

The History of Advertising in Arizona and the Impact on Economic Development

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Abstract

The following honors thesis analyzes the history of advertising in the state of Arizona since the late 19th century and its overall impact on economic development. Advertising is defined as the action of calling something to the attention of the public, especially by paid announcements; and economic development is defined as the process whereby simple economies are transformed into modern industrial economies. This paper will analyze the influence of key people, events, locations, and publications on consumer behavior and discuss how they contributed to tourism in the state and, subsequently, economic growth. By speaking to experts on Arizona history, economic development and tourism as well as analyzing a variety of historical multimedia, I will discuss how advertising methods evolved over time and how they contributed to increased interest and growth within the state.

Introduction

Before the craze of social media and digital marketing and even before the age of television, advertisements played a critical role in the economic development of the Southwest. In the late 1800s, miles of unoccupied desert stood between weary travelers and their destinations. Today, the way cities advertise their services have changed dramatically since the 1800s, but it begs the question: What impact has advertising had on the economic development of Arizona and the Southwest since the 1800s?

I've grown up in Arizona and have spent my entire life traveling across the state. I've visited the Grand Canyon, I've attended Cubs Spring Training games, and I've toured too many Frank Lloyd Wright buildings to count. Arizona is what many refer to as a "transplant state," meaning many of those who live here weren't born here, and I often hear my parents reminisce about life in Arizona pre-Loop 202. Modern-day Arizona only seems to have begun 30 years ago, but what made people decide to visit in the first place, and who was responsible?

Today, the Greater Phoenix area is now a hub for tech companies, cybersecurity initiatives and several Silicon Valley company expansions. In the last 100 years, Arizona has experienced a 2,141 percent population increase. This is the third largest increase of all U.S. states, next to Nevada and Florida, and followed by Utah (US Census).

The purpose of this paper is to gain a deeper understanding of the advertising and marketing tactics that drew people to Arizona over time and how these tactics impacted the Arizona economy. Advertising is defined by Merriam Webster Dictionary as "the action of calling something to the attention of the public, especially by paid announcements," and economic development is defined by Encyclopedia Britannica as "the process whereby simple economies are transformed into modern industrial economies." It's clear the Southwest's economy has grown exponentially in the last century, and I'm interested in learning more about how marketing and related factors have contributed to its growth over time. By speaking to experts on Arizona history, economic development and tourism, I discovered what sites and sources lead to increased interest in the state.

Literature Review

Early advertising and the trek west

To understand how advertising has impacted the Southwest, it is first necessary to take a step back and understand how the Southwest was initially advertised. In the year 1892, the U.S. economy was starting to recover from an economic depression, which meant a rising number of middle-class Americans found themselves with a larger disposable income (Zega, 2001). In his article “Advertising the Southwest,” Michael Zega analyzes some of the first advertisements used to promote the Southwest. Specifically, he highlights the Santa Fe Railway and its impact on tourism and the overall development of the Southwest.

Interestingly, the primary form of promoting the Southwest came in the form of advertisements exploiting American Indian cultures. Papers by Zega (2001), Curtin (2011), and Snyder (2007), highlight the ways in which the Santa Fe Railway depicted American Indians to attract tourists. Zega highlights a man by the name of Fred Harvey and his strategy for developing the West. By “romanticizing” California through painted advertisements and developing pamphlets and books to showcase the beauty of rural areas through campaigns like “To California and Back,” the Santa Fe Railway was one of the first companies to create brand awareness by associating the Southwest with Indian art, culture and rural scenery.

Snyder (2007) takes a much more cynical look at the usage of American Indian culture in advertising, claiming that native people were essentially “on display” for tourists, and their culture was colonized and exploited by tourists and people like Fred Harvey. Snyder backs up this point by showcasing a variety of advertisements used during the time to offensively depict American Indians and utilize their culture and history as a form of entertainment.

Curtin (2011), however, argues both perspectives and explains how the Harvey Company exploited American Indians, but also provided a valuable basis for education and understanding of Native culture. By analyzing the relationship between the Harvey Company and many different American Indian tribes, he argues that Harvey Company and Santa Fe advertising departments introduced harmful ideals of authority and hierarchy towards American Indian workers.

Lastly, despite Synder's (2007) analysis, Zega (2001) points out the economic benefits associated with the advertising by Santa Fe Railway. In 1900, it is estimated that of the 100,000 tourists that visited California, and that one-third stayed and established residency. William Simpson was the genius behind these effective advertising campaigns and was one of the first people to create a guide behind different ad placements. Santa Fe Railway claimed the success of their company was due primarily to the advertising campaigns and budgeted \$250,000 for ads the following year. Although these depictions successfully advertised the beauty of the "Old West," Zega (2001) makes a point that economic development through modernized transportation and population growth were essentially rendering those scenes obsolete.

History of tourism in the Southwest

With the success of the Santa Fe Railway in the Southwest, competitors such as the Grand Canyon Railway were fighting for customers. The railways were still developing, and with the increased interest in tourism, Grand Canyon Railway beat Santa Fe to the Grand Canyon rim (Weigle, 1997). This example illustrates the dynamic and ruthless race in tourism during the early 1900s, and in the paper "Canyon, Caverns, and Coordinates: From Nature Tourism to Nuclear Tourism in the Southwest," Weigle (1997) breaks down different Southwestern tourist attractions and their impact on the industry.

Following the construction of the Grand Canyon Railway, the Fred Harvey Company opened the first hotel, Hotel El Tovar in the style of a Swiss Chateau near the rim of the canyon (Weigle, 1997). Weigle argues that this style and the similar log cabin near Yellowstone reflect "new attitudes toward the American landscape" or show a trend that Americans want to experience nature more. Weigle then points out how extravagant hotels across the nation were a symbol of economic prosperity and civilization in the Southwest, which coincides closely with the analysis provided by Tisdale in their paper "Railroads, Tourism, and American Indians in the Greater Southwest."

In their paper, Tisdale (1996) identifies five different types of tourism: ethnic, cultural, historical, environmental and recreational tourism, and states that in Arizona and the majority of the Southwest, ethnic tourism was the primary draw. Tisdale argues that ethnic tourism is the act of people profiting off of another's ethnic background and culture. During this time, ethnic

tourism created a disconnect and tension between American Indians and tour companies. Because agencies were profiting off of American Indian heritage and culture, dollars were going primarily towards organizers and not American Indians.

Tisdale's (1996) analysis accurately supports Weigle's (1997) in that there is a clear discrepancy between the natives and the developers. Although it is clear that American Indians were not compensated properly and this disparity created an economic divide between cultures that remains today, Tisdale does go on to make a point that the tourism industry did allow American Indians to sell authentic craft and pottery items to tourists, which encouraged the revitalization American Indian culture in several regions.

Advertising Arizona

Following the revolutionary invention of the railway, the invention of the automobile transformed the ways in which people traveled beginning in the years 1910-1920. This early, roads had not yet been paved across the United States, so "pathfinders" were sponsored by companies such as AAA and encouraged to be the first to "carve out paths" for following automobiles. Michael Camarano was a AAA historian who helped pave the way for major routes that allowed people to visit some of Arizona's most scenic areas (Ellis, 2013).

In the paper "The Trail to Sunset," Ellis (2013) follows the history of the establishment of roads in Arizona and Camarano's discovery of famous attractions. For example, the paper discussed Camarano's encounter with the "Yuma Mummy" on his third excursion, which is speculated to be the major tourist attraction, "The Thing."

The paper also discussed the Good Roads movement, a national association that pushed for road developments across the U.S. The Arizona Good Roads chapter utilized information gathered from "pathfinders" to develop illustrated road maps and tour books used to promote travel accommodations across the state. The information advertised through magazines and books ended up drastically boosting the tourism market in Arizona (Ellis, 2013).

Ellis's (2013) paper provides insight into the history of tourism in Arizona as well as advertising Arizona's "Old West" draw through local media. For almost a century, Scottsdale, Arizona has been an iconic aspect of Arizona's "Old West," but Giblin's article in 1994 analyzes how "the

West's Most Western Town" changed its marketing strategy. The article provides a glimpse into the struggle Scottsdale faced back in the mid-'90s and posed the question: How does the city maintain the image as the "Most Western Town" if they are naturally developing and moving away from that era? Scottsdale tourism director, Rachel Sacco, provides insight into how they planned to maintain brand awareness while still able to remain relevant to the growing urban areas (Giblin, 1994).

Ellis's (2013) paper argues for the benefits of tourism's impact in the early 1900s through road and other development, and in 1999, S. Balzer's paper on returns of tourism work to support the claim almost a century later. In 1999 in Arizona, tourism accounted for 20% of overall employment and 17% of private-sector employment. This is because many industries in Arizona not only directly rely on tourism, but also indirectly. Those in construction, advertising, sports operations, and pool manufacturing all rely on tourism to aid in the construction of hotels, landscapes and sporting facilities (Balzer, 1999).

History of Advertising and Tourism in Arizona

Fred Harvey

In the late 1800s, the invention of the railway made tourism possible. After the recovery of a large economic downturn, travelers suddenly had more disposable income and flocked to unventured regions of the Southwest to explore the exotic desert. It was the combination of the Fred Harvey Company and the AT&SF Railway that made this possible.

