim Hitt, *The American West from Fiction (1823- 1976) into Film (1909- 1986)* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 1990), 5.

[151] Ibid, 1-2.

[152] Candace C. Kant, *Zane Grey's Arizona* (Flagstaff, Arizona: Northland Press, 1984), 1-7.

population the wrong impression of what Arizona actually looked like.[153] The irony here is that in the search for "authentic" settings, filmmakers created a mythological Arizona by trapping it in time. A *Republican* article from 1913, for example, cited a Los Angeles court case in which an actor stood trial for assault. Quoting from the Los Angeles newspaper that originally published the story, the *Republican* reported that eyewitnesses had seen so much violence in Westerns that they assumed the assault was part of filming a new motion picture. As the *Republican* warned, this "incident shows how easily strangers can be persuaded that Arizona is still the land of lawlessness."[154]

Some Arizona businessmen wanted to shy away from this reputation because they premised the growth of the state on receiving outside capital. This meant convincing Eastern investors that Arizona had been "settled." For instance, Thomas N. McCauley, the president of Central Copper Company near Wilcox, Arizona, oversaw the production of a 1921 motion picture designed explicitly to advertise Arizona. By showcasing the state's diverse, industrial landscape McCauley hoped to "dispel the idea prevalent among the people of the eastern states that Arizona is still the wild and wooly west of 50 years ago."[155] Indeed, in 1921 the *Republican* relished the idea that a nationwide audience would see Pathé News's more accurate depiction of Phoenix; instead of "cowboys,

[153] Jay Boyer, "No Fit Place for Any Man, Woman or Child: Depictions of Arizona in Our Earliest Films," in *Beyond the Stars*: *Studies in American Popular Film Volume 4*, eds. Paul Loukides and Linda K. Fuller (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1993), 13.

[154] "Movie Cowboys and Arizona Atmosphere: Case in Los Angeles Court Provokes Wonder at Similarity Which Does Not Exist," *The Arizona Republican*, July 30, 1913, 8.

[155] "The Real Arizona to Be Shown People Of The East In Film," *Arizona Republican*, June 8, 1921, 3.

dashing about on horseback and shooting up the town … they saw a real city with real people, modern and even more progressive than the average eastern city of a like size."[156]

The *Republican* had once extolled Fielding's "desert classics," but now that this imagery appeared to have negative consequences, the publication changed its tune. People like McCauley also expressed frustration with these misconceptions because the inward boosterism they espoused depended on others' perception of Arizona as a long-term investment. Someone who advocated outward boosterism, however, could mold Arizona into any shape necessary to attract motion pictures. Arizona never did shake its Western iconography, and some outward boosters preferred it this way.

For the purposes of this chapter, a Western is defined as a, "Fictional work set in the period of American westward expansion. In the name of civilization, the wilderness is conquered and nature subordinated. Key thematic oppositions are between civilization and nature, law and anarchy, settler and nomad, and the new arrivals and the Native American."[157] The first section of this chapter will be an analysis of *Arizona* (1940), a Columbia Pictures production adapted from the eponymous novel by Clarence Budington Kelland. Set in the 1860s, *Arizona*'s primary theme focuses on inward boosterism by emphasizing the growth of Tucson and how this affects the people who live there. For the characters of the film, this growth essentially means bringing order to Tucson and attracting more people, which entails transforming the immediate desert surroundings into a modern metropolis. The hero and the villain of the story do their best to boost the

[156] "Phoenix Well Advertised in Motion National Movie Magazine," *Arizona Republican*, March 7, 1920, A13.

[157] "The Moving Image Genre-Form Guide," Library of Congress, Motion Picture Broadcasting & Recorded Sound Division, Motion Picture & Television Reading Room, accessed May 31, 2014 at http://www.loc.gov/rr/mopic/miggen.html

town because their personal success is intertwined with Tucson's, and the main conflict of the story is driven by their interactions. Media studies professor Michael T. Marsden noted that Westerns offer the audience a pedagogical experience in which they "do not escape *from* reality but rather escape into another form of reality."[158] For *Arizona*, this reality exists as a trope that uses Wild West imagery and thematic elements to characterize the state of Arizona. To create this world, Columbia built a new set about ten miles west of Tucson, named Old Tucson Studios.

Thus, the second section of this chapter will focus on Bob Shelton, the man to whom Old Tucson largely owes its success after Columbia abandoned the site after filming. Western historian David Wrobel contended that the boosters whose ephemera he examined "literally tried to imagine western places into existence through embellished and effusive descriptions."[159] Shelton did not just talk about an imaginary western place, he made one tangible. From 1959 to 1985, his tireless efforts turned Old Tucson from a dilapidated set into an icon. "Without Shelton," stated author Paul J. Lawton, "Old Tucson Studios would have never become the home to hundreds of films and television shows."[160] The foundation for this legacy rests on *Arizona*.

In 1939, Columbia Pictures acquired the filming rights from Clarence Budington Kelland, the author of the original novel. Director Wesley Ruggles "vowed he'd make the most authentic Western ever to hit the screen," by filming in Tucson, Arizona, the same

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[158] Michael T. Marsden, "The Rise of the Western Movie: From Sagebrush to Screen," in *Western Films: A Brief History*, ed. Richard W. Etulain (Manhattan, Kansas: Sunflower University Press, 1988), 18.

[159] David Wrobel, *Promised Lands: Promotion, Memory and the Creation of the American West* (Lawrence, University of Kansas Press, 2002), 2.

[160] Paul J. Lawton, *Old Tucson Studios* (Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2008), 6.

location in the novel.[161] Leasing the land from Pima County, Columbia financed the building of a set that would recreate Tucson as it looked in the 1860s. As a period piece, *Arizona*'s production crew met the challenge of reproducing the feel of a specific time and place. At a cost of $150,000 Columbia completed the set in forty days.[162]

A contemporary *Washington Post* article described *Arizona* as "a rip- roarin' saga of the birth of the Southwest-a yarn of the era when men shot on sight, lived riotously and took no back talk."[163] This kind of stereotypical Western theming owed its existence to the steady accumulation of similar imagery established by predecessors such as Edwin S. Porter's genre-defining *The Great Train Robbery* (1903), Romaine Fielding's *Eagle's Nest* (1915), which "takes us back to the days of the stage coach, and prairie schooner before the master mind of the civil engineer had connected the east and west with shining bands of steel,"[164] a reference to the railroad, and Fielding's *Desert Rat* (1916), "a western picture where the 'action' is not confined to shooting up a bar room, nor holding up a train nor the other generally accepted ideas of a desert drama."[165] *Arizona* features many of these same elements, reinforcing the stereotypes in the genre and contributing to Arizona's reputation as a product of the Wild West.

To set the stage for the in-film world, *Arizona* features three intertitles where on-screen text describes Tucson's condition. Interspersed throughout the film, these

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[161] Louise Price Bell, "Hollywood Moves to Arizona Desert," *The Washington Post*, June 23, 1940, A1.

[162] Lawton, *Old Tucson Studios*, 7, 13.

[163] Louise Price Bell, "Hollywood Moves to Arizona Desert," *The Washington Post*, June 23, 1940, A1.

[164] "Amusements: Eagles Nest Great Picture at Empress," *Arizona Republican*, April 10, 1915, 7.

[165] "'Desert Rat' Cactus Film: Midnight Run of Romaine Fielding's New Picture Receives Approval of The Favored Audience on Saturday Night," *Arizona Republican*, February 28, 1916, 10.

intertitles update the audience on how major plot points affect Tucson. The first intertitle is the opening shot of the film: "Men of vision-pushing west to a new land. Indian attacks, mountains and desert, hunger and thirst-nothing could stop them. These were the people who would shape the destiny of a great new territory-ARIZONA!" The territory of Arizona is thus framed as an unstable and treacherous place that only men of steel could tame. Arizona is growing, but still has a long way to go before its population can feel at ease. The second intertitle occurs after the Civil War breaks out in the course of the narrative, informing the audience that Confederate troops stationed in Tucson had left to fight the war in the east. With no troops, "Lawlessness ruled in Arizona, and the people who had built this great territory were threatened with destruction." But Tucson also received a glimmer of hope, for Union soldiers arrived shortly thereafter. The declaration of martial law led to the final intertitle: "Under military protection, as the months passed, Tucson grew rapidly and trade flourished."[166]

Beyond expositional functions, these three text screens also helped set the tone of *Arizona*, characterizing Tucson as the "wild and wooly" place that the *Republican* identified decades earlier. Only the toughest men stood a chance of living there, and even they required military protection for support.

The visuals of *Arizona* further convey the Wild West landscape. Immediately after the first intertitle, the opening scene shows a group of travelers from Missouri arriving in Tucson. The audience is introduced to Peter Muncie, a member of the group and the deuteragonist of the story. When he learns that Tucson is in sight, he inquires of the group leader, "Where?" The camera cuts to a barely discernible outpost in the middle

[166] *Arizona*, directed by Wesley Ruggles (1940; Culver City, CA: Sony Pictures, 2005), DVD.

of the desert, surrounded by cacti and sagebrush, with mountains far in the background. "It ain't exactly pretty, is it?" Muncie quips. When they enter Tucson, Muncie notices people bathing in street water, digging latrines, and using fertilizer to mold bricks. When he asks some locals where he can find a good hotel, they laugh and explain that there are no hotels in Tucson. This exchange informs the audience that Tucson lacks the basic amenities of modern civilization that Easterners like Muncie have taken for granted. Two characters in the film, however, Phoebe Titus and Jefferson Carteret, want to transform Tucson into a bustling city that will "bring in more people than you can shake a stick at."[167] Every time they are on screen, their words and actions point to some element of turning Tucson from a chaotic Podunk to a respectable city. Since Titus and Carteret are Tucson's greatest boosters, analyzing their respective characters will demonstrate how their actions drive the story while reinforcing the imagery and behavior of the stereotypical Wild West as something that needs conquering and controlling.

Phoebe Titus is the film's protagonist and "the only American woman in Tucson." Since the expository text explicitly states that taming Tucson is a man's job, Titus's role as one of the town's boosters is significant; she has more to prove than the rest of Tucson's residents and the boosting itself is coming from an unexpected source. She operates a small pie shop in town, but she has dreams of owning the largest cattle ranch in Arizona. She is slowly making her way, one pie at a time. The absence of law and order stand in her way, but she has no compunctions against taking the law into her own hands. In her first scene, for example, she storms into a nearby saloon with a shotgun in hand, where she finds two men and accuses them of stealing $1,100 from her home. As a

[167] Ibid.

crowd gathers, Titus also confronts a man named Lazarus Ward, who operates Tucson's only freighting company and charges double what Titus considers an honest rate. "Before I came to Tucson," Titus snaps, "I never dreamed a place could stomach such off-scourings and scum as you and your crowd." Titus further explains that as long as there is no law in Arizona, she would have to settle disputes her own way.[168]

Titus is also aware that such personal scuffles are only symptoms of Tucson's true problems, which run deep to the core of the Western way of life. While Titus and Muncie are conversing at her pie shop, for instance, the local judge gestures to a nearby man and holds a trial right there in the street. The judge explains that he is accused of blowing a man's head off and asks how he pleads. The man confesses that he did indeed kill someone, cites "just drinking" as the reason, the judge finds him guilty of "disturbing the peace," and sentences him to a $5 fine. Titus watches this conversation unfold from her window and in a fit of frustration warns, "Someday, Judge Bogardus, the law will come to Arizona and half of you will be hung … The time will come and when it does, this will be a territory to be proud of." Once again, Titus mentions the law as a necessary stabilizing agent, simultaneously reinforcing Arizona as a troubled place that ignores the standard rules of civilized society. Since Muncie witnessed this exchange as well, Titus uses this as an opportunity to convince him to join her. In the process, she reveals optimism in spite of Tucson's conspicuous problems: "This Arizona Territory is worth looking into for a man with ideas."[169]

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[168] Ibid.

[169] Ibid.

Titus's frustration comes to a head when she starts her own freighting company to compete with Ward. Titus sees Ward's monopoly and outrageous pricing as but another example of Tucson's corruption that need correcting. As she figures, Tucson has plenty of room for an "honest outfit." This is the moment where Titus formally challenges the status quo for the first time. Solomon Warner, the owner of the general store that sells freighted goods, becomes Titus's partner because, "We both got confidence this country's going to grow." For Titus, who ultimately sees her new business as a faster means of obtaining her cattle ranch, freighting is "a better way of getting it than selling pies." Titus also tries to hire Muncie, but he explains that he wants to see California, promising to return when he satisfies his wanderlust. Indignant, Titus responds, "What can you do in California that you can't do here?" This supports Titus's belief that Tucson, given the law and enough time, is the ideal place for someone to settle down, take root and grow. Muncie still declines, but Titus finds success with her new company.[170]

When the news of the Civil War reaches Tucson, however, Titus must convince the townspeople that Tucson is worthy of their loyalty. The United States Army's departure to fight the war in the east left Tucson susceptible to Indian attacks. Feeling betrayed and abandoned, the townspeople argue in favor of leaving town while they still have the chance. As Judge Bogardus reasons, "Better to leave what we built here than get our bones picked clean by buzzards." This community decision provokes Titus into calling the townspeople quitters, willing to abandon everything they have built. With a freighting business to lose, Titus's boosting has escalated from boasting about Tucson to fighting for it. When it looks like Titus has failed to convince the townspeople to stay, a

[170] Ibid.

mysterious man named Jefferson Carteret enters the scene. He initially supports Titus, calling the townspeople a bunch of mice and challenging them to grow a spine. Reinvigorated, and no longer alone, Titus persuades everyone to stay.[171]

Despite Carteret's support, Titus has just been unwittingly pitted against another inward booster who will become her biggest rival and greatest threat. Carteret is therefore the film's villain, and although he also wants Tucson to grow, this is his way of making himself rich and he has no community interest outside of that pursuit. Carteret's next action, therefore, is secretly partnering with Ward to destroy Titus's freighting business. Carteret explains that he comes from "poor, but honest" parents and later admits that he arrived in Tucson "penniless." As Carteret points out to Ward, "This territory is too important to be abandoned for long. It's the link with the Far West. Whoever controls it will have a big job on his hands. And a big reward."[172] At this point, the audience might wonder why Carteret is working against Titus, rather than with her. After all, how much more could two boosters accomplish by working together? From Carteret's perspective, however, partnering with Titus will not get him what he really wants. Since Titus's business philosophy revolves around honesty and fairness, Carteret knows he stands to make more money by working with the unscrupulous Ward. Carteret also knows that he can manipulate Ward, whereas Titus is hardheaded and stubborn.

Since Carteret operates in the shadows, he is able to effectively counteract any benefit that Titus acquires. Thus, a significant part of his characterization is retroactive. Shortly after the town meeting where everyone decides to stay, Carteret quickly comes up

[171] Ibid.

[172] Ibid.

with a plan to destroy Titus's freighting business. Rather than fighting the Indians, Carteret suggests making a deal with them: Ward will supply them with guns and ammunition he acquired from freighting, and in return the Indians will agree not to attack his wagon trains. In the cover of night, Ward and Carteret meet with the Indian chief Mano, who accepts their deal. The next morning when Titus tries to leave Tucson on a freighting trip, Mano attacks, setting fire to her wagons and forcing her back into town. Beaten, but not defeated, Titus presses on and secures a United States government freighting contract. Now Titus can enjoy an Army escort for her goods. In response, Carteret orders Ward to forge a business receipt between Titus and the Confederacy, causing the Army to cancel her contract. When Titus gets her contract back by forcing Ward to sign a confession at gunpoint, Carteret hires Mexican bandits to steal her latest business deposit of $15,000 from her home safe. Titus still does not know that Carteret is working against her. He allays any suspicions she might have with flattery and smooth-talk, telling her, "When a lady has that much faith in herself and in the future of this territory, I'd say she was a better investment than a copper mine." Muncie eventually figures out Carteret's schemes and kills him in a duel at the climax of the film.[173]

Thus, the inward boosterism throughout *Arizona*'s narrative manifests primarily in the actions of Titus and Carteret. Meanwhile, their actions are determined by the rough landscape and unpredictable behavior of the Wild West, forcing them to adapt their tactics to elements outside of their control. The entire community stands to benefit from a civilizing process, but Tucson needs a champion to make sure this happens. The rivalry between Titus and Carteret demonstrates their different characterizations and creates

[173] Ibid.

sharp borders around their respective ways of thinking, making them excellent foils for one another. Their attempts to out-boost one another show the contrasting aspects of boosterism that each employs as the best model for achieving their respective goals.

First, Titus gets her way through candor and direct confrontation, while Carteret achieves his goals through secrets and manipulation. Both personalities reinforce the need for the other: Titus must remain confrontational to shake the truth out of people like Carteret, while Carteret must remain secretive to keep people like Titus from confronting him. Second, Titus's goals are much more transparent, while Carteret's are opaque. Everyone in town knew that Titus wanted to own the largest cattle ranch in Arizona, and Warner partnered with her in the freighting business knowing this was partially a means to her end. Carteret, on the other hand, forced his way into a partnership with Ward and warned him not tell anyone about it. Third, Titus feels attached to Tucson itself, while Carteret chose Tucson out of happenstance. Titus decided to stay in Arizona when her father died on the way to California, instilling an emotional link to a specific place. Carteret's interest lies in Tucson insofar as it happens to be growing at a time when he is in poverty. If Tucson showed no signs of growth, or if another town showed greater signs, he would have chosen elsewhere. Their desires intersect only in a general ambition for Tucson to grow and in their dedication to achieving their respective goals.[174]

With Carteret's death, the film makes a definitive conclusion that Titus's method of boosterism produced the greatest good for Tucson. Titus and Muncie marry, and Judge Bogardus serves as the officiant at the ceremony, stating that the wedding signaled "the most important event in the history of the Arizona territory … marking as it does the

[174] Ibid.

westward strides of civilization, practically moves us up into the class of metropolis." Warner witnesses them ride off together to the ranch that Titus always wanted and muses, "Well, I'd say this territory's got quite a future. Yes, sir, quite a future."[175]

Arizona received plenty of attention in the months leading up to its premiere, aided by the support of Governor Robert T. Jones (1939-1941). In March, 1940 Governor Jones informed Samuel Goldwyn of MGM Studios of his desire to host the world premiere of *Arizona* in Tucson. Beyond the concomitance of hosting the premiere in the same city as the motion picture's setting, Governor Jones wrote that Tucson would provide sufficient publicity opportunities.[176] Governor Jones also petitioned the Postmaster General to establish a post office on the site of Old Tucson, complete with a designated cancellation stamp, a marking used to identify the specific post office from which an outgoing item originated. In this case, the cancellation stamp would pinpoint Old Tucson, rendering it a marketing technique.[177]

The Tucson Chamber of Commerce naturally wanted the premiere as well. The Chamber financed the production of 150,000 custom *Arizona* postage stamps, requesting that every recipient use them for outgoing mail that left the state. The Chamber also requested a days' worth of mail from the Governor's Office so that they could apply the "Old Tucson, 1859" cancellation stamp. That way, the recipients of these letters might

[175] Ibid.

[176] Governor Robert Jones to Samuel Goldwyn, March 8, 1940, Box 13A, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[177] Governor Robert Jones to James A. Farley, March 9, 1940, Box 13A, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

notice the stamp and interpret it as an official endorsement from the state of Arizona.[178] Governor Jones received 10,000 stamps and assured the Chamber, "You may count upon my cooperation in the matter of holding the world premiere of 'Arizona' in Tucson."[179]

After successfully securing the premiere for November, 1940, Governor Jones collaborated with the Pioneer Hotel in Tucson to host several Southwestern governors in attending the three-day premiere celebration. In a letter to the Governor of New Mexico, Governor Jones informed him that Columbia would pay for the entire trip and offered an experience where "the city of Tucson will once again take on the appearance of 'Old Tucson,' the Tucson of the swashbuckling, hell-roaring 1860's."[180] The *Hartford Times* reported that Arizona sent out hundreds of invitations to Hollywood figures, "printed on genuine Arizona copper."[181] These efforts paid off, as the world premiere opened as scheduled, attracting 10,000 people and substantial media coverage.[182] Governor Jones poured so much into these publicity efforts because he saw *Arizona* as a microcosm of what motion pictures could do for the state. As Leo Weaver of the Flagstaff Chamber of Commerce noted, "I have your letter regarding the making of motion pictures in Arizona and quite agree with you that it is a very lucrative business for our State."[183]

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[178] C. Edgar Goyette to Governor Robert Jones, May 7, 1940, Box 13A, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[179] Governor Robert Jones to C. Edgar Goyett, May 16, 1940, Box 13A, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[180] Governor Robert Jones to Governor John E. Miles, November 2, 1940, Box 13A, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[181] "Copper Invite Summons Stars to 'Arizona,'" *Hartford Times*, November 6, 1940.

[182] Lawton, *Old Tucson Studios*, 8.

