WHERE IS SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA?

Willis H. Miller*

Southern California is one of the best known and least well defined regions of the United States. The purpose of this paper is to establish the boundaries of an area which merits identification as an important part of the nation.

Where is Southern California?

California is big—158,693 square miles (Fig. 1). This compares with 116,303 square miles for Italy and 142,726 for Japan. The state extends about 625 miles from north to south, and has an average width of approximately 200 miles. However, since it is shaped rather like a banana, its maximum east-west extent is some 570 miles. Because of this situation, Los Angeles is 235 miles east of San Francisco and even is 85 miles east of Reno, Nevada.

California is variform. The Central Valley extends from just north of Los Angeles County to Redding in Shasta County. The Sierra Nevada and associated mountains reach from Los Angeles County to Oregon, and the Coast Ranges stretch from Mexico to Oregon. Much of southeastern California is desert, but so is the San Joaquin Valley almost to Stockton, and a portion of eastern Lassen County has less than 10 inches of annual precipitation (1:27,30). By contrast, parts of northwestern California have over 100 inches. The highest and the lowest points in the continental United States are only about 100 miles apart. There are redwood forests and drifting sand dunes, rushing rivers and dry washes, lush farms and expanses of virtually unproductive land, two major metropolitan centers, and vast areas where places of human habitation are few.

History and Types of Regionalism.

It is not surprising that a state as large and diverse as California has a history and a variety of regionalism. Seven Indian language families and more than 30 Indian tribes occupied recognizable areas in what is now California, but none of them had much geographic validity (1:43-44).

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Figure 1. The Miller Line, proposed as the north boundary of Southern California, and the location of selected places in California.
The California coast north to Cape Mendocino was explored in 1542-43 by Cabrillo and his lieutenant, Ferrelo, but the Spanish made no move to establish settlements until 1769 when Portola and Serra built a presidio and a mission in San Diego. By 1823 a chain of 21 missions, four presidios and two pueblos—Los Angeles and San Jose—were functioning along the coast between San Diego and San Francisco. These outposts, strung out along El Camino Real, were divided into four districts: San Diego, Santa Barbara, Monterey, and San Francisco (Fig. 2), (1:52). They were coast-oriented and had some degree of regional quality.

During the Spanish and Mexican periods, the south central area was the most populous. However, the gold rush starting in 1849 changed this situation rapidly. San Francisco became a city of dominant size and influence. Gold fields in the Sierra foothills and intervening portions of the Sacramento and San Joaquin Valleys also attracted thousands of new people.

Between that time and about World War I, San Francisco truly was "The City", and Northern California ruled supreme. Southern California then was referred to with considerable but decreasing truth as the cow counties.

An even increasing flood of new people from the east gradually reversed this imbalance. Southern California now has almost two-thirds of the population of the state (2:11-15). San Francisco trails Los Angeles and San Diego as the third largest city, and is being hard pressed by San Jose to maintain that position (2:11-15). Northern California relinquished its statewide economic, political, and social hegemony bit by bit and with extreme reluctance. However, metropolitan San Francisco is the capital of Northern California, and it can be expected to remain so.

Although the north-south division is the overwhelmingly most important regional feature in California, there are lesser ones. For example, San Diego resents being overshadowed by Los Angeles, and San Francisco considers itself unique. The central coast counties feel some bond of common interest, as does the territory east of the Sierra Nevada. The Sacramento Bee still has a section called "Superior California New", both to whet local ego and to distinguish its area from communities to the south. Imperial County is somewhat isolated and introspective, and people in the San Fernando Valley talk about splitting off a piece of Los Angeles County for themselves.
Figure 2. Spanish administrative districts in California.
The southern part of California is bounded on the west by the Pacific Ocean, on the south by Mexico, and on the east by Arizona and Nevada. For purposes of this paper these lines are considered firm although this assumption is not entirely true.

