

1991

"From chisler to war worker to excess labor?" : women's work in the Santa Clara Valley in the 1930s and 1940s

Kim Anzalone
San Jose State University

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.sjsu.edu/etd_theses

Recommended Citation

Anzalone, Kim, ""From chisler to war worker to excess labor?" : women's work in the Santa Clara Valley in the 1930s and 1940s" (1991). *Master's Theses*. 225.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.31979/etd.shmf-3jk9>

https://scholarworks.sjsu.edu/etd_theses/225

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Master's Theses and Graduate Research at SJSU ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master's Theses by an authorized administrator of SJSU ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact scholarworks@sjsu.edu.

INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

U·M·I

University Microfilms International
A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700 800/521-0600

Order Number 1347140

**“From Chisler to war worker to excess labor?” Women’s work
in the Santa Clara Valley in the 1930s and 1940s**

Anzalone, Kim R. C., M.A.

San Jose State University, 1991

U·M·I

300 N. Zeeb Rd.
Ann Arbor, MI 48106

"FROM CHISLER TO WAR WORKER TO EXCESS LABOR?"
WOMEN'S WORK IN THE SANTA CLARA VALLEY IN THE 1930s AND 1940s

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of History

San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

By

Kim Anzalone

December 3, 1991

APPROVED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

Ted Hinckley

Dr. Ted Hinckley

Nancy Grey Osterud

Dr. Nancy Grey Osterud

Stanley J. Underdal

Dr. Stan Underdal

APPROVED FOR THE UNIVERSITY

M. Lou Lewandowski

ABSTRACT

"FROM CHISLER TO WAR WORKER TO EXCESS LABOR?" WOMEN'S WORK IN THE SANTA CLARA VALLEY IN THE 1930s AND 1940s

by Kim Anzalone

This thesis examines women's work in the Santa Clara Valley from the Depression through the Second World War. It explores changing social expectations for women during two decades of social and economic emergency, and analyzes both the popular image of women and the realities of women's work. Differences in the experiences of middle-class and working-class women are highlighted, as are the distinct experiences of minority women within the working class.

Information obtained from interviews, government records, newspapers and secondary sources reveals not only that gender segregation existed both socially and economically, but also that gender was stratified by social class. Women used a variety of rationales to reconcile the realities of their working lives with the dominant ideology which decreed that women were supposed to be supported by and subordinated to men.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

SIGNATURE PAGE.....	ii
ABSTRACT.....	iii
1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. WOMEN'S WORK IN THE SANTA CLARA VALLEY, 1929-1940	17
3. THE WAR YEARS, 1941-1945	53
4. CONCLUSION	94
5. ENDNOTES	116
6. BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	133

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

According to historian Margaret Higonnet, particular points in human experience are "clarifying moments," watersheds that forever transform common perceptions.(1) The clarifying moment is often precipitated by crisis, which places extraordinary demands on the existing value system. At the base of the value system is society's perception of the relationship between men and women. This comparison of genders provides the foundation of men's and women's definition of their roles in relation to each other and to their families. When gender patterns are subjected to serious stress, they are either modified to accommodate the emergency or magnified to safeguard existing notions of normalcy and stability.

In Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars, Higonnet stresses the importance of women's historians studying the feminine role within the gender system and in relation to the masculine role. Since male and female roles are intertwined, to ignore the influence of one half of the gender pattern is to write an incomplete women's history. This approach avoids separating women's history from men's as it allows women to become part of history.

In addition, examining women's history as a whole, instead of highlighting particular individuals, illuminates the differences between men and women which

too often have become assimilated into traditional histories. In fact, conventional historical research assumes that masculine history is feminine history as well, and therefore ignores women as a distinct, driving force.

The Depression and the Second World War provide such clarifying moments in history, crises responsible for redefining the masculine/feminine balance. These two events offer historians a unique opportunity to examine what has been commonly termed "women's work": in other words, labor division by gender with women filling caregiving roles as housekeepers, secretaries and teachers. Since the division of labor is predicated on gender, study of social expectations, as well as of individual and collective reactions to changes in women's versus men's work, become important tools in understanding women's place in history.

The economic emergency of the 1930s placed the existing gender system under substantial strain. With many traditional male breadwinners unemployed, the female role was perceived by both sexes as the glue that held the family together. Susan Ware, in Holding Their Own: American Women in the 1930s, found that women often substituted their labor for commodities previously bought in the marketplace, "making do" with whatever was available; in this way, "women recaptured some of their vital economic roles within the family." (2) Jeane Westin titled her work concerning women's roles Making Do: How Women Survived the '30s. "Making do" became the philosophy of the Depression and specifically the job of women.

This emphasis on women's expanded role in the home reinforced sexual stereotypes. The liberal ideas about women's work in the 1920s which followed the

passage of the women's suffrage amendment were cut short with the coming of the Depression. Ruth Milkman stated in Gender at Work: The Dynamics of Job Segregation by Sex during World War II that "the depression breathed new life into the ideological dictum, women's place is in the home."⁽³⁾

Ironically, both Milkman and Ware found that the Depression safeguarded jobs for women while at the same time limiting women's exposure to opportunities outside of the preconceived character, one that was in harmony with preexisting gender patterns. The prevailing fear among both sexes during the 1930s was that working women would take much-needed jobs away from men. According to Winifred Wandersee, in Women's Work and Family Values: 1920-1940, since many of the jobs available to women were viewed as particularly feminine, they were deemed unsuitable for men and therefore posed no threat to the existing gender pattern. Work in such fields as nursing, teaching, clerical and sales were considered an extension of the feminine role.

War, like economic crisis, is a gendering activity. It illuminates more clearly the feminine and masculine roles in a culture. Higonnet in Behind the Lines explains that war defines what is considered normal versus what is considered abnormal. In time of war, women are often called upon to act in a manner that defies tradition. Since war is an abnormal state, a return to old gender patterns afterward is a return to the "normal" state. Therefore, women participating in "men's work" are viewed under the terms of the existing gender system as temporary. War, the ultimate disrupter of the natural system, could be logically represented as sexual disorder. "The deconstruction and reconstruction of gender

was another battle front in the Second World War."(4)

It is important to investigate specific regions to understand fully changes in the gender system during the Depression and war years as social and economic patterns varied markedly between regions. At the same time, to incorporate women into the national history, it is necessary to place them in a general framework. In this study, changes within Santa Clara Valley in California will be placed in the context of nationwide trends. A look at general as well as specific responses to those nationwide and regional trends is crucial in assessing the relationship between propaganda and reality as the dominant ideology is produced on the national level but realities vary regionally.

The tools used to recruit women into the labor force during the Second World War changed the perception of "women's work." Maureen Honey, the author of Creating Rosie: Class, Gender and Propaganda during World War II, details the effort made by the government, working closely with the media, to create a popular wartime image of women as legitimate paid labor. The propaganda image had to appear believable to its audience and thus remained within broad parameters of the prevailing gender system. Honey points out that "the power of mass media or propaganda to persuade is limited by the already existing attitudes, values, experiences and needs of the consumer...."(5) The Office of War Information relied on the entrenched value system to do much of its work for it.

In keeping with traditional sex typing, the popular image depicted women as soldier-workers without personal ambitions, symbols of a besieged nation, and preservers of the natural order in the form of the home, family and hearth. Honey

examines popular literature from the period, such as True Story for the working class and The Saturday Evening Post for the middle class. Honey explains the way the Office of War Information constructed an effective "campaign to attract women into war production as part of a drive to weld the home front into an economic army, well disciplined, highly motivated by patriotism, and willing to make sacrifices for the good of American soldiers."(6)

Michael Renov illustrates the influence of the movie industry on the effort to stretch women's roles during the war in Hollywood's Wartime Women: Representation and Ideology. After the bombing of Pearl Harbor, convincing women to enter the work force was dependent on "publicity, special promotions and public relations."(7) The "reality effect" demanded that propaganda be believable in order to be effective with the audience. Movies, such as Tender Comrade, Kitty Foyle, and The Great Man's Lady, illustrated the role of women in time of crisis and thus became an important medium of social explanation and control during the Second World War.

The desire to ignore the distinctions between working-class and middle-class women, as well as between white and racial/ethnic women, is compelling. Michael Renov in Hollywood's Wartime Women proposes that the dominant ideology is usually geared toward middle-class values and the "blue collar" or minority experience is often swallowed up by "white collar" history. Propaganda, as well, assumes that the working-class aspires to the middle-class life style. In From Working Daughters to Working Mothers: Immigrant Women in a New England

Industrial Community, Louise Lamphere establishes that blue-collar experiences differed from those of professional women in middle-class families. Lamphere laments that research is often limited by being laid in a middle-class foundation.(8)

What, then, are the definitions of middle-class and working-class women? Definitions must go beyond simple financial terms. "Women's work" is not categorized by class but by gender. Distinctions between working-class and middle-class women are blurred. In the pre- and postwar periods, women were lumped into a classification commonly termed "pink collar workers."

"Work," whether white or blue collar, meant different things to different women. Their perceptions were colored by personal experiences, such as ethnic background, prior work experience, the number of children at home, the support network for those children, illness or death of the breadwinner, and divorce. Sherna Gluck, in Rosie the Riveter Revisited: Women, The War and Social Change, claims that blue collar wives, most of whom were used to earning a wage, responded differently to wartime work demands than middle-class women, including farmers' and professionals' wives. Minority women also responded differently from white women. Black and Hispanic women experienced the most change during the war years by moving out of domestic work into other areas of the work force.(9)

In Women's Work and Family Values, Winifred Wandersee delineates a difference between middle-class and working-class women. Middle-class women either had husbands who worked in or were themselves engaged in white collar occupations. Department store clerks, telephone operators, and secretaries are

examples of white collar occupations. Part-time work was often the only work available, reinforcing a common definition of middle-class women as working to pay for family "luxuries" or for the children's education. The Life and Times of Rosie the Riveter, a documentary film by Frank, Ziebarth and Field, affirms Wandersee's argument that middle-class women were perceived as subscribing to the "pin money" theory, working to provide a better standard of living rather than for subsistence.

At the opposite end of the spectrum are working-class women. Their entry into the labor force was often a reflection of economic need. According to Susan Ware in Holding Their Own, economic necessity precipitated by the Depression led to more and more women entering the work force, with married women posting the largest gains even though they were still outnumbered by single women workers.⁽¹⁰⁾ This economic need was usually viewed as a temporary condition. In Lois Scharf's study To Work and To Wed: Female Employment, Feminism, and the Great Depression, working-class women were perceived by themselves and society to be entering the work force throughout the 1930s as an extension of their caregiving duty to the family.

Women who entered the labor force during the Depression and war years were restricted to jobs deemed proper within the existing gender system. The questions then become: what was considered by both men and women to be the traditional gender orientation of the 1930s; was this pattern changed by the demands of a wartime economy; and were any changes in the gender system lasting? An answer to these questions involves examination of not only the gender system as advocated

by society at large, but also how women functioning outside of traditional patterns rationalized a negotiated view of the dominant female image.

Leila Rupp, in Mobilizing Women for War: German and American Propaganda, 1930-1945, illustrates the difficulty of changing the perception of "women's work" from the traditional view of the 1930s to the wartime demands of the 1940s by making a distinction between popular image and sex roles. Rupp believes it is easier to change the popular image than actual roles within a gender system. The first is prone to rapid change, while the second is deeply ingrained within the collective psyche of individuals that as a group make up society. Using Rupp's argument, Michael Renov in Hollywood's Wartime Women found that it was relatively easy to project women as "wartime workers" when needed in the 1940s, and then after the war to portray employed women as "chiselers" who stole men's jobs.(11)

Margaret Higonnet in Behind the Lines also found that women, even in their wartime roles, remained subordinate to men. Describing her hypothesis as a "double helix," she explained that as men stepped back from their aggressive wartime behavior, so did women retreat into a more passive, feminine character in the effort to assimilate returning veterans into a peacetime mode. The relationship between the masculine and feminine remained constant, creating the "backswing" after the war. Even during the war, the combat soldier was viewed as more important than female munitions work, for women were viewed as secondary and supportive to men.

Wandersee in Women's Work and Family Values asserts that women were

considered primarily as housewives during the 1930s and did not even appear in the unemployment statistics of the Depression. Married women, particularly after losing their jobs, viewed their unemployment differently than men as a result of their domestic role within the existing gender system. Since the "pin-money" theory was often used to explain married women's excursions into the labor market, it was a rationale for lower wages, poor working conditions and layoffs.

In Creating Rosie the Riveter, Maureen Honey provides a more complex description of the 1930s female. According to Honey, the image of the middle-class woman allowed for a certain independence. She was depicted as young, beautiful and entirely competent. She could be a pilot, business executive or ambitious college student. She was athletic, intelligent and, above all else, in control. However, the prewar woman was only independent until she decided to marry. She was willing to give up her personal ambitions to work for her husband's career.

With the coming of the Depression, women were encouraged by society not to enter the work force and to give up any job that might possibly be done by a man, the primary breadwinner. The image of the independent career woman did not entirely disappear during the Depression. Honey asserts that this was because of a necessary portrayal of women as strong enough to help their husbands through the economic crisis.

The image of middle-class women during the war years was modified only somewhat when it became a blend of "pioneer" strength and the "gentler sex." The government found it necessary to create a woman who was confident and able to handle a man's job, knowing that the task was undertaken to support the soldiers at

the front. On the other hand, the family became the token of democracy and the reason young men were fighting. Therefore, women became symbols of the home, reinforcing the preexisting gender system.

The popular image of women and the reality of their lives were often at odds. Throughout the numerous oral histories collected by Sherna Gluck in Rosie the Riveter Revisited, the most immediate cause of individual entry into the labor force was not patriotism, but financial incentive. Nevertheless, according to Maureen Honey, the government in collaboration with the media convinced the populace that women were working for the public good rather than for the money. The reality was indeed different, for one study found that eighty-four percent of women workers who entered the work force during the 1930s and 1940s did so because of economic necessity.(12)

Louise Lamphere in From Working Daughters to Working Mothers argues that women's duties in the workplace became an extension of their roles at home and that their identity as mother, wife and daughter directly related to their job. Therefore, throughout both the Depression and war years, women were made responsible for duties that fit within the existing gender pattern. Nursing, social work, clerical, and teaching were the most available positions; indeed, those fields were dominated by women. These occupations were acceptable to the public because of their inherent "caregiving" qualities, an amplification of the female role.

However, Lamphere believes that women were not passive receptors of this role but rather active participants, making conscious decisions about their roles in society. They weighed the possibilities and outcomes of resistance versus

acceptance, adopting what Lamphere terms the "strategy approach." In other words, how much did they stand to gain as compared to the opposition they would face from society by bucking the dominant ideology? The gender system owed its existence to an unwritten contract between men and women. According to Susan Ware women, as well as a consensus of men, church, government and media, participated in the maintenance of sex roles.(13)

Finally, it is important to ask: what were the effects on the gender system in relation to the role of women as a result of the demands placed on the American economy during the Second World War? There are two basic schools of thought concerning the war's short-term and lasting effects on the gender system. One view is that women's gains were temporary, a condition of war, unnatural. The contradictory view is that since middle-class values were the model for society, the experience of middle-class women "revolutionized" women's roles. Long-term changes appeared gradually, but involved a fundamental transformation of women's self-image.

Margaret Higonnet's work, Behind the Lines, belongs to the first school. Men were not alone in creating a desire to return to the traditional gender system. Middle-class women redefined themselves at war's end according to preexisting patterns, encouraged by government propaganda and employers. Although the gender system was forever changed by the Second World War, as women proved they could do the job of men, women failed to capitalize on their new-found independence. They were convinced that their experience was "unnatural" and therefore conditional, "behaving temporarily like men."(14)

Maureen Honey in Creating Rosie the Riveter agrees with Higonnet that once the war was over, the primary function of women became to ease the veterans back into civilian life and to safeguard "normal" family life. According to Honey, the Office of War Information was effective in blending the seemingly contradictory image of middle-class women during the war, handling a tough job, and making the home secure and safe for the boys in uniform when the crisis had passed.

Births and marriages were at their nadir during the Depression, while after World War Two births and marriages were at their peak. Sherna Gluck believes this phenomenon caused women to retreat from the workplace after the war and resume their duty as sole keeper of the home and hearth. The invention of television reinforced the idea that women must surrender to their feminine instincts and give up career ambitions once they were married and had children. Television programming provided women, as well as society at large, with a definition of "women's work."

Winifred Wandersee argues that, although female employment experienced a general decline after the war, married women were in the labor market to stay. They worked to maintain a much-sought-after standard of living that could no longer be attained through a husband's salary or by work in the home. However, any gains in the workplace were offset by home life that remained unchanged. A working wife often was responsible for two full-time occupations, a paid job and taking care of the home. Her burden was in no way lighter simply because she was working; she was still expected to provide domestic consistency. Wandersee admits that feminists of the time equated emancipation with a job, but in reality, most

working women felt that it was simply an added burden. Having a job did not free them from the expectations inherent in the gender system.

Along the same lines of thought, Eugenia Kaledin explains in her work on the postwar years, Mothers and More: American Women in the 1950s, that since society openly discriminated against married women in the workplace after World War Two, many found it much easier to accept the passive homemaker role. Michael Renov in Hollywood's Wartime Women agrees with Kaledin that, although the popular image of women changed during the war years, no lasting changes were made in sex roles. The backswing of the 1950s was a return to the familiar. Women returned to "the comfort of an unchallenged hierarchy in which sex roles are clear and unquestioned."(15)

However, all of these authors maintain that many women were affected by their wartime experience and "came of age," continuing to pass a sense of feminism to the next generation. Susan Ware in Holding Their Own explains that a growing minority of women were entering the work force as early as the 1930s. The Second World War simply accelerated a trend begun during the Depression, as more women entered the work force to support the family during the time of economic despair. Even while working in female-oriented jobs, "women's proportion of the total work force rose from 22 to 25 percent" during the decade.(16)

Wandersee agrees that, with the decrease in child labor in the 1920's, it fell to the married woman to take up the slack for an addition to the family income. Married women moved into the work force to protect the family's lifestyle and financial security. In that way, traditional values were sustained and the gender

system remained intact. The phenomenon of combining home and work was magnified during the 1940s with the demands on the economy of a country at war, a course that was to continue in the postwar years with the creation of the "American Dream."

A case study of the Santa Clara Valley in Northern California offers an opportunity to examine the effects of the Second World War on a particular community. This approach provides a detailed look at the dynamics of the gender system during the Depression and any short-term or long-term changes resulting from the demands of war. This thesis focuses on those changes.

Higonnet asserts that, because of an established, cultural gender system, middle-class women's experiences in the Santa Clara Valley were similar to those of women across the nation.⁽¹⁷⁾ Whether this is the case will be discussed in succeeding chapters. However, a case study provides the basis for comparison with a broader framework, providing the researcher with a means by which to examine the degree of change as contrasted with other communities, as well as highlighting unique or shared characteristics of the local region.

A study of the Santa Clara Valley is a magnification of the effects of the Second World War on the gender system, since the area underwent an extensive economic and social change. Hendy Iron Works in Sunnyvale, Kaiser Permanente in Cupertino and Food Machinery Corporation in Santa Clara were among the several manufacturing concerns to receive millions of dollars in federal defense contracts and to provide hundreds of jobs. Additional industries were encouraged to build in the Valley through the efforts of the Santa Clara County Chamber of Commerce.

Food processing and packing, already a major economic concern in the Valley, became a vital part of the war effort and saw an unprecedented increase in production. San Jose, as the urban center of the area and the transit point for many soldiers and their families, was idealized as the "American Dream." The climate, scenery, and jobs in the "Valley of Hearts' Delight" provided opportunities for both men and women.

Minority women benefited from the economic boom of the 1940s in the Santa Clara Valley. Louise Lamphere, in From Working Daughters to Working Mothers, discusses the significance of ethnic ties in urban, industrial communities in Rhode Island. The ethnic hierarchy that existed in the industrializing Santa Clara Valley in the pre- and postwar years shaped gender experiences. Italian and Portuguese men supervised the canneries throughout the Valley, while Japanese engaged in farming much of the produce processed in the canneries. Hispanics worked as stoop labor in the fields and Blacks, few in number until the coming of the war, found a place in the defense industries. The use of kin networks as a means for women to gain employment, or by which employers recruited female workers, was common to many communities across the nation during the Depression and the Second World War.

Chapter Two discusses class and gender experiences in the Santa Clara Valley prior to the Second World War. The feminine role within the gender system is evaluated in relation to the masculine role with an analysis of men's versus women's work during the 1930s. The influence of social class is examined to describe how the dominant ideology projected different images of women in relation

to their socioeconomic or ethnic background. Finally, the chapter explores the rationale working women used in placing themselves within the acceptable gender, class system.

Chapter Three focuses on the forces of change versus reaction within the gender system in the Santa Clara Valley prior to and during the Second World War. This chapter contrasts the experiences of working-class women and white-collar women during the war years, and is organized thematically by social class.