[183] Leo Weaver to Governor Robert Jones, June 3, 1940, Box 13A, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

The following year, the Governor's torch passed to Sidney P. Osborn (1941-1948), who spent considerable energy promoting *Arizona* after its theater release. In the summer of 1941, Osborn's office sent out form letters to dozens of theater owners slated to screen *Arizona*, expressing "a good deal of pleasure in extending to you and to the people of your City the cordial greetings of the State of Arizona." The letters wished the theater owners and their patrons an evening of great entertainment and further emphasized that "this very splendid portrayal of the early days of my native State … was written and filmed in the State of Arizona."[184] These letters reached at least twenty-five states, plus Puerto Rico, China and Hong Kong. Governor Osborn's personal letters also came closest to a review that might indicate how Arizonans felt about their state's depiction in the film. Ironically, while *Arizona* thematized inward boosterism, Arizona promoted outward boosterism. In other words, the characters in *Arizona* understand themselves in the confines of their own world; from their perspective, nobody is watching them in a theater. What they know is that they need 1860s Tucson to grow in order for them to survive. Everyone who lived in the "real" world, however, saw it as a Hollywood film project that graced Arizona. Boosters like Osborn knew that this particular production provided good publicity for 1940s Arizona.

Despite the lavish opening night premiere and advocacy of the Governor's Office, *Arizona*'s success did not make Old Tucson an overnight sensation. In fact, except for a handful of productions, Old Tucson largely sat vacant and ignored. In 1946, the Tucson Junior Chamber of Commerce took over the lease from Columbia Pictures. The Jaycees, as the members called themselves, did their best to keep the set in decent condition,

[184] Governor Sidney Osborn to Belden Brewer, May 26, 1941, Box 19, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

relying on volunteers, donations and fundraising events. Although the Jaycees kept the site an active rental facility, not until 1959 did someone come along and breathe new life into the park and transform it into one of Tucson's most popular attractions.[185]

Christened, "The Man Who Brought Hollywood to the Desert,"[186] Bob Shelton expended an incalculable amount of energy promoting Old Tucson and building relationships with members of the motion picture community. Born in Columbus, Ohio Shelton moved with his parents to Kansas City, Missouri when he was one year old. Spending the next thirty-eight years of his life in Kansas City, Shelton established a career operating a business called Country Club Consultants. Dubbed "golf-less" country clubs by Shelton, his company focused primarily on family activities. As Shelton explained, soldiers returning from World War II needed a place for social interaction with their families, which Shelton believed he could provide with his different take on country clubs. These clubs also came at a much smaller cost to families, sometimes ten times cheaper than other country clubs in the area. Instead of spending thousands of dollars in membership fees, a family could join for about $250 and pay only $10 a month in dues. All told, Shelton built about eight of these clubs from the ground up. One of these clubs, the Golden Spur, featured a western theme.[187]

Always a fan of Westerns, Shelton's experience with these clubs gave him the idea of building a Western-themed town at both ends of the Santa Fe Trail, an historic overland cargo route that extends from Missouri to New Mexico. Shelton already owned

[185] Lawton, *Old Tucson Studios*, 8, 19.

[186] "Bob Shelton" tribute video, Old Tucson Blog, accessed April 11, 2014 at http://www.oldtucsonblog.com/bob-shelton/

[187] Robert Shelton, interview by Ryan Ehrfurth, Tucson, Arizona, April 3, 2014.

some land in Kansas City that could have served his interests there, so he turned his attention westward. Veering southwest of the original trail, Shelton began to consider Tucson when his friend Jack Goodman, who lived there, arranged a lunch meeting with Arthur Pack, an official of Pima County. Pack escorted Shelton out to Old Tucson and suggested building the western town on this site. Shelton had heard of Old Tucson and had even been there during the filming of a motion picture, but seeing it years later in this context it "looked like bombed out Berlin." After the filming of *Arizona* and a handful of other motion pictures, the production crews essentially left the site to ruins. The adobe bricks used in the original construction, for instance, had deteriorated because of prolonged neglect and exposure to the harsh desert environment.[188]

Shelton admitted that this "wasn't what I really had in mind," but he thought about how he could make it work. His experience building country clubs in Kansas City taught him market analysis, figuring out whether anyone would show up if he built a club in the community. After spending some time scouting Tucson to test the viability of a Western-town attraction, Shelton discovered that the area received about one million visitors per year. Sufficient for his purposes, Shelton began discussions with Pima County in 1958 and signed the lease in July of 1959. He spent the next six months and $500,000 rehabilitating the site, bringing in utilities like water and electricity to accommodate the tourist crowds he geared Old Tucson toward. Shelton recalled that the site may not have been quite what he was looking for when he came to Tucson, but it turned out to be "the best thing that ever happened."[189] On January 29, 1960 Shelton held

[188] Ibid.

[189] Ibid.

an opening ceremony for Old Tucson, drawing a crowd of 15,000 people and featuring an address by Arthur Pack.[190]

From the beginning, Shelton designed Old Tucson to conform to Western imagery long associated with Arizona. When the park first opened, for example, it offered twenty-one various attractions, including staged gunfights, stagecoach rides, and train rides.[191] Old Tucson also featured a Mexican cantina, a ghost town enclave, a miniature recreation of the Lost Dutchman Gold Mine, and an Apache Indian Village. Despite these renovations, Old Tucson did keep Ward's Saloon and Trading Post from *Arizona*.[192]

Shelton also took advantage of Old Tucson's previous connections with the motion picture business. Shelton posted images of famous actors around the site, for instance, informing visitors that John Wayne had passed through these doors when filming *Rio Bravo* (1959). About one month after the opening of Old Tucson, a motion picture producer named Charles Fitzsimons contacted Shelton. The brother of actress Maureen O'Hara, Fitzsimons wanted to rent Old Tucson to film a motion picture he had in mind. Shelton agreed to rent Old Tucson at $25 per day, which resulted in *Deadly Companions* (1961). O'Hara happened to have John Wayne as a friend, who later approached Shelton to use Old Tucson for filming *McClintock* (1963). Having a personal connection to such a huge name in the industry gave Old Tucson "a boost in both our

[190] Lawton, *Old Tucson Studios*, 26.

[191] "Bob Shelton" tribute video; Lawton, *Old Tucson Studios*, 26.

[192] Lawton, *Old Tucson Studios*, 25.

confidence and our encouragement." At this point, Shelton started actively courting Hollywood, for, "If you want bears, you go where bears live."[193]

Thus began a vigorous and prolonged outward boosterism marketing campaign to attract filmmakers to Old Tucson. Shelton estimates that he spent about one week per month in Hollywood, "knocking on doors" and getting to know people in the industry. He also stayed abreast of motion picture activity by reading issues of the *Hollywood Reporter* (1930-), a trade publication that included announcements for upcoming projects. If Shelton thought his facilities might be a good fit for a particular production, he would call the right people and ask them to consider Old Tucson, selling them on Arizona's sunshine and diverse, natural settings. Shelton also advertised in the *Reporter* and *Variety* (1905-) to convince production crews to film in Tucson, and when they arrived, he took out ad space in the local newspapers to generate community interest. This local approach met with success, as Tucsonans not only visited to see production crews at work, but also began recommending Old Tucson to out-of-state tourists. To stay competitive, Shelton kept his prices a little below the going rental rate for a comparable facility elsewhere. Whenever location scouts came to Arizona, Shelton would act as their host, showing them around the area and helping them match the settings in their respective scripts to real life settings. If they needed something, Shelton offered to help in whatever way he could.[194]

Shelton's approach differed from previous boosters' efforts, not only because they used inward boosterism, but also because he had to promote his park discriminately.

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[193] Shelton, interview.

[194] Ibid.

Whereas earlier boosters like the *Arizona Republican* and Romaine Fielding were happy to promote any local film activity at all, Shelton needed to highlight how his park could accommodate the needs of production companies that required specific Western elements. Since the elements of the Western genre had long before developed a recognizable pattern, Shelton could pitch his park to producers as the ideal location, based on a common understanding of what a Western should look like. This shared view of Western imagery reinforces its entrenchment in public memory.

Shelton's marketing philosophy also revolved around providing good customer service that would build a reputation. By maintaining an active presence in California, Shelton managed to create relationships with people in the industry strong enough that he could eventually arrange most of his deals "with a handshake and a telephone call."[195] By immersing himself so deeply in the motion picture community, and as a Western actor himself since 1949,[196] Shelton understood what made them tick and advocated on their behalf to ensure that filming in Old Tucson would be the best possible experience.

This also meant handling problems. Whenever word got out that a motion picture crew was coming to town, for example, surrounding businesses commonly raised prices knowing that the crews had little choice but to buy from them. As Shelton put it, motion picture producers want to "get the most they can for the least they have to pay for it," and they recognized when they were getting gouged. Shelton knew how much they resented this practice and personally reprimanded local business owners for their shortsightedness; they may make more money now, but those motion picture crews would never come back

[195] Ibid.

[196] "Bob Shelton" tribute video.

out of spite. They were also likely to brand Tucson as a film-unfriendly place and warn their colleagues to look elsewhere. Shelton did not want Tucson to give itself a black eye and dismantle the reputation he had worked so hard to build.[197]

Shelton continually made improvements to Old Tucson to keep it looking like the Wild West. According to Shelton, he tried to be "as scientific as we could" when it came to creating the look and feel of Old Tucson. Upon entering the park, he wanted visitors to feel like they had stepped back in time one hundred years. He acquired a special kind of soil that minimized dust, ran water trucks up and down the streets, and sprayed for insects and other pests.[198] The production of *Rio Bravo* added some new buildings, and Shelton added a new sound stage in 1967, which allowed production crews to complete interior scenes and film entirely on-site. Around the same time, a new section of Old Tucson called Kansas Street came to life.[199] The great irony here is the level of modern technology required to simulate the natural rawness of the Wild West.

In this sense, Shelton's efforts reversed the goals of *Arizona*'s boosters. Whereas Titus and Carteret wanted to produce Arizona's modern Tucson, Shelton wanted to reproduce *Arizona*'s Wild West Tucson. The implication here is that the Wild West's value to a modern booster largely came from nostalgic indulgences and an ability to manage the environment. Tourists come to a place like Old Tucson to experience the Wild West, but only to a point. They would probably prefer to skip the experience of warding off giant bugs and using latrines. No one can blame them, of course, but the

[197] Shelton, interview.

[198] Ibid.

[199] Paul J. Lawton, interview by Ryan Ehrfurth, Tucson, Arizona, March 24, 2014.

matter of comfort is a necessary consideration when creating an entertainment space that people will want to visit.

At the same time, Shelton had to make sure that his park would remain an "authentic" setting for filmmakers to use, meaning Old Tucson still had to look like the stereotypical Wild West town that filmmakers wanted. Shelton told a story that perfectly illustrates the challenge of balancing these needs. In the early 1960s, Shelton decided to pave over the streets with asphalt because families using strollers and wheelchairs found it difficult to maneuver the uneven ground. As a finishing touch, he put down some sand in an effort to keep the same look. When John Wayne arrived to film *McClintock* and noticed the anachronistic landscaping, however, Shelton quoted him as saying, "Get that shit outta' here!" so Shelton tore it all up to keep Wayne happy.[200]

Shelton also embarked on some more ambitious projects to enhance Old Tucson's look. In 1964, he bought the small town of Speed, Kansas and shipped items such as old furniture to Old Tucson, where he repurposed them as film props and accoutrements. In 1966, Shelton also arranged to have the props from *The Alamo* (1960), a Western starring John Wayne, sent to Old Tucson.[201] In 1970, he purchased 19,000 pieces of Western wardrobe from Paramount Pictures in California. The value of a full wardrobe is hard to overestimate. For a production crew, renting wardrobe on-location is much easier and cheaper than buying or making costumes and traveling with them. On the same trip, Shelton attended an auction held by MGM Studios, where he expressed interest in a train engine, named the Reno, which sold for $150,000. Way over his budget, Shelton learned

[200] Shelton, interview.

[201] "Bob Shelton" tribute video.

shortly after that the deal fell through- he heard that the highest bidder made the deal while drunk and recanted after sobering up- and that he could buy it for $50,000. After convincing his accountant, who was used to Shelton's "cockamamie" ideas, Shelton bought the Reno. He had already acquired twenty-four rail cars from Paramount for about $10,000 as he recalled, and sold all but six of them. Now Shelton owned an appropriately sized, fully functioning train that he could rent to production crews. Shelton also had plans to run railroad tracks from Old Tucson to the Arizona-Sonora Desert Museum, a distance of approximately three miles. This never came to fruition because the Desert Museum Board thought that the commotion of a train would disturb the animals, but Shelton did manage to lay about a quarter mile of track around Old Tucson, complete with a depot.[202] All of these purchases demonstrate Shelton's effort to bolster the Western look and experience for every visitor to the park.

All of this effort also points to the level of work required to make Old Tucson successful. Shelton figures he spent about sixteen hours a day working at, operating or otherwise promoting Old Tucson.[203] With 500,000 annual visitors by 1995, Old Tucson became the most popular tourist attraction in Tucson, and the second most popular in Arizona, only behind the Grand Canyon. Old Tucson had also hosted almost two hundred motion pictures and television shows.[204] For Shelton, his twenty-five years at Old Tucson was a euphoric experience and a "labor of love." His old office used to sit in a building that overlooked the streets of Old Tucson, and he fondly reminisced the days of looking

[202] Shelton, interview.

[203] Ibid.

[204] Lawton, *Old Tucson Studios*, 8.

out his window and seeing famous actors working on another project. Shelton's efforts made a demonstrable impact on the local community and did not go unnoticed. One year for the Fourth of July, for instance, Shelton arranged a fireworks show and he estimated that 7,500 people showed up. So many people turned out that Shelton got a call from an employee of Pima County asking him to keep people from parking in undesignated areas, which damaged the desert landscape. In the late 1960s, the city of Tucson orchestrated a "Bob Shelton Day" to publicly acknowledge his contributions in bringing motion pictures to the area. The city arranged a big luncheon, the state awarded him with plaques, and John Wayne even flew out for the occasion.[205]

But as the saying goes, all good things must come to an end. In 1985, Shelton sold Old Tucson to a wealthy businessman who wanted to give his daughter experience running a corporation. According to Shelton, Old Tucson has since changed and gone downhill. From his perspective, the new owners and management do not have the skills required to keep motion picture crews coming back, and would rather focus on tourists than bother with accommodating production needs.[206] A devastating fire in 1995 also destroyed about forty percent of Old Tucson, including the sound stage, Kansas Street and the entire wardrobe. Although Old Tucson reopened in 1997, it has never quite been the same.[207] Other factors have also contributed to Old Tucson's changes. Shelton identified the decline of the Western starting in the 1970s and 1980s, when action movies like the *Rambo* series rose to prominence, but he also believes that the Western genre will

[205] Shelton, interview.

[206] Ibid.

[207] Lawton, interview.

never go away.[208] Western historian R. Philip Loy shared Shelton's assessment. In the epilogue of *Westerns in a Changing America,* Loy noted, "There is a strong temptation to declare the Western dead. But that happened several times in the twentieth century, and the genre always demonstrated its resilience by bouncing back into public affection."[209]

The declension of Old Tucson is also indicative of the diminished impact that can occur when boosting goes away. The next chapter will explore the film boosterism of Arizona's political system, which followed a similar trajectory. Starting in the 1940s, Arizona politicians exhibited a strong interest in promoting the state to Hollywood, a drive that lasted for the rest of the century. Within the last few years, however, Arizona has lost momentum on this front, leaving boosters scrambling to regain the support that the state once pushed so hard to effect.

[208] Shelton, interview.

[209] R. Philip Loy, *Westerns in a Changing America, 1955- 2000* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2004), 305.

CHAPTER 4

"ARIZONA'S RAINMAKERS"[210]

"'All of Arizona can benefit from a boost in the volume of film work done here, so all of Arizona's resources will be on display in this expanded activity.'"[211]

If someone like Bob Shelton could generate so much motion picture activity and goodwill for Arizona, then logically the combined weight of several boosters like him would multiply this effect severalfold. To explore that dynamic, this chapter will focus on political efforts to boost motion picture production in Arizona, from the 1940s to the present. Unlike inward boosters in the 1910s and 1920s, who tried competing with Hollywood, politically affiliated boosters from the mid-twentieth century onward embraced Hollywood by enticing them to film in Arizona. Thus, these boosters shared Bob Shelton's outward boosterism. Like previous inward boosters, however, political boosters also did not confine their efforts to attracting a single film genre.

Beginning in the 1940s, their efforts took two forms: legislation designed to incentivize Hollywood production in Arizona, and governor-authorized commissions and advisory boards charged with shaping public policy on Arizona's film industry. These latter entities operated interdependently under the state's umbrella Motion Picture Development Program (MPDP). Private individuals and business owners, like Shelton, had advocated for increased motion picture activity for many years because it served their personal interests. This chapter will demonstrate how public interest in economic

[210] John Stearns, "Napolitano Hoping to Revive Film Commission," *Arizona Republic*, December 16, 2004, D.2

[211] Press Release, "State Government, Private Film Industry to Join in Substantial Effort to Attract Motion Picture Activity," July 2, 1971, Box 600, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

development and private enterprise formed an alliance that molded an image of Arizona as a film-friendly environment. Although the MPDP ultimately understood their work as a way to increase revenue, achieving this goal required crafting an image of Arizona as a film-friendly place so that Hollywood producers would come. Having an official, service-oriented body of local industry experts would help build that reputation.

Thus, the conceptual framework for the MPDP followed the same blueprint Shelton used: outstanding customer service that made Hollywood producers' lives as easy as possible for as long as they patronized the state. Handling bureaucracy, for example, spared producers the trouble of dealing with an unfamiliar set of laws and policies. The MPDP's 1973 activity report explained that its members had "been very active in providing information, obtaining permits, scouting locations and generally cutting 'red tape' for production agencies."[212] Governor Williams also understood the importance of providing a convenient single point of contact, emphasizing that "an essential goal is the coordination of all efforts by one objective entity which will generate maximum results for those who are directly interested in the vigorous growth of Arizona's film industry."[213] Customer service also meant putting out the occasional fire when producers encountered problems or dissatisfaction. While filming *Lost Horizon* (1973) in Tucson, for example, producer Ross Hunter complained, "Everybody doubles their prices," the same kind of gouging that Shelton found so shortsighted.[214] In other

[212] Report, "Governor's Arizona Motion Picture Commission," June 5, 1973, Box 698, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[213] Report, "Governor's Arizona Motion Picture Commission," November 27, 1972, Box 698, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[214] "Film Maker's Statement About City Called Untrue," *Arizona Daily Star*, July 13, 1972, page number unknown.

cases, the MPDP informed producers of beneficial laws that singled out the motion picture industry for special consideration. ARS (Arizona Revised Statutes) § 23-909, for example, exempted motion picture companies from the requirement of securing workers' compensation through the state of Arizona, giving them the flexibility of choosing their own insurance.[215] This effort was part of an attempt to persuade producers that Arizona featured a "'business climate' that complements the natural climate."[216]

Governor support was also pivotal to success. As William (Bill) MacCallum, head of the MPDP from 1976-1994, stated, "'If the governor is not supportive of film production, there is no one to grease the wheels to see that assistance is granted.'"[217] Governor support also rippled out to all levels of government, creating a statewide impression of goodwill. Phoenix Mayor Margaret T. Hance once wrote to Governor Castro remarking, "The producers we've heard from all agree that they have never experienced the kind of 'red carpet' service they receive at our City and State level."[218]

Considering all the effort required by the MPDP to keep producers happy, what did the state get in return? What were the stakes that justified this kind of program and merited devoting such energy to rolling out the red carpet? The answer was economics: how much revenue did Arizona stand to gain? When a production company came to the

[215] The Industrial Commission of Arizona, "Welcome to Arizona!" no date, Box 526, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[216] Timothy D. Hayes to Governor Jack Williams, September 23, 1970, Box 526, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[217] "From New York to Arizona: Getting Aggressive in Going After Movie Bucks," *Los Angeles Times*, January 8, 1984, 12.

[218] Margaret T. Hance to Governor Raul Castro, April 9, 1976, Box 84, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

state, it could spend millions of dollars in the local economy and pay even more in taxes. Beyond industry-specific expenditures such as cameras and microphones, motion picture production also increased economic activity in dozens of supporting industries, making "the cash registers ring from lumber shops to paint shops to dry cleaners to green grocers to hotels, motels, bars, restaurants, it goes on and on."[219] The economic impact of this additional spending is known as the multiplier effect, supporting jobs in the process. One recent industry analysis report estimated that "for every 100 Film Industry jobs in Arizona, another 182 jobs exist to service and support the Film Industry."[220]

For the first time, outward boosters also emphasized the unique advantage of motion pictures as a "clean" industry. In essence, this meant that unlike other industries such as mining or factory production, filmmaking did not harm the environment or require expensive infrastructure and upfront costs. Whereas inward boosters like Romaine Fielding used "clean" in the context of Arizona's natural environment, cleanliness now referred to the film industry itself. As the secretary for the Verde Valley Chamber of Commerce noted, "The Moving Picture Industry, is not one that takes our raw materials out of the state. They leave their money for photographs of it, and it is a great means of getting substantial citizens in the state."[221] Governor Castro also described motion pictures as a "clean, non-polluting, high revenue producing industry in

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[219] Chris Garifo, "Movie-making business fuels economy," *Jewish News of Greater Phoenix*, July 30, 1999, S24.

[220] "Analysis of the Film and Video Industry in Arizona, ESI Corporation, December, 2004, 2, accessed May 18, 2014 at http://azmemory.azlibrary.gov/cdm/singleitem/collection/statepubs/id/811/rec/1

[221] Thomas B. Jones to Governor Sidney Osborn, June 5, 1947, Box 39, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

Arizona."[222] Even the *Arizona Daily Star* reported, "Motion picturemaking leaves a fortune and takes nothing away."[223] Of course, motion picture boosters outside of Arizona noticed these benefits as well, ensuring that Arizona always encountered competition. Every state in the country has had, at one point or another, a motion picture development program established for the same reasons. Thus, the flip side of the coin was how much did Arizona stand to lose by falling behind other states?

