Pittsburgh Metropolitics:
A Regional Agenda for
Community and Stability

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I. Introduction

There is a dangerous social separation and sprawling development pattern occurring among the communities of the Pittsburgh region.[1] First, social and economic need has concentrated and is deepening in some central-city neighborhoods, Monongahela Valley and other older suburbs, and satellite cities. These are places like Rankin, McKeesport, Brownsville, Monessen, and Aliquippa. This concentration destabilizes schools and neighborhoods, is associated with increases in crime, and results in the flight of middle-class families and business**.** As social needs accelerate in these places, the property tax base supporting local services erodes. About 30 percent of the Pittsburgh population live in such a jurisdiction (14 percent in Pittsburgh and 16 percent in declining suburbs and satellite cities).

The mythic dichotomy of urban decline and suburban prosperity holds that social and economic decline stops neatly at central city borders. Nothing could be further from the truth. As poverty and social instability cross into the older working class and middle-income suburbs and increases in satellite cities, all of the trends of urban decline accelerate and intensify. Lacking the strong business district, vitality and resources, high-end housing market, parks, culture and amenities that the central city has—and often without a large police department and social service agencies to respond to growing social stress—the schools in these communities become poor faster and local commercial and residential values lag in good times and evaporate more rapidly in bad times. In the end, while the central city almost always retains some diversity in income, the older suburbs and satellite cities can become monolithically poor. This is particularly true of the Pittsburgh region, where the closing of the steel plants in the 1980s devastated the communities of the Mon Valley, displacing thousands of workers and leaving these cities with little tax base.

Second, in a related pattern, growing middle-income communities, dominated by smaller homes and apartments, developing without sufficient property tax base to support schools and other public services, are beginning to experience increases in their poverty and crime rates. These fiscally stressed communities could well become tomorrow's troubled cities. These places, which include many outlying cities and some inner Pittsburgh suburbs, are home to another 39 percent of the Pittsburgh population. These are places like Ohioville, Monaca, Swissvale, North Franklin, Avalon, and Henry Clay. Together, Pittsburgh, declining Pittsburgh suburbs and satellite cities, and low property value, middle-income communities—all places disadvantaged by regional polarization—represent nearly 70 percent of the region's population.

As middle-class families—generally those who cannot afford the $250,000–300,000 home typically built in the region's more prosperous cities and suburbs—leave declining suburbs and satellite cities, many are jumping out of a social frying pan and into a fiscal one. When they reject neighborhoods and schools of increasing social stress, they often land in communities with enormous fiscal stress. These newer communities, predominately composed of housing valued below $200,000 and with many times the region's ratio of school-age children to adults, find

[1] In this study we define the Pittsburgh region as the six counties designated by the U.S. Census Bureau as the Pittsburgh Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA): Allegheny, Beaver, Butler, Fayette, Washington, and Westomoreland Counties. The portion of Ellwood City outside of Beaver County is not included in the study area.

their local base of resources substantially inadequate to cover the costs of new schools and other infrastructure needed to properly support the scale of growth.

Third, upper-income communities dominated by expensive homes are capturing the largest share of regional infrastructure spending, economic growth, and jobs. As the tax base expands in these affluent communities and their housing markets remain closed to most of the region's workers, these areas become both socially and politically isolated from regional responsibilities. In the Pittsburgh area, only about 30 percent of the region's population live in these communities, which include places like Fox Chapel, Sewickley Heights, Marshall, Middlesex, and Murrysville.

As these places achieve the enviable position of having the region's largest tax base and the least need for social services, they become the most desirable places in the region to live. As business and housing developers compete for locations in affluent places on the edge of the metropolitan area, open space evaporates and people who sought an insulated life closer to natural amenities find themselves in the midst of edge-city urban life with as much or more congestion, development, and stress as the places they left behind. As the highly desirable land melts away into development, "pass-through" traffic increases as new roads are built to connect residents of the next urbanizing community.

Social and economic polarization and sprawling development patterns on a regional scale in the Pittsburgh area exact costs in terms of waste of human resources; deterioration of Pittsburgh neighborhoods, older suburbs, and of many satellite cities; increased fiscal stress in these places and in fast-developing, low tax base communities; increased costs of infrastructure and land; loss of agricultural and fragile lands; and increased miles traveled and number of automobile trips. Various economists and urban researchers have described and estimated many of these costs of social and economic polarization and of wasteful development patterns. The results are staggering. In Section II of this report we will review their findings.

Only through a strong, multifaceted, regional response can social and economic polarization and wasteful development patterns be countered. To stabilize the central city neighborhoods, older suburbs, and satellite cities, and to minimize unplanned outward development there are three areas of reform that must be achieved on a metropolitan scale: 1) greater fiscal equity among jurisdictions of the region, 2) smarter growth through better planning practices, and 3) structural reform of metropolitan governance to allow for fair and efficient implementation of the other reform measures. These policies are interrelated and reinforce each other substantively and politically.

In the 1970s, moderate "Rockefeller" Republicans, such as Richard Lugar of Indiana, Tom McCall of Oregon, Harold Levander of Minnesota, and George Romney and William Milliken of Michigan, began to outline an elegant limited government response to the problem of inter-local disparity and sprawling, inefficient land use. The message of cost-effective regional planning, supported by local business leadership, had a strong influence in Minneapolis-St. Paul (Twin Cities), Indianapolis, and Portland, Oregon twenty-five years ago. In 1970 the city of Indianapolis merged with Marion County into one unified government. In 1971 the state of Minnesota passed groundbreaking legislation for a system of tax-base sharing among the cities and counties of that region, and in 1975 implemented the system. In 1973 the state of Oregon

passed its Land Use Act, a statewide planning framework that requires each of the state's 242 cities and 36 counties to establish an urban growth boundary and develop a long-range, comprehensive plan for development within those boundaries. In 1979, voters in the Portland, Oregon metropolitan area chose to make that region's metropolitan planning organization a directly elected regional body—the first of its kind in the nation and still the only one. During the 1980s, Minnesota established a regional boundary called the Metropolitan Urban Services Area around the Twin Cities region and Florida passed its Growth Management Act. While these reforms have not solved the urban problems defined above, they have strengthened these regions fiscally and improved their land use. The issues of concentrated poverty are only beginning to be addressed in our country.

In the 1990s there has been a renewed interest in regional reform across the nation. The state of Washington helped to spark this regional planning renaissance with its 1990 Growth Management Act. In Washington D.C., former United States Housing and Urban Development Secretary Henry Cisneros advocated that the federal government strengthen metropolitan coordination of affordable housing, land use, environmental protection, and transportation issues. In 1994, President Clinton issued a broad executive order beginning this process.[2] In 1997, Maryland, under the leadership of Governor Parris Glendening, passed legislation that limits growth to state-designated "smart growth" areas by withholding infrastructure funding for development outside such areas. In September 1998 in a speech at the Brookings Institution, Vice-President Al Gore announced a federal agenda "to help encourage smarter growth and more livable communities all across America".[3] Also in 1998, the Tennessee legislature passed land-use planning legislation requiring urban growth boundaries around urbanizing areas. In 1998 in New Jersey, the nation's most urbanized state, voters approved the dedication of $98 million a year for the next ten years to preserve one million acres of farmland and open space. Governor Christine Todd Whitman has lead this effort and continues to propose significant legislation, such as creating a financial incentive for citizens to donate land for preservation.

Recently the famed Commercial Club of Chicago and the Greater Baltimore Committee—whose members primarily represent the interests of the downtown business district in their respective cities—endorsed sweeping proposals for regional reform including tax-base sharing, land-use planning, and regional governance reform.[4] They believed that these reforms were very important to the economic health of their cities.

Columnist Neal Peirce has helped to revitalize this type of good-government metropolitanism, broadening its base by emphasizing the social and economic interdependence within metropolitan areas and the need for regional economic coordination to compete effectively

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[2] United States President Bill Clinton, Executive Order, "Leadership and Coordination of Fair Housing in Federal Programs: Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing, Executive Order 12892 of January 17, 1994," The Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (24 January 1994): 110-14.

[3] United States Vice President Al Gore, Brookings Policy Series, September 2, 1998.

[4] Elmer W. Johnson, "Chicago Metropolis 2020, Draft Plan of 1999: Preparing Metropolitan Chicago for the 21st Century", A Project of the Commercial Club of Chicago, Draft, October 1998; Greater Baltimore Committee, "One Region, One Future: A Report on Regionalism", July 1997.

in the new world economy.[5] On another front, David Rusk, former mayor of Albuquerque, New Mexico, simply and effectively connected the issues of metropolitanism and social equity.[6] He did this by showing that regions with an effective metropolitan planning body are more equitable, less segregated by race and class, and economically healthier. Anthony Downs, of the Brookings Institution, assembled his own research together with recent groundbreaking work of urban poverty scholars, economists, transportation experts, and land-use planners. He makes compelling new arguments for metropolitan governance and broad metropolitan-based reforms in fair housing, transportation, land use, and property tax-base sharing.[7]

In separate studies, William Barnes and Larry Ledebur, Richard Voith, and H. V. Savitch showed the deep interconnections of metropolitan economies. A study of seventy-eight metropolitan areas, conducted by Barnes and Ledebur, found that between 1979 and 1989 in most U. S. metropolitan areas, median household incomes of central cities and suburbs moved up and down together.[8] They also found that the strength of this relationship appears to be increasing. An earlier study of forty-eight metropolitan areas, conducted by the same team, found that metropolitan areas with the smallest gap between city and suburban incomes had the greatest job increases.[9]

A recent study by Richard Voith, an economist at the Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia, found that employment growth in the central city of a region is very important to house values in existing suburbs close to the city (*i.e.*, less than a 50 minute commute).[10] Similarly, he found that employment growth in existing suburbs close to the city does not significantly affect house values in those communities themselves but rather, benefits developers and owners of agricultural land further out.

Through a comparison of incomes and real estate prices in the cities and suburbs of fifty-nine metropolitan areas between 1980 and 1990, H. V. Savitch and his colleagues found that cities and suburbs within a given region are highly interdependent. They report that those regions "with a greater capacity to harness common resources and unite populations do better than more highly fragmented areas."[11]

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[5] Neal Peirce, *Citistates: How Urban America Can Prosper in a Competitive World* (Washington, D.C.: Seven Locks Press, 1993).

[6] David Rusk, *Cities Without Suburbs* (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1993).

[7] Downs, *New Visions*.

[8] Larry C. Ledebur and William R. Barnes, *"All In It Together": Cities, Suburbs and Local Economic Regions* (Washington, D. C.: National League of Cities, 1993).

[9] William R. Barnes and Larry C. Ledebur, *City Distress, Metropolitan Disparities, and Economic Growth* (Washington, D. C.: National League of Cities, 1992).

[10] Richard Voith, "The Suburban Housing Market: Effects of City and Suburban Employment Growth," Working Paper No.96- (Philadelphia: Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia, May 1996).

[11] H. V. Savitch and others, "Ties That Bind: Central Cities, Suburbs, and the New Metroplitan Region," *Economic Development Quarterly* 7 (4) (November 1993).

The evidence clearly shows that cities and suburbs within a metropolitan area are interdependent; and that when social and economic polarization is minimized the region is stronger; and that regional planning and metro-wide reforms are good for the entire region. However, many believe that metropolitan reforms are no longer possible because the suburbs have taken over American politics.[12] Representing over 50 percent of the American population and over 85 percent in the Pittsburgh area, clearly "the suburbs" do have great political power. Commentators glory in an ideal of small suburban government close to the people. They maintain that regional reform threatens this idea. In response, this idealization was never true, and in the late 1990s stands in the starkest contrast to the reality described at the beginning of this report. More importantly, regional reform seeks to create circumstances in which a new ideal of local control and long term community stability can become a reality—as many policy-makers, Democrats and Republicans alike and high-ranking federal officials, have already discovered (see above).

Once policy-makers and reform advocates recognize the diversity of the communities in their region, the attainability of regional reform becomes clear. Once it is recognized that the region's communities are not a monolith with common needs and resources, declining core communities, satellite cities, and low-tax-base developing communities can identify each other as allies in regional reform and begin to work together for a stronger, more stable region. Some of these communities will find their motivation in a common social and fiscal decline that requires regional equity, others in the need to plan for growth for a sustainable, stable future.

In the Twin Cities region, for example, after a series of geographic information system (GIS)[13] maps revealed that the suburbs were not a monolith, a metro-majority political coalition was forged. This coalition between the central cities—which comprise one-third of the region's population—and the older and low fiscal capacity suburbs—which comprise another third, supported and helped to pass significant legislation in the 1993-1999 sessions involving regional tax-base sharing, fair housing, transportation/transit reform, land-use planning, brownfields[14] cleanup, and stronger metropolitan governance.

Since those first maps were produced of the Twin Cities area, the Metropolitan Area Research Corporation has conducted similar policy research of fifteen other U.S. metropolitan areas.[15] These studies clearly show that 1) social and economic polarization is occurring in

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[12] Anthony Downs, in *New Visions* repeatedly outlines the necessity of sweeping metropolitan reform and then dismisses the possibility of political success because of the monolithic opposition of the suburbs.

[13] A computer program that attaches data from a separate database to a map.

[14] Contaminated (or perceived to be contaminated) former industrial or commercial sites. When these sites, located in central cities and older, inner suburbs, are cleaned up, new land for development is created in the region's core, whereas previously, all new land was usually found only on the region's fringe. Redevelopment of these sites adds new jobs to the region's core and improves the local economy of these places.

[15] Atlanta, Baltimore, Chicago, Denver, Detroit, Grand Rapids (Michigan), Milwaukee, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Portland (Oregon), St. Louis, San Francisco Bay Area (San Francisco, Oakland, San Jose), Seattle, South Florida (Miami, Fort Lauderdale, West Palm Beach), and Washington D.C.

regions across the country; 2) suburbs and satellite cities within a region are not all the same and do not all have common needs and experiences; and 3) coalitions can be forged between previously thought unlikely partners—elected officials of the central city, satellite cities, and suburban communities of a region—to enact regional reforms.

The purpose of "Pittsburgh Metropolitics", then, is threefold: 1) to identify and document social and economic polarization and wasteful development patterns in the Pittsburgh area; 2) to identify common patterns and needs between existing local governments in the Pittsburgh area; and 3) to introduce concrete policy strategies for addressing the problems of regional polarization and wasteful development patterns.

We will begin with a general discussion in Section II of the detrimental effects of concentrating a region's poor in abandoned neighborhoods of the central and satellite cities and the costs of wasteful development patterns. In Section III, we will present the results of our analysis to identify like communities—or subregions—within the Pittsburgh area. Section IV will document regional polarization in the area by simply presenting, through the use of color maps, social and economic data for all of the communities in the region and giving summary statistics, where possible, for each of the identified subregions. Finally, in Section V, we will briefly discuss policy strategies for regional reform and in Section VI will go into further detail on regional tax-base sharing. It is our hope that the results of this study will help to further the processes of metropolitan reform in the Pittsburgh region. Through our analysis of the progressive and negative effects of metropolitan polarization on people and communities, this study will provide evidence regarding the necessity of reform for elected officials as well as the traditional advocates of land use, housing, fiscal and governmental reform.

This report is designed to bring into the debate new and decisively important participants—elected officials and constituency groups representing suburban and satellite communities, particularly those with high social and infrastructure needs and few tax-base resources that have often not understood the benefits of regionalism for their communities. It is for these communities that the dangers of regional polarization are the most apparent and fundamental. It is these communities that can bring significant new political power to the issue. It was these communities that, in Minnesota, created the regional majority necessary to enact major reforms. In some of the first regions that we studied—Chicago, Portland, Philadelphia, and Baltimore—state legislators representing the central city and declining suburbs have begun building coalitions and drafting legislation for regional reform. It is our hope that officials in the regions in which we have been more recently involved will follow.

Those who should read this report include people working to reduce poverty in central city, older suburban, and satellite city neighborhoods; advocates for smart growth and the environment; and especially, state legislators and elected officials who represent cities and counties. Cities and counties are political units with land-use planning powers and are the true units of regional competition. These land-use planning powers—interacting with race-relations, fiscal disparity, and regional infrastructure—shape the region’s future. Cities and counties are also the centers of real political power which will facilitate or impede metropolitan reform.

Based on demographic research, this report will show that the Pittsburgh area is facing a scenario very similar to the one encountered by the Twin Cities area and other regions across the

country. This report will also argue that regional reform coalitions similar to those formed in other regions can be developed in the Pittsburgh area to combat these growing problems.

II. Problems Associated with Regional Polarization and Sprawl

A. Concentrated Poverty

In the central cities of most major U.S. metropolitan areas, there is a subset of distressed census tracts with more than 40 percent of their population below the federal poverty line. According to sociologists, such neighborhoods are extreme poverty tracts or ghettos.[16] Surrounding these severely distressed neighborhoods are transitional neighborhoods with 20 to 40 percent of their population in poverty.[17] According to Paul Jargowsky, between 1970 and 1990 the national poverty rate declined from 13.6 to 12.8 percent and the metropolitan poverty rate barely increased, moving from 10.9 to 11.8 percent. However, despite large increases in social spending and the gross national product, the population of high poverty areas doubled and their geographic size expanded faster than their population increased.

In the 1970s, extreme poverty tracts and transitional neighborhoods exploded in size and population in the large cities of the Northeast and Midwest. During the 1970s, New York City's ghetto, the nation's largest, increased from 70 census tracts to 311.[18] During the 1980s, ghettoization rapidly increased in Chicago, Detroit, and many of the secondary cities of the Northeast and Midwest.[19] In 1980, 48 percent of Detroit's census tracts had at least 20 percent of the residents in poverty; by 1990, 75 percent of its tracts did.[20] In Midwestern cities as a whole, the number of ghettoized tracts doubled in the 1980s.[21]

The expansion of extreme and transitional poverty tracts is not just confined to these large urban centers of the Northeast and Midwest. We have found that these trends, while more severe in some cities than in others, are present and worsening in all of the fifteen U.S. regions we have studied thus far. Furthermore, as the number and population of poverty tracts has grown in most metropolitan areas, they have spilled beyond the central city borders into older, inner-ring suburbs. Between 1980 and 1990, while the three central cities of the South Florida region (Miami, Fort Lauderdale, and West Palm Beach) combined went from 13 to 27 extreme poverty tracts and from 33 to 40 transitional tracts, their inner suburbs went from 5 to 8 extreme poverty

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16 See Paul A. Jargowsky and Mary Jo Bane, "Ghetto Poverty in the United States, 1970 to 1980," in Christopher Jencks and Paul E. Peterson (eds.), *The Urban Underclass* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution), 235-273; John D. Kasarda, "Inner-City Concentrated Poverty and Neighborhood Distress: 1970 to 1990," *Housing Policy Debate* 4, no. 3, 253-302.

17 Ibid.

18 Kasarda, "Concentrated Poverty," 261.

19 Kasarda, "Concentrated Poverty"; Paul A. Jargowsky, "Ghetto Poverty Among Blacks," *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 13, no. 2 (1994): 288-310.

20 Kasarda, "Concentrated Poverty," 261.

21 Ibid., 260.

tracts and from 18 to 49 transitional tracts. Similarly, as the city of Baltimore lost poverty tracts between 1980 and 1990—going from 36 to 35 extreme poverty tracts and from 69 to 63 transitional tracts, its inner suburbs gained poverty tracts—going from zero to two extreme poverty tracts and from one to two transitional tracts. The Portland, Oregon region, which went from 3 to 10 extreme poverty tracts and from 18 to 28 transitional poverty tracts during the 1980's (all located in the central city), gained its first two suburban poverty tracts during that period.

Stimulated by William Julius Wilson's book, *The Truly Disadvantaged*, scholars in the late 1980s began actively studying the effects of concentrated poverty in metropolitan areas. Their research confirms that concentrated poverty multiplies the severity of problems faced by both communities and poor individuals.[22] As neighborhoods become dominated by joblessness, racial segregation, and single-parentage, they become isolated from middle-class society and the private economy.[23] Individuals, particularly children, are deprived of local successful role models and connections to opportunity outside the neighborhood. A distinct society emerges with expectations and patterns of behavior that contrast strongly with middle-class norms.

Studies have found that poor individuals living in concentrated poverty are far more likely to become pregnant as teenagers,[24] drop out of high school,[25] and remain jobless[26] than if they lived in socioeconomically mixed neighborhoods. These types of outcomes dramatically diminish the quality of life and opportunity. Similarly, the concentration of poverty and its attendant social isolation leads to the development of speech patterns increasingly distinct from

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[22] William Julius Wilson, *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993); Christopher Jencks and Paul Peterson eds., *The Urban Underclass* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1991); Nicholas Lemann, *The Promised Land: The Great Black Migration and How it Changed America* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1991); Nicholas Lemann, "The Origins of the Underclass," *The Atlantic Monthly* 257 (1986): 31-55; Hope Melton, "Ghettos of the Nineties: The Consequences of Concentrated Poverty," (St. Paul Department of Planning and Economic Development, November 10, 1993).

[23] See generally George C. Galster, "A Cumulative Causation Model of the Underclass: Implications for Urban Economic Policy Development," in *The Metropolis in Black and White: Place, Power and Polarization*, eds. George Galster and Edward Hill (New Brunswick, NJ: Center for Urban Policy Research, 1992).

[24] Jonathan Crane, "The Effects of Neighborhoods on Dropping Out of School and Teenage Childbearing," in *The Urban Underclass*, eds. C. Jencks and P. Peterson (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1991), 299-320; Susan E. Mayer, "How Much Does a High School's Racial and Socioeconomic Mix Affect Graduation and Teenage Fertility Rates?" in *The Urban Underclass*, 321-41; Massey and Denton, *American Apartheid* 169-70; Dennis P. Hogan and Evelyn Kitagawa, "The Impact of Social Status, Family Structure, and Neighborhood on the Fertility of Black Adolescents," *American Journal of Sociology* 90, no. 4 (1985): 825-55; Frank F. Furstenburg, Jr., S. Philip Morgan, Kristen A. Moore, and James Peterson, "Race Differences in the Timing of Adolescent Intercourse," *American Sociological Review* 52 (1987): 511-18; Elijah Anderson, "Neighborhood Effects on Teenage Pregnancy," in *The Urban Underclass*, 375-98; Sara McLanahan and Irwin Garfinkel, "Single Mothers, the Underclass, and Social Policy," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 501 (1989): 92.

[25] Crane, "The Effects of Neighborhoods," 274-320; Mayer, "Graduation and Teenage Fertility Rates," 321-41; Massey and Denton, *American Apartheid*, 169-70.

[26] Massey and Denton, *American Apartheid*, 180-82.

mainstream English.[27] These speech differences make education, job search, and general interaction with mainstream society difficult.[28]

The effects of concentrated poverty can also be seen by comparing the experience of the poor living in concentrated poverty to that of poor individuals living in mixed-income communities. At least one large social experiment demonstrates that when poor individuals are freed from poor neighborhoods and provided with opportunities, their lives can change quite dramatically. Under a 1976 court order in the case of *Hills v. Gautreaux*,[29] thousands of single-parent black families living in Chicago public housing have been provided housing opportunities in predominantly white middle-class suburbs. Under the consent decree in a fair housing lawsuit originally brought in 1966, more than 5,000 low-income households have been given housing opportunities in the Chicago area. By random assignment more than half of these households moved to affluent suburbs that were more than 96 percent white, while the other participants moved to neighborhoods that were poor and more than 90 percent black. The pool of *Gautreaux* families thus provides a strong sample to study the effects of suburban housing opportunities on very poor city residents.

James Rosenbaum and colleagues from Northwestern University have intensively studied the *Gautreaux* families.[30] His research established that the low-income women who moved to the suburbs "clearly experienced improved employment and earnings, even though the program provided no job training or placement services."[31] Very rapidly after the moves, the suburbanites

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[27] John Baugh, *Black Street Speech: Its History, Structure and Survival* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983): 11-22; William Labov, *Language in the Inner City: Studies in the Black English Vernacular* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972); Id., "The Logic of Nonstandard English" in *Black American English: Its Background and its Usage in the Schools and in Literature*, ed. Paul Stroller (New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1975); William Labov and Wendell Harris, "De Facto Segregation of Black and White Vernaculars," in *Diversity and Diachrony*, ed. David Sankoff, Current Issues in Linguistic Theory Series, vol. 53 (Philadelphia: Benjamins, 1986), 1-24; William Labov, *Locating Language in Space and Time* (New York: Academic Press, 1980).

[28] Joleen Kirschmen and Kathryn M. Neckerman, "'We'd Love to Hire Them, But...': The Meaning of Race for Employers" in *The Urban Underclass*, eds. C. Jenks and P. Peterson (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1991): 203-32; Roger Shuy, "Teacher Training and Urban Language Problems," in *Black American English: Its Background and Its Usage in the Schools and in Literature*, ed. Paul Stoller (New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1975): 168-85.

[29] *Hills v Gautreaux*, 425 US 284 (1976).

[30] James Rosenbaum and Susan Popkin, "Employment and Earnings of Low-Income Blacks Who Move to Middle-Class Suburbs," in *The Urban Underclass* eds. C. Jencks and P. Peterson (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1991); Rosenbaum, Popkin, Kaufman, and Rustin, "Social Integration of Low-Income Black Adults in Middle-Class White Suburbs," *Social Problems* 38, no. 4 (1991): 448-61; James E. Rosenbaum, Marilyn J. Kulieke, and Leonard S. Rubinowitz, "White Suburban Schools' Responses to Low-Income Black Children: Sources of Successes and Problems," *The Urban Review* 20, no. 1 (1988): 28-41; James E. Rosenbaum and Susan Popkin, "Black Pioneers: Do Their Moves to the Suburbs Increase Economic Opportunity for Mothers and Children?" *Housing Policy Debate* 2, no. 4 (1991): 1179-1213; James E. Rosenbaum and Julie Kaufman, "Educational and Occupational Achievements of Low Income Black Youth in White Suburbs" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, Cincinnati, Oh., 18 October 1991).