In November, 1853, James Gadsden, chief negotiator for the United States on the treaty which implemented the Gadsden Purchase from Mexico, was engaged in delicate conversations which he is reported to have thought probably would have resulted in the cession of Lower California (3:317). The chance for this major territorial acquisition, with its possible effect on the southern boundary of California, ended because just then William Walker made his ill-starred armed incursion into that peninsula from California. The United States Senate voted on six different lines before a final one was approved and the treaty was adopted (3:330 plus following maps). The difference between this and the "take it or leave it" Salt II approach is noteworthy.

One of the most difficult problems faced by the California Constitutional Convention in 1849 was a decision on the eastern boundary of the new state. Proposals ranged from taking in the whole Mexican Cession, to the 116th meridian, or to the crest of the Sierra Nevada (4:411-417). The present boundary ultimately was adopted. Nevertheless, in 1979 litigation was pending before the United States Supreme Court on a dispute between California and Nevada over 3,600 acres (5:A3).

It is the north boundary of Southern California which is the least obvious and the most difficult to establish. California resists division into northern and southern parts, each of which has landscape and other features unique unto itself, and which are not shared by the other. Yet there is a Southern California and there is a Northern California.

The first impulse is to divide the state in two with a diagonal northeast-southwest line. A second impulse is to draw a line across the state which approximates the "break point" between the spheres of influence of Los Angeles and of San Francisco. Fortunately both lines are quite similar from the Pacific Ocean to the crest of the Sierra Nevada.

The "Miller Line", which is proposed as the dividing line between Southern California and Northern California, has represented county boundaries since 1870 (Fig. 1), (6:59). Each of these regions is a major part of an area
tributary to a great metropolitan center, and each has important characteristics which make it significantly different from the other. This line follows county boundaries because counties are important units of local government in California and because to depart from them would not result in any meaningful refinement. It is interesting that most of Mono County, here designated as part of Southern California, is north of San Francisco.

As so defined, Southern California includes 14 of the state's 58 counties and comprises 76,376 square miles, or 43.4 percent of its total area (2:1-2). On January 1, 1979, it had an estimated population of 14,354,450 which was 63.4 percent of the state total (2:11-15).

The validity of this region is tested below from numerous points of view which are considered relevant. A good many other "regional" divisions of California were inspected and discarded as not being realistic. Included were most federal and state political and administrative districts. A truly horrible example is found in the Federal Court system where the Southern California District consists of San Diego and Imperial Counties while Los Angeles County is part of the Central California District (Fig. 3), (7:278).

**Topography and Drainage**

Now is the time to exorcise the myth about Southern California being "south of the Tehachapi". This notion has been in the vernacular for a long time, especially in the north. It was concisely stated by Carey McWilliams, a prolific writer on California subjects, when he said, "Southern California is the land 'South of the Tehachapi'--south that is of the transverse Tehachapi range which knifes across to the ocean just north of Santa Barbara. The Tehachapi range long has symbolized the division of California into two major regions: North and South" (8:4).

The only trouble with this idea is that it is not true. By California standards, the Tehachapi Mountains are comparatively insignificant. They are only about 40 miles long by 10 miles wide between Tejon Pass on the west and Tehachapi Pass on the northeast, and they do not knife across to the ocean (Fig. 1), (9). It would be preposterous to put the northern boundary of Southern California adjacent to the north line of Los Angeles County.

For almost 340 miles between Donner Pass, northwest of Lake Tahoe, and Tehachapi Pass, west of Mojave, the Sierra Nevada probably is the most effective mountain barrier in the continental United States (1:117, 119, 121). Its profound effect on railroads and highways is discussed later. Otherwise,
Figure 3. Federal court districts in California.
transportation in California frequently is influenced by topography but is not controlled by it. A vast majority of both population and cropland are in valley and foothill areas.