In fact, foreign competition outside the United States jumpstarted this domestic competition. In his insightful essay, communications professor Gary Edgerton explored a "civic boosterism" phenomenon he described as "the rapid appearance of film bureaus across the United States."[224] In the mid-twentieth century, the United States experienced its first major encounter with "runaway production," an effect in which motion pictures intended for the American market were actually produced outside the country. High production costs in California prompted many studios to find cheaper places to film, and various European governments during the 1950s offered subsidies to production crews. In the following decade, many Hollywood studios also utilized a domestic version of runaway production, looking for less expensive locations within the United States. According to Edgerton, once Hollywood left its cocoon and discovered the advantages of

[222] Governor Castro to "All Agency Heads and Directors," no date, Box 161, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[223] "There are Plusses," *Arizona Daily Star*, October 4, 1972, in Box 764, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[224] Gary Edgerton, "The Film Bureau Phenomenon in America and its Relationship to Independent Filmmaking," *Journal of Film and Video* 38 (1986): 40- 41.

filming elsewhere, the states and cities they visited detected a lucrative partnership if they could convince the studios to return.[225]

Arizona certainly recognized the ramifications of this trend. In 1961, for example, Governor Paul J. Fannin inquired of Hollywood producer Joseph di Reda about setting up a studio in Arizona that would offer visiting producers a base of operations while filming, rather than hauling their own equipment several hundred miles through the desert. Di Reda responded that he considered such a studio of utmost importance to Arizona because it would counteract "the great exodus … to foreign lands" caused by the "well-known fact that since the entire film industry has developed and expanded so rapidly it has practically outgrown both the west and east coast." From di Reda's perspective, establishing a strong motion picture presence would not only result in increased motion picture activity, but also the "expansion and migration of other industries, into the state of Arizona." His urgency came partly from the fact that states like Louisiana, Texas and New York had already started addressing this issue. Arizona needed to keep up or get left behind.[226] As former director of the Arizona Film Commission Linda Peterson Warren remarked, "'It's a fast industry and if you can't deliver, then someone else can.'"[227]

Runaway production thus created a nationwide playing field, and boosters wanted their respective states to get in the game. Those that did had to figure out a way to craft their laws and policies in such a way that gave them an advantage over competitors.

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[225] Edgerton, "The Film Bureau Phenomenon," 40- 41.

[226] Governor Paul Fannin to Joseph di Reda, June 23, 1961, Box 276, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[227] Anne Robertson, "State Film Commissioner Steps Down After 8 Years," *Business Journal*, November 22, 2002, 4.

Runaway production also marked a shift in the way motion picture producers arranged their priorities. In the first half of the century, producers made decisions on where to film based primarily on the geographical virtues of the location itself, followed by cost considerations. Runaway production demonstrated that producers altered these priorities, rendering cost an increasingly important factor.[228] The "authenticity" that producers like Romaine Fielding and Robert Shelton valued so highly now played a diminished role. Of course, this does not mean that cost represented the only factor. Personal relationships on more than one occasion secured a motion picture project for Arizona and promotional efforts never eschewed the physical remarkableness of the state as a selling point.

Given the emphasis on attracting Hollywood production, outward boosterism constituted the MPDP's overall mindset. These boosters spent relatively little energy trying to keep producers in-state permanently; rather they seemed much more interested in establishing a steady flow of visiting production. Certainly Arizona has had its share of local production studios. Some of the earliest include those discussed in chapter two, the Arizona Motion Picture Company, Arizona Motion Pictures, Inc. and Cactus Films. Many more formed over the course of the twentieth century, including Old Tucson Studios, Apacheland, Cudia City, Southwestern Productions, and Hollywood in the Valley. The MPDP did not necessarily need to advertise to local studios, however, because these were already in-state. Still, the MPDP did not downplay the value of local infrastructure and consequently took a utilitarian approach, imploring everyone to chip in. Even before the MPDP increased its activity starting in the l960s, some Arizona legislators tried to do their part.

[228] Harry Tate, interview by Ryan Ehrfurth, Phoenix, Arizona, May 9, 2014.

One of Arizona's most significant attempts to pass legislation specifically designed for motion picture promotion, House Bill 90 (1941), occurred under Governor Osborn. Introduced as, "An act, relating to motion pictures, and providing for the encouragement and regulation thereof,"[229] the bill's sponsor, Representative Roy A. Williams, noted that few in the legislature understood the motion picture industry; so he prepared an outline to guide them through the justification for, and major provisions of, the bill. Williams first explained that forty-one local businessmen spent over two years of preparatory research surveying the "motion picture possibilities in Arizona." After this process that included interviewing producers, the group concluded, "Arizona was neglecting one of its most effective sources of national advertising-the motion picture." Williams also noted that other states like Ohio, New York and Florida had already signed similar legislative efforts into law, and pointed out that H.B. 90 gathered the most effective provisions from these laws to create the best of all worlds. Williams predicted that H.B. 90 would annually generate an additional $5 million in the local economy.[230]

Williams's stated impetus for H.B. 90 came from the realization, "During the past few years motion picture production has increased in Arizona." For a variety of reasons, ranging from the state's low production costs to its diverse scenery, Williams believed that, "Arizona is a motion picture producers [sic] paradise." Immediately after this setup the pamphlet identified the bill's ultimate purpose:

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[229] *Journal of the House of Representatives: Fifteenth Legislature of the State of Arizona* (Phoenix: Sims Printing, Co., 1941), 115.

[230] Roy A. Williams, "Outline and Explanation of Housebill 90," no date, Box 19, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

> BUT WE HAVE NEVER MADE A CONCERTED, STATE-WIDE EFFORT TO WELCOME AND ENCOURAGE MOTION PICTURE PRODUCERS TO COME TO ARIZONA OR TO HAVE ANY PART OF THE INDUSTRY PERMANENTLY LOCATED HERE.[231]

This acknowledgement for the need of state support is the fulcrum for all future motion picture boosting in Arizona's political structure. Whereas many previous boosters enjoyed success in a variety of endeavors, they had never enjoyed the kind of statewide support alluded to in H.B. 90. Enough film activity now caught the state's attention, and those in the legislature moved to literally make motion pictures Arizona's business.

In order to increase the number of motion pictures made in Arizona, H.B. 90 proposed a fairly simple organizational structure. The bill authorized one salaried position, the Director of the Division of Motion Pictures. Appointed by the governor and serving under the defunct State Resources Board, the Director's primary responsibilities included location scouting, securing permits, serving as the "face" of Arizona as a single contact point, and distributing information on the advantages of filming in Arizona. As Williams explained, "The motion picture companies will not come here and make our advertising material for us, but they will use it if we supply it to them as other states do."[232] While H.B. 90 implied that it might establish some local permanency to Hollywood's operations, the Director's responsibilities primarily involved facilitating the needs of visiting productions. Speaker of the House, James R. Heron, assigned H.B. 90 to the Committees on Education, Ways and Means, Judiciary, and Efficient Government, before it, "Died on the House calendar."[233] Nevertheless, its proposal to designate

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[231] Ibid.

[232] Ibid.

[233] *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 927.

boosters who shared a relationship with state government indicated a model that Arizona would employ for the rest of its history.

The most significant advances in this model occurred under the Governorships of Jack Williams (1967-1975) and Raul Castro (1975-1977). The runaway production that created fierce competition within the Unites States prompted boosters in Arizona to reimagine its motion picture development program, a multi-year effort that built a new foundation. The records are incomplete, but piecing together accessible information yields a fairly clear view of the MPDP's evolution. The exact date of its inception is unknown, but two pieces of evidence narrow it down. The first is a 1940 letter to a Hollywood producer who chose Flagstaff as the location for his next production. Governor Robert Jones informed him that Leo Weaver served on the Arizona Motion Picture Advisory Board and "will provide anything you can reasonably ask for." Governor Jones also wished the producer a "pleasant and profitable" experience, and offered help if he needed to "iron out any difficulties which may arise."[234]

The second piece of evidence is a 1971 report sent to the Speaker of the Arizona House of Representatives, Timothy A. Barrow. The background section of this report stated that "the Governor's Motion Picture Commission … has been the liaison between the motion picture industry and the state for more than three decades." The report further solicited Barrow for his support with the development of a "New Cooperation Between the Film Industry and State Government."[235]

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[234] Governor Robert Jones to Cliff Broughton, October 28, 1940, Box 13A, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[235] Timothy D. Hayes to Timothy A. Barrow, March 11, 1971, Box 600, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

This new cooperation showed signs of blooming as early as 1967. Arizona state Representative Richard Bailey and Arizona state Senator Kenneth Cardella delivered a memo to Governor Williams urging him to consider the, "Creation of a body specifically orientated to [the] development of the Movie Industry in our State." To get the discussion going, they offered some suggestions for what this body might look like, which ought to function as an "entity unto itself," not a subcommittee, with "immediate access to the Governor."[236] By 1968, Governor Williams had appointed four members to what he called the Arizona Motion Picture Commission, with Tom Chauncey of KOOL AM-FM TV serving as Chairman. Governor Williams conceded that the exact function of the Commission at the time remained unclear, and acknowledged the fallout that might ensue if he replaced too many existing Commission members for want of "new blood." For these reasons, Governor Williams opted for a slow and steady approach in choosing new appointees and designating specific work.[237] Two specific events catalyzed change.

First, Arizona's motion picture producers revealed that they perceived the existing Commission as inconvenient and ineffective. In 1970, Timothy D. Hayes of the Arizona Department of Economic Planning and Development (DEPD) sent a letter to Governor Williams reporting on a meeting "which had an air of candidness which was close to brutal." Local producers, for example, felt that Chauncey underperformed in his services and that they had received such complaints from their Hollywood colleagues. As a result, few of them wanted to deal with the Commission at all. The local producers also wanted

[236] Richard Bailey and Kenneth Cardella to Governor Jack Williams, October 12, 1967, Box 490, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[237] Governor Jack Williams to B.V. Sturdivant, July 12, 1968, Box 490, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

new Commission members and a designated liaison, someone who would stay in contact with the Hollywood crowd and direct projects to Arizona. They also expressed an interest in collaborating with the state government, but they did not "feel that the Commission alone is the vehicle for doing so."[238]

Second, the matter of interstate competition did not escape the attention of outward boosters. In 1971, Chauncey received a letter identifying the "'battle' for production" Arizona had on its hands, attached to a bundle of *Variety* articles that spotlighted the efforts of states like New Mexico and Florida in "wooing" Hollywood.[239] Bob Shelton also sent similar news stories to Governor Williams, hoping that these would get his attention and start to "'build a fire under our own commission.'" Shelton did not want Arizona to stand by while other states tapped the "Golden Goose."[240] Neither did Governor Williams, who had previously assured a concerned associate of the Arizona Screen Actors' Guild, "Arizona does not intend to let the film industry be captured away from us and my office stands ready to help in any way that it can."[241]

Other boosters also emphasized the need for Arizona to level the playing field. The President of Southwest Productions in Carefree offered suggestions for the makeup of the new Commission, emphasizing that Arizona's "time is now and each day that we

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[238] Timothy Hayes to Governor Jack Williams, October 27, 1970, Box 600, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[239] B.V. Sturdivant to Tom Chauncey, September 25, 1971, Box 600, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[240] Art Ehrenstrom, "Arizona Pushed as Film Location," *Arizona Daily Star*, January 14, 1971, in Box 600, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[241] Governor Williams to Joanne Smith, December 10, 1970, Box 526, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

waste in not preparing a campaign for the state from a sales standpoint, we lose ground."[242] A member of the Arizona Screen Actors' Guild sent a memo to Arizona Senator Douglas S. Holsclaw, providing a seventeen-point list of specific services New Mexico offered to Hollywood producers. The memo ended with the charge, "Is Arizona going to sit by for the want of a little money, organization and action and permit this lucrative economy to go elsewhere, Arizona has as much if not more to offer."[243] It would be a shame, from this perspective, if Arizona lost production only for lack of effort to secure it. A positive reputation based on aggressive marketing could go a long way in convincing Hollywood to choose Arizona over its competitors.

Efforts to revamp the Commission not only reached the legislature, they also received legislative support. A 1971 press release detailed a proposal in which Representative Sam A. McConnell stressed, "'This is a competitive business, and we have got to compete with other states." In the same release, Representative Barrow also supported this proposal and urged that "we need to take some constructive steps to gain an even greater share of this clean and creative economic development for Arizona. We think the answer to realizing this potential rests in a partnership, of dollar and action, between state government and the film and hospitality industries in the state." This came with a recommendation to create the position of Motion Picture Development

[242] Thomas H. Brodek to B.V. Sturdivant, January 21, 1972, Box 652, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[243] Frank L. Kennedy to Senator Douglas S. Holsclaw, no date, Box 600, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

Coordinator within the DEPD. Fred Graham, who had recently stepped down as manager of his own Arizona-based Graham Studios, accepted this position.[244]

These gears that had been set in motion years before culminated in a "'state-wide machinery for extending full cooperation to those who wish to take advantage of our attractions and facilities."[245] On June 19, 1972, Governor Williams signed Executive Order 72-2, which provided for the creation of the Arizona Governor's Motion Picture Commission.[246] The following year, Executive Order 73-6 overrode the previous version and changed the name to the Governor's Arizona Film Commission to reflect the importance of television and other smaller projects.[247] The Order's official rationale and provisions provide concrete information regarding the Governor's understanding of the best way to attract motion pictures within the political structure of the state. E.O. 73-6 outlined three reasons for its necessity:

> WHEREAS, it is believed that through the cooperative, combined and unselfish efforts of both public and private interests in Arizona, the motion picture industry could be developed as a major sector of Arizona's economy; and

[244] Sam A. McConnell and Timothy A. Barrow, quoted in "State Government, Private Film Industry to Join in Substantial Effort to Attract Motion Picture Activity," July 2, 1971, Box 600, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[245] "Fact Sheet Press Conference Announcing Governor's Arizona Motion Picture Commission," Statement by B.V. Sturdivant, September 12, 1972, Box 652, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[246] Executive Order 72-2, "Creating the Arizona Governor's Motion Picture Commission," issued June 19, 1972, accessed June 20, 2014 at http://azmemory.azlibrary.gov/cdm/singleitem/collection/execorders/id/563/rec/9

[247] The advent and popularity of home television viewing after World War II meant that motion picture development shared its focus with this growing format. In Arizona's case, the MPDP recognized the importance of these other productions as early as 1973. See "A Commentary to the Governor's Motion Picture Commission from the Motion Picture Advisory Board," August 9, 1973, Box 698, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

> WHEREAS, the need for a team effort is recognized and that the efforts of all interests be channeled in a productive and an effective manner essential to success; and
>
> WHEREAS, it is desirable to establish an official, formal institution and procedure within the state government to accomplish these covenants;[248]

Capped at ten Governor-appointed members, the Commission would make policy recommendations, develop strategic plans, educate legislators on the advantages of motion picture activity, and review budgets.[249] The budget for the MPDP remained relatively small, but it did increase in the years leading up to E.O. 72-2 and beyond. In 1969, the Commission had no budget whatsoever.[250] In 1971, however, the Arizona legislature approved an appropriation of $50,000 to the DEPD "specifically earmarked for attracting and serving motion picture producers planning location work," and an additional $25,000 of general support.[251] For fiscal year 1973-1974, the MPDP had a budget of $78,100, decreased from $100,800 by the legislature to prevent the Commission from spending taxpayer money on advertising, but the MPDP sought to recover the discrepancy from elsewhere in the DEPD.[252]

Because of its high responsibilities, Governor Williams took the task of appointing members to the Commission and Advisory Board mindfully. Members would

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[248] Executive Order 73-6, "Creating the Arizona Governor's Film Commission," issued November 30, 1973, accessed May 11, 2014 at http://azmemory.azlibrary.gov/cdm/ref/collection/execorders/id/570

[249] Ibid.

[250] B.V. Sturdivant to Roger M. Hoskins, June 5, 1969, Box 490, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[251] Press Release, "State Government, Private Film Industry to Join in Substantial Effort to Attract Motion Picture Activity," July 2, 1971, Box 600, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[252] Frank Sackton to Governor Williams, August 28, 1973, Box 698, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

need the talent to fulfill their duties, including the ability to give a positive impression on behalf of the state of Arizona. As appointees, moreover, they directly reflected on the Governor himself, "with his 'image' the focal point of all campaigns implemented to attract additional production to Arizona."[253] Sturdivant stressed this point in a letter to Governor Williams, explaining, "The dignity of Jack Williams and your office is the most powerful thrust that we have in attainting our objective and at no time can it be treated in a cavalier fashion."[254] Governor Williams shared this recruitment philosophy and told the inquiring President of the Arizona Senate, William C. Jacquin, that "we need names that can impress the biggest names in the business." Actor Dick Van Dyke received an invitation to serve on the Commission, for instance, but turned it down. Media mogul Hugh Downs, however, accepted.[255]

As he campaigned to establish a full Commission, Governor Williams described it as "a top level policy clearing house for coordinating film production activities throughout the state."[256] One week earlier at a press conference, a Commission member stated that the group, "'from a membership point of view, is by far, the strongest in the nation. Those serving are not only leaders in their respective fields, but also are dedicated

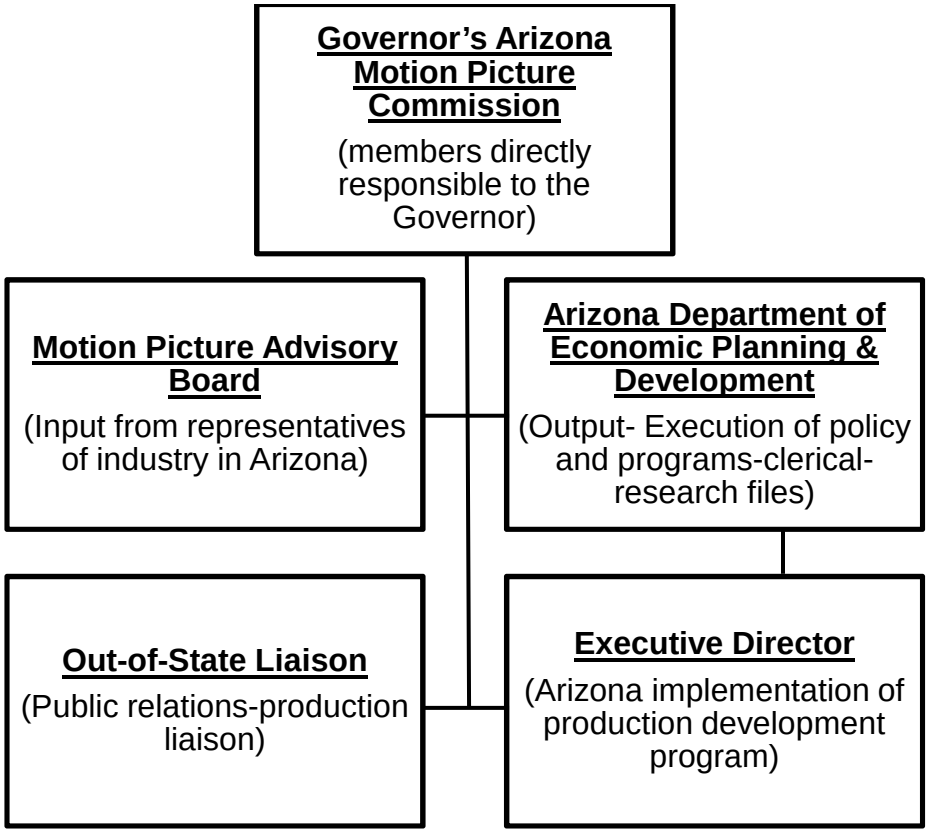
[253] Report, "Governor's Arizona Motion Picture Commission," November 27, 1972, Box 698, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[254] B.V. Sturdivant to Governor Jack Williams, December 2, 1972, Box 652, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[255] Governor Jack Williams to William C. Jacquin, September 15, 1972, Box 652, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records. Williams did not reach out specifically to Van Dyke and Downs without reason; both had strong connections and homes in Arizona. In fact, Van Dyke filmed *The New Dick Van Dyke Show* (1971-1974) in Carefree, Arizona.

[256] Governor Jack Williams to William A. Small, Jr., September 19, 1972, Box 652, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

to the proper development of Arizona.'"[257] Governor Williams later prepared a complementary report which went into greater detail about the program as a whole, the culmination of years of development and discussion regarding the best approach to securing more motion picture activity in Arizona. The report identified all ten members, now chaired by B.V. Sturdivant, who actively served in the Arizona chapter of the National Association of Theater Owners (NATO).[258] The report also identified the MPDP's organizational structure, recreated verbatim in the following chart:



[257] "Fact Sheet Press Conference Announcing Governor's Arizona Motion Picture Commission," Statement by B.V. Sturdivant, September 12, 1972, Box 652, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[258] "Profile of a NATO Leader," October 1967, Box 559, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

Bob Shelton had served on the old Commission, but he transitioned to President of the Advisory Board; in order to avoid conflicts of interest, a new provision in E.O. 73-6 barred anyone who could personally profit from motion picture activity from serving on the Commission. As the report noted, Robert G. Worden handled the duties of the Planning & Development Department's Executive Director.[259] The suggestion for a liaison made years earlier by local producers survived the drawing board, but the position remained empty for years on advice to first identify the mission, budget and benefits of the liaison position before pushing to fill it.[260] Tellingly, E.O. 73-6 retained the core structure of the Commission and Advisory Board that operated since 1940.