The concluding chapter investigates similarities and differences between the two "clarifying" events, as well as short-term and long-term changes in the preexisting gender pattern as a result of the female experience during the Second World War. It is necessary to discuss the different experiences of working-class versus middle-class women in relation to their role within the gender system in the postwar years. The degree that government propaganda, postwar employment trends, and family responsibilities influenced or transformed the gender system in the succeeding decade is the primary focus for this chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

WOMEN'S WORK IN THE SANTA CLARA VALLEY, 1929-1940

Longtime resident Theron Fox believes that the Santa Clara Valley was part of the "California Dream" in the 1930s and early 1940s, a "god-given place."⁽¹⁾ Numerous oral histories testify to the beauty of the Santa Clara Valley during those years, particularly in the springtime when the orchards were in bloom. Pear, cherry, apricot, and prune trees carpeted almost the entire Valley. In 1939, Columbia Teacher's College conducted a study to determine what areas of the country were the most sought-after places to live. San Jose, the heart of Santa Clara County, was ranked highest in terms of "general goodness."⁽²⁾

The Valley contained many small, quiet farming communities as the majority of the population lived in rural areas. Between 1930 and 1940, Santa Clara County saw only moderate growth, with most of it occurring in its rural regions. An approximate thirty-five percent increase in the rural population was recorded from 1930 to 1940, whereas only a thirteen percent increase was documented in the urban areas.⁽³⁾ "Suburbs," according to the 1930 Census, did not exist in the Santa Clara Valley. During the Depression, tracts outside Santa Clara County cities were registered as "rural, non-farm areas."⁽⁴⁾

County perimeters by 1940 included the incorporated cities of Palo Alto,

Mountain View, Sunnyvale, Santa Clara, San Jose, the major city of the Valley, Los Gatos, Morgan Hill, and Gilroy.(5) Willow Glen and Campbell were annexed to San Jose in the decade prior to the Second World War. During the Depression, the total population of Santa Clara County was no more than 175,000 in an area of roughly 1,305 square miles.(6)

Until the war years, there were only three traffic signals in San Jose, at San Antonio and Santa Clara, at Market and First, and at Second and Third Streets. The first parking meters did not appear until well after the Second World War. Families from the outlying areas of the county, such as Morgan Hill or Palo Alto, considered it a treat to spend the day motoring into San Jose to be entertained at one of the several movie houses or to shop along Market Street.

A majority of those attracted to the seemingly idyllic Santa Clara Valley during the 1930s were young, usually under thirty. According to historian Mel Scott, they were of prime childbearing age, which helps to explain the subsequent baby boom. Most typically, the migrants were unskilled, with aspirations for upward mobility.(7) Hard-hit by the Depression, many believed that if it were necessary to go without shelter, why not travel to where the climate was fair and where intensive agriculture provided some hope of employment?

Large-scale cultivation of fruits and vegetables, as well as the close proximity to sea and rail transportation, made the Santa Clara Valley an important food processing center. Among the larger canneries located in the heart of the Valley were Cal Pak, located at Azerais Avenue; Barron and Gray, situated on Fifth Street; Richmond Chase on Stockton Avenue; San Jose Canning on Lick Avenue; and

Shuckles at the corner of Moorpark and Race Streets.

The 1930 Census estimated that two-thirds of the total value of manufactured goods in the county was from the food processing industry.(8) Over thirty percent of California's total canning industry was located in the Santa Clara Valley, producing more than one-third of the world's prune supply. By the 1930s, close to twenty percent of the Valley's population worked in the canneries; a majority of those employees were women.

What place, then, did women have in this "California Dream" that attracted so many to the Santa Clara Valley during the Depression and the Second World War? In order to measure how, and to what extent, women participated in the Dream, an examination of the gender system during those years is necessary. In this way, it becomes possible to compare change in gender patterns over specific periods in time, such as the Depression and the Second World War.

Complicating the analysis is the fact that more than one image of women existed within the gender system. One popular image consisted of the beautiful single woman who was financially independent, carefree and fun-loving despite economic hardship. The other image presented a narrowly-defined role for the married woman. The wife was just that, a wife first and always. She made the home a safe haven from the outside economic pressures. She was the guardian of the hearth and home whose job it was to teach the dominant value system to her offspring, who would then grow up to be good husbands and wives.

Shadowing these dominant characters was an underlying reality of the married working woman, often in direct contrast to the popular images. Women

who had to work, largely because of economic necessity, were seldom enshrined in the popular literature of the day. Instead these women were forced by the larger society to develop their own rationale, outside of the popular image, to conform with the dominant ideology.

Santa Clara Valley women could be found working in gender-oriented jobs, which were defined as being within the limits of the female sex role. Women worked not only in the canneries, but also as farm hands, secretaries, librarians, teachers, waitresses, nurses, sales clerks and baby-sitters. Jobs for working-class married women during the Depression became an extension of their feminine role within the accepted gender system.

Middle-class women, once married, took on a different role within the gender system. Employment was regarded as incompatible with the primary role of wife and mother. Although many women found it necessary to work, they were considered anomalies as society refused to recognize the phenomenon of the "working woman."

In Holding Their Own, Susan Ware provides evidence of the dominant ideology by citing a 1935 Fortune Magazine poll in which forty-eight percent expressed the belief that women should not work outside of the home for any reason. Rationales given were: women took jobs away from men; a woman's place was in the home; and children and husbands were happier and healthier when women remained at home. In another poll conducted by Gallup in 1936, thirty-seven percent believed that conditional or seasonal work might be acceptable, since it is inherently temporary. The same poll asked whether a woman should work if her

husband had a job; eighty-two percent responded with a resounding "no."⁽⁹⁾

Many of those who agreed that conditional work might be legitimate used the "pin-money" theory to explain the married woman's aberrant journey into the labor market. The married woman worked for family luxuries rather than for necessities. Sending children to college or paying for braces or summer camp were acceptable reasons for married women to work. The "pin-money" theory assumed that a married woman's job did not have as much value in the family structure as a man's job, since he was considered the sole financial supporter.

In the 1930s, given the lack of ready jobs, most employment in the Valley was strictly reserved for men, particularly white males. The State of California pressured women to stay out of the labor force during the Depression. Legislators held that women would succeed in taking work away from men supporting families. The State legislature went so far as to consider laws to deprive women of the right to a paying job.⁽¹⁰⁾

Local governments across the country placed restrictions on women in the workplace. According to historian Clyde Arbuckle, in the Santa Clara Valley married women teachers were dismissed and replaced by male teachers.⁽¹¹⁾ Married women applying for teaching jobs were simply not considered. Margaret Powell recalls the trouble her mother had in finding a teaching job in Morgan Hill during the 1930s when her family of six was destitute. Margaret's mother was finally offered a teaching job through a connection in the district office after no qualified males applied.⁽¹²⁾ 40,000 women, almost two-thirds of the female population, were listed under the category "housewife" in 1940.⁽¹³⁾

Both Ruth Milkman and Susan Ware take exception to the theory that women were, at any time, replacing men or that men would even want to replace women in the work force during the Depression. Since jobs were strictly sex-typed according to the preexisting gender system, women found that certain occupations were safeguarded for them. Waitressing, secretarial work, nursing, and domestic help were stereotyped as feminine. One of Susan Ware's interviewees in Holding Their Own states, "how can a man fill the sex-oriented jobs of nursemaid or cleaning women?"(14)

For many, it was inconceivable that a man would want to work in any job that was labelled "female." Gertrude Ziesch, a housewife, responded that no matter the need for money, "a man wouldn't be caught dead in one of those women's jobs and I don't blame him."(15) Ziesch was one of many Santa Clara County women who bought into the traditional gender patterns of the 1930s. Her first thought was of how embarrassing it would be for a man to have to do what was considered to be "women's work."

The resulting magnification of traditional values during the Depression was reinforced through public opinion and the media. The editors of the Literary Digest received a letter from a reader in 1933 proclaiming: "Married women workers with other means of support can render a patriotic service to our President and the NRA during this economic crisis by withdrawing from the field of gainful employment."(16) In Winifred Wandersee's study, Woman's Work and Family Values, one interviewee referred to women doing the job of men as incredibly selfish "leeches."(17)

Wandersee believes that married women who lost their jobs during the Depression viewed their unemployment differently from men as a result of their place within the existing gender system. Women were considered primarily as housewives, by themselves and by the larger society. Many women did not even appear in unemployment statistics. Susan Ware agrees that a woman, fulfilling her primary role as housewife, was able to continue in "a job" although her husband might be out of work. The woman had the home and family to keep her busy, while the man had nothing to occupy his time.(18)

"Making do," according to Jeane Westin in her book of the same name, became the philosophy of the Depression and specifically the responsibility of women. Winifred Wandersee agrees that women during the Depression expanded their unpaid roles through activities such as a return to home preserving, making clothes, and baking their own bread. Ruth Milkman, in Gender At Work, took the argument further by maintaining that women made it possible to retain the style to which the family was accustomed during the 1930s because of this expansion in their work.

Radio and magazines often reflected conventional thought by presenting ways in which women could handle the children, their husbands and a household turned upside down by the economic emergency, to "take it," as Sherna Gluck writes in Rosie the Riveter Revisited. Radio programs reinforced the idea that women must "surrender to their feminine instincts" and give up work ambitions once they married and had children.(19)

Lillian Phillips, now ninety-four years old, used to enjoy sitting in the kitchen

of her home in downtown San Jose, as close as she could to the radio, while preparing lunch for her husband, listening to cooking tips from Betty Crocker or advice on how to handle difficult children. What Lillian enjoyed most, however, was the endless parade of soap operas in which, much like Maureen Honey's narrative in Creating Rosie the Riveter, career-minded women were depicted as cold and uncaring while the housewife, sacrificing personal ambitions for the good of the family, was rewarded with emotional fulfillment.(20)

Community newspapers reinforced the gender system through articles designed to appeal to "women only." The society section of both the San Jose Mercury-Herald and the San Jose News featured stories about women's clubs, gardening contests, "coming out" parties and the latest clothing fashions. The San Jose Mercury-Herald, the largest local newspaper in the Santa Clara Valley during the 1930s and 1940s, claimed that housewives were intent on being model homemakers. According to the San Jose Mercury-Herald, this meant that many Valley wives lived by the adage, "a place for everything and everything in its place."(21)

Working in conjunction in the media, the Legion of Decency influenced the content and censorship of the movie industry in the 1930s. Michael Renov asserts that films played a significant role in propagating the gender system. Margaret Powell, Jan Orlando, Hortense DiMercurio and Helen Arbuckle remember attending the movies routinely during the Depression. Long after the show was over, young women played the heroines in these films. Margaret Powell remembers "to this day" how affected she was by the strong will of Scarlett O'Hara

in Gone With The Wind. 'To Margaret, Scarlett was a tough lady who did whatever was necessary to "make do."

Morality was strictly defined by the gender system, often through the help of the popular literature. During the Depression, "good girls" did not go into bars alone, dance with strangers or "go all the way." That did not mean, however, that certain establishments with women providing entertainment for "men only" did not exist in the Valley. Frank Anzalone hearing, during his childhood, his parents and their friends speaking in hushed whispers about places that no decent Catholic would frequent.(22) Ma's Trockadero Club, located on Market and San Carlos Streets, was commonly known to be a house of "ill repute"; however, as Frank recalls, "there was never an empty parking place at Ma's."(23)

Susan Ware, in Holding Their Own, points out that clothing can be interpreted as a subtle reminder of women's place within the gender system. Ware states that fashions of the 1930s, with their longer hemlines and frillier accents, stressed the femininity of women by highlighting curves and bosoms, while the styles of the 1920s were extremely boyish, perhaps suggesting a time of greater sexual equality.(24)

Gertrude Ziesch was married and living in the Santa Clara Valley in the 1930s. Now eighty-two years old, Gertrude still believes that, prior to the "sexual revolution" of the 1970s, there was little confusion concerning the sexual role requirements of men or women. Clinging to the popular image characteristic of the traditional gender system, Gertrude believes that relationships between males and females were much clearer and more comforting before the war. A man was

expected to be the financial breadwinner, while a woman was to run an efficient household, raise the children, and look after her man who, after working hard all day to provide for the family, wanted nothing more than a quiet evening at home.

Although she claims her husband would have accepted her working, Gertrude never had the desire to work at a paid position outside the home. She and Theron Fox both felt that if a woman can financially afford to, she should remain at home; "some women these days are just being selfish and that's why families aren't as close as they used to be."(25)

Santa Clara women have often supported traditional sex-typing. A common reaction during the interviews was, "my mother had done it, so I was just taught that it was the way things were done." There was little self-questioning of the role married women were to play in the home. Jeane Westin became wary of what she termed "thirties husbands," as they had a tendency to take over her interviews for her book, Making Do. Many of the women Westin interviewed allowed their husbands to dominate the discussion. Gertrude Ziesch repeated several times during her interview with the author that she wished her husband, who passed away in 1973, was there to answer questions as he "knew so much more than I do."(26)

Several of the women interviewed by the author were reluctant to take a job even when the family's financial situation was desperate. Although Margaret Powell's mother went back to work as a teacher when her husband lost his job as a shoe salesman, her mother continued to feel strongly that her place was in the home taking care of her six children. Susan Ware agrees that in spite of the

economic pressures of the Depression, white women still resisted employment. Ware feels that their reluctance was primarily due to the demands of housework and children rather than an awareness of their place in the gender system. She argues, in Holding Their Own, that means to lighten the housewife's burdens, such as so-called "mechanical servants," were not available to most women in the 1930s and the average housewife spent more than sixty hours per week on housework.(27)

In From Working Daughters to Working Mothers, Louise Lamphere attempts to explain this reluctance of women to work outside of the home. Lamphere believes that families can be evaluated in Marxist terms, as units of production and reproduction. Women's work, as defined by the gender system, is tied to their role in a reproductive capacity, i.e., having and taking care of the children. Daughters, as part of this system, may have been socially conditioned to accept low wages and gender-oriented jobs by their experience at home as subordinate to the men in the household.(28) Subordination and sex-typing learned in the home was then transferred to the workplace as a nurturing, supportive gender orientation. Lamphere believes it is essential that "both workplace and family are evaluated together, within a single framework."(29)

The economic emergency of the 1930s affected the lifecycle of women in the Santa Clara Valley. Whereas prior to the Depression large families were considered profitable as well as normal, in the 1930s women were sometimes forced to put off having children or getting married so that they could remain in the work force for a longer period, thereby providing an additional wage for the family.

Contraceptives were available at the local drug store, or from the Sears and

Roebuck catalogue if couples preferred to remain anonymous.(30) Gertrude Ziesch remembers having to be "very careful to not become pregnant until we could afford it."(31) It is also important to consider men's feelings of inadequacy, caused by a lack of employment, as contributing to the birth nadir.

College, when economically possible for women, was often viewed by the larger society as a way station to marriage in the 1930s. Susan Ware claims, on the basis of interviews in Holding Their Own, that many middle-class women attended college in order to meet future husbands while earning degrees corresponding to prescribed convention in such fields as nursing or teaching. College presented an opportunity to pursue a higher standard of living which, in turn, might lead to better marriage prospects rather than a career.(32)

Frances Fox met her husband during her senior year at San Jose State College, the most popular college in the Santa Clara Valley for female students because of its affordable cost. In 1937, Frances was working on a degree in business, which for women meant taking classes in typing, stenography, and filing. After receiving her degree, Frances was able to get a job as a secretary at the Santa Clara County Health Department. The job lasted less than a year until Frances acceded to her husband's wishes to stay at home.(33) Frances expressed no remorse at giving up her position at the County Health Department; rather, she expected to become solely a housewife once she married.

Armed with a college degree, the best job Frances Fox could hope for was clerical. Jeane Westin noted a similar experience in her work, Making Do. "Pauline" had also completed college with a degree; therefore, she was regarded as

being "smart enough" to wrap packages at the local department store.(34)

Pauline and Frances took for granted job limitations placed on women by the popular image inherent in the gender system. These limits were not solely the result of imagery, but also of discrimination in employment. According to historian Nancy Grey Osterud, "images teach women that discrimination is normal."(35) Frances believed that "the job was secondary to my husband, so it didn't really matter what job I had."(36)

Theron Fox, like many other 1930s husbands, had significant influence on the outside activities of his wife. In accordance with tradition, husbands were to disapprove strongly of the "little woman" working outside the home in the 1930s. The gender system delegated the responsibility of breadwinner to the man. Theron, a lifelong resident of the Santa Clara Valley and editor of the Rosicrucian Press, proudly asserts that his wife, Frances, quit her secretarial job one month before their wedding in 1938 because "I told her to and she gave me absolutely no argument." In fact, Theron claims that his wife has "never had to hold a paying job since."(37)

Occupations such as teaching and nursing were affected by the limits placed on women. As they were within the feminine gender pattern, these occupations were socially acceptable higher education choices for women during the 1930s. Women teachers outnumbered men in the Santa Clara Valley in the prewar years almost four to one.(38) For the most part, to continue in the teaching or nursing vocation, women were expected by the larger society to remain single.

The few opportunities offered outside the public educational system

incorporated conventional ideas concerning a women's proper role as housewife. Instruction in cooking, child care or household budgeting was available to Santa Clara women at the junior college level.(39) If a job outside the home was compulsory, women were accepted into programs designed to educate them in the art of the telephone switchboard or clerking. Local advertisements reinforced female stereotypes. For example, one business advertising in the San Jose Mercury-Herald in 1941 offered to train women to become better waitresses.(40)

Jan Orlando's husband could not afford the luxury of having his wife remain at home. With Nick Orlando frequently out of work during the Depression, Jan's seasonal work in the canneries was often the only money sustaining the family. Jan's employment was rationalized within the boundaries of the dominant ideology, however; it was gender-oriented, of a temporary nature, and for the good of the family.(41) There seemed to be little social tolerance during the 1930s in the Santa Clara Valley for married women who pursued full-time, professional careers outside the traditional gender system.

Maureen Honey in Creating Rosie the Riveter offers the best explanation concerning the popular rationale of single, working women. Single women were viewed by the larger society differently from married women. Single females did not have the same familial obligations that came with being married; they had a measure of independence. Single women of the 1930s were pictured as competent, bright and glamorous by popular literature. They were Katherine Hepburn, Amelia Earhart and Babe Didrikson. But however successful, single women were depicted as incomplete until fulfilled by marriage and a family. Numerous

Hollywood films, such as Ninotchka, Shanghai Express, and Goodbye, Mr. Chips, underscored the temporary nature of the single woman's foray into self-sufficiency.

The popular image of femininity in the 1930s was completed by a picture of the "society woman" filling her spare time with charitable associations. Philanthropic organizations set up by women's groups had been deemed acceptable since the Progressive era. Mrs. Morgan Dillion Baker was honored in the "Society" section of the San Jose Mercury-Herald for being the chairman of the Volunteer Special Service, the San Jose Branch of the Red Cross, in addition to belonging to at least twenty other organizations.(42)

The Valley's female community leaders felt that they had a certain obligation to assist the growing numbers of unemployed. During the Depression, many women's self-sacrificing ethic found an outlet. "Mother Koopman," as she was commonly known, sheltered and fed more than 300 unemployed men at her Anchor Mission on North Market Street in San Jose.(43) San Jose teachers, many of whom were women, volunteered to take pay cuts to help subsidize the cost of children's lunches.(44) Some community women, such as Hortense DiMercurio, believed it was their "Christian duty" to provide "back door knockers" with fried egg sandwiches.(45)

Some women in the Valley were involved in charitable activities for reasons other than doing what was expected or personal fulfillment. Lillian Phillips claims that the only reason she helped to set up a free lunch counter for the needy in downtown San Jose was so she could "help along my husband's advancement in the Rotary Club."(46) Although this might be considered selfish by some, Lillian's

actions were simply an extension of the wife's traditional responsibility to support her husband, doing whatever was necessary for his success.

Margaret Powell's activities reflected the need for release from convention during the Depression. As an extremely active member of her church, Margaret organized numerous charity bazaars and other fund-raisers for the unemployed. Margaret feels that her devotion to these church-sponsored activities was directly related to the frustration she and other women felt at the limitations placed on them in the workplace: "working with these organizations served as an outlet for my creative energies and special talents that I was not allowed to develop in a job."(47)

Santa Clara County, like communities across the United States, jumped on the bandwagon of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal. The National Recovery Administration, set up as a result of the Depression to regulate business practices, was welcomed in the Valley in early 1933. San Jose's city fathers organized an NRA parade downtown with over 20,000 men, women and children participating in the festivities. The San Jose Mercury-Herald proclaimed Santa Clara County's leading women responsible for surveying various homes in the community to determine whether their husbands were cooperating with NRA policies at work.(48)

Only when the NRA mandated that the canneries had to stop paying women on the basis of piece work did sentiment in the Valley toward the federal agency become negative. This would mean, the canneries and individual workers claimed, that both the fast and slow workers would be paid equally, thus destroying the quota system. Since the canning industries virtually controlled the economy of the Valley, they were able to thumb their collective noses at the NRA and ignore the

directive.(49)

In 1937, the number of people requesting unemployment aid in Santa Clara County rose from 7,665 to 13,486 in less than six months.(50) Married men were favored when it came to jobs. State and County relief organizations, as well as Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal agencies, were a major source of employment for many men and a few women. Projects funded by the Works Progress Administration constructed the Los Gatos High School athletic field, improvements on Memorial Park, Wheeler Field, and a new service wing for the Milpitas Alms House.

In almost every case, however, the beneficiaries of WPA projects were men. The nature of the work was outside the feminine gender pattern, because most jobs were in construction or manual labor. In addition, women were viewed by local and federal governments as providing purely secondary income. When necessary, women who were qualified worked in the WPA's offices as clerks or secretaries. Some secured jobs as demonstrators or as teachers for WPA-funded classes at the local high school.(51) Working-class women, who needed assistance the most, were usually not the recipients of government aid during the Depression in the Santa Clara Valley.

