

City of Industry: An Historical Precedent and its Concrete Effects

Liberal Arts and Engineering Studies
California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo

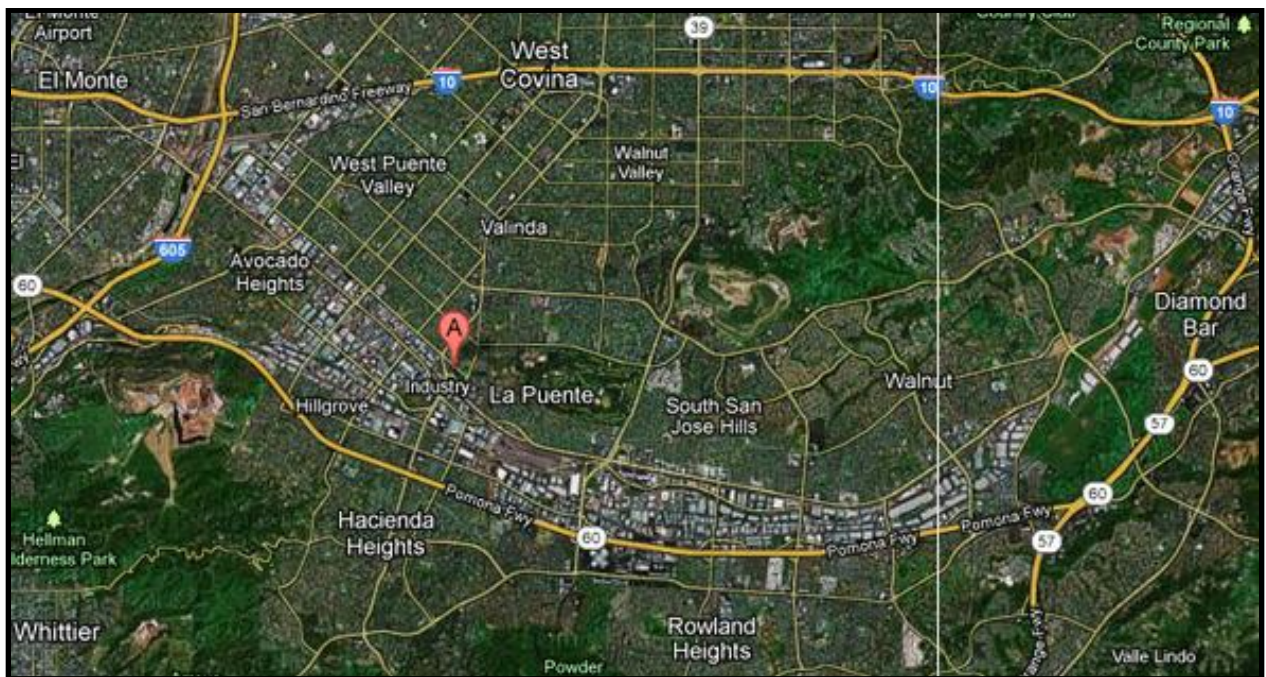
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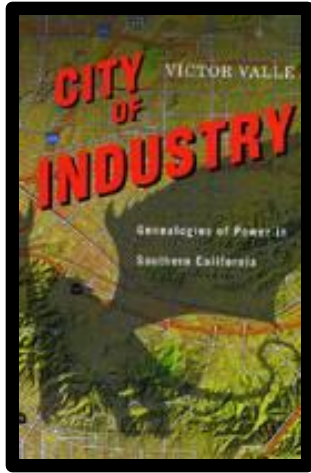
Introduction

This project attempts to document the development of the City of Industry (also simply called “Industry”), located in eastern Los Angeles County, and to examine the effects this industrial hub maintains on its surrounding neighborhoods. City of Industry, since its incorporation in 1957, has established an alarming precedent as a privatized city that has informed concrete changes in the local economy, the environment, and the public health of the surrounding communities that are predominantly Latina(o).



Overview of the City of Industry and the La Puente Valley. Google Maps.

The research undertaken for this project represents an interdisciplinary intersection of a special topic in the study of Industrial Engineering, the global logistics industry, which consists of the commercial activity of transporting goods to customers. This topic intersects with the humanities if we consider that in the City of Industry, a Latina(o) Spanish-speaking



population are both the workforce of this industry and the nearby inhabitants that are subject to the concentrated wealth of City of Industry and its effects on its surroundings. This project will particularly pay homage to Victor Valle's *City of Industry: Genealogies of Power in Southern California*.