Under its new directives, the Commission went to work on various projects. One strategy involved creating mailing lists for *Arizona Highways* (1921-1922, 1925-), a magazine that advertises the picturesque outdoors of Arizona. Commission members reasoned that gifting annual subscriptions to Hollywood producers and executives would bring to their attention the advantages of filming in Arizona. This strategy dated back to 1969, when Sturdivant sought assistance from the DEPD, stating, "It was our unanimous belief that this highly attractive publication, dedicated to the dissemination of information relating to the beauties of our state, would have a beneficial impact in obtaining more production units for Arizona." Because "several of competitive states are implementing vigorous campaigns to attract motion picture production in their areas," Sturdivant felt

[259] Report, "Governor's Arizona Motion Picture Commission," November 27, 1972, Box 698, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[260] Frank Sackton to B.V. Sturdivant, April 19, 1973, Box 698, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

that this mailing list would keep Arizona competitive.[261] By November, 1969 the Commission had completed a list of over four hundred names that they hoped to reach in time for the Christmas issue of the magazine.[262] In 1972, the Commission continued this practice and Governor Williams sent out a welcome letter to recipients, reminding them that "this office, at all times, is eager to extend the full cooperation to you, when feasible and appropriate, in providing whatever film requirements you might have in our State."[263]

The DEPD also approved a series of advertisements created by Jennings & Thompson Advertising. For the 1972-1973 fiscal year, the campaign called for ad placement in trade publications such as *Variety* and the *Hollywood Reporter*. The first series of ads banked on the name of Fred Graham, the Motion Picture Development Coordinator in the DEPD. One ad declared, "Fred Graham likes to work with cinema people" and guaranteed "understanding, speedy, personal service" for whatever a visiting producer needed. Another ad promised, "Freddie's in town. Ask him anything about Arizona-as long as it's about the movies!" A third ad headlined, "Fred Graham asks when you want the sun to come out."[264] At heart, these advertisements offered upstanding customer service to producers and a promise that they would be met by somebody knowledgeable about their own trade. Jennings & Thompson continued their services and

[261] B.V. Sturdivant to Roger M. Hoskins, June 5, 1969, Box 490, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[262] B.V. Sturdivant to Tom Chauncey, November 21, 1969, Box 490, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[263] Governor Jack Williams to Phil Karlson, December, 1972, Box 652, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[264] Jennings & Thompson advertisement copies, Box 764, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

submitted a new advertising campaign for the 1973-1974 fiscal year. Three ads in particular challenged Arizona stereotypes that somebody must have believed Hollywood producers held. All three ads began with "Arizona isn't just …" followed by "cowboys and Indians," "desert," and "sunshine," respectively. Although the Commission requested revisions that leveraged the weight of the Governor as their primary focus, these ads do demonstrate a good faith effort to capitalize on Arizona's assets.[265]

These ads also rekindled the tension that previous boosters experienced during Arizona's early statehood. The Phoenix Chamber of Commerce, for example, used locally produced motion pictures to demonstrate Arizona's urbanization and technologization, hoping this would convince Eastern investors to bet on the state. Arizona Motion Pictures, Inc., however, contracted to produce films that emphasized the stereotypical Wild Western imagery and themes detailed in chapter two. Romaine Fielding played both sides, filming significant state events for the Chamber while producing films of his own that employed Arizona's natural landscape as a trademark of his products. Like Fielding's strategy, the Jennings & Thompson ads attempted to have it both ways, since the purpose of the ads was to attract as many Hollywood productions as possible. Thus, by using the word "just," the ads claimed that Arizona had modernized beyond its stereotypical iconography without abandoning it. That way, whether Hollywood wanted a modern or Wild Western landscape, Arizona could provide both.

The effectiveness of these ads is difficult to quantify, but activity reports shed some light on their impact. The 1973 activity report, for example, noted that the MPDP

[265] Copies attached to: B.V. Sturdivant to Governor Jack Williams, August 29, 1973, Box 698, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

had received many requests for new projects and that "approximately 100% of these inquiries has been prompted by advertising seen in the various trade papers" that ran the Jennings & Thompson ads. Encouraged, the MPDP decided to continue advertising.[266]

In addition to trade advertising, the MPDP made other publicity efforts. Governor Williams, for example, declared the first week of April, 1972 as, "Arizona Motion Picture Week." To celebrate, Governor Williams arranged a luncheon on "Arizona Motion Picture Day," an evening of screening famous films designed to "serve as an informational and entertaining day for key officials throughout the state." Although the memo listed no specific names, it did state that Hollywood figures who contributed to the motion picture clout of Arizona would attend.[267] This luncheon underscored the Governor's support and his understanding that the political powers of the state needed to know about the contributions that film made to Arizona; it also served as a public relations event by providing state officials the opportunity to extend their goodwill to some of Hollywood's upstanding members and learn more about their trade.

Of course, not all of the MPDP's activity ran smoothly. As expected from any diverse group of individuals tasked with working together as interdependent entities, several members did not get along and stirred significant controversy. In 1972, for instance, the Advisory Board submitted a report to the Commission, "highly critical of its present modus operandi." The heart of the complaint appeared to be based on the contention that it had done a poor job of advertising. The DEPD allegedly did not bother

[266] Report, "Governor's Arizona Motion Picture Commission," June 5, 1973, Box 698, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[267] Draft memo, Governor Jack Williams, William Jacquin and Timothy A. Barrow, no date, Box 764, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

seeking counsel from the Advisory Board despite their decades of combined experience and expansive networks, and motion picture projects passed through the state without any mention in local media. The report reminded the Commission that the motion picture industry "has provided an invaluable advertising, publicity and public relations impact. The image and grandeur of our magnificent state has been repeatedly projected throughout the world." The report concluded, "There exists a philosophical difference between the Governor's Motion Picture Commission and the Advisory Board concerning the state motion picture organization" and suggested merging the two together, ostensibly to make the MPDP more effective but probably also as a way for the Advisory Board to get its hands closer to the steering wheel.[268]

The report hinted that the philosophical difference stemmed from a gap between the private market and government. The report suggested that the members of the Advisory Board conceived of their roles akin to running a business, which meant aggressive marketing and publicity, annually spending "thousands of dollars to attract the film business as a matter of private enterprise." By this "trial and error" method at personal expense, the Board members argued that they had learned the most effective means of promoting the state to the film industry; Arizona's filmic presence could be much greater if only the Board were more involved.[269] The implication here is the ignorance of the government side of the MPDP.

[268] "A Commentary to the Governor's Motion Picture Commission from the Motion Picture Advisory Board," August 9, 1973, Box 698, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[269] Ibid.

Reacting in frustration to the report, Governor Williams told his special assistant Frank Sackton, "This boil continues to grow," and asked him to review the report and make suggestions on what to do about it. Sackton subsequently advised Governor Williams that he found the report "not of much value," "internally inconsistent and written with disregard to fact." According to Sackton, the report grossly overstated the value of the motion picture industry to Arizona, relying on "'words of art' rather than hard statistics." For Sackton, $10 million in revenue generated annually by motion picture activity constituted "such small return" for the claims the Advisory Board made about Arizona's potential.[270] Whether $10 million counted as a "small return" is in some sense a matter of perspective, but Sackton did accurately point out that the onus should have fallen to the Advisory Board on proving the merits of their recommendations. The Board clearly wanted more action, but Sackton believed that the Commission needed to appropriately scale its efforts, a small investment to match the small return. Although it did not do so, the Board could have easily countered that Arizona's film industry was small precisely because the Commission put in so little effort, thus creating an accusatory vicious circle. Like the tension between overcoming and preserving Arizona's stereotypical imagery, this exchange demonstrates that boosterism took many different forms. Even within the same state program, its members disagreed about the best way to attract the film business to Arizona.

Despite such troubles, the MPDP produced many positive results and became a personal highlight for Governor Williams. In his final year in office, he reflected, "One of

[270] Frank Sackton to Governor Williams, August 28, 1973, Box 698, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

the most rewarding aspects of my eight-year tenure as Governor has been the development of a better rapport between the State of Arizona and the Film Industry."[271]

When Governor Castro took office in 1975, he took initiatives to continue the MPDP. In a letter to Bob Shelton, Governor Castro relayed that he had visited Hollywood, where a manager at Universal Studios advised him that "if Arizona wants to be in the 'movie industry ball game', it would be essential that strenuous efforts be made to establish communication with top management of the movie industry in the Hollywood area." Governor Castro wanted to "revamp the current film industry commission," which would require the assistance of private industry because the state would provide no funding for marketing.[272] To Shelton, Governor Castro's personal visit spoke volumes for how Hollywood producers perceived the value that Arizona placed on their industry. "As sophisticated as Hollywood people appear to be," he noted, "they are nonetheless impressed with the fact that the Chief Executive Officer of a state the size of Arizona pays a visit."[273] If Arizona kept courting Hollywood, they would continue to respond.

On December 14, 1976 Governor Castro issued Executive Order 76-11, which created the Arizona Governor's Motion Picture and Advisory Board.[274] E.O. 76-11

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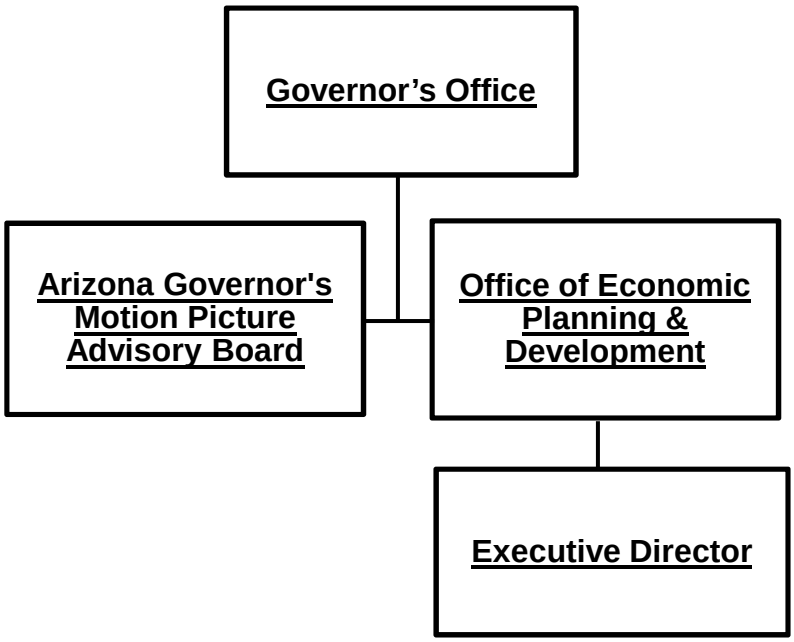
[271] Governor Jack Williams to John Doe, no date, Box 764, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[272] Governor Raul Castro to Bob Shelton, May 13, 1975, Box 32, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[273] Bob Shelton to Governor Raul Castro, May 2, 1975, Box 32, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[274] Executive Order 76-11, "Creating the Arizona Governor's Motion Picture and Advisory Board," issued December 14, 1976, accessed May 19, 2014 at http://azmemory.azlibrary.gov/cdm/ref/collection/execorders/id/609. The following year, Executive Order 77-11 made minimal amendments to E.O. 76- 11, eliminating the specified number of board members and the minimum requirements for establishing a quorum at their meetings. See Executive Order 77-11,

superseded the version that Governor Williams authorized and Governor Castro personally accredited this decision to his belief that "the motion picture and television industry is a major contributor to the economy of the state of Arizona."[275] In effect, E.O. 76-11 retained the spirit of its predecessors, but it also made revisions. The new Advisory Board essentially absorbed the duties of the old Commission, which is not mentioned in the Order. The Hollywood liaison position also disappeared. The Advisory Board's relationship to the Office of Economic Planning and Development (OEPD)[276] remained the same. Under E.O. 76-11, the modified organizational structure looked like this:



"Creating the Arizona Governor's Motion Picture and Advisory Board," issued January 17th, 1977, accessed May 20, 2014 at http://azmemory.azlibrary.gov/cdm/ref/collection/execorders/id/512

[275] Governor Raul Castro to Arthur Loew, Jr., January 12, 1977, Box 161, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[276] At some point during Governor Williams's tenure, this entity received a name change from "Department" to "Office." The remaining narrative will conform to this change.

One the same day he issued E.O. 76-11, Governor Castro held the "first statewide conference on Economic Development and the Motion Picture Industry." Here Governor Castro formally announced his intentions to continue the MPDP as a significant contributor to the economy, and outlined his vision for new innovations. He encouraged a "sharing of ideas" that would "set the stage for closer and more effective communication and cooperation" between all parties involved in economic development.[277] To that end, only eleven people sat on his Advisory Board, slashed from the thirty-three who served on its counterpart under Governor Williams. Only three people, including Shelton, retained their positions.[278] This concern for efficient downsizing places the elimination of two bodies by E.O. 76-11 in better perspective.

Governor Castro also considered Arizona particularly prepared for a surge in economic growth. At the time the state enjoyed low unemployment, a high growth rate and no debt. He estimated that Hollywood production spent $25 million in the last decade and he wanted even bigger numbers. Still, with all of these advantages and optimism, Governor Castro also knew that Arizona had to remain vigilant in order to maintain positive relationships and forge new ones. He cautioned his audience that "being leaders doesn't make our jobs any easier. It's a tough challenge to maintain our leadership, especially since we have 49 other states trying to overtake our leadership role." To instill

[277] Governor Raul Castro, "Welcome to Economic Development and Motion Picture Conference," December 14, 1976, Box 84, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[278] Derived from a comparison of two rosters. See "The Arizona Governor's Motion Picture and Advisory Board Members Mailing List, January 3, 1977, Box 161, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records, and "Arizona Motion Picture Advisory Board," no date, Box 764, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

confidence, Governor Castro wanted everyone "assured of my continuing deep interest in motion picture development, and in economic development, and in all programs which further these two goals. Your efforts have my full support and backing."[279]

Because Governor Castro understood how much competition Arizona still faced in this endeavor, he further solicited help from other state institutions and asked if he could count on them to serve as goodwill ambassadors for visiting producers. In a memo addressed to the directors of various state agencies, for example, Governor Castro pointed out that motion pictures brought in millions of dollars into the economy every year and that his personal visits with Hollywood producers encouraged him that they all viewed Arizona fondly. Using this as a foundation, Governor Castro asked his agency directors to assist in making the industry grow.[280] In an address to the newly appointed members of the Advisory Board, Castro reminded them that he wanted Arizona to remain a contender in attracting Hollywood productions, but that other states "are also courting this industry for the same reasons. As the competition for the movie dollar grows, so must our efforts if we are to remain competitive." To Governor Castro, this required collaboration between government and private enterprise. "Working together," he reasoned," I know we can and will develop the motion picture … industry as a major contributor to the economy of Arizona."[281]

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[279] Governor Raul Castro, "Welcome to Economic Development and Motion Picture Conference," December 14, 1976, Box 84, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[280] Governor Castro to "All Agency Heads and Directors," no date, Box 161, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[281] Address by Governor Raul Castro to Arizona Governor's Motion Picture and Advisory Board, January 31, 1977, Box 161, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

Even before Governor Castro issued E.O. 76-11, he acted on ways to attract more production to the state. He continued the practice of mailing out free subscriptions of *Arizona Highways*, for example, to those considered viable contacts for future production. By this time, the MPDP had sent out subscriptions for five years and observed that "we receive many favorable remarks about the magazine when producers come here to film." Even though the mission of *Arizona Highways* was never explicitly to promote Arizona as a filming location, the MPDP knew that it could easily lend itself to this auxiliary purpose. This technique did go through some changes as well. In 1975, the MPDP cut the mailing list by about one hundred names after an evaluation revealed "that there were many people on the old list that were not good prospects for Arizona."[282] A shorter list, therefore, would allow the MPDP to focus better attention on more promising projects and develop those relationships even deeper.

Governor Castro also endorsed a successful MPDP request for grant money from the Four Corners Regional Commission to print 6,000 copies of a brochure titled, "Film in Arizona." Because, "The motion picture promotion business is highly competitive and highly lucrative and requires promotion of the highest caliber," the MPDP felt that such a brochure would allow Arizona to "up-grade its salesmanship efforts by developing more effective sales tools," and educate Hollywood producers on the state's entire scenic landscape.[283]

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[282] Bill Kane to Brent Brown, December 18, 1975, Box 32, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[283] Keith M. Dotson, "Evaluation of Incoming Proposal Technical Assistance and Demonstration Projects," November 15, 1976, Box 84, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

Correspondence to the Governor's Office demonstrated the positive response toward the MPDP's personable customer service. Hal Wallis, for example, traveled to Arizona to scout locations for an upcoming Universal Studios production starring John Wayne. He wrote to Governor Castro to thank him for the help he received from Fred Graham and Bill MacCallum, noting, "I felt I should write to tell you what a pleasurable experience it was and how efficiently and professionally these two gentlemen conducted themselves."[284] Sheldon Schrager, an associate producer from Columbia Pictures also showered Arizona with praise. He had previously shot four motion pictures in Arizona to great satisfaction and, "This one was even better." To Graham and MacCallum's credit, Schrager testified to the "overwhelming amount of cooperation we have received in your State … all that was necessary was one telephone call to achieve any necessary help." Schrager concluded his letter by stating, "You can be sure that I will endeavor to bring another picture to your great State as soon as possible."[285] Another producer, Ranveer Singh, also singled out Graham and MacCallum as instrumental to a successful production. Singh reflected, "Their hospitality and guidance is heartening and we feel encouraged to come out to Arizona to make our movie."[286]

On some level, the MPDP extended basic courtesies, but these gestures developed a reputation that hit a chord with Hollywood producers who, like anyone else, just wanted to do their jobs with the fewest possible complications. One letter from a First Artists

[284] Hal Wallis to Governor Raul Castro, June 30, 1975, Box 32, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[285] Sheldon Schrager to Governor Raul Castro, April 1, 1975, Box 32, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[286] Ranveer Singh to Governor Raul Castro, March 14, 1975, Box 32, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

Production producer, Howard B. Pine, demonstrated the importance of a personal connection. Addressing his letter to the Arizona Department of Revenue, Pine felt cheated by the state for having to pay sales tax on event tickets handled by Arizona State University. Whether or not his penny-pinching on a matter not directly related to the film industry was justified, Pine mentioned his studio's plans to film another motion picture in Arizona, but "the only reason we are there is because of the personal efforts of Mr. William McCallum [sic] of your Film Commission. If it were not for Mr. McCallum's personal relationship with me, the current picture would be in another state."[287]

Governor Castro himself made efforts to establish such connections. In 1977, the state of Arizona organized a reception at Chasen's Restaurant in Los Angeles, California. Personally attended by Governor Castro, the reception hosted a number of Hollywood stars, producers and executives. Governor Castro spoke with actors Clint Eastwood and Paul Newman, later thanking them for attending. To Newman, he "welcomed the opportunity to meet and come to know the people who have made their careers in this industry."[288] Flattering Eastwood, Governor Castro wrote that he appreciated the wisdom from such a "major influence" who took the time to discuss the industry with him.[289] Later that year, Eastwood personally wrote to Governor Castro and thanked him for the MPDP's help while filming *Gauntlet* (1977) in Phoenix. Governor Castro's schedule precluded a visit during filming, but his wife Pat made it out to the set, a gesture that

[287] Howard B. Pine to Robert Valenzuela, May 12, 1977, Box 161, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[288] Governor Raul Castro to Paul Newman, April 1, 1977, Box 161, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[289] Governor Raul Castro to Clint Eastwood, draft, no date, Box 161, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

Eastwood took to heart. His letter concluded, "We feel that we made a wise choice in selecting Arizona … Many thanks to you and all of the people who made our stay a very pleasant experience.[290]

An open letter from Governor Castro addressed to the motion picture industry best encapsulates the MPDP under his administration: "You are always welcome in Arizona! … I can assure you of the full cooperation of my office and all state agencies."[291] Just a few months before Governor Castro left office, MacCallum gave him special attention, stating, "'It's a million dollar plus to be able to count on this type of support. In itself, the Governor's personal involvement and leadership has done a great deal to resolve any doubts or hesitancies the studios might have had in the past concerning Arizona's interest in filmmaking activities.'"[292]

Records for subsequent governors are sparse, but available sources do provide information on motion picture activity in the following decades. After Governor Castro left office, new executive orders kept the MPDP active in some form or another. In 1985, Governor Bruce Babbitt officially changed the name to the Arizona Governor's Motion Picture and Television Advisory Board, and designated the Department of Commerce as the Board's partner.[293] Governor Fife Symington issued two executive orders in 1991 and

[290] Clint Eastwood to Governor Raul Castro, June 17, 1977, Box 161, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[291] Governor Raul Castro to "The Motion Picture and Television Industry," no date, Box 161, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

[292] "Past Year Was Good, Next Year Looks Better," *Call Sheet*, The Arizona Motion Picture Development Program, Office of Economic Planning and Development, Office of the Governor, July 1977, 1.