With the Depression providing a "clarifying moment" in the dominant ideology, "women's work" was redefined by the economic crisis. This reassessment was manifest in a magnification of traditional mores as well as an explanation of the expansion of women into the workplace. According to Susan Ware, the trend toward women entering the work force was begun by the economic necessity of the

Depression and laid the groundwork for the enormous influx of women into the labor market during the Second World War.

For the Santa Clara Valley, the concept of the "working women" had a slightly different meaning than dictated by the popular image. The orchard owner's wife was considered neither working class nor strictly middle class. It is true that she did work, often in the fields alongside her husband; however, the farmer's wife was considered a "copartner" in running and managing the family operation, and as such, she was accepted into the gender framework for women.

Jan Orlando's parents owned a prune orchard in Morgan Hill. Jan remembers her mother "working right alongside her husband and children, picking, pitting and cutting, whenever she wasn't pregnant."⁽⁵²⁾ It was often an unspoken agreement that during the peak harvesting months of July through September wife and daughter would work in the fields, labor in the drying sheds or cook for the army of field hands.

Yvonne Jacobson, in Passing Farms, Enduring Values, remembers her mother getting out of bed at four o'clock in the morning and rushing down to the Growers' Market on Tenth Street in downtown San Jose to buy produce to supplement the family fruit stand. She would be back from shopping and ready to open for business by eight o'clock sharp. While her father worked in the orchard, Yvonne's mother would manage the fruit stand. The fruit stand would close at dusk when Yvonne's mother would come home and cook supper.⁽⁵³⁾

If a wife or daughter could be spared during the harvesting, she usually worked in one of the many canneries dotting the Santa Clara Valley. During the

Depression, cannery jobs became prime work for females as it afforded a wage for unskilled workers and was traditionally gender-oriented for women. The canneries had always provided seasonal, relatively well-paying jobs designed to supplement the household income rather than to become a long-term career. Many times, according to Jan Orlando, wages a wife or daughter earned on the line in the canneries meant the difference between starvation and a square meal.

The canneries were the largest source of employment for women of Santa Clara County. Peak harvest time in the Valley employed close to 40,000 people in 1939. When the season was over, less than 3,000 workers would be retained, most of them men. The exact number of women working in the canneries during the Depression is not available, primarily because women were usually not counted since they were not considered a permanent part of the work force.(54) In 1939, over ninety percent of the women working in the canneries earned less than one thousand dollars for the entire season.(55) Women working in the canneries were limited to an eight-hour day while men were allowed to work more than fourteen hours per day. During the Depression, since men were considered primary breadwinners, women were furloughed whenever possible.

The Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union (CAWIU) was among the first unions of the Santa Clara Valley to demand equal pay for women during the 1930s.(56) Caroline Decker Gladstein, a union organizer, was instrumental in opening the doors not only for unions in general in the Valley but also for women as part of the labor movement. By the start of the Second World War, sixty percent of the union contracts provided comparable or equal pay for

women while seventy-five percent included approved leaves of absence without loss of seniority.(57)

As it turned out, few women in the Valley were able to take advantage of the "equal pay" clause since most held jobs not considered comparable to male labor. Unions did, however, succeed in raising the general wage for working women. When, in 1938, the American Federation of Labor replaced the CAWIU, nine out of ten canneries had set the minimum wage at sixty-five cents an hour, which was considered good pay for women at the time.(58)

The first collective bargaining agreement for cannery workers was signed between the California Processors and Growers and the AFL in 1937 stipulating the six-day work week and the eight-hour day. Union officials turned over negotiations concerning women's hours to the Industrial Welfare Commission, which set them at a maximum of forty-eight hours for a six-day work week with overtime pay for work beyond twelve hours a day. In addition, there existed an informal, albeit explicit, agreement between the California Processors and Growers and the AFL that women's wages would, at no time, exceed men's.(59)

Often entire families would work in the canneries, women usually starting as children and working their way up the line. Hortense DiMercurio was forced to work at Cal Pak during the Depression. She was glad to get the job, as "my family needed all the help we could get because my dad was having trouble holding on to his land." Hortense's wage was pooled with those of her three other sisters, also working in the canneries, into a communal family fund.(60)

Historically, all of the line work, such as pitting, cutting, cleaning and

canning, was considered to be within female abilities. Women, with their smaller hands, were thought to provide the speed and dexterity needed on the line. The female line workers exuded a certain sex-typing in their jobs by expressing gender-oriented opinions. According to a San Jose Mercury News interview, men were simply not "worth a doodley-do on the line belt" as their fingers could not work fast enough.(61)

Conditions in the canneries were sometimes compared to those of sweatshops at the turn of the twentieth century, complete with wet floors, no heat or ventilation, hazardous machinery and sexual harassment by male supervisors. Wages were based on the piece-rate system, with women's earnings dependent on the amount of fruit cut, cleaned or canned.

The canneries of the Santa Clara Valley were not mechanized in the mid-1930s, and women sitting or standing at huge tubs filled with water and fruit with their gender-identifying white scarfs and aprons were a common sight. Conveyor belts later replaced the tubs of water as women stood to work the fruit as it rolled along in an assembly-line fashion.

Introduction of machinery brought the potential for more injuries. Women were often exhausted from standing for so many hours with their hands swollen and clothes soaked from working with the fruit. Hortense DiMercurio displayed her swollen, arthritic hands as evidence of her years in the canneries. Facilities and machinery were seldom inspected for safety. Some women would be required to work with their hands in water or fruit juice all day long, which often led to infection. Numerous cuts and other injuries resulted from women working as fast

as they could with the metal cans in order to make their quotas and avoid being laid off the job.

At the end of the line, cans remained open so that foremen could count the number of fruit in each, as all cans were required to have the same number of fruit. Women laborers had to keep eight or nine different grades of fruit in mind as they filled the cans. This required considerable mental alertness and mistakes often led to the loss of a job. Jan Orlando illustrated the irony of the situation by stating, "men, who were paid a high wage and had more job security, were often given jobs that required less skill."⁽⁶²⁾

While creating more problems, mechanization also open up new opportunities for women. There was a growing need for females to operate the newly installed machines in the canneries. For those operating the machines, the dreaded piece-rate system was no longer a part of their lives. This led to the opening of some semiskilled labor positions for women in the canneries. Until the war years, women's cannery jobs were of an unskilled nature. Women had few opportunities to move into jobs traditionally reserved for men, such as loading trucks, managing the line or working in administration. Cannery work in the 1930s was set up with "structured" work for men and "casual" work for women.

With virtually no promotion ladder in the canneries, women's only hope for advancement was as forewoman. Forewomen, who were few in number, were chosen, according to Jan Orlando, for their ability to "tell you off." Jan became forewoman when she was forced to work in the canneries in the late 1930s. She remembers being "beneath the men supervisors" although she still had authority

and was given the perceived compliment of "being as strong as a man when necessary."(63)

Since women were considered a secondary labor force in the canning business while men were primary, the male supervisors could indiscriminately fire employees or change work assignments. This often led to hostility between the female line workers and their male foremen. A recent San Jose Mercury News article featured one such incident: "One foreman was chased by a woman with a knife because he was giving all of the big fruit [which was easier to cut] to the young, attractive workers."(64)

Sexual harassment and economic discrimination, whether in the form of wisecracking or something more intimate between the female workers and the foremen, were common throughout the Valley's canneries. Hortense DiMercurio found it necessary to "just ignore as best I could all of the comments that were made by the supervisors and truck drivers. If you ignored them, they usually left you alone."(65)

Clyde Arbuckle recalled one of the few women working in an administrative capacity at Cal Pak on Azerais Avenue during the 1930s. Although doing a man's job, she received a lower wage. Arbuckle claims that this was common practice and that women had no choice but to "accept the situation because there were plenty more that would like to be in her shoes."(66)

Because of these repressive working conditions in the canneries, a cooperative spirit grew among women to help each other meet the required quotas and make the job a little better. Someone who did not pitch in and help was considered an

outsider and ignored by the other women. Many of the younger women, such as Hortense, felt that if the older, more experienced women had not shown them the ropes early on, "I would have been fired before the end of the first day."⁽⁶⁷⁾ This close-knit quality generated on the line was considered by many, including Hortense, to be the best aspect of working in the canneries.

Homelife for women working in the canneries during the 1930s, however, remained unchanged. A working wife was usually responsible for two full-time occupations: her job and taking care of the home. Her burden was in no way lighter simply because she was working; she was still expected to provide domestic consistency. Winifred Wandersee believes that while feminists of the Depression Era equated emancipation with a job; most working women felt that it was simply an added burden.

Micaela DiLeonardo, in "The Myth of the Urban Village: Women, Work, and Family Among Italian-Americans in Twentieth-Century California," claims "that as women increased in numbers in the work force, man's work did not increase to include more work in the home, therefore working women are responsible for "double duty."⁽⁶⁸⁾ The job did not free these women from the expectations inherent in the existing gender system. Jan Orlando recalls working all day at the canneries and then coming home after picking up the children at her mother's and fixing dinner for the family. Her day often did not end until very late, when she "fell into bed exhausted."⁽⁶⁹⁾

Wandersee found in Women's Work and Family Values that many women, like Jan Orlando, expressed a sense of personal pleasure in earning a wage,

however minimal. This satisfaction surprised Women's Bureau investigators in the 1930s, who believed that working women just as soon would give up their jobs if economically possible.(70)

Women were classified not only by their gender but also by the boundaries of race. Since minority men were restricted in the labor market during the Depression and incurred a lower standard of living, minority women were forced into the most undesirable jobs. Minority men did not have the luxury of ordering their wives to stay at home as was dictated by the existing gender system.

Gender segregation, as well, had its own class stratification in the Santa Clara Valley during the Depression, with white women receiving the highest wages and best jobs in the canneries, while minority women settled for the less desirable jobs of field hand or domestic help. Elizabeth Higginbotham states, in her essay "Laid Bare by the System" in Class, Race and Sex, that white workers associated stoop or domestic labor with "nigger work."(71) In this way many jobs were safeguarded for non-whites during the Depression.

Elizabeth Higginbotham believes that minorities were viewed by the larger society as deviant, not part of the dominant ideology which is based on a middle-class, white value system. Higginbotham cites the lack of minority women's histories.(72) Minority women were perceived as outside dominant sex roles and therefore distinctly unfeminine, allowing a rationale for paid labor.

In Santa Clara County, foreign-born whites numbered approximately 27,000 in 1930, while "other races," sometimes native-born, made up eight percent of the Valley's population. According to Clyde Arbuckle, immigrant white women were

perceived by cannery administrators as "more acceptable" than minority women to employ; "they seemed more familiar to the cannery owners and less foreign than Blacks and Hispanics."(73) Therefore, a majority of the women working in the canneries during the 1930s were first-generation immigrants.

Workers in the orchards surrounding the canneries were primarily Hispanics or whites from the Dust Bowl states. Santa Clara Valley agriculture provided these unskilled laborers with opportunities to pick, cut, or dry fruit. Since most were unwelcome in the canneries, stoop labor was often the only employment available to minorities. A six-month residency period was required by cannery owners in an effort to limit job applications by Blacks, Asians and Hispanics during the Depression. Migrant whites were also required to register six-months residence in the Valley, but it proved meaningless because most foreign whites had been there for several years.

Like many other agricultural communities across the United States, Santa Clara County was a stewpot of diverse cultures. Neighborhoods often were segregated along ethnic lines. Louise Lamphere, in From Working Daughters to Working Mothers, attributes this to a need on the part of migrants to incorporate a sense of racial security after being uprooted and without their families. On the outskirts of San Jose were "Little Italy," "Little Tijuana," and "Goose Town" (Italian) as well as "Japan Town" and "China Town."

Glenna Matthews in A California Middletown, like Louise Lamphere, believes that the security of various ethnic associations, such as non-whites and migrant whites, in the Santa Clara Valley during the 1930s alleviated some of the hardships

caused by the Depression.(74) Because of their social and political affiliations with racial groups, many of the out-of-work received economic support from their communities. The so-called "alienation" of the worker as a result of the economic crisis was, according to Matthews, comparatively unknown among the unemployed minorities of the Santa Clara Valley.

The need to establish kin networks was strong among minority ethnic groups, as they were usually members of the blue-collar class whose women worked and needed a support system to care for the children. DiLeonardo argues that women accepted, and indeed propagated, their roles within the family with "ethnic family units in particular [being] based on a [mutual] consensus."(75) According to DiLeonardo, ethnic women's identities, how they view themselves, are based in part on the stereotypes of their ethnic group, i.e., Italian women are overweight, make pizza and encourage you to eat a lot, or Black women are loyal domestics who, although none too bright, are good-hearted. Media, films and literature reinforced the popular images with advertisements or films that depicted minority women in a stereotypical fashion.

Akemi Kikumura in Through Harsh Winters states that her mother had a firm belief in what constituted men's and women's work. Even when working outside the home, Kikumura's mother felt that "she must do for the man, be the keeper of the house."(76) Many of the minority women interviewed believed that women were the glue that held the family together; they were the "rock" and acted accordingly.

Jan Orlando, Hortense DiMercurio and Josephine Anzalone expressed strong

opinions on the importance of maintaining their ethnic identity through association with the accepted stereotypes. Jan claims her mother always insisted on having family holidays at her house, telling everyone what to do and "acting like the queen of the family."(77) According to Hortense, "if you were Italian, then you were Catholic, there was just no two ways about it."(78) Josephine went so far as to cart a "pot of sauce" to the Santa Cruz beach for a family outing because "no matter what, Sunday was pasta day for the family."(79)

Louise Lamphere agrees that minority women reinforced the stereotypes by subscribing to the images. In many minority families, women are specifically responsible for all of the kinship work, such as arranging holidays, sending cards, reminding other family members about weddings and birthdays. Many times the wife knows more about the husband's family than the husband does. Kinship then becomes, according to Micaela DiLeonardo, "the women's field of expertise."(80)

Family status is based on the activity of women in the kinship network. Usually women whose husbands have well-paying jobs enjoy a higher status within the family hierarchy. Hortense DiMercurio related that since her aunt's husband was a banker, they always had the important holidays at their house because "they had a bigger house and more room."(81) In that way, a woman's status in the family was tied to the occupation of her husband rather than to her own.

Kinship ties, then, played an important role in minority women's lives. Kinship support networks often meant the difference between starving or "making it." According to Elizabeth Higginbotham, strong reliance by minority women on the family is at the expense of self. The woman gives up her individual identity for

the sake of the family. Most minority women embraced this concept of self-sacrifice because the family was often the only buffer between them and the dominant white society.

Associations provided some protection for women on the fringes of the dominant ideology. Mrs. Assimopoulis founded the Daughters of Penelope to bind Greek women closer together. Milpitas hosted a "Holy Ghost Fiesta" for its Portuguese population while, in downtown San Jose, Italians sponsored the "Santa Rosalia" festival. Ethnic ties were forged between neighbors bound together by social and economic necessity.

In Louise Lamphere's study of several East Coast communities, a network of friends and relatives handled the influx of immigrants into the United States before the Second World War. Kin networks provided a means to gain employment or to recruit workers. In the Santa Clara Valley, positions in the canneries were often awarded by ethnic brokers in much the same fashion. Canneries were almost exclusively owned or managed by Italians or Portuguese by the 1930s; therefore, most of the employees had similar cultural backgrounds.

The largest ethnic group throughout the 1930s in the canneries was the Italians, many of whom were women. Italians made up thirty percent of the work force of the Santa Clara Valley. Eighteen of twenty-five retail fruit dealers in the County listed in the 1930 City Directory had Italian surnames.(82)

Italians in the Santa Clara Valley escaped the discrimination experienced by Asians, Blacks and Hispanics during the Depression. Since such a large percentage of the County's population was Italian and most Italian families had

been in the area for over twenty years, they were considered by the "WASP" community to be somewhat assimilated into American culture. Says Clyde Arbuckle, "there were just so many of them and they virtually ran the canneries, so of course they were accepted."(83)

By the 1930s, the Italians of the Santa Clara Valley constituted a powerful industrial and political force. They owned most of the canneries and were able to place their own ethnic kind in jobs that would provide a "middle-class" life-style. Hortense DiMercurio points out the irony that, although they were minorities themselves, many Italians "were more prejudiced than the white breads" or Anglo-Saxon Protestants.(84)

Many Depression-era immigrants were not lucky enough to have the "built-in" support network that many of the ethnic communities offered in the Santa Clara Valley during the 1930s. Josephine Takano remembers her mother telling her what it was like when she first came to this country with just her mother and father; all other family members were back in Japan. Josephine's mother got pregnant shortly after they arrived in the Valley, and with no other family or friends in the area, she was forced to take the child with her into the orchards where she worked picking fruit. Later, with more children, Josephine's mother left the children at home alone without any supervision because "there was simply no one to take care of them." When the children got older, they went into the orchards with her, and only the very youngest did not work picking or cutting fruit.(85)

Josephine Takano's mother had much in common with Akemi Kikumura's mother. In her book, Through Harsh Winters, Kikumura tells of her mother often

feeling depressed whenever she got pregnant because "when she was pregnant, she didn't work and the family absolutely needed the money she could earn working on the farms and orchards." She had to rely on her husband for sustenance and felt that she had lost status in the family; "when a women is pregnant, she has no power."(86)

Asians in the Santa Clara Valley were objects of almost continual racial discrimination and harassment. At the end of the Depression approximately 100,000 Japanese lived in the United States. Almost all were on the West Coast in California, with many living scattered throughout Santa Clara County.

The Santa Clara Valley had a long tradition of racial discrimination against Asians. Naturalization and intermarriage were forbidden by state law. Public swimming pools and dance halls were often restricted. Employment and housing barriers were common. When the city fathers decided that San Jose's Chinatown was an eyesore prior to the Depression, they put it to the torch without first consulting the residents.(87)

Asian women were the last hired for the lowest possible wages. Asian women could expect to find little but domestic labor positions. In the outlying rural areas of the Valley, Japanese women worked as cooks and as field hands in orchards owned by some of the "lucky" Japanese families. Josephine Takano and Akemi Kikumura's mother both remember working exclusively for other Japanese as field hands. They avoided white society as much as possible because of the discomfort felt as a result of racial bias. Although often badly treated by the bosses, Josephine's mother recalled staying with the job because "they were Japanese and the family

needed the money."(88) Times were hard during the Depression, but they were tougher for minorities.

Animosity towards Japanese in particular existed in the Valley even before the bombing of Pearl Harbor. Josephine Takano believes that this "jealousy" was due in part to the way Japanese took detailed care of their orchards and homes. Japanese workers were sometimes faster or did a better job of working with the fruit, which drove a wedge between white and Asian workers. According to Akemi Kikumura's mother, "Hakujin [white people] were just lazier."(89)

For many Japanese women in the Valley, the most important holiday was the New Year. The idea was to spend whatever money you had on sake and food. Josephine remembers the men continually pounding a huge vat of rice, occasionally spelling each other at the task, to make it soft enough so that the women could make coveted rice bean cakes. Friends and relatives joined in parties that continued "until the last person went home which usually was at dawn."(90) As a result, support networks grew and cultural identity was preserved.

Due to their oddity, according to Clyde Arbuckle, Blacks were singled out in the 1930 Census; there were 539 "Negroes" in the Santa Clara County, 277 of whom were women.(91) Arbuckle can remember only one Black man living in the Valley prior to the Second World War. "Smithy" was the name given to the old ex-slave who worked downtown as a blacksmith. No one seemed to know his real name or if he was even married, but it appeared to Clyde that he "had been there forever."(92) Prior to the Second World War, few Black families lived in the Santa Clara Valley. They worked primarily as domestic help for wealthy families and lived on the

outskirts of town.

An essay by Nancy Boyd-Franklin in Class, Race and Sex argues that Black women stayed on the fringes of the women's movement because of the impression that the movement undermined the family and family values. For Black women, the family is often the only means of support and status. Boyd-Franklin suggests that perhaps a strong "sacrifice ethic" exists for Black women. Since society offers a Black woman no protection, she must rely on her family and give up any self-identity. As a result, male and female roles are more flexible within Black families than in other cultures, born of the necessity of having the women work. Being part of the old slave system, where, according to Boyd-Franklin, women worked as hard as men, assimilated Black women into the labor force; they have never been a part of the middle-class value system.

Hispanic families, from the Southwest and from Mexico, encountered similar problems in the Santa Clara Valley. Hispanic men who worked as farm hands often had no choice but to bring along the entire family. It became common practice in California after the First World War to move the family from harvest to harvest and, according to Elizabeth Higginbotham, "migrant farm labor [became] not a temporary solution to a family crisis, but a life style."(93)

Agriculture was, by far, the dominant occupation for Hispanic women. Migrant workers and the growers were often at odds in their definition of job security. Workers wanted longer seasons and higher pay, while the Valley's growers wanted workers quietly to disappear after the crop was picked. Growers increasingly tried to keep the labor pool large as well as mobile and cheap. As a

result of the growers having their way during the Depression and of the seasonal nature of fruit production, agricultural work came to embrace the migrants' existence. Life cycles revolved around the ebb and flow of the harvest.

Ethnic identity provided Hispanics with a major source of strength against racial discrimination, poor working conditions, and low wages. It was necessary for every family member to work and earn money as a unit. Although there was a strong "machismo" ethic in Hispanic cultures, women receiving an income were viewed as acceptable, the job an extension of their family role.