[31] Rosenbaum and Popkin, "Employment and Earnings."

were about 15 percent more likely to be employed.[32] Rosenbaum found that the children of the suburban movers dropped out of high school less frequently than the city movers (5 percent vs. 20 percent).[33] Second, they maintained similar grades despite higher standards in suburban schools. Third, the children who moved to the suburbs were significantly more likely to be on a college track (40.3 percent vs. 23.5 percent[34]) and went to college at a rate of 54 percent, compared with 21 percent who stayed in the city.[35] In terms of employment, 75 percent of the suburban youth had jobs compared to 41 percent in the city.[36] Moreover, the suburban youth had a significant advantage in job pay and were more likely to have a prestigious job with benefits.[37] Finally, 90 percent of the suburban youth were either working or in school compared with 74 percent of the city youth.[38]

As poverty concentrates in central and satellite cities and social disorganization increases, crime grows, and waves of middle-class flight, business disinvestment, and declining property values surrounding the area of decline intensify. As the middle class leave, there are fewer customers for local retailers and the value of local housing declines precipitously. In the poorest metropolitan neighborhoods, basic private services, even grocery stores, disappear.[39] Social needs and hence property taxes begin to accelerate on a declining base of values. These cities become pressed to provide more with less. Often they must choose between increasing tax rates or providing fewer services of poorer quality, thereby further burdening poor residents and further alienating any remaining middle-class residents.[40] As local property taxes become highest

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[32] Ibid.

[33] Rosenbaum and Kaufman, "Educational and Occupational Achievements," 4.

[34] Ibid., 5.

[35] Ibid., 5-6.

[36] Ibid., 6-7.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid. The acceptance of these poor black families in affluent, predominantly white suburbs was not painless or immediate. At the outset, about 52 percent of the suburban movers reported incidence of racial harassment, compared to 23 percent in the city. However, the incidence of harassment rapidly decreased over time. Interestingly, both the suburban and city movers reported similar amounts of neighbor assistance and support (24.8 percent suburban v. 25.0 percent city) and essentially no difference in terms of their degree of contact with neighbors. When asked, the suburban movers were actually slightly more likely to have friends in their new neighborhoods than the city movers did. In terms of interracial friendships, the suburban movers had more than two times the number of white friends that the city movers had and slightly fewer black friends. Further, over time, the degree of integration continued for suburban movers, and re-segregation did not occur.

[39] Gary Orfield, "Ghettoization and Its Alternatives," in ed. Paul Peterson, *The New Urban Reality* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1985): 163.

[40] George Sternlieb and Robert W. Burchell, *Residential Abandonment: The Tenement Landlord Revisited.* (New Brunswick: Center of Urban Policy Research, Rutgers University, 1977), cited in: Robert W. Burchell, et. al., *Costs of Sprawl Revisited: The Evidence of Sprawl's Negative and Positive Impacts.* (Transportation Research Board, National Research Council).

in the least desirable parts of the region, the flight of the middle class and the private economy increases. Larger industrial and service businesses are disadvantaged by high taxes, deteriorating public infrastructure, crime, loss of property value, lack of room for expansion or parking, lack of rapid access to radial highways, and the cost of remediation of polluted land.[41] In addition, urban employers increasingly believe that the work force in distressed neighborhoods is unsuitable. This is evident in the lack of living wage jobs available in such neighborhoods. According to Bangs et. al., an additional 140,000 living wage jobs were needed in Allegheny County in 1990 to ensure that all working-age adults could meet their basic living needs.[42] Yet as will be described later, the growth rate of jobs in many parts of Allegheny County has, for the most part, been slower than much of the rest of the Pittsburgh region; and although there has been an economic recovery since the decline of the steel industry in the Pittsburgh region in the 1980s, this recovery has created jobs in neighborhoods far from where many workers, particularly minorities, live.[43]

At the same time as the location of jobs is shifting from the high poverty neighborhoods of the central city, older suburbs, and satellite cities, the zoning policies of many suburban jurisdictions help to ensure that the region's poorest residents remain in those neighborhoods. By requiring low maximum building densities, the zoning codes of many suburban jurisdictions allow for little or no multi-family housing. These codes also include requirements for single-family housing such as large minimum lot sizes, two car garages, and high minimum square footage. Such requirements raise the cost of development, effectively excluding poor (or even middle-class) persons.

In the clearest sense, the increase of property wealth in affluent suburbs and the stagnation of decline of central city, satellite city, and older-suburban values represents, in part, an interregional transfer of tax base. As such, the loss of value and increased fiscal stress in older, poorer communities is a cost of regional polarization and urban sprawl.

In the end, the lack of a social mortar necessary to hold neighborhoods together and build communities makes community development in concentrated poverty neighborhoods difficult. Programs geared at job training or creation must struggle to incorporate the diversity of human resources and experiences of a social group that has been isolated from the functioning economy and jobs, from adequate nutrition and schools that succeed, and from a supportive and economically stable family structure. To the extent such programs succeed, individuals—even if

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[41] John D. Kasarda, “Urban Change and Minority Opportunities,” in *The New Urban Reality*, ed. P. Peterson (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1985): 33-68; John D. Kasarda, “Urban Industrial Transition and the Underclass,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 501 (1989): 26-47.

[42] Ralph L. Bangs, et. al., "Basic Living Cost and Living Wage Estimates for Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, " October 1997. Bangs defines a living wage job for the Pittsburgh region as one that pays at least: $6 hour for a married couple with 2 workers and no children; $8-10 an hour for single adults with no children or a married couple with two workers and 1-2 children; $10-12 an hour for a married couple with 2 workers and 3-4 children; and $12 an hour for single parents with 1 child, increasing up to $20 an hour for single parents with 4 children.

[43] Vijai P. Singh, "The Underclass in the United States: Some Correlates of Economic Change," *Sociological Inquiry* 61(November 1991): 4, 505-521.

they are employed in the neighborhood—often move to less poor areas.[44] Physical rehabilitation programs, while they improve the quality of shelter and neighborhood appearance, do little to attack the underlying "tangle of pathology"[45] associated with concentrated poverty.

In terms of business development, areas of concentrated poverty have great difficulty competing with developing suburbs that offer middle-class customers, low taxes, low crime rates, cheap land with increasing values, room for expansion and parking, new highways, and few contaminated industrial sites. Thus, it is not surprising that even when enormous financial resources have been devoted to enterprise zones or inner-city tax abatements, it has been very difficult to stimulate viable business opportunities that employ poor residents.[46]

David Rusk recently studied the effects of several of the largest and most successful Community Development Corporation (CDC) initiatives in the country. In virtually all of these areas of massive CDC investment, family and individual poverty rates substantially increased and moved further from metropolitan norms, the median household income declined and moved further away from the metro average, and the communities grew more segregated.

In response, it is possible that CDC efforts have made these communities better than they might otherwise have been; it is impossible to know how they would have fared without CDC investment. Moreover, these figures do not reflect individuals who have been empowered by CDC programs and have left poor neighborhoods. It is also true that CDCs have often represented the only available response to concentrated poverty. However, in the end, these figures do indicate that CDC efforts are woefully inadequate in the face of the enormous force of metropolitan polarization.

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[44] Nicholas Lemann, "The Myth of Community Development," *The New York Times Sunday Magazine* (2 January 1994); Ibid., "The Promised Land," 109-222; Rusk, *Cities Without Suburbs*, 44-47.

[45] See Wilson, *The Truly Disadvantaged*, 21.

[46] See generally Roy E. Green, ed., *Enterprise Zones: New Directions in Economic Development* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1991); Thomas Donlan, "Danger Zones: The Required Ingredient in an Enterprise "Zone is Enterprise," *Barron's* (22 June 1992): 10; Glenda Glover and J. Paul Brownridge, "Enterprise Zones as an Instrument of Urban Policy: A Review of the Zones in South Central Los Angeles," *Government Finance Review* (June 1993): 15-17; Neal Peirce, "Enterprise Zones - No Great Shakes," *National Journal* (17 July 1993): 1828; Elizabeth Larson, "Network News: Enterprise Zones Ignore the Importance of Social Networks," *Reason* (April 1994): 17; Richard Pomp, Sandra Kanter, Kenneth Simonson, and Roger Vaughan, "Can Tax Policy be Used to Stimulate Economic Development?" *The American University Law Review* 29 no. 207 (1979-80): 207-33; Paul Kantor and H. V. Savitch, "Can Politicians Bargain with Business: A Theoretical and Comparative Perspective on Urban Development," *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 29 no. 2 (1993): 230-255; Elizabeth Gunn, "The Growth of Enterprise Zones: A Policy Transformation," *Policy Studies Journal* 21 no. 3 (1993): 432-49; Otto Hetzel, "Some Historical Lessons for Implementing the Clinton Administration's Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Community Programs: Experiences from the Model Cities Program," *The Urban Lawyer* 26 no. 1 (1994): 63-81; Jeffrey Katz "Enterprise Zones Struggle To Make Their Mark," *CQ* (17 July 1993): 1880-83; Timothy Bartik, *Who Benefits From State and Local Economic Development Policies?* (Kalamazoo, MI: W.E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research, 1991): 17-62; Laura McClure, "Enterprise Zones Have Negligible History of Success," *National Catholic Reporter* (13 November 1992); Glenda Glover, "Enterprise Zones: Incentives are Not Attracting Minority Firms," *The Review of Black Political Economy* (Summer 1993): 73-99.

Proposed solutions to the problem of concentrations of poverty differ widely in approach. The debate which is most central to this report focuses on the relative value of creating housing opportunities throughout the region for low-income working and poor people versus investing in the communities in which they now live. It is clear that both strategies are necessary. It is fundamentally important for low-income people to have access to high quality education, good jobs, services, loans, and other amenities a mixed-income community provides and for low-income families to be able to choose where they want to live based on a wide variety of factors. A metropolitan development agenda should address barriers to low-income people, particularly people of color, moving closer to jobs and schools located in the affluent suburbs of the region and, at the same time, the revitalization of existing low-income Pittsburgh neighborhoods and satellite cities in ways that benefit (rather than simply displace) the incumbent residents. In the end, the goal of regional reform is to create thriving, mixed-income neighborhoods in all communities of the region.

B. Racial Segregation

Those who live in concentrated poverty areas are largely black and Hispanic. This is as true in regions with a small minority population as it is in regions with a large minority population. In the Pittsburgh region, in Allegheny County in 1989, the poverty rate for black non-elderly adults was four times the white rate, one of the largest disparities in the country.[47] Nationwide, in 1990 there were almost as many poor white persons in the country's metropolitan areas as blacks and Hispanics combined (10.8 million poor whites, 6.9 million poor blacks, and 4.8 million poor Hispanics), yet three-quarters of these poor whites lived in middle-class neighborhoods (mostly suburban) while three-quarters of poor blacks and one-half of poor Hispanics lived in neighborhoods with 20 percent or more persons in poverty.[48] Jargowsky found that the number of African Americans living in high poverty neighborhoods, mostly highly segregated ghettos, climbed from 2.4 million to 4.2 million between 1970 and 1990 and that the number of Hispanics living in high poverty neighborhoods increased from 729,000 to 2.0 million during this period.[49]

Despite the fact that poor members of minority groups continue to be far more likely to live in concentrated poverty than are poor whites, the discussion of racial segregation has long left our nation's political radar screen—the discussion of social separation never really got there. There appears to be a broadly shared illusion that we had a period of substantial civil rights reform in the 1960's and that the problem of segregation has largely been solved. This clearly is not the case. Raising public awareness about regional socioeconomic polarization also means renewing the discussion of race and segregation.

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[47] Ralph L. Bangs and Jun Hyun Hong, "Pittsburgh Benchmarks; Black and White Quality of Life in the City of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County," University of Pittsburgh, September 1996. The poverty rate for black non-elderly adults was 30.4 percent. For whites it was 7.6 percent.

[48] David Rusk, *Inside Game Outside Game: Winning Strategies for Saving Urban America* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 1999).

[49] Paul A. Jargowsky and Mary Jo Bane, "Ghetto Poverty in the United States, 1970 to 1980".

The segregation of blacks in American cities and metropolitan areas is unique in its intensity and longevity. Comparing black residential segregation to the segregation of ethnic European immigrants in this century (*e.g.*, Italians, Poles, Jews), we find that black segregation has steadily increased since 1910, while European ethnics have integrated into mainstream white society. The highest level of spatial isolation ever measured for European ethnic groups was experienced by Milwaukee's Italians in 1910; their level of segregation reached an index of 56, where 100 equals total segregation.[50] Thereafter, the degree of isolation for all European ethnic groups fell steadily as children and grandchildren moved out of poverty and into mainstream white society.[51]

Yet for blacks—poor or not—the opposite is true. In 1910 the average isolation index for blacks was 9.7, but by 1970 it had climbed to 73.5 in northern cities and 76.4 in southern cities.[52] Further, in 1980, Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton found that a rise in socioeconomic status for some blacks had virtually no affect on their level of segregation—black segregation was almost as high for affluent and middle-class blacks as it was for poor blacks, and was higher than for any other racial group, regardless of income. For example, in the Los Angeles metropolitan area, affluent blacks were more segregated than poor Hispanics (indices of 78.9 and 64, respectively), and in the San Francisco-Oakland region, affluent blacks were more segregated than poor Asians (indices of 72.1 and 64 respectively).[53] Massey and Denton also found that average black isolation in U.S. metropolitan areas was ten times higher than that for Asians, and while Hispanics are more segregated than Asians, blacks are still 2.5 times more isolated than Hispanics.[54]

The level of black isolation has dropped slightly since 1970, but still remains higher than the highest level ever reached by any other group. Using another measure of segregation (the Taeuber index), Massey and Denton show that the average index of black segregation in 1970 in northern metropolitan areas was 84.5 and in southern areas, 75.3. In 1990, this segregation index

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50 Stanley Lieberson, *A Piece of the Pie: Blacks and White Immigrants since 1880* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), cited in Massey and Denton, *American Apartheid*.

Using racial and ethnic data for city ward populations, this index was developed by computing the percentage of a given racial or ethnic population living in the ward of the average citizen of that racial or ethnic group. This average, or *isolation index*, measures the extent to which a group lives in neighborhoods that are primarily of their race or ethnicity. For example, a value of 50 percent for blacks means that blacks are equally likely to have whites and blacks as neighbors; a value of 100 percent means that blacks live in totally black areas.

51 Massey and Denton, *American Apartheid*.

52 Lieberson, *A Piece of the Pie;* Massey and Denton, *American Apartheid.*

53 Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, "Trends in the Residential Segregation of Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians: 1970 and 1980," *American Sociological Review* 52 (1987): 815-16; cited in Massey and Denton, *American Apartheid*.

54 Massey and Denton. "Trends in the Residential Segregation." U.S. metropolitan areas refers here to the 50 largest Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas.

measured blacks at 77.8 in the north and 66.5 in the south.[55] In the city of Pittsburgh this index was 75.9.[56] In other words, nearly 76 percent of the city's population would have to move to another census tract in order to achieve an integrated city.

Discriminatory housing practices are a significant contributing factor to racial segregation in metropolitan regions. In his book *Closed Doors, Opportunities Lost*, John Yinger analyzed discrimination against blacks and Hispanics in the housing market. In studies as recent as 1991 and 1993, he found that discrimination takes place at every point of the home-buying (or renting) process, from the time a black or Hispanic calls a real estate agent to the time he is denied a mortgage. Examples of housing market discrimination include: a real estate agent indicating that an advertised unit is sold, when it is not; an agent showing only the advertised unit and no others; a lender denying a mortgage to a minority person when he would give the same mortgage to a white person; or an agent *steering* his customers—be they whites, minorities, rich or poor—to neighborhoods dominated by their race.[57] All told, Yinger calculates that a black person has a 60 percent chance of being discriminated against when he seeks to buy a home and visits one real estate agent; this increases to 90 percent when he visits three agents.

C. Fiscal Stress and High Development Costs on the Region's Fringe

Not only does regional polarization negatively impact the central city, older suburbs, and satellite cities of a region and the people who live there, but it also creates serious problems on the region's fringe—both for the communities that are developing there and for the natural environment.

As social and economic decline moves outward from the older parts of the region, tides of middle-class families—often young families with children—sweep into fringe communities where local governments compete for limited tax base to cover their growing infrastructure costs. Different types of land uses require different levels of public services (*e.g.*, schools, sewer and water treatment, roads, social services) and generate varying levels of tax revenue for a city. Understandably, from a local government standpoint, those uses that generate the most tax revenue and cost the least in terms of public services are the most desirable. Generally, non-residential uses are more profitable than residential uses with variable levels of return within each of these categories.[58] As the most profitable uses leave the compact confines of the central

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[55] Ibid.; and Roderick J. Harrison and Daniel H. Weinberg, "Racial and Ethnic Segregation in 1990," presented at the annual meetings of the Population Association of America, April 20–May 2, 1992, Denver, CO; cited in Massey and Denton, *American Apartheid*.

This index of racial segregation measures the relative percentage of blacks who would have to move their place of residence to a different census tract in order to achieve an integrated, *i.e.* even, racial residential pattern.

[56] Krivo, et. al., 1996 cited in Bangs and Hong, "Pittsburgh Benchmarks.".

[57] John Yinger, *Closed Doors, Opportunities Lost: The Continuing Costs of Housing Discrimination* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1995).

[58] Typically the least profitable use are mobile home parks and the most profitable are research office parks, with garden apartments, inexpensive single-family homes, 3-4 bedroom townhomes, expensive single-family homes, 2-3 bedroom townhomes, retail facilities, open space, garden condominiums, age-restricted housing, 1

city, they become diluted in the vast expanse of the suburbs: there simply are not enough office parks for every community to have one. Usually, only the wealthiest cities are able to attract the types of development that provide the most tax base and require the fewest city resources.[59] Other cities are left with miles of townhomes and strip malls that don't pay the cost of the schools, sewer lines, and other infrastructure the new residents require.

Further, the cost of infrastructure on a region's fringe is more than in the compact, carefully planned older communities of the region. The seminal study on the costs of suburban growth was published by the Real Estate Research Corporation (RERC) in 1974. *The Costs of Sprawl* compared five different community prototypes for development: "low-density sprawl", "low-density planned", "sprawl mix", "planned mix", and "high-density planned". The study found that public infrastructure costs (including recreation facilities, schools, public facilities, roads, utilities) were highest under the "low-density sprawl" ($9,777 per unit) growth pattern and were lowest under the "high-density planned" ($5,167 per unit) pattern.[60] Thus, according to RERC, the cost to the public of high-density planned development is about 53 percent of the cost of low-density unplanned development. Although the RERC study has been criticized for, among other things, not taking into consideration the greater number of people requiring services in high-density development,[61] many studies conducted since then by other well-respected researchers have had very similar, albeit not as dramatic, results. Most of these found that public infrastructure costs for compact, planned development were 75 to 95 percent of the cost for

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bedroom/studio high-rise apartments, industrial development, and office parks in between (moving from least to most desirable). In a very simple analysis, the break even point for school districts is somewhere between 3-4 bedroom townhomes and expensive single-family homes and the break-even point for municipalities is about at open space.

From Robert W. Burchell, "Fiscal Impact Analysis: State of the Art and State of the Practice," in Susan G. Robinson, ed. *Financing Growth: Who Benefits? Who Pays? And How Much?* (Government Finance Officers Association, 1990).

[59] Burchell, et. al., *Costs of Sprawl Revisited*.

[60] Real Estate Research Corporation (RERC), *The Costs of Sprawl: Environmental and Economic Costs of Alternative Residential Development Patterns at the Urban Fringe*. (Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974), cited in: Burchell, et. al., *Costs of Sprawl Revisited*. Dollar figures are in 1973 dollars.

[61] Alan Altshuler, "Review of *The Costs of Sprawl*", *Journal of the American Planning Association* 43, 2: 207-9 (1977) cited in: Burchell, et. al., *Costs of Sprawl Revisited*.

unplanned, sprawl-type development.[62] Similarly, these studies found that the cost of land under compact, urban development is less than under sprawl-type development.[63]

Studies have also found that development that utilizes existing capacity costs cities less over time than does new development. For example, in a study comparing potential costs that would be incurred and revenues that would be generated under low-density, sprawl-type development versus compact, planned development in the state of New Jersey, Robert Burchell found that directing population and job growth to already developed areas and using existing infrastructure, would save municipalities $112 million annually and school districts $286 million annually in maintenance costs and debt service.[64]

D. Environmental and Transportation Impacts

The vast supply of developmental infrastructure put into communities on the region's fringe—many of which are restrictively zoned, allowing little affordable housing—creates land-use patterns that are low density, economically inefficient, and environmentally harmful. Growing communities that face tremendous service and infrastructure needs (as described above) offer development incentives and zone in ways that allow them to capture the most tax base.[65] In so doing, they lock the region into low-density development patterns that needlessly destroy tens of thousands of acres of forest and farmland, destabilize environmentally sensitive areas, and greatly increase vehicle miles traveled and number of automobile trips made.

In *Costs of Sprawl Revisited,* Robert Burchell and colleagues synthesized the findings of approximately 500 studies that in one way or another, measured the costs of sprawl. They identified in the literature forty-one alleged impacts of sprawl (both positive and negative) and reported on whether or not there was general agreement among the researchers as to the existence of the condition and to whether it is strongly linked to sprawl. The impacts that Burchell and colleagues identified that had the highest level of agreement on both questions, were 1) that

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[62] James E. Frank, *The Costs of Alternative Development Patterns: A Review of the Literature* (1989); James E. Duncan, et. al, *The Search for Efficient Urban Growth Patterns* (1989); Robert W. Burchell, *Impact Assessment of the New Jersey Interim State Development and Redevelopment Plan* (1992); Robert W. Burchell, *Fiscal Impacts of Alternative Land Development Patterns in Michigan: The Costs of Current Development Versus Compact Growth* (1997); Robert W. Burchell, *South Carolina Infrastructure Study: Projection of Statewide Infrastructure Costs 1995-2015* (1997); Robert W. Burchell and David Listokin, *Land, Infrastructure, Housing Costs, and Fiscal Impacts Associated with Growth: The Literature on the Impacts of Traditional versus Managed Growth* (1995); cited in Burchell, et. al., *Costs of Sprawl Revisited*.

[63] Burchell, *Impact Assessment of the New Jersey Interim State Development and Redevelopment Plan*; Burchell, *Fiscal Impacts of Alternative Land Development Patterns in Michigan*; Burchell, *South Carolina Infrastructure Study*; John D. Landis, "Imagining Land Use Futures: Applying the California Urban Futures Model", *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 61, 4 (Autumn): 438-457 (1995); cited in: Robert W. Burchell, et. al., *Costs of Sprawl Revisited*.

[64] Burchell, *Impact Assessment of the New Jersey Interim State Development and Redevelopment Plan*.

[65] D. Winsor, *Fiscal Zoning in Suburban Communities* (1979); B. Rolleston, "Determinants of Restrictive Suburban Zoning: An Empirical Analysis," *Journal of Urban Economics* 21 (1987): 1-21; M. Wasylenko, "Evidence of Fiscal Differentials and Intrametropolitan Firm Relocation," *Land Economics* 56 (1980): 339-56.

sprawl development generates more miles of vehicle travel than compact development, 2) that sprawl development generates more automobile trips (and fewer trips using other modes of transportation) than compact development, 3) that more agricultural lands are lost under sprawl development than under any other type of development, and 4) that more fragile lands are lost under sprawl development than under any other type of development.[66]

The first two of these impacts of sprawl, both transportation issues, are due to much lower levels of density and more segregated land uses. In communities developing on the region's fringe, the places where people live, work, play, go to school, and shop are spread over a much greater land area and are rarely integrated, essentially requiring travel by car and requiring many miles of such travel. Ultimately this can mean increased air and water pollution, noise, parking costs, and accident costs, although Burchell found slightly less agreement on the relationship between sprawl development and these factors. When homes, shops, and workplaces are clustered together, as under higher-density planned forms of development, fewer trips by automobile are necessary as some trips can be combined, and other modes of travel become more efficient and feasible, such as transit, walking, and bicycling.

The second two impacts of sprawl for which Burchell found a high level agreement—the loss of agricultural lands and the loss of fragile lands—are both issues of land stewardship. Very simply, because most development on the fringe is low density, more land is needed. Land just beyond the developed area of the region becomes highly sought after and those who own it are under tremendous pressure to sell. As a result, an estimated 1-2 million acres of farmland are lost in America each year.[67] Further, because land on the edge of the region is so valuable—both to the seller and to the city once it is developed—and because development there often lacks coordinated planning, it is likely that sensitive areas such as wetlands, flood plains, and steeply sloped and unstable coastal areas will be developed. As an example of this, one study estimates that 110 million acres of wetlands have been lost in the U.S. since colonial times, or 55 percent of originally documented wetlands.[68] When these fragile lands are developed and later fail, the damage—to people, homes, and communities—is devastating and the costs exorbitant.

Probably the most intensive effort to protect agricultural and fragile lands in the U.S. from development has been the establishment of over 1,300 land trusts, some dating to the 1950s. However, while these efforts have been well-intentioned, they have been extremely costly and terribly ineffective. In order to purchase potentially developable land from land owners, these trusts secure large amounts of money from public and private sources. But, despite intense investment in land trusts by government agencies and foundations, sprawl development continues to consume more land on the edge of metropolitan regions each year than all of these land trusts have saved in twenty years.[69] According to the American Farmland Trust, only about

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66 Burchell, et. al., *Costs of Sprawl Revisited.*

67 Henry R. Richmond, "A Land Use Policy Agenda for 21st Century America", a report to the Steering Committee, American Land Institute, October 15, 1996.

68 Thomas E. Dahl, *Wetlands Losses in the United States: 1780s - 1980s* (1990).

69 Henry R. Richmond, "Program Design: The American Land Institute". a report to the Steering Committee, American Land Institute, August 29, 1997.