[293] Executive Order 85-10, issued May 30, 1985, accessed May 19, 2014 at http://azmemory.azlibrary.gov/cdm/ref/collection/execorders/id/293

1992, respectively, that endowed the Governor with the authority to name up to twenty-five people to serve on the Motion Picture and Television Advisory Committee, conceptually a clone of the Advisory Board under Governor Williams.[294]

The MPDP also published a monthly newsletter titled *Call Sheet* that highlighted local motion picture activity. These publications, spanning from 1977-1992, revealed that Arizona experienced many great years of production and continued in its promotional efforts. The MPDP published the first issue in January, 1977, primarily "intended to be a review of film activities in our state."[295] Subsequent issues reveal that Arizona's governors continued to support film production. Governor Wesley Bolin, for example, offered a "hearty welcome" to Columbia Pictures for its on-location filming of *A Fire in the Sky* (1978), a disaster film in which a comet destroys Phoenix.[296] The same year, Governor Babbitt visited Old Tucson to welcome a Warner Brothers crew filming *The New Maverick* (1978), mentioning the "millions of dollars in new revenue" brought by filmmaking.[297]

The hard numbers provided by the United States Bureau of Economic Analysis and issues of *Call Sheet* show an upward economic trajectory. In calculating the gross

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[294] Executive Order 91-19, "Creating the Arizona Governor's Motion Picture and Television Board," issued October 28, 1991, accessed May 19, 2014 at http://azmemory.azlibrary.gov/cdm/ref/collection/execorders/id/102; Executive Order 92-9, "Creating the Arizona Governor's Motion Picture and Television Board," issued March 23, 1992, accessed May 19, 2014 at http://azmemory.azlibrary.gov/cdm/ref/collection/execorders/id/118

[295] "Call Sheet," *Call Sheet*, The Arizona Motion Picture Development Program, Office of Economic Planning and Development, Office of the Governor, January- February, 1977, 1.

[296] No title, *Call Sheet*, The Arizona Motion Picture Development Program, Office of Economic Planning and Development, Office of the Governor, February, 1978, 1.

[297] No title, *Call Sheet*, The Arizona Motion Picture Development Program, Office of Economic Planning and Development, Office of the Governor, April-May, 1978, 1.

domestic product (GDP) of Arizona's motion picture industry, the Bureau's numbers indicate that the oft-referenced millions of dollars captured by Arizona's motion picture industry remained in the single digits until 1972, the same year Governor Williams issued E.O. 72-2.[298] *Call Sheet* began tracking estimated revenue in 1976 and must have used different metrics, for these numbers were consistently lower than what the Bureau provided. Two specific details can account for much of the discrepancy. First, *Call Sheet*'s estimates did not include the multiplier effect, which would have included all the complementary services provided to visiting production crews by other industries. Second, *Call Sheet* did not count local industry expenditures, only out-of-state production. So while the Bureau estimated Arizona's motion picture contribution to the GDP in 1976 and 1977 as $16 million and $17 million, respectively,[299] *Call Sheet* only reported $4.25 million and $5 million.[300]

Since the governor's records indicate that the MPDP focused much of its attention in attracting Hollywood studios, *Call Sheet*'s numbers will be used as a more accurate idea of its effectiveness. The MPDP's reported numbers continued to increase, to $8.6 million in 1979 and $13.8 million for 1980.[301] *Call Sheet* reported an "industry-wide slump" that caused a drop in revenue to $7 million in 1981, but it bounced back to over

[298] "Regional Data, Gross Domestic Product by State: Motion Pictures," United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, accessed June 15, 2014 at http://www.bea.gov/iTable/iTable.cfm?reqid=70&step=1&isuri=1&acrdn=1#reqid=70&step=10&isuri=1&7003=200&7035=-1&7004=sic&7005=63&7006=04000&7036=-1&7001=1200&7002=1&7090=70&7007=-1&7093=levels

[299] Ibid.

[300] "Past Year Was Good, Next Year Looks Better," *Call Sheet*, The Arizona Motion Picture Development Program, Office of Economic Planning and Development, Office of the Governor, July, 1977, 1-2.

[301] "'80' Production Income Up in Arizona," *Call Sheet*, The Arizona Motion Picture Development Program, Office of Economic Planning and Development, Office of the Governor, February, 1981, 1.

$13 million in 1982,[302] $16 million in 1983,[303] $27 million in 1984[304] and over $30 million in 1985. *Call Sheet* attributed 1985's success to producers discovering previously underutilized areas of the state.[305] A 1988 issue reported $27 million in revenue for 1987 and noted that this represented an 8.5% increase, which puts the 1986 figure at close to $25 million.[306] Reported revenue jumped again to $31 million for 1988[307] and nearly $35 million in 1989.[308] A slight dip in 1990 sent revenue down to $32 million,[309] but it skyrocketed in 1991 to $50 million.[310] For context, the Bureau estimated the total GDP

[302] "Production $$ Up in Arizona," *Call Sheet*, The Arizona Motion Picture Development Program, Office of Economic Planning and Development, Office of the Governor, January, 1983, 1.

[303] "Arizona's Film Fortunes Leap During 1983," *Call Sheet*, The Arizona Motion Picture Development Program, Office of Economic Planning and Development, Office of the Governor, November- December, 1983, 1.

[304] "Production Rings Arizona's Cash Registers-To the Tune of $27 Million," *Call Sheet*, The Arizona Motion Picture Development Program, Office of Economic Planning and Development, Office of the Governor, July- August, 1984, 1.

[305] "1985 Record Year in Arizona," *Call Sheet*, The Arizona Motion Picture Development Program, Office of Economic Planning and Development, Office of the Governor, November- December, 1985, 1.

[306] "Production $$$, Projects on Upswing for 1987," *Call Sheet*, The Arizona Motion Picture Development Program, Office of Economic Planning and Development, Office of the Governor, January- February, 1988, 1.

[307] "Motion Picture Office Releases Fiscal Year Report-Production Up," *Call Sheet*, The Arizona Motion Picture Development Program, Office of Economic Planning and Development, Office of the Governor, Summer, 1988, 1.

[308] "Fortunes Soar in Arizona," *Call Sheet*, The Arizona Motion Picture Development Program, Office of Economic Planning and Development, Office of the Governor, Winter, 1990, 1.

[309] "Film/TV Production $32 Million Industry During '90, Brings $15 Million 1st Quarter Of '91," *Call Sheet*, The Arizona Motion Picture Development Program, Office of Economic Planning and Development, Office of the Governor, Spring, 1991, 1.

[310] "Young Riders, Vagrant, Iron Eagle, Arrowtooth, Universal Soldier Help Push Film Revenues Towards $50 Million," *Call Sheet*, The Arizona Motion Picture Development Program, Office of Economic Planning and Development, Office of the Governor, Fall, 1991, 1.

for all of Arizona in 1991 at $73 billion.[311] Even with the Bureau's more generous figure of $75 million for motion picture production, the overall impact is admittedly miniscule.

This raises the question of why the boosters of the MPDP spent so much energy for such "small return," as Sackton had objected. While it is not possible to entirely understand their thought process, boosters clearly held special interests in motion pictures, particularly the members of the Advisory Board, who worked directly in the industry. These boosters also seemed to quarantine the motion picture industry. As Bob Shelton once told Tom Chauncey, "I am not interested in mining, lumber companies or grape growers. As far as I am concerned they do nothing to nationally or internationally promote our State, nor do they by the nature of their business attract tourist dollars to Arizona."[312] By this logic, motion pictures provided the state with the intangible benefit of advertising for Arizona, in addition to whatever revenue they generated. By disregarding other industries, boosters could more easily point out that motion picture revenues grew every year, thus validating their efforts. The total economic contribution of motion pictures may have been relatively small, but it was large by its own standards.

Most importantly, however, was the image boosters wanted to create. Their end goal may have been money, but they could not buy a reputation for Arizona. That had to be earned through a careful understanding of the industry's needs and a well-organized system to deliver on the services they offered to meet these needs. The image had to

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[311] Regional Data, Gross Domestic Product by State: All industry total," United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, accessed June 15, 2014 at http://www.bea.gov/iTable/iTable.cfm?reqid=70&step=1&isuri=1&acrdn=1#reqid=70&step=10&isuri=1&7003=200&7035=-1&7004=sic&7005=1&7006=04000&7036=-1&7001=1200&7002=1&7090=70&7007=-1&7093=levels

[312] Bob Shelton to Tom Chauncey, March 29, 1971, Box 600, Office of the Governor, RG 1, History and Archives Division, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

come before the revenue, and the fragility of reputation required them to constantly maintain it. One slip in the wrong direction could undo years of work.

So the boosting continued. By the end of 1983, Governor Babbitt's Advisory Board felt, "Arizona's fortunes have improved dramatically" in securing more production. The Board's chairman, Arthur Loew, who served since Governor Castro, subsequently launched plans to organize the Arizona Film Cineposium, a "'forum for an exchange of ideas and information between Arizona community, government and business leaders and the film and television industry.'"[313] The Board set a January date for the debut Cineposium and chose Tucson as the host city. Loew originally conceived of the Cineposium as a singular event, but popular demand prompted him to organize a second event for 1986 in Flagstaff.[314]

In 1992, *Call Sheet* reported a breakthrough. Governor Symington signed a bill that gave production companies a fifty percent state tax rebate on qualified expenditures. MacCallum noted the law as the "first Arizona legislation passed in over 20 years benefiting film production," and stated that the MPDP had many more planned.[315] As with the first revamping of the MPDP under Governor Williams, this new effort to attract production came from the worry of runaway production, this time to Canada. The

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[313] "Advisory Board to Sponsor Statewide 'Cineposium,'" *Call Sheet*, The Arizona Motion Picture Development Program, Office of Economic Planning and Development, Office of the Governor, September- October, 1983, 1.

[314] "Governor's Advisory Board to Present 2nd 'Cineposium,'" *Call Sheet*, The Arizona Motion Picture Development Program, Office of Economic Planning and Development, Office of the Governor, March-April, 1986, 1.

[315] "State Offers Tax Relief to Lure Film Production," *Call Sheet*, The Arizona Motion Picture Development Program, Office of Economic Planning and Development, Office of the Governor, Fall, 1992, 1.

Canadian pull gained traction starting around 1990 and continued for the rest of the decade. In 1998, Canada's incentives, combined with a favorable exchange rate and lower overall production costs, could have cut studios' costs by forty percent.[316] Not much information is available on the impact of this specific piece of Arizona legislation, but it did conceptually pave the way for a new incentive in 2005, Arizona's latest and final successful legislative attempt to entice Hollywood production.

To help explain the desire for a new incentive, severe budget cuts beginning in the early 2000s threatened to cripple the MPDP. In 2001, the Arizona Film Commission had a budget appropriation of $640,000 but the Arizona Senate moved to reduce it by $50,000. Senator Toni Hellon objected to the proposal, arguing that Arizona needed a strong central film office in order to keep projects coming in.[317] The budget did remain intact that year, but in 2002 the legislature cut it to $306,400 and reduced the staff from six to three.[318] The year also marked the departure of Linda Peterson Warren, who served as Director of the Commission since 1994 after MacCallum's retirement. Creating further problems, Warren's position remained empty and a 2003 Performance Audit submitted by the Auditor General recommended eliminating the Commission entirely, reasoning that its services were superfluous.[319] The legislature did not act on this recommendation and Robert Detweiler, a long-time employee of the Arizona Department of Commerce,

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[316] Angela Mull, "State Losing Film Projects," *Business Journal*, August 14, 1998, 1.

[317] Anne Robertson, "Lights, Camera, Cutbacks," *Business Journal*, December 14, 2001, 3.

[318] Anne Robertson, "State Film Commissioner Steps Down After 8 Years," *Business Journal*, November 22, 2002, 4.

[319] Debra K. Davenport, "Performance Audit: Arizona Department of Commerce," September, 2003, 21, accessed June 15, 2014 at http://azmemory.azlibrary.gov/cdm/compoundobject/collection/statepubs/id/19284/rec/1

took over in February, 2004. He left for another job in New Mexico, however, three months later. In that year, the Commission's budget had declined to $291,000.[320] Barry Kluger, who had a background in public relations, took over in 2005.[321]

Compounding this diminishing of resources, runaway production continued to force boosters to rethink Arizona's position on the global market for production. An independent report released in 2004 by the ESI Corporation, an Arizona-based real estate and economic development consultation firm, showed that local employment in motion pictures fell by over a quarter since 2000, indicating that far fewer productions came to the Arizona during this time. The report also pointed to Mexico, Canada and New Zealand as cheaper places to film, which, similar to the 1950s and 1990s, created rivalries between the states to bring these projects back.[322] Boosters recognized that they could not rely on Arizona's natural assets alone to bring in production. The deputy director of Arizona's Commerce Department acknowledged, "'In a perfect world, it would be great if folks made a decision to film in Arizona based on sheer beauty and reputation for fine weather, but unfortunately that's not enough anymore.'"[323] Warren put it more succinctly: "'Money talks.'"[324] As the ESI report noted, "The Arizona Film and Video Industry is at

[320] Mike Sunnucks and Ruben Hernandez, "State Film Office Director Quits to Take Post in New Mexico," *Business Journal*, April 30, 2004, 3.

[321] "About Kluger Media Group/ KMG Impact," Kluger Media Group, accessed May 20, 2014 at http://www.barrykluger.com/BarryKluger/Barry_Kluger.html

[322] "Analysis of the Film and Video Industry in Arizona, ESI Corporation, December, 2004, 3, accessed May 18, 2014 at http://azmemory.azlibrary.gov/cdm/singleitem/collection/statepubs/id/811/rec/1

[323] "Lights! Camera!: Our Stand: But No Action, and Arizona Should Offer Incentives to Lure Hollywood Filmmakers," *Arizona Republic*, December 24, 2004, B.8.

[324] Riccardo A. Davis, "State Reels In $99 Million from Films, Ads, TV Movies," *Arizona Republic*, September 30, 1999, D.1.

a crossroads," as it faced three challenges that kept production away: "lack of resources to thoroughly support and promote the state, lack of incentives, and lack of facilities and professional technicians."[325]

Two major solutions to these problems took form in 2005. First, Governor Janet Napolitano created by executive order the Arizona Governor's Film and Television Commission.[326] The Commission fulfilled the essential duties of its predecessors, and began to address the problem of underdeveloped professionalism by "working with Arizona's community colleges, apprenticeship programs, universities and private institutions."[327] Hiring local labor is sometimes cheaper for Hollywood productions (e.g. lower wages, local workers do not require hotel accommodations), so bolstering film programs would increase the chances that Hollywood crews could hire enough Arizonans with the necessary skills. Without this element, a production crew might look elsewhere.

Second, a tax incentive law, A.R.S. § 41-1517, went into effect January 1, 2006. Lasting through 2010, this incentive (known as MOPIC) essentially gave motion picture companies a tax credit on qualified production expenditures, provided they also met certain additional conditions. Applicants, for example, needed to prove that motion picture making constituted their primary business function and spend a minimum of $250,000 in-state during a single twelve-month cycle. MOPIC also mandated local hiring

[325] "Analysis of the Film and Video Industry in Arizona, ESI Corporation, December, 2004, 4, accessed May 18, 2014 at http://azmemory.azlibrary.gov/cdm/singleitem/collection/statepubs/id/811/rec/1

[326] Executive Order 2005-003, "Creating the Arizona Governor's Film and Television Commission," issued February 2, 2005, accessed May 19, 2014 at http://azmemory.azlibrary.gov/cdm/ref/collection/execorders/id/466

[327] Annual Report, Arizona Department of Commerce, Fiscal Year 2006, 20, accessed May 17, 2014 at http://azmemory.azlibrary.gov/cdm/compoundobject/collection/statepubs/id/2193/rec/7

quotas. For 2006, Arizona residents must have constituted a quarter of a production crew's full-time employees. This quota increased to half for 2008. MOPIC also capped total credits at $30 million in 2006, which increased to $70 million for 2010. MOPIC set no limits on the number of productions an individual company could apply for, but no single production could receive more than $5 million in credits. The designated State Film Office of the Arizona Department of Commerce[328] (ADOC) reserved the authority to approve or reject applications pursuant to stated criteria.[329] A 2007 revision to MOPIC provided "an income tax credit for motion picture infrastructure."[330]

Senator Toni Hellon had sponsored the bill, explaining that it was meant to bring back Hollywood production, delivering in the process a quintessential example of outward boosterism mentality: "They just leave their money here and they go home."[331] Yet, the hiring mandates and the additional incentive for infrastructure also emphasized inward boosterism in the sense that Hollywood visits created jobs. Enough incoming projects would provide local workers with a steady stream of employment and prevent "brain drain." As professor Gary Edgerton noted, "The boosterism of the most successful film bureaus also extends to taking an active role in the development of a skilled

[328] In 2010, by executive order, Governor Janice K. Brewer semi-privatized the organization and changed it to the Arizona Commerce Authority (ACA) The 2010 motion picture incentives application forms instructs applicants to submit their paperwork to the ACA.

[329] "2005 Arizona Revised Statutes - Revised Statutes §41-1517 Motion Picture Production Tax Incentives; Duties; Definitions," Justia, accessed May 16, 2014 at http://law.justia.com/codes/arizona/2005/title41/01517.html

[330] SB 1049 Motion Picture Production Tax Credits, Arizona House of Representatives, accessed May 20, 2014 at http://azfilmandmedia.org/images/july_2010/SB1409%20-%20492R%20-%20House%20Bill%20Summary.pdf

[331] Daniel Raven, "Film Starring Jamie Foxx is 1st to Use New Tax Incentive in AZ," *Arizona Capitol Times*, July 21, 2006, 1.

infrastructure for production purposes in their immediate environs."[332] Thus, MOPIC created a hybrid boosterism that attempted to attract Hollywood using local industry resources.

Beginning in 2006, ADOC's annual reports included a small section on MOPIC, which provided a sense of the program's performance. The 2006 annual report stated that ADOC preapproved twenty-nine productions in six months and estimated that this would generate $205 million in spending. The report also made much of the fact that Universal Studios shot *The Kingdom* (2007) primarily in Arizona. With in-state expenditures totaling $30 million, it represented the biggest production Arizona had seen in the last decade.[333] The *Arizona Capitol Times* took notice as well, quoting the production's executive producer as choosing Arizona specifically to take advantage of the new incentive.[334] In 2007 ADOC received forty-eight applications, and preapproved twenty-eight for an estimated $237 in spending.[335] For 2008, the applications rose to sixty-nine, and preapprovals set at twenty-three.[336] Finally, in 2009 ADOC received fifty-three applications, twenty-three of which it preapproved.[337] MOPIC, of course, represented just

[332] Edgerton, "The Film Bureau Phenomenon," 42.

[333] Annual Report, Arizona Department of Commerce, Fiscal Year 2006, 33, accessed June 15, 2014 at http://azmemory.azlibrary.gov/cdm/compoundobject/collection/statepubs/id/2193/rec/7

[334] Daniel Raven, "Film Starring Jamie Foxx is 1st to Use New Tax Incentive in AZ," *Arizona Capitol Times*, July 21, 2006, 1.

[335] Annual Report, Arizona Department of Commerce, Fiscal Year 2007, 24, accessed June 15, 2014 at http://azmemory.azlibrary.gov/cdm/compoundobject/collection/statepubs/id/2193/rec/7

[336] Annual Report, Arizona Department of Commerce, Fiscal Year 2008, 10, accessed June 15, 2014 at http://azmemory.azlibrary.gov/cdm/compoundobject/collection/statepubs/id/2193/rec/7

[337] Annual Report, Arizona Department of Commerce, Fiscal Year 2009, 13, accessed June 15, 2014 at http://azmemory.azlibrary.gov/cdm/compoundobject/collection/statepubs/id/2193/rec/7

one part of Arizona's total motion picture activity, but these numbers illustrate that the program increased in popularity and attracted nearly two hundred projects.

Despite MOPIC's apparent success, the sun set for the program in 2010. In a time of economic recession, the legislature decided to send MOPIC to its grave using two giant nails for the coffin: metrics and money. As Edgerton noted, "Since all of these [film] offices are funded by government monies, supporting data are generally required as a means for either establishing a brand new bureau, or justifying substantive budgetary increases after several years of operation. As a result, self-study or outside documentation are the ways by which a commission can establish its reasons to be."[338] This always poses a risk for programs with built-in sunset audits. As a *Variety* article accurately pointed out, "Incentives can change on a dime, often subject to the whims of a state's political party when power changes hands."[339] Likewise, the Screen Actors' Guild warned, "It is important to remember that due to legislature schedules, funding allotments and changes in state revenues, state incentive information is subject to change rapidly."[340] When Arizona experienced statewide economic change and a new governor assumed office, MOPIC did not survive the resulting scrutiny.

Based partly on annual reports submitted by ADOC, the state ultimately concluded that MOPIC failed to generate enough revenue to justify the costs of operating it. To challenge this conclusion, the Arizona Production Association, a nonprofit

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[338] Edgerton, "The Film Bureau Phenomenon," 43.