Fred Harvey was a businessman originally from London, and he noticed how little the railways cared for their customers. Journeys were long and stops were short, and food and hotel options for customers were sparse. Trains would often only stop an hour to allow for lunch breaks, and would sometimes depart without all passengers.

At the time, Fred Harvey noticed this issue and brought it up to the railway manager, Charles Morse. Morse soon adopted the idea and enlisted Fred Harvey to create a string of hotels and restaurants along the Santa Fe Railway. As a result, Harvey created the first hotel and restaurant “chain” with his business, the Fred Harvey Company. Harvey’s hotels and restaurants became popular destinations for passengers traveling along the Santa Fe Railway, and Harvey developed a reputation for impeccable service, clean rooms and excellent food.

All of Harvey’s buildings were meant to reflect their surroundings -- he wanted his guests to be engulfed in Southwestern culture and he relied heavily on ethnic tourism to fuel that vision. As trains would approach Spanish-styled stations along the Santa Fe route, American Indians lined the platform and waited for passengers to disembark and purchase their crafts (see figure 1). This interaction was meant to simulate a “safe” experience with American Indians, and trading posts like this would occur along the entire route (Tisdale, 1996).



Figure 1: Laguna Pueblo women meet AT&SF Railway passengers to sell their pottery

AT&SF Advertising

Together, Harvey and the AT&SF Railway created a “romanticized” image of the Southwest: one that coated hand-painted postcards in sunsets and brochures in rich natural geological structures (see figure 2). These images were often shared with family members or displayed in local magazines across the Southwest, and all encouraged tourists to take a trip through the “Wild West.” The purpose of these advertisements was to create an air of mystery around the West. It wasn’t until the end of the nineteenth century that the Fred Harvey Company began to depict American Indians in advertisements.



Figure 2: The Watchtower at Desert View postcard distributed by the Fred Harvey Company

In 1892, the Santa Fe Railway sent artists to the Southwest to create enthralling advertisements. While other railways focused on the natural beauty of the surrounding landscape, nearly all 20 artists turned their focus to American Indians, and particularly the Hopi tribe. After creating a series of advertisements focusing on people of the Southwest, this image eventually became the center of Santa Fe Advertising, and the railway was one of the first to associate a commodity with ethnic tourism (see figures 3 and 4) (Zega, 2001).

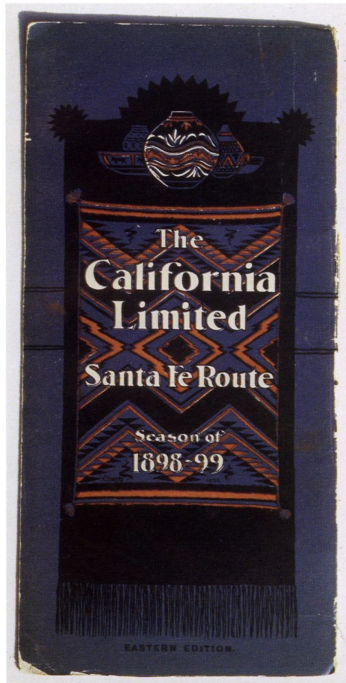


Figure 3: First California Limited advertisement features a traditional Navajo blanket

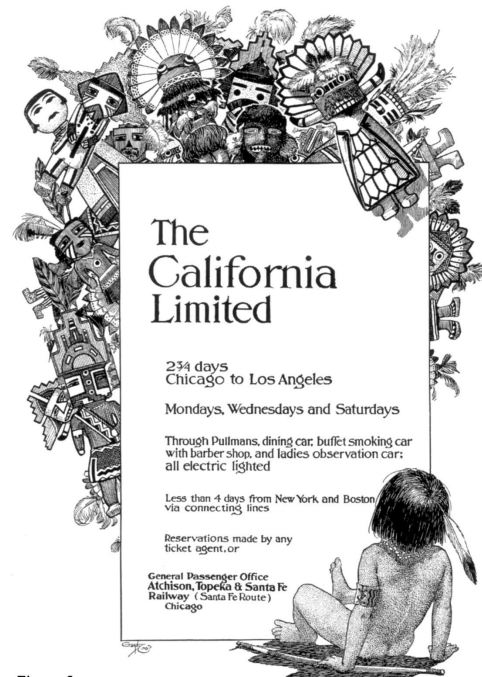


Figure 4: Dramatized California Limited advertisement centered around American Indian traditions and culture

Leading the advertising efforts was a man by the name of C. A. Higgins. Higgins was fascinated with Navajo and Hopi culture, and he became well-known for producing booklets and leading the marketing efforts of the AT&SF railways (see figures 5 and 6). His highly popular advertisements were colorful and stood out from text-heavy, traditional railway advertisements. As a result, Higgins was able to publish advertisements in mass-circulated publications such as the *Los Angeles Times*, *Munsey's* and *Cosmopolitan* (Zega, 2001).

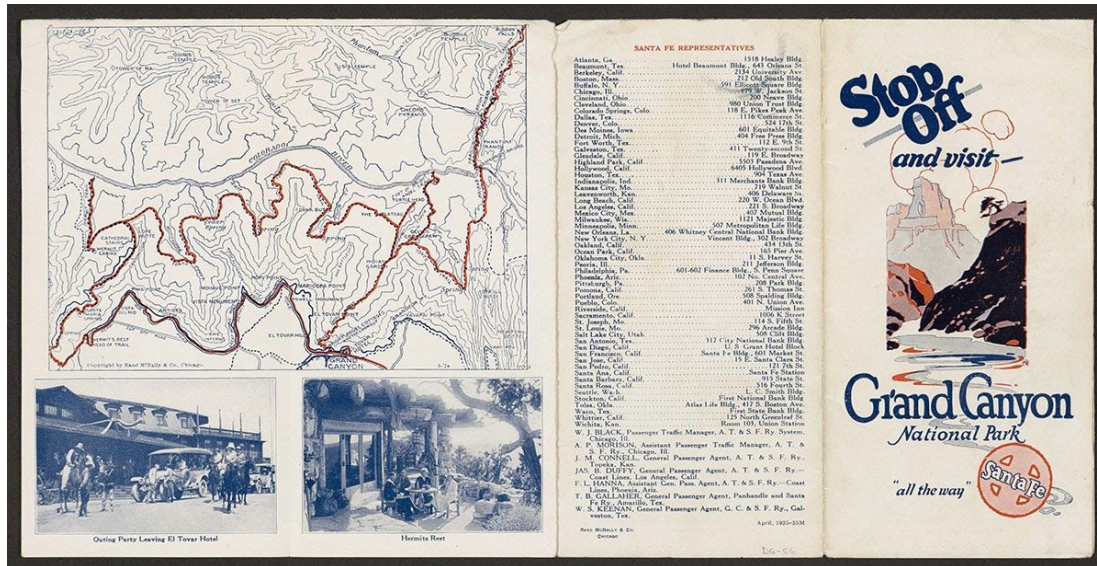


Figure 5: A 1925 brochure produced by the Santa Fe Railroad advertising the Grand Canyon.

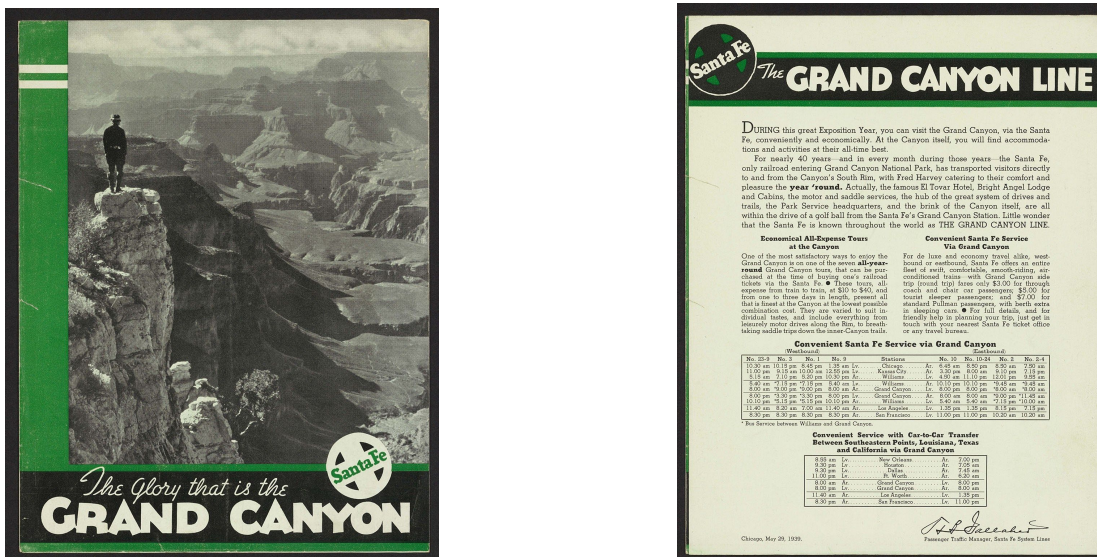


Figure 6: A 1939 brochure produced by the Santa Fe Railroad advertising the Grand Canyon and listing train schedules to accommodate passengers. Although this brochure may not have been directly designed by Higgins, it demonstrates the success of his brochures and use of color 40 years later.

Harvey Girls

The Fred Harvey Company was known for hiring only educated, unmarried, young women and standardizing human resource management practices across all properties. These women, known as “Harvey Girls,” became the face of Southwest hospitality and brought a sense of civility to the “Wild West.”