36,000 acres of farmland are saved from development each year by the fourteen largest state land trusts.[70] The Trust for Public Land, one of the largest land trusts in the nation, has protected nearly 40,000 acres of land per year since 1976 (both farmland and environmentally sensitive lands).[71] These numbers, while large, are not nearly enough to make up for the millions of acres of agricultural and fragile lands lost each year that could have been protected by legislation like the Oregon Land Use Act and by the evolving Washington Growth Management Act (GMA).

III. The Diversity of Metropolitan Areas

A. The Sectoral Development of American Metropolitan Areas

Students of American metropolitan housing markets, from Homer Hoyt through John Adams, have demonstrated that American metropolitan areas develop in socioeconomic sectors, or wedges, that reach out from central city neighborhoods deep into suburbia.[72] As cities come into being, neighborhoods segment along class lines in sectors surrounding a growing central business district. The working class settle within walking distance of industrial sites. The middle class form neighborhoods "upwind (or at least not downwind)"[73] from heavy transport and manufacturing areas on sites close to white-collar, downtown jobs. The upper class settle in neighborhoods removed from the other two groups, often on land with attractive topographical features. Over time, these three distinct neighborhoods grow in pie-shaped wedges into the expanding city.

Historically, as these sectors filled out city boundaries, working-class neighborhoods extended into working-class first- and second-tier suburbs, middle-class neighborhoods into middle-class suburbs, and upper-class neighborhoods into upper-class suburbs. These patterns followed street car lines and radial access roads beyond the city into the first-tier suburbs.

In the Pittsburgh area, it appears that the working class moved from central and eastern Pittsburgh neighborhoods and followed the Monongahela River east and south into places like McKeesport and Clariton; that the middle-class has moved into places primarily south of the city,

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70 Trust for Public Land newsletter, September 22, 1996.

71 Richmond, "A Land Use Policy Agenda for 21st Century America".

72 John S. Adams, "Housing Submarkets in an American Metropolis," in *Our Changing Cities*, ed. John Fraser, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991): 108-26; Homer Hoyt, *The Structure and Growth of Residential Neighborhoods in American Cities* (Washington D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1939) reprinted in 1966 with analysis of the 1960 census data; Ronald F. Abler and John S. Adams, *A Comparative Atlas of America's Great Cities: Twenty Metropolitan Regions* (University of Minnesota Press: Association of American Geographers, 1976); John Adams, *Housing America in the 1980s* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1987); John S. Adams, "The Sectoral Dynamic of Housing Markets within Midwestern Cities of the United States," in *The Geographic Evolution of the United States Urban System*, ed. John Adams.

73 Adams, "Sectoral Dynamic."

such as Whitehall and Forward; and that the upper class has moved north and west of Pittsburgh to places like Fox Chapel and Franklin Park, and further to communities like New Sewickley and Forward.

B. Pittsburgh Metropolitan Subregions

The Pittsburgh region consists of six counties—Butler, Beaver, Allegheny, Washington, Westmoreland, and Fayette. In 1997 the estimated total population of the region was 2,360,993 people and there were 413 municipalities. We have divided all of the municipalities into three subregions of the Pittsburgh region: (1) High Need Communities; (2) Stressed Communities; and (3) Affluent Communities (Figure 1).[74] The jurisdictions were divided into these subregions based on their ratings in four areas: total tax base per household, female-headed households with children as a percentage of total households with children, percentage of children under five below poverty, and median household income (see Appendix A for the z-scores used to determine these subregions).[75] Where possible, the maps in this report are described in terms of these subregions. The table below shows statistics for each subregion category, with separate statistics for the central city.

We do this analysis by municipality for two primary reasons: 1) because these jurisdictions are political units with land-use planning powers and are the true units of regional competition (see discussion in the Introduction of this report), and 2) because this is the level at which tax-base data are available. In order to look at a finer level of detail, a few maps in this report are provided by census tract. These maps help illustrate what is happing inside sometimes diverse places. Where data are not available by municipality, they are presented in this report at the level at which they are available, such as school district and police jurisdiction.

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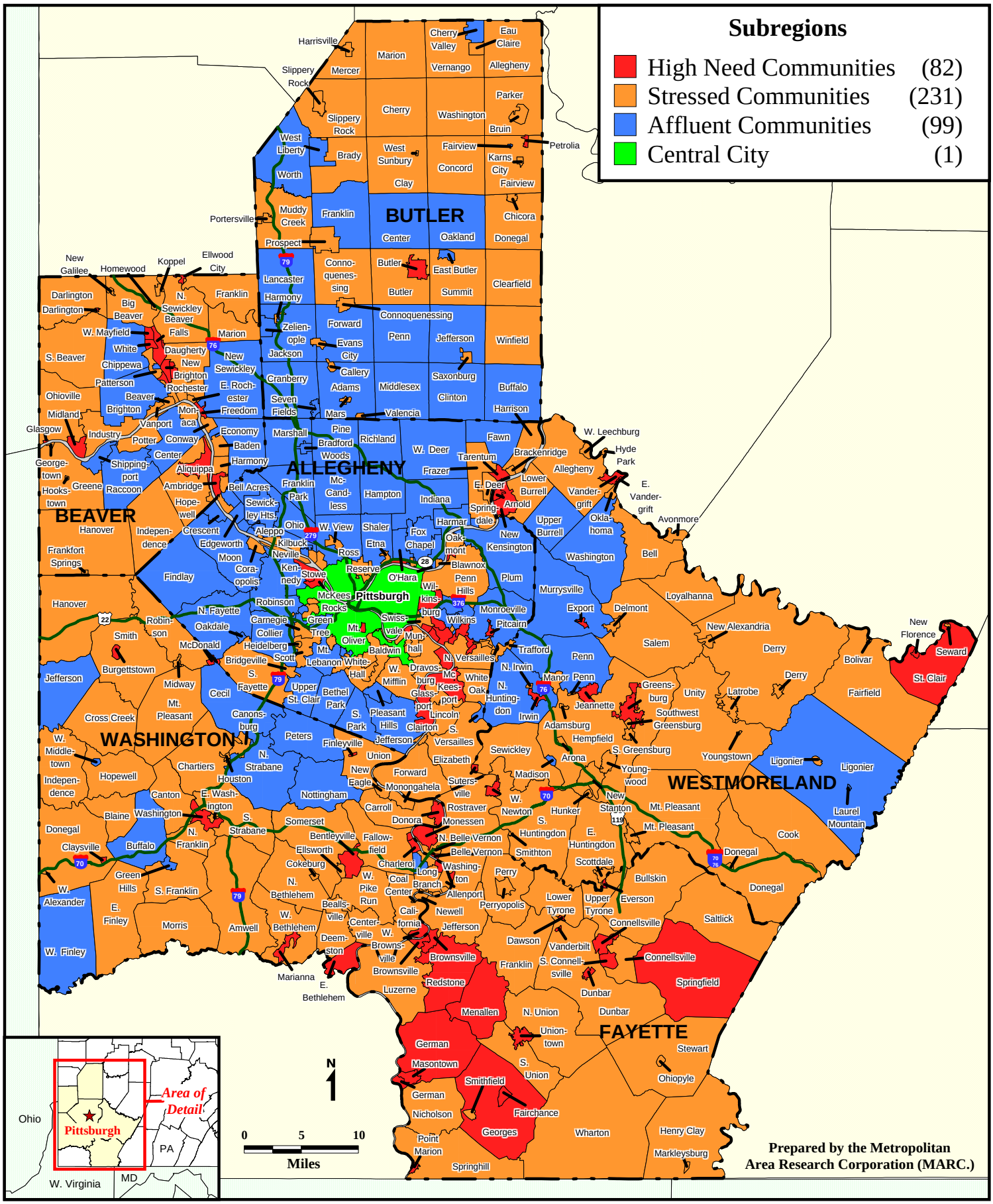
[74] The city of Pittsburgh was put in its own category and not included in the subregions analysis.

[75] First, for each municipality z-scores were determined for each of the four factors. A z-score is the distance from average. So, for example, a city whose median household income fell at exactly average for the region, would have a median household income z-score of zero. The z-scores for female-headed households and children under five in poverty were multiplied by –1 resulting in a positive number for a socioeconomically healthy place and a negative number for a distressed place. Then, the four z-scores were averaged together to arrive at a final score for the municipality. Each jurisdiction was then assigned to one of the three subregion categories based on a method that uses natural breaks to separate the final scores into groups. With this method the data are split at places where gaps in the data naturally occur. This method helps to ensure that the places in a particular subregion category have values that are closer to each other than they are to the values for places in other categories.

Female-headed household, children under five below poverty, and median household income data are from the 1990 US Census Summary Tape File 3A. 1997 market value data are from the Pennsylvania State Tax Equalization Board.

Figure 1: Pittsburgh Subregions



Social and Economic Statistics for the Central City and Subregions	Total	High Need Communities	Stressed Communities	Affluent Communities	Pittsburgh
Persons, 1990	2,394,811	393,322	938,533	693,077	369,879
Households, 1990	946,286	166,659	369,458	256,562	153,607
Estimated Persons, 1997	2,360,993	373,332	922,257	720,898	344,506
Estimated Households, 1997	940,490	161,293	366,680	269,950	142,567
% of Region's Total Population, 1997	100	15.8	39.1	30.5	14.6
Median Household Income, 1989	$27,796	$18,047	$26,597	$40,075	$20,747
% Change in Median Household Income, 1979-1989	-9.3	-22.6	-15.2	-2.0	-9.4
% Children under 5 in Poverty, 1990	20.2	42.7	16.1	4.6	37.0
Change in % Points of Children under 5 in Poverty, 1980-1990	6.4	18.5	6.3	-0.5	8.4
Female-Headed HHs with Children as a % of Total HHs with Children, 1990	17.9	30.4	14.4	8.4	36.3
Change in % Points of Female-Headed HHs with Children, 1980-1990	4.4	7.9	4.6	1.7	7.5
Property Market Value per Household, 1997	$80,789	$41,013	$69,350	$125,467	$70,612
% Change in Market Value per Household, 1985-1997*	19.4	-0.1	15.7	31.0	-1.5

Sources: 1980 US Census Summary Tape File 3A and 1990 US Census Summary Tape File 3A; Pennsylvania State Tax Equalization Board, Pennsylvania State Data Center.

1. The High Need Communities

High Need Communities are distressed places that are fully developed and have experienced negative socioeconomic change since 1980 or are beginning to experience such change. In the Pittsburgh region, this category includes older suburbs along the Monongahela, Allegheny, and Ohio Rivers, such as McKeesport, Monessen, Arnold, and Aliquippa, as well as a number of outlying satellite communities like Brownsville and Springfield in Fayette County. These communities are defined by a combination of high social needs and/or comparatively low tax base. They often do not have sufficient property tax base to respond to growing social challenges. It is important to note that in older metropolitan areas of the country, as poverty and social instability crossed city/suburban lines or began to grow in older satellite cities, it actually began to accelerate and intensify. Many older transitioning suburbs on the south and west sides of Chicago and in communities such as Camden, New Jersey, Compton, California, and East St. Louis, Illinois suffer much more severe segregation, deprivation, and intense levels of crime than the cities they adjoin.[76]

[76] Orfield and Monfort, "School Desegregation," 30; Rob Gurwitt, "Saving the Aging Suburb," *Governing* 6, no. 8 (1993): 36; Paul Glastris and Dorian Friedman, "A Tale of Two Suburbias," *US News and World Report* (9 November 1993): 32-36; Massey and Denton, *American Apartheid*, 67-74. See also Schools section below.

There are several reasons that central cities are often better equipped to deal with high levels of poverty and social distress than are older suburbs and satellite cities:

1) Central cities have a comparatively stable resource base. While central cities feel the first body-blows of social and economic change and decline, their central business districts and stable/gentrifying neighborhoods provide some tax base to respond to socioeconomic change. Older suburbs and satellite cities often lack a strong commercial-industrial base and stable housing values. Thus, as poverty and instability arrive, the relatively few available resources in these places rapidly evaporate.[77]

2) Central cities have strong social-governmental systems in place to cope with poverty and social change. Most metropolitan social networks, such as welfare and large well-equipped police forces, are located in central cities and provide vital assistance in containing and lessening the severity of social distress. Older suburbs and many satellite cities without tax base or ability to provide such services are often "hit like a freight train" by social problems as they cross city/suburban borders.

3) Central cities have institutions and social amenities ranging from universities that provide stable, related communities, to the fine arts and more popular entertainment, to a wide variety of restaurants, to a well-landscaped urban park system. These attractions interact well with unique housing stock to foster diverse stable communities. Older suburbs, and sometimes satellite cities, have inexpensive housing on grid patterns that is seldom accompanied by entertainment, amenities, or parks.

4) Central cities are heterogeneous and retain pockets of stability and gentrification. American central cities initially developed as the entire social and economic mix of their respective metropolitan areas, having elite, middle-class, and working-class neighborhoods. Upper-class neighborhoods retain appeal to older elites and young urban professionals. Middle- and working-class suburbs and satellite cities are usually more homogenous and usually do not have elite or gentrifying neighborhoods.

   In this light, the housing stock in central cities, particularly in elite and middle-class neighborhoods, is durable and has amenities such as stone or brick exteriors, hardwood floors, and built-in cabinetry that remain fashionable and are expensive to duplicate. Most post-World War II expansion suburbs are a collection of rapidly assembled and inexpensively constructed homes. They are not unique, and are in direct competition with more modern housing in outer-edge cities without social stress.

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[77] As this dynamic has run its course in larger metropolitan areas, the consequences can be extreme. For example, the property wealth of East St. Louis, Illinois can only cover the expenses of its school system for one month a year—the rest is provided by emergency state aid. It can no longer afford public garbage collection, and this function is performed by a group of volunteer nuns for a city of over 40,000 people. (David Rusk, lecture at Landmark Center, St. Paul, 17 September 1993.)

2. The Stressed Communities

Stressed Communities are cities that have few local resources for schools and public services but whose social problems are not quite as severe as those of the High Need Communities. Stressed Communities are often fast-growing, middle-income places that are developing too quickly to accumulate the resources necessary to meet their high service and infrastructure needs. They are often found very near High Need Communities. In the Pittsburgh region, most communities are categorized in this subregion; they are spread throughout the six counties. Some examples are: White Oak and Bell to the east of Pittsburgh; Wharton and West Fallowfield to the south; Hanover and Cross Creek to the west; and Prospect and Cherry to the north. While these cities do not presently have as deep social problems as the High Need Communities, they are often tomorrow's troubled places. As the narrative below indicates, many of these communities have experienced increasing childhood poverty, declining income, increasing female-headed households, increasing crime, and a declining tax base in recent years.

3. The Affluent Communities

The communities with the highest fiscal capacity and the fewest social needs in the Pittsburgh region are primarily located in northern and western Allegheny, southern Butler, and central Beaver Counties —places like Fox Chapel, Moon, Forward, and Brighton—but also include some communities in Washington and Westmoreland Counties, such as W. Finley and Murrysville. When people speak of "the suburbs"—that monolith with common needs and resources—they are usually referring to these places, which, in the Pittsburgh region, actually represent only 30.5 percent of the total regional population. These areas would be in the running to be labeled by Christopher Leinberger as the "favored quarter."

Christopher Leinberger and his colleagues at Robert Charles Lesser and Co. (RCL & Co.), one of the most successful real estate consulting firms in the country, are often asked to identify the favored quarter for businesses seeking to locate in a given metropolitan area.[78] RCL & Co. look for areas with concentrations of housing valued above $200,000, high-end regional malls, and the best freeway capacity. As these communities grow affluent and their tax base expands, their high-end housing market actually causes their relatively small local social needs to decline. In many ways these communities receive all the benefits of a metropolitan association—access to labor and product markets, regional highway systems, airports and rail hubs—but externalize the cost of the region's social and economic needs in an increasingly low wage economy on the less affluent cities and suburbs.

[78] Robert Charles Lesser & Co. calls certain economically successful metropolitan subareas "favored quarters." When advising major clients to locate facilities, they systematically search for subregions with the greatest presence of executive housing, high-end local retail malls, recent highway improvements, employment growth, low commercial real estate vacancy rates, and high share of regional economic growth. They judge these areas the most viable for a wide variety of business endeavors. See Christopher Leinberger, Managing Partner, Robert Charles Lesser & Co., memorandum to author, Re: Robert Charles Lesser & Co. Metropolitan Opportunity Analysis (MOA) Methodology, 16 August 1994.

IV. Demographic Findings

Here we examine social, economic, and urbanization trends in the Pittsburgh region to determine whether regional polarization and sprawl is occurring. For the most part, we present this data on color-coded maps where the value for the entire region is at the break between the orange and blue categories.[79] Orange and red jurisdictions are below average for the region and blue jurisdictions are above average. The patterns revealed through comparing these maps will help to identify local governments with common needs and resources in the Pittsburgh region.

A. Concentrated Poverty

In the city of Pittsburgh, there is a subset of distressed census tracts with more than 40 percent of their population below the federal poverty line. According to sociologists, such neighborhoods are extreme poverty tracts or ghettos.[80] Surrounding these severely distressed neighborhoods are transitional neighborhoods with 20 to 40 percent of their population in poverty.[81] In the 1970s, extreme poverty tracts and transitional neighborhoods exploded in size and population in the large cities of the Northeast and Midwest. During the 1970s, New York City's ghetto, the nation's largest, increased from 70 census tracts to 311.[82] During the 1980s, ghettoization rapidly increased in Chicago, Detroit, and many of the secondary cities of the Northeast and Midwest.[83] In 1980, 48 percent of Detroit's census tracts had at least 20 percent of the residents in poverty; by 1990, 75 percent of its tracts did.[84] In Midwestern cities, the number of ghettoized tracts doubled in the 1980s.[85]

In the city of Pittsburgh in 1990, there were 31 extreme poverty tracts—ones in which 40 percent or more of the residents lived in poverty (Figure 2).[86] This was a sizable increase from

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[79] The maps presented in this section were created using geographic information system (GIS) software. This software attaches data stored in a separate database to a geographic base map. The data source for each map is noted on the map. The break points for the data were determined using a method of natural breaks. With this method the data are split at places where a gap in the data naturally occurs. This method helps to insure that the places in a particular color category have values that are closer to each other than they are to the values for places in other categories.

[80] See Paul A. Jargowsky and Mary Jo Bane, "Ghetto Poverty in the United States, 1970 to 1980," in Christopher Jencks and Paul E. Peterson (eds.), *The Urban Underclass* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1991), 235-273; John D. Kasarda, "Inner-City Concentrated Poverty and Neighborhood Distress: 1970 to 1990," *Housing Policy Debate* 4, no. 3: 253-302.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Kasarda, "Concentrated Poverty," 261.

[83] Kasarda, "Concentrated Poverty"; Paul A. Jargowsky, "Ghetto Poverty Among Blacks," *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 13, no. 2 (1994): 288-310.

[84] Kasarda, "Concentrated Poverty," 261.

[85] Ibid., 260.

[86] This figure is from the 1990 United States Census of Population and Housing, Summary Tape File 3A. All figures that follow are from either the 1980 or 1990 U.S. Census, except where noted.

the 18 extreme poverty tracks the city had in 1980 (Figure 3). An additional 47 tracts were transitional tracts in 1990, with between 20 and 40 percent of their population in poverty. This was a slight increase over the 45 transitional tracts present in the city in 1980. Thirty-nine percent of Pittsburgh's population, 143,827 persons, lived in transitional tracts or extreme poverty tracts in 1990. This was up from 30 percent in 1980. The extent of the poverty area, with at least 20 percent of residents in poverty, has grown from 63 tracts in 1980 to 78 tracts in 1990.

Poverty is also present and growing outside the central city. In 1990, there were twenty-five poverty tracts found in Allegheny County outside of the city of Pittsburgh—five of these being extreme poverty tracts. Only 17 poverty tracts were present in Allegheny County ten years earlier, one of which was an extreme poverty tract. The extreme poverty tracts of 1990 were found in the river towns of Clairton, McKeesport, Rankin, West Homestead, and McKees Rocks. In the six-county region as a whole, there were 45 municipalities with higher rates of poverty than Pittsburgh (Figure 4), including California (31.2 percent poor) Brownsville Borough (33.2 percent), and Rankin in the Mon Valley (40.7 percent). Poverty rates in these cities increased considerably between 1980 and 1990, going up by 17.4, 10.8, and 15.2 percentage points, respectively. In comparison, the poverty rates in the Pittsburgh region increased by only 3.1 points, on average.

B. Poor Children

During the 1980s, the federal poverty line did not keep up with inflation. By 1990, a single mother and her child were not poor unless they had an income of less than $8,420.[87] Most social scientists do not think this is a measure of poverty, but of desperate poverty.

In 1990, 20.2 percent of all children under 5 years old in the Pittsburgh region fell below the federal poverty line (Figure 5). The childhood poverty rate in the city of Pittsburgh was 37.0, but was considerably higher in the High Need Communities at 42.7 percent. The childhood poverty rate in the Stressed Communities was at 16.1 percent, while the Affluent Communities did not have many children in poverty at all, with a rate of 4.6 percent.

Percent Children Under 5 in Poverty, 1990

Region	High Need Communities	Stressed Communities	Affluent Communities	Pittsburgh
20.2	42.7	16.1	4.6	37.0

While the childhood poverty rate in Pittsburgh was quite high, the rate of childhood poverty in forty-seven communities was higher than in Pittsburgh, including Ohioville (41.9 percent), Washington City (50.0 percent), Duquesne (52.7 percent), Aliquippa (54.9 percent), and Rankin (76.9 percent). There were fifteen communities with at least 50 percent of their children under 5 in poverty.

[87] Family of three: $10,560; family of four: $12,700. (Federal Register 1990, vol. 55, no. 33: 5665)

Figure 2: Allegheny County Percentage Persons in Poverty by Census Tract, 1990

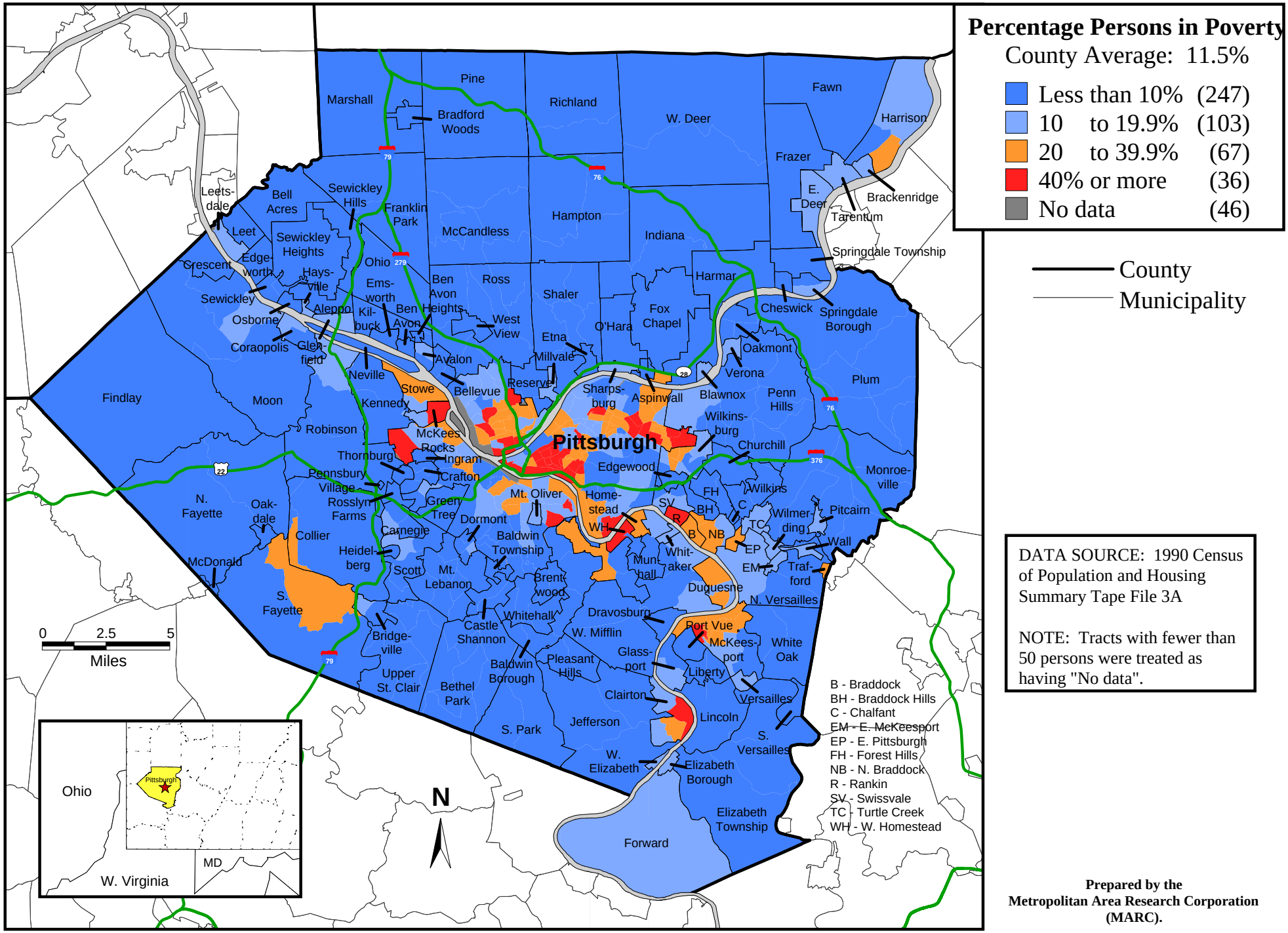
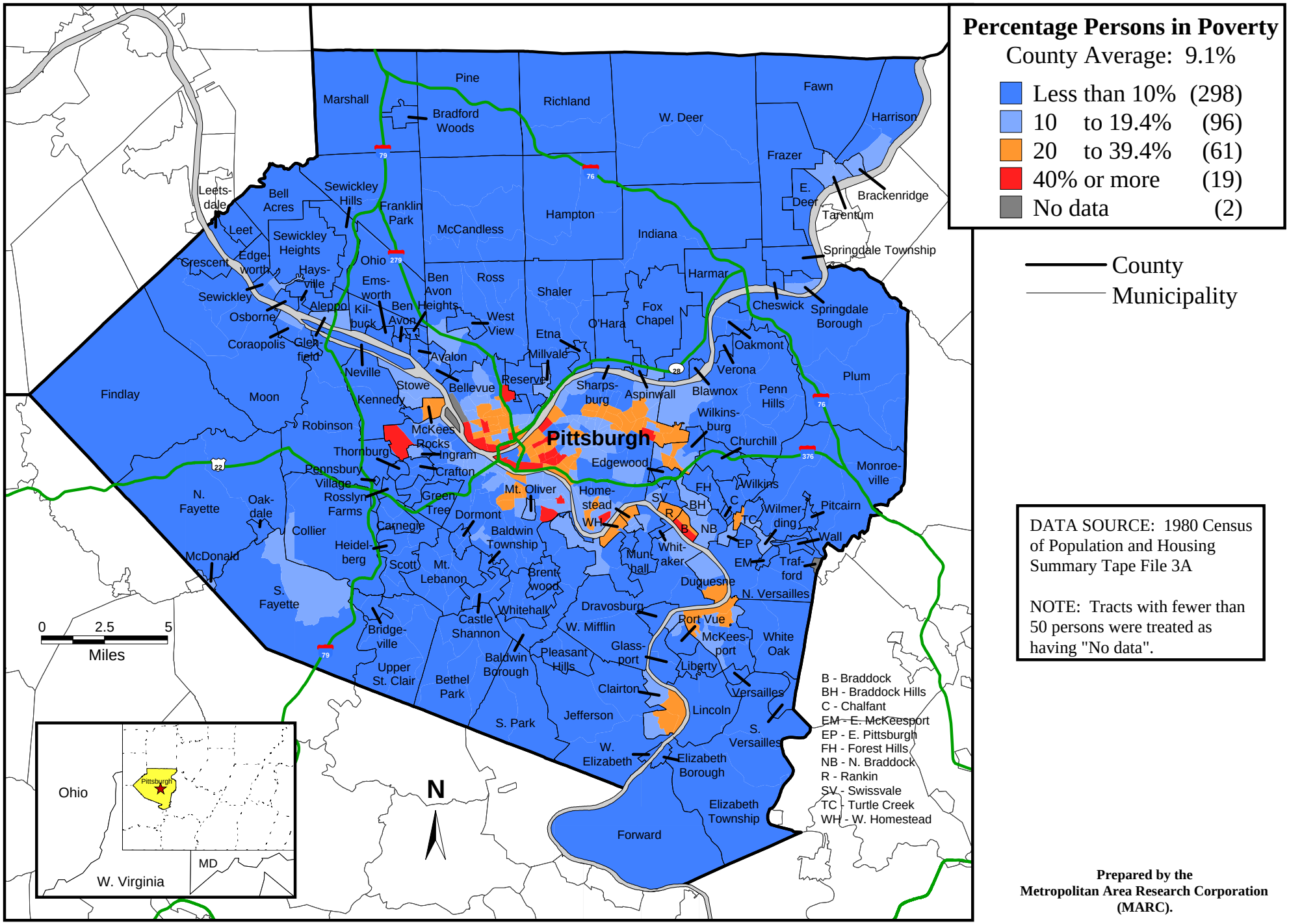


Figure 3: Allegheny County Percentage Persons in Poverty by Census Tract, 1980



DATA SOURCE: 1980 Census of Population and Housing Summary Tape File 3A

NOTE: Tracts with fewer than 50 persons were treated as having "No data".