This project is both personal and far-reaching as it documents the very things that informed my choices in pursuing a B.A. in Liberal Arts and Engineering Studies (LAES), with concentrations in Industrial Engineering and Ethic Studies and a major in Modern Languages and Literatures (MLL). Yet it also documents issues that apply to fellow Latina(o) Angelenos, many of whom are first-generation Chicanos and college students, as well as those who are not.

To go into a little more detail about why it is not in vain that I studied both LAES and MLL in college has everything to do with my background. I am a first generation Chicana born to Mexican immigrants who came to the United States in the 1980s. My parents slowly made their way from apartments in Los Angeles to more stable housing in San Gabriel, before moving our family back to Mexico for a short-lived year (from '97 to '98) and deciding to come back. While I have three younger siblings who are fluent in Spanish to varying degrees, receiving a fourth grade education in Mexico not only cemented my interest but skills in my native language. It also bolstered my STEM education.

Recently, I was reminiscing about how I have always loved math, and while it helped that my parents were college-educated and able to help me at home with my studies, I attribute my

fast-track mathematics education, once back in the United States (and now living in Whittier), to my experience with Mexico's education system. Perhaps this will say a lot about California's education system, but in Mexico children are taught division by second grade, whereas in California that does not happen till fourth grade. While in Mexico children are only required to complete up to middle school (which is 6th through 9th), those who do complete high school, or *bachilleres*, are required to complete calculus. In any event, this acceleration of my math skills translated into my being able to easily complete AP Calculus BC by the time I graduated high school, with aspirations of studying Aerospace Engineering at Cal Poly when I started here in September of 2006.

Soon enough, I had heard about the LAES program, and attracted to its flexibility and opportunities, I decided to take it on after having first switched to MLL. While embarking on these two majors, I reached the height of my academic success, but also the pinnacle of my education in topics that spoke to my background. I was taking Industrial Engineering classes, and I should mention that my father graduated with a degree in that same discipline back in Mexico; I was taking Ethnic Studies courses, along with Spanish all in the same quarter, and I developed a very critical eye and voice for issues close to home, both literally and figuratively.

It was during Fall Quarter 2012 at Cal Poly that I took a course that tied it all together for me, ES 323: *Mexican American and Cultural Images* taught by Victor Valle. Valle and I had much in common, we were Chicanos who came from Whittier and even went to the same high school. Something I do not have in common with him is that he is a Pulitzer Prize-

winning journalist that used to work for the LA Times and authored the afore-mentioned book on City of Industry. The course was centered around the case study of City of Industry that brought together the intersectionality of racialized neighborhoods, those of a Latina(o), Spanish-speaking majority, and the logistics industry, and all its ramifications all while talking about a part of LA County that existed two major intersections away from my home. To put it in context, Golden State Foods, which produces and distributes food items for McDonald's world-wide, has its highest volume facility in the world located 1.5 miles from my family's residence in Whittier, according to Google Maps; those are far too many diesel-burning trucks coming through our places of residence for just one company to begin with, not to mention the thousands of other businesses that are located in City of Industry.

The argument that Victor Valle proposes regarding City of Industry today is that it is not the product of a master conspiracy, but rather "lineages of power" that result in a corrupt genealogy that has been manufactured even before its incorporation and remains till present day (Valle 9). This project has served to educate and inform me as a Latina that resides within City of Industry's periphery. To reiterate, it is not in vain that this is the topic of my senior project and that the degrees I am graduating are in LAES and MLL. These disciplines have allowed me to dissect City of Industry's complex history and consequences, and have even enabled me to write this same project in Spanish so that I can share this knowledge with and empower Latina(o) Spanish-speakers in City of Industry's neighboring communities in their native language.

Historical Background

Before City of Industry was incorporated in 1957, there were various individuals and groups interested in securing its establishment. Following is an historic account.