As Fred Harvey's chain of hotels and restaurants spread across the West, he created a set of regulations to ensure the same quality and consistency at each location were met. By doing so, the Fred Harvey Company established a reputation for superior service and guest accommodations. One of the major factors of his success is attributed to his wait staff, the Harvey Girls (Ford, 2019).

The Harvey Company became the "first major successful large-scale employer of women living away from home" (Ford, 2019) as many other companies struggled to convince attractive, young and intelligent women to leave home during this time. During the Victorian era, the appearance was everything, and professions like working as a waitress were often frowned upon. Harvey Girls were expected to maintain a standard of professionalism and were clothed in long black gowns paired with white petticoats (see figure 7).



Figure 7: Harvey Girls in their traditional uniform in 1883

The most difficult task of building a reliable staff was convincing young women to leave home. Harvey typically advertised to women living in the Midwest and promised excitement and adventure through the advertisements. The job was well-paid and offered benefits like room and board as well as vacation time, but typically discriminated against minority women from holding a position (Curtin, 2011).

Despite appearances, the overall purpose of the Harvey Girls was to bring civility to the West. As the reputation of Harvey Houses spread throughout the country, perceptions of the “Wild West” began to change. If young women are able to live and work peacefully in the untamed West, then it must be a safe and respectable place.

Indian Department

In 1902, the Harvey Company established the “Indian Department,” an attraction built in Albuquerque, New Mexico that allowed tourists to view American Indians and learn more about their culture in a museum-like setting. The Indian Department served as a major source of income for those employed; however, many argue that Harvey and his management team were once again commodifying American Indians for the benefit of tourists (Curtin, 2011).

The Indian Department was run by Fred Harvey’s son-in-law, John Huckel, who hired Herman Schweizer to curate artifacts for the attraction. The initial goal of the Indian Department was primarily to serve as an educational center and specifically feature information regarding Navajo tribes. However, the goals of the center quickly divulged into a commercial tourist attraction, and Schweizer scrambled to collect American Indian items to sell to tourists (Snyder, 2007).

While at the Indian department, American Indians spent their time working on crafts and pottery while clothed in traditional dress (see figure 8). The center served as both a museum and store and tourists were able to purchase items and were also taken on tours by educated female tour guides known as “Couriers.”



Figure 8: Tourists shop outside of the Indian Department and purchase items from craftspeople

Indian Detours

Following the invention of the automobile in the early 20th century, The Fred Harvey Company expanded its tourism offerings by introducing “Indian Detours” in parts of New Mexico and Arizona. Indian Detours were guided side trips that allowed tourists to visit American Indian pueblos and villages in person (see figure 9). By doing so, tourists were able to purchase pottery, jewelry and textiles directly from craftspeople and view them as they went about daily chores and activities (Curtin, 2011).

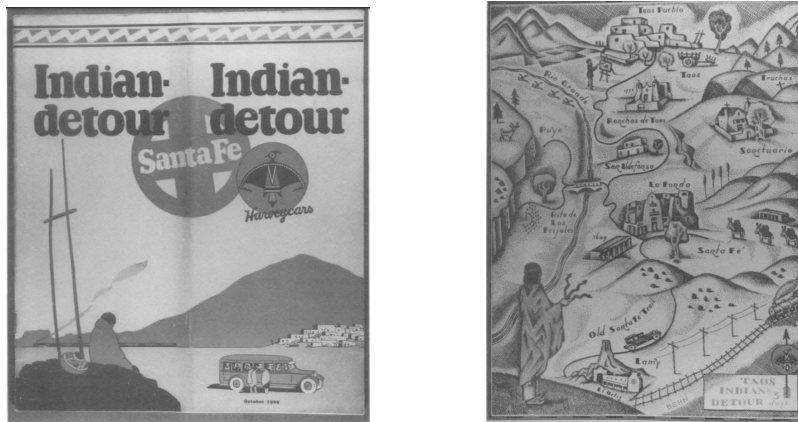


Figure 9: Excerpt from a Santa Fe Brochure advertising Harvey's Indian Detours

By providing this option to tourists, Indian Detours played a large part in “selling” the Southwest (Tisdale, 1996). With the rapid change in transportation, automobiles, airplanes, and buses soon made it possible for tourists to embark on these journeys alone. The Fred Harvey Company and Santa Fe Railway couldn’t monopolize tourism forever, but what they did do was create a lasting image of the Southwest that affiliates it with American Indian culture.

In their paper, Tisdale argues that Indian Detours became an integral aspect of developing the Southwest. They highlight how the market demands of American Indian arts and crafts grew in the early 20th century, and this was likely caused by the influx of tourists during this time. This increase in demand indirectly caused other business people from the East to travel back to the Southwest and capitalize on the opportunity to commoditize American Indian crafts. Tisdale speculates that these migrants had likely visited the Southwest before they decided to move, explaining the relationship between tourism and the likelihood of returning and contributing economically to an area.

Advertising the Grand Canyon

Hotel El Tovar

In 1905, Hotel El Tovar opened its doors to the public. Designed by Charles Whittlesey, the hotel resembled a Swiss Chalet and was the first hotel built on the rim of the Grand Canyon. The property was managed by the Fred Harvey Company and served as one of the signature stops along the Santa Fe Railway. Today, the hotel is a National Historic Landmark and offers premiere views of the Grand Canyon. The hotel was constructed entirely out of local limestone and Oregon pine and has housed famous guests such as Theodore Roosevelt, Paul McCartney and Albert Einstein (Grand Canyon Lodges, 2020).



Figure 10: Tourists arrive at El Tovar. American Indian individuals and crafts are nearby



Figure 11: A handwritten postcard from El Tovar blissfully recounts the authors stay

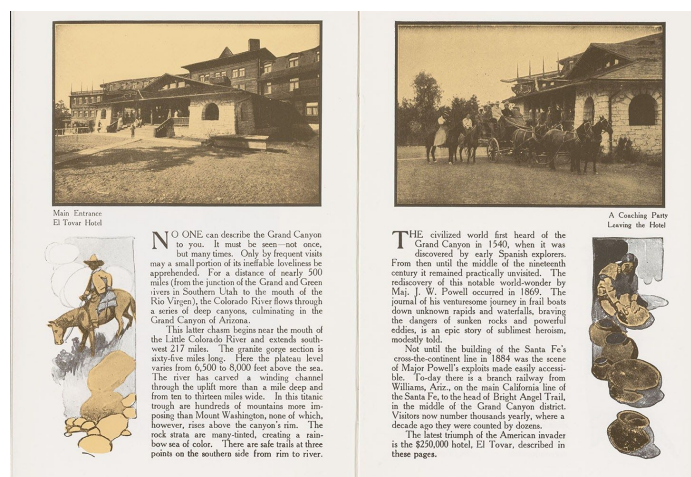


Figure 12: Excerpt from a brochure used to advertise the amenities in the El Tovar Hotel

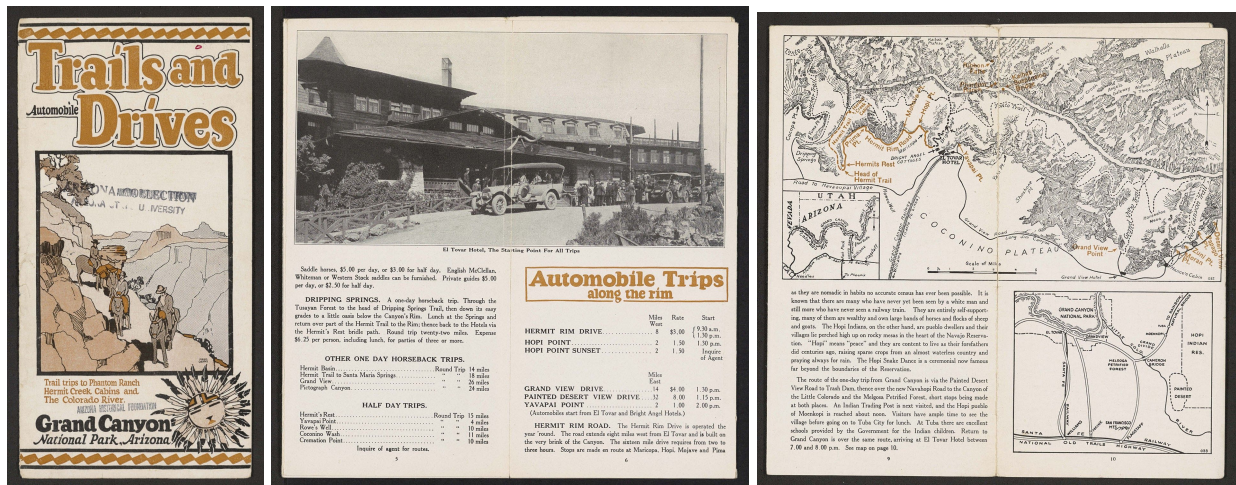


Figure 13: Brochure describing hotels, camps and trips at the Grand Canyon under Fred Harvey Management.

In the year 1905, The Fred Harvey Company opened the Hopi House directly across from Hotel El Tovar, a sister attraction to Albuquerque's Indian Department. Like the Indian Department, the Hopi House was designed and promoted to serve as an educational attraction. However, Hopi craftspeople lived in the building, sang and danced in the evening, and created items to be sold to tourists (see figure 14). Weigle (1989) argues the purpose of employing Hopi people was purely to add to the "atmosphere" of Harvey and Santa Fe's image of the Southwest.