Another popular misconception is that the Central Valley drains into San Francisco Bay. This is so for the Sacramento Valley and for the San Joaquin Valley as far south as the San Joaquin River which forms most of the northern Fresno County line (Fig. 4). However, south of the divide in central Fresno County, the Kings, Kaweah, Tule, and Kern Rivers terminate in interior basins to the west (1:23). A huge area east of the Sierra Nevada also has interior drainage. Southeastern Southern California is part of the Colorado River Basin. Virtually all of the coastal portion of Southern California drains fairly directly into the Pacific Ocean via a number of relatively short rivers. The chief exception is the Salinas River which has its headwaters east of San Luis Obispo and flows in a northwesterly direction 140 miles to Monterey Bay.

Highway Transportation

A very large majority of California intrastate freight and passenger traffic moves by truck, private car, and bus. This is the case even on many comparatively long hauls because distances of 500 miles or more can be covered in one day. Also, in the case of trucks and passengers in private automobiles, there is the convenience and economy of door to door pick up and delivery.

To serve that enormous volume of traffic, California has an excellent but deteriorating system of freeways and major highways. This deterioration is due to recent diversions of huge gas tax revenues to subsidize passenger trains and so-called rapid transit in urban areas. State Freeway 101 generally follows the coast of Southern California from San Diego to Monterey County where it shifts to the Salinas Valley (1:121-22). A combination of freeway and major highway goes north through the Owens Valley and on to Reno (1:119-120).

Crown jewel of this system is the splendid Interstate 5/State 99 Freeway which, following the Butterfield Stage route, goes almost straight north from Los Angeles to Wheeler Ridge in the south end of the San Joaquin Valley via Tejon Pass (1:122). Replacement of the former winding Ridge Route took more than ten years and represents a major engineering and financial achievement. The maximum grade now is six percent, and that is confined to about five miles on the Grapevine Grade (10). A four percent grade is exceeded for only approximately thirteen miles. Although it reaches an elevation of 4,183 feet, it is
Figure 4. Drainage divide pertinent to the north boundary of Southern California.
closed by snow an average of only thirty hours per year (10). This magnificent facility is the chief reason the southern San Joaquin Valley is so intimately associated with Los Angeles.

The fact that Mono County and northern Inyo County are part of Southern California results from the barrier quality of the Sierra Nevada to their west, and easy access to them from Los Angeles. No road crosses this mighty range for a distance of 200 miles between State Highway 120 (which goes west from U.S. 395 at Lee Vining in Mono County via Tioga Pass at an elevation of 9,945 feet) and State Highway 178 (which goes west from Inyokern via Walker Pass at an elevation of 5,248 feet) (Fig. 1), (1:119, 121). However, Tioga Pass is closed by snow 194 days a year; State Highway 108 next to the north is closed by snow for almost 172 days a year at Sonora Pass with an elevation of 9,624 feet; and State Highway 4, which goes west from Alpine County, is closed by snow for 184 days a year at Ebbetts Pass with an elevation of 8,730 feet (10). By contrast, the Coast Ranges are crossed by five virtually all-year state highways between Ventura and the Monterey County line (1:120).

Greyhound bus fares coincide closely with highway mileage. On the coast the break point between Los Angeles and San Francisco is Atascadero, and in the Central Valley it is Selma (Fig. 5), (11). Greyhound runs through buses from Los Angeles to Reno via the Owens Valley and U.S. 395. Travelers from San Francisco, however, must change buses in Reno to get to the east of the Sierra part of California. Because of the interstate nature of this trip, fares and schedules are not competitive (11).

Who delves into truck freight rates opens Pandora's box. There now are few intrastate truck class rates, but there are countless commodity rates, one it seems for every product. In an effort to derive something useful, the author concentrated on a typical commodity--canned goods.

State Public Utility Commission rates per hundred pounds of canned goods vary approximately with distance (12). However, this distance is not actual road mileage, but is so-called "constructive mileage" which has been adjusted for variations in motor vehicle operating conditions caused by elements of highway design such as grade and alignment, and by elements of highway traffic such as congestion and controls. Constructive mileage between hundreds of California communities is published by the Commission (13).