La Puente Valley and C.C. Stafford

La Puente Valley is a region to the east of Los Angeles County that presently includes the cities of La Puente, El Monte, Baldwin Park, West Covina, in addition to the City of Industry; La Puente Valley lies within the greater San Gabriel Valley. Before City of Industry came along, agriculture dominated the landscape: there were fields of oat and alfalfa, and avocado, orange, and walnut groves. The laborers that worked in this agricultural region were predominantly Mexican immigrants or descendants and lived in the barrio of La Puente. The soil condition, the climate, along with the constant demand for oranges necessitated a residential, year-round workforce (48) in contrast to the migrant farm-workers of San Joaquin Valley, for example.



C.C. Stafford Milling and Warehouse Co. (pictured left, courtesy of La Puente Valley Historical Society) was established in 1920 in La Puente Valley by a man of the same name. In 1926, C.C. Stafford

oversaw the construction of a processing plant, conveniently located in the agricultural landscape of La Puente Valley, and close to his place of residence in El Monte, which was a

white-only community. Stafford thought of the barrio of La Puente as an ideal place to establish his business operations for the following reasons: his business could flourish there due to the presence of the Southern Pacific and Union Pacific rail lines, in addition to the fact that he would have access to farmers, ranchers, and a labor force (“Abbey” 1).



Rae Schade. Courtesy of Herald Examiner Collection, Los Angeles Public Library.

Stafford’s milling company was a success until scandal threatened to ruin him in 1929. His employee, Rae Schade (pictured right, courtesy of Herald Examiner Colle, had accused him of rape, and he was found guilty, but he managed to only spend a year in prison for it. Regardless, the scandal coupled with the duress of the Great Depression took a toll on his business, which was

in massive debt, and him personally. Stafford met his end in a car “accident” at the beginning of 1942.

It is speculated that the cause of his death was

suicide, although it does not appear that way on his autopsy. From that point forward C.C. Stafford’s son, James Stafford, would take care of the business. However, upon inheriting the company, James became aware of the extent of debt that his father had incurred and dedicated himself to procuring the wealth and power that he had hoped to inherit, but had not managed to receive from his father (Valle 52).

The Railroads

It is reasonable to conceive of the railroads, the Southern Pacific and Union Pacific, as the great facilitators of burgeoning industry in La Puente Valley (32). The Southern Pacific and Union Pacific already formed part of the landscape of this region in the 1930s; however, they exercised a power far beyond the transportation of cargo. Specifically, the Southern Pacific was keen on monitoring and developing the businesses they serviced because it was to their advantage to invest capital in industrial development.

It is no secret that rail profits were garnered through cargo transportation rather than passengers. La Puente Valley, being a region of agricultural production, received much support on behalf of the railroads in the form of loans to business owners for warehouse leasing; warehouses which the railroads owned themselves. Valle argues that the Southern Pacific also utilized means of “cultural penetration” (43) in order to ensure the most beneficial of circumstances for their business by convincing the public that where railway lines were present, economic development would follow. For example, railroad representatives would visit schools, agricultural organizations, county fairs and publish articles in magazines and newspapers to get their message across (Deverell 130-132).

The railroads were interested in industrial development because their success depended upon it. In other words, the railroads constructed railways that stimulated economic and business growth in the towns, and that same growth would help increment the number of clients that required the railroads’ transportation of cargo (Valle 43). In order for the railroads to foment their sphere of influence, it was imperative for them to convince the public to approve new

rail construction. The industrialization of a region depended on cultivating a supportive social and economic infrastructure. With this in mind, the railroads not only supported the vision of economic development, but also managed to obtain the land and consent of its inhabitants in order to secure further development (44).