Figure 14: Image of the Hopi House depicted on a set of playing cards

National Park Status

In 1915, Senator Carl Hayden fought to make the Grand Canyon a National Park. At the time, the Grand Canyon was established as a 1,260 square mile National Monument, and many people used the land for farming, mining, cattle grazing and other uses. The senator's proposed bill took the controversial boundaries into account, and he proposed the park only encompass 996 square miles (see figure 15).

The senator argued that establishing the Grand Canyon as a National Park would be a net benefit to the state. Doing so would allow the state to have access to government funds to assist in the pavement of major “good roads” that are essential for canyon visits. A National Park status would also elevate the reputation of the Grand Canyon, and Hayden predicted that over 100,000 tourists are likely to visit the attraction and contribute to the Arizona economy.

Dozens of letters between him, Governor W. P. Hunt, W. W. Bass and other historic Arizona political figures detailed arguments for why the Grand Canyon should and should not become a National Park. Governor Hunt's argument was in favor of establishing the Grand Canyon as a National Park, as he believed the Federal Government would be a beneficial ally and help impose sanctions and restrictions on minerals and natural resources (see figures 16).

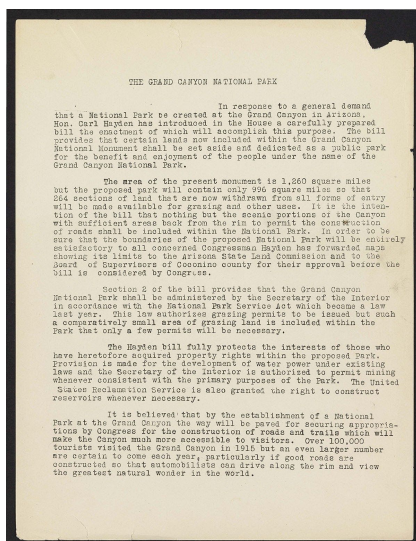


Figure 15: Senator Carl Hayden's proposal for National Park status. Outlines tourism expectations and land rights.

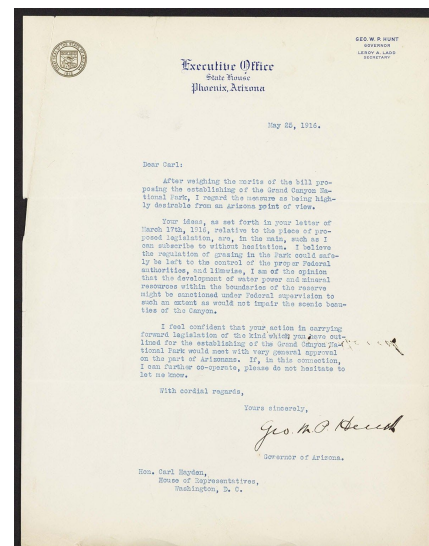


Figure 16: Letter from Governor W. P. Hunt to Senator Carl Hayden supporting the National Park.

However, local entrepreneur William Wallace Bass had other thoughts on the National Park status. Like Fred Harvey, W. W. Bass was one of the first people to begin offering tours around the rim of the canyon and to the attraction's most scenic points. He had paved the majority of the Grand Canyon roads himself and made a living as a tour guide and miner in the canyon. The Fred Harvey Company and Santa Fe Railway threatened his business, and he feared that if the Grand Canyon became a National Park, he would lose access to major tourist attractions (Abernathy, 2019).

In 1917, Bass wrote a letter to Hayden, arguing that making the Grand Canyon a National Park would give a monopoly to the Santa Fe Railway, which owned a large portion of land that was included in the proposed National Park boundaries. He also argued that American Indians had “acquired rights” and warned there would be a conflict between these people and the Federal Government when it came to farming and grazing rights (see figure 17). In another letter written that same year, Bass argued on behalf of the people of Arizona, claiming that the state's citizens should have a say in the matter before Congress approves the senator's bill (see figure 18).

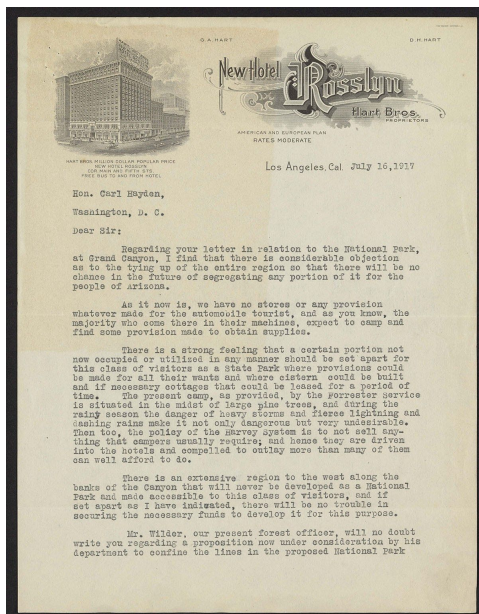


Figure 17: Letter from W. W. Bass to Senator Carl Hayden arguing the Grand Canyon belongs to the people of Arizona and not the government.

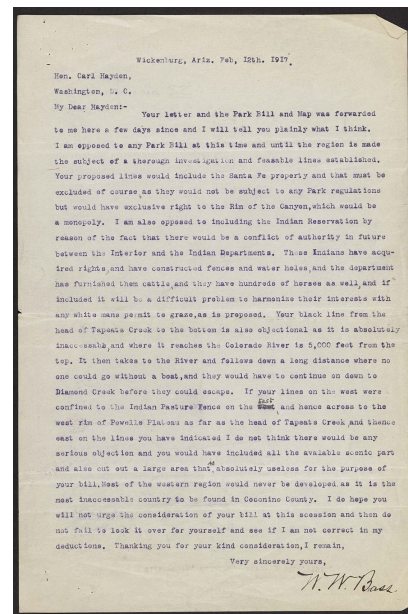


Figure 18: Letter from W. W. Bass to Senator Carl Hayden voicing concerns of Santa Fe Railroad's monopoly and rights of American Indians.

In an economic impact article produced by the Department of the Interior in 1924, an estimated 108,256 tourists visited the Grand Canyon (see figure 19). The report stated that although

visitation was up 6 percent that year, the numbers were not as high as they would have liked, this is because the Grand Canyon at the time was the source of the majority of Arizona's tourism revenue. The report speculated that numbers were low due to a rigid, 3-month quarantine for the state of Arizona to protect against the hoof and mouth disease epidemic at the time.

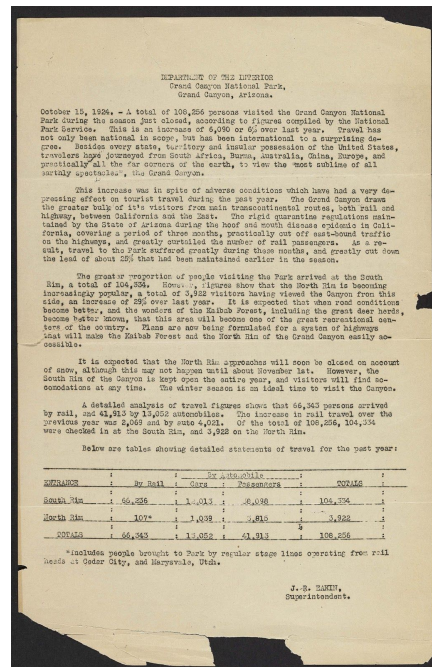


Figure 19: 1924 tourism statistics for the Grand Canyon

In 2018, the National Park Service estimated 6.3 million visitors traveled to the Grand Canyon and spent \$947 million in the surrounding communities. That spending combined with the contribution to 12,558 jobs resulted in an economic impact of \$1.2 billion to the local economy.

The Greene Family and Lake Powell

In the early 1900s, rafting down the Colorado River was unheard of, unless you were a scientist or extreme adventurer. Before the creation of Lake Powell and the Glen Canyon Dam, a man by the name of Art Greene navigated Glen Canyon and the winding Colorado River. In 1944, he became the first to take tourists rafting along the Colorado River and eventually started the first commercial rafting company to service the area.

Art Greene and his family, known affectionately as the “Greene Family” ran a full-service tourism company, Canyon Tours Inc., which offered lodging, dining, shopping and guided tour experiences for over 33 years (see figure 20). The Greene Family became well-known as Glen

Canyon experts and gave tours to National Geographic photographers, celebrities and politicians.

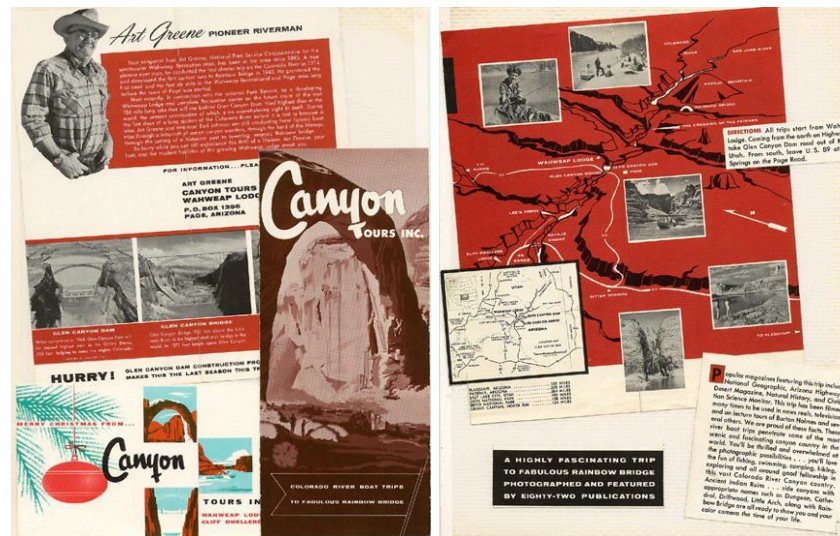


Figure 20: Promotional materials advertising the services of Canyon Tours, Inc.