[339] Peter Caranicas and Rachel Abrams, "Runaway Production: The United States of Tax Incentives," *Variety*, August 26, 2013, accessed May 2, 2014 at http://variety.com/2013/biz/news/runaway-production-the-united-states-of-tax-incentives-1200589317/

[340] "State Film Incentives," Screen Actors Guild-American Federation of Television and Radio Artists, accessed May 10, 2014 at http://www.sagaftra.org/state-film-incentives

organization promoting local media activity, commissioned ESI to evaluate ADOC's 2008 Annual Report, which included an analysis of MOPIC. The ESI concluded that the ADOC report "unfairly mischaracterizes the contributions and magnitude of film production in the State of Arizona" by isolating MOPIC rather than investigating its collective impact on the industry as a whole.[341] Among other findings, ESI specifically reprimanded the "omission of nonqualified Arizona expenditures from the economic impact analysis."[342] Phillip Bradstock, Director of the Phoenix Film Office, also noted the difficulty in accounting for invisible expenditures. Crew members receive per diems, for example, and often bring their families to visit during production. Since tracking this information is impossible to capture, it does not exist on paper and thus does not enter the equation.[343]

The ESI report also criticized ADOC for using metrics that did not account for the program's purpose: "The ADOC uses the net fiscal impact on the State's general fund as the primary metric when evaluating the value of the MOPIC program…. Importantly, the MOPIC program was *not* designed with the intention of providing a dollar for dollar return to the general fund."[344] In a complementary "highlights" sheet, ESI argued to keep MOPIC because, "The discontinuance of Arizona's MOPIC program would not only induce immediate and significant negative impacts on the local film industry, but would

[341] "Impact of the MOPIC Program and Film and Multi-Media Production in Arizona-2009," ESI Corporation, July, 2009, 6, accessed June 15, 2014 at http://www.azproduction.com/files/2813/8377/7452/FINAL_MOPIC_Report_7_24_091.pdf

[342] Ibid, 1.

[343] Phillip Bradstock, interview by Ryan Ehrfurth, Phoenix, Arizona, February 19, 2014.

[344] "Impact of the MOPIC Program and Film and Multi-Media Production in Arizona-2009, ESI Corporation, July, 2009, 1-2, accessed June 15, 2014 at http://www.azproduction.com/files/2813/8377/7452/FINAL_MOPIC_Report_7_24_091.pdf

effectively render Arizona uncompetitive in this area of business attraction."[345] All of which would give Arizona a poor image in Hollywood's eyes.

Other than cost considerations, MOPIC also had its share of flaws and accountability issues. Former Director of the Arizona Film Office, Harry Tate, once quipped there is no "one and done" when it comes to policy. MOPIC did not charge an application fee, for example, creating a low barrier for entry. Tate always believed that MOPIC should have cost something to the applicant in order to ensure that only serious projects made it to ADOC's desk. MOPIC also instituted a policy of first-come, first-served, rather than enrollment periods after which ADOC could rank projects by their expected benefit to the state. Consequently, more lucrative projects passed over Arizona because ADOC had already pre-approved the maximum amount of credit funding before even reaching these applications.[346] Mike McGinn, former president of the Arizona Film & Media Coalition (AFMC), also noted that "'the application process … encouraged tax incentive hoarding … where production companies would opt out of filming but they still retained the money.'"[347]

This required revisions in 2007 to close the loopholes. With the incentive already under scrutiny, its detractors took this opportunity to skewer it on ideological grounds. Senator Ron Gould, for instance, disliked the fact that it privileged one industry over others, believing, "'It is not the government's purpose to pick winners and losers in

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[345] "2008 MOPIC Economic Impacts Study Highlights," ESI Corporation, July 24, 2009, 1, accessed May 16, 2014 at https://www.azproduction.com/files/2313/8377/7453/MOPIC_Report_Highlights.pdf

[346] Tate, interview.

[347] Anjanette Riley, "Filmmakers Draw on Arizona Tax Incentives, But Not All Qualify," *Arizona Capitol Times*, "February 29, 2008, 1.

industry.'" Gould also saw no logic in offering tax credits when Arizona's own economy was in trouble.[348] For these reasons, Arizona no longer has an incentives program, State Film Office or State Film Commission, all casualties of hard economic times and a difficult standard for justification. Remaining film offices are situated at the city level, most notably in Phoenix and Tucson.

Today, local groups are fighting to regain these losses and propel Arizona back to previous levels of filmic activity. The Arizona Production Association handles the industry side of support, publishing an annual Arizona Production Guide which provides information about local filming such as business contacts and permitting for out-of-state companies. The 2014 Guide lists over one hundred supporting services that producers can employ, from helicopter rentals to animal handlers.[349] The Arizona Film & Media Coalition, meanwhile, lobbies in the legislative and public education sense, and provides the latest updates on its website. At the time of this writing, the two most significant bills under consideration are HB 2660, a "Multimedia Production Incentive" that mirrors many of the provisions of MOPIC, and SB 1098, which would create a Governor's Office of Film and Media. Importantly, HB 2660 proposes putting the new incentive program under the Governor's Office.[350] With these new measures, politically-based boosting comes full circle, for the motion picture industry has been an integral part of the Governor's Office since the 1940s.

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[348] Ibid.

[349] Arizona Production Guide, Arizona Production Association, 2014, accessed May 17, http://www.azproduction.com/index.php/production_guide/

[350] "Home," Arizona Film & Media Coalition, accessed May 17, 2014 at http://azfilmandmedia.org/afmc/

But this does not constitute all motion picture activity in the state. While attracting Hollywood production no longer benefits from the political support that had lasted for seventy years, the 1990s gave rise to local film festivals, an area in which boosters with a different frame of mind found a new way to promote film in Arizona.

CHAPTER 5

"SOMETHING THAT YOU HAVEN'T SEEN BEFORE"[351]

"The festival is one of the most anticipated events on the Scottsdale arts calendar, and is a wonderful resource for film lovers all across Arizona."[352]

Despite the difficulty in bringing production crews into Arizona, other boosters found a way to procure finished products for a niche market in the form of international film festivals. As with the emphasis on Hollywood as the center of film production, most scholarly works on film festivals tend to focus on the most popularized festivals like Cannes and Sundance; nothing at all has been written on film festivals in Arizona. To start filling this gap, this chapter will focus specifically on the Scottsdale International Film Festival (SIFF), founded in 2001 by Amy Ettinger, a Scottsdale resident with a long career in film festival organization and marketing. This chapter argues that Ettinger's management of the SIFF employed a unique inward boosterism that built an image by attracting a niche market of filmic elitism that aggrandized independent film and proudly distanced itself from Hollywood. While anyone may attend the SIFF, in practice a specific demographic of the wealthy and educated combination has consistently shown up in the greatest numbers. As a result, the SIFF is the only example of inward boosterism where the identity-building also occurred on an individual level, wherein

[351] Jennifer Goldberg, "Film Festival Promises the Unexpected," *Jewish News of Greater Phoenix*, October 2, 2009, 6.

[352] "Mike81," SIFF attendee testimonial, *Great Nonprofits*, August 27, 2013, accessed April 28, 2014 at http://greatnonprofits.org/reviews/scottsdale-international-film-festival-inc/page:1/#r_id-166214--user_id-220798. Here, "Mike81" refers to the screen name chosen by the reviewer instead of his or her actual name. All such quoted names in subsequent footnotes from Great Nonprofits will identify the reviewers this way.

attendees elevated themselves above the "regular" crowd of filmgoers. As the SIFF's founder, Ettinger stood at the center of this inward boosterism.

While the advent of film festivals in Arizona is relatively recent, their popularity is remarkable. Today, Arizona is home to no less than one dozen annual film festivals, located across the state in Phoenix, Tucson, Flagstaff and Tucson. These festivals share a cultural milieu that values independent film. The oldest running in-state film festival is the Arizona International Film Festival (AIFF), which began in 1990 with a stated "mission of showcasing independent film."[353] The Phoenix Film Festival (PFF) also emphasized independent filmmaking by only accepting submissions of films made for under $1 million. When Chris LaMont founded the PFF in 2001, he "'really thought it was an opportunity to show everyone here that we can create a big, dynamic cultural event that the whole city could support.'"[354] In the PFF's 2014 program guide, LaMont stated, "You don't need millions of dollars to make a good movie. All you need is story, characters that you embrace, and the willingness to embrace the independent."[355] The Flagstaff Mountain Film Festival started in 2003 "by two friends who shared a passion for cultural and outdoor-adventure documentary films."[356] Their mission remains to

[353] Homepage, Arizona International Film Festival, accessed May 22, 2014 at http://www.filmfestivalarizona.com/index.php

[354] Bill Muller, "Phoenix to Host Independent Film Festival," *Arizona Republic*, February 2, 2001, P.1.

[355] Chris LaMont, "Welcome to the Revolution," Phoenix Film Festival Program, April 3-10, 2014, 4, accessed May 22, 2014 at http://issuu.com/mediapublishersgroup/docs/2014-phoenixfilmfestival?e=1180713/7232482

[356] "Festival History," Flagstaff Mountain Film Festival, accessed May 22, 2014 at http://www.flagstaffmountainfilms.org/about-fmff/festival-history/

"provide a cultural alternative to the mainstream commercial film experience."[357] The Tucson Film & Music Festival started in 2005, which "celebrates the great independent film and music in the Southwest."[358] Ettinger started the SIFF because she wanted to bring the people of Scottsdale an event where they could enjoy films that most local theaters would never screen.

These various festivals differ in scale, and the SIFF occupies a position somewhere in the middle. At its peak in 2013, the SIFF screened fifty-five films over five days and attracted about 9,000 attendees.[359] It is smaller, therefore, than the Phoenix Film Festival, which screens 150 films every year over eight days with an average attendance of about 25,000.[360] The SIFF is also smaller overall than the AIFF, which has screened more than 2,200 films and attracted over 138,000 attendees since its debut in 1990.[361] But the SIFF is also larger than the Flagstaff Festival, which attracted 2,000 attendees in 2013, on its tenth anniversary.[362]

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[357] "Mission/Overview," Flagstaff Mountain Film Festival, accessed June 14, 2014 at http://www.flagstaffmountainfilms.org/about-fmff/mission-overview/

[358] "About TFMF," Tucson Film & Music Festival, accessed May 23, 2014 at http://tucsonfilmandmusicfestival.com/sample-page/

[359] "Past Events: 13th Annual Scottsdale International Film Festival wraps with Record-breaking Results!" Scottsdale International Film Festival, accessed April 27, 2014 at http://www.scottsdalefilmfestival.com/pastevents.html.

[360] "Overview," Phoenix Film Festival, accessed May 8, 2014 athttp://www.phoenixfilmfestival.com/overview/

[361] Homepage, Arizona International Film Festival, accessed May 22, 2014 at http://www.filmfestivalarizona.com/index.php

[362] "Festival History," Flagstaff Mountain Film Festival, accessed May 22, 2014 at http://www.flagstaffmountainfilms.org/about-fmff/festival-history/

The success of these Arizona festivals did not come without global precedent. Scholars generally accept, "Europe is the cradle of the film festival phenomenon."[363] The first film festival in Europe opened in Venice in 1932 at the behest of Benito Mussolini, who wanted to make the city a state cultural center.[364] Viewed this way, Mussolini could be seen as the film festival's first booster. More festivals soon spread throughout the rest of Europe: the Moscow International Film Festival (1935), the Cannes Film Festival (1939), the Edinburgh International Film Festival (1947), and the Berlin International Film Festival (1951). Then film festivals started gaining traction across the world: the San Francisco International Film Festival (1957), the New York Film Festival (1969), the Toronto International Film Festival (1976), and the Utah/U.S Film Festival (1978), later changed to the more recognized Sundance Film Festival in 1985.[365]

These festivals came into existence for a variety of reasons. Mussolini, for example, weaponized film to spread Fascist ideology, and Cannes formed as an alternative to those who rightfully saw the Venice festival as nothing more than Fascist propaganda. The Toronto festival, on the other hand, started out as a celebratory collection of independent films that had won awards at other festivals, and Sundance

[363] Marijke de Valck, *Film Festivals: From European Geopolitics to Global Cinephilia* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007), 14.

[364] Cindy Hing-Yuk Wong, *Film Festivals: Culture, People, and Power on the Global Screen* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2011), 10.

[365] Rona Edwards and Monika Skerbelis, *The Complete Filmmaker's Guide to Film Festivals: Your All Access Pass to Launching Your Film on the Festival Circuit* (Studio City, California: Michael Wiese Productions, 2012), 2-8.

always favored "anti-Hollywood" films made in the United States. This is but a handful of festivals, and more exist today than days on the calendar.[366]

While films are subjected to voluminous scrutiny, relatively few scholars focus specifically on film festivals. As media studies professor Marijke de Valck has noted, "The small number of works that have been published [on film festivals] date without exception from the 1990s and after."[367] Scholarship on this subject is important, because film festivals are a rather different experience than everyday moviegoing. They come around only once a year and usually last less than a week. As such, film festivals are also billed as events. With no shortage of Hollywood movies coming down the pipeline, filmgoers can always feel confident that they will find a variety of choices and showtimes at a local theater. Film festivals, in contrast, are something to "put on your calendar."

Beyond these differences which center on form, are even more important differences of substance: film festivals overwhelmingly screen independent, often foreign, films that may have no other outlet for exhibition. According to film critic Kenneth Turan, there will always be a demand for film festivals because of a symbiotic relationship between foreign filmmakers and niche audiences that want something different than what Hollywood has to offer.[368] The late film critic Roger Ebert defined an independent film as "made outside the traditional Hollywood studio system, often with

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[366] This explanation of film festivals' origins only scratches the surface of a complex set of motivations and contexts, including commerce and wartime recovery. For a more thorough explanation, on which this condensed explanation is based, see Cindy Hing-Yuk Wong, "History, Structure, and Practice in the Festival World," in *Film Festivals: Culture, People, and Power on the Global Screen* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2011), 29-64.

[367] De Valck, *Film Festivals*, 20.

[368] Kenneth Turan, *Sundance to Sarajevo: Film Festivals and the World They Made* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 7-8.

unconventional financing, and it's made because it expresses the director's personal vision rather than someone's notion of box-office success."[369] Knowing this distinction is important because it explains the romantic attraction to film festivals as a Hollywood alternative, and the resulting marketing strategies used by festival organizers. Appropriately enough, the spark for the SIFF came while Ettinger sat in a theater.

While enjoying *The Wisdom of Crocodiles* (1998) in Paris, Ettinger lamented the low probability that anybody in her hometown of Scottsdale would ever see this kind of film. Then she had an idea: why not organize a film festival so people could see such films? As Ettinger explained the origins of the SIFF, "'I was in Europe seeing movies that didn't make it to this market and in some cases didn't make it to this country. … I couldn't bear the notion that this town [Scottsdale] didn't have an international film festival, so I had to do it myself.'"[370] When Ettinger returned home, she discussed this idea with people in her social circle and found instant support. "'To the person … everyone in the Valley I mentioned this to freaked out. They absolutely went over the moon … They were like parrots of one another saying, 'This is so neat; why haven't we had this?'"[371]

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[369] Quoted in Emanuel Levy, *Cinema of Outsiders: The Rise of American Independent Film* (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 3. Film scholars admit that a definition for "independent" is difficult to nail down. In *Indiewood*, for example, Geoff King points out that there are plenty of hybrid films that are deliberately made for the niche appeal of an independent film, but also enjoy Hollywood studio financing. See Geoff King, *Indiewood, USA: Where Hollywood Meets Independent Cinema* (New York: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., 2009).

[370] Dolores Tropiano, "Foreign Film Festival Should Please Buffs," *Arizona Republic*, October 24, 2002, 5.

[371] Dolores Tropiano, "Film Fest 1st of Type Held In Scottsdale," *Arizona Republic*, September 26, 2001, 10.

Ettinger knew she could deliver because she already possessed the skill set necessary to organize a film festival. Ettinger touted her "noteworthy skills in every aspect of film festivals-production, management, sales, marketing, promotion and booking. The extensive negotiations that festival work requires have brought me into contact with all the major studios and distributors. I have extensive experience in marketing for radio and print media, including … *The Arizona Republic*."[372] Ettinger had also previously organized the defunct Phoenix OutFar! Lesbian and Gay Film Festival, which debuted in 1997. Ettinger started organizing the SIFF because, "I finally decided to focus on foreign film, which is my passion. No one was doing a festival with the sort of films I wanted to see in this market, so I decided to take the bull by the horns and create the festival I wanted for myself. Fortunately, there are thousands of people who want the same thing from their filmgoing experience."[373]

A national crisis, however, threatened to crush the SIFF from the start. The SIFF premiered on September 28, 2001, just seventeen days after the 9/11 terrorist attacks. Once Ettinger recovered from the shock, her thoughts turned to the SIFF: "We thought we were out of business before we even got started … We really didn't think anybody would want to show up for a film festival."[374] One SIFF attendee and resident of Scottsdale recalled that "right after 9/11, we thought there wouldn't be a festival because

[372] "Business Profile: Amy Ettinger," *Jewish News of Greater Phoenix*, September 13, 2013, 5.

[373] Ibid.

[374] Jennifer Goldberg, "Film Festival Promises the Unexpected," *Jewish News of Greater Phoenix*, October 2, 2009, 6.

the whole country was in mourning."[375] In *Memory's Orbit*, cultural studies professor Joseph Natoli wrote that the attacks eliminated Americans' peace of mind, that now "we must learn to live in a world where threatening dark shadows always follow our steps." In this climate of fear and the unknown, Americans were not sure when it would be okay to travel again, whether it was even safe to leave the house.[376]

Much to Ettinger's surprise, more than 2,500 people showed up and sold out the festival.[377] Films came from all over the world, including France, Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom, Iran, Norway, the Philippines, Haiti, Australia, Japan, Taiwan, Cuba and New Zealand.[378] Ettinger explained that the city of Scottsdale has a global recognition amongst independent filmmakers, "a certain cache" that they identify as a viable outlet for their work.[379] The purpose of the SIFF was partly to screen these films so that the local community would understand this recognition as well. The SIFF opened with *Bread and Tulips* (2000), an Italian film that focused on a "housewife who accidentally finds herself creating a new life with an accordion and a waiter in Venice, away from her boring husband and troubled children." The Cuban-produced *Life is to Whistle* (1998) analyzed "the tough choices people have to make in order to keep their self-respect in Havana." *Abderdeen* (2000), a Norwegian film, told the story of "a

[375] "netset," Great Nonprofits, SIFF attendee testimonial, , May 18, 2012, accessed April 27, 2014 at http://greatnonprofits.org/reviews/scottsdale-international-film-festival-inc/page:3/

[376] Joseph Natoli, *Memory's Orbit: Film and Culture 1999- 2000* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), 1.

[377] Elan Head, "Reel Progress: In Two Years, The 21-Film Scottsdale International Film Festival Has Made Quite a Name for Itself," *Sunday Arts*, October 20, 2002, 14.

[378] Scottsdale International Film Festival advertisement, *Phoenix New Times*, September 13-19, 2001, 66.

[379] Craig Outhier, "Scottsdale Festival Shows 11 International Films: Gear Up for Event with Pre-Show Party at Phoenix Wine Bar," *Get Out*, September 20, 2001, 14.

daughter who travels from England to Norway to find her drunken father and bring him back home." Iranian-produced *The Circle* (2000) explored the "life for women in the Islamic republic."[380] Some of these plots might form the basis of a Hollywood film, but the international representation is unparalleled compared to an American chain theater's regular selection, which are primarily Hollywood products.

The SIFF's attendees found a level of comfort in these international films. One attendee saw the SIFF as "a way to begin the healing process … I don't want to be afraid of other cultures because of what happened to us as a nation. I want to expose myself to other people and cultures and not fear our differences. And, I want to be around other people right now to share a good conversation after the films."[381] Ettinger herself noted, "I admired the pluck and determination of the 2,500 attendees to reunite our community with the world in such a humanistic gesture of goodwill."[382] The SIFF, therefore, has always meant more than just entertainment, it meant a bonding experience for people in a dark hour; not an "escape *from* reality but rather escape into another form of reality."[383]

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[380] Richard Nilsen, "Out-Of-The-International-Can Film Fest: Scottsdale Movie Bill Boasts 10 Rare Gems," *Arizona Republic*, September 27, 2001, 8-9. This article includes synopses of all eleven films at the festival.

[381] Anonymous SIFF attendee testimonial, program guide, 2010, p. 8, Scottsdale International Film Festival, Papers, private collection, courtesy of Amy Ettinger.

[382] Amy Ettinger, program guide, 2010, p. 8, Scottsdale International Film Festival, Papers, private collection, courtesy of Amy Ettinger.

[383] Michael T. Marsden, "The Rise of the Western Movie: From Sagebrush to Screen," in *Western Films: A Brief History*, ed. Richard W. Etulain (Manhattan, Kansas: Sunflower University Press, 1988), 18.

The SIFF grew every year, adding more films and attracting larger crowds. In its first year, the SIFF drew a crowd of 2,500 attendees and screened eleven films.[384] The next year, attendance doubled to 5,000 and the SIFF screened twenty-one films.[385] By the SIFF's fourth year, the SIFF had grown to an estimated 8,000 people and about three dozen films. Ettinger stated that she had to turn people away because of this "'colossal leap in programming.'"[386] When attendance peaked at 9,000 for 2013, the number of films reached fifty-five.[387] As of 2013, the SIFF has served approximately 71,500 attendees and screened over 350 films from over sixty-five countries.[388]

Encouraging this growth were the ticket prices. Comparable to a regular theater screening, a single full-price ticket cost $9 in the first three years and only rose to $10 starting in 2004, where it remains.[389] Full passes allowed holders to see every film in the festival and offered a bulk discount. The cost of these passes naturally rose in proportion to the number of films offered in a particular year. In 2001, a passholder could see all

[384] "Past Events: 13th Annual Scottsdale International Film Festival Wraps with Record-breaking Results!" Scottsdale International Film Festival, accessed April 27, 2014 at http://www.scottsdalefilmfestival.com/pastevents.html

[385] Dolores Tropiano, "Foreign Film Festival Should Please Buffs," *Arizona Republic*, October 24, 2002, 5.