But that is not the end of complication. The Commission quotes rates per hundred pounds based not by constructive miles, but by blocks of such miles. Examples are 15-20, 170-180, 300-325, and 550-600 (14:47.2-47.3). However, the
Figure 5. Break line for Greyhound bus fares to Los Angeles and to San Francisco.
rate increase for added uniform blocks of distance is not uniform. For instance, over 140 miles but not over 150 miles = 75¢; over 150 miles but not over 160 miles = 80¢; over 160 miles but not over 170 miles = 82¢; over 170 miles but not over 180 miles = 85¢; over 180 miles but not over 190 miles = 39¢; and over 190 miles but not over 200 miles = 90¢ (14:47.2-47.3). Despite these situations, an approximate breakpoint for truck rates on canned goods between Los Angeles and San Francisco has been established (Fig. 6).

Deregulation of trucking is under active consideration, and the pros and cons are being discussed with intense feeling. Under deregulation rates might be higher or lower, higher for small shipments and lower for truckloads, or who knows what. In any event it seems probable that distance will continue to be the dominant factor in determining the cost of shipping by truck, and that cargo will continue to move.

**Railroad Transportation**

Three major railroads serve Southern California—the Southern Pacific, the Union Pacific, and the Santa Fe (1:111). In addition, there are a half dozen short feeder lines chiefly to mining centers. These railroads provide access to practically all populous or productive areas including the Owens Valley to Lone Pine. Until fairly recently a narrow gauge line continued 60 miles north from Lone Pine almost to Mono County.

These railroads were dominant providers of intrastate transportation for freight and passengers in days before motor vehicles took over most of this business (15). Now no one is interested in taking several days to move a freight car from the San Diego terminal to the Los Angeles terminal. As a defense measure the major railroads now operate motor truck lines. For instance, what is perhaps the largest truck line in California, Pacific Motor Trucking, is a subsidiary of the Southern Pacific (15).

There is no breakpoint north of which it is cheaper to ship a carload of canned goods to San Francisco by rail and south of which it is cheaper to ship it to Los Angeles. This anomaly results from the fact the rate from Los Angeles to San Francisco and the rate from either city to all intermediate points is the same (15). Accordingly, it costs the same to ship such a carload from Los Angeles to Bakersfield as it does from Los Angeles to San Francisco. Conversely, the price is the same to ship it from San Francisco to Salinas as it is to ship it to Los Angeles.

This unusual rate structure obliterates what under other circumstances
Figure 6. Break line for motor truck rates on canned goods to Los Angeles and to San Francisco.
would be a substantial disadvantage for Los Angeles. Years ago, the Southern Pacific chose to dogleg its line from Los Angeles to Bakersfield some 40 miles east through Tehachapi Pass via Saugus, Lancaster, and Mojave instead of using the direct Tejon Pass route. If rail rates were based on distance and time in transit, the break point between Los Angeles and San Francisco would not be much north of the Kern County line. Instead, metropolitan Los Angeles, with more than twice the population of metropolitan San Francisco, has rail equality deep into Northern California (16:20-22).

Rail passenger service nationally was nearly extinct when heavily subsidized Amtrak tried to revive it. The San Diegan now runs down the coast to San Diego, and the Coast Starlight goes up the coast to Oakland with a shuttle bus to San Francisco (17). The Starlight makes no stop between San Luis Obispo and Monterey which puts San Luis Obispo County firmly in the Los Angeles arena. Until the recent Amtrak cutback, the San Joaquin offered service from San Francisco to Oakland by bus, from Oakland to Bakersfield by train, and from Bakersfield to Los Angeles by bus. This route, which may be continued with state subsidy, made only two stops between Fresno and Bakersfield--Hanford in Kings County and Wasco, 50 miles further south in Kern County. That gave San Francisco an advantage in most of Kings and Tulare Counties. However, even with major subsidy, this train and bus combination did not attract a significant number of passengers.