Prepared by the Metropolitan Area Research Corporation (MARC).

Figure 4: Percentage Persons in Poverty by Municipality, 1990

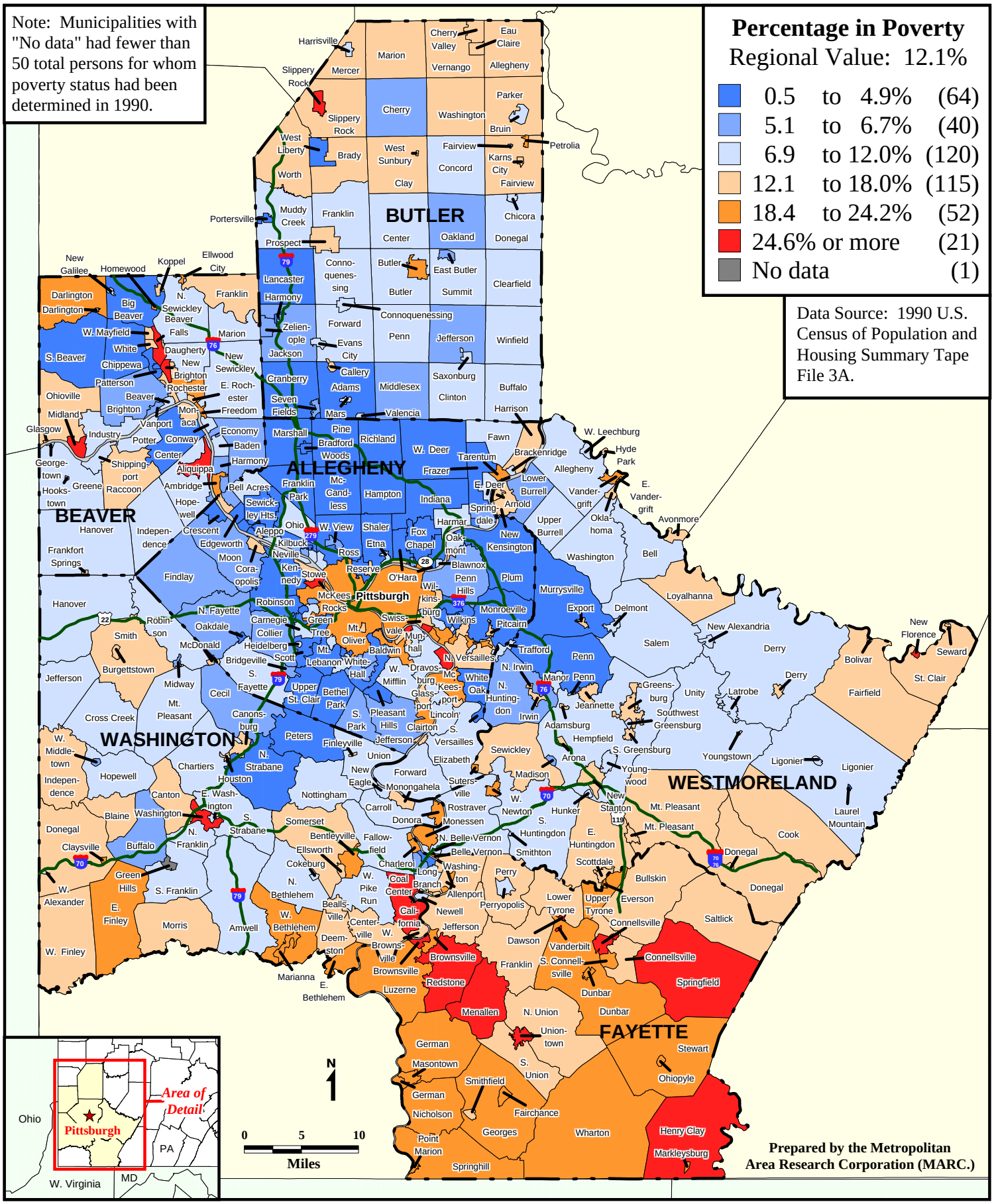
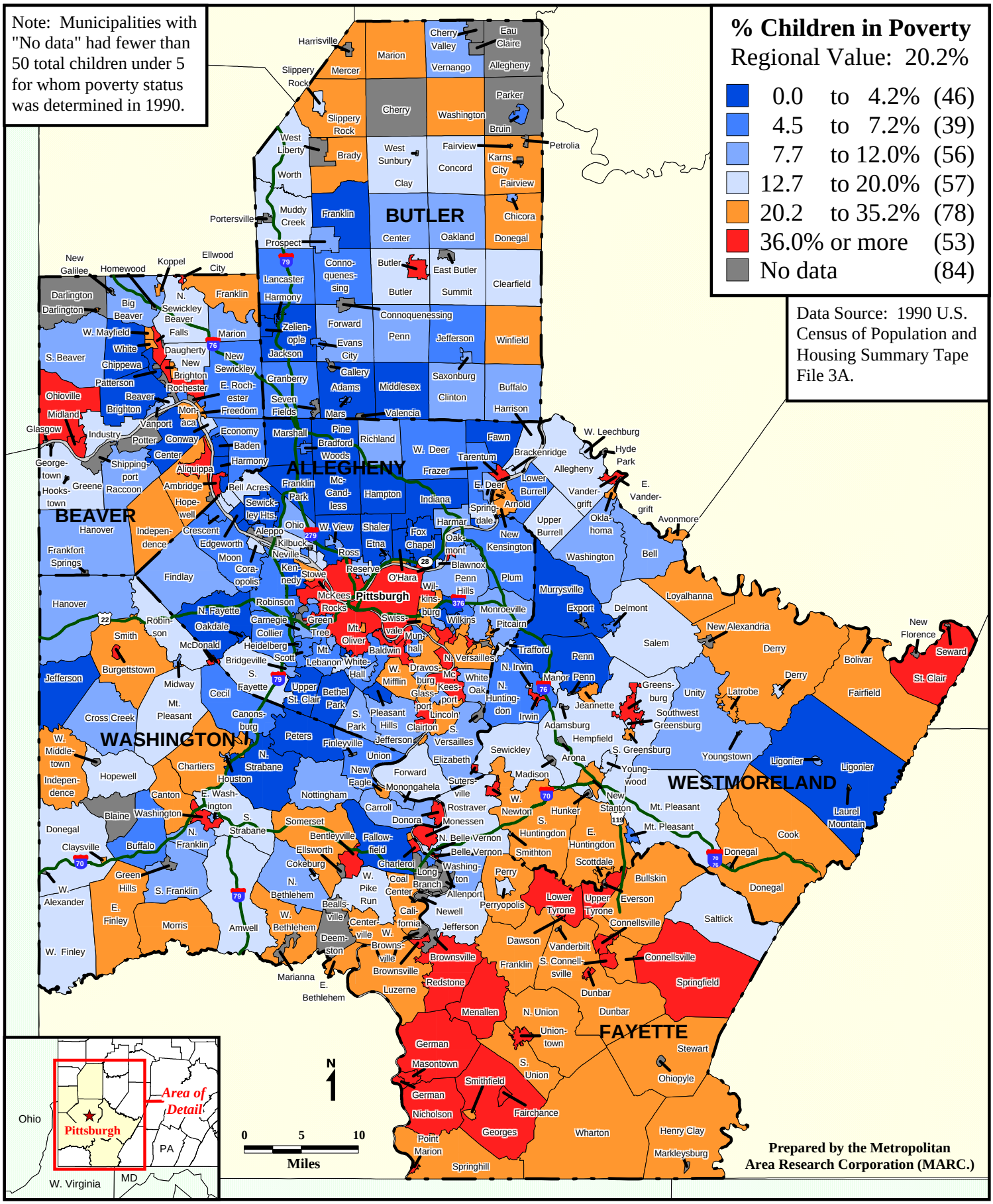


Figure 5: Children Under 5 in Poverty by Municipality, 1990



As childhood poverty swept across city/suburban borders and expanded in many older, satellite cities, it tended to grow more rapidly than in the central city. Overall, childhood poverty in the Pittsburgh region grew by 4.4 percentage points between 1980 to 1990 (Figure 6). However, during this period, the High Need Communities as a whole increased by 18.5 percentage points (from 24.2 to 42.7 percent), while the city of Pittsburgh increase by only 8.4 percentage points. Indeed, Pittsburgh ranked 120th in growth in childhood poverty behind many High Need and Stressed suburban communities, such as Rochester Township in the Stressed Subregion (31.8 percentage points, from 5.4 to 37.2 percent) and High Need North Braddock (39.5 percentage points, from 17.2 to 56.7 percent). On the other hand, the Affluent communities decreased by 0.5 percentage points, on average.

Change in Percentage Points Children Under 5 in Poverty, 1980-1990

Region	High Need Communities	Stressed Communities	Affluent Communities	Pittsburgh
6.4	18.5	6.3	-0.5	8.4

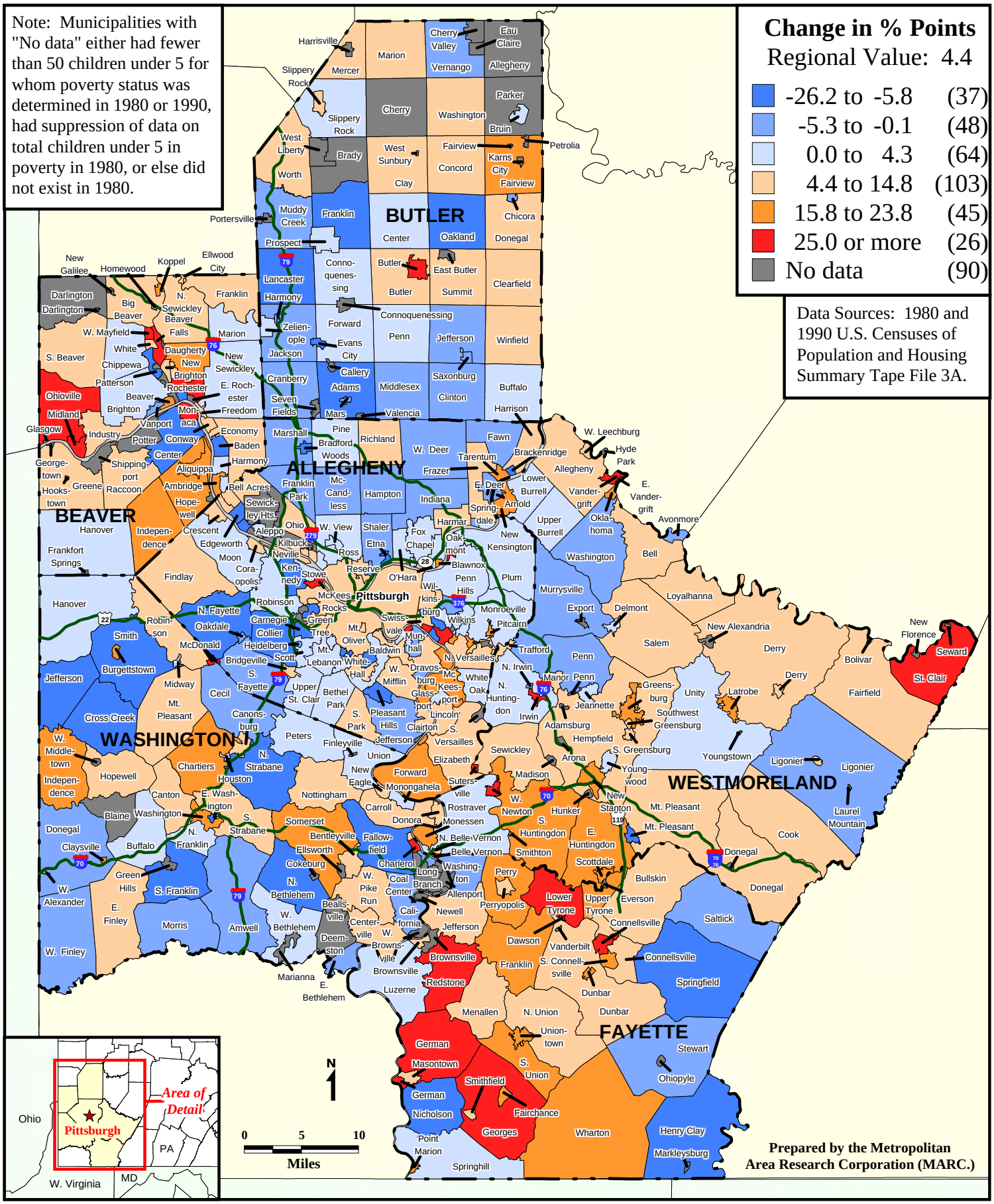
The overall changes in the High Need and Stressed subregions mask some very high increases in childhood poverty. Other places that experienced the greatest increases in childhood poverty during the 1980s were the High Need communities of Irwin, which went from 3.4 to 41.3 percent poor children (37.9 percentage points) and McDonald (38.4 percentage points, from 7.5 to 45.9 percent). In the Stressed suburbs, communities like Monaca, which went from 3.1 to 29.3 percent poor children (26.2 percentage points) and Ohioville (33.9 percentage points, from 8.0 to 41.9 percent) experienced far greater increases in childhood poverty than the subregional average. In general, the places that increased the most in childhood poverty were primarily located in western Fayette County and in Beaver County, while the places with the greatest decreases were spread throughout the Pittsburgh region, but concentrated mostly to the north and southwest of Pittsburgh.

C. Female-Headed Households

We use percent female-headed households as a measure of a city's social and economic stress because it allows us to include a portion of the population that may not necessarily have poverty-level incomes, but nevertheless do have very low incomes and have additional challenges and needs that two-parent families often do not have. Children in homes with one parent have only one adult to care for them and to bear the emotional and interpersonal responsibilities of raising children—a daunting enough task for two people. Further, single-parent households are simply much poorer than two-parent households and hence pay less taxes and are likely to require more services in terms of local school and social welfare expenditures. The Statistical Abstract of the United States shows that in 1995 the nationwide median household income for a married couple with children under 18 was $47,129; for a single father it was $33,534; and for a single mother it was only $21,348.[88] Thus, half of all households headed by single mothers in the U.S. in 1995 made less than $21,348 per year. Further, while nearly 75

[88] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1997* (117th edition.) Washington, DC, 1997.

Figure 6: Change in Percentage Points - Children Under 5 in Poverty by Municipality, 1980-1990



percent of single mothers with children had household incomes below $35,000, only 34 percent of married families with children did.

In 1990, 17.9 percent of all households with children in the Pittsburgh region were headed by single mothers (Figure 7). In the city of Pittsburgh, 36.3 percent of all households with children were female-headed, followed closely by the High Need communities at 30.4 percent. Yet, there were eleven High Need communities with higher rates of female-head households than Pittsburgh. These included Wilkinsubrg (38.3 percent), Clairton (40.3 percent), and Aliquippa (42.4 percent).

Percent Female-headed Households, 1990

Region	High Need Communities	Stressed Communities	Affluent Communities	Pittsburgh
17.9	30.4	14.4	8.4	36.3

In all, there were fifty-five communities with over 25 percent female-headed households, and these were located primarily along the Ohio and Monongahela Rivers. Most of these communities were High Need, but a number were Stressed suburbs with far-higher rates of female-headed households than their subregion's average rate of 14.1 percent. For example, Swissvale had a rate of 27.5 percent and Rochester Borough a rate of 32.7 percent. In contrast, there were 37 communities—primarily Affluent—with 6.0 percent or less female-headed households. These included Murrysville (4.7 percent), Pleasant Hills (3.0 percent), Franklin Park (2.8 percent).

Over the decade, the percentage of households headed by single mothers in the region as a whole increased by 4.4 percentage points (from 13.5 to 17.9 percent) (Figure 8). Pittsburgh's percentage of households with children headed by females increased by 7.5 percentage points (from 28.8 to 36.3 percent), and the High Need communities increased by about the same amount (7.9 percentage points—from 22.5 to 30.4 percent). The Stressed communities increased at about the regional average.

Change in Percentage Points Female-headed Households, 1980-1990

Region	High Need Communities	Stressed Communities	Affluent Communities	Pittsburgh
4.4	7.9	4.6	1.7	7.5

Again, many High Need and Stressed communities increased in female-headed households during the 1980s at a much higher rate than Pittsburgh or their subregional average. (Pittsburgh was 110th in increase in female-head households.) Some of the highest increases were in: High Need McKees Rocks (19.5 percentage points, from 32.8 to 52.3 percent), Rankin (23.0 percentage points, from 47.6 to 70.6 percent), and Bentleyville (23.6 percentage points, from 9.4 to 33.0 percent); as well as Stressed North Franklin (14.0 percentage points, from 7.2 to 21.1 percent), Avalon (14.2 percentage points, from 14.7 to 28.9 percent), and Monongahela (18.0 percentage points, from 9.8 to 27.9 percent). These communities were located primarily

Figure 7: Female-headed Households with Children as a Percentage of Total Households with Children by Municipality, 1990

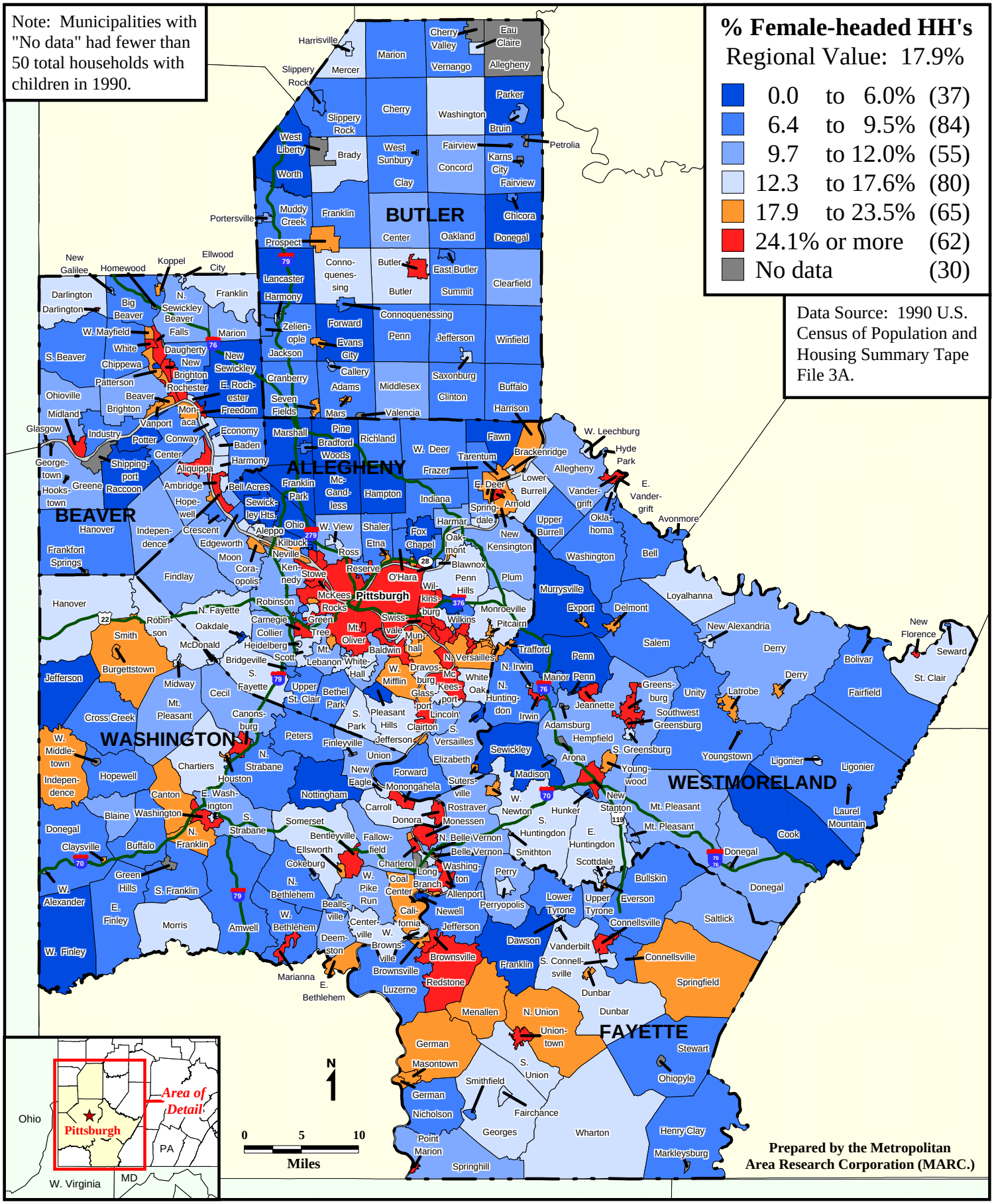
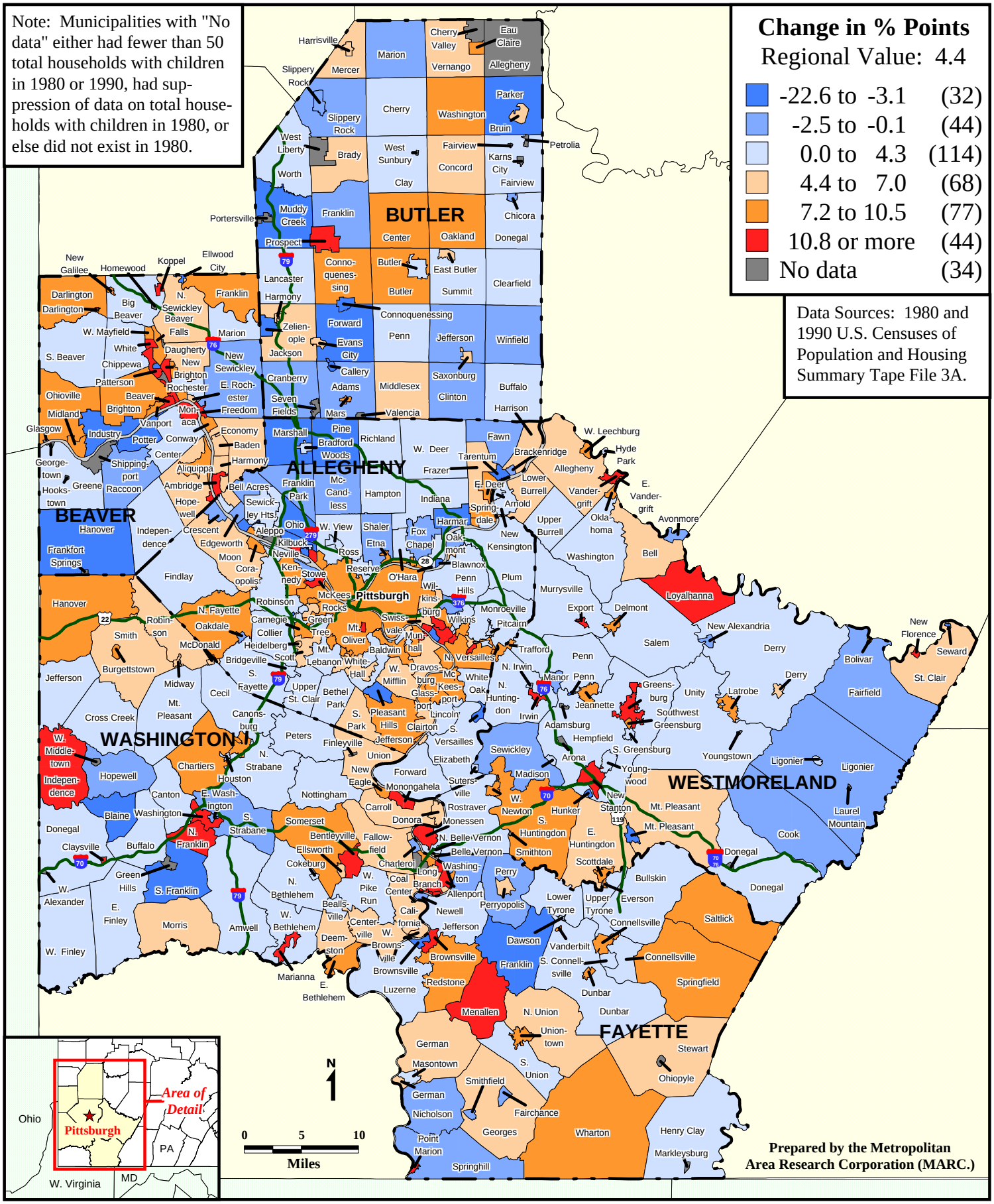


Figure 8: Change in Percentage Points - Female-headed Households with Children as a Percentage of Total Households with Children by Municipality, 1980-1990



along the Ohio River in Beaver County and along the Monongahela River in Washington County.