[386] Dolores Tropiano, "Film Festival Returns to Harkins Camelview," *Arizona Republic*, October 28, 2004, B4.

[387] "Past Events: 13th Annual Scottsdale International Film Festival Wraps with Record-breaking Results!" Scottsdale International Film Festival, accessed April 27, 2014 at http://www.scottsdalefilmfestival.com/pastevents.html.

[388] Scottsdale International Film Festival, "Community Partnership Opportunities and Benefits," 2013, Scottsdale International Film Festival, Papers, private collection, courtesy of Amy Ettinger.

[389] Sean L. McCarthy, "Fest's Top Film to Air 1st On Opening Night," *Scottsdale Republic*, October 30, 2003, 3; Dolores Tropiano, "3 Reasons to See Scottsdale International Film Festival 2004," *Arizona Republic*, October 24, 2004, E.5.

eleven films for $85.[390] By 2003, the price rose to $170 for twenty-one films.[391] In 2013 a full pass cost $250 for all fifty-five films.[392] While these passes certainly cost more in raw dollars, they sold out on multiple occasions.[393] On average, the SIFF has attracted 6,000 attendees over thirteen years of operation.[394] This kind of enthusiasm would not have occurred unless Ettinger had created an appealing experience.

According to Ettinger, the "SIFF distinguishes itself through the undisputed quality of programming."[395] In a 2013 interview, Ettinger provided the fundamental purpose of the SIFF:

> Mission Statement: The Scottsdale International Film Festival is a destination event and a catalyst for connecting diverse filmmakers from around the world with film lovers in a fresh, thought-provoking, and enduring community of support.
>
> Vision Statement: The Festival unites Arizona with the world through the expression of film.[396]

To deliver on these statements, Ettinger noted in an interview that she tried her best to program the SIFF so that there would be something for everyone: "'I do my darnedest every year to heed that challenging clarion call. Anyone who knows me understands that

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[390] Richard Nilsen, "A Weekend Sampler of Foreign Films," *Arizona Republic*, September 28, 2001, P.2.

[391] Anne Robertson, "Scottsdale Film Festival Could Draw Record Crowd," *Business Journal*, July 4, 2003, 5.

[392] Bill Goodykoontz, "Scottsdale Film Fest Thinking Globally," *Arizona Republic*, October 4, 2013, P.1.

[393] See, for example, Kathy Cano- Murillo, "Film Festival Full of Options for Indie Fans," *Arizona Republic*, October 24, 2002, 6.

[394] Amy Ettinger, email correspondence to author, May 29, 2014.

[395] Amy Ettinger, "SIFF Background and History," Scottsdale International Film Festival, Papers, private collection, courtesy of Amy Ettinger.

[396] Jacob Green, "Q & A with Scottsdale International Film Festival Creator Amy Ettinger," AZ Big Media, June 7, 2013, accessed April 25, 2014 at http://azbigmedia.com/events/qa-scottsdale-film-festival-creator-amy-ettinger

I frequently find a way to pull off something that is supposedly impossible.'"[397] Although Ettinger marketed the SIFF to the local community, she challenged that community to think big in a way that supported the SIFF's vision. Ettinger set her sights high when she stated that "we can leave the theater feeling enriched and inspired to become agents of change. Many of the films in this Festival tell the stories of people who stand their ground to make a difference and who seek to change for the better." Thus, the SIFF provided attendees "a haven from the constant barrage of grim realities and inescapable truths. There are also positive realities that we can experience and share."[398]

Because the SIFF is part of a high culture arts scene, it tended to attract a particular demographic, which in turn informed how Ettinger advertised to them. Here it is useful to compare two observations about film festivals, one in general, the other specific to the SIFF. First, media professor Michael Newman noted that "the audience for specialty films … is generally urban, affluent, well-educated and fairly narrow by comparison with the audience for studio pictures."[399] Second, in an endorsement for the SIFF's 2003 program, Virginia L. Korte of the Scottsdale Area Chamber of Commerce wrote that "festival attendees are largely affluent, well-educated and have the disposable income that fuels strong economic opportunities for retailers, hospitality, luxury, service, and more."[400]

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[397] Ibid.

[398] Amy Ettinger, SIFF program guide, 2007, p. 8, Scottsdale International Film Festival, Papers, private collection, courtesy of Amy Ettinger.

[399] Michael Z. Newman, *Indie: An American Film Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 2.

[400] Scottsdale International Film Festival Program Guide, 2003, p. 7, Scottsdale International Film Festival, Papers, private collection, courtesy of Amy Ettinger.

True to both statements, the most consistent demographics for the SIFF are education, income, gender and age. Thus, the average SIFF attendee is an educated, wealthy woman over the age of forty-five. According to the SIFF's 2001 survey, over half of attendees were forty-five or older, sixty-nine percent were women, over a third earned more than $80,000 per year, and ninety-five percent had earned at least a bachelor's degree.[401] Later surveys revealed that this majority grew. According to the 2005 survey, ninety-five percent of respondents had earned at least a bachelor's degree; in the 2011 survey, sixty-seven percent of respondents earned over $80,000 per year,[402] while in the 2012 survey, eighty-three percent were forty-five or over, and seventy-seven percent were women.[403] With the SIFF's reputation among its attendees as a cultural event of high art, therefore, came an audience largely comprised of those who occupied the top of the social hierarchy.

Many attendees, moreover, self-identified as higher-end consumers. One attendee presented the SIFF community as "film lovers who crave something more from cinema than just mindless entertainment. We come to feel and learn something new."[404] Another attendee perceived Scottsdale as a "large, artistic community. The Scottsdale crowd are

[401] SIFF Survey, 2001, Scottsdale International Film Festival, Papers, private collection, courtesy of Amy Ettinger.

[402] SIFF Survey, 2011, Scottsdale International Film Festival, Papers, private collection, courtesy of Amy Ettinger.

[403] SIFF Survey, 2012, Scottsdale International Film Festival, Papers, private collection, courtesy of Amy Ettinger.

[404] Anonymous, SIFF attendee testimonial, 2013, Scottsdale International Film Festival, Papers, private collection, courtesy of Amy Ettinger.

[sic] movie savvy."[405] Five attendees collectively identified themselves as a "select group" and "part of the same club" that comprised a "small niche of the community that loves movies like this," which allowed them to experience a "connection with kindred spirits" while "moving to a higher notch."[406] Ettinger herself reinforced these notions when she opened the 2005 program guide with this statement: "Are you aware that as an attendee you are part of a worldwide community of film connoisseurs?"[407] In this sense, Ettinger made certain appeals based on elitism.

Elitist advertising also appeared in the SIFF's program guides. Talk Cinema, for example, advertised in the SIFF 2008 program guide that it offered independent, foreign, "smart films for smart folks."[408] Deliberate or not, the implication was the offer of an alternative to "stupid movies for stupid folks," ostensibly provided by Hollywood. In the same program guide, a company called B- Side, which also designed the SIFF website, marketed itself with the following statements: "Soon, this festival will end… and you'll be on your own to search for unique, high quality films in this year's sea of big budget, low concept multiplex movies … Never go without good movies again."[409] These statements highlight a distinction between Hollywood and independent film, further implying that good movies are unavailable when festivals like the SIFF are not around.

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[405] Anonymous, SIFF attendee testimonial, 2013, Scottsdale International Film Festival, Papers, private collection, courtesy of Amy Ettinger.

[406] Ibid.

[407] Amy Ettinger, SIFF program guide, 2005, p. 8, Scottsdale International Film Festival, Papers, private collection, courtesy of Amy Ettinger.

[408] SIFF program guide, 2008, p. 25, Scottsdale International Film Festival, Papers, private collection, courtesy of Amy Ettinger.

[409] Ibid, 11.

Although the Hollywood-independent binary is a problematic dichotomy, the valid distinctions between them are largely engrained in academia and public opinion. As media professor Michael Newman noted, "It is only by distinguishing some kinds of films from others that the cultural logic of the arts institution can be made to apply to cinema. And it is primarily through the institution of the film festival that this cultural logic is applied."[410] To a large degree, this cultural logic manifested as exclusivity, the fact that filmgoers could only find certain films at the SIFF. Combining dismissiveness toward Hollywood and this kind of exclusivity, one attendee stated that the SIFF "provides an escape from the same movies playing everywhere else."[411] Media studies professor Jeffrey Sconce more directly stated that independent film is often "marketed in explicit counterdistinction to mainstream Hollywood fare as 'smarter', 'artier', and more 'independent.'"[412] Film critic Bill Nichols further emphasized that "an encounter with the unfamiliar, the experience of something strange, the discovery of new voices and visions serve as a major inticement [sic] for the festivalgoer."[413] Thus, Ettinger's claim of the SIFF's superior programming tapped into the dispositions of its target audience.

This philosophy also received support from other sources. An *Arizona Republic* article, for instance, suggested, "If formulaic romantic comedies and action flicks do nothing for your spirit, perhaps a weekend at the Scottsdale International Film Festival will brighten the mood. Although Hollywood studios are preparing to release their usual

[410] Newman, *Indie*, 57.

[411] Anonymous, SIFF attendee testimonial, 2013, Scottsdale International Film Festival, Papers, private collection, courtesy of Amy Ettinger.

[412] Jeffrey Sconce, "Irony, Nihilism and the New American 'Smart' Film," *Screen* 43 (2002): 350.

[413] Bill Nichols, "Discovering Form, Inferring Meaning," *Film Quarterly* 47 (1994): 17.

slew of big-budget pictures to the masses, organizers of this indie fest are offering seven days of screenings that include more than 21 titles from around the world."[414] Several SIFF attendees agreed, one of whom noted, "I love that there are so many film buffs locally who enjoy attending movies other than the big Hollywood blockbusters. It's a breath of fresh air!"[415] Another attendee boldly stated, "Hollywood cannot compete with ANY movie showcased at the [Scottsdale] Festival."[416] This person compared Hollywood and independent films on the same plane without indicating that they operate on different value systems, but even Dan Harkins commended the independent crowd, stating, "'The art-film lovers should pat themselves on the back for being great moviegoers … because they work harder to seek out the better films, whereas the average moviegoer goes to whatever is the blockbuster title of the week.'"[417] Ettinger understood these nuances, which informed her process for organizing the SIFF each year.

Ettinger's efforts to organize the SIFF also provide a look into how it developed over the years. Ettinger is no stranger to the fact that the logistics of organizing a film festival are difficult and expensive. Once she decided which films to accept, having personally watched each submission, getting them to Scottsdale became the next step. In 2010, Ettinger reflected, "For every few films that I am able to land there is the one that gets away." In one case, she fervently tried to secure an Albanian film, repeatedly

[414] Kathy Cano- Murillo, "Film Festival Full of Options for Indie Fans," *Arizona Republic*, October 24, 2002, 6.

[415] Anonymous, SIFF attendee testimonial, 2013, Scottsdale International Film Festival, Papers, private collection, courtesy of Amy Ettinger.

[416] Ibid.

[417] Bill Muller, "Life in an Art-Film Desert," *Arizona Republic*, February 11, 2007, E1.

emailing the director. He never responded and she finally managed to contact him through a fan who "liked" the film on Facebook. Ettinger did manage to book the film that year, but recalled several missed opportunities due to "many variables including technology, governmental regimes, language barriers, or bad timing."[418]

Finances presented even more challenges. Ettinger estimated that the cost to put the SIFF together each year now hovers around $135,000. As of 2013, Ettinger was the only salaried employee, but she also employed three part-time employees and recruited one hundred volunteers.[419] Today, the SIFF is also comprised of six board members and a thirteen member advisory committee, all volunteer positions.[420] Since most of the SIFF's workers volunteer, this allows funding to flow to other places such as film rental, facility rental, shipping costs, office supplies, printing, publicity, lodging, and transportation for festival guests (i.e. filmmakers and speakers).[421] For context, the operating expenses for the SIFF in 2007, the earliest year public records are available, came to $115,000 against total revenues of $130,000.[422] By 2013, the expenses reached almost $138,000 against

[418] Mark, "10 Questions with Amy Ettinger, Director of the Scottsdale International Film Festival Arizona!" Movieclub, September 17, 2010, accessed April 26, 2014 at http://www.txtmovieclub.com/profiles/blogs/10-questions-with-amy-ettinger.

[419] Hayley Ringle, "Profiles in Leadership: Getting the Best Seat in the House," *Phoenix Business Journal*, October 4, 2003, accessed April 26, 2014 at http://www.bizjournals.com/phoenix/print-edition/2013/10/04/profiles-in-leadership-getting-the.html?page=all.

[420] Scottsdale International Film Festival, "About Us," accessed April 27, 2014 at http://www.scottsdalefilmfestival.com/aboutus.html

[421] See "Scottsdale International Film Festival Inc.," Razoo, accessed April 28, 2014 at http://www.razoo.com/story/Scottsdale-International-Film-Festival

[422] Scottsdale International Film Festival, IRS Form 990-EZ, 2008, accessed May 23, 2014 at https://bulk.resource.org/irs.gov/eo/2009_04_EO/26-1804044_990EZ_200812.pdf

revenues of $168,000.[423] Fortunately for the SIFF, revenues exceeded expenses every year except 2009.[424] A significant portion of the funding for these expenses came from individual donations. Before the SIFF achieved nonprofit status in 2007, Ettinger observed, "'We've found that grant and foundation money has been drying up and we didn't want to be at the whim of that."[425] The SIFF did struggle in its for-profit years, however. Ettinger noted the irony that the SIFF did not start turning a profit until it became a nonprofit organization.[426]

Although Ettinger knew grants were never guaranteed, she did manage to secure some funding over the years. In 2004, the Scottsdale Cultural Council administered $50,000 in grant money, of which the SIFF received less than $5,000. To put this in perspective, the Council received grant applications from twenty-five nonprofits cumulatively requesting $158,500.[427] For the SIFF, $5,000 still helped and perhaps Ettinger felt lucky to receive anything, but these numbers demonstrate how much competition existed whenever funding became available. Ettinger also caught other lucky breaks. One year she received funding from the Century Arts Foundation, which "took

[423] "Scottsdale International Film Festival, Inc.," Guidestar, accessed May 23, 2014 at https://www.guidestar.org/organizations/26-1804044/scottsdale-international-film-festival.aspx

[424] See "Scottsdale International Film Festival Inc.," ProPublica, accessed May 23, 2014 at http://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/261804044

[425] Anne Robertson, "Scottsdale Film Festival Could Draw Record Crowd," *Business Journal*, July 4, 2003, 5.

[426] Amy Ettinger, email correspondence to author, May 29, 2014.

[427] Tropiano, Dolores, "Grant Funds to Bolster Arts Scene," *Arizona Republic*, June 1, 2004, 4.

this Festival to the next level and positioned us for greater things in the future."[428] Ettinger also enjoyed financial support of $10,000 from the City of Scottsdale.[429]

Ettinger never did like the fickle nature of grants, so she also tried unconventional methods of securing funding. In 2012, for example, the SIFF's founding sponsor ended its support. In response, Ettinger set up an online auction in which local businesses could donate products rather than money. The SIFF would sell these products and keep the revenue. According to Ettinger, "'we knew that we could get community businesses to donate product far more easily than asking for cash donations … Companies are financially strapped, and most non-profits are out there trying to squeeze the same corporations and companies for their very last nickel. We wanted to distance ourselves from the fray and frenzy."[430]

Nevertheless, Ettinger did use conventional methods of asking local businesses to sponsor the SIFF, which required a considerable amount of persuasion on her part. Every year, Ettinger distributed sponsorship information packages that explained the various methods and costs of supporting the SIFF. She also outlined what a sponsor would receive in exchange. In the 2004 edition, Ettinger noted that the SIFF's "audience as a consumer group is extremely desirable, successful and trend conscious." Ettinger added that "sponsorship offers numerous branding opportunities to elevate name recognition

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[428] Jacob Green, "Q & A with Scottsdale International Film Festival Creator Amy Ettinger," AZ Big Media, June 7, 2013, accessed April 25, 2014 at http://azbigmedia.com/events/qa-scottsdale-film-festival-creator-amy-ettinger

[429] "Scottsdale International Film Festival, Inc.," Guidestar, accessed May 23, 2014 at https://www.guidestar.org/organizations/26-1804044/scottsdale-international-film-festival.aspx

[430] Bill Goodykoontz, Scottsdale Film Fest Adds Auction," *The Arizona Republic*, October 4, 2012, E1.

and target the festival's affluent, well-educated audience,"[431] suggesting here what she explicitly stated one year earlier in the 2003 program guide: "Festival attendees … have the disposable income that fuels strong economic opportunities for retailers, hospitality, luxury, service, and more."[432] The 2013 sponsor information package offered potential sponsors a chance to be a part of a "community partnership" complete with "opportunities and benefits." After providing background information about the SIFF, the package outlined "Why SIFF is Important to You." The many items on this list included the SIFF's growth, its support from local businesses and the community, previous sponsors and a program guide distribution of 62,000 to places like Harkins and A.J.'s Fine Foods. By taking out advertising space in the program guides, a business or organization stood to reach many potential customers.[433]

By 2002, the SIFF received official endorsements from various humanities organizations and government offices, which Ettinger used in future marketing. In a 2008 brochure, for example, Ettinger included the testimonials of three organization heads, who have all since left their positions. Kathy Hotchner, Director of the Scottsdale Center for the Arts stated, "We are proud to support such a fine film Festival in Scottsdale … the SIFF brings to the Valley programs you can't see anywhere else." Scottsdale Mayor Mary Manross contributed her endorsement that the SIFF represented "a wonderful opportunity for participants … to enjoy world-class film in a city where all art forms are encouraged

[431] Scottsdale International Film Festival, "Community Partnership Opportunities and Benefits," 2013, Scottsdale International Film Festival, Papers, private collection, courtesy of Amy Ettinger.

[432] Amy Ettinger, 2003 SIFF program guide, p. 7, Scottsdale International Film Festival, Papers, private collection, courtesy of Amy Ettinger.

[433] Scottsdale International Film Festival, "Community Partnership Opportunities and Benefits," 2013, Scottsdale International Film Festival, Papers, private collection, courtesy of Amy Ettinger.

and appreciated." Finally, Governor Janet Napolitano stated, "The Scottsdale International Film Festival is a welcome addition to the arts and the cultural events presented in Arizona."[434] These endorsements served to support the creation of a positive and entertaining experience that encouraged people to attend.

Getting people to come to the SIFF entailed an ongoing effort for Ettinger. The staples of the SIFF, of course, are the films and Ettinger made no apologies for talking up the quality of the SIFF's programming. Ettinger recognized that foreign films did not suit everyone's tastes, but coaxed people by pointing out "'the risk/reward ratio for this film festival is very low, and the benefits are much higher. You get two hours of entertainment for $10'" and could "'discover something mind-blowing.'"[435] Even after ten years of growth, Ettinger did not let her guard down when it came to attracting new faces. In a 2011 interview Ettinger observed, "There's still a large number of people out there who don't know that this festival exists. So we're working on it." Ettinger also noted the recurring difficulty in convincing people to come in during hard times. As Ettinger noted, the first SIFF opened shortly after 9/11, which "has set the tone for every single festival since. Right now, what happens when you turn on the news? You're hearing an instant replay of last year when you turned on the news … Every time we get ready to stage our

[434] Scottsdale International Film Festival, 2008 brochure, Scottsdale International Film Festival, Papers, private collection, courtesy of Amy Ettinger.

[435] Jennifer Goldberg, "Scottsdale Film Festival Marks 11 Years," *Jewish News of Greater Phoenix*, September 30, 2011, 7.

festival, October seems to be a magnet for this economic doom and gloom." With a dose of reality she added, "you've gotta roll with the punches."[436]

As much as the SIFF sold itself on the superior quality its independent films, Ettinger eventually conceded the value of "mainstream" films in attracting more people. In 2008, she reflected, "'If you were to chart back over the years and look at the progression and arc of the festival. … There certainly weren't any studio films, any Hollywood films. I really tried to stay away from that for a long time, because that's coming out of the woodwork. That's easy.'" A mentorship from organizers at the Toronto International Film Festival, however, convinced Ettinger, "'The best way to get people into the door is to offer something mainstream. Once they're there, they're hooked.'" This position reflected a new strategy on Ettinger's part, based on the realization of the drawing power that mainstream films possess: "'Whatever it takes to lure somebody in the door.'"[437]

This strategy also served to ameliorate the effects of the SIFF's highfalutin perception that might have driven away more casual crowds that Ettinger wanted to reach. Therein lies the tension. Ettinger never explicitly set out to attract an elite audience, but she did cater to this crowd when it became clear that they constituted the majority of attendees. Shifting to a more mainstream marketing approach gave Ettinger the opportunity to broaden the SIFF's appeal and potentially attract newcomers who may

[436] Brent Hankins, "[Interview] Amy Ettinger, Director of the Scottsdale International Film Festival," Nerdrep.com, September 30, 2011, accessed April 27, 2014 at http://nerdrepository.com/interview-amy-ettinger-director-of-the-scottsdale-international-film-festival/

[437] Bill Goodykoontz, "Scottsdale Festival Widens Its Scope," *Arizona Republic*, October 3, 2008, P1.

have felt culturally excluded. Yet, she could not stray too far into securing mainstream films without compromising the SIFF's mission and purpose.