Ever dwindling supply and ever increasing cost of motor fuel could result in at least a partial renaissance of intrastate freight and passenger rail traffic. Were this to happen, its effect on the spheres of influence of the two major metropolitan centers probably would tend to favor Los Angeles.

Air Transportation

California is big enough and populous enough that intrastate passenger and freight air transport is important. This, of course, is especially true between the three major urban centers--Los Angeles, San Diego, and San Francisco.

Currently fares and service slightly favor Los Angeles (Fig. 7). Swift Aire charges $43 from Los Angeles to San Luis Obispo and $46 from San Francisco to San Luis Obispo (18). The United Airlines fare from Los Angeles to Visalia is $28, but from San Francisco to Visalia it is $30 (19). Sierra Pacific Airlines flies a daily jet from Los Angeles to Reno via the Owens Valley with stops at Bishop and Mammoth, the great summer and ski resort in Mono County (20:35). Air service to these places from San Francisco involves a transfer at Reno and is not competitive.
Figure 7. Break line for air fares to Los Angeles and to San Francisco.
Since deregulation of airlines by the Civil Aviation Board late in 1978, intrastate air service to and between smaller California communities has been in a state of flux which borders on chaos (21:26-27). The large airlines, which formerly were forced to provide service to them, have pulled out their big planes to concentrate on more profitable markets. This vacuum is being only partially filled by so-called commuter airlines at fares which are comparatively high. Their small planes, some of which have no toilet facilities, understandably are not very popular. Also, their passenger death rate is 400 times that for regular commercial carriers (21:26-27).

It is not clear what the future holds. Perhaps escalating cost of equipment and fuel will result in permanently reduced air service to many relatively small but important cities. This would be a serious inconvenience, but as long as intrastate fares up and down the coast and through the San Joaquin Valley are based primarily on distance, it should not threaten the validity of the Miller Line.

Port Trade Region

The hinterland of a seaport is a good measure of its sphere of economic influence. Los Angeles-Long Beach Harbor and San Francisco Bay both are major seaports, and they compete for business generated in the central coast and San Joaquin Valley.

The Chief of Engineers, Department of Army, issues annual reports on commerce handled at all American ports and special reports on the facilities, trade, and trade regions of individual ports. As such, he is the most official source of information about United States seaports.

In 1976, The Assistant Secretary of the Army submitted to Congress a 457-page report prepared by the Chief of Engineers titled "Los Angeles - Long Beach Harbors, California". This publication places the north line of the "consumption tributary or demand area" of these twin harbors at the northerly line of San Luis Obispo, Fresno, Madera, and Mono Counties (Fig. 8), (22:94).

In addition to being approximately on the drainage divide in the San Joaquin Valley, Fresno is sort of a border city between Northern and Southern California. True, it is about 40 miles closer by highway to San Francisco, but for years the Fresno skyscraper was the Security Pacific National Bank of Los Angeles building, which then was the northern outpost of that now state-wide financial institution. However, most of Fresno County and all of Madera County seem to be San Francisco oriented.
Figure 8. Break line for areas tributary to Los Angeles-Long Beach Harbor and to San Francisco Bay ports.
Long distance telephone calls now are standard procedure for social as well as business contacts. The same or equivalent suppliers and customers generally have offices at various locations, for example in Los Angeles and San Francisco. In such cases, the decision as to which one to telephone should be based on the cost of the call. Long distance telephone rates, therefore, are factors of consequence in determining the spheres of influence of major cities.

In California, at least, the dominant factor in setting long distance telephone rates is airline distance, not actual distance in terms of miles of telephone line involved (23, 24). This results in no particular surprises concerning the break line between Los Angeles and San Francisco along the coast or in the San Joaquin Valley; but in the east of the Sierra subregion, the rate break point is Bishop in northern Inyo County (fig 9). Here is a case where the very real barrier quality of the Sierra Nevada is negated.