In the late 1950s, plans eventually emerged to build a dam in Glen Canyon to provide water and power to surrounding states, leading to the creation of Lake Powell. The Greene Family owned a portion of land set to be flooded by the resulting dam and worked with close friends Senator Barry Goldwater and Carl Hayden to retain a portion of the land. This request was granted to the Greene Family, and in 1965, the Greene Family opened and operated Wahweap Lodge and Marina to continue serving loyal tourists (Greene Family Collection).

Before the creation of Lake Powell, a number of historical sites were destroyed, including ancient petroglyphs and notable rock formations. A video of the Greene Family's last tour depicts Arizona Governor Fannin and Utah Governor Clyde enjoying a day on the river, led by Canyon Tours Inc. This silent movie serves as a promotional video to celebrate the creation of the new Glen Canyon Dam and pay tribute to the services offered by the Greene Family.

In the video, a group of one dozen men is seen speeding along the Colorado River in motorboats and later enjoying a cookout on the edge of the river. A helicopter flies through the canyon to highlight the civility of Arizona during the time, and demonstrate the advancement of tourism in the state. The video ends with the group posing beneath Rainbow Bridge, a signature attraction.

Following the construction of Glen Canyon Dam, Lake Powell and Wahweap Lodge led to a number of significant events. Popular Hollywood movies such as “Planet of the Apes,” “Bandelaro,” and “The Greatest Story Ever Told” (see figure 21) were filmed in Glen Canyon, and the cast and crew were often taken care of by the Greene Family. In addition, *Arizona Highways Magazine* ran a story entirely on the creation of Lake Powell and the Greene Family (see figure 22). This led to an influx in tourism and included visits from Princess Margaret and Lord Snowden of England (Greene Family Collection).



Figure 21: Filming of “The Greatest Story Ever Told” in 1963, just before the construction of the Glen Canyon Dam

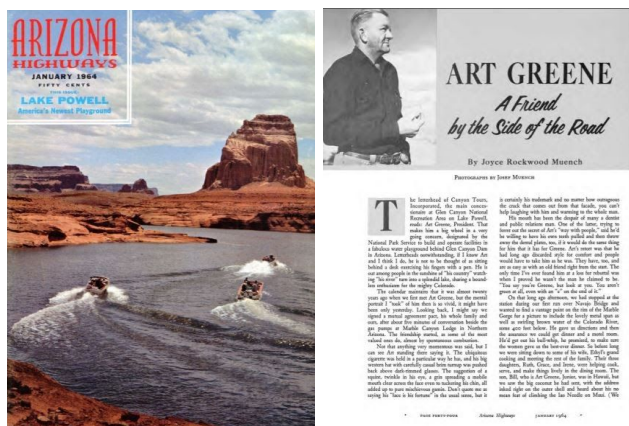


Figure 22: January 1964 issue of *Arizona Highways* featuring the construction of Lake Powell and contributions of the Greene Family to tourism in Arizona

In 1976, the Greene Family sold the Wahweap Lodge and Marina to Del Webb Recreational Properties (Greene Family Collection). The sale signified the end of an era, as the Greene Family was one of the last tourism pioneers in the state of Arizona. Letters from Governor Castro (see figure 23) and Senator Goldwater (see figure 24) were sent to the family, thanking them for setting a precedence of kindness and hospitality in the tourism industry as well as commending their contributions to the Arizona economy.

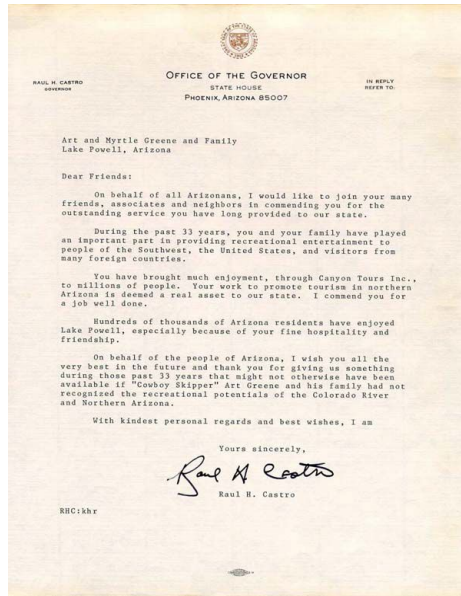


Figure 23: Letter from Governor Raul Casto in 1976 thanking the Greene family for their service to the state of Arizona

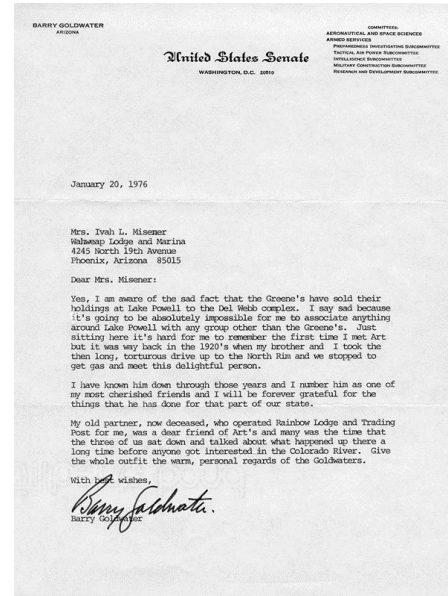


Figure 24: Letter from Senator Barry Goldwater in 1976 recounting his time spent with Art Greene and his contributions to Arizona

Scottsdale, Arizona

From the late 1800s to the late 1840s, Scottsdale, Arizona was home primarily to roaming cattle and stockyards. It wasn't until after World War II in 1949 when Motorola built a plant that the city began to develop. Throughout the 1960s, Scottsdale maintained some of its most historic buildings, claiming the title of "the West's most Western town" (Gale Group, 2006). This brand was eventually dismissed once multiple galleries began to pop up in the city and the Scottsdale Center for Arts was built. Scottsdale was then able to transform its image to that of luxury and an upscale destination -- one that attracted tourists from around the globe.

In March 2003, the Morrison Institute for Public Policy released its report "Which Way to Scottsdale?" to provide an in-depth analysis of Scottsdale's shifting brand along with recommendations. The report pitched the concept "Scottsdale 2.0," a plan for Scottsdale to re-develop itself as a tourist destination. The report argues that Scottsdale's historical background isn't enough to hold the city together, and with the rapidly changing demands from top tourist destinations, Scottsdale needed to clearly identify itself as a distinctive location.

Although Scottsdale was in the process of transitioning into the world-renown destination it is today, many at the time still associated it with retirement and homogeneity. In addition to this,

the transition resulted in confusion among residents (see figure 25). To combat these perceptions, the report proposed that Scottsdale unite its three regions (North, Central, and South Scottsdale) for a common goal and leverage their assets to drive growth.

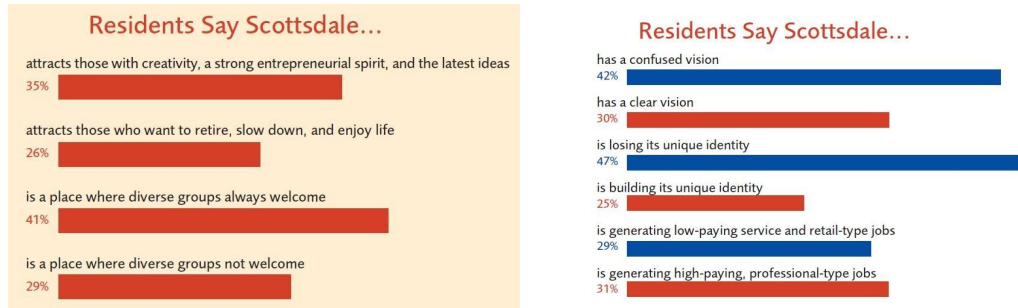


Figure 25: Surveys distributed to Scottsdale residents, inquiring their perception of Scottsdale’s current image

To learn more about Scottsdale, I reached out to Experience Scottsdale (formerly Scottsdale Convention & Visitors Bureau) CEO Rachel Sacco to discover how tourism and marketing have impacted the economy. She directed me to her team of marketers who informed me that their overall approach to promoting the region had changed since the early 2000s. Today, the brand of Scottsdale focuses on the luxury experience and mystery of the Sonoran Desert. Experience Scottsdale continues to push Scottsdale as a year-round destination and competes with extravagant customers worldwide.

To get visitors to the area, Scottsdale uses a variety of promotional materials which include online and social media advertisements, print and branding collateral, and a vast network of tourism and concierge services (see figure 26). Today, Experience Scottsdale’s annual direct economic impact is estimated to be \$247 million with 10.8 million visitors traveling to the city annually (Experience Scottsdale, n.d).