Extensive kin networks developed among Hispanics. Relatives were recruited by the migrants to work particular harvests around the Valley so that the family could make more money. Cecilia Romero, as translated by her daughter, remembers "all my brothers, uncles, cousins and aunts working together on a ranch in Morgan Hill, and we came back there year after year."⁽⁹⁴⁾ Family members were held responsible for each other's work in the orchards, which meant that labor conflicts caused disruption within the family unit. This family cohesion, states Higginbotham, was a mitigating force against unionism in the 1930s and reinforced poor working conditions.

Since they were transient, Hispanic families were among the many minority groups who did not receive relief from Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal program. In addition, government-sponsored repatriation of the workers back to Mexico sometimes occurred. With the "Okies" coming from the Dustbowl in the mid-1930s, many Hispanic families were forced out of the only jobs available to them. Many families had no choice but to return to Mexico to rely on the charity of

friends and relations. Cecilia Romero recalls many Hispanic families having to leave the Valley and go back to Mexico during the 1930s; "there was just not enough work for them and there were only certain jobs we could do."(95)

In conclusion, Susan Ware believes that the Depression left a "legacy of fear" manifested in the postwar generation by the acquisition of material goods.(96) The fear that it could happen again exists in many of these women. Hortense DiMercurio to this day can not bring herself to throw away food. She eats everything on her plate because "I remember the how hard it was during the Depression." Women who lived through the economic crisis of the 1930s are haunted by a spectre of scarcity. Hortense, now in her seventies, does not allow herself many luxuries. She prefers, instead, to save her money in case "the family should need it."(97)

Women's efforts in the Santa Clara Valley helped families get through the economic despair of the Depression by substituting their labor for more expensive labor-saving devices. Sewing, canning food and doing without domestic help ensured that the family would be able to "cut corners." However, the extra labor of women, as well as an inbred sacrifice ethic, reinforced a Victorian image of women in the 1930s. Susan Ware asserts, "if anything, the Depression reinforced traditional ideas by giving women larger roles to play in holding the family together in the midst of the economic crisis."(98)

The existence of the working woman contradicts the conventional gender pattern so popular during the Depression. But, rather than being forced out of the workplace, women held their own and, according to Ware, perhaps made some

headway. Jeane Westin, Ruth Milkman, and Louise Lamphere are among the many historians who assert that, if anything, the Depression safeguarded jobs for women. What was termed "women's work" was transferred into the workplace in the form of sex-typed jobs.

For Santa Clara Valley women, this meant line work in the canneries, running family fruit stands, cooking for ranch hands, keeping books for the family business, laboring as field hands, or working in one of the many white collar jobs available in the small cities scattered throughout the County. Not until the Second World War would women experience jobs outside of traditional gender patterns.

CHAPTER THREE

THE WAR YEARS

When other girls attend their favorite cocktail bars,
Sipping dry martinis, munching caviar,
There's a girl who's really putting them to shame,
Rosie is her name.
All day long whether rain or shine,
She's a part of the assembly line.
She's making history, working for victory,
Rosie the Riveter.

- Popular 1940s tune, "Rosie the Riveter"

The Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor in 1941 thrust the predominantly agricultural Santa Clara Valley into the Second World War. Like the rest of America, the county had been dealing with anguish resulting from the Great Depression. And although World War Two caused tremendous anxiety among the residents of the Valley, that event released Santa Clara County from the grip of economic despair. Plunged into the whirlwind of war by the Japanese, the Valley of Hearts' Delight became a central staging point for the Pacific Theater.

Santa Clara County, as many other semi-rural areas across the United States, eagerly sought and received a healthy share of the wealth resulting from massive federal defense spending. The Second World War provided a defining moment in

which Santa Clara County went from a predominantly agricultural community to an industrial one.

World War Two was the catalyst that turned the Santa Clara Valley from a predominantly agricultural community to an industrial one. Employment in statewide industries providing material for ships and airplanes mushroomed by 1941 from close to one million to over seven million, all before Pearl Harbor.(1) The food-processing industry also experienced remarkable growth because of increasing national prosperity and because of government purchases for servicemen in training throughout the nation and in the Pacific.

Santa Clara Valley residents welcomed the opportunity to construct new factories to accommodate federal defense contracts. Kaiser Corporation built Kaiser Permanente Cement on 3,400 acres in the Cupertino Hills in 1939 at a cost of four million dollars. It was the largest cement plant in the world, with a production capacity estimated at over one million tons of cement annually.(2) Kaiser Permanente Metals Corporation (a division of Kaiser Permanente Cement) became responsible for the magnesium casting for P-38's and Flying Fortresses.

Several other corporations found Santa Clara County an ideal place to conduct business. In 1944, Owen-Corning Fiberglass Corporation bought forty-three acres in Santa Clara and constructed a seven-million-dollar plant that employed approximately 1,000 workers with an annual payroll of over one million dollars. IBM (the International Business Machine Corporation) preceded Owen-Corning by one year when it established a facility in San Jose in 1943; by the 1960s, it was one of the area's leading employers.(3) The Food Machinery and Chemical Corporation,

located in Santa Clara, manufactured tanks for the army. Local residents could often find FMC employees testing the capabilities of those tanks in the neighboring creek.(4)

Joshua Hendy sold his Ironworks to McDonald and Kahn of San Francisco in 1940 with the stipulation that it would handle increased war contracts. By 1941, Hendy Ironworks had signed a multimillion-dollar agreement to manufacture equipment for airplanes and ships. Hendy, employing over 7,500 men and women during the war years, became the leading manufacturer of war materials in the county and one of only four industries in Sunnyvale.(5)

Historian Steven Payne maintains that the government and private industry invested over 800 million dollars to construct defense plants around California. Seventy new manufacturing facilities were built within Santa Clara County boundaries between 1943 and 1947. San Jose alone received approximately nine million dollars for new plants to produce magnesium, ferro-silicon and plastics. Santa Clara County firms acquired over thirty-one million dollars in defense contracts during the war years. Annual gross income for Californians advanced from just over five million dollars to almost thirteen million dollars.(6) Even allowing for inflation estimated at thirty percent, residents experienced notable prosperity. The San Jose Mercury-Herald published a headline in 1941 proclaiming "the lean years are over."(7)

The economic boom resulting from the expansion of defense industries in the Santa Clara Valley began to transform the relatively slow orchard community into a growing urban center. The San Jose Mercury-Herald reported that by 1942, bus

and rail systems were running at peak levels throughout the state to move people to defense work on the West Coast. The San Jose Mercury-Herald also wrote of record job placements in the county because of increased war production.

As the war progressed and the United States became more directly involved, the Santa Clara Valley turned into a beehive of military activity. San Jose was a transit point to the Pacific Theater. Moffet Field was a key naval station and the Seventh Army established its headquarters in San Jose on North First Street. Soldiers coming from Fort Ord, Moffet Field or the Presidio for a little "R and R" could be seen on every downtown street corner. Military processing took place at Spartan Stadium on Seventh Street and in a warehouse on Market Street (where the Fairmont Hotel is currently located). According to Frank Anzalone, a USO building was constructed "seemingly overnight" in the early 1940s; it doubled in size by 1945 to accommodate the tremendous influx of soldiers to the Valley.(8)

Opportunity became the watchword as both men and women rushed to grab the American Dream so magnified after the end of the war. The population explosion of the Gold Rush was small compared to the influx during the Second World War. The population of Santa Clara County grew by over two million between 1940 and 1945.(9) The mild climate and inexpensive land, along with the natural beauty of the Santa Clara Valley, encouraged people to settle in the county. A corresponding need for public services, housing, and consumer goods followed the influx of people and industry. Women were eager to acquire their piece of the "California Dream."

The Valley experienced a gain in employment of over thirty-three percent in

one year. The trend continued when, in 1943, the San Jose Mercury-Herald revealed that employment in the county was up thirty-eight percent in a four-month period, with the largest increases seen at Henty Ironworks and the Food Machinery Corporation.(10) Exact employment figures could not be reported as they were considered "military secrets."

Throughout the Second World War, there remained a severe shortage of labor in the agricultural sector, which women were quick to fill. High turnover of the work force in the canneries, particularly with the men going off to war or to defense-related jobs, added to this shortage during the peak canning seasons. The shortage became even more acute with the drafting of eighteen to twenty-year-olds in 1942. Minors and women were actively recruited by the canneries which lobbied for relaxation of Depression labor laws. Labor unions soon focused attention on women as their numbers in the work force increased during the war; women became an economic force to reckon with.

The National War Labor Board (NWLB) had perhaps more control of the canneries and their workers than did the Union. Because of the increased defense contracts for more canned goods, the NWLB was virtually able to dictate to the Union which demands to press and which to ignore.(11) When the NWLB succeeded in getting the work day cut to eight hours, the action resulted in severe labor shortages and the increased recruitment of women and children from all over the state to work in the food processing and packing industries of the Santa Clara Valley. Schools were requested to house and feed workers and school buses were commandeered to provide transportation for workers to and from the canneries.(12)

The economic demands of the Second World War placed the gender system in the Santa Clara Valley under immense stress. While women in general were expected to be subordinate to men, the increased need for labor expanded women's traditional roles. The popular image of married women, in particular, was changed to encompass a wider range of economic and social opportunities. Although still viewed as secondary to men in the work force, women expanded into some conventionally male-dominated positions.

In general, women working in defense maintained traditional perspectives by performing as secretaries or cafeteria workers. Many accounts concerning the number of women working in defense were deceptive. For instance, over half of the employees at the Service Cleaners establishment were women responsible for mending and cleaning military uniforms and considered part the war effort.(13) Despite several exceptions, a majority of women in the Santa Clara Valley remained true to custom even when working outside the home. The war required increased overall production, which led to the creation of more jobs for women within traditionally prescribed boundaries. This reinforcement of women's subordination to men throughout the war years was summed up by Jonathan Daniels, the administrative assistant to the President in 1941, when writing of the "maleness of the era":

In an America grown magnificently male again
we have a chance to fight for a homeland with the
full meaning of homeland as a world that is fit to be
the home of man.(14)

Michael Renov believes that after Pearl Harbor, convincing women to enter the work force was entirely dependent on "publicity, special promotions and public relations."⁽¹⁵⁾ Margaret Higonnet, as well, asserts that propaganda plays a major role in defining or redefining the gender system during time of war.

Image-making is an important tool designed to redefine goals and behavior. The propaganda of the Second World War played on the desire to be part of the larger community and stressed conformity. Maureen Honey proposes that media was effectively mobilized during the war years to push housewives into the labor force. Honey believes it was the most comprehensive and organized effort in American history to end male bias and legitimize women as paid labor.

The race was on effectively to portray an attractive, welcome image of the wartime working woman. One San Francisco radio show sponsored by the War Manpower Commission announced that Miss America of 1942 was "the war worker." She had a bandanna wrapped around her head, wore pedal pushers and had a determined glint in her eyes.⁽¹⁶⁾ The working woman was proclaimed by the San Jose Mercury-Herald, as early as 1942, as "America's new style queen."⁽¹⁷⁾

The War Manpower Commission was responsible for much of the publicity aimed at recruiting Santa Clara Valley women from the home into the work force. The Commission worked closely with advertising firms, the film industry and the Writer's Guild in one of the most extensive public relations campaigns ever. Women entering the labor force were touted as "brave" and "[as] essential to the war effort as any of our boys fighting overseas" on all fronts.⁽¹⁸⁾ According to the authors of The Life and Times of Rosie the Riveter, advertisements directed by the

Office of War Information played a major role in convincing men and women that it was acceptable for a women to work outside the home. For example, women's magazines ran ads that stressed that "war baby Billy" was not missing out on any of mother's love because she works outside the home.(19)

The conservative San Jose Mercury-Herald ran an editorial by John Grover, titled "Women Must Replace Men In War Plants,"arguing that to solve the severe labor crisis facing the Santa Clara Valley, childless women or those with older children must do their share and join the war effort. The accusation implicit in Grover's article was that America's women were not doing as much as their counterparts in other areas of the world to aid the war effort.(20)

In Creating Rosie the Riveter, Honey examines the use of propaganda to convince married women to enter the labor force. Propaganda targeted middle-class women and working-class women as well as single versus married women, directing a distinct form of propoganda at each group. As a result, there was no single model of the wartime female worker. Maureen Honey found that the characters depicted in True Story illustrated the concept of women's work for blue-collar women, while The Saturday Evening Post provided the popular image for middle-class women.

The Saturday Evening Post portrayed middle-class women as somewhat equal to men as well as independent, holding jobs such as welder, electronics operator, and truck driver. Working-class women in True Story were depicted as cannery workers and field hands, basically unskilled labor. With jobs that emphasized working as part of a group or team, working-class women were characterized in

less equalitarian terms than the middle class. Working-class women were depicted as subordinate to males in all cases, while middle-class women were perceived to have some measure of independence from male control.

Propagandists were careful to create believable images and, therefore, remained within the bounds of the traditional gender system. Honey asserts that media and the government were careful to play on already entrenched values: "the power of mass media or propaganda to persuade is limited by the already existing attitudes, values, experiences, and needs of the consumer."(21) It is important to remember that propaganda reflected the middle-class value system. Therefore, women were pictured as:

soldier workers, sacrificing without regard to personal ambition, a symbol of good old American values, and keeping the home fires burning by preserving home, family, and hearth rather than economic need.(22)

Both Honey and Renov highlight the influence on the Hollywood film from its audience. The "reality effect" of several films demanded recognition and identification with the audience. Men and women were required to buy into the role-playing of the actors on the screen; therefore, the characterizations had to incorporate the familiar.

Although aimed at ending discrimination against women in the work force, propaganda also placed constraints on the picture it projected. The popular image for women worked within the gender system by depicting the feminine side of the

job, thus reinforcing traditional patterns. The media and government stressed the temporary nature of the job, "just until the boys came home." Finally, the popular image was romantic; most characters were single, young and beautiful, and were rewarded for temporary work with domestic bliss in the postwar years. There was little room in this portrayal for older middle-class women with children and household responsibilities.

Margaret Higonnet highlights the contrasting nature of women's work during the war years in Behind the Lines. To minimize the threat of women's power, women were sexualized to reinforce the masculine sense of possession. Frank Anzalone referred to "those cute little numbers in their Red Cross uniforms" and mentioned the popularity of numerous pin-up girls during the war years.(23)

The projected image sent mixed messages to women, of strength and dependence, conservatism and new horizons, home and a job. Ruth Milkman suggested that "women's work" was depicted as an extension of their domestic duty. For instance, factory jobs were continually referred to as resembling housework. The term "factory housekeeping" became popular in describing what constituted women's work. With the typical factory uniform of durable slacks, a work shirt and a snood to cover any loose hair, advertisements were careful to stress the feminine aspect of male clothing with lipstick and the like for a stylish work outfit.

Jobs that had once been considered masculine now became endowed with glamour and romance in order to attract females by making them socially acceptable, at least for the duration. According to Michael Renov, historians

usually focus on "Rosie" because of her "difference" from the previous gender pattern. However, most women were simply carrying on traditional duties at home or in the workplace because "they were a vital, unsalaried (or at least cheap) labor supply."(24)

A wartime marriage trend contributed to the number of married women in the labor pool. In general, the Santa Clara Valley community, just as the federal government and the media, frowned on women with children under ten working outside the home, while females with older children were expected to accept a job. War Manpower Chairman Paul McNutt issued a directive in 1942 to the Bay Area region stating that women with small children should not be "encouraged or compelled" to enter the work force until all other available labor sources had been completely exhausted.(25) Predictably, most of those women applying for newly-created jobs in Santa Clara Valley were either single or married with older children.

By 1943, however, the labor pool of single women was nearly exhausted. Propaganda then encouraged married women to enter the work force to fill wartime shortages. Private employers, the federal government (in the form of the War Manpower Commission), and the media initiated a nationwide drive to recruit women between the ages of eighteen and forty-five. Their objective was to convince them it was their patriotic duty to enter the labor force.

As a result, women like Hazel Wisner became the subject of a San Jose Mercury-Herald feature on working women. The machine shop of Campbell and Budlong, Incorporated, on Monterey Road was the first of its kind in the Santa

Clara Valley to receive federal defense contracts in 1941. Approximately eighty percent of the shop's production involved equipment for naval defense: ship manifolds, bolts, and valves. As President and General Manager of Campbell and Budlong, Hazel Wisner was one of a limited number of women in the United States to supervise a machine shop or any type of industrial concern.(26)

Motherhood was down-played by both government and employers in the effort to recruit women. "Bringing our boys home" was advertised as the number one priority. Once the war was over, motherhood could again become a sanctified condition, necessary to redirect the gender system toward "normalcy." Numerous surveys were conducted to prove to male employers that women could do the job of men. As a result, James Blaisdell, State Director of the War Manpower Commission, stated that women could perform eighty percent of the jobs formerly reserved for men. Women were told that if they did not go into the work force, they were responsible for killing our boys: "are you responsible for the casualty lists?"(27)

Santa Clara Valley employers were concerned about the possibility of high absentee rates among women workers. Shouldering the dual responsibility for the home and a job, might not women become too exhausted in their attempt to handle both? After making sure that the family and household were in order, it seemed there would be little left to give to the job. Employers had visions of production halting because female workers might not show up for their shifts. What about those very personal "female problems?" Several women's magazines ran advertisements for such products as Kotex to help the female war worker to be "comfortable and ready for work even on those days when you feel all in."(28)

Numerous surveys conducted by the War Manpower Commission helped employers overcome unwillingness to hire female workers. In most cases, research only reinforced the value of women as employees. Jan Orlando helped prove that women could handle "double duty." Jan was able to hold down a job while at the same time manage a family. She was tired, but exhilarated by her newfound independence from the kitchen.(29)

Since women with small children were not encouraged to work outside the home, their patriotic duty was portrayed as acting as the neighborhood's baby-sitter while other women went off to their jobs. Gertrude Ziesch remembers "keeping an eye" on several of the neighbors' children while mothers worked.(30) Victory gardens were touted for many women stuck at home with children. The local community reinforced the popular image of women at home with contests held throughout Santa Clara County to determine the fairest victory gardens, giving war bonds as prizes.(31)

The government and the media maintained pressure on women throughout the war years to remember their duty. The difficulty of running an average household in time of war was the subject of numerous advertisements and articles. According to the San Jose Mercury-Herald, the "smart woman" collected old catsup bottle tops, covers of relish jars, coffee and baking powder tins to be used for storage as many of the new packages were constructed with a limited amount of metal.(32) If "making do" was, as Jeane Westin believes, the philosophy of the 1930s, then women of the 1940s lived by the adage, "save everything." Margaret Powell remembers that the emphasis changed from "wearing it out and using it up" to

"wasting precious war material should be considered tantamount to sin."(33)

Just as clothing styles of the 1930s stressed conformity to traditional gender patterns, clothes during the war years reflected rationing of textiles and the need for comfort in the workplace. The federal government in 1941 ordered a ten percent reduction in the amount of cloth in a woman's bathing suit. Two-piece rather than one-piece bathing suits became the rage. The Wall Street Journal observed that the two-piece bathing suit, like the zipperless dress and the pleated skirt, was a result of the war.(34) Department stores in downtown San Jose, such as Hale's, Hart's, and Penney's, advertised the latest clothing styles in colors reflecting a nation at war. "Battleship Gray and MacArthur Tan" were among some of the most fashionable, as well as patriotic, fabrics.(35)

According to Michael Renov, women became involved in "home mobilization" with help from propaganda presented by the federal government and the media.

John M. Landis, director of the Office of Civilian Defense, claimed in 1943:

War is not always a battle line, war is a housewife pouring fat into a container, preserving vegetables grown in her own garden, buying foods with understanding and knowledge, accepting uncomplainingly the necessities of rationing. War is women working at canteens, listing housing facilities available in their neighborhoods, assisting with the many tedious clerical tasks that new wartime agencies have to have done. War is delivering a message door by door, organizing for their homes and schools the collection of tin cans, scrap iron, and old rubber.... to the degree that a community organizes itself to make known these responsibilities, and provides volunteers to undertake them, to that degree is that community at war. (36)

Local newspapers contributed to the campaign to create awareness and many women of the Santa Clara Valley evidently listened to this propaganda. Features in both the San Jose News and the San Jose Mercury-Herald proclaimed black cloth (for the expected air raid) in short supply. According to the San Jose News, women were making the home as attractive as possible under the circumstances. One idea was to buy dark cloth with a floral pattern on one side or add fringe along the edges in order to make the wartime home more charming. An "air raid nightie" complete with bonnet and booties, just in case there was the need to "rush out of bed," was advertised in the San Jose Mercury-Herald, (37)

Traditional educational roles for men and women were stretched during the war years. According to the San Jose Mercury-Herald, female teaching candidates in the Santa Clara Valley were required to learn how to use a hammer and saw in order to qualify for a degree to teach elementary school as well as perhaps to find a second job in one of the county's defense industries. However, Ben Spaulding, Associate Professor of Industrial Arts at San Jose State College, pointed out that these "male" skills could also aid the average housewife.(38)

Since many mothers were out of the house working, several of the valley's high schools thought it prudent to begin instructing boys in homemaking. One high school administrator rationalized such training by stating that "[these classes] are not designed to make housekeepers out of the boys, rather to [help] acquire skills to cook on a fishing or hunting trip." This rationalization was intended to ensure that the curriculum would be socially acceptable.(39)

Few Santa Clara Valley women came to their wartime jobs with relevant

skills. A large number had to be trained as riveters, welders, machinists, and the like. Engineering, math, and science departments in the local colleges began to open their doors to females. Industries were willing to hire women in place of men to perform duties once considered strictly outside the ability of women.