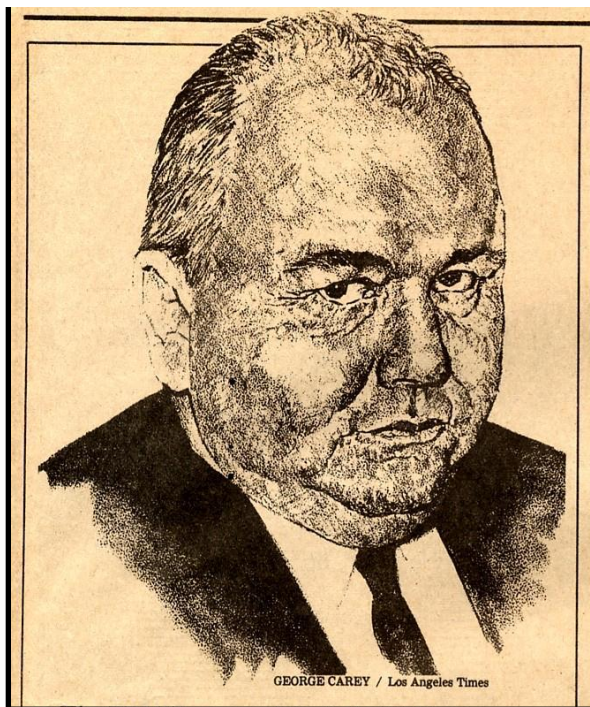
La Puente Valley was one of these sites of interest for the Southern and Union Pacific because it was located in the far reaches of Los Angeles County, to the east and en route to the rest of the United States. This sentiment was shared by the *Los Angeles Times*, who as far back as 1882 declared, “The position of Los Angeles will always be unrivaled, possessing as it does the shortest line across the continent within the United States, and through the most eligible pass, geographically, in the whole Sierras...Los Angeles is admirably situated as a distributing point for manufacturing goods...hence the importance of inaugurating extensive and diversified manufacturing industries.” This interest only increased with the expansion of the industrial sector during WWII, and that growth was accompanied by an increase in cargo transportation that the railroads would facilitate.

In 1951, the Southern Pacific announced that it would construct the Puente Bypass, a new route that would pass through La Puente Valley. Construction of the bypass was completed in 1954 and the project offered outstanding results. It now took three days less to transport cargo from the ports of Los Angeles and Long Beach and in the span of six years the throughput volume increased by 40,000 containers a month (Valle 56). With this growth, La Puente Valley became an ever more lucrative investment for the railroad companies established in this region.

Suburbanization and Industrialization after WWII

After WWII, returning GIs were looking for a place to live and the answer was to move to the suburbs that had been built during their absence and were now popping up more rapidly upon their return. The sprawling suburbs were built in order to satisfy the demand of a booming population, which necessitated the expansion of homes beyond the confines of metropolitan areas, and Los Angeles was no exception in this regard.

**James Stafford. Photo by George Carey,
Los Angeles Times.**



The massive development of industry during WWII in the United States is considered one of the main factors in its victory against the Axis Powers. This same economic sector was able to welcome returning GIs with steady employment and put capital in the hands of the emerging middle class to be able to purchase homes. It is ironic then, that industry and suburban development both competed for the same land. For business owners like James

Stafford (pictured above), suburbanization threatened to devalue his properties and gave him sufficient reason to find a way to prevent it (54). Land that was adjacent or close to the railroads was considered far too valuable for houses to be constructed there, so the Southern and Union Pacific felt threatened by suburban sprawl as well.

James Stafford and Herbert Legg

Herbert Legg was supervisor of Los Angeles' first district for almost three terms, from 1934 to 1938, 1950 to 1954, and again from 1954 until a heart attack ended his life and political career in 1958. Los Angeles County's first district spanned eastward from downtown L.A. and passed through San Gabriel Valley until hitting the San Bernardino County border, making it a "huge political-economic jurisdiction" (53). Legg appointed James Stafford to serve on the regional planning commission in January of 1954. One can speculate several reasons why Legg found it convenient to have Stafford as an accomplice in incorporating the future City of Industry.

Firstly, Stafford along with family and friends were owners of a great deal of land located in La Puente Valley and these properties were precisely in the middle of the district that Legg supervised. Secondly, Stafford's family formed part of the history of La Puente Valley and one could bet that James would be able to inspire trust in others who owned smaller properties in order to garner a whole community's backing for an exclusively industrial city (54). Stafford also considered this advantageous and dedicated himself to earning the community's support. Valle writes, "Legg did 'the devil's work' of developing [City of] Industry's governmental technology (a city of single-use structure), while James did 'the devil's bidding', using his face, voice and hearty handshake to install that technology" (59).

Herbert Legg was part of some precedents that would ultimately give form to the incorporation of City of Industry. The incorporation of the city of Lakewood provides an example. Traditionally, a city's planning and development was the county's responsibility, but

Lakewood established a precedent in awarding project contracts to the private sector. In other words, we see the emergence of private subcontracting, or the privatization of government functions. Before proposing Lakewood's incorporation, the private sector was attempting to figure out a way to finance the new city because they did not have the authority to collect taxes. The answer to that inconvenience rested in the county granting the unincorporated city "services" such as maintenance, police, and sanitation by way of a contract (61). This results in the complement to the privatization of government projects by inverting the relationship, as the private sector could now contract public services. These precedents were essential to the later incorporation of City of Industry.