On the other hand, many communities, both Affluent and Stressed (as well as a few High Need), decreased in female-headed households in the 1980s—thirty-two by at least 3.1 percent. Most of these communities were northwest of Pittsburgh in Allegheny, Butler, and Beaver Counties. Some of the highest decreases were found in Affluent Sewickley Borough (-6.3 percentage points, from 20.7 to 14.4 percent), Stressed Industry (-7.8 percentage points, from 14.7 to 6.9 percent), and Affluent Ben Avon (-10.6 percentage points, from 19.6 percent to 9.0 percent).

D. Median Household Income

The 1990 median household income for the Pittsburgh region was $27,796 (Figure 9). The city of Pittsburgh's median household income was $20,747 and in the High Need Communities it was even lower: $18,047. The Stressed Communities were again about the regional average, while the Affluent Communities towered above the rest of the region at $40,075.

Median Household Income, 1990

Region	High Need Communities	Stressed Communities	Affluent Communities	Pittsburgh
$27,796	$18,047	$26,597	$40,075	$20,747

In 1990, there was a clear pattern of high income communities primarily north and west of Pittsburgh. Rosslyn Farms ($73,637), Sewickley Heights ($85,219), Thornburg ($85,275), and Fox Chapel ($123,138) were the communities with the highest incomes. The 104 communities with lower median household incomes than Pittsburgh were located mostly along the Monongahela River and in southern Fayette County. They included Stressed Coal Center ($15,250), and High Need Brownsville Borough ($11,791) and Homestead ($11,390).

During the 1980s, the median household income in the Pittsburgh region, adjusted for inflation, decreased by 9.3 percent (from $30,650 to $27,796) (Figure 10). The city of Pittsburgh decreased by about the same amount while the High Need communities decreased by 22.6 percent (from $23,322 to $18,047) and the Stressed communities decreased by 15.2 percent (from $31,354 to $26,597). The Affluent communities remained fairly stable with a decrease of only 2.0 percent (from $40,895 to $40,075).

Percent Change Median Household Income, 1980-1990

Region	High Need Communities	Stressed Communities	Affluent Communities	Pittsburgh
-9.3	-22.6	-15.2	-2.0	-9.4

Figure 9: Median Household Income by Municipality, 1989

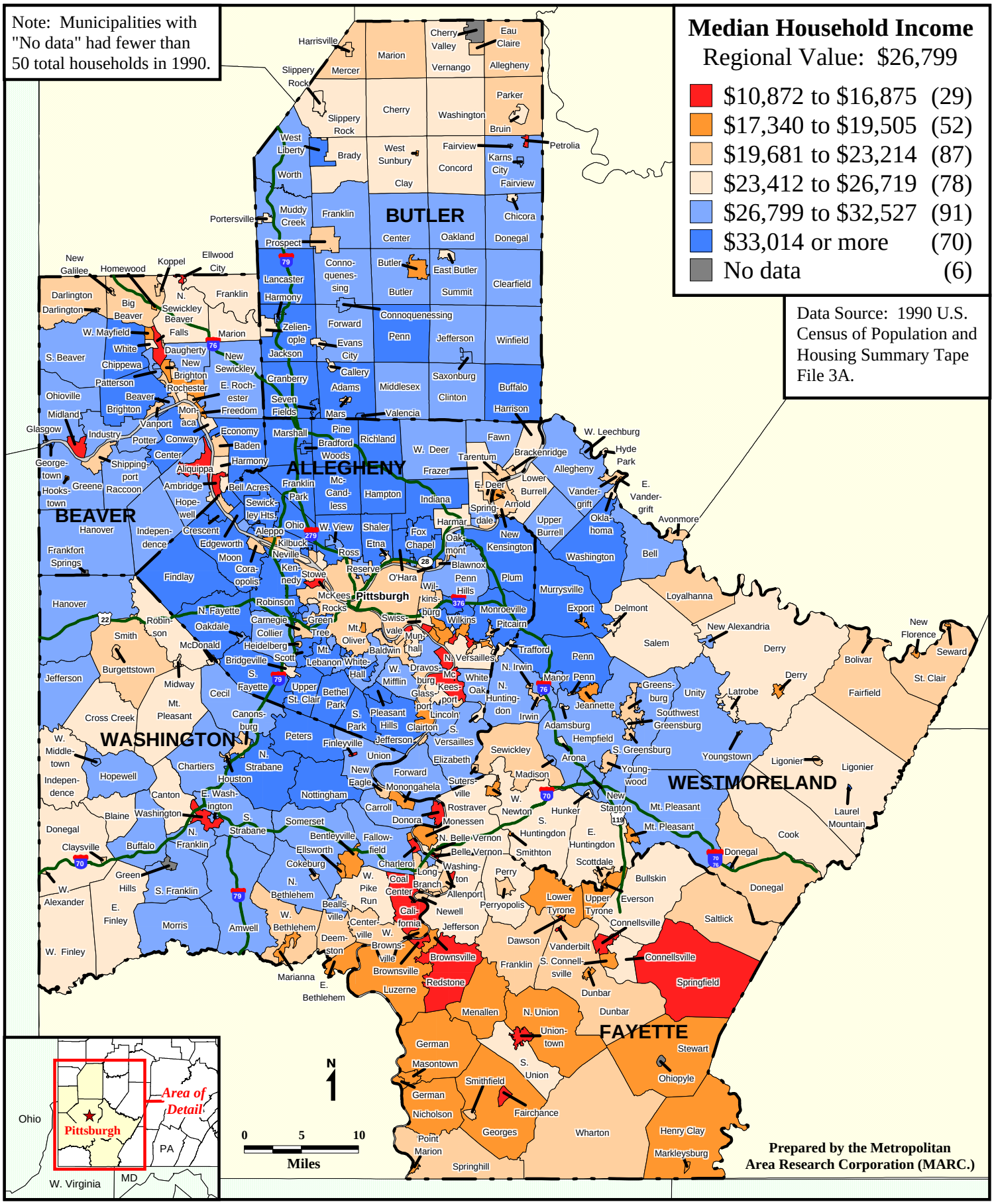
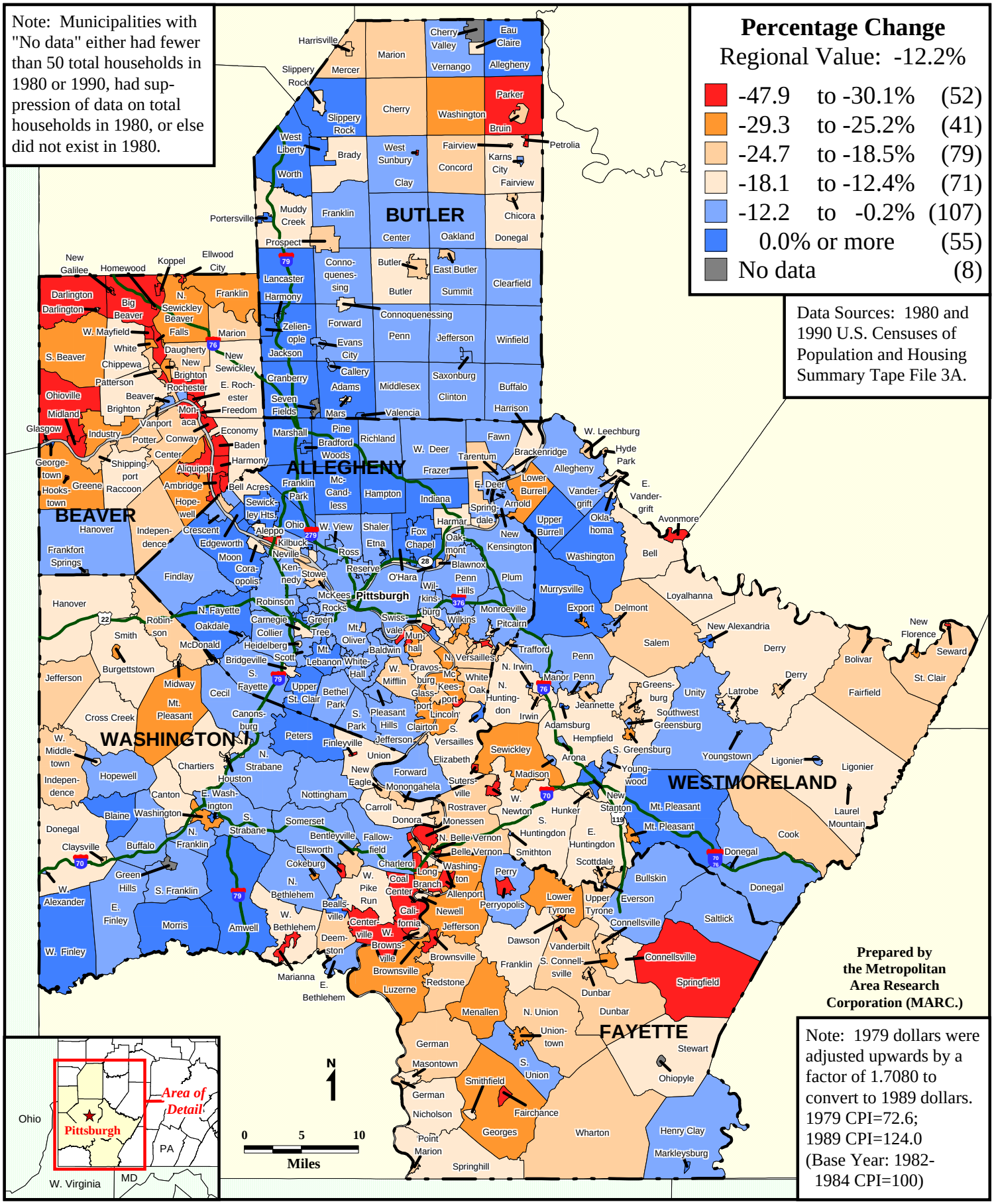


Figure 10: Percentage Change in Median Household Income by Municipality, 1979-1989 (Adjusted by CPI)



The greatest decreases in median household income during the 1980s were primarily in communities in Beaver County and in Washington County near the Monongahela River, while communities that actually increased in median household income were primarily located in northern and western Allegheny County, and western Butler County. About two-thirds of suburban and outlying communities (274 places) decreased in median household income at a faster rate than Pittsburgh. Fifty-two of these communities saw decreases of over 30 percent. These included: Stressed Big Beaver (-43.9 percent, from 38,862 to $21,791), Allenport (-43.9 percent, from $35,868 to $20,132), and Rochester Township (-45.5 percent, from $34,558 to $18,819) as well as High Need communities like Midland (-47.7 percent, from $29,671 to $15,528). On the other hand, while the region as a whole saw a significant decrease in median household income, there were fifty-four communities—both Affluent and Stressed—that saw increases in median household income. Some of the largest gainers were Affluent Fox Chapel (25.7 percent, from $97,974 to $123,138), Marshall (26.3 percent, from $43,088 to $54,400), and Franklin Park (31.7 percent, from $50,752 to $66,836).

E. Schools

Public schools are the first victim and the most powerful perpetuator of metropolitan polarization. Local schools become socioeconomically distressed before neighborhoods themselves become poor. Hence, increasing poverty in a city's public schools is a prophecy for the city. First, the city's children often become its adults. Second, middle-class families, who form the bedrock of stable communities, will not tolerate high concentrations of poverty in their public schools. The level of social distress in the public schools significantly affects the attractiveness of a neighborhood or city and greatly influences the decisions of middle-class families to live there— particularly the white middle-class. As the public schools become poorer and more racially mixed, middle-class families with choices will frequently depart in search of other educational opportunities for their children.

Alternatively, parents will choose to send their children to private schools, which negatively impacts the public schools and in turn, the neighborhood and city in which those public schools are located. When the public schools reach a certain threshold of poor and minority students, white and middle-class parents who do not want to leave the city will often opt instead to remove their children from the public schools, leaving the poorest students—who require the most in terms of school resources—behind.

Because middle-class departure from the central city and its schools is largely a function of the quality of the local public schools and the types of students who attend those schools, the focus in this report is on public rather than private schools. In this light, this section will show that there is a rapid and dangerous social and economic polarization occurring among Pittsburgh region school districts. These places, the central and satellite cities, and older suburbs, are struggling under a disproportionate share of concentrated poverty and segregation.

Just as concentrated poverty in schools destabilizes communities, it has a very negative effect on individual access and achievement. Schools are not just instruction and textbooks, but, like neighborhoods, represent a series of reinforcing social networks that contribute to success or

failure.[89] Fast-track, well-funded schools that have a high percentage of students from stable middle- and upper-class families are streams moving in the direction of success, with currents that value hard work, goal setting, and academic achievement.[90] Monolithically poor central city, older-suburban, or satellite-city schools that have a large number of students in poverty are often environments that reinforce anti-social behavior, drifting, teenage pregnancy and dropping out[91]—making educational success a challenge for even the most dedicated student.

1. Free and Reduced-Cost Meals

Most social scientists use free and reduced-cost meal statistics to measure children in poverty. They believe that it is more realistic than federal poverty standards. Children are eligible for reduced-cost meals if their income level is not above 185 percent of the federal poverty level, and they are eligible for free meal if their income is not above 130 percent of the poverty level.

At the school district level, the overall percentage of school children eligible for free or reduced-cost meals in the Pittsburgh region in 1998 was 28.8 percent (Figure 11), ranging from 89.9 percent in Duquesne City to 0 percent in Wilkinsburg Borough.[92] The Pittsburgh school district had 56.3 percent of its students eligible for the program, the ninth highest rate in the region. Other districts with high percentages of students eligible for free and reduced-cost meals included Clairton City (69.2 percent), Sto-Rox (71.1 percent), and Aliquippa (77.8 percent). In addition, there were six other school districts with more than one half of their students applying for free and reduced-cost meals. These included the McKeesport Area schools (53.4 percent) and the Albert Gallatin district (55.0 percent). On the other hand, there were sixteen school districts with less than 10 percent poor children. In addition to Wilkinsburg Borough, districts with low percentages of children eligible for the reduced-cost meals program include the affluent districts of North Allegheny (2.1 percent), Upper Saint Clair (1.5 percent), and Mt. Lebanon (1.4 percent).

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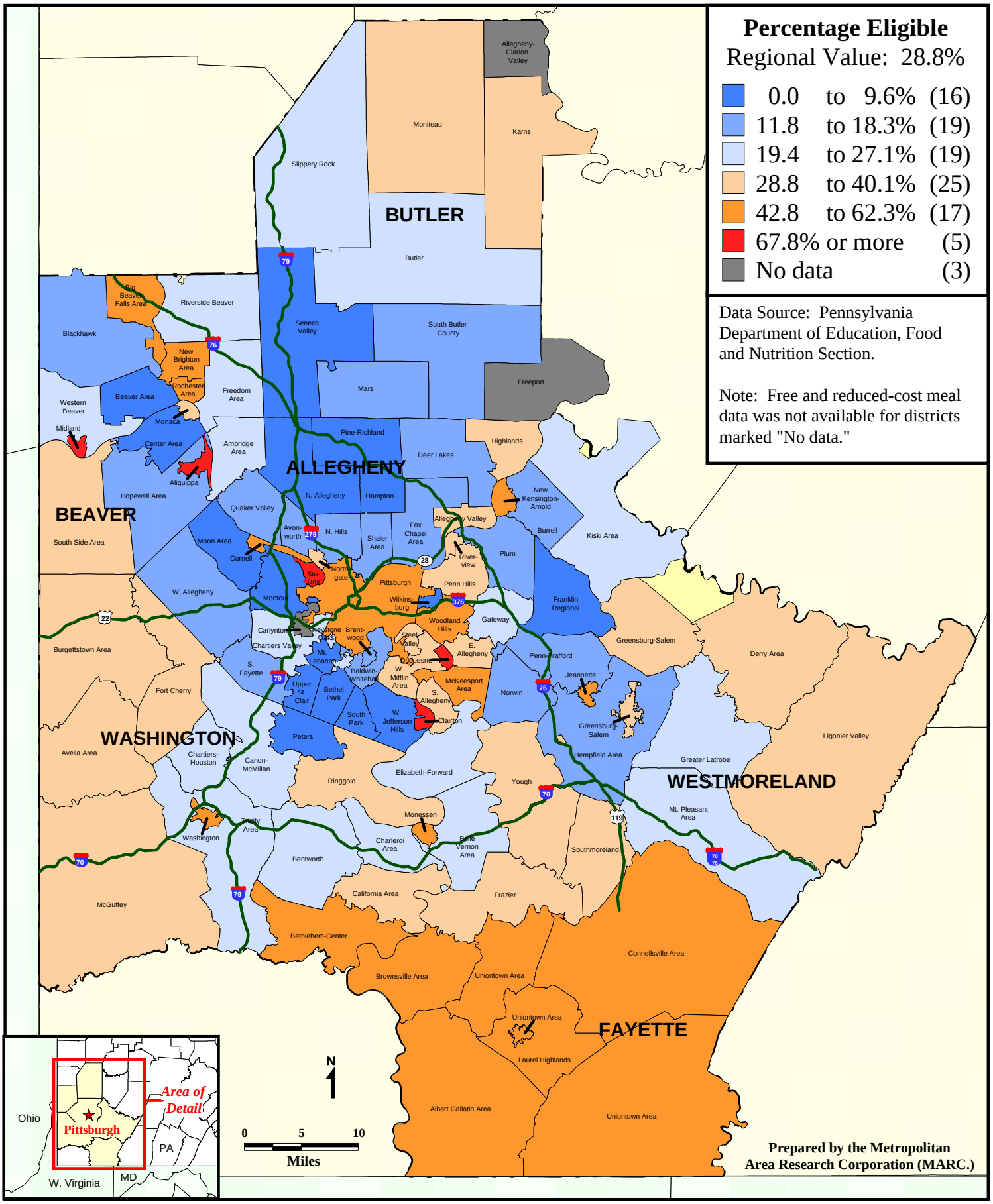
89 Jomills Braddock II and James McPartland, "The Social and Academic Consequence of School Desegregation," *Equity & Choice* (February 1988): 5; see also Gary Orfield and Carole Ashkinaze, *The Closing Door: Conservative Policy and Black Opportunity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991): 131; James Rosenbaum, Marilyn Kulieke, and Leonard Rubinowitz, "Low-Income Black Children in White Suburban Schools: A Study of School and Student Responses," *Journal of Negro Education* 56, no. 1 (1987): 35; Rosenbaum, Kulieke, and Rubinowitz, "White Suburban Schools."

90 Ibid.

91 Ibid.; Susan E. Mayer, "How Much Does a High School's Racial and Socioeconomic Mix Affect Graduation and Teenage Fertility Rates?" 321-41 in *The Urban Underclass*, eds. C. Jencks and P. Peterson (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1991); Jonathon Kozol, *Savage Inequalities: Children in America's Schools* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1991); Robert Crain and Rita Mahard, "School Racial Composition and Black College Attendance and Achievement Test Performance," *Sociology of Education* 51 no. 2, (1978): 81-101; Peter Scheirer, "Poverty, Not Bureaucracy: Poverty, Segregation, and Inequality in Metropolitan Chicago Schools," (Metropolitan Opportunity Project, University of Chicago, 1989).

92 All free and reduced-cost lunch statistics by school district are from the Pennsylvania Department of Education, Food and Nutrition Section. Here data are included for 103 of the Pittsburgh region's districts. The Freeport, Allegen-Clarion Valley, and Carlynton districts did not report data.

Figure 11: Percentage of Students Eligible for Free and Reduced-Cost Meals by School District, 1998



A closer look at the Pittsburgh School District shows that the elementary schools with the poorest students were all located in the central and northern parts of the city (twenty-nine schools with more than 71.2 percent eligible students), while eleven schools in the southwestern and eastern parts of the city had less than 55.9 percent eligible students. (Figure 12).[93]

In terms of change in percentage of students eligible for the reduced-cost meal program, four districts in the Pittsburgh region increased by at least 8.9 percentage points between 1993 and 1998 (Figure 13).[94] They were McKeesport Area (8.9 percentage points—from 44.5 to 53.4 percent poor students), Monessen City (9.1 percentage points—from 51.6 to 60.7 percent), Sto-Rox (11.0 percentage points—from 60.1 to 71.1 percent), and Duquesne City (25.2 percentage points—from 64.7 to 89.9 percent). Three of these school districts were located close to Pittsburgh in the Mon Valley and to the northwest, while Monessen is an outlying district to the south. At the other end of the spectrum, about half the school districts in the Pittsburgh region decreased in the percentage of eligible students. Ten of these districts decreased by more than 5 percent and are primarily located to the north and west of Pittsburgh. They include Pittsburgh itself (-5.6 percentage points, from 61.9 to 56.3 percent), Hopewell Area (-7.4 percentage points, from 23.7 to 16.3 percent), and Big Beaver Falls Area (-7.5 percentage points, from 58.9 to 51.4 percent).

Within Pittsburgh, there was a wide disparity in the change in the percent of elementary students eligible for free or reduced-cost meals (Figure 14). Between 1986 and 1997, six schools increased by at least 20.3 percentage points, while five schools decreased by at least –1.0 percentage points. For example, Lemington Elementary in northeast Pittsburgh increased by 27.4 percentage points (from 38.2 percent in 1986 to 65.6 percent in 1997) while Clayton Elementary decreased by –3.0 percentage points (from 74.4 to 71.4 percent). In all, there was a 41.6 point disparity between the school with the largest decrease and the school with the largest increase in eligible students.