The need for workers of either gender in the San Francisco shipyards put immense pressure on Santa Clara County vocational schools to recruit or train skilled workers. Technical High School in San Jose instructed males and females in mechanical skills for "future fighting men and war workers."⁽⁴⁰⁾ In 1941, the San Jose Mercury-Herald claimed that the San Jose School District alone had been responsible for training over five thousand men and women for defense work since the start of the war.⁽⁴¹⁾ Women began to infiltrate the ranks of electricians, machine shop workers, and plumbers. Much to the surprise of their male colleagues, they performed as well as men.

The first women appeared in vocational training programs in the Santa Clara Valley in 1941, directly after the bombing of Pearl Harbor. Until the Second World War, women were an uncommon sight at trade schools because most institutions actively discouraged them from enrolling. The "messiness and monotony" of the work was often emphasized to dissuade the few women in the 1930s who expressed interest in pursuing careers in the blue-collar trades.

The increased need for workers between 1942 and 1945 brought tremendous opportunity for women in formerly male-dominated vocational schools. Mrs. Sarah Dailey was profiled in the San Jose Mercury-Herald in 1942 to illustrate the "typical wartime working girl." She commuted to Moore Dry Dock Company in Oakland

from San Jose, making ninety-five cents an hour as an electrician's helper. Sarah's training included a course in war production at San Jose State College which enabled her to become the first female member of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. Sarah felt "she wanted to do something for the war" and, since she was "always the handyman around the house anyway," decided to pursue vocational education. The younger children were looked after by Dailey's fourteen-year-old daughter.(42)

In 1943, the San Jose Mercury-Herald announced the first women to pass naval welding standards, an achievement made possible by their training at San Jose Technical High School. The newspaper reported that Margaret Allen and Fern Clark were now employed at Western Pipe and Steel "helping to win the war."(43) The same article proclaimed that many housewives who had worked prior to marriage needed refresher courses in various skills such as typing and stenography to revive their confidence in returning to the workplace.

Federal aid was granted to various other community schools to expand and establish defense work classes. Cupertino Elementary, Mountain View High School and Elementary School, Sunnyvale Grammar School, and Los Altos Grammar School were among those to receive financial aid, particularly since Hendy Ironworks and Kaiser Permanente had plants in the area and needed war production workers.

Several of the local universities and colleges, as well as the vocational centers, received federal funding to create defense-related curricula. Many classes at San Jose State College, Stanford University, and Santa Clara University were made

possible by government allotments. Such programs enabled local colleges to retain their prewar number of students, regardless of gender.

Stanford University offered classes in business management, engineering, and accounting. In 1943, San Jose State College offered federally-funded analytical chemistry classes to prepare women for war production work. San Jose State's program was referred to as ESWMT, or Engineering and Science War Management Training. The State College also expanded its business department to include more typing and filing with the express purpose of educating women to reenter the workplace. Santa Clara University proffered classes in industrial cost accounting, industrial relations and transportation, and traffic management along with production management, foremanship, and mathematics for women.

San Jose City Junior College specialized in training women for machine shop work. In three weeks' time, these females were to be transported to Mare Island Naval facility to work as "mechanic's helpers." Most of the women in this program were between the ages of twenty-two and thirty-five; they earned a wage of approximately \$185 a month and wore blue jeans and bandannas as the required uniform.(44)

World War Two saw immense growth in the number of Santa Clara Valley women entering local colleges. Between 1942 and 1945, women students outnumbered men at San Jose State College at a ratio of approximately three to one.(45) Was it because they were now free of a man's definition of what they should be that women took advantage of the newly created academic openings? Certainly Santa Clara Valley women began to enroll in classes that defied the traditional

expectations of the 1930s. By 1943, the San Jose Mercury-Herald proclaimed women a driving force in the war, getting back what the "Japs had taken in the beginning."(46)

When volunteering their labor, Santa Clara Valley women filled positions deemed within the bounds of conventional gender patterns. Propaganda convinced some women to sell war bonds, or plant a victory garden, or work at the Red Cross Canteen, all ways to "take a sock at the Japs." John Blum writes in V is for Victory that the United States government elicited female support of the war by engaging them personally; by volunteering their time, they were involved.

Newspapers throughout the Santa Clara Valley participated in recruiting women as volunteers. The San Jose Mercury-Herald published an article explaining how to cope with the gasoline shortage. In this case, the housewives of Willow Glen had initiated a "You Name It Club" to curtail travel and provide entertainment for the community and visiting servicemen. Bingo, knitting, cards, dances, and group singing were all part of the agenda organized by Mrs. H.P. Heitzman, while the "get-acquainted" details were taken care of by Florence Hayes.(47)

Every community in the Santa Clara Valley organized some sort of volunteer association during the 1940s. The San Jose Mercury-Herald told of the women of Los Gatos teaching first aid classes at the local high school, Gilroy women forming a Defense Savings Committee to promote the purchase of war bonds, and Sunnyvale women opening a canteen to handle potential evacuees and disaster victims. The San Jose News reported local female teachers volunteering as waitresses at the

servicemen's canteen. San Jose's female teachers created a child care center as well as a mending and sewing committee. Los Altos organized the Civilian Defense Organization whose women members raised money for a new fire truck to be used in the event of a national emergency.

The Santa Clara County USO was directed by Mrs. Mark Rifenbark. At this facility, soldiers received such treats as cookies, cakes, and sandwiches donated by over 102 different women's volunteer organizations. At Christmas and Thanksgiving, soldiers received a meal with "all the fixings."⁽⁴⁸⁾ Sponsoring dances most every night of the week at one location or another in San Jose, the USO recruited high school girls to dance with the soldiers and chaperoned them by "senior" hostesses. The girls were closely watched and expected to wear gloves while remaining within view of the chaperones at all times.⁽⁴⁹⁾ To highlight the romantic aspect of volunteer work, the San Jose Mercury-Herald ran a feature concerning the Santa Clara Hospitality House which was "designed to cater to the soldiers in the area as well as host the wedding of Pvt. Sam Harris and volunteer Blanche Jaffee."⁽⁵⁰⁾

Local authorities conducted contests between neighboring counties and cities to determine which could sell the most war bonds. San Jose's first bond drive or "victory pledge" began on April 23, 1942, with the motto "Back Our Boys," while the Los Gatos Red Cross was responsible for hosting a "Pledge Victory Campaign" in early 1942. Santa Clara County women were depicted by the media as proud of their ability to raise a tremendous amount of money for the war effort with the numerous bond drives between 1942 and 1945.

The San Jose Chamber of Commerce was also active in recruiting single female volunteers for enlisted men's dances held by the Red Cross at its downtown headquarters. In 1942, with the help of several businessmen, a Red Cross Hospitality House was opened to function as a "home away from home" to keep the soldiers from becoming homesick, as well as out of trouble. Mrs. Raymond Leland, Ella Holtz, and Verda Brown were unpaid "full-time hostesses" of the newly constructed Hospitality House.(51)

Some volunteer groups were military in nature and women who "joined up" received a wage. An Act of Congress on May 15, 1942, enabled women to enlist for non-combat roles in five branches of the Armed Forces. Among the most publicized were the WAACS (Women's Auxiliary Army Corps) and the WAVES (Women Appointed to Voluntary Emergency Service). The SPARS (Semper Paratus - "Always Ready"), the Women's Reserve of the Marine Corps, and the Women's Auxiliary Ferrying Squadron (WAFS) did not receive as much publicity; therefore, they were not able to attract as many enlistees as the WACCS and WAVES.(52)

One of the more publicized of these paid groups in the Santa Clara Valley was the San Jose Unit of the Women's Ambulance and Transport Corps of California, which was given an award for "outstanding" service by its male supervisors. According to the San Jose Mercury-Herald, women serving in the Ambulance and Transport Corps were required to be proficient in map reading, basic mechanics, and first aid. Positions were taken very seriously by the women and always referred to as "battle stations."(53)

It is a credit to the propaganda machine that the San Jose News reported

Santa Clara County women deluging army recruitment centers to enlist in the WAACS. Applicants were required to be between the ages of 21 and 45, of excellent character, United States citizens, and in good physical condition. Their purpose was to provide a female military work force to release men for combat.(54) In this way, Higonet's "double helix phenomenon" was illustrated, as women were subordinate to men.

To feminize the woman soldier, several local newspapers reported the concern about the styles of the required uniforms. One such article in the San Jose Mercury-Herald, directed towards prospective enlistees, stated, "If you like dress details, and what women doesn't, uniforms are designed to excel in style and chic appearance as well as durability with snappy headgear to go along."(55)

Although the "Good Neighbor Wartime Volunteer" was supposed to be as important as those women working at Hendy Ironworks, the San Jose Mercury-Herald noted housewives' lack of interest in volunteering for various organizations. The women's coordinator of the OCD (Organization for Civilian Defense), Lucy McClintec, expressed her concern at the lack of female volunteers and emphasized the shortage of workers to check households for fire-fighting equipment, make first aid materials, and act as additional labor for peak harvest time in the canneries.(56)

Individual women became involved in the various volunteer programs for diverse reasons, some of which were completely outside popular propaganda. Several Santa Clara County society matrons believed it to be their patriotic duty to volunteer for the Red Cross and other organizations. Since they considered

themselves leaders of the community, it was their responsibility to set the "right example." In addition, their volunteer work assisted their husbands' career prospects. Primarily wives of Santa Clara's professional men, these Red Cross women were more often concerned about creating business opportunities for their husbands than the war effort.

Lillian Phillips, now a spry ninety-four years old, recalls her primary Red Cross duties as typing, filing and serving coffee and donuts to the gallant boys in uniform. Phillips strongly emphasized that her work in the Red Cross was personally unimportant. Her primary concern was that her husband move up in the Rotary Club. However, on Phillips' living room wall hangs a picture of her in the uniform of a Sergeant Major directly next to a framed, signed thank-you note from President Truman. It is one of her most cherished possessions.

Other women, such as Gloria Hill, went to all of the servicemen's dances because she "just loved to dance."⁽⁵⁷⁾ It was at a USO-sponsored dance that Hill met her husband Don. They were the talk of the town because of their ability to "cut a rug."⁽⁵⁸⁾ Many Santa Clara Valley women saw volunteer organizations as a place to socialize. Since gasoline was severely rationed, car-pooling to a function for the servicemen was, according to Margaret Powell, "great fun."⁽⁵⁹⁾

Supervisory positions within volunteer organizations were almost always reserved for men. The War Finance committee of the Red Cross was headed by Abe Parker and John M. O'Keefe, with female subordinates organized into a separate "women's division."⁽⁶⁰⁾ Female volunteers were recruited as hostesses and clerks, or to collect money for war bonds. Working women, with little time to spare for

volunteer duties, sometimes contributed homemade clothing or other "care" packages for the soldiers. Jan Orlando recalls spending many evenings with the family knitting sweaters for the boys in Europe.(61)

How effective were the propaganda tools of the media and federal government with the women of the Santa Clara Valley? Did they respond to the call for labor out of patriotic considerations, or because of more tangible incentives such as money?

According to the censuses of 1940 and 1950, Santa Clara County did experience an increase in women in the work force. The Los Gatos Chamber of Commerce reported an employment gain of over thirty-four percent in the county's war plants for 1943.(62) Over 10,000 men and women were employed by such defense companies as Hendy Ironworks and the Food Machinery Corporation. Farm labor assembly camps were set up across the valley by county officials to accommodate the enlarged labor supply under the joint effort of orchardists, the USDA War Board and the US Employment Service.(63)

From April 1940 to March 1944, the United States saw an increase of over two million married women in the work force. For the first time in the nation's history, working married women outnumbered working single women. The wartime peak in 1944 was more than nineteen million workers, an increase of over forty-seven percent from 1940. Factory employment statewide rose from approximately three million in 1939 to over ten million in 1944. Across the nation, the number of women workers increased 141% between 1940 and 1941.(64) Nationwide, there were approximately six million women holding down jobs with a buying power of close to "two million dollars every payday" during the war.(65)

Although patriotism was always propagandists' first call to attract women, most women entered the work force because of financial need. Over 84% of women workers nationwide entered the labor force to support the family.(66) Some women were forced into the labor force when their husbands were drafted into military service and took a cut in pay. Virginia Kerns had to take a job as a file clerk for \$1085 a year because her husband's army pay did not cover the costs of running the household.(67) This second income was designed not to raise the standard of living, but to maintain it. However, Virginia remembers that it was seldom enough to sustain the family's lifestyle.

Many women took in boarders because of the housing shortage caused by the influx of war workers. Left on their own with a husband off to war, daughters and their children often came "home to mother," thus becoming extra mouths to feed and accommodate. The city of Santa Clara, like many throughout the valley, converted an old rooming house into apartments with twenty-six units designed to house defense workers.(68)

Middle-class women recruited to work outside the home were relegated to gender-oriented jobs in the service sector, in clerical work, or on the cannery line. Margaret Higonnet believes that the labor force did not provide many real opportunities outside of traditional gender patterns. Women in the Santa Clara Valley serving outside conventional roles, such as ambulance drivers, air defense members, and foremen, were held accountable to male supervisors. In 1944, the San Jose Mercury-Herald reported that the first female police officer had been employed in Palo Alto.(69) She remained within the confines of the preexisting

gender system by being strictly desk-bound; the relationship between masculine and feminine remained constant.

Women were part of the force that supported and propagated Higonet's "double helix phenomenon." Virginia Kerns regarded her job as a machine operator at a radio company as purely casual, something to pass the time until her man came home from war. It was the men, after all, who were doing the "real fighting," although war work afforded Virginia a sense of freedom from the penny-pinching of the Depression, "a feeling that much more was possible and affordable in this life."⁽⁷⁰⁾

The greatest demand for female labor came from the canneries. Running a close second were the San Francisco shipyards, which were often willing to take care of the commute, the supervision of children, and the relocation of female employees from the Valley to alleviate the severe labor shortage.

However important to the war effort, women still faced sexual bias based on their traditional gender roles. Deluxe Taxi was among the first San Jose business to begin hiring women drivers in early 1941, after the draft caused a severe shortage of male employees.⁽⁷¹⁾ Tex D'Amico, a frequent customer of the Palace Barber Shop on Market Street, was fond of remarking to the female taxi cab drivers wearing pants and a cap, "what's what" meaning, what are you, a man or a woman?⁽⁷²⁾

In 1943, Bernice Lee received an appointment as assistant to the Director of the Special Service Bureau of the San Jose Police Department. Police Chief J.N. Black responded to the nomination with a request that the position be eliminated. He concluded that a woman would not be able to devote her complete attention to the

job as she also had a home to run; "we have two women in the department now and we don't need any more."(73)

According to Frank Anzalone, working women wearing pants became almost as common a sight as men in uniform in downtown San Jose. Some viewed women in "men's clothing" as a futile attempt to convince men of their equality. One cartoon in the San Jose Mercury-Herald depicted two men observing a women in pants walk past. One gentleman points out the absurdity of a man in a skirt, the Scottish kilt; a women in pants should be considered equally ridiculous.(74)

Karen Anderson, in Wartime Women: Sex Roles, Family Relationships, and the Status of Women During World War II, explains that when husbands did not serve in the military, their wives tended not to work or to take shifts offering shorter hours. On the other hand, women with husbands in the service spent more time on the job. These women no longer had husbands to take care of; that was now the responsibility of the military. Women with the lightest housekeeping duties and child care requirements normally constituted the majority of those working outside the home.

However, in the Santa Clara Valley, those needing a supplemental income through employment in the canneries or working as "copartner" with husbands and families made up a large part of the labor force. Blue and white-collar women participating in the work force in this manner were accepted as fulfilling their functions within the gender system. As "copartner" or seasonal line workers, women were perceived as simply expanding their familial roles.

The expansion of the feminine role during the Second World War led to a

backlash against the financial and social independence women were experiencing. The "National Defense Blues," written by jazz artist Huddy Ledbetter, emphasizes changing family gender patterns and, particularly, the status of women during and after the war.

I had a little woman working on national defense.
That little woman just act like she did not have no sense
Just because she was working, making so much dough
That woman got to say she did not love me no more.
Every payday would come - her check was as big as mine
That woman thought defense was gonna last all the time
That defense is gone, just listen to my song
Since that defense is gone, that woman done lost her
Home.

- Popular song of the 1940s

Marriages often suffered from the strain of husbands and wives spending little time together. Relatives or neighbors were called upon to help, which often put pressure on family and social relationships.

Most commonly practiced was hiring older neighborhood children to look after younger children. Institutional child care was negligible in the Santa Clara Valley during the war years. Patricia Zavella argues, in Women's Work and Chicano Families, that a majority of working women did not pressure their employers for help as they agreed with their supervisors that it was their personal responsibility to find adequate care for their children. Margaret Higonnet asserts that daycare was established during the war for the benefit of the employer rather than for the female worker. Thus daycare, and any reason for daycare, was

eliminated after the war. When middle-class women returned home after the war, they continued to view outside child care as a form of child neglect, differing from lower-class working women who considered child care a necessity.

Working women who lacked support networks and were unable to find dependable neighborhood care for their children were forced to turn to the local government for help. Since the birth rate had risen twenty percent nationwide since the early 1940s, there were more children in need of supervision.(75) Women were marrying and having families younger in a "get your man while you can" wartime strategy. Daycare was sporadic and unstable. According to Margaret Powell, teenagers, at ten cents an hour, were the most readily available help.(76) But once school was back in session, working women were again placed in the position of trying to find reliable and inexpensive child care.

Several "unapproved" child care facilities in Santa Clara County played a vital role in alleviating some wartime childcare demands. The San Jose Day Nursery had been in business since 1916 and was one of the few in the Valley offering help to working women.(77) During the war years, women became frustrated to the point where it did not matter whether or not a center was certified by the government. Some support from the business community was forthcoming, primarily in response to the labor shortage in the canneries.

Clyde Arbuckle remembers that many canneries, such as Cal Pak, erected child care centers on site and that even the smaller food processing industries managed some sort of supervision for the children of their female employees. Patricia Zavella disagrees, documenting that child care was not readily available

for most working women in the Santa Clara Valley. Zavella found that only one cannery erected a child care center. Even this center was short-lived, as the cannery owners did not feel it their obligation to provide this service for their female employees.(78)

In a speech to the League of Women Voters in San Francisco in January of 1943, Anne Treadwell of the War Manpower Commission highlighted the federal government's commitment to providing child care facilities if the "necessity should arise."(79) The passage of the Lanham Act in early 1942 provides proof that the federal government recognized the need for child care if war production was to continue at the current levels. This law was the first of its kind to encompass all working women. Prior to the Lanham Act, the only government-sponsored child care centers were those established for Santa Clara Valley women who worked for the Works Progress Administration during the Depression.

Under the stipulations of the Lanham Act, the city of San Jose was required to assume fifty percent of the cost of running an individual daycare center in order to receive federal funding. The San Jose Child Care Committee requested approximately \$59,000 from the Berkeley Federal Agency under the Lanham Act to finance five child care facilities during the regular year and nine additional centers during the summer months to assist employees in the food processing industry. The increased number of facilities during the summer months were to help mothers working during peak harvest seasons. Additional fees of fifty cents a day for a full day and twenty-five cents for half a day (both including meals) were necessary to supplement federal funding.(80)

In actuality, when the Lanham Act was put into effect on May 1, 1943, San Jose received only enough funding to establish four nurseries to be open exclusively during the summer months. Supervision in the Santa Clara Valley for children during the non-summer months would remain available only in understaffed and unapproved facilities. Even with the Lanham Act's additional funding for centers during the summer, only children between the ages of two and four would be accepted. Care cost working mothers more than sixty cents a day for each child.(81)

Following customary patterns, men were hired under the Lanham Act to supervise female subordinates who served as primary care-givers. The four facilities established under the Act did not alleviate the serious need for adequate child care. Aid was so deficient that Margaret Powell remembers rumors of mothers resorting to locking their children in the car while they were at work.(82) Many working mothers, such as Jan Orlando, tried to get shifts at night so that they could take care of the children during the day. Luckily, Jan's husband was willing to work out baby-sitting arrangements with his working wife, usually at night when less supervision was required.(83)

Miriam Frank, Marilyn Ziebarth, and Connie Field in The Life and Times of Rosie the Riveter state that women often worked "double days," taking care of the house while working a full-time job. They often required support networks to help them cope with the long, arduous hours and limited daycare facilities. Grandmothers, sisters and neighbors often took care of the home and children while the mother was at work. Some men were willing to arrange shifts so that one parent would always be at home.

Constantly changing hours and shifts strained marriages and families. According to the San Jose Mercury-Herald, divorce rose in the Santa Clara Valley, as did the rate of juvenile crime.(84) Faced with long periods of separation from husbands in the military, women were required to be both mother and father to their children. Often forced into this dual role, women became media targets for the problems concerning children and the feared disintegration of the American family.

While women were recruited to enter the labor force, many people believed that neglected children and husbands were the result of women in the workplace who spent little time at home. According to one editorial in the San Jose Mercury-Herald, the responsibility for hiring trustworthy help was expressly the mother's; therefore, she should "plan ahead if she is going to take on a job as well as her household duties."(85)

With many of the menfolk absent, women's behavior was often suspect; "while the cat's away, the mice will play." Anxiety over maintaining traditional values and roles for women was reflected in continual scrutiny of their actions. The community of Los Gatos organized a "Go To Church" campaign in February, 1941, to instill middle-class values.(86) Women who were imagined as "loose" or as pushing the barriers of social acceptance were often called "victory girls," "free girls" or, as Frank Anzalone referred to them, "khacky-wackies" (crazy about soldiers).