New legislation was needed in order to facilitate this complementary corrupt relationship. Lakewood's incorporation needed funding, funding that the county would have handed over if only it were not illegal. However, lobbyists saw to it that in Sacramento new laws be written that would permit funds, generated from taxes paid by residents of already incorporated cities, to be distributed to cities that were not yet part of the county (62). Lakewood now served as an example of the incorporation of a privatized city, a concept that since then has been an oxymoron, "to correctly understand...the City of Industry, one must conceive of Industry's basic municipal purpose as one of becoming much like a private industrial developer as possible while retaining full municipal powers to raise taxes, [and] use power available to all cities" (Morain and Valle A3).

The problem with this model is that the motive behind incorporating more and more cities is the prerogative of promoters, who gain profit from it. The incorporation of cities at the

will of privatization becomes far less about providing homes and social services for residents.

Meanwhile, James Stafford was able to observe this model and partake in the organization of Lakewood all while serving on the county's regional planning commission. The last step in fully privatizing this model of incorporation was to evolve the intimate relationship between municipal government and the private sector in favor of private developers themselves serving in government positions, surely resulting in great conflicts of interest.

This conflict of interest had the power to mold one of the communities in La Puente Valley that sought incorporation and competed with the yet-to-be established City of Industry for the same resources. The community of La Puente tried for incorporation in 1954, at the peak of Stafford and Legg's efforts to incorporate Industry. Industry's successful incorporation would be contingent upon securing the maximum distribution of railways and adjacent land. However, when La Puente proposed its own incorporation, it included a substantial part of these valuable zones within its city limits. In his authority as first district supervisor, Legg and his committee denied La Puente's petition. La Puente had to go back to the municipal drawing board and alter its city plan; without alterations to its second petition, La Puente would have included at least 23,000 residents and an area of 17.75 square miles, including land designated for industrial use (Valle 71). La Puente was eventually granted its cityhood in 1956, but not before Legg had a hand in cutting its area by 3.2 square miles, all of which was industrial zone that would later form part of Industry.

Even before its incorporation Industry already exercised control over resources, which was ensured by interested parties who were mindful of their own profit to the detriment of Industry's neighboring communities. "[La Puente] suburb's blue-collar residents realized that locating a city between Los Angeles and the growing economies of the southwestern states would create trade opportunities for the industries popping up inside the rail corridor. Moreover, La Puente's incorporators believed that their plan had a major advantage over Lakewood's: a transportation infrastructure that would ensure long-term industrial development and thus a reliable stream of jobs and revenues generated by one of the country's highest property and sales-tax bases" (*ibid*). However, that plan had been done away with by the afore-mentioned interested parties.

City of Industry

The Los Angeles County committee of supervisors received City of Industry's petition for incorporation on June 11, 1956, eight days before La Puente residents would vote to establish their cityhood. City of Industry would stand apart as a city of a single use; instead of redacting its plan in order to define, monitor and control a residential population, Industry was bent on establishing city limits that would exclude small business owners and voters to the furthest extent possible. For example, out of a population of a mere 300, only 100 were registered voters at the time of Industry's petition (74). Enraged, La Puente residents protested Industry's incorporation, rightfully claiming that the city did not include the requisite 500 voters as per state law. Incredibly, City of Industry went back and redrew

city limits to include an additional 169 patients and 31 employees of the El Encanto Sanitarium so as to increment the population to 629 “residents” (75).

This understandably provoked a scandal that led La Puente residents to address this grievance by way of petition to the Los Angeles County Superior Court on November 2, 1956. This petition aimed to stop the final election needed to approve Industry’s incorporation. La Puente residents asked themselves how the county could possibly allow psychiatric patients to be counted as voters when they could not exercise their own will. However, Judge Bayord Rhone denied the petition and on December 3 of that same year, Industry’s “residents” approved its incorporation by a vote of 118 to 22 (“City of Industry” A9). Unable to accept this, a resident of La Puente by the name of Walter F. Pyne appealed the judge’s decision, which meant that Industry’s promoters could not yet consider themselves victorious. Some days later, the California District Court of Appeals declared that City of Industry would not incorporate until the appeal was decided.