2. Non-Asian Minority Students

As poverty concentrates, so does the segregation of students in the region's schools, particularly in terms of African-American and Hispanic students. In 1998 the Pittsburgh region as a whole had 15.4 percent non-Asian minority elementary students (Figure 15).[95] The Pittsburgh School District had 60.0 percent non-Asian minority students, while two suburban districts, Clairton City and Duquesne City, had higher percentages (64.4 and 82.1 percent respectively). In addition to these three districts, there were eight districts with at least 33 percent non-Asian minority elementary students. Districts with the largest percentage of non-Asian minority students included Midland Borough (37.8 percent), Woodland Hills (48.0 percent), Riverview (48.4 percent), and Wilkinsburg Borough (54.1 percent); aside from Midland, these are all inner

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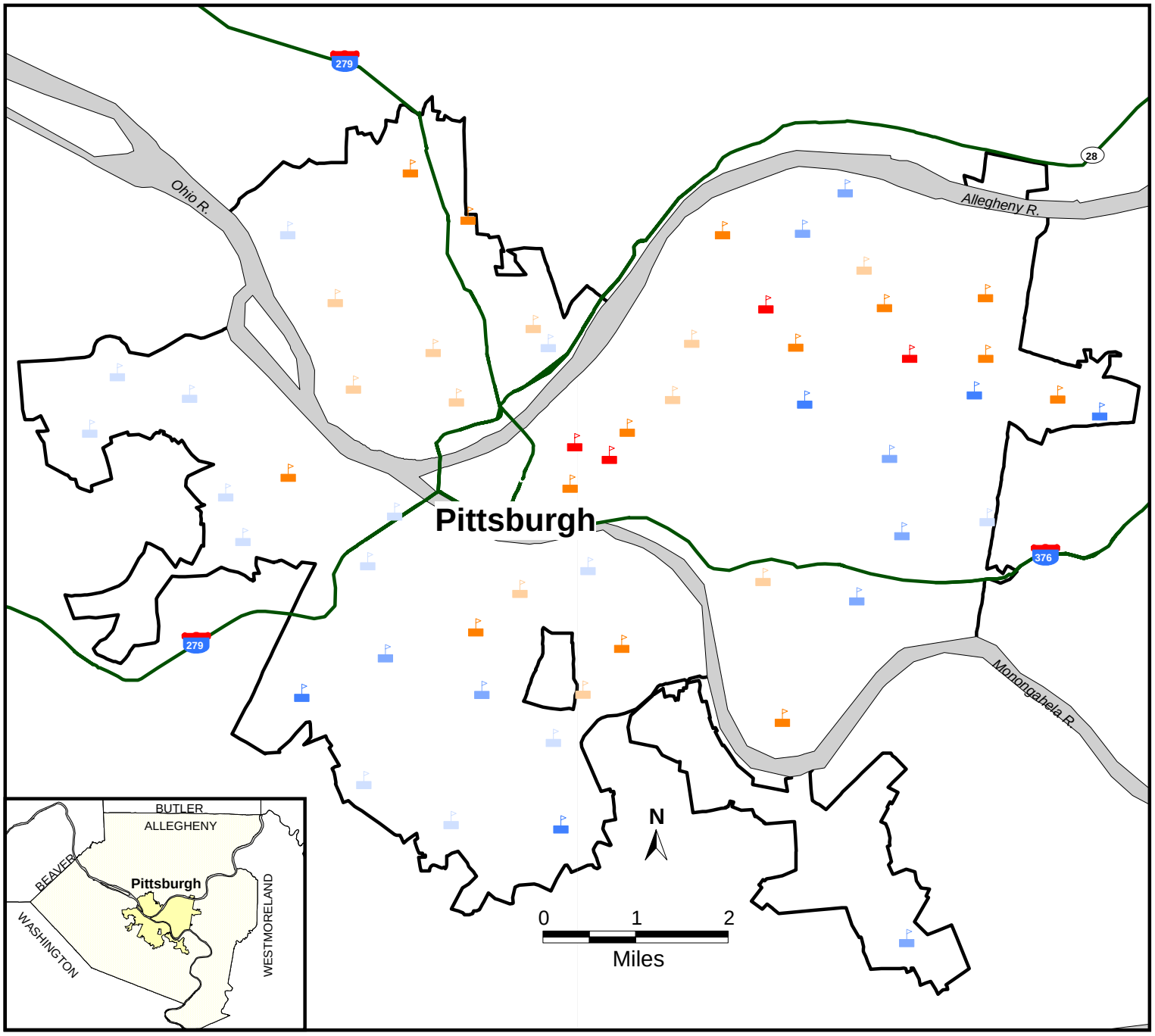
[93] Free and reduced-cost lunch data for Pittsburgh elementary schools are from Pittsburgh Public Schools, Student Information Management, *1997-1998 Lunch Application Analysis Report*.

[94] Nine districts in the Pittsburgh region did have report data for either 1993 or 1998: Allegen-Clarion Valley, Carlyton, Cornell, Freeport, Ringgold, Trinity, Washington, Wilkinsburg Borough, and Yough.

[95] All minority statistics by school district are from the Pennsylvania Department of Education.

Figure 12: Students Eligible for Free and Reduced-Cost Meals by Elementary School, 1997



Percentage Eligible

Districtwide Value: 71.2%

39.2	to 41.5%	(5)
43.9	to 53.6%	(8)
55.9	to 70.8%	(14)
71.2	to 80.3%	(11)
81.4	to 88.7%	(14)
96.4% or more		(4)

Data Source: Pittsburgh Public Schools, Student Information Management, *1997-1998 Lunch Application Analysis Report.*

Prepared by the Metropolitan Area Research Corporation (MARC)

Figure 13: Change in Percentage Points - Students Eligible for Free or Reduced-Cost Meals by School District, 1993-1998

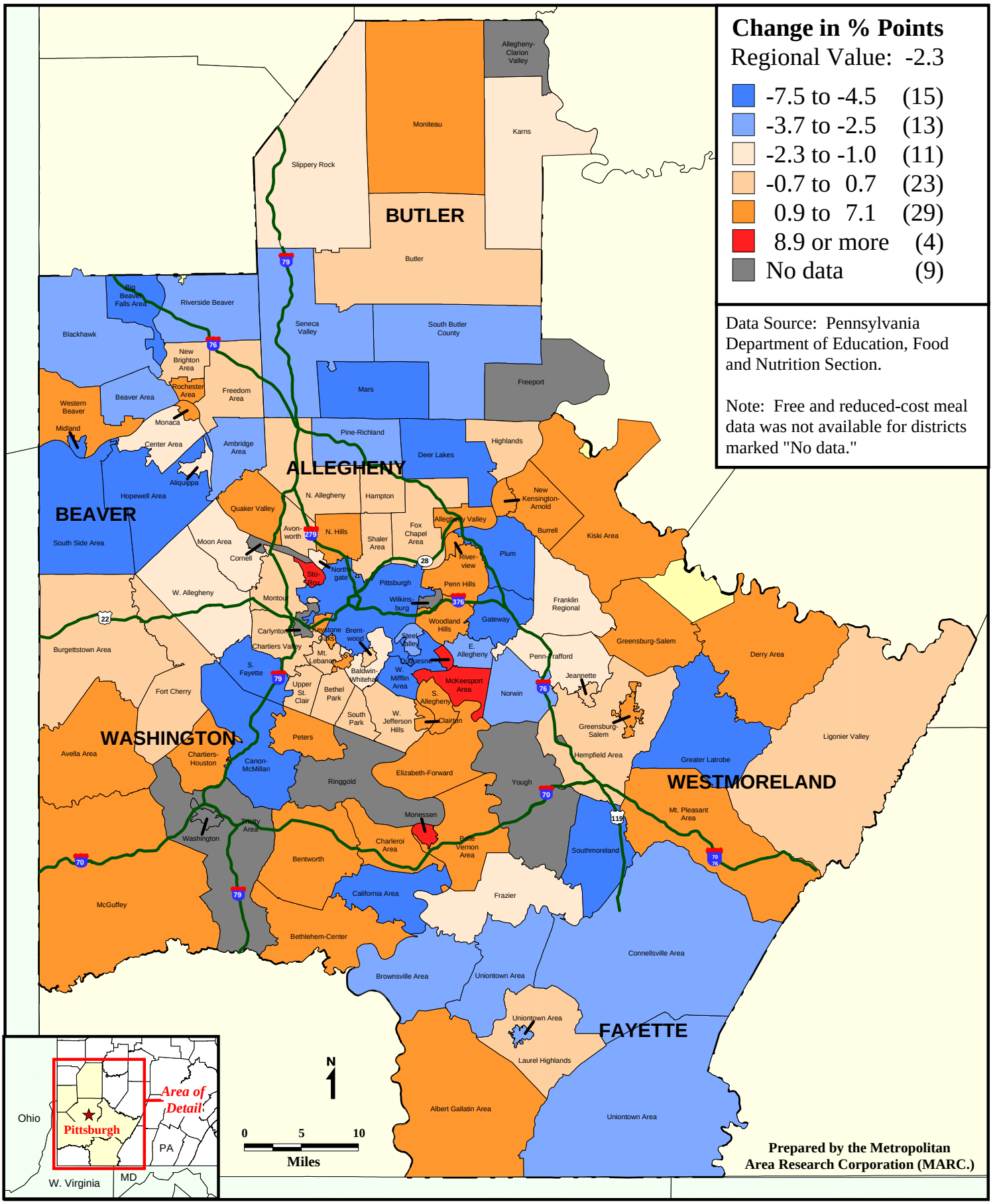
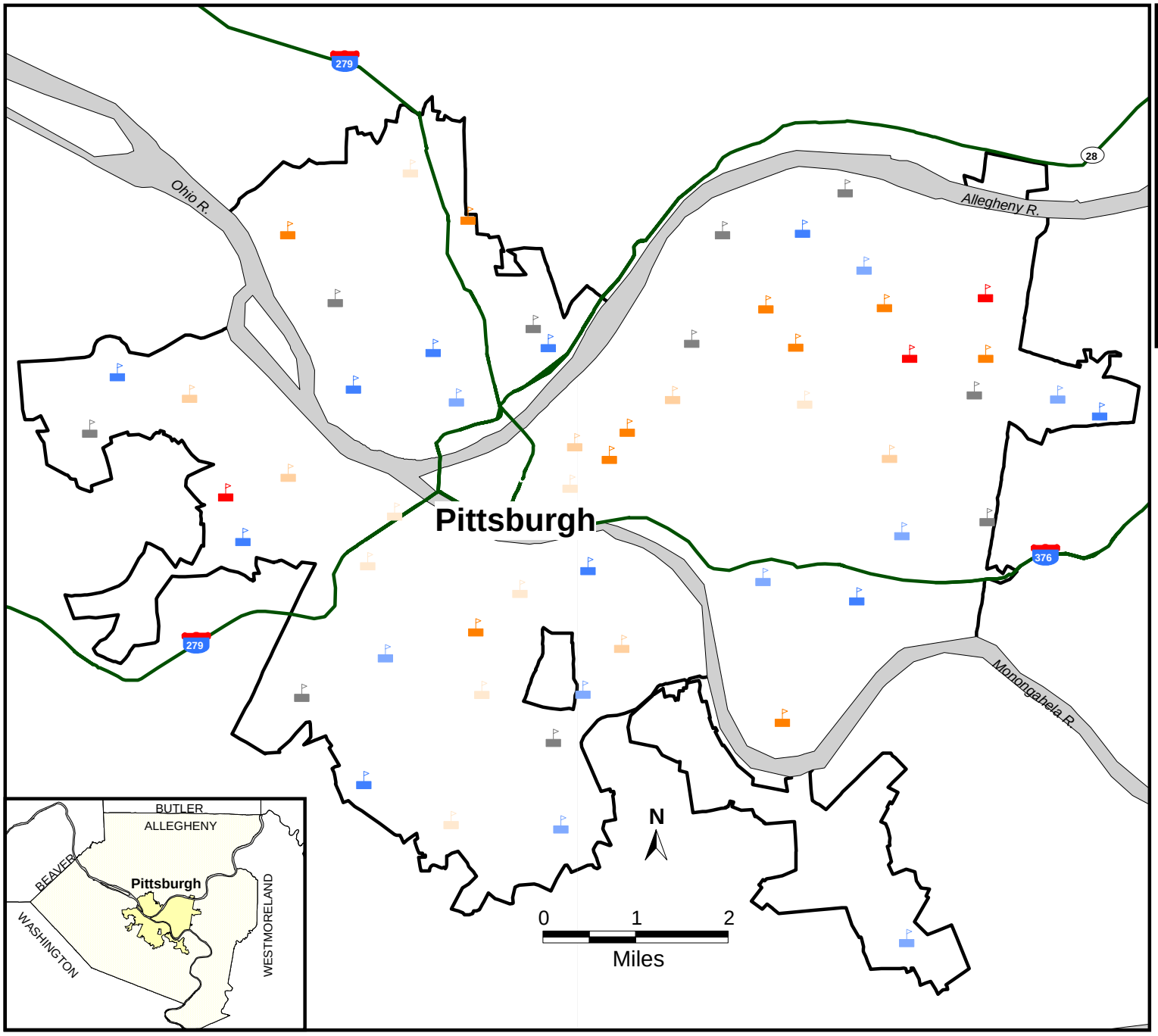


Figure 14: Change in Percentage Points - Students Eligible for Free and Reduced-Cost Meals by Elementary School, 1986-1997



Change in % Points

Districtwide Value: 10.9

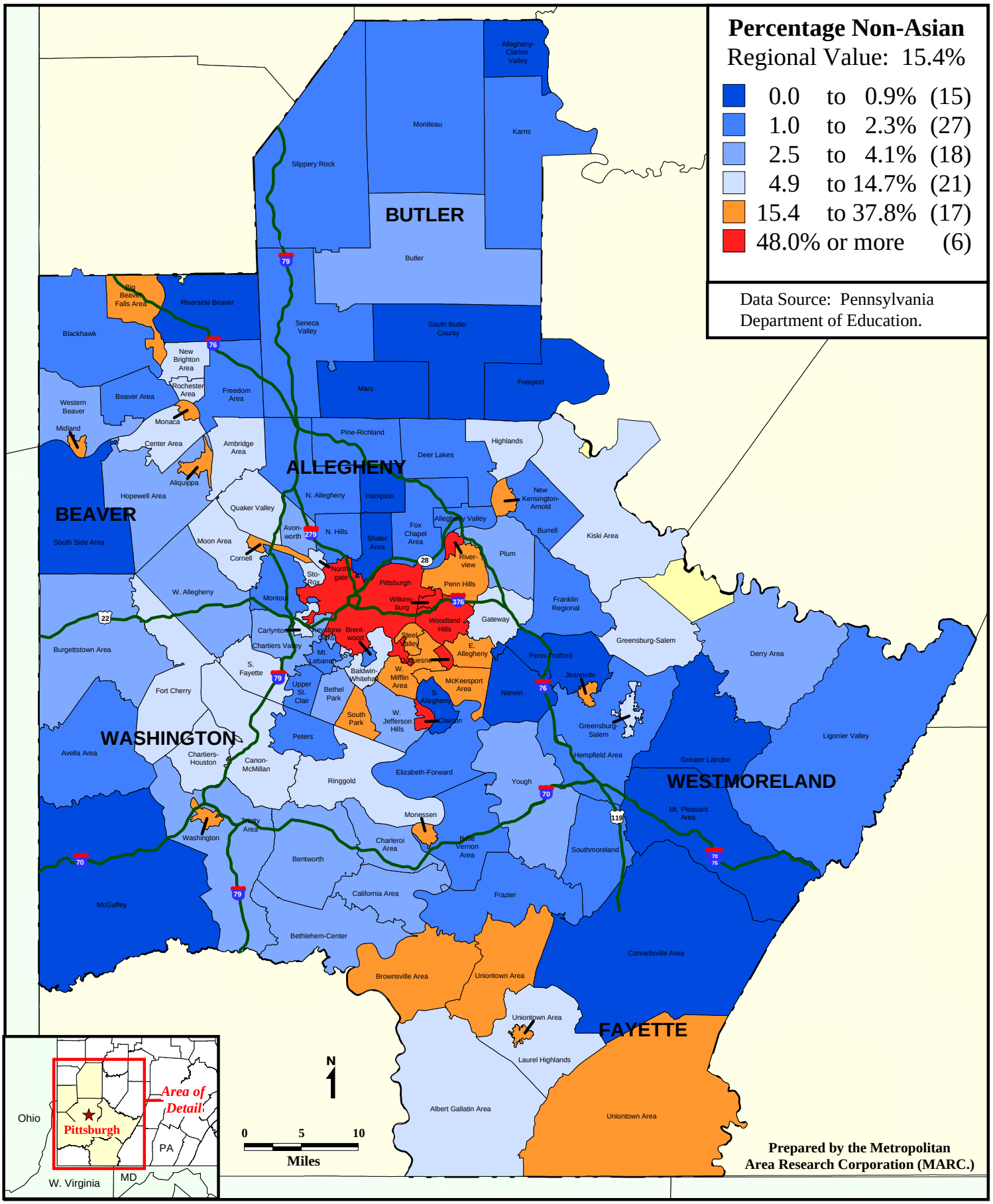
-19.3 to 4.1	(10)
4.5 to 10.8	(9)
10.9 to 13.2	(8)
14.4 to 15.6	(6)
16.8 to 21.1	(10)
22.3 or more	(3)
No data	(10)

Data Source: Pittsburgh Public Schools, Student Information Management, *1986-1987 and 1997-1998 Lunch Application Analysis Report.*

Note: Schools with "No data" did not exist in 1986.

Prepared by the Metropolitan Area Research Corporation (MARC)

Figure 15: Percentage Non-Asian Minority Students by School District, 1998



suburban districts. On the other hand, there were fifteen districts with less than 1 percent non-Asian minority students. These were suburban districts close to Pittsburgh like Hampton Township (0.7 percent) and Norwin (0.6 percent), as well as many outlying districts such as McGuffey (0.2 percent) and Freeport (0.1 percent).

Within the Pittsburgh School District itself, there are clusters of segregated elementary schools with high percentages of African-American students in the central part and northeast corner of the city (Figure 16).[96] These six elementary schools have over 99 percent African-American students and include Belmar (99.8 percent) and McKelvy (100.0 percent). In contrast, there were eight elementary schools with less than 25 percent African-American students. These were mostly in the southwestern part of the city and include Phillips (13.3 percent), Bon Air (10.9 percent) and Concord (4.5 percent).

Between 1988 and 1998, non-Asian minority students became increasingly concentrated in older districts to the east and south of Pittsburgh, as well as in some outlying districts (Figure 17).[97] The greatest increases in non-Asian minority students were in Duquesne City (23.9 percentage points—from 58.2 to 82.1 percent), South Park (28.0 percentage points—from 3.6 to 31.6 percent), and Riverview (45.8 percentage points—from 2.6 to 48.4 percent). The Pittsburgh district ranked eighteenth in largest increase, changing by 4.9 percentage points, from 55.1 to 60.0 percent. On the other hand, there were twenty districts that showed a decrease in percent non-Asian minority students. The largest decreases were found in outlying districts in Beaver County, such as Midland (-7.9 percentage points, from 45.7 percent in 1988 to 37.8 percent in 1998) and Aliquippa (-38.1 percentage points, from 55.3 to 17.2 percent).

Within the Pittsburgh School District during this period, seven elementary schools increased in African-American students by more than 20 percentage points, including Sheraden (by 29.2 percent—from 22.6 to 51.8 percent) and Fort Pitt (by 29.8 percent—from 67.7 to 97.5 percent) (Figure 18). However, twelve schools decreased in percent African-American students. Most of these were located in the central and northeastern part of the city and included Homewood Montessori (-6.9 percentage points, from 61.6 to 54.7 percent) and McCleary Elementary (a decrease of 9.1 percentage points, from 42.6 to 33.5 percent).

3. The Flight of White Preschool Children

The above public school trends are most apparent in and around places where there is a significant loss of white and middle-class families. The best available method to track white, school-related flight on the census tract level is to calculate the net loss of preschool white children between census periods. Because of the high correlation between being white and middle-class, it is also a reasonably good surrogate for middle-class family flight.

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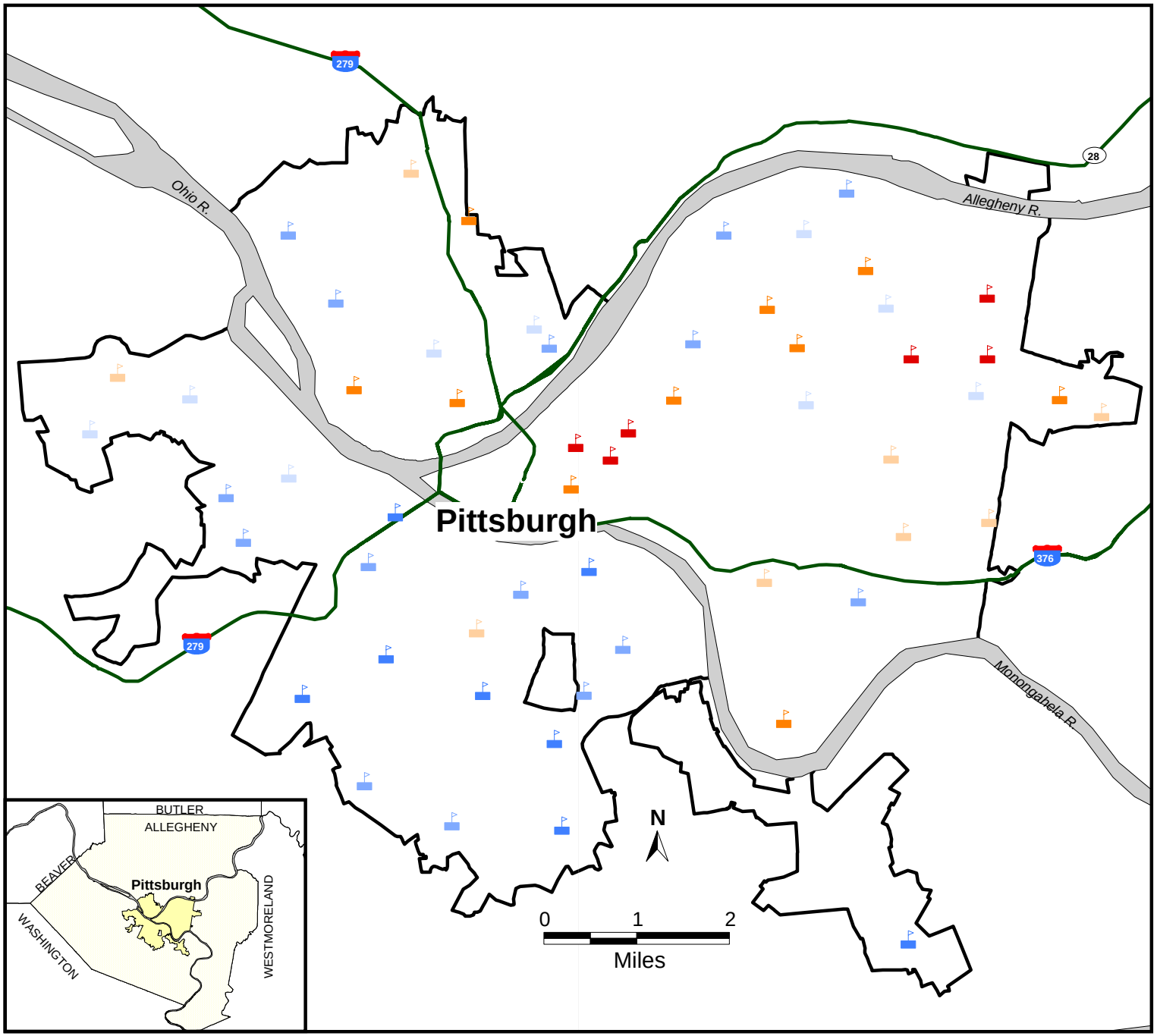
[96] Statistics on non-Asian minority students for individual elementary schools were not available for Pittsburgh. All Pittsburgh elementary school statistics on African-American enrollment are from the Pittsburgh Public Schools, Student Information Management *Membership Report*.

[97] The Freeport and Allegen-Clarion Valley districts did not report minority data for 1988.