Figure 26: Excerpts from Experience Scottsdale’s “Absolutely Scottsdale” print and TV campaign

Sports

Fiesta Bowl

In 1971, Arizona hosted the first Fiesta Bowl at Arizona State University against Florida State University, a move that guaranteed Western Athletic Conference champions to be featured in the game. As a smaller state at the time, Arizona used this new opportunity to generate recognition and worked to build its reputation as a developed and fully integrated state.

Shortly after the ASU victory and positive outcome of the Fiesta Bowl, Arizona released a promotional video that featured highlights of the game and also served to advocate technological and urban advancements in the state. During the 1970s, perceptions of Arizona were consistent with those of the “Wild West.” Many across the country still viewed Arizona as underdeveloped, and bringing the Fiesta Bowl to the state was a chance for Arizona to show how far the state had come in terms of accommodations and economic development.

The promotional video opens with a shot of the Florida State University football team disembarking an airplane and driving through the city of Phoenix and Tempe. Scenes of tall buildings and manicured lawns pass along the screen as the FSU football team is escorted to the ASU campus. Once they arrive on campus, they are welcomed with an old West shoot-out reenactment and viewers lounge in lawn chairs near a clear pool.

As the video continues, football players are shown checking into clean motel rooms and are then invited to dine at the CamelBack Inn in Scottsdale, Arizona and later have brunch at the Arizona Biltmore. The dining rooms are packed with prominent Arizona political figures and feature cameos of former Governor Jack Williams and Senator Paul Fannin. Guests are even treated to a fashion show, where models wear clothing inspired by Arizona’s past.

Such a dichotomy between the “old” and “new” Arizona shows how developed the state has become. The Fiesta Bowl was brought to the state under hesitation, but Arizona used this event to showcase the major advancements the state has made over time. The promotional video utilizes Arizona’s history as a form of entertainment, illustrating that Arizona is no longer the

“Wild West” popular television shows and movies once depicted it to be. The state is safe, urban and modernized, a revitalized place to send children to college or visit for sporting events.

To learn more about the Fiesta Bowl’s economic impact on the state of Arizona over time, I met with researchers at the Seidman Research Institute who have conducted economic impact studies for the Fiesta Bowl. Because reports are distributed privately to clients, I was only able to gain access to public information distributed by Fiesta Bowl. I found that between the years 2007-2008 and 2010-2011, the Fiesta Bowl generated a total of \$756.3 million toward the Arizona economy (ASU, 2011).

Super Bowls

In the years 1996, 2008 and 2015, Phoenix hosted the NFL Super Bowl. When the 2015 event debuted, it was the “most-watched program in the history of American television,” and 114.4 million viewers tuned in to watch the Seattle Seahawks play the New England Patriots in Phoenix, Arizona.

Hosting the Super Bowl differed from the Fiesta Bowl in that the Super Bowl required state-wide participation. In addition to the live broadcast of the show, dozens of events were held throughout the week leading up to the game, attracting visitors from across the country to the Greater Phoenix area. The city that had the largest impact on advertising the game next to Phoenix was Scottsdale, Arizona.

In 2008, Scottsdale’s Convention & Visitors Bureau (Experience Scottsdale) attracted more than 50 Super Bowl-related events to the city. ESPN built a custom set in the center of downtown Scottsdale and featured over 90 hours of coverage leading up to the big game, featuring b-roll of the city and citing facts from Scottsdale’s press kit. According to a report published by the Scottsdale City Council in 2013, the cities of Scottsdale and Paradise Valley reached a 93.8 percent occupancy in the four nights leading up to the 2008 Super Bowl, whereas the rest of the Phoenix metro area only reached 79.5 percent occupancy (Scottsdale City Council, 2013).

Despite the overall success of the 2008 Super Bowl to the city of Scottsdale, the Convention & Visitors Bureau stated that the “biggest benefit [they] received from Super Bowl 2008 was the national and international media exposure to millions of potential visitors.” The footage and

promotion of Scottsdale were broadcasted on multiple media channels, including ESPN, CBS, The Golf Channel, Fox Sports Network and others (Scottsdale City Council, 2013). The success of Scottsdale's advertising led to the following marketing proposal for the 2015 Super Bowl: 200,000 printed visitors guides, featured articles, updated social media, monthly email blasts to 60,000 subscribers, b-roll distribution and collaboration with ESPN to host "Big Game" experiences (Scottsdale City Council, 2013).

Notably the largest sporting event of each year, the impact of the Super Bowl had a large impact on the Arizona economy, generating \$305.8 million in 1996, \$500.6 million in 2008 and \$719.4 million in 2015 towards the Arizona economy. During the 2015 Super Bowl, an estimated 1,000,000 people attended downtown Phoenix events and 500,000 attended events in Scottsdale throughout the week (Arizona Super Bowl Host Committee, 2015).

Arizona not only benefited from the immediate impact of the event on tourism and expenditures, but the also benefited from the "ripple effect" of outside visitors and organizations, or the indirect effects of outside spending on earnings and employment (Arizona Super Bowl Host Committee, 2015). Using Arizona as a host for the 1996, 2013 and 2015 Super Bowls allowed metro cities to leverage their strong history of tourism and advertising to lure visitors to popular resorts and Valley attractions.

Cactus League Sports

In 1947, the first Spring Training game in Arizona was played between the San Francisco Giants and the Cleveland Indians. The Indians already practiced in Tucson at the time, but Giants owner, Horace Stoneham, made the decision to bring the Giants out West when he discovered the Buckhorn Baths in Mesa (see figure 27). The Chicago Cubs eventually joined the two teams after Mesa Chamber of Commerce leader Dwight Patterson convinced his good friend William Wrigley to bring the team from Los Angeles to Mesa -- where they've remained ever since (Mark, 2017).



Figure 27: San Francisco Giants pose in front of Mesa Buckhorn Baths Motel in 1947 for a day of pampering

According to a Seidman Institute 2018 study, 6 out of every 10 non-resident fans stated that Cactus League was the main reason they traveled to Arizona, and 71.9% have attended Spring Training for a previous season. In 2017, Cactus League drew 1,941,347 fans to the Greater Phoenix area, and in 2018, the event generated an estimated \$644.2 million to the Phoenix economy.

Arizona Publications

Arizona Highways Magazine

In the early 1920s, magazines emerged across the country with the purpose of keeping citizens up-to-date on current policies and initiatives regarding highways. The *Arizona Highways Magazine* (AHM) began as just that -- a publication detailing the Arizona Highway Department's (now Arizona Department of Transportation) newest projects. The magazine at the time was published by the Arizona Highway Department and only featured a few photos. It wasn't until 1937 that the publication changed into the well-known magazine it is today.

Raymond Carlson

In 1937, a key influencer by the name of Raymond Carlson joined the *Arizona Highways Magazine* staff. Carlson contributed to the magazine by reaching out to award-winning photojournalists and photographers and adding their scenic photos to the publications. Raymond was meticulous about the quality of the magazine, and this attention to detail helped establish a strong brand and he created an image that still stands with the magazine today. Over the years, color issues highlighted key Arizona attractions, such as flora, fauna, canyons and other landscapes. Ray was well connected to local artists and developed close relationships with local artists like Ted DeGrazia.

Photographers like Ansel Adams and Josef Muench were frequently featured in the publications and contributed for decades, along with prominent local artists like Ted DeGrazia. The *Arizona Highways Magazines* were some of the very first places that showcased their work. The publication became known for its excellent art and connections to award-winning artists. Today, the magazine continues to work with well-known photographers, and many believe that these initial connections and history of the publication established a long-lasting reputation.

Arizona Highways Artists

In the year 1946, photographer Ansel Adams' work was introduced to the repertoire of AHM. An excerpt from the May 1946 issue reads: "It is about time we introduce you to Ansel Adams, whose photography has added so much to these pages and to whose work we do, to use a worn

but descriptive phrase, point with pride ... We could tell you much more about him, but nothing can speak of his ability as well as his photographs. The name Ansel Adams is hereby enrolled in the family of *Arizona Highways*” (Arizona Highways, 1946).

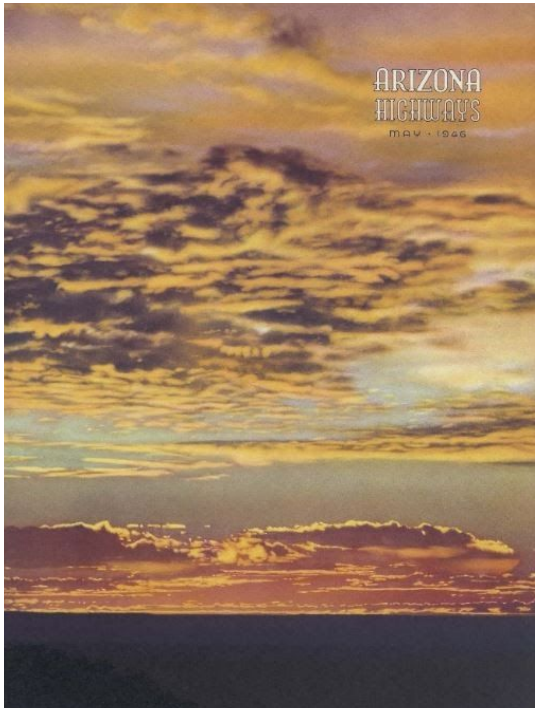


Figure 28: Cover of the May 1946 issue of Arizona Highways. One of the first images by Ansel Adams to be featured in the magazine.