Some of the residents that were against Industry’s incorporation had a common complaint against James Stafford and with good reason. They accused James of abusing his authority as member of the regional planning commission because he used his inside knowledge to make decisions that would increase the value of his properties. The support that Stafford had given to Industry instead of La Puente was considered an abuse of power (Valle 77). If the allegations of Stafford’s conflict of interest were found to be true, it could have brought down Industry’s shot at incorporation.

In the middle of this crisis, the Southern Pacific decided to take matters into their own hands and helped to neutralize the opponent. Wilfred Steiner was a Southern Pacific employee that was in charge of buying industrial real estate of no less than 300 acres for the railroad. The Southern Pacific sent Steiner down from headquarters in San Francisco to help Industry's cause in a subtle, underhanded manner. Steiner had been asked to go down to La Puente to buy land for "straw", but in reality this was just an excuse to buy out Pyne's property, the La Puente resident that had appealed Industry's incorporation. Pyne received an anonymous offer for his property and decided to sell. With that one strategic move Steiner had managed to render Pyne's appeal null, as he had forfeited his rights as a property owner (78). After this incident, Pyne retracted his appeal ("Three Cities" 3). After surpassing this obstacle, City of Industry's incorporation was certified on June 18, 1957 with 588 official residents.

Nine years after the incorporation of City of Industry, James Stafford admitted to having amassed funds for and participating in the campaign to incorporate Industry in addition to preventing La Puente's incorporation. In 1969, when Industry was facing a lawsuit, Stafford revealed in a deposition the reasons why he had no desire to live in La Puente; Valle explains, "he construed the idea of being forced to pay taxes for schools and libraries that served a growing Latino community as an infringement on his personal liberties" (79). Stafford, alluding to the phenomenon of *white flight*, exclaimed, "Doesn't a man have a choice in this country anymore?" (Deposition 95). One can imagine that the question would have been more appropriate if he had asked what choices a bigoted *white* man had during the era of desegregation and civil rights.

In the following decades, La Puente fell further into its role of mediocre suburb, as it suffered from above-average crime rates and substandard public schools. It became hard not to notice that something was amiss and that the most probable explanation was that City of Industry pocketed the vast majority of the profit that both cities generated. So much so that in the 1970s while tax revenue kept on decreasing for La Puente, its residents had to resign themselves to taking on the jobs that the neighboring Industry had to offer (Valle 80). According to a 1972 survey on Industry's labor demographics, 4,705 laborers employed by the city resided in La Puente and they generated at least 52% of Industry's income (Pavlovskis 110-113). As the years went by, La Puente's ability to generate its own income decreased steadily and became ever more vulnerable to the number of jobs Industry had to offer (Valle 80).

In 1964 the Stanford Research Institute was commissioned to direct a series of studies on the economic importance of City of Industry. The studies found that the city not only had much potential for development and growth, but that since its 1957 inception it had sustained the fastest industrial growth in the state of California, averaging a 28% increase in its first five years. However, the study failed to indicate the increasing disparity between Industry and its neighboring cities (90). The magnitude of this disparity can be illustrated with property values. For example, "in 1961 La Puente registered a per capita property-tax assessment of 849 dollars, well below the county's 1,600-dollar median, which itself was much lower than Industry's, which had reached 41,865 dollars per resident...La Puente's low property values underscored its position as a lower-middle- and working-class suburb that depended on its neighbor for jobs" (90-91). If La Puente's original petition for incorporation

had been approved, its assessed per capita property tax value would have been at least 1,918 dollars, and would have provided sufficient tax base with which to fund schools, recreation and health services (Gillis and Watt 45). Although La Puente's worth kept decreasing, Industry kept on reaping the immense rewards of its exponentially increasing property values (Valle 91).

...

City of Industry was named with respect to the sector it was intended to serve, and to this day, what results is a strange portrait of a city where warehouses are the inanimate residents that occupy the landscape. In other words, the number of buildings found here vastly outnumbers its human population of approximately 800 people (cityofindustry.org). There are very few houses that are found within the city, and only then they remain because they were built before the city's establishment. According to the city's records, almost 29,000 businesses operate in Industry and employ more than 80,000 workers.