The number of features in the San Jose Mercury-Herald concerning moral issues grew during the war years. Most involved death, injury or divorce resulting

from a wife or a girlfriend of a serviceman living or consorting with another man while her husband was away.(87) Ma's Trockadero Club, The Balcanades and The Majestic Hall in downtown San Jose were commonly thought, according to Frank Anzalone, to be the home of "B Girls."(88)

Such newspaper articles reflected society's intent to uphold the sanctity of traditional gender patterns by advocating conventional morality. Margaret Higonnet claims that many middle-class women were limited in their role as head of the household during the war. The government instead took over, acting "in loco patris," watching over women while husbands or fathers were away. Laws governing moral conduct as well as child care were examples of the government's paternal role toward women. Such laws highlighting traditional morality, Higonnet believes, reflected men's need to view the nation of women back home as faithful, keeping the home fires burning.(89)

Karen Anderson, in Wartime Women, writes that not only was the media targeting women as the cause of the dysfunctional family, but the federal government believed the problem serious enough to establish the Social Protection Division of the Office of Community War Services to isolate the "bad girls" from the mainstream. Rehabilitative counseling and mandatory testing for venereal disease was required for any woman arrested on a morals charge.(90)

For some, however, working outside the home alleviated tension, providing some advantage for husbands and wives desiring more time apart. For others, the situation of a working wife added to marital stress. Most men understood their primary role as supporting the family financially. A working wife was often

perceived as a threat to their masculinity or as a reflection of their inability to take care of the family.

For working-class minority women, life became more complicated by the events surrounding the Second World War. While the severity of the labor crisis opened doors formerly closed to minority women, the level of racism increased in the Santa Clara Valley. Whites, Blacks and Hispanics moved to fill the vacuum created by the forced internment of the Japanese living on the West Coast.

Anti-Asian discrimination reached a peak in Santa Clara County after the bombing of Pearl Harbor. The San Jose News and San Jose Mercury-Herald, as well as other smaller, local newspapers, carried numerous reports, early in the war, of the Japanese acting as a "fifth column." With America's involvement in the war, the Japanese in Valley were placed under a strict curfew. They were not allowed on the streets for any reason between the hours of 8:00 p.m. and 6:00 a.m.(91)

The Gilroy Evening Dispatch went so far as to run an editorial advocating a ban on Japanese "from the streets of Gilroy for all time."(92) Historian John Blum highlighted a feature from Time magazine in V is for Victory which informed readers "How to tell your friends from the Japs" in an effort to make distinctions. Despite popular beliefs that all Orientals looked alike, the feature said, Japanese were hairier than the Chinese, the Chinese expression was kinder and more open while the Japs were arrogant and nervous in conversation, and Japs often laughed at inappropriate times and walked stiffly while the Chinese were relaxed and friendly.(93) One California barber shop advertised "free shaves for Japs" but "not

responsible for accidents."(94)

San Jose State College announced its intention to distribute special identification cards to those Japanese students who were American citizens. Although their purpose was to lessen confusion or ill-will toward Japanese-American citizens, Frances Fox believes it became a means to single out a particular ethnic group.(95)

Why were Japanese-American families the object of particular attention in the Santa Clara Valley during the war? The county also boasted a large Italian-American population; could they not also be considered the enemy? What about German-Americans living throughout the United States? Although the events at Pearl Harbor heightened the hysteria against Asians in the Santa Clara Valley, there were other, more subtle reasons as well.

A majority of the Japanese living in the Valley were farmers who owned prime real estate and successful orchards. With Executive Order 9066, Japanese were told by the federal government to store their personal property if they were able to find a place; most often they could not. Japanese families were urged to continue working their farms until the last moment before internment. They were then forced to sell their land in a hurry, resulting in much unearned gain for those purchasing Japanese property at a reduced price.

On the third anniversary of Pearl Harbor, the city of Gilroy purchased an "abandoned" Japanese school that was converted into a Grange Hall in 1944.(96) Josephine Takano's family owned and farmed a vast tract of land in west San Jose, near Winchester and Moorpark Avenues. When her family was moved to a

relocation camp in Arizona, they lost all but a meager few acres. Today, the Takanos own only the land where their house that her father built presently stands.(97)

Akemi Kikumura's mother found internment in Oklahoma almost a respite from the racial tension on the West Coast. She believed that Oklahomans were much nicer to the Japanese than were the Californians.(98) Few Japanese had originally settled in the Southwest, so they were regarded as posing little economic or social threat to the residents.

It was particularly difficult for Chinese women to get jobs in the Santa Clara Valley during Second World War, even though China was an ally. Chinese women who were hired, usually by the canneries or as field hands, constantly had to prove their Chinese rather than Japanese ancestry. They endured continual harassment concerning their lineage. Robert Negandank recalls one female Chinese acquaintance wearing buttons on her blouse proclaiming "I am Chinese" in the effort to deflect racial bias.(99)

The largest minority force in the county during and after the Second World War was unquestionably Latino. The Bracero program, begun in 1942, was developed by Mexico and the United States to solve the severe shortage of labor in American agriculture. Many Braceros filled vacancies left by the Japanese in the orchards of the Santa Clara Valley.

To reduce any possible job threat to American citizens, Braceros were restricted to work on the railroads, the fields or the canneries; a majority of Hispanics were recruited for backbreaking stoop labor on the farms and in the

orchards. Since many Anglos had been hired for better-paying defense jobs, the Braceros (meaning the strong-armed ones) supplied a source of cheap labor from Mexico who would be required by law to disappear when the need for them was eradicated.(100)

Standard contracts for the Braceros were set up to cover wages, hours, housing, and transportation. Many of the Braceros refused to leave their families behind in Mexico. Here was a chance to escape from crushing poverty in their native country while, at the same time, to get a generous wage for the males as well as the females of the family. According to Cecilia Romero, many Braceros brought their women to work alongside brothers and husbands in the fields of the Santa Clara Valley.(101)

Working conditions for the Braceros' families were often much better than what they had left behind. Although wages were lower than their American counterparts', living conditions were substantially better than what they experienced in Mexico. As a result, Mexican workers became more than willing to migrate to the Santa Clara Valley and work in the fields. Since the Bracero program was not dismantled until well after the war, this phenomenon eventually led to depressed wages and destroyed the bargaining power of domestic, white and Mexican-American agricultural workers. This, along with the fact that the Braceros were often used by the growers as strikebreakers during the war, caused much racial tension between Hispanic and white agricultural workers in the Valley.

To alleviate some of the racial anxiety, cannery owners and orchard foremen

began to fire anyone speaking Spanish on the line or in the fields. White supervisors felt threatened by not being able to understand the conversations of their workers. Hispanic workers developed a unique jargon to keep their supervisors in the dark. Using code words directly related to the crops, an entirely new slang grew up around the need to keep the boss ignorant of their discussions.(102)

Once the war was over, many female Mexican workers chose to stay in the canneries of the Santa Clara Valley. Not only did the canneries provide an attractive wage for these unskilled female laborers, but cannery work was considered a step up from the demanding work in the fields. Whereas Braceros were forced to go back to Mexico, Cecilia Romero believed it easier to face discrimination, child care difficulties and unpleasant working conditions than return to the crushing poverty of her native land.

San Jose became a center not only for Braceros from Mexico but also for Mexican-American workers from South Texas, New Mexico and Arizona. By 1946, Spanish-speaking immigrants made up approximately one third of the northern California cannery work force.(103) Cannery work afforded these minority women the opportunity to settle in one location. Now their children could attend school and become part of a community. By 1960, the Hispanic population in the Santa Clara Valley had increased almost seventy percent since the Depression.(104)

Black women also came from other areas of the United States, primarily the South, expressly to find work in the defense-related industries on the West Coast. The defense boom provided a way out of domestic labor which until the war, according to Joan Jensen and Gloria Lothrop, was frequently the only type of work

available to Black women.(105) Black women who found limited employment in the canneries because of what Clyde Arbuckle terms their "oddity" made their way into the preferable defense industries of the Santa Clara Valley.

Kaiser Permanente and Hendy Ironworks were among the first defense employers in Santa Clara County to hire Black female welders, thereby causing one woman to claim that "Hitler was the one that got us out of the white folks' kitchen."(106) As the war progressed, many of the defense industries across the county became more willing to hire inexpensive labor regardless of ethnic background.

Notwithstanding the severity of the labor shortage in California, Blacks still were the recipients of racial bias. According to Elizabeth Higginbotham, Black groups, in order to combat prejudice, set up "Double Victory" clubs across the state, standing for victory at home against racism and victory overseas against fascism.

Sherna Gluck found in her interviews that wartime work meant different things to different women. This variety makes it hard to generalize despite William Chafe's statements in The American Woman that World War Two was a watershed for women's movement into the workplace. Blue-collar wives who were used to earning a wage responded differently than middle-class women.

Minority women also reacted and were treated differently. According to Elizabeth Higginbotham, Black and Hispanic women experienced the most change by moving out of domestic work and into other areas of the economy. Chicanas gained a foothold in the Italian-dominated canneries, while Black women found work other than taking care of someone else's house and children.

The catalytic event of the Second World War brought challenges with which most women had very little experience. Women's lives were filled with conflicting messages concerning their proper role during wartime. Propaganda pressured women to prove their ability to handle "men's work" while at the same time to remain feminine, efficient and thoroughly dependent. In other words, they were required to be superwomen who could manage it all and then regress to passive roles according to the dictates of what was considered "normalcy" within the traditional gender system.

Many soldiers who had been stationed around the Bay Area returned to the Santa Clara Valley at war's end. The pleasing climate, the availability of jobs and the millions of dollars being funneled into the economy by the federal government contributed to an immense population increase in the postwar years. Frank Anzalone recalls one soldier who, while receiving a haircut at the Palace Barber Shop, spied a girl working in the San Jose News building across the street. The soldier turned to his barber and vowed to marry that girl and settle in the Santa Clara Valley.(107) To Margaret Powell, Cecilia Romero, Jan Orlando and Frances Fox, the Santa Clara Valley was the epitome of the California Dream: a beautiful place to raise a family with unlimited upward mobility.

The effects of wartime change on women depended on their previous roles in the gender system, determined by social class and ethnicity, and on the degree to which new roles could be accommodated to the previous ideology of gender relations. White middle-class women remained subordinate to men and their image sexualized; they worked as volunteers or did limited paid labor.

Working-class women were able to shift from the canneries to defense work or from the fields to the canneries. For working-class women it remained a necessity to supplement the family income as an extension of the wifely role.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSION

To determine the degree of change in the traditional gender system as a result of the Second World War, it is necessary to compare and contrast the feminine roles of the 1930s and 1940s. An analysis of this sort raises questions concerning what it means to be female in American society. It also assesses the effect of war, considered an abnormal state by historian Margaret Higonnet, on the gender system. Only by placing the women of both decades side by side can conclusions be drawn concerning short-term and long-term changes in the status of women.

A study of this kind must examine the differences between the popular images of the Depression woman and of the wartime worker. Within that framework, it is necessary to discuss the differing forms that the popular image encompassed. A distinction must be made between the married woman and the single woman. As well, differing perceptions of the ideal middle-class woman and the ideal working-class woman, who was most often an ethnic minority, must be taken into consideration.

Who was responsible for creating these images? Was it the employer, the government, the media, or perhaps women themselves? Any change in the balance among these groups provides a clue to assist in determining any lasting alteration

in ideas of what constitutes women's versus men's work.

Along with a comparison of the popular images of women in the 1930s and 1940s, the realities of their situation must be examined. Did married women remain at home in compliance with the dominant ideology? Again, a distinction must be made between the differing social classes. What was the reality for married middle-class women as compared to working-class women? How did minority women fit into the traditional gender pattern? Were women able to rationalize any behavior considered deviant from traditional roles, and if so, what was that rationale?

What motivated the women of the 1930s and 1940s to enter the work force? Was it the economic need of the Depression, personal fulfillment, the high wages of a booming defense economy during the war, or perhaps a sense of patriotism and family duty?

Did women's relationship to men change from the Depression years to the war years? Perhaps, as women's historian Nancy Grey Osterud suggests, women had to renegotiate their roles with men directly in the 1930s, while direct renegotiation for women in the following decade was not always possible with the men away at war.⁽¹⁾ As well, the male role was called into question during the Depression; could he fulfill his role as the breadwinner of the family? When during the Second World War women were accepted, in fact recruited into the labor force, the male role was not called into question as it had been in the previous decade; soldiers' masculinity was reinforced.

Osterud suggests that women's relationship to men, and the shifts in the male

role in both the 1930s and 1940s, relate to resulting changes in the dominant ideology. Osterud writes, "perhaps that accounts, to some degree, for the 1930s attempt to stabilize families by reaffirming existing notions of gender while accommodating women's wage-earning, as distinct from the 1940s modification of the feminine role to adjust to the wartime emergency. Independent working women did not threaten family stability in the 1940s as they came to symbolize the family."(2)

Only by assessing the degree of change within the preexisting gender system can historians speculate on the short-term and long-term effects of war. Why, in the postwar period, was there a resurgence of the cult of domesticity? Who was responsible for creating women's domestic role? Did married women retire to the home and relinquish the legitimacy of an outside job? How did rising consumerism in the postwar years effect changes in the dominant ideology?

By answering these questions within a specific setting such as the Santa Clara Valley, and then comparing the results with similar communities across the United States, we can assess changes in the status of women that occurred as a result of the Second World War.

The popular image of women in the 1930s and 1940s in the Santa Clara Valley was dramatically altered, whereas feminine sex roles were not transformed to any substantial degree. Michael Renov, author of Hollywood Women, asserts that it is much easier to change the popular image than sex roles. The popular image is surface while sex roles are part of a deeper consciousness.

The strain of the Depression economy of the 1930s caused a renegotiation of

women's work. The carefree independence of the Twenties flapper was replaced with what Jeane Westin terms "making do." Female labor in the home took on increased significance, with women's work designed to make the pennies stretch. Women were canning fruit and sewing the family's clothes throughout the Depression. Hortense DiMercurio remembers that during that time, "you wore everything out and then wore it some more."⁽³⁾

In addition, the perception of married women in the work force took on a more negative tone. Michael Renov in Hollywood Women found that "chiseler" was applied to working wives as a result of community hostility.⁽⁴⁾ Margaret Powell concurs with Renov's assessment by remembering her mother's attempts to find a teaching job in the 1930s and the harassment she was forced to endure from her neighbors, the schools and her family.

Single women found a measure of acceptance in the work force so long as they remained within the bounds of the dominant ideology. Hortense DiMercurio, Jan Orlando and Josephine Anzalone worked in the gender-segregated canneries of the Santa Clara Valley while they were single. Margaret Powell was employed as a sales clerk at Hart's while Virginia Kern waitressed at a downtown diner and Frances Fox worked at the Santa Clara County Health Department. All of these occupations fit the popular image of single women in the 1930s. Once married, all but Jan Orlando quit their jobs and remained in the home until the war years.

Traditional values were strengthened and the gender system reinforced during the Depression. In this time of economic uncertainty, the woman's role within the gender system was to hold the family together and provide a sense of

security. In the Santa Clara Valley, there was a renewed emphasis on the orchard wife's obligation to act as a copartner in the family business. Throughout the social classes, the popular image decreed that women be the glue that held the family together during tough times.

With the coming of the Second World War, women were again forced to renegotiate their place within the dominant ideology. The popular image was expanded to compensate for the shortage of labor in both the food processing and the defense industries of the Santa Clara Valley. Married women were recruited to fill gaps created by war. A woman at work was now depicted as patriotic, helping the boys to come home; her job was part of her family duty. Where the 1930s woman "made do," the 1940s woman did it all.

The popular image emphasized the married woman doing her part to win the war by working outside the home. Adding to the number of married women entering the work force in the 1940s were the increasing wartime marriage rates. Virginia Kern recalls marrying her husband before he went away to war: "I thought maybe I would lose him, so I married him just before he shipped out."⁵ Since there were more married women around, they became a prime target for recruitment into the labor force.

The messages of the media and the government concerning the recruitment of women either into or out of the work force differed between the 1930s and the 1940s. In both decades, women figured strongly in the government's dealings with the respective emergencies. Emphasis was placed on married women remaining at home, acting as copartners, and expanding their domestic labor during the

Depression. It became necessary to minimize the anxiety and insecurity felt by families across the country. As a result, the conventional roles of married women were upheld in a revised version of what Sarah Eisenstein terms in her work, Give Us Bread, But Give Us Roses, the "Victorian ideal."

Married women were actively discouraged from entering the work force during the Depression. State legislatures throughout the land seriously considered laws prohibiting married women from working. Federal relief efforts were designed to accommodate men only. Most of the work available from the WPA or CCC was heavy, outdoor labor, something outside the feminine domain. Discrimination by employers toward married women was, according to Margaret Powell, at a peak. Powell states that married women were not considered for any job a man could conceivably do, such as teaching or sales.(6)

Only through economic necessity caused by the Second World War was the perception of married women by the government changed. Now married women were strenuously recruited for the labor force. The federal government, in concert with the media, put forth a public relations program that, according to Maureen Honey and Michael Renov, had never before been attempted. Propaganda depicted women as consummate soldier-workers. As a result, women's work was expanded to include work outside the home. Her extended family duty now became to take a job in order to "win the war." The popular image was stretched by the government and media to accommodate the need for female labor.

The reality of the Depression in the Santa Clara Valley as well as across the country was that, contrary to the popular image, married women did work outside

the home. Government and media propaganda of the 1930s ignored the married working woman. In most cases, she was an aberration not to be discussed. Women of color were placed distinctly outside of the legitimate social structure in the United States. They were the "untouchables or outcasts." Black female domestics were reconciled with the dominant middle-class ideology, which was white.

Any discussion concerning middle-class, married women, the majority of whom were white, was tempered by what Michael Renov and Susan Ware term the "pin-money theory." Popular belief was that middle-class married women who held jobs did so to provide for the "extras" of the household, such as college, a new car or braces for the children. In this way, it was made clear to the general public that the married woman's job was temporary and quite out of the ordinary.

The popular image rarely took into account the wife as a copartner, which was very much the case for many married middle-class women in the Santa Clara Valley. Managing an orchard usually took the entire family's labor. Women worked in the fields themselves, in the cookhouse or, as was the case with Yvonne Jacobson's mother, in the roadside fruit stand. In the Valley of Hearts' Delight, with its acres of fruit ranches, many middle-class married women worked alongside their husbands or brothers.

Margaret Powell's mother was one of the many women of the Santa Clara Valley forced to find employment outside of the home because of the economic circumstances of the 1930s. She had training as a teacher, and therefore looked in that direction for a job, but many others without such education found work in even more strictly gender-segregated positions. Although the popular image was of the

woman in the home, the emphasis on traditional roles safeguarded certain gender-typed jobs throughout the Santa Clara Valley.

A major source of employment for white European women, especially Italians and Portuguese, was the seasonal, temporary work provided by the canning industry. As a majority of the canneries were managed by Italians or Portuguese, white European women working on the assembly lines were accepted into the dominant ideology of that community as copartners within an ethnic kinship network. This method of wage-earning was an acceptable extension of their roles as wives and mothers.

Other white middle-class women found positions suited to the traditional notions of gender. Their jobs were rationalized as extensions of their household duties. Middle-class Santa Clara Valley white women worked as clerks, assistants, nursery school attendants, and nurses, occupations which incorporated the notion of the nurturing, caregiving woman.

Most working women remained within a family economy. Until Frances Fox was married, she gave most of her salary from working as a secretary in the County's Health Department to her family. Louise Lamphere, in From Working Daughters to Working Mothers, notes that daughters in the 1930s were supposed to submit to the male figure both on the job and in the home. Once married, the daughter exchanged that role for one of "wife," simply switching that submissiveness to her husband. Gertrude Ziesch felt that her life's work should be caring for her husband and children; therefore, she never worked outside the home.

Working-class women, whatever their racial or ethnic identity, often had no choice about whether to work outside the home. The Depression highlighted this fact as working-class families struggled to maintain a subsistence level. The job market was segregated not only by gender but also by social class, with ethnic minorities on the bottom. Only certain occupations were considered suitable for "those" women. Hispanic women worked in the fields of the Santa Clara Valley, Black women were so rare that they were pushed to the very fringes of society and ignored, and Asian women continued to be the recipients of decades-old bias and worked as domestics or field hands.

With the concerted effort of the government and the media in light of the economic demands of the Second World War came an expansion of women in the work force performing jobs once done by men. In the Santa Clara Valley, middle-class white women found opportunity in the booming defense industry and its corresponding service sector. Virginia Kerns handled electronics, Sue Bosco commuted to Richmond where she worked in the shipyards, and Margaret Powell found employment as a retail clerk.

Working-class women also benefited from the burgeoning industrial growth of the Santa Clara Valley. Hortense DiMercurio supplemented her seasonal canning income with a job at a cleaning establishment, Kaiser Permanente opened its doors to Black female welders, and Hispanic women moved into the canneries as more and more white women left for better-paying defense jobs.