Mail Distribution

The United States Post Office has bulk mail centers in a number of major cities. From these centers mail is sent to outlying Sectional Centers for distribution to local post offices in the zip code areas they serve (25). It is suggested that such an operation is an important indicator of the regional influence of cities serving as such centers.

Los Angeles is one of these centers. It distributes bulk mail to Sectional Centers in Southern California, Arizona, and southern Nevada (26:xxxiv). To the north in California it sends bulk mail to San Luis Obispo for distribution throughout zip code area 934, to Bakersfield for zip code areas 932 and 933, and to Mojave for zip code area 935 (Fig. 10), 7:281).

There also are a larger number of Mail Classification Centers which handle other than bulk mail. Such mail from the Los Angeles Center is distributed to the same California zip code areas via the same Sectional Centers noted above (Fig. 10), (26:xxxvi).

Sunday Newspaper Sales

In the central part of California, Sunday editions, with sales larger than weekday editions, of the Los Angeles Times and the San Francisco Examiner and Chronicle are equally available. The result of thousands of people making individual decisions about which paper to buy is an important factor in determining the dividing line between Southern and Northern California. Sales data provided
Figure 9. Break line for long distance telephone call rates to Los Angeles and to San Francisco.
Figure 10. Break line for distribution of bulk and general mail from the Los Angeles Center and from the San Francisco Center.
by both papers validate the Miller Line in an impressive way (Fig. 11), (Table 1), (27). Incidentally, total sales for the reported 1978 Sundays were 1,382,683 for the Los Angeles Times and 665,821 for the San Francisco Examiner and Chronicle.

**Automobile Club and Gasoline Tax Allocation**

California has two big, influential automobile clubs--the Automobile Club of Southern California which serves Southern California and the California State Automobile Association which serves Northern California. The former was incorporated in 1900 and the latter in 1907 (28). The dividing line between them, which many years ago was mutually agreed on with the American Automobile Association, follows the Miller Line except that Kings County goes with the north (Fig. 12), (28).

More than 50 years had elapsed since the Gold Rush, but this probably was Los Angeles' first successful major challenge to San Francisco as "The City" of California. It is reminiscent of a last hurrah that the northern club took the name California State Automobile Association, even though it was 7 years younger than the southern club and never had and never would serve the entire state.

Allocation of state gasoline tax funds for highway construction was the subject of a long and bitter dispute between the north and the south. Finally it was resolved by dividing the state into northern and southern parts identical with the pre-existing automobile club boundary (Fig. 12), (29:127). By statute, 40 percent of the total goes to the 45 northern counties, and 60 percent goes to the 13 more populous and more tax productive southern counties (29:128). Because this decision involved millions of dollars in obvious benefits, it is considered an unusually indigenous expression of regionalism in California at that time.

**Lane Publishing Company**

The Lane Publishing Company is based in Menlo Park about 20 miles south of San Francisco in San Mateo County. It publishes "Sunset Magazine" which is probably the oldest and most widely read western magazine. It also produces a 160-page book titled "Sunset Travel Guide to Southern California."