We imagine that corruption takes the following form, that there are self-interested individuals or groups that throw around their wealth and leverage their power to secure the loyalty of key political players and to influence legislation at their will. City of Industry goes beyond in introducing a whole new level of complexity, given the fact that the city exists to serve its inhabitants, the companies. Explains Valle, "the possibility of owning a city's most valuable public organs offered a novel alternative to the need for recurring investments in electoral politics"(5). With that said, a more visceral approach was taken to transform business owners into political agents in their own right.

City of Industry's Present-Day Concrete Effects

During the whole of its existence City of Industry has exercised influence over neighboring communities. In the cities of La Puente, El Monte, Baldwin Park, West Covina and Hacienda Heights the majority of residents are Latina(o). According to the 2000 U.S. Census 83.1% of the population in La Puente is Latino(a), 72.4% in El Monte, 71% in Baldwin Park, 45.7% in West Covina and 38.3% in Hacienda Heights.

Effects on the Regional Economy

The economic relationship between this aforementioned group of cities and Industry is characterized by inequality. Industry, in comparison with other cities in Los Angeles County of similar wealth has made use of legislation that creates and pockets that wealth, however, what differentiates Industry is that instead of showing off spectacular mansions, it is populated instead with factories, warehouses and shopping centers (Valle 255).

To keep with the focus on the contrasting La Puente, which is located on Industry's northern border, it is easy to see that both cities, although neighbors, do not offer the same economic opportunities. In 1994, for example, Industry was able to offer 166 jobs for every hundred residents, while La Puente could only offer a maximum of 18.7 jobs for every hundred residents. In La Puente one was hard-pressed to find a job and unfortunately there were dim prospects for increase and development in the employment sector, especially when compared to Industry's 12.3% job increase (Orfield and Luce 20-21).

Even though Industry supplied a great many number of jobs to the residents of neighboring cities, it did not necessarily help better the economic situation of those communities. Again, if one refers to property values in both cities in 1996, Industry's property values averaged at 548,753 dollars per household, the same as in other affluent cities. All the while La Puente's properties were valued at least 5 times less than Industry's, with a value in between 78,512 and 108,406 dollars per household, placing it in the second to last spot in Los Angeles County. Other neighboring cities were also considered middle to lower-middle class, with some of the lowest tax revenues in the county. For example, Hacienda Heights, which is located on Industry's southeastern flank, only generated 262 dollars in tax revenue per household, placing in the county's lowest economic rank (Orfield and Luce 12).

The Latina(o) residents of these cities are greatly affected by this economic disparity and inequality. Latino(a) workers earn drastically different wages compared to their white counterparts in Los Angeles County. Latina(o)s have become the majority of the working class and it showed in the type of residences they could afford and the income they could procure. To illustrate, the average wage earned by Latina(o)s in 2005 was only \$11.25 per hour, while whites earned double on average at \$22.50 per hour (*Left Behind* 5).

Effects on the Environment

La Puente Valley has been affected by the pollution that industrial development brings with it. During Industry's lifespan, approximately 48,000 businesses have contributed to the contamination of the one resource that once literally made the region flourish: the water that comes from the San Gabriel Mountains. This water melts from the snow that falls on these

mountains and is enough to sustain about 90% of the 1.5 million residents that live in San Gabriel Valley. There are many contaminants, among them volatile organic compounds, which are dangerous chemicals that disintegrate into carcinogens that are concentrated in various cities, including Industry (Valle 257). Year after year, manufacturing plants in La Puente Valley spew out tons of toxic chemicals into the nearby water and environment. For example, the amount of contamination that the cities of El Monte, Industry, and Azusa combined emitted in 1987 was 2.6 million pounds (Dolan B1). In addition, in 1984 the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) alarmingly declared that the sources of water lying beneath the San Gabriel Valley were the most contaminated in the entire nation and that immediate attention must be paid in order to remedy it. In 1989, the EPA notified 50 City of Industry businesses that they were direct contributors to the contamination of these water resources (Ward 1). Not long after, the EPA increased its list to 70 Industry businesses, which now included the ever-present Union Pacific and the Southern Pacific's transportation operations (EPA 1).