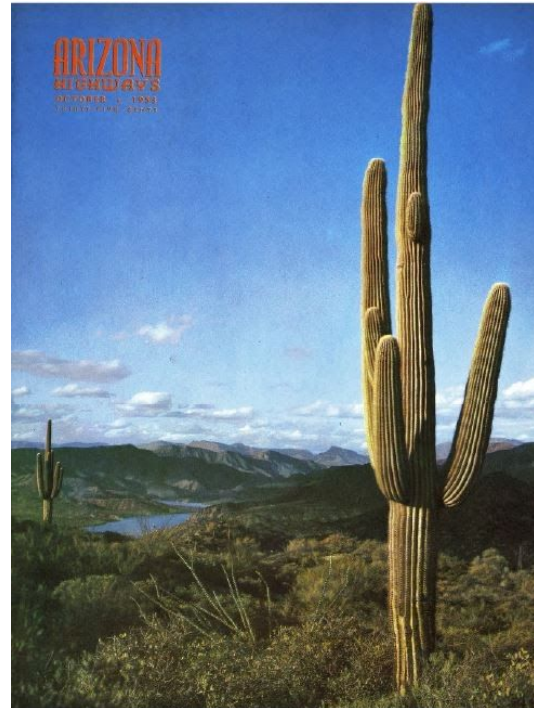


Figure 29: Some of the most famous photographs taken by Ansel Adams have been featured in the magazine and serve to highlight the beauty of Arizona. This photograph was featured in the October 1953 edition of Arizona Highways.

During the late 1940s, some of the Valley’s most celebrated artists were featured in AHM. The March 1949 issue ran a feature on the Tucson artist Ted De Grazia and interviewed local artists about him (see figure 30). “I do know that I want some of his things now when they are cheap because someday they may be very valuable. Only the future will tell about Ted De Grazia,” the interviewed artist said (Arizona Highways, 1949). A University of Arizona graduate, Ted De Grazia went on to become one of Arizona’s most well-known artists. His galleries were sponsored by Diego Rivera and his famous “Gallery of the Sun” exhibit still stands in Tucson, Arizona.

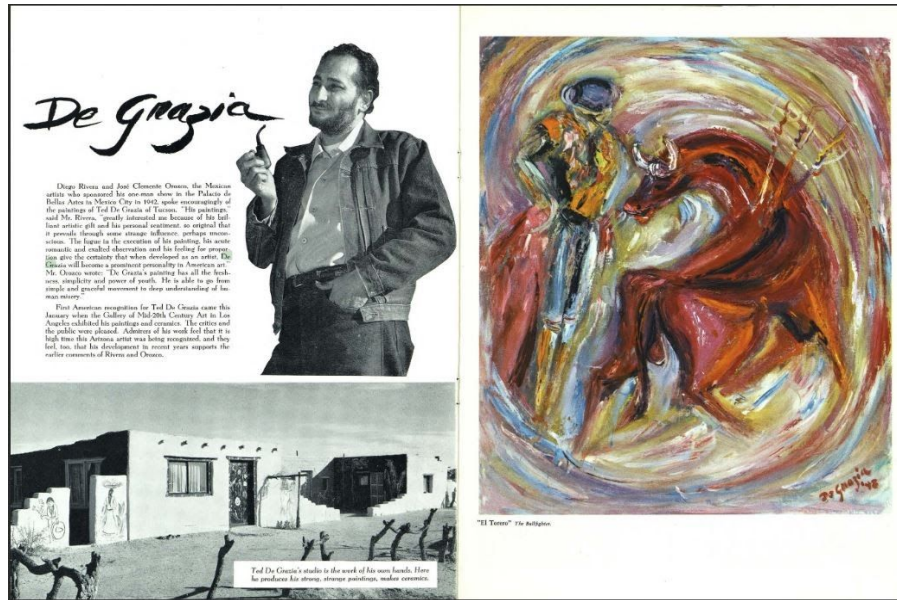


Figure 30: Excerpt from March 1949 issue of *Arizona Highways Magazine* artist spotlight on Ted De Grazia

In 1970, AHM ran an issue celebrating the city of Phoenix's centennial. In the issue, the magazine touches on cultural impact and the increase in tourism, stating that "the past two decades have witnessed a cultural explosion in Phoenix. Riding a wave of population growth, the cultural life of the city was suddenly nourished by both those who conceived artistic beauty and by those who encourage it by active support ... the visitor views the results of Phoenix's changing face ... thousands of other tourists, now residents, came before him" (Arizona Highways, 1970).

The article goes on to state some of the most impactful contributions to Phoenix tourism and mentions how the 1964 construction of the Grady Gammage Auditorium (see figure 31) resulted in a new cultural era of growth and its role as "one of the nation's leading cultural centers" (Arizona Highways, 1970). Frank Lloyd Wright had long been a prominent figure in Arizona's cultural history, and this issue was not the first -- or the last -- to mention him and his impact.

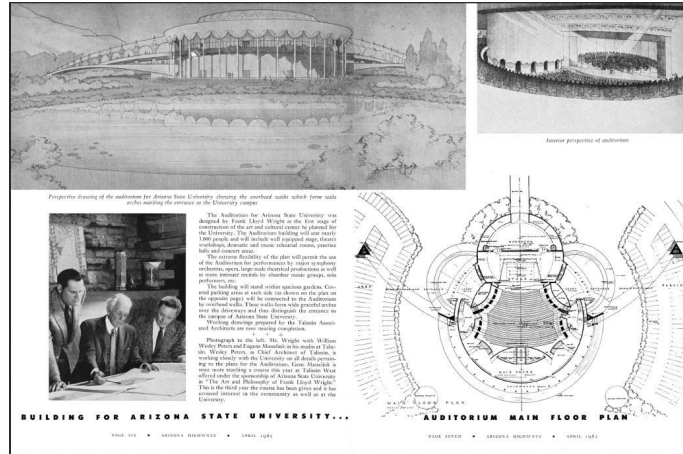


Figure 31: Spread from April 1970 edition of *Arizona Highways* featuring Frank Lloyd Wright’s blueprints for Gammage Auditorium.

Frank Lloyd Wright died in the year 1959, but several magazine issues were published before and after the architect’s death to commemorate him and his work. The October 1949 issue of AHM features the process of Wright’s then-recently completed Taliesin West (see figure 32). Frank Lloyd Wright initially traveled to Arizona as a consultant on the construction of the Arizona Biltmore. Like so many other visitors, Wright fell in love with the desert and decided to make Arizona his home. In the late 1930s, Wright purchased land in Paradise Valley and called upon several of his architecture students to assist in the construction of Taliesin West, his new winter home in which he incorporated his style of “organic architecture” (*Arizona Highways*, 1949). Today, Taliesin West is still preserved in Scottsdale, serving as the headquarters for the Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation and School of Architecture at Taliesin.

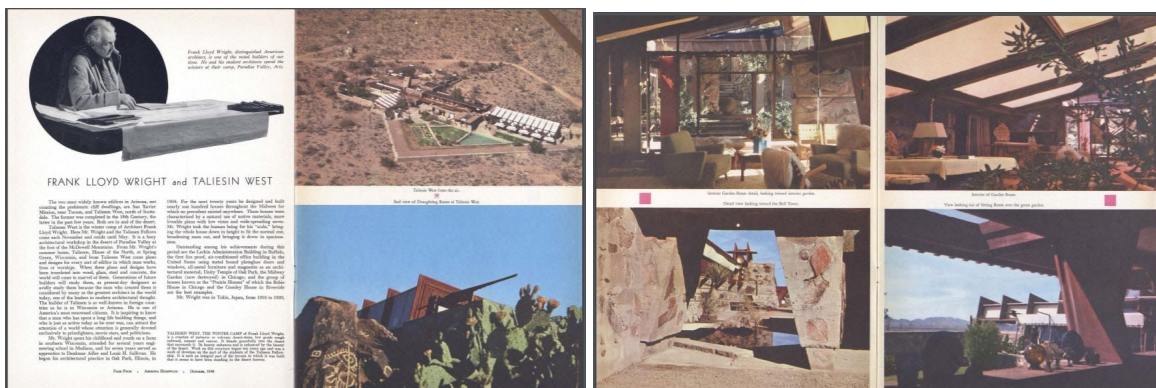


Figure 32: Spreads from the *Arizona Highways Magazine* October 1949 issue on Frank Lloyd Wright’s construction of Taliesin West

Economic Impact of Arizona Highways

When I sat down to talk with current *Arizona Highways Magazine* publisher Kelly Mero, he informed me that the majority of AHM subscribers weren't Arizona citizens. In fact, it wasn't until after WWII that the popularity of AHM peaked. During the 1940s, AHM had gained 200,000 readers. Only 14,000 were Arizona residents. This is because AHM served as a promotional tool advocating for Arizona tourism and travel during this time. Detailed images that depicted American Indian life, odd plants and cacti, and unusual geological structures intrigued those who lived elsewhere. Arizona residents would often gift magazine subscriptions to family members in other states for Christmas and encouraged them to travel down to the valley.