Figure 16: Percentage African-American Students by Elementary School, 1998



% African-American

Districtwide Value: 59.9%

1.4	to 24.5%	(8)
31.2	to 47.1%	(15)
50.7	to 56.9%	(9)
59.9	to 70.7%	(8)
76.0	to 88.6%	(10)
98.7% or more		(6)

Data Source: Pittsburgh Public Schools, Student Information Management, *Membership Report.*

Prepared by the Metropolitan Area Research Corporation. (MARC)

Figure 17: Change in Percentage Points - Non-Asian Minority Students by School District, 1988-1998

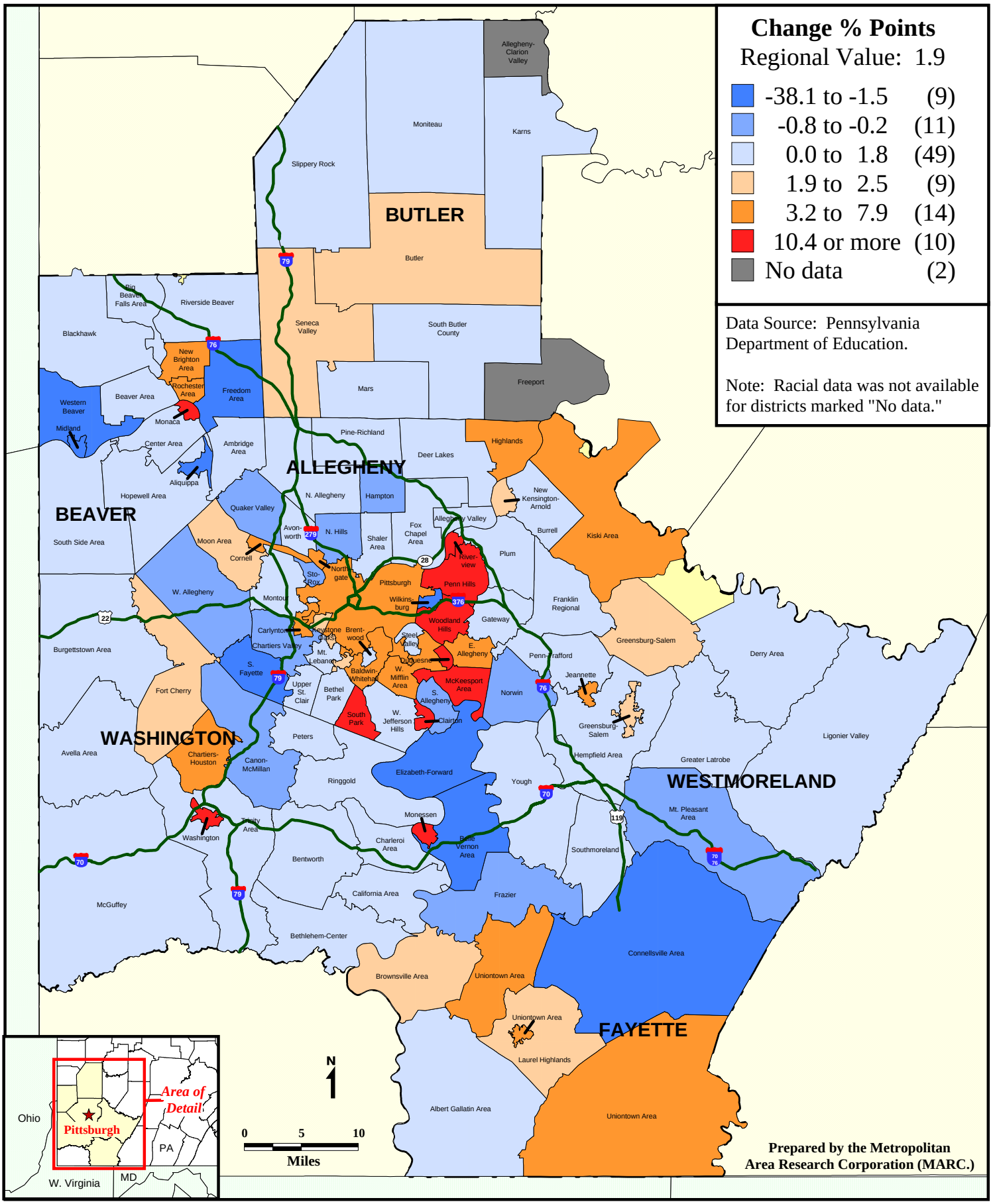
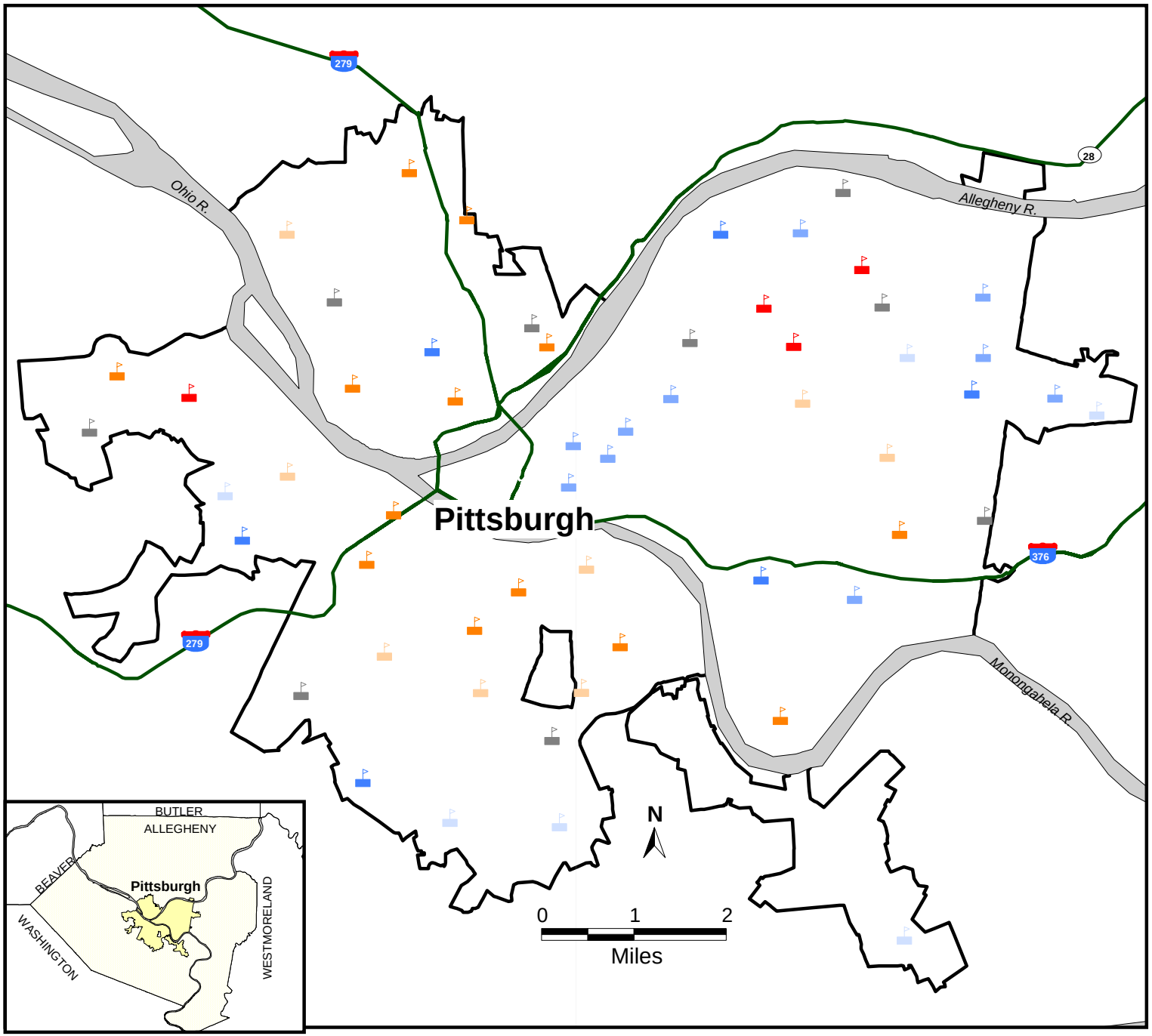


Figure 18: Change in Percentage Points - African-American Students by Elementary School, 1985-1998



Change in % Points

Districtwide Value: +4.7

-17.5 to -6.9	(6)
-2.3 to 0.8	(10)
1.1 to 3.8	(6)
4.7 to 10.4	(8)
13.0 to 23.8	(13)
28.4 or more	(4)
No data	(9)

Data Source: Pittsburgh Public Schools, Student Information Mangement *Membership Report.*

Note: Schools marked "No data" did not exist in 1985.

Prepared by the Metropolitan Area Research Corporation. (MARC)

Between 1980 and 1990, the Pittsburgh region as a whole decreased in white children by 5.8 percent (from 126,276 white children between 0 and 4 years old in 1980 to 118,907 white children between 10 and 14 years old in 1990) (Figure 19). Many areas experienced a far greater loss of white children: Pittsburgh had a loss of 20.3 percent and the High Need Communities a loss of 18.2 percent. These High Need Communities include Midland, which experienced a loss of 42.9 percent (from 205 white children between 0 and 4 years old in 1980 to 117 white children between 10 and 14 years old in 1990) and Wilkinsburg, which lost 66.2 percent (from 704 in 1980 to 238 in 1990). There were many Stressed Communities that had significant losses in white children as well such as New Alexandria, which lost 36.6 percent (from 71 to 45 white children) and Evans City, which lost 37.3 percent (from 186 to 112 white children). In general, communities that experienced high losses of white children were located along the Ohio River and Mon Valley.

To where did all of these white children and their families move? It appears many moved to the Affluent communities north and west of Pittsburgh. Despite the overall trend of a decrease in white children in the Pittsburgh region, the Affluent subregion experienced an increase of 6.2 percent in white children. The highest gainers were located in northern Allegheny County and include Fox Chapel (92.6 percent gain, from 188 to 362 white children), Marshall (134.4 percent gain, from 131 to 307), and Franklin Park (157.3 percent gain, from 321 to 826).

It is important to note that not all of the growth that occurred in these communities during this period was due to people leaving the central and satellite cities and their older suburbs. Growth in developing communities is due to a combination of people relocating from other parts of the region; people migrating from outside of the region; and resident children growing up and buying their first homes in the community rather than moving to another part of the region or out of the region altogether. However, where people come from when they move to the developing communities is not as important as the fact that they *are* moving there—in large numbers—and they are *not* moving to places like Midland and Wilkinsburg.

F. Crime

In 1997, the overall Part I crime rate for the six-county Pittsburgh region was 2,506.3 crimes per 100,000 persons (Figure 20).[98] There were 272.5 violent crimes per 100,000 persons in the region in 1997. The crime rate in Pittsburgh in that year was 5,859.6 Part I crimes and 771.6 violent crimes per 100,000 residents. Of the region's 181 police jurisdictions, eight other police reported Part I crime rates per 100,000 persons above 5,000 (three of which reported higher rates than Pittsburgh) and nineteen jurisdictions reported violent crime rates per 100,000 above 500 (seven of which were higher than Pittsburgh). These included McKeesport, which had a Part I rate of 5,074.0 per 100,000 and a violent crime rate of 565.1 per 100,000 persons; Washington City, which had a Part I crime rate of 5,643.1 and a violent crime rate of 596.9; and

[98] Crime data for the region are from local police departments or the Pennsylvania State Police. Municipalities under the jurisdiction of the state police have been combined here into single units within each county. Part I crimes as defined by the FBI include murder, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny, automobile theft, and arson. The violent crimes category is a subset of Part I crime and consists of murder, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault.

Figure 19: Percentage Change from White Children Aged 0-4 in 1980 to 10-14 in 1990 by Municipality

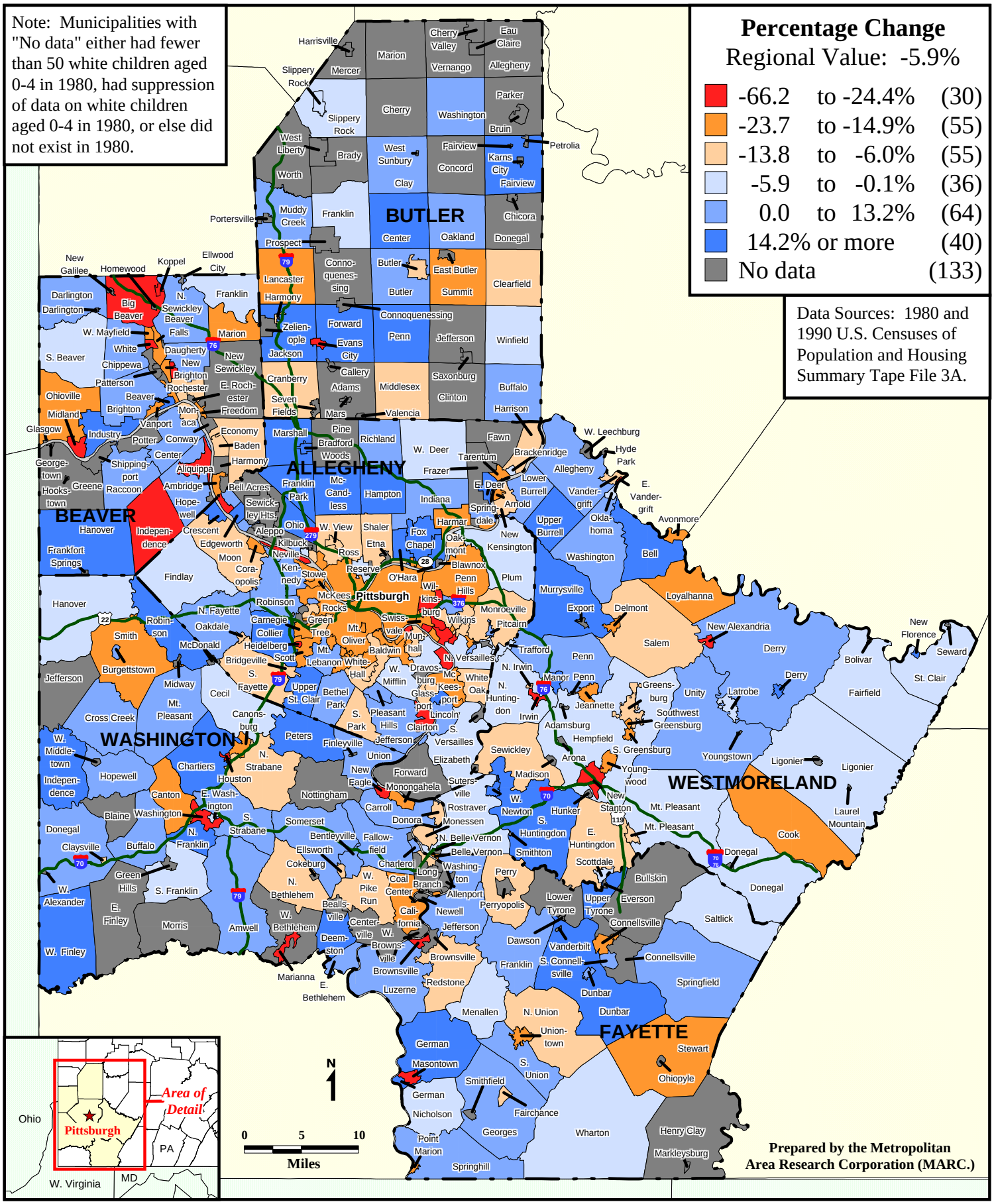
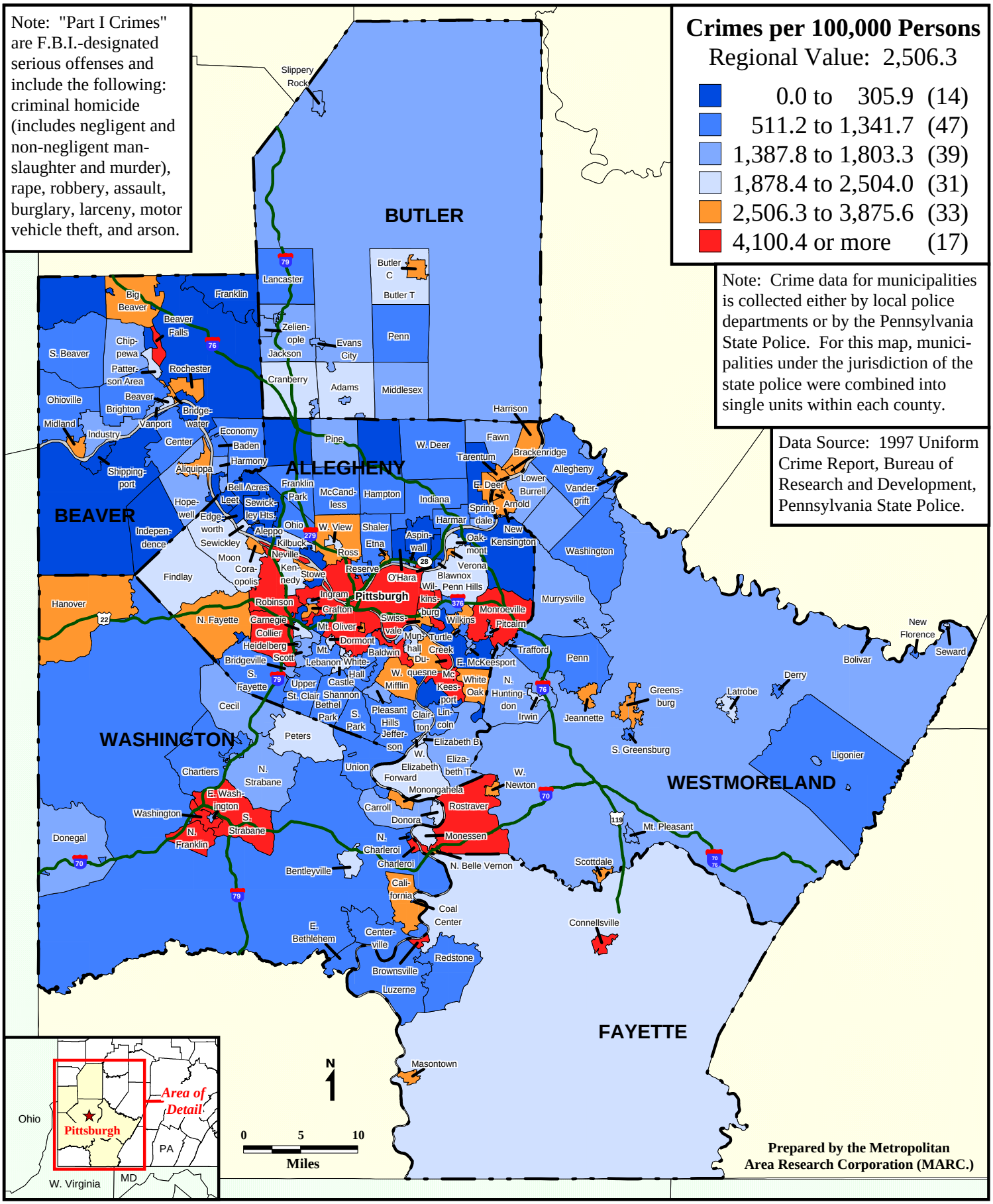


Figure 20: Part I Crimes per 100,000 Population by Police Jurisdiction, 1997



Duquesne, which had a Part I rate of 6,092.1 per 100,000 persons and a violent crime rate of 1091.5. The jurisdictions with the highest crime rates were primarily communities near Pittsburgh, and in central Washington County, and encompassed all three subregions. For example, Stressed Harrison had a Part I crime rate of 3,381.9 per 100,000 persons and a violent crime rate of 619.5 per 100,000 persons; Affluent Robinson had a Part I rate of 4,100.4 and a violent rate of 163.7.

At the other end of the spectrum, there were five jurisdictions that reported no Part I crimes in 1997 and nineteen that reported no violent crimes in that year. These jurisdictions were located primarily in Beaver County and parts of Allegheny County and included Bell Acres, Edgeworth, Sewickley Heights, and Shippingport.

Within Pittsburgh, Part I and violent crime rates in 1997 were highest in the central part of the city, in the North Shore, Strip District, Golden Triangle/Civic Arena, and Bluff neighborhoods (Figure 21).[99] Part I crime rates in this area ranged from 23,839.7 per 100,000 persons to 282,677.2 per 100,000 persons, while violent crime rates ranged from 3,666.5 to 20,078.7 per 100,000 persons. However, the lowest-crime neighborhoods in Pittsburgh (such as Duquesne Heights/Mount Washington and Carrick) had lower Part I rates than fifty suburban jurisdictions and lower violent crime rates than seventy suburban areas.

Between 1984 and 1997, the overall Part I crime rate in the Pittsburgh region decreased by 15.2 percent (Figure 22).[100] During this period, Pittsburgh saw a decrease in its Part I crime rate of 21.1 percent (from 7,426.7 to 5,859.6 per 100,000) and a decrease of 27.8 percent in its violent crime rate (from 1,069.1 to 771.6 per 100,000). Yet thirty communities saw their Part I rate at least double and sixty-seven saw their violent rate at least double during this period. These included Hanover Township in Washington County (a Part I change of 163.4 percent and a violent change of 199.9 percent), Harrison (210.7 percent increase in Part I crimes and 930.8 percent increase in violent crimes), and West Elizabeth (476.6 percent increase in Part I crimes and 166.1 percent increase in violent crimes). Jurisdictions that decreased the most were primarily Stressed and Affluent jurisdictions, such as South Greensburg (a decrease of 72.7 percent in the Part I crime rate and a decrease of 63.2 percent in the violent crime rate) and O'Hara (a decrease of 72.7 percent in the Part I crime rate and a decrease of 100.0 percent in the violent crime rate).

Between 1990 and 1997, the city of Pittsburgh experienced a substantial decrease in crime (Figure 23). During this period, both Part I and violent crime rates decreased in most city neighborhoods. Moreover, seven city neighborhoods saw their Part I crime rates decrease faster in this seven year period than all but eleven suburban jurisdictions did in a thirteen year period, and 9 neighborhoods saw their violent crime rates decrease faster than all but twenty-seven

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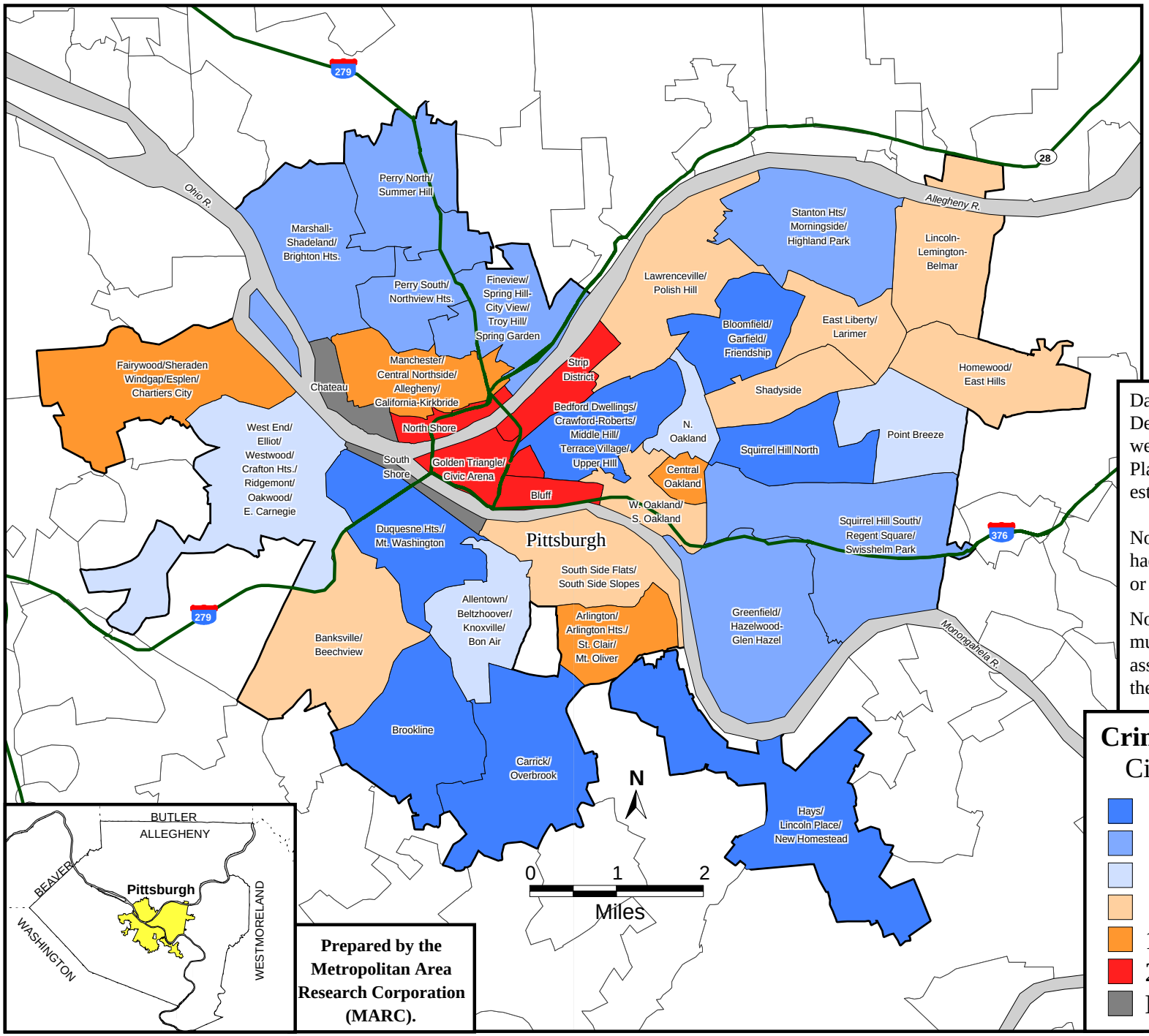
[99] Pittsburgh crime data is from the Pittsburgh Police department; population estimates are from the Southwestern Pennsylvania Regional Planning Commission.

[100] Sixteen jurisdictions did not have local police departments in 1984: Adams, Aleppo, Bolivar, Franklin Township (Beaver County), Independence Township (Beaver County), Jackson, Lancaster, New Florence, Ohioville, Sewickley Heights, Shippingport, Springdale Township, Turtle Creek, Washington Township (Westmoreland County), and Wilkinsburg.

Figure 21: Part I Crimes per 100,000 Population by Neighborhood Cluster, 1997



Prepared by the Metropolitan Area Research Corporation (MARC).

Data Source: Pittsburgh Police Department, (crime data); South-western Pennsylvania Regional Planning Commission, (population estimates).

Note: Neighborhoods with "No data" had fewer than 50 estimated persons or did not report crime data in 1997.

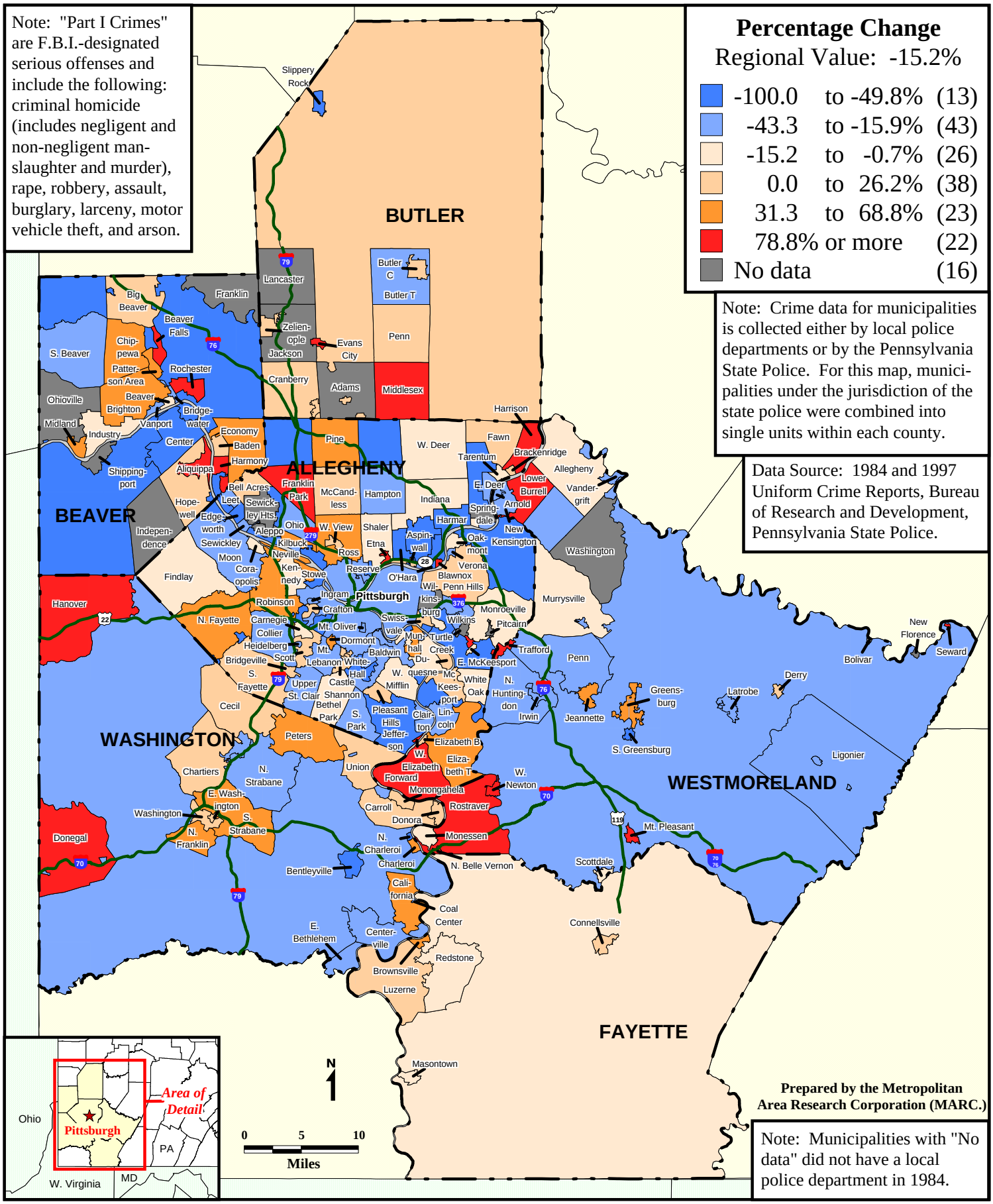
Note: Part I Crimes include: murder, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny, vehicle theft, and arson.