Although the EPA was very concerned with the city's contamination, City of Industry reigned supreme in the logistics industry, the business of imported goods. More imports, making their way into the country by way of the ports of Los Angeles and Long Beach, meant more trains and trucks made their way through Industry. This traffic causes the distribution of particles of combusted diesel and worn-down tires. In 1997 the South Coast Air Quality Management District (AQMD) concluded that 71% of the carcinogenic contaminants in the region were due to diesel emissions. The AQMD also indicated that the

most concentrated levels of pollution in the whole county were located precisely along Industry's transportation route (1).

Public Health

Since the AQMD published these studies, more reports have suggested that there may well be a correlation between diesel particulate pollution and brain cancer, “among the potentially toxic products of concern are the ultra-fine particles that come from diesel engines—particles that would likely be plentiful along freeways, in congested metropolitan areas, and in the immediate vicinity of diesel-burning vehicles” (*Possible Brain Cancer*).

An alarming problem exists in that there are no regulations to control certain types of toxic emissions. This is the situation at the moment because the adequate technology does not exist to detect and monitor ultra-fine particles. According to Dr. Suzanne Paulson, who gave a presentation at UCLA about pollution, there are different categories of particles that can be found in our surroundings. She classified the first category as “coarse particles” that are produced by the mechanical wear-and-tear of vehicle tires and engines. Coarse particles are damaging to the human body, but at least they are sufficiently large so as to be expelled by our bodies. Dr. Paulson also discussed “ultra-fine particles”, and these should cause even more apprehension.

Ultra-fine particles are approximately the size of viruses, which means that they can move with great ease throughout all our body and what is worse is that they cannot be removed. In addition, because they are so miniscule in size, there is no technology to monitor them, which in turn means that there are no regulations in place to control them. Dr. Paulson also

indicated that there are higher probabilities of morbidity and mortality for children and adults that are exposed to these ultra-fine particles that debilitate their respiratory system. Children who are exposed to these contaminants do not develop adequate pulmonary function, which results in diminished health.

Beyond City of Industry

The System of Globalization

It is necessary to place City of Industry within the context of the grander and more complex system of globalization. Industry is located in the middle of a chain of cities that together represent a massive center of distribution in Los Angeles County. The railroads and freeways that lie around this transportation corridor start in downtown L.A. and extend east through East Los Angeles, City of Commerce, City of Industry, and other cities in San Gabriel Valley. The ports of Los Angeles and Long Beach combined are considered the second biggest system of ports in the world, coming in after Hong Kong. City of Industry is the last city in L.A. County through which these imported international goods are processed. Most of the goods are imported from Asia, come in through the ports and make their way up on freight trains to downtown L.A. on the Alameda Corridor. They pass through Industry, and are handed off to San Bernardino and Riverside counties, en route to be distributed to the rest of the United States (pictured below).



Alameda Corridor East Construction Authority.

Cities of Industry: Mira Loma, Ontario, Rialto, and Colton

City of Industry established a precedent for cities of industrial and commercial use and has become a repeatable formula. Residents who had moved to San Bernardino and Riverside, what now forms the Inland Empire, in order to escape the congestion, traffic, and pollution of Los Angeles are now encountering the development of industry near their residences. What used to be land full of pastures and vineyards has been replaced with more than 120 warehouses in just one decade in Riverside county (Valle 8). According to the World Health Organization, the city of Mira Loma in the county of Riverside is afflicted by the fourth highest level of diesel particle pollution in the world and the highest in the entire United

States. The three cities that are unfortunately more contaminated than Mira Loma are Jakarta, Calcutta and Bangkok (Hart 28). Other Inland Empire cities that are following the same path are Ontario, Rialto, and Colton.

Conclusion

City of Industry is my next door neighbor, yes, but it is also a very unique city that has instigated some peculiar, if not devastating effects. In the larger context of globalization, and what that means for our environment and political relations, many a person is left reeling at the magnitude of it all and at a loss for how to start addressing these issues; and so in the wake of that, this focus on City of Industry provides a place to start. What is important to notice is that while City of Industry presents dilemmas that affect me on a personal level, they also extend any and all Angelenos because the concrete effects that Industry has played a role in have reached a critical and tangible point. City of Industry does not exist in a bubble, and because this single-use city has become a replicable, if controversial, success, its ramifications have already spread and threaten to continue if the public is not made aware of its effects to all of our well-beings.

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