Thus, Ettinger continued to institute other features and amenities that were geared more toward filmic elitism. She also knew that these methods worked. Each year the SIFF kicked off with an opening night gala that celebrated the accomplishment of bringing together unique films from all over the world. In the SIFF's first year, the Kazimierz World Wine Bar hosted an opening night gala before the first film screening later that evening, *Bread and Tulips* (2000).[438] Some screenings also featured formal post-film discussions, moderated by local professionals and paneled by directors, actors and other members of the independent film community. As one *Scottsdale Republic* article noted, Fred Linch served as a moderator on multiple occasions, "who believes that the best part of a movie is 'the cup of coffee afterward.'" Fellow moderator Francie Noyes noted the importance of the SIFF's programming, "'as these are films that people in the Valley would not get a chance to see if not for the film festival.'"[439]

To help give these otherwise obscure films some additional recognition, Ettinger collaborated with the Phoenix Film Critics Society in 2003, an organization comprised of local media figures who administer annual awards for that year's films. Ettinger wanted the Society to create a jury that gave out awards to SIFF films in categories like Best Actor, Best Screenplay and Best Film. Ettinger explained, "'The festival wants the potential audience to know the results in advance so as to make informed viewing

[438] Dolores Tropiano, "Film Fest 1st of Type Held In Scottsdale," *Arizona Republic*, September 26, 2001, 10.

[439] Dolores Tropiano, "Foreign Film Festival Should Please Buffs," *Arizona Republic*, October 24, 2002, 5.

decisions about what is considered to be the best.'"[440] Since attendees had twenty-one films to choose from that year, each with a separate admission purchase, this service may have provided a sense of security to people struggling over which films to see. As Ettinger later stated on this general subject, "'I kind of took the guesswork out of it for the novice, or for the nervous viewer.'"[441]

Ettinger also tried to remove the guesswork of whether to attend by implementing children's programming for the 2006 SIFF. Few films screened at a festival like the SIFF are going to appeal to kids, and if no babysitting arrangements can be made, the parents will stay home. Ettinger conceived of the children's programming as a chance for them to discover kinds of cartoons unavailable from their regular media outlets, such as television. Rather than expect kids to sit through a full-length, live action film, an animated short would generally have much greater entertainment value.[442] Ettinger explained, "Selfishly, I feel that catching them early in the formative years might bring them back to this Festival when they are older. Maybe we will also snag their parents in the process … We believe that the kids will be entertained, exposed to different cultures, and educated."[443]

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[440] Sean L. McCarthy, "Fest's Top Film to Air 1st On Opening Night," *Scottsdale Republic*, October 30, 2003, 3.

[441] Bill Goodykoontz, "Festival Takes Guesswork Out of Film Selections," *Arizona Republic*, October 2, 2009, P1.

[442] Dolores Tropiano, "Film Festival Growing: 4 Premieres, Children's Lineup Highlight Event's 6th Year," *Arizona Republic*, September 27, 2006, 5.

[443] Jacob Green, "Q & A with Scottsdale International Film Festival Creator Amy Ettinger," AZ Big Media, June 7, 2013, accessed April 25, 2014 at http://azbigmedia.com/events/qa-scottsdale-film-festival-creator-amy-ettinger

Of course, Ettinger also intended for adults to share in such educational experiences, and sometimes attached a specific theme to the SIFF's programming to support that vision. As she noted in an interview, "'Last year [2008] it was staycation. The year before it was hope … This year it's exploration.'"[444] In organizing these themes, Ettinger wanted to tap into the national mood as a way to reach people and let them respond. For the 2007 SIFF program, Ettinger "decided to feature films that give you a sense of hope. … People are tired of the war. They're tired of the housing market, gas prices, Congress. They're tired, tired, tired." Rather than allow people to fester in their cynicism, Ettinger wanted to activate a sense of betterment in the attendees. As she elucidated, "'Each film will give people plenty to talk about … and a feeling that 'I can be an agent of change.' ... I'm tired of people feeling helpless and sitting back and waiting for someone else to do something.'"[445] Since Ettinger's worldview of the power of film hinged on a sense of group effort and community, it is no wonder that she also recruited local organizations who shared her vision.

Such partnerships played a critical role in enticing people to attend the SIFF. Securing Harkins Theatres as a host particularly gave the SIFF great advantages. Harkins is a staple in the Phoenix metropolitan area and it built a strong reputation in the community over the last eighty years. The Harkins Valley Art is also Arizona's oldest film theater, completed in 1940. Part of this reputation comes from owner Dan Harkins's efforts to screen more foreign and independent films in his theaters. The Valley Art

[444] Sonja Haller, "Foreign Flavor at Film Festival," *Arizona Republic*, September 30, 2009, 20.

[445] Barbara Yost, "Hope, Optimism Abound at International Film Festival," *The Arizona Republic*, October 5, 2007, 28.

Theater, for example, screens many low-key films that may never screen anywhere else. Even though the Valley Art Theater operates at a loss by screening these less popular films, Harkins keeps the doors open to give them a chance to be seen.[446] Dan Harkins has also kept an eye on new independent films, believing that they "'were not getting their rightful screen time, and I felt it was a cause celebre to bring these films to Phoenix because it's culturally enriching … For me, it's a superior sense of achievement.'"[447] The most important theater for bringing this idea to life was the Camelview 5, which screened at least five times as many independent films as the Valley Art. Harkins did charge fees for renting out his theaters, but he and Ettinger shared an understanding of independent film's value, which made them a philosophical match.

In 2011, Ettinger decided to change venues from the Harkins Camelview 5 to the Harkins Shea 14 six miles north. When asked why she made the switch, Ettinger cited a number of reasons. She needed to stay in Scottsdale, for example, because the name is in the title of the festival. Harkins had also just finished renovating the auditoriums at Shea 14, including comfier seats than the aging Camelview's counterparts. As Ettinger explained, "Those old grey broken down seats were just so uncomfortable that nobody wanted to sit in them. If you come to my festival, generally speaking, you spend hours there. They're not faint of heart, my festival goers, and they really commit a lot of time, so they needed to be comfortable, and we wanted it to be inviting." Bad experiences with weather also prompted the theater change. The Valley experienced a wicked hailstorm in

[446] Dan Harkins, "From the Eye of an Entrepreneur: An Inside Look at Film Exhibition" (lecture, Barrett Honors Lecture Series from Arizona State University, Valley Art Theatre, Tempe, Arizona March 6, 2013).

[447] Bill Muller, "Life in an Art-Film Desert," *Arizona Republic*, February 11, 2007, E1.

2010 and the Camelview 5 did not have any space for indoor lines. Ettinger called the storm an "event killer."[448] Even without hailstorms, temperatures in early October can still reach the low nineties and even exceed one hundred degrees Fahrenheit. All of these factors point to the kinds of considerations that Ettinger took to heart when organizing the SIFF and countering any elements that negatively affected it.

Ettinger also made a pivotal decision in 2002 by partnering with the organizers of the Toronto International Film Festival (TIFF). Staff at the TIFF wanted to expand outside the Canadian film circuit so they agreed to Ettinger's request for mentorship, offering programming advice and some Canadians films for the SIFF. Ettinger recalled with gratitude that "we had a handshake agreement with the largest and most influential film festival in North America. … Without their time and attention I'm not sure how things would have transpired."[449] The SIFF also stood to benefit just by its association with the TIFF. As Ettinger put it, "'We really wanted to hitch our wagon to the festival, at least in North America, that had the most impact in the film community.'"[450]

Even with strategic partnerships, all of this work can be exhausting, and Ettinger has implemented crowdsourcing into her promotional activities as a way to relieve herself from some of the pressure and boost the SIFF at the same time. One can detect her

[448] Brent Hankins, "[Interview] Amy Ettinger, Director of the Scottsdale International Film Festival," Nerdrep.com, September 30, 2011, accessed April 27, 2014 at http://nerdrepository.com/interview-amy-ettinger-director-of-the-scottsdale-international-film-festival/

[449] Jacob Green, "Q & A with Scottsdale International Film Festival Creator Amy Ettinger," AZ Big Media, June 7, 2013, accessed April 25, 2014 at http://azbigmedia.com/events/qa-scottsdale-film-festival-creator-amy-ettinger

[450] Sean McCarthy, "Scottsdale Film Fest Adds Toronto Prestige," *Arizona Republic*, July 30, 2003, B.4.

weariness in a 2010 interview where she explained how much work she does. She did acknowledge the work of volunteers, interns and Board members, but in the end:

> I am the one contacting 400 potential filmmakers and distributors from festivals world wide; negotiating every contract; finding and vetting every vendor; watching every film that makes it to the final round; putting together the schedule; finding all our funding; developing the budget; hiring contractors to perform PR and advertising services; coordinating 90 volunteers; and so on… and on. I get tired thinking about what I do and dream of hiring of a business development manager and an office assistant.[451]

Ettinger started recruiting attendees early in the SIFF's life. In the opening message of the 2002 program guide, for example, Ettinger repeated a theme of "asked and answered." Attendees asked for a longer festival, with more films, from more countries, with question and answer sessions. The 2002 SIFF answered every request. As Ettinger asked rhetorically, "How often do you have an opportunity to make this much of an impact and shape the outcome of events?"[452]

By giving attendees a voice in the process, Ettinger structured the SIFF to encourage them to become boosters and take some ownership. Attendees formed a relatively close-knit community with a common interest, who were invited to attend an annual event in which they were actively encouraged to openly discuss their shared passion. As Ettinger noted, "the true achievement of the Festival is its audience."[453] The programming and selection choices of the SIFF, moreover, were significantly influenced

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[451] Mark, "10 Questions with Amy Ettinger, Director of the Scottsdale International Film Festival Arizona!" Movieclub, September 17, 2010, accessed April 26, 2014 at http://www.txtmovieclub.com/profiles/blogs/10-questions-with-amy-ettinger.

[452] Amy Ettinger, SIFF Program Guide, 2002, p. 6, Scottsdale International Film Festival, Papers, private collection, courtesy of Amy Ettinger.

[453] Amy Ettinger, 2003 program guide, p. 8, Scottsdale International Film Festival, Papers, private collection, courtesy of Amy Ettinger.

by a mindfulness of the audience, a process that Ettinger described as a "sacred bond between the curator and the audience."[454] Attendance is an expression of support, a community affirmation that the festival is important and should continue. One attendee expressed great personal satisfaction in seeing the evolution of Scottsdale from a "sleepy little town" to a "cultural oasis in the desert." A Chicago native, this attendee "missed the cultural options we had taken for granted in the big city … Then, along came the Scottsdale International Film Festival, which has so enriched the lives of thousands of Arizonans" and allowed them to make "life-long friends."[455] Other attendees saw the SIFF as building an "audience of intelligent, sophisticated cinephiles whose post-film discussions are almost as enjoyable as the film themselves."[456] Such praise is the reason so many SIFF attendees kept going back each year.

Repeat attendance demonstrated the reputation that the SIFF had built in the community's mind. Ettinger recalled one attendee who told her, "I bought tickets for one film and went to six. And I'm coming back next year."[457] Survey results also prove this point. According to the SIFF's 2012 survey, about a third of respondents had attended at least five times before.[458] One attendee reflected on the experience as, "Wonderful! I really enjoyed participating in the event and have every intention of making it a yearly

[454] Amy Ettinger, 2007 program guide, p. 8, Scottsdale International Film Festival, Papers, private collection, courtesy of Amy Ettinger.

[455] "netset," SIFF attendee testimonial, Great Nonprofits, May 18, 2012, accessed April 27, 2014 at http://greatnonprofits.org/reviews/scottsdale-international-film-festival-inc/page:3/

[456] "bonniecw," SIFF attendee testimonial, Great Nonprofits, May 23, 2012, accessed April 27, 2014 at http://greatnonprofits.org/reviews/scottsdale-international-film-festival-inc/page:2/

[457] Bill Goodykoontz, "Scottsdale Festival Widens its Scope," *Arizona Republic*, October 3, 2008, 1.

[458] "2012 Scottsdale Film Festival-Online Survey Tally," Scottsdale International Film Festival, Papers, private collection, courtesy of Amy Ettinger.

tradition."[459] Another attendee stated, "I have attended every Scottsdale International Film Festival as a pass holder,"[460] while another commented, "I have been a passholder for this Festival since Day One … I am a film buff and never disappointed."[461] The statement about not being disappointed is important because it implies that as a film buff, the standards for making an impression is higher than for the "average" moviegoer. Another "avid film festival goer" has "been a faithful attendee of this festival since its inception."[462] These reflections reveal a sense of loyalty that these attendees held for the SIFF, an indication of the positive impact that the SIFF had on their lives.

Other attendee boosters shared their experiences with the larger community by posting online reviews. Twenty-seven people reviewed the SIFF, and only one person gave it less than a perfect five star rating. When asked whether they would recommend the SIFF to a friend or tell others about the event, nineteen responded "definitely."[463] Reviewers also wrote freehand responses and they showered praise upon the SIFF. One volunteer, for example, considered the SIFF a "true gem," and ended the review with a plug for the SIFF: "I wouldn't miss it!!! And if you're anywhere near Scottsdale in early

[459] Anonymous, SIFF attendee testimonial, 2013,

[460] "elizabethj," SIFF attendee testimonial, Great Nonprofits, August 27, 2013, accessed April 27, 2014 at http://greatnonprofits.org/reviews/scottsdale-international-film-festival-inc/page:1/

[461] "Rocky810," SIFF attendee testimonial, Great Nonprofits, April 26, 2013, accessed April 27, 2014 at http://greatnonprofits.org/reviews/scottsdale-international-film-festival-inc/page:2/

[462] "ejnussy," SIFF attendee testimonial, Great Nonprofits, June 15, 2012, accessed April 27, 2014 at http://greatnonprofits.org/reviews/scottsdale-international-film-festival-inc/page:2/

[463] See Great Nonprofits, "Scottsdale International Film Festival Inc. Reviews," accessed April 28, 2014 at http://greatnonprofits.org/reviews/scottsdale-international-film-festival-inc

October, you shouldn't either!"[464] Another attendee stated that because the SIFF is so well organized, it "should be on any film 'junkies' list. It's the best!"[465] Another attendee stated that the SIFF is "A must-attend for movie lovers!"[466] A SIFF board member also offered her endorsement for the SIFF, and would "highly recommend this as an autumn do- not- miss!"[467] Festival Manager Ted Kirby wrote: "The Scottsdale International Film Festival is a top-quality festival experience! This by far, is definitely a highly recommended event each October in Scottsdale, Arizona!"[468] Lastly, one enthusiastic long- time attendee noted, "I will continue to support the wonderful world that Amy Ettinger has brought to this corner of the globe."[469]

When asked what she considered her greatest accomplishment, Ettinger replied, "'Starting two film festivals from scratch and keeping the Scottsdale International Film Festival a going proposition for 13 years to date.'"[470] This reflection underscores the inward boosterism that Ettinger desired. Her efforts over the last thirteen years have been geared toward growing the SIFF and trying to turn Scottsdale into an internationally

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[464] "sheo," SIFF attendee testimonial, *Great Nonprofits*, May 10, 2013, accessed April 27, 2014 at http://greatnonprofits.org/reviews/scottsdale-international-film-festival-inc/page:1/

[465] Craig Prater, SIFF attendee testimonial, *Great Nonprofits*, April 26, 2013, accessed April 28, 2014 at http://greatnonprofits.org/reviews/scottsdale-international-film-festival-inc/page:1/

[466] "Nick24," SIFF attendee testimonial, *Great Nonprofits*, October 22, 2012, accessed April 28, 2014 at http://greatnonprofits.org/reviews/scottsdale-international-film-festival-inc/page:2/

[467] "Melissa61," SIFF attendee testimonial, *Great Nonprofits*, June 17, 2012, accessed April 28, 2014 at http://greatnonprofits.org/reviews/scottsdale-international-film-festival-inc/page:2/

[468] Ted Kirby, SIFF attendee testimonial, *Great Nonprofits*, May 18, 2012, accessed April 28, 2014 at http://greatnonprofits.org/reviews/scottsdale-international-film-festival-inc/page:3/#r_id-112377--user_id-152935

[469] "sandwest," SIFF attendee testimonial, *Great Nonprofits*, August 29, 2013, accessed April 27, 2014 at http://greatnonprofits.org/reviews/scottsdale-international-film-festival-inc/page:1/

[470] "Business Profile: Amy Ettinger," *Jewish News of Greater Phoenix*, September 13, 2013, 5.

recognized city of arts. The exponential growth of the SIFF has given Ettinger a good kind of problem. In a 2013 interview with *Phoenix Business Journal*, Ettinger stated, "'The fest is getting too big without more help, and I want to take the fest to the next level … I have no problem getting films from around the world. The hard part is getting the community to step up. They need to realize they have a true miracle in their own backyard.'"[471] This miracle, properly fostered, could ensure that Arizona always enjoys a reputation for its encouragement of film.

[471] Hayley Ringle, "Profiles in leadership: Getting the best seat in the house," *Phoenix Business Journal*, October 4, 2003, accessed April 26, 2014 at http://www.bizjournals.com/phoenix/print-edition/2013/10/04/profiles-in-leadership-getting-the.html?page=all.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

As this thesis demonstrated, Arizona's motion picture boosters consistently worked toward building state identity through the medium of film. These boosters did not all follow the same paths, or want to arrive at the same destinations, but they were united in their goals to use film as a state-building tool.

In the opening decades of the twentieth century, inward boosters in Arizona tried to capitalize on the development of Hollywood's emergence as an entertainment entity. The Arizona Motion Picture Company and Arizona Motion Pictures, Inc. both entered the business by producing local actualities and short films. These two companies met with short-lived success, but their efforts are nonetheless important as examples of the earliest motion picture work completed in Arizona. Romaine Fielding met with better success, as he arrived in Arizona with a pre-earned reputation. Originally filming for several months at a time as a visiting producer, Fielding eventually opened his own local studio, Cactus Films. Fielding also produced actualities, which bodies like the Phoenix Chamber of Commerce understood as a valuable marketing tool for the state's modernization. Fielding's work also emphasized the natural landscape of Arizona, "stamping" the state with his signature techniques. The *Arizona Republican* covered much of this activity.

One of the consequences of the focus on Arizona's natural landscape was the transference of Arizona's stereotypical Wild West imagery onto film. In the process of exploring the theme of inward boosterism, *Arizona* reinforced many Western stereotypes that had been established early in the twentieth century. Some outward boosters knew that marketing Arizona's Western perception was a bankable strategy for securing

additional Hollywood productions. Bob Shelton's Old Tucson Studios represented a quintessential example of this kind of approach. Originally built for the film *Arizona* in 1940, Old Tucson became an icon for Western film production in Arizona, and Shelton spared no resource in making sure that Hollywood felt welcome there.

Beginning in the 1940s, Arizona's political bodies began taking a serious look at the potential that a vibrant motion picture industry could have on the state's economy. Governors Robert T. Jones and Sidney P. Osborn set the wheels in motion by personally promoting *Arizona* to a global audience. From there, the evolution of the Motion Picture Development Program (MPDP) proved how favorably successive governors viewed the motion picture industry. Like Shelton, those involved with the MPDP were outward boosters, but they emphasized more than just Arizona's Western look; they marketed Arizona wholly on everything it had to offer, attempting to craft an image of Arizona as a film-friendly state. The entire motion picture industry's expansion created stiff competition, providing additional motivation for the MPDP to accelerate its efforts in producing this image. This is a concern inward boosters never had to deal with, but their tradeoff lied with competing with Hollywood itself.

The film festival model used by Amy Ettinger largely eschewed both of these problems. Ettinger's inward boosterism conceived of the Scottsdale International Film Festival (SIFF) as championing Hollywood alternatives, to satisfy a more selective filmgoing crowd that enjoyed what they perceived as the more artistic vision of independent and foreign films. Ettinger's efforts best reflect an inward boosterism that tried to build a reputation for the SIFF itself as an event that consistently delivered a world-class filmic experience. Ettinger did eventually concede to booking Hollywood

films, but only as a means to increase the chances of promoting films that formed the heart of the SIFF.

Although this thesis has addressed various topics and covered the twentieth century up until the present, there are topics and questions regarding Arizona and film that are yet to be considered. Future scholarship could expand on the topics raised in this thesis. For example, other newspapers besides the *Arizona Republican* and other sources must include information, particularly on the earliest years of Arizona's motion picture history.[472] Old Tucson Studios has hosted hundreds of film productions, offering the possibility of doing a comprehensive history of the park. Public promotion of the motion picture industry by state and local governments also calls for additional attention. Finally, a comparative analysis of the various film festivals in Arizona could yield very useful information. Future scholars could also focus on specific themes besides boosterism, such as labor or the economy. These approaches all have potential to expand the still small historiography on the subject of motion picture industry in Arizona.

[472] Retired film professor Jay Boyer relayed how the sources he used for his research on early film in Arizona were "pitched into a dumpster" when he retired from Arizona State University. Due to budget cuts, the university's library had to cut back and there were simply no resources to care for the records he had accumulated. This is an example of the challenges in finding sources and an explanation for why there are gaps. Jay Boyer, email correspondence to author, February 10, 2014.

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