In 2010, researchers at the School of Community Resources and Development prepared an economic impact survey for the Arizona Department of Transportation on *AHM's* impact on tourism. Overall, the study found that a high percentage of subscribers had traveled to Arizona in the past five years, and 29 percent of out-of-state subscribers stated that AHM directly influenced them to visit on their most recent trip. In addition, subscribers reported AHM had substantially increased their interest in Arizona travel and they often used scenic images as a reference point for travel destinations (Andereck, 2012).

This study also reached individuals beyond subscribers to discover the intentions for visitors at Arizona Welcome Centers. To the majority of respondents, sightseeing, visiting the Grand Canyon and experiencing cultural, arts and heritage activities were the largest motivators for visiting the state. The study uses this as a basis for supporting AHM's content, as these key aspects of Arizona are what primarily drive tourism (Anderack, 2012).

To 13 percent of total AHM subscribers, AHM is the most important source of information when planning a trip to Arizona. This resource is ranked third, next to previous visit experience and information from friends/relatives (see figure 33). These subscribers found AHM's photography and scenic drive sections to be the most influential when selecting travel destinations (see figures 34 and 35), demonstrating how important promoting Arizona can be to economic development (Anderack, 2012).

Table 21. Most Important Source of Information.

Sources	PP %	ISS %	OSS %	NS %	Total %
Previous visit	50.8	45.6	44.6	31.8	44.8
Friends/relatives	16.1	13.4	25.5	27.3	20.3
Arizona Highways Magazine	11.0	16.6	14.4	1.5	13.3
Other source	5.1	2.3	5.4	10.6	4.9
Travel book/travel guide	5.1	3.7	2.0	7.6	3.6
Other website(s)	0.8	5.1	0.7	3	2.3
Information from AOT	1.7	0.9	3.4	n/a	2.0
Another magazine	1.7	1.8	1.3	0	1.4
Travel/auto club (s)	2.5	1.8	0.3	1.5	1.3
AHM television	1.7	2.8	0	n/a	1.1
Brochure/pamphlets	0.8	2.8	0.3	0	1.1
AOT website	0.8	0.5	0.7	4.5	1.0
Newspaper(s)	0	1.8	0.3	0	0.7
Convention & visitor bureau	0.8	0.9	0.3	0	0.6
Other TV story or program	0	0	0	4.5	0.4
Travel agent	0	0	0.3	3.0	0.4
Arizona welcome center	0	0	0.3	1.5	0.3
AHM website	0.8	0	0	n/a	0.1

Figure 33: AHM subscribers list the most influential sources when planning trips to Arizona

Table 40. Influence of Specific Magazine Components on Travel Decisions.

Components	Mean		
	ISS %	OSS %	Total %
Feature stories	3.22	3.11	3.16
Photographs	3.50	3.45	3.47
"Scenic Drive" section	3.52	3.46	3.49
"Hike of the Month" section	2.71	2.68	2.69
"Where is This?" section	2.66	2.50	2.57

Figure 34: AHM subscribers rank the influence of AHM feature contribution to travel decision

Table 36. Interest Levels Toward Arizona as Result of Magazine.

Response	ISS %	OSS %	Total %
Not increased	3.2	6.3	4.9
Slightly increased	5.7	8.9	7.4
Moderately increased	38.7	35.2	37.1
Greatly increased	52.4	49.6	50.6

Figure 35: AHM subscribers rank the influence of AHM on interest toward Arizona

From 2005-2010, it's estimated that \$88,548,950 of funds contributed to the Arizona economy were a direct result of *Arizona Highways Magazine* (see figure 36). The impact of this revenue is not only a result of in-state subscribers to the magazine but over 166,176 out-of-state subscribers (Anderack, 2012). These visitors contribute to the Arizona economy by supporting National Parks, resorts/hotels, cultural centers, and local businesses.

Although these numbers generate a rough estimate of AHM's impact on the economy, the real figure is expected to be higher. This is because over 207,000 subscribers report sharing their magazines with other non-subscribers (Anderack, 2012). With these estimations, it's likely a greater number of individuals are influenced by AHM than just listed subscribers.

Table 62. Direct Economic Impact Attributed to *AHM*.

<i>Items</i>	<i>Out-of-state</i>	<i>In-state (overnight)</i>	<i>In-state (day trips)</i>
Estimated number of visitors (#)	113,000	72,093	76,836
Percent influence by <i>AHM</i> (%)	29	43	25
Number influenced (#)	32,770	31,000	19,209
Average number of trips-5 yrs. (mean)	3.63	8.74	6.16
Average party expenditure/trip (\$)	1,216	680	106
Estimated per party 5 yr. expenditure (\$)	4,414	5,943	653
Expenditures due to <i>AHM</i> -5 yrs. (\$)	144,648,992	184,238,732	12,542,709
Expenditures due to <i>AHM</i> -1 yr. (\$)	28,929,798	36,847,746	2,508,542
Percent staying extra days (%)	26	18	
Number influenced (#)	29,380	12,977	
Average extra stay days (mean)	4.50	1.76	
Average daily expenditure (\$)	131	223	
Added expenditures--1 trip (\$)	17,319,461	5,093,100	
Average number of trips-5 yrs. (mean)	3.63	7.50	
Expenditures due to <i>AHM</i> -5 yrs. (\$)	62,869,643	38,198,247	
Expenditures due to <i>AHM</i> -1 yr. (\$)	12,573,929	7,639,649	
Annual expenditure (\$)	41,503,727	44,487,396	2,557,827.00
Total annual expenditures due to <i>AHM</i>	\$88,548,950		

Figure 36: Table showing total economic impact attributed directly to Arizona Highways Magazine.

The Arizona Republic

In 1890, the *Arizona Republic* (then titled the *Arizona Republican*) issued its first publication as a conservative newspaper, with the *Phoenix Gazette* as its democratic rival. Like most political papers during the time, the *Arizona Republic* utilized its platform to promote party interests, but due to a lack of funding turned to advertising as a way to support its new business model.

To increase circulation numbers, newspapers across the country shied away from reporting just the facts and began to include more entertaining sections, designed to attract a broader audience. Doing so resulted in an increase in revenue from consumers, higher circulation numbers and consequently, an increase in revenue from advertisers.

This new take on news reporting turned out to be more profitable, and newspapers like the *Arizona Republic* began reporting less on political matters. However, as “robber barons” became a major issue in the early 20th Century, conflicts of interest often occurred as advertisers began to expect special treatment and favorable news reporting from outlets. Newspapers had to distance themselves from their advertisers while still accepting their funds. This led to the creation of “reading notices,” or advertisements disguised as newspaper articles to provide

favorable coverage of business, something marketers refer to today as “native advertisements” (Casavantes, 2009).

Throughout the *Arizona Republic*’s history, a theme of dedication to Arizona’s economic development began to appear. The *Arizona Republic* was known as “booster press,” or a type of activist newspaper that advocated for the development of its region. The booster press were not uncommon during the development of the Southwest, and many newspapers often asked readers to share copies with their personal network, hoping to increase circulation and drive economic growth in the region (Blanchard, 1998).

The *Arizona Republic*’s publishers Dwight Heard, Charles Stauffer and Eugene Pulliam were also civic leaders, and the three advocated for water, transportation, and economic development throughout the state. Throughout the 1930s, the way the *Arizona Republic* advertised focused on local businesses, creating a strong, mutual relationship. The newspaper survived primarily off of revenue earned by advertising, while local businesses were able to promote services and products to relevant customers. As the newspaper grew from increased circulation, advertisers benefitted from a larger reader base.



Figure 37: Image of Arizona Republican press car parked near Grand Canyon overlook 1927

Conclusion

Arizona has a rich, complicated and impactful history of advertising. When I began researching the history of advertising in Arizona, one point immediately became very clear: one cannot have advertising and economic development without tourism. Every paper I read, every study I analyzed, and every expert I interviewed brought me back to an important factor: Arizona feeds off of tourism, and it's because of tour companies, marketers and the hospitality industry that Arizona was able to develop and grow. These people were tasked with bringing tourists to the state, but it was Arizona that convinced them to stay.

The Grand Canyon is Arizona's crown jewel, and it initially sparked Arizona's popularity. Establishing the Grand Canyon as a luxury tourist destination attracted travelers from around the world, and Harvey's Hotel El Tovar and exquisite accommodations/service played a vital role in building Arizona's hospitality industry. Over time, Arizona continued to develop through tourism. Arizona Senator Carl Hayden eventually proposed to establish the Grand Canyon as a National Park, an important step in receiving federal road funds and easing access for visitors.

Arizona publications, like *Arizona Highways Magazine*, took advantage of the state's beauty and utilized the community's tight-knit network to attract world-renown artists and elevate the state's credibility. This publication created a loyal following of Arizona-admirers and influenced them to travel -- and travel again -- to the state.

Looking at all of the important players throughout the history of advertising the state, a theme begins to emerge. From Fred Harvey to Experience Scottsdale, those who drive tourism leverage the state's romanticized image in promotions. Harvey's hand-painted postcards depicted an untouched, mystifying world. AHM captures images of Arizona's most scenic drives and advocates for local artists and cultural experiences. Scottsdale's marketing focuses on selling a luxury experience, paired with the image of a lush, undisturbed desert. Although all of these campaigns have taken place over the course of 120+ years, the core brand of Arizona remains relatively unchanged. Arizona is cultural, mystifying, opportunistic, and grand. Advertisers have latched on to these characteristics, and promoted them in different ways throughout history, selling an image of Arizona that has led to rapid economic growth and development.

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