According to Margaret Higonnet, who cites historian Joan Scott, there are two schools of thought concerning the short-term and long-term effects on the concept of

women's work as a result of the economic demands of the Second World War. One view was that women's gains were merely temporary, a condition of war, therefore an unnatural occurrence to be rectified at war's end. The other perspective sees women, as a result of their wartime experience, revolutionizing the feminine role within the gender system.(7)

The propaganda machine switched its message to women in the postwar years. The gender system, like the economy, underwent "reconversion," and women were sent back to the kitchen. Michael Renov asserts that the films of the 1940s looked at the dilemma of working women while films of the following decade highlighted women in the home functioning as wives. Frank, Ziebarth, and Field in The Life and Times of Rosie the Riveter documented a speech made by Betty Allie, a California State Workmen's Compensation Official, who said:

Women are working only to win the war and will return to their home duties after the war is won. They will look on this period as an interlude, just as their men who have been called to service will consider military duties as an interlude. The women are like Cincinnatus, who left his plow to save Rome and then returned to his plow. Women will always be women.(8)

The popular image of the 1950s was expanded within the cult of domesticity. Historian Mary Beard commented that "women were the preservers of civilization." Beard perceived women as nurturers, the "inspiration for creativity, steadily maintaining civilization in the face of male barbarism."(9) According to Joan

Jensen and Gloria Lothrop in California Women, the ideal 1950s home included a master bedroom with two smaller bedrooms for the kids linked to a common bathroom.(10) Jensen and Lothrop observe that the "California Dream" existed on an island of suburbia within which women provided the stabilizing force.

Kaledin suggests that international events reinforced the popular image of women within traditional bounds. The Cold War and the Red Scare of the 1950s and early 1960s placed an even stronger emphasis on family closeness and conventional gender roles. Americans were told to fear communists as the internal enemy subverting the sexual and social order as well as the political order. Media and government represented the family as the core of a free society and as the means by which to reproduce good American citizens.

It seemed to be the responsibility of women, after the Second World War, to nurture the returning soldier. Patriotic middle-class women were supposed to give up their jobs to the legitimate owners and create homes in which the returning soldiers could readjust to "normal" life.

In The Life and Times of Rosie the Riveter, Frank, Ziebarth and Field describe end-of-the-war newsreels depicting women as happily giving up their jobs and returning to the kitchen, eager, in fact, to sacrifice their positions to the returning veterans. One film remarked that the returning veterans were "the most capable potential group of workers the nation has ever known"--exactly the words used to describe female war workers a few years earlier.(11)

Television, a growing influence on the American family, sent mixed messages to women concerning their proper role within the gender system. Many programs

exposed the frustrations felt by women in their subservient role. I Love Lucy depicted a frustrated housewife trying constantly, but unsuccessfully, to enter her husband's world, while Eve Arden in Our Miss Brooks portrayed a spinster with a career. These female images were tempered with humor at the character's attempts to enter the male domain.

Eugenia Kaledin suggests that humor became a defense for women as well as a means by which women began to identify beyond gender stereotypes. Further, Kaledin states that since society openly discriminated against married women in the workplace after the Second World War, many found it easier to accept the passive homemaker role than to struggle against it. The media, as well, reinforced the preexisting ideas about gender by depicting middle-class women in many advertisements as looking forward to war's end and the future prosperity of America by becoming the ultimate consumer.

Colleges also reinforced traditional gender patterns in the postwar years. Popular literature and movies began to depict college as the best place for women to meet "Mr. Right." As a result, women were often not taken seriously by their male professors or colleagues. Frances Fox remembers that she was told a "C" average was fine for a woman because "I was only in college to get a husband anyway."(12)

Most technical educational programs for women were terminated once the war had ended. San Jose State College, Santa Clara University and Stanford University resumed their customary areas of study and redirected their efforts toward recruiting returning veterans. San Jose's much-recognized Technical High School began to discuss termination as early as May of 1945.(13) At war's end, a

visible decrease in students, particularly women, signaled the end of many technical training programs in the Santa Clara Valley. Those that remained open did so with the primary objective of reeducating returning soldiers rather than women. A conference was held by a number of the County's schools in San Jose to review the provisions of veterans' legislation in order to be sure that all was in place when they returned home. Colleges were to emphasize "male" occupations, while high schools provided "Veteran Advisors" for those who needed to complete their high school studies.(14)

As a result, many women did not take their college careers seriously. Kaledin cites that, although more women than ever were enrolled in college during the 1950s, only 37 percent graduated. In addition, the number of women receiving degrees for graduate work was lower in the 1950s than in the 1920s and 1930s.(15) It seemed as though women were buying into the popular image by supporting their GI husbands through college rather than going themselves.

Many middle-class women redefined themselves at war's end according to prewar gender patterns. Margaret Powell, Frances Fox, and Gertrude Ziesch remember staying at home and raising the children during the 1950s. Margaret asserted that "most of my friends believed it was important for women to give up their jobs to the soldiers."(16)

Although the gender system was forever changed by the Second World War, as women proved they could do the job of men, Margaret Higonnet believes that women failed to capitalize on their new-found independence. Wartime work did challenge traditional gender patterns; however, women continued to define their experience

within the terms of the preexisting set of gender values. With the help of the government and media, Higonet asserts, women were convinced that their experience was "unnatural" and therefore conditional, "behaving temporarily like men."(17)

Winifred Wandersee writes in Women's Work and Family Values that it was often left to employers whether to hire or fire their female workers after the war. Their decisions were based on public attitudes (including those of their clients and customers), their personal attitudes, and just plain economics. Wandersee concludes that many employers went along with mainstream thinking and acted on the belief that hiring or retaining married women undermined family values. The interviews in Rosie the Riveter Revisited document that society stressed the temporary nature of the job and therefore a return to the home.

Wartime legislation produced a seniority system in the workplace that worked to the advantage of men rather than women. Soldiers away at the fight accumulated seniority; in that way their jobs were safeguarded when they returned. Women, who remained low on the seniority lists, were legally laid off and replaced by men. Frank Anzalone remembers the Food Machinery Corporation in Santa Clara subscribing to the reconversion seniority system. Female workers at the plant were laid off in record numbers.(18)

Another tactic used by employers to get rid of women workers was to place them in jobs they could not possibly perform. When women could not handle a specific job, they were laid off and given "quit" slips, making it difficult to find other employment as well as rendering them ineligible for unemployment compensation.

The rationale was that they were offered a job according to their seniority but could not physically accomplish it. One example presented by Nancy Gabin in her Feminist Studies article, "They Have Placed A Penalty On Womanhood," was of Louise Hamilton; unable to keep up with production after being recalled, she was disqualified from employment.(19)

According to Nancy Gabin, in the first week following the surrender of the Japanese, one-half of the workers in plants with United Auto Workers contracts were laid off, with women representing a disproportionately large number of those losing their jobs to men. Frank, Ziebarth and Field corroborate Gabin's assessment by stating that before World War Two, female and minority labor were considered marginal. With the advent of war, women were described as the "Hidden Army," the ones behind the boys in uniform who made it possible for them to fight. Yet the image changed at war's end, with women laid off from their jobs at a rate 75% higher than men.(20)

Women's responses to reconversion were varied. Whereas Gertrude Ziesch welcomed the return of the old prewar values, Margaret Powell felt stifled. Powell remembers wanting to work in order to express her individuality. Eventually she and her husband divorced in disagreement concerning her right to work outside the home. In one interview by Frank, Ziebarth, and Field, "Lola" states:

I believed and I know lots of women who worked with me believed that we were the new woman. But to America at large, while they may have known what our contribution was to the production of this country, we were largely a joke. And I think that they prepare women

psychologically for whatever role the society feels at a particular point they want her to play. After losing so many men, America wanted babies. And we wanted babies, but we gave up everything for that. We gave up everything.(21)

One wartime worker quoted by Nancy Gabin "really expected to do what everyone else, every woman who...grew up under the circumstances I did, with the conditions and culture we had. I really expected to get married and not have to work anymore."(22) Gabin suggests that such attitudes inhibited solidarity among women in the immediate postwar period and reinforced the male perception concerning women in the workplace.

Kaledin believes that women responded to such discriminatory treatment by looking for strength and self-esteem within the set of priorities allowed them by the larger society, such as family and home. This in turn, Kaledin argues, created a "separate but equal" gender system during the 1950s that set different success standards for men and women. Women's need to compete was suppressed and redirected in the years immediately following the war. Women excelled in charitable works, literature, music. Frances Fox found personal fulfillment as a writer in the 1950s. She received her husband's approval, as the "job" was strictly part-time and could be done in the home.

The popular image inhibited women who might have desired to stay in the labor force. For some, it was simply not worth facing the inconvenience at home, discrimination on the job and hostility of the community. Gabin attributes the withdrawal of women workers from basic industries during reconversion to the

power of "ideology of gender." Alan Clive and William Chafe are cited by Gabin as presenting evidence that women workers bought into the dominant ideology.

Viewing their primary role as that of wife and mother, many women accepted the temporary nature of wartime conditions, both in the home and the workplace.

The expanded role for women in the Second World War did result in removal of some barriers against hiring married women. In general, definitions of the woman's role became less constricted. In 1945, the War Department manual for servicemen expressed the opinion that women's roles before the war had been too restrictive.⁽²³⁾ Ways of accommodating women's paid employment to gender stereotypes that had developed during the war persisted afterwards.

In addition, consumerism and mass advertisement resulting from the high level of industrial production in the United States promulgated the concept of the "American Dream," which became nationwide as the "California Dream." This pressured middle-class families to realize a new set of economic values for which the husband's sole wage was simply not enough. Married middle-class women entered the work force, not as a matter of simple economic need, but because of the demands resulting from this new set of values.

As a result, there was a gradual move by the media and government toward conciliation between housework and a job, which provided the basis for a trend toward a greater degree of choice for women in the future. As the California Dream took on importance, women's work outside the home became more compatible with their role within the gender system. In the postwar years, a period of growing materialism, married women were allowed a place in the labor force as

supplemental wage earners only.

The "California Dream" was made possible for Santa Clara Valley residents by increased industrialization resulting from the war, corresponding high wages and invention of the credit card. Credit cards permitted the average American more extensive spending in a shorter amount of time. Credit provided you with the means to keep "up with the Joneses," i.e., the popular image. As consumerism became the American way of the life not just for the rich, it provided the means by which women could find some acceptance in the work force.

In the Santa Clara Valley, some sustained changes in the traditional status of married women did occur in the postwar period because of the continuing economic boom. California in the postwar years received approximately sixteen percent of the country's defense funding, more than any other state in the Union.(24) By the late 1940's, the Santa Clara Valley played a major role in the economy of California. The desire for continued growth prompted the formation of the Progress Committee in 1944. The Committee included merchants, attorneys, industrialists and major property owners whose sole objective was to recruit federal defense contracts for the region.(25)

The disparity in wages between men and women in the county did decrease during and after the war years. This was primarily due to the shortage of labor even in the postwar years, which in turn impeded business in the Santa Clara Valley, particularly in the canning and burgeoning electronics industries.

Just as "female only" jobs were safeguarded during the 1930s, work for the postwar female was guaranteed. Rather than the predicted cutbacks for the Santa

Clara Valley, federal funding provided the basis for the development of jobs in both the service and defense sectors. Approximately sixty percent of the United States' budget was spent on defense industries, the military, veterans' benefits and wartime debt in the postwar period. Steven Payne believes that consumer businesses in the Valley grew at a rate in direct proportion to the expanding defense industry, with women filling a majority of the positions in the service sector.(26)

The Santa Clara Valley welcomed women into strictly gender-oriented positions; in fact the economy needed them. Women with young children were pointedly discouraged from entering the work force, but contrary to the prewar period, older married women, rather than young single women, were prime commodities in the work force.

Linda Waite argues that significant changes have taken place since 1940 in those factors that influence wives' employment. With the rising marriage and birth rates in the immediate postwar period, women were in demand to fill "female only" positions. According to Waite, the largest increases seen in married women entering the work force since 1950 occurred in the group least likely to work, those with preschool age children; by 1970, "one-third of all mothers with a child under six years old were employed."(27)

Kaledin agrees with Waite that married women were in demand in the workplace in gender-oriented positions. Kaledin cites William Chafe's statement that "the median age of women workers had risen to forty-one, and the proportion of wives at work had doubled from 15 percent in 1940 to 30 percent in 1960."(28)

As a result of the Second World War, Black women were able to move into jobs

other than domestic service. The New York NAACP in 1956 announced the hiring of several Black women to work as telephone operators.(29) In the Santa Clara Valley, growing numbers of Black women found jobs in electronics firms working on assembly lines. At the same time, Black women were still not accepted into the area's canneries.

Cannery work was reserved for Hispanic women. While Italian, Portuguese and Anglo women moved into the white collar, service-oriented jobs offered by the electronics industries in the Valley, Hispanic women replaced them in the canneries. They were used to working in agriculture as they provided the largest numbers for stoop labor. Cannery work for Hispanic women was viewed, according to Rose Romero, as "a step up from the fields."(30) In addition, new technology in the canneries led to the need for stable workers who would stay in one place, enabling Hispanic families to end the transient lifestyle.

By the 1970s the canneries found it too expensive to operate in Santa Clara County and initiated massive layoffs in order to relocate to the Central Valley. Hispanic women, like Black women, found jobs in what was becoming known as "Silicon Valley." Assembly-line work in the electronics industry offered these women the same type of unskilled jobs they had held in the canneries. The electronics companies of Silicon Valley took the place of the canneries for many working-class women, except that employment was much less seasonal.

Kaledin cites Rona Jaffe, who in 1951 asserted that women "married what they wanted to be."(31) Yet Kaledin argues that possibly the greatest degree of change came in married middle-class women's perception of themselves as a result of the

Second World War. Their experiences had convinced them that they were able to hold two jobs effectively.

Contrary to the popular image depicted by the media and government, Rosie did not trade her goggles for an apron. Instead, women entered the job market in the 1950s in record numbers. The growing number of married women in the labor force was supplemented by mothers with preschool children, driven to increase the family income because of America's obsession with materialism.

By the late 1950s, there were even some reports publicly contradicting the traditional character of "mother." Erwin Canham was one of a growing number who argued that working mothers were more self-fulfilled and, therefore, happy, a trait Canham believes they passed on to their children: "I think the day may well come when we will say the way to cope with juvenile delinquency as the result of bad family conditions is for the wife to go to work."(32)

Betty Freidan found that, although sacrificing careers, women in the 1950s were "unconsciously planning for freedom." Kaledin highlights a second group of women she terms "new old women." "New old women" were those whose children, for the most part, were grown; these women in the postwar years had another forty years of life with childrearing behind them. They could count on their children being in school while they were at work. The "new old woman" began to look for satisfaction in the workplace when facing an "empty nest" and the demands of the home were eased.

In conclusion, Kaledin believes "that the war left [women] sure of skills they never suspected they had."(33) Many had been trained to be more than "just a

housewife" and were reluctant to return full time to the home. Armed with their wartime experiences, postwar women would reenter the work force full of confidence, skill and ambition. Margaret Higonnet agrees: "The irony of one generation became the feminism of the next" as a result of these women passing their experience on to their daughters.(34)

Ruth Milkman warns us to reevaluate our romantic concept of Rosie the Riveter. The Second World War did not explode traditional gender orientation for women in the Santa Clara Valley. The Second World War may have stretched convention, but only temporarily and in light of unnatural circumstances. This did, however, lead women in the postwar years to challenge the temporary or supplemental worker role assigned to them by conventional gender patterns.

Michael Renov believes that although the popular image of women was changed during the war years, no lasting changes were made in their sex roles. The backswing of the 1950s was simply a return to the comfortable, the familiar: "women returned to the comfort of an unchallenged hierarchy in which sex roles are clear and unquestioned."(35) As a period of discovery, however, World War Two marked the transition to the modern woman in the Santa Clara Valley, who continues to be torn between traditional demands and the need for personal fulfillment. The working-class woman still carries a double burden of domestic labor and financial responsibility.

ENDNOTES

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

- 1 Margaret Higonnet, et al., Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 5.
- 2 Susan Ware, Holding Their Own: American Women in the 1930s (Boston: Twayne, 1983), 199.
- 3 Ruth Milkman, Gender at Work: The Dynamics of Job Segregation by Sex during World War II (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 28.
- 4 Higonnet, Behind the Lines, 17.
- 5 Maureen Honey, Creating Rosie the Riveter: Class, Gender and Propaganda during World War II (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1989), 9-10.
- 6 Ibid., 6.
- 7 Michael Renov, Hollywood's Wartime Women: Representation and Ideology (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988), 36.
- 8 Louise Lamphere, From Working Daughters to Working Mothers: Immigrant Women in a New England Industrial Community (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), 17.
- 9 Sherna Berger Gluck, Rosie the Riveter Revisited: Women, The War, and Social Change (Boston: Twayne/G.K. Hall, 1987), 3.
- 10 Ware, Holding Their Own, 29.
- 11 Renov, Hollywood's Wartime Women, 33.
- 12 Ibid., 43.
- 13 Ware, Holding Their Own, 14.
- 14 Higonnet, Behind the Lines, 7.
- 15 Renov, Hollywood's Wartime Women, 43.

16 Ware, Holding Their Own, 199.

17 Higonnet, Behind the Lines, 7.

CHAPTER 2. WOMEN'S WORK IN THE SANTA CLARA VALLEY,
1929-1940

- 1 Theron Fox, Santa Clara Valley resident. Interview by Kim Anzalone, 23 January 1991. Los Gatos, California.
- 2 Glenna Matthews, A California Middletown: A Social History of San Jose in the Depression (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1976), 32.
- 3 United States Census, 1930 (Volume 4, 185-187) and 1940 (Volume 3, 269-273).
- 4 Matthews, A California Middletown, 62.
- 5 San Jose Chamber of Commerce Road Map (San Jose, California, 1940).
- 6 United States Census, 1940 (Volume 3, 269-273).
- 7 Mel Scott, The San Francisco Bay Area: A Metropolis in Perspective (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959), 248.
- 8 United States Census, 1930 (Volume 4, 185-187).
- 9 Susan Ware, Holding Their Own: American Women in the 1930s (Boston: Twayne, 1983), 27.
- 10 Matthews, A California Middletown, 47.
- 11 Clyde Arbuckle, historian. Interview by Kim Anzalone, 12 January 1990. Willow Glen, California. Tape recording.
- 12 Margaret Powell, housewife. Interview by Kim Anzalone, 3 February 1991. Cupertino, California. Tape recording.
- 13 United State Census, 1940 (Volume 3, 269-273).
- 14 Ware, Holding Their Own, 28.
- 15 Gertrude Ziesch, housewife. Interview by Kim Anzalone, 27 January 1991. Willow Glen, California. Tape recording.
- 16 Winifred Wandersee, Women's Work and Family Values, 1920-1940 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 69.
- 17 Ibid.

- 18 Ware, Holding Their Own, 32.
- 19 Sherna Gluck, Rosie the Riveter Revisited: Women, The War and Social Change (Boston: Twayne/G.K. Hall, 1987), 5.
- 20 Lillian Phillips, Red Cross worker. Interview by Kim Anzalone, 9 November 1990. Novato, California. Tape recording.
- 21 San Jose Mercury News, 22 July 1990.
- 22 Frank Anzalone, Santa Clara Valley resident. Interview by Kim Anzalone, 12 December 1989. San Jose, California. Tape recording.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Ware, Holding Their Own, 7.
- 25 Ziesch interview.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 Ware, Holding Their Own, 27.
- 28 Louise Lamphere, From Working Daughters to Working Mothers: Immigrant Women in a New England Industrial Community (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), 19.
- 29 Ibid., 24.
- 30 Jeane Westin, Making Do: How Women Survived the '30s (Chicago: Follett, 1976), 46.
- 31 Ziesch interview.
- 32 Ware, Holding Their Own, 7.
- 33 Frances Fox, Santa Clara Valley resident. Interview by Kim Anzalone, 23 January 1991. Los Gatos, California.
- 34 Westin, Making Do, 24.
- 35 Nancy Grey Osterud, San Jose State University Professor. Personal communication, February 1991.

- 36 Frances Fox interview.
- 37 Theron Fox interview.
- 38 Helen Arbuckle, writer. Interview by Kim Anzalone, 12 January 1990. Willow Glen, California. Tape recording.
- 39 San Jose Mercury-Herald, 14 May 1935.
- 40 Ibid., 21 February 1941.
- 41 Jan Orlando, cannery forewoman. Interview by Kim Anzalone, 28 February 1990. Morgan Hill, California. Tape recording.
- 42 Bertha Rice, Women of our Valley (San Jose: Bertha Rice, 1956), 34.
- 43 San Jose News, 26 January 1936.
- 44 Ibid., 14 September 1933.
- 45 Hortense DiMercurio, cannery worker. Interview by Kim Anzalone, 2 November 1989. San Jose, California.
- 46 Phillips interview.
- 47 Powell interview.
- 48 San Jose Mercury-Herald, 26 August 1933.
- 49 Ibid., 7 February 1941.
- 50 Ibid., 4 February 1938 and 28 July 1938.
- 51 George G. Bruntz, History of Los Gatos: Gem of the Foothills (Los Gatos: Valley Publishers, 1971), 35.
- 52 Orlando interview.
- 53 Yvonne Jacobson, Passing Farms. Enduring Values (Los Altos: William Kaugmann, Inc., 1987), 158.
- 54 San Jose Mercury-Herald, 22 April 1987.
- 55 Matthews, A California Middletown, 45.