"Sunset Magazine" has several editions, one of which, the Southern California and Hawaii edition, goes to the 10 southern counties (Fig. 13), (30:6). Kings, Tulare, Inyo, and Mono Counties are not included. By contrast, the
Figure 11. Break line for sales of the Sunday Los Angeles Times and of the Sunday San Francisco Examiner and Chronicle.
Figure 12. Dividing line between areas served by the Automobile Club of Southern California and the California State Automobile Association, and for the allocation of state gasoline tax funds.
Table 1. Sales of Sunday Los Angeles "Times" and of Sunday San Francisco "Examiner" and "Chronicle" in selected central California counties.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of County</th>
<th>Los Angeles &quot;Times&quot;</th>
<th>San Francisco &quot;Examiner&quot;/&quot;Chronicle&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monterey</td>
<td>644</td>
<td>9,557</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fresno</td>
<td>2,345</td>
<td>4,683</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Luis Obispo</td>
<td>8,273</td>
<td>2,930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kings</td>
<td>571</td>
<td>381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tulare</td>
<td>3,307</td>
<td>1,265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kern</td>
<td>12,300</td>
<td>385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inyo</td>
<td>2,450</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mono</td>
<td>1,592</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
"Travel Guide" puts these four counties and about half of Fresno County in Southern California, which it describes as "...a real place--one identified as much by personality as by geography" (Fig. 13), (31:6). Although the Lane Publishing Company has not abandoned its venerable San Francisco-oriented concept of Southern California for "Sunset Magazine", it does recognize reality in its comparatively new "Travel Guide".

Differences of Degree

The foregoing has explored the boundary between Southern and Northern California chiefly in terms of lines representing such specifics as drainage divides, rate and fare break points, and service or jurisdictional areas. In addition, there are numerous important differences of degree concerning things which exist on both sides of the line, but which predominantly are on one side or the other. Review of various maps and charts in "California-Patterns on the Land" calls attention to many such differences (1:66, 82-84, 87, 97, 99, 103). For Example, Southern California has most of the oranges, lemons, grapefruit, avocados, cotton, commercial fishing, petroleum, natural gas, airplane manufacturing, motion picture and television production, and a "Big Game" which is USC vs. UCLA. Northern California has most of the rice, walnuts, almonds, peaches, figs, grapes and wineries, apricots, cherries, pears, plums and prunes, canneries, timber, native sons, and a "Big Game" which is California vs. Stanford.

Conclusion

It has been established beyond reasonable doubt that there is a Southern California, that it comprises essentially the 14 southern counties of the state, and that it has a high degree of regional quality.

The leadership of metropolitan Los Angeles does not appear either fully to recognize or fully to exploit the advantage it has in the northern portion of what here is designated Southern California and the potential it has for successful competition in Fresno County. For instance, the Security Pacific Bank's "Monthly Summary of Business Conditions - Southern California" shows data for 1, 2, 3, 6, and in one category for 10 counties but never for 14 or 15 counties (32). Perhaps such benign neglect results from excessive preoccupation with the huge, close-in population and market.

However, this fringe territory is worth courting. The five northern counties--San Luis Obispo, Kings, Tulare, Inyo, and Mono--have a population of over 468,000 and Fresno County, with a population of almost 480,000, is the prize of
Figure 13. Lane Publishing Company divisions of California
the San Joaquin Valley (2:11-15). They are significant producers of many commodities, as well as prosperous markets for all the goods and services required by modern society. In its own self-interest, Los Angeles should strive diligently to cement firm economic, political, and social ties with this prime area and its almost a million people. It well could be the "Margin of profit".

Finally, it should be recognized that Los Angeles is more than just the capital of Southern California. With its regnant population and resulting vast resources of facilities, services, supplies, and markets, and because of its position at a major hub of land, air, and sea transportation, Los Angeles is the metropolis of California, of the Pacific Southwest, and of the United States west of the Rockies.

San Francisco still retains residual elements of its once dominant western centrality. These include regional offices of numerous federal agencies and headquarters of major corporations like the Bank of America and Standard Oil Company of California, most of which were established there many years ago. To move such things is difficult because of massive inertia and local and employee resistance. San Francisco, Portland, Seattle, Salt Lake City, and Phoenix will continue to be centers of regional importance. However, none of them are competitive with Los Angeles as the nucleus of western America.
NOTES

13. Public Utilities Commission of the State of California. Optional All Points to All Points Table for Distance, Table 8. San Francisco, Effective July 1, 1975.
31. Ibid.