- 56 San Jose Mercury-Herald, 17 November 1934.
- 57 Ibid., 2 February 1942.
- 58 Ibid., 24 April 1941.
- 59 Patricia Zavella, Women's Work and Chicano Families: Cannery Workers of the Santa Clara Valley (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), 46.
- 60 DiMercurio interview.
- 61 San Jose Mercury News, 22 April 1987.
- 62 Orlando interview.
- 63 Ibid.
- 64 San Jose Mercury News, 22 April 1987.
- 65 DiMercurio interview.
- 66 Clyde Arbuckle interview.
- 67 DiMercurio interview.
- 68 Micaela DiLeonardo, "The Myth of the Urban Village: Women, Work and Family among Italian-Americans in Twentieth Century California," in The Women's West, ed. Susan Armitage and Elizabeth Jameson (Norman: Oklahoma University Press, 1987), 193.
- 69 Orlando interview.
- 70 Wandersee, Women's Work and Family Values, 72.
- 71 Elizabeth Higginbotham, "Laid Bare by the System: Work and Survival for Black and Hispanic Wome," in Class, Race and Sex: The Dynamics of Control, ed. Amy Swerdlow and Hannah Lessinger (New York: G.K. Hall, 1983), 200.
- 72 Ibid.
- 73 Clyde Arbuckle interview.
- 74 Matthews, A California Middletown, 40.

- 75 DiLeonardo, "The Myth of the Urban Village," 192.
- 76 Akemi Kikumura, Through Harsh Winters: The Life of a Japanese Immigrant Woman (Novato: California: Chandler & Sharp Publishers, 1981), 63.
- 77 Orlando interview.
- 78 DiMercurio interview.
- 79 Anzalone interview.
- 80 DiLeonardo, "The Myth of the Urban Village," 197.
- 81 DiMercurio interview.
- 82 San Jose City Directory, San Jose, California, 1930.
- 83 Clyde Arbuckle interview.
- 84 DiMercurio interview.
- 85 Josephine Takano, farm worker. Interview by Kim Anzalone, 14 August 1989. San Jose, California.
- 86 Akemi Kikumura, Through Harsh Winters, 46.
- 87 Gilroy Evening Dispatch, 7 December 1941.
- 88 Takano interview.
- 89 Akemi Kikumura, Through Harsh Winters, 47.
- 90 Takano interview.
- 91 United States Census, 1940 (Volume 3, 270).
- 92 Clyde Arbuckle interview.
- 93 Higginbotham, "Laid Bare by the System," 204.
- 94 Cecilia Romero, migrant worker. Interview by Kim Anzalone, 15 December 1990. San Jose, California.

95 Ibid.

96 Ware, Holding Their Own, preface xx.

97 DiMercurio interview.

98 Ware, Holding Their Own, 199.

CHAPTER 3. THE WAR YEARS, 1941 - 1945

- 1 San Jose Mercury-Herald, 2 February 1942.
- 2 Stephen Payne, Santa Clara County: Harvest of Change (Northridge: Windsor Publications, 1987), 173-74.
- 3 Ibid., 168.
- 4 Frank Anzalone, Santa Clara Valley resident. Interview by Kim Anzalone, 12 December 1989. San Jose, California. Tape recording.
- 5 Payne, Santa Clara County, 168.
- 6 San Jose Mercury-Herald, 29 May 1944.
- 7 Ibid., 25 April 1941.
- 8 Anzalone interview.
- 9 Payne, Santa Clara County, 173.
- 10 San Jose Mercury-Herald, 15 July 1943.
- 11 Vicki Ruiz, Cannery Women, Cannery Lives: Mexican Women, Unionization, and the California Food Processing Industry, 1930-1985 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), 37.
- 12 Ibid., 48.
- 13 San Jose Mercury-Herald, 29 May 1944.
- 14 Eugenia Kaledin, Mothers and More: American Women in the 1950s (Boston: Twayne/G.K. Hall, 1984), 43.
- 15 Michael Renov, Hollywood's Wartime Women: Representation and Ideology (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988), 46.
- 16 War Manpower Commission, Radio Script, 4 December 1942.
- 17 San Jose Mercury-Herald, 23 April 1942.
- 18 Ibid., 24 April 1942.
- 19 Miriam Frank, et al., The Life and Times of Rosie the Riveter: A Study

- Guide (Emeryville, California: Clarity Educational Publication, 1982), 74.
- 20 San Jose Mercury-Herald, 16 April 1943.
- 21 Maureen Honey, Creating Rosie the Riveter: Class, Gender and Propaganda during World War II (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1989), 9-10.
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 Anzalone interview.
- 24 Renov, Hollywood's Wartime Women, 45.
- 25 San Jose Mercury-Herald, 4 April 1942.
- 26 Ibid., 26 March 1944.
- 27 Honey, Creating Rosie the Riveter, 10.
- 28 Frank, et al., The Life and Times of Rosie the Riveter, 93.
- 29 Jan Orlando, cannery forewoman. Interview by Kim Anzalone, 28 February 1990. Morgan Hill, California. Tape recording.
- 30 Gertrude Ziesch, housewife. Interview by Kim Anzalone, 27 January 1991. Willow Glen, California. Tape recording.
- 31 Yvonne Jacobson, Passing Farms, Enduring Values (Los Altos: William Kaugmann, Inc., 1987), 158.
- 32 San Jose Mercury-Herald, 11 January 1943.
- 33 Margaret Powell, housewife. Interview by Kim Anzalone, 3 February 1991. Cupertino, California. Tape recording.
- 34 John Morton Blum, V was for Victory (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1976), 96.
- 35 San Jose Mercury-Herald, 14 July 1943.
- 36 Renov, Hollywood's Wartime Women, 45.
- 37 San Jose Mercury-Herald, 11 December 1941.

- 38 Ibid., 4 April 1942.
- 39 Ibid., 23 April 1942.
- 40 Ibid.
- 41 Ibid., 26 March 1944.
- 42 Ibid., 17 May 1942.
- 43 Ibid., 16 April 1943.
- 44 Ibid., 11 May 1943.
- 45 Ibid., 9 March 1942.
- 46 Ibid., 7 December 1943.
- 47 Ibid., 11 January 1943.
- 48 Ibid., 13 June 1942.
- 49 Clyde Arbuckle, The History of San Jose (San Jose: Smith & McKay Printing Company, 1985), 163.
- 50 San Jose Mercury-Herald, 4 April 1942.
- 51 Ibid., 23 April 1942.
- 52 Arbuckle, The History of San Jose, 163.
- 53 San Jose Mercury-Herald, 21 July 1942.
- 54 San Jose News, 3 March 1943.
- 55 San Jose Mercury-Herald, 30 April 1943.
- 56 Ibid., 7 November 1942.
- 57 Gloria Hill, Santa Clara Valley resident. Interview by Kim Anzalone, 3 March 1989. San Jose, California.
- 58 Ibid.
- 59 Powell interview.

- 60 San Jose Mercury-Herald , 23 April 1942.
- 61 Orlando interview.
- 62 San Jose Mercury-Herald, 15 March 1943.
- 63 Ibid.
- 64 Karen Anderson, Wartime Women: Sex Roles, Family Relationships, and the Status of Women During World War II (New Haven, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1981), 26.
- 65 Ibid., 5.
- 66 Honey, Creating Rosie the Riveter, 10.
- 67 Virginia Kerns, war worker. Interview by the California History Center, DeAnza College, 3 August 1975. Cupertino, California. Tape recording.
- 68 San Jose Mercury-Herald, 31 May 1944.
- 69 Ibid., 3 December 1943.
- 70 Kerns interview.
- 71 San Jose Mercury-Herald, 3 March 1943.
- 72 Anzalone interview.
- 73 San Jose Mercury-Herald, 7 December 1943.
- 74 Ibid., 6 December 1943.
- 75 Anderson, Wartime Women, 26.
- 76 Powell interview.
- 77 Clyde Arbuckle, historian. Interview by Kim Anzalone, 12 January 1990. Willow Glen, California. Tape recording.
- 78 Patricia Zavella, Women's Work and Chicano Families: Cannery Workers of the Santa Clara Valley (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), 93.

- 79 War Manpower Commission Speech, Anne Treadwell to the League of Women Voters, San Francisco, California, 26 January 1943.
- 80 San Jose Mercury-Herald, 9 April 1943.
- 81 Zavella, Women's Work and Chicano Families, 95.
- 82 Powell interview.
- 83 Orlando interview.
- 84 San Jose Mercury-Herald, 7 March 1944.
- 85 *Ibid.*, 4 April 1944.
- 86 George Bruntz, History of Los Gatos: Gem of the Foothills (Los Gatos: Valley Press, 1971), 137.
- 87 San Jose Mercury-Herald, 1942-1944.
- 88 Anzalone interview.
- 89 Higonet, Behind the Lines, 7.
- 90 Anderson, Wartime Women, 103.
- 91 San Jose Mercury-Herald, 12 December 1941.
- 92 Gilroy Evening Post, 10 December 1941.
- 93 Blum, V is for Victory, 10.
- 94 San Jose Mercury News, 22 April 1987.
- 95 Frances Fox interview.
- 96 Gilroy Evening Post, 7 December 1944.
- 97 Takano interview.
- 98 Kikumura, Through Harsh Winters, 54.
- 99 Robert Negandank, retired historian. Interview by Kim Anzalone, 15 November 1989. Los Gatos, California.

- 100 Walton Bean and James J. Rawls, California: An Interpretive History (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1988), 389.
- 101 Cecilia Romero, migrant worker. Interview by Kim Anzalone, 15 December 1990. San Jose, California.
- 102 Ruiz, Cannery Women, Cannery Lives, 37.
- 103 Zavella, Women's Work and Chicano Families, 42.
- 104 United States Census, 1960 (Volume 1, 12).
- 105 Joan M. Jensen and Gloria Lothrop, California Women: A History (San Francisco: Boyd & Fraser Publishing Company, 1987), 111.
- 106 Ibid., 111-112.
- 107 Anzalone interview.

CHAPTER 4. CONCLUSION

- 1 Nancy Grey Osterud, personal communication, February 1991.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Hortense DiMercurio, cannery worker. Interview by Kim Anzalone, 2 November 1989. San Jose, California.
- 4 Michael Renov, Hollywood's Wartime Women: Representation and Ideology (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988), 33.
- 5 Virginia Kerns, war worker. Interview by DeAnza California History Center, 3 August 1975. Cupertino, California. Tape recording.
- 6 Margaret Powell, housewife. Interview by Kim Anzalone, 3 February 1991. Cupertino, California. Tape recording.
- 7 Margaret Higonnet, Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 3.
- 8 Miriam Frank, et al., The Life and Times of Rosie the Riveter: A Study Guide (Emeryville, California: Clarity Education Publication, 1982), 13.
- 9 Eugenia Kaledin, Mothers and More: American Women in the 1950s (Boston: Twayne/G.K. Hall, 1984), 30.
- 10 Joan M. Jensen and Gloria Lothrop, California Women: A History (San Francisco: Boyd & Fraser Publishing Company, 1987), 126.
- 11 Frank, et al., The Life and Times of Rosie the Riveter, 106.
- 12 Frances Fox, Santa Clara Valley resident. Interview by Kim Anzalone, 23 January 1991. Los Gatos, California.
- 13 San Jose Mercury-Herald, 11 May 1945.
- 14 Ibid., 12 December 1945.
- 15 Kaledin, Mothers and More , 36.
- 16 Powell interview.
- 17 Higonnet, Behind the Lines, 7.

- 18 Anzalone interview.
- 19 Nancy Gabin, "Wins and Losses: The U.A.W. Women's Bureau after World War II, 1945 - 1950," in "To Toil the Livelong Day": America's Women at Work, 1780-1980, ed. Carol Groneman and Mary Beth Norton (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), 376.
- 20 Frank, et al., The Life and Times of Rosie the Riveter, 19.
- 21 Ibid., 106.
- 22 Gabin, "Wins and Losses: The U.A.W. Women's Bureau after World War II, 1945-1950," 392.
- 23 Karen Anderson, Wartime Women (New Haven, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1981), 155.
- 24 Stephen Payne, Santa Clara County: Harvest of Change (Northridge: Windsor Publications, 1987), 173.
- 25 Glenna Matthews, A California Middletown: A Social History of San Jose in the Depression (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1976), 45.
- 26 Payne, Santa Clara County, 173-174.
- 27 Linda Waite, "Working Wives, 1940-1960," American Sociological Review 41:1 (February 1976), 65.
- 28 Kaledin, Mothers and More, 65.
- 29 Ibid., 149.
- 30 Cecilia Romero, migrant worker. Interview by Kim Anzalone, 15 December 1990. San Jose, California.
- 31 Kaledin, Mothers and More, 43.
- 32 Ibid., 69.
- 33 Ibid., 38.
- 34 Higonnet, Behind the Lines, 6.
- 35 Renov, Hollywood's Wartime Women, 106.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Interviews:

- Anzalone, Frank, Santa Clara Valley resident. Interview by Kim Anzalone, 12 December 1989. San Jose, California. Tape recording.
- Arbuckle, Clyde, Santa Clara Valley historian. Interview by author, 12 January 1990. Willow Glen, California. Tape recording.
- Arbuckle, Helen, writer. Interview by author, 12 January 1990. Willow Glen, California. Tape recording.
- Baggerly, John, former owner of the Los Gatos Times-Observer. Interview by author, 22 August 1989. Los Gatos, California.
- Blake, Roberta, retired librarian, Los Gatos High School. Interview by author, 15 November 1990. Los Gatos, California.
- Bosco, Sue, war worker. 13 March 1987. Tape recording. De Anza Community College California Room, Cupertino, California.
- DiMercurio, Hortense, cannery worker. Interview by author, 2 November 1989. San Jose, California.
- Fox, Frances, resident Santa Clara Valley. Interview by author, 23 January 1991. Los Gatos, California.
- Fox, Theron, resident Santa Clara Valley. Interview by author, 23 January 1991. Los Gatos, California.
- Hill, Gloria, resident Santa Clara Valley. Interview by author, 3 March 1989. San Jose, California.
- Hinckley, Ted, historian, San Jose State University. Interview by author, 21 October 1990. Los Gatos, California.
- Kerns, Virginia, war worker. 3 August 1975. Tape recording. De Anza Community College California Room, Cupertino, California.

Negandank, Robert, historian. Interview by author, 15 November 1989. Los Gatos, California.

Orlando, Jan, cannery forewoman. Interview by author, 28 February 1990. Morgan Hill, California. Tape recording.

Osterud, Nancy Grey, historian, San Jose State University. Memo to author, February 1991. San Jose, California.

Phillips, Lillian, Red Cross worker. Interview by author, 9 November 1990. Novato, California. Tape recording.

Powell, Margaret, housewife. Interview by author, 3 February 1991. Cupertino, California. Tape recording.

Romero, Cecila, migrant worker. Interview by author, 15 December 1990. San Jose, California.

Smith, Edith, archivist, Sourisseau Academy. Telephone interview by author, 12 August 1990. San Jose, California.

Takano, Josephine, farm worker. Interview by author, 14 August 1989. San Jose, California.

Ziesch, Gertrude, housewife. Interview by author, 27 January 1991. Willow Glen, California. Tape recording.

Newspapers:

Gilroy Evening Dispatch (Gilroy). October 1939-April 1945.

Los Gatos Times (Los Gatos). May 1936-August 1944.

San Jose Daily Beacon Classified (San Jose). January-May 1946.

San Jose Mercury-Herald (San Jose). January 1935-December 1948.

San Jose Mercury News (San Jose). April 22, 1989 and July 22, 1990.

San Jose News (San Jose). January 1938-September 1945.

Government Publications:

United States Census, 1930, Population, California, Santa Clara County (Volume 4, 185-187).

United States Census, 1940, Population, California, Santa Clara County (Volume 3, 269-273).

United States Census, 1950, Population, California, Santa Clara County (Volume 1, 121).

United States Census, 1960, Population, California, Santa Clara County (Volume 1, 1-13).

United States Congress, War Manpower Commission. Selected Speeches, Memos and Radio Scripts. National Archives, San Bruno, California, 1939-1946.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Anderson, Karen. Wartime Women. New Haven: Greenwood Press, 1981.

Arbuckle, Clyde. The History of San Jose. San Jose: Smith & McKay Printing Company, 1985.

Bean, Walton E. California: An Interpretive History. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1973.

Blum, John Morton, V was for Victory. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1976.

Bruntz, George G. History of Los Gatos: Gem of the Foothills. Los Gatos: Valley Publishers, 1971.

Chafe, William. The American Woman: Her Changing Social, Economic and Political Roles, 1920-1970. New York: Oxford University Press, 1972.

Cain, Glen. Married Women In The Labor Force: An Economic Analysis. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966.

DiLeonardo, Micaela. "The Myth of the Urban Village: Women, Work and Family Among Italian-Americans in Twentieth-Century California," in The Women's West, ed. Susan Armitage and Elizabeth Jameson. Norman:

- Oklahoma University Press, 1987, 277-89.
- Frank, Miriam, Marilyn Ziebarth, and Connie Field, The Life and Times of Rosie the Riveter: A Study Guide. Emeryville, California: Clarity Educational Publications, 1982. (NOTE: This is a documentary film).
- Gabin, Nancy. "Wins and Losses: The U.A.W. Women's Bureau after World War II, 1945-1950," in "To Toil the Livelong Day": America's Women at Work, 1780-1980, ed. Carol Groneman and Mary Beth Norton. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987, 233-39.
- Gluck, Sherna Berger. Rosie the Riveter Revisited: Women, The War, and Social Change. Boston: Twayne/G.K. Hall, 1987.
- Higginbotham, Elizabeth. "Laid Bare by the System: Work and Survival for Black and Hispanic Women," in Class, Race and Sex: The Dynamics of Control, ed. Amy Swedlow and Hannah Lessinger. New York: G.K. Hall, 1983, 200-215.
- Higonnet, Margaret Randolph, Jane Jenson, Sonya Michel, and Margaret Collins Weitz, eds. Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987.
- Honey, Maureen. Creating Rosie the Riveter: Class, Gender and Propaganda during World War II. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1989.
- Hutchins, Claude B., ed. California Agriculture. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946.
- Jacobson, Yvonne. Passing Farms: Enduring Values. Los Altos: William Kaugmann Inc., 1984.
- Jensen, Joan M. and Gloria Lothrop, California Women: A History. San Francisco: Boyd & Fraser Publishing Company, 1987.
- Kaledin, Eugenia. Mothers and More: American Women in the 1950s. Boston: Twayne/G.K. Hall, 1984.
- Kikumura, Akemi. Through Harsh Winters: The Life of a Japanese Immigrant Woman. Novato, California: Chandler & Sharp Publishers, 1981.
- Kinnard, Lawrence. History of the Greater Bay Region. New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1966.

- Kreps, Juanita. Sex in the Marketplace: American Women at Work. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1971.
- Lamphere, Louise. From Working Daughters to Working Mothers: Immigrant Women in a New England Industrial Community. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987.
- Los Gatos Chamber of Commerce, A View of Santa Clara County, California. Los Gatos: Los Gatos Chamber of Commerce, 1943.
- Matthews, Glenna. A California Middletown: The Social History of San Jose in the Depression. Ph.D. diss., Stanford. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1976.
- Milkman, Ruth. Gender at Work: The Dynamics of Job Segregation by Sex during World War II. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987.
- Nash, Gerald D. The American West Transformed: The Impact of the Second World War. Bloomington: Indiana Press, 1985.
- Payne, Stephen. Santa Clara County: Harvest of Change. Northridge: Windsor Publications, 1987.
- Renov, Michael. Hollywood's Wartime Women: Representation and Ideology. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988.
- Rice, Bertha. Women of our Valley. Volume I and II. San Jose: Bertha Rice, 1956.
- Ruiz, Vicki L. Cannery Women, Cannery Lives: Mexican Women, Unionization, and the California Food Processing Industry. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987.
- Rupp, Leila. Mobilizing Women For War: German and American Propaganda, 1939-1945. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978.
- San Jose Chamber of Commerce, The Valley of the Heart's Delight. San Jose: San Jose Chamber of Commerce, 1943 and 1945.
- San Jose Chamber of Commerce Road Map. San Jose: San Jose Chamber of Commerce, 1940.
- San Jose City Directory. San Francisco: R.L. Polk & Co., 1936.
- Scharf, Lois. To Work and To Wed: Female Employment, Feminism and the Great

- Depression. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1980.
- Scott, Mel. The San Francisco Bay Area: A Metropolis in Perspective. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959.
- Starbird, George. The New Metropolis: San Jose between 1942 and 1972. San Jose: Rosicrucian Press, 1972.
- Waite, Linda. "Working Wives: 1940-1960," American Sociological Review 41:1 (February 1976), 65-80.
- Wandersee, Winifred. Women's Work and Family Values, 1920-1940. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981.
- Ware, Susan. Holding Their Own: American Women in the 1930s. Boston: Twayne, 1983.
- Westin, Jeane. Making Do: How Women Survived the '30s. Chicago: Follet, 1976.
- Wyatt, Roscoe D. and Clyde Arbuckle. Historical Names, Persons, and Places in the Santa Clara Valley. San Jose: Chamber of Commerce, 1948.
- Zavella, Patricia. Women's Work and Chicano Families: Cannery Workers of the Santa Clara Valley. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987.

VIDEO RECORDINGS:

- Moyers, Bill. A Walk Through The 20th Century. "The Cold War: 1945-1960." Produced by Bill Moyers. 60 minutes, 1983. Videocassette.
- Scura, Maggi. San Jose, 45/85: Forty Years of Change in the Santa Clara Valley. Produced by Maggi Scura. Directed by Mike Pierce. 60 minutes, 1985. Videocassette.