Crimes per 100,000 Persons

Citywide Value: 5,846.6

720.7 to	2,461.0	(7)
2,715.2 to	3,874.3	(7)
4,830.2 to	5,591.7	(4)
5,846.6 to	8,662.8	(8)
10,143.5 to	12,738.6	(4)
23,839.7 or more		(4)
No data		(2)

Figure 22: Percentage Change in Part I Crimes per Capita by Police Jurisdiction, 1984-1997



suburban jurisdictions. Pittsburgh neighborhoods with the largest decreases in crime rates included Duquesne Heights/Mount Washington, Bloomfield/Garfield/Friendship, and Bedford Dwellings/Crawford-Roberts.

G. Infrastructure

Pundits say regionalism is impossible in America. But in terms of transportation spending, regionalism has been going on for at least twenty years. Money for highways comes from federal, state, and local coffers. Everyone contributes through their taxes and, theoretically, everyone shares this highway money in the form of highway improvements. But where is the money actually spent? In many regions, a majority of transportation dollars go to developing communities on the edges of the region. The new infrastructure lures homebuilders, industries, and people who work in all parts of the region. Soon the new highways are over-crowded and there is an outcry for even more capacity. Inevitably, lanes and new routes are added—enough to meet projected need for 20 years or more. But within a very short period (sometimes just a few months) congestion levels are as high as they were prior to the new additions.

This is because often, other nearby routes are also congested and drivers start taking the improved route, expecting a faster, less congested commute. Likewise, many who previously used other modes of transportation to speed their commute, return to their cars expecting less congestion on the new route. Indeed, the Surface Transportation Policy Project analyzed highway congestion data from the Texas Transportation Institute for 70 metropolitan areas between 1985 and 1996 and found that large investments in highway capacity did not result in easing congestion.[101] The STPP study compared metropolitan regions that have added significant new highway capacity in an effort to ease congestion to those that added little new capacity and found no difference in traffic congestion by 1996. Moreover, the study found that regions that increased road capacity spent approximately $22 billion more than those that did not increase capacity, but ended up with higher congestion costs per person, more wasted fuel, and increased travel delay.

Further, the continual increase in highway capacity in the growing outer communities intensifies the mismatch between the location of jobs and workers, and exacerbates the overall socioeconomic polarization occurring between communities.[102] In many regions, homeowners who choose to buy in communities developing on the fringes of urbanized areas sometimes have very long commutes to their places of work in the city or in other growing suburbs, increasing the strain on the transportation system.

Meanwhile, for many people the opposite problem holds true: their place of work moves to the suburbs, but the community's restrictions on affordable housing development prevents them from moving there as well. The urban planner Robert Cervero at Berkeley has shown that upwards of forty percent of the automobiles that clog highways at rush hour are driven by people

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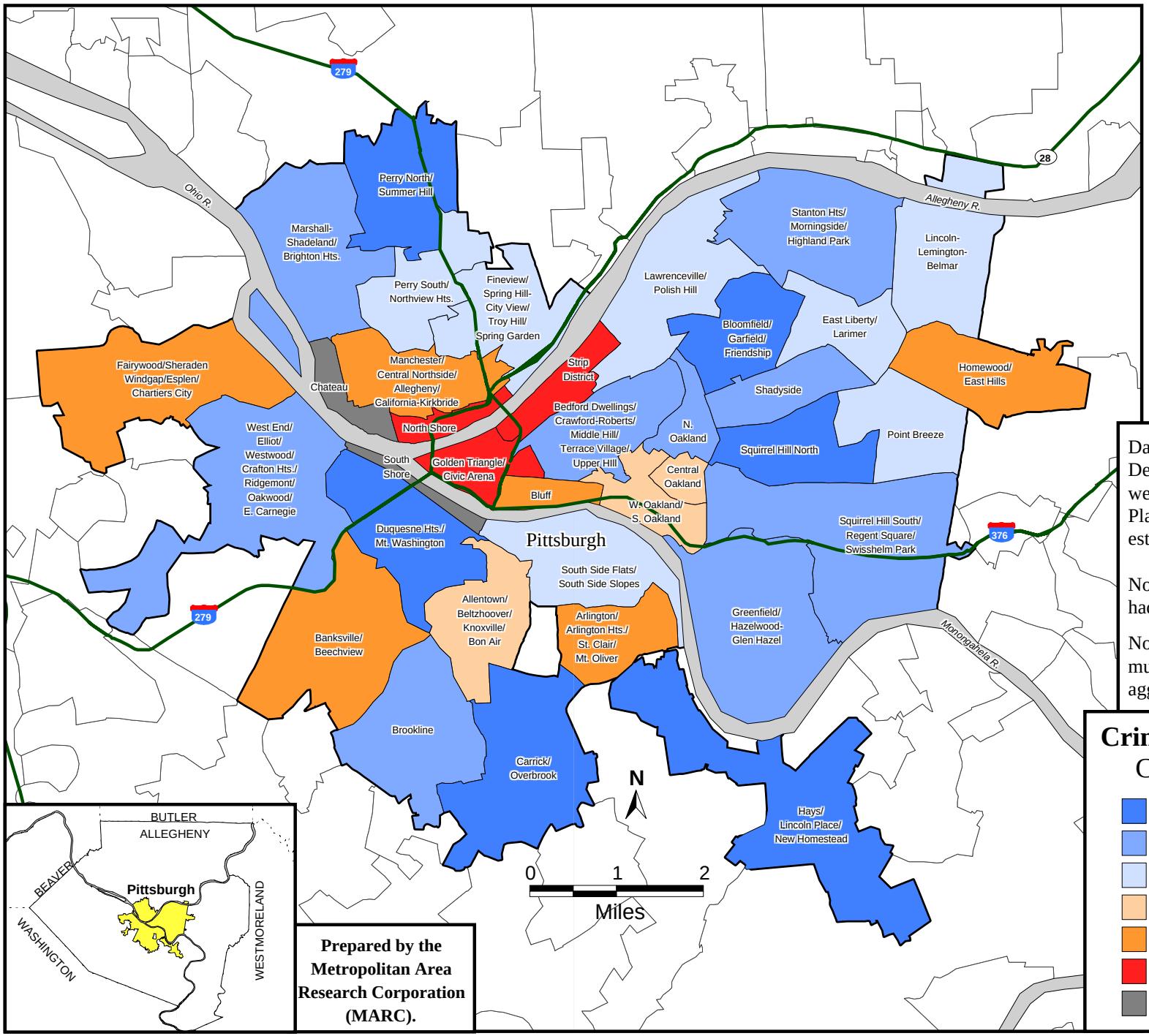
[101] Surface Transportation Policy Project, "An Analysis of the Relationship Between Highway Expansion and Congestion in Metropolitan Areas: Lessons from the 15-Year Texas Transportation Institute Study", November 1998.

[102] Yale Rabin, "Highways as a Barrier to Equal Access," *Annals of the American Academy of Political Science* (1974). See generally Metropolitan Planning Council of Chicago, "Trouble in the Core."

Figure 23: Violent Crimes per 100,000 Population by Neighborhood Cluster, 1997



Prepared by the Metropolitan Area Research Corporation (MARC).

Data Source: Pittsburgh Police Department, (crime data); Southwestern Pennsylvania Regional Planning Commission, (population estimates).

Note: Neighborhoods with "No data" had fewer than 50 estimated persons.

Note: Violent crimes include: murder, rape, robbery, aggravated assault.

Crimes per 100,000 Persons

Citywide Value: 853.5

40.5 to	177.5	(6)
261.6 to	528.6	(9)
582.5 to	781.1	(7)
853.5 to	1,225.5	(3)
1,912.9 to	3,666.5	(6)
8,633.7 or more		(3)
No data		(2)

who cannot afford to live close to their work.[103] Cervero suggests fair housing, including barrier removal, as one of the most important ways to reduce freeway congestion.[104] Although the effectiveness of jobs-housing balance in reducing freeway congestion has been debated in recent years, a 1996 study by Cervero found that without coordinated regional planning, the imbalance between location of jobs and workers is more acute.[105]

In addition, new highway capacity does not necessarily serve the city in which the highway construction actually occurs. Freeway lane widenings mean increased traffic, pollution, and encroachment of noise on communities. These neighborhoods must choose between soundwalls and noise, both of which lower property values and quality of life. Instead, the areas that actually benefit from increased new capacity are the areas to which traffic is being directed, improving access for commuters both into and out of the community.

With that in mind, we examine past and projected highway spending in the Pittsburgh region. Between 1989 and 1998 state and federal highway construction costs totaled $1.04 billion (Figure 24).[106] Approximately 14 percent of this amount was spent on I-79 in Butler County and portions of I-279 connecting Pittsburgh to I-79 ($151 million). Another 11 percent was spent on portions of I-70 and I-79 in Washington County. These projects help to improve access to and from the central downtown business district to the Affluent communities north and south of Pittsburgh and to Stressed communities in Washington County.

An examination of the projected spending on highways in the Pittsburgh region also shows an emphasis on building new roads that serve the Affluent Communities (Figure 25). According to the 1999-2002 Transportation Improvement Program for the Pittsburgh Transportation Management Area, published by the Southwestern Pennsylvania Commission, an estimated $1.05 billion worth of highway improvement projects has been approved by the Pennsylvania State Department of Transportation for the existing Pittsburgh region's highway system between 1999 and 2002. Of projects costing at least $22 million, $251 million—or about a quarter of total regional spending—is targeted for spending in Affluent parts of Allegheny, Westmoreland, and Butler Counties. These include a new interchange on I-79 in Cranberry, major improvements on I-79 in Collier, and widening State Road 286 near Plum and Monroeville. Less than half the money allocated for large projects (those over $22 million) will be spent in Stressed Communities, Pittsburgh or High Need areas. However, the Mon Valley Expressway[107] which will run from I-68 in West Virginia to I-376 in Pittsburgh, will bring access

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[103] Robert Cervero, "Jobs-Housing Balance and Regional Mobility," *American Planning Association Journal* (Spring 1989).

[104] Ibid.

[105] Robert Cervero, "Jobs-Housing Balance Revisited," *American Planning Association Journal* (Autumn 1996).

[106] Highway spending data are from the Pennsylvania Department of Transportation. Only highway spending projects that cost more than $2 million are included for both past and projected spending. In other words, the $1.04 billion and $1.05 billion figures do not include projects that cost less than $2 million.

[107] Because the expected date for completion (2004 or 2005) of the full length of the Mon Valley Expressway is beyond our study period, most of this road is not included in the map. However, small portions of the expressway

Figure 24: Highway Spending, 1989-1998

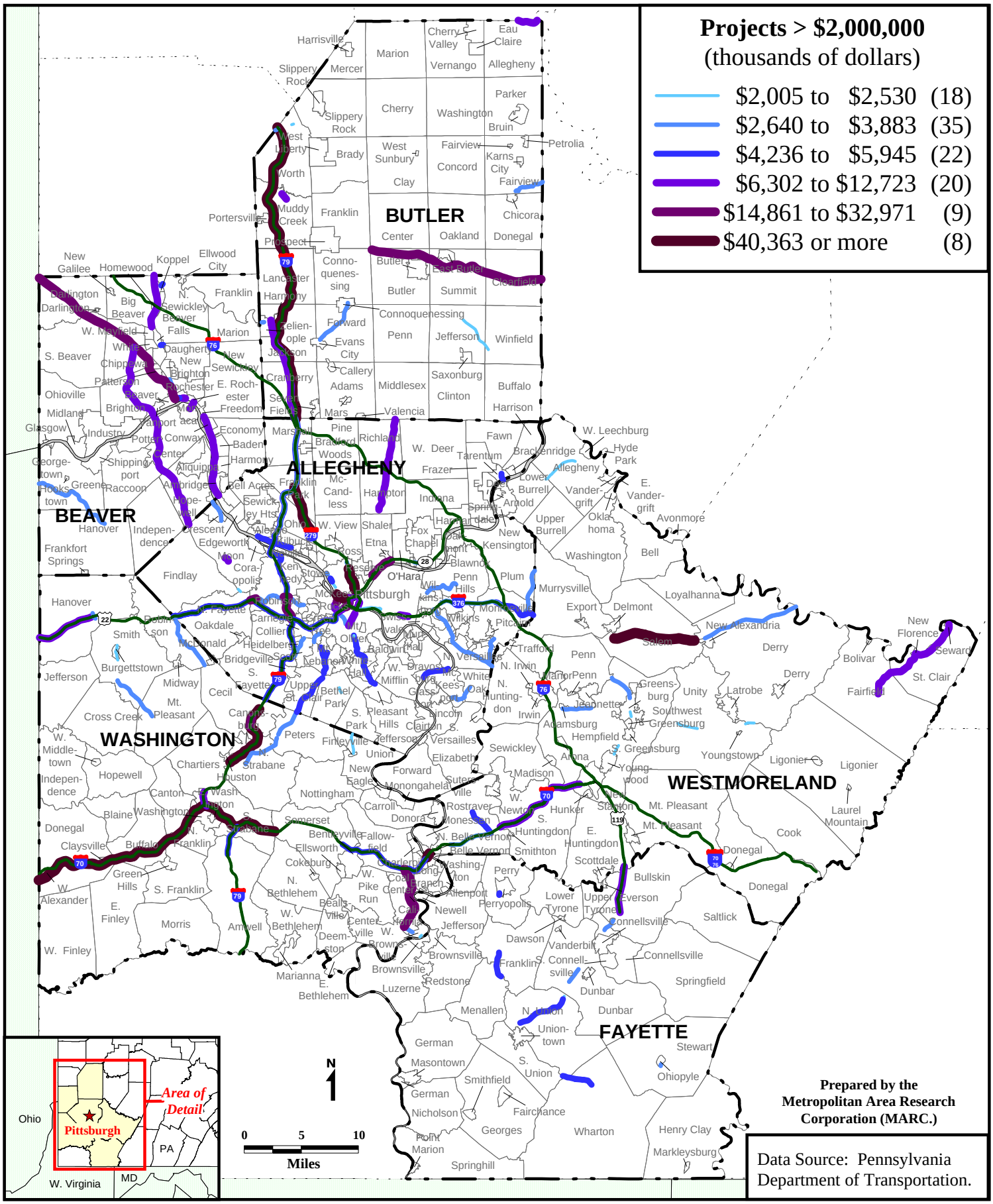
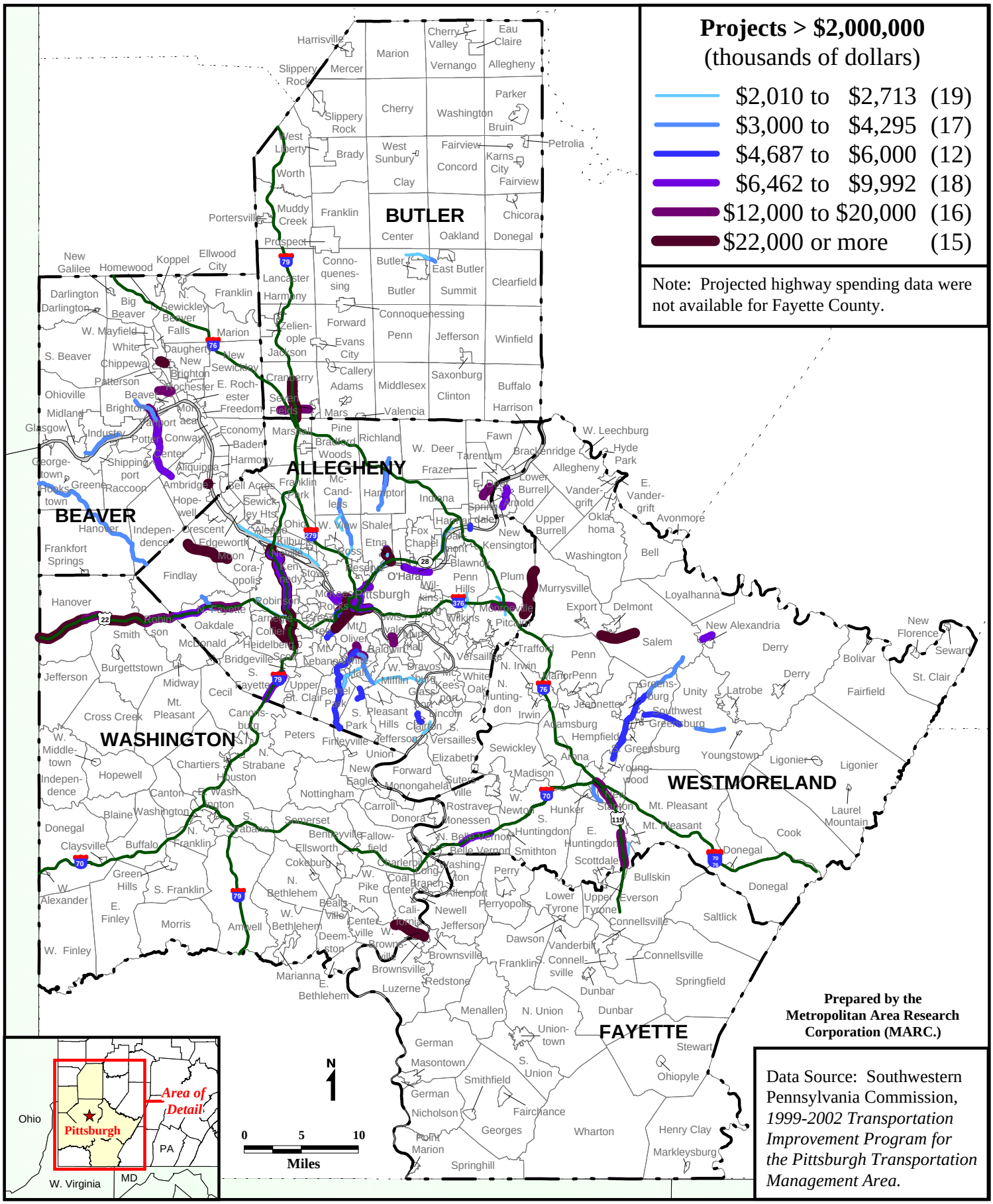


Figure 25: Projected Highway Spending, 1999-2002



to job centers for many people in the High Need and Stressed Communities in the Mon Valley and in Fayette County. The expressway will run north from I-68 to Uniontown, on to Brownsville, I-70, State Road 51, and finally to I-376 in Pittsburgh. Two small sections of the expressway were completed in the early 1990s, while the rest is under construction or in the planning stage. The full highway is expected be completed in 2004 or 2005 at an estimated cost, over 10 to 15 years, of approximately $1.8 billion.[108]

H. Regional Sprawl

According to the U.S. Census Bureau, a city's urbanized area consists of the central city and its adjacent urban fringe, including all contiguous territory settled at the density of at least 1,000 persons per square mile.[109] In the Pittsburgh region, there were two areas designated by the Census Bureau in 1990 as urbanized areas. The main urbanized area—the Pittsburgh Urbanized Area—consists of most of Allegheny County, about a quarter of Beaver County, and small portions of Washington and Westmoreland Counties. The smaller area—the Monessen Urbanized Area—includes communities along the Monongahela River in Westmoreland, Washington, and Fayette Counties (Figure 26). By comparing the change in population between census periods within a designated urbanized area and the change in the size of the land area that is defined as urbanized, we can determine whether that area as a whole is becoming more compact or is sprawling as it develops. (Because the Monessen Urbanized Area was newly designated in 1990, it will not be discussed here.)

In 1990 the Pittsburgh Urbanized Area was settled at a density of 2,157.5 persons per square mile.[110] This was a decrease in population density from 1970 of 30.3 percent. In that year, the population density in the area was 3,095.0 persons per square mile. Put another way, despite a 9.1 percent decrease in the number of people living in the urbanized area surrounding Pittsburgh (from 1,846,042 to 1,678,745), the land area they occupied increased by 30.5 percent (from 596.4 to 778.1 square miles).

I. Fiscal Disparities

1. Overview

When the property tax is a basic revenue source for local governments with land-planning powers, fiscal zoning occurs as jurisdictions compete for property wealth. Through fiscal zoning, cities deliberately develop predominantly expensive homes and commercial-industrial properties

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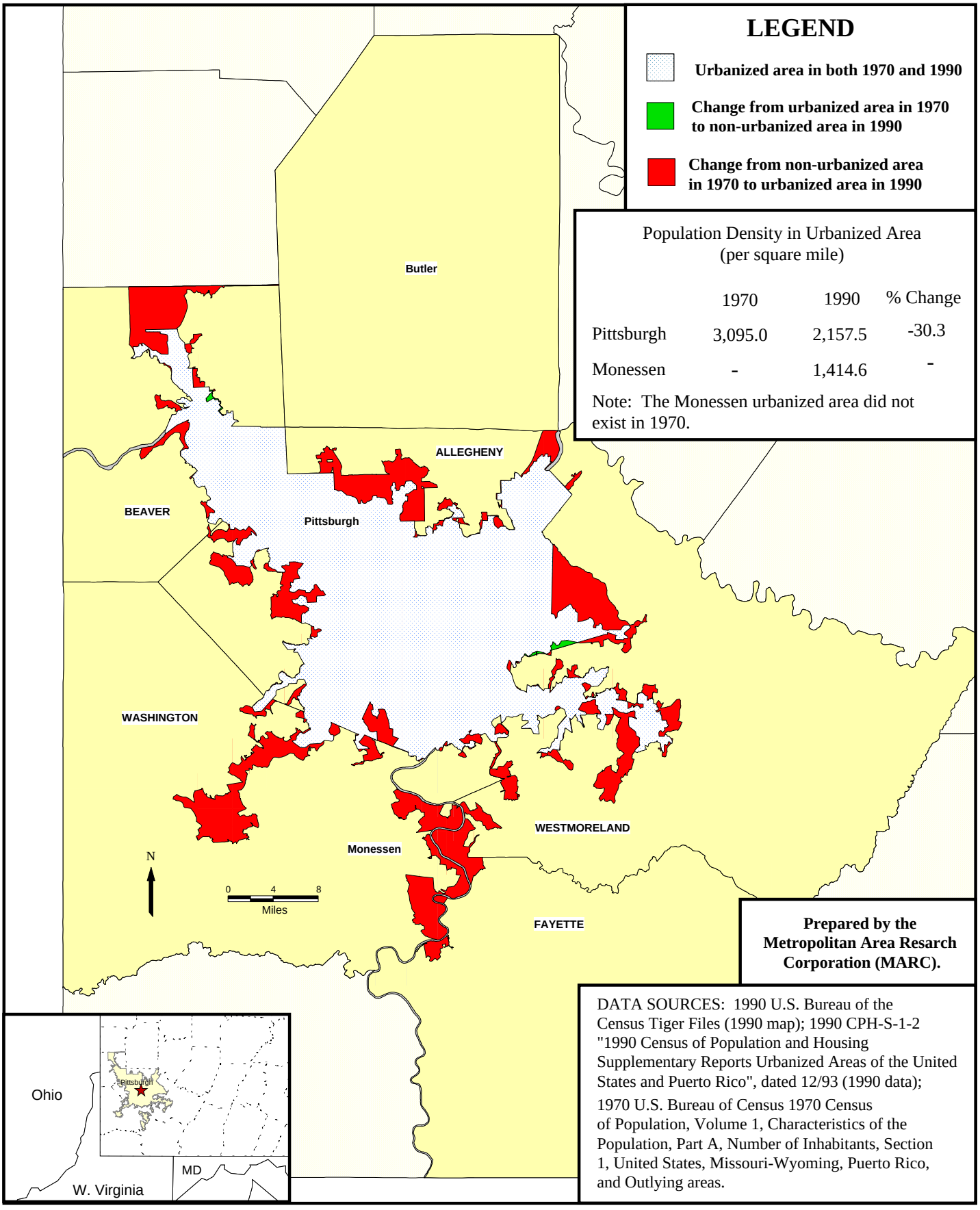
from Brownsville to Charleroi, which have been completed or will be completed by 2002, are included in Figures 24 and 25.

[108] Pennsylvania Department of Transportation.

[109] Also included in the urbanized area are large concentrations of non-residential urban area, such as industrial parks, office areas, and airports.

[110] Population and land area data from the "1990 Census of Population and Housing Supplementary Reports Urbanized Areas of the United States and Puerto Rico" (December 1993), and the "1970 Census of Population Supplementary Report, Population and Land Area of Urbanized Areas: 1970 and 1960" (February 1972).

Figure 26: Change in Urbanized Area, 1970-1990



Population Density in Urbanized Area
(per square mile)

	1970	1990	% Change
Pittsburgh	3,095.0	2,157.5	-30.3
Monessen	-	1,414.6	-

Note: The Monessen urbanized area did not exist in 1970.

Prepared by the Metropolitan Area Resarch Corporation (MARC).

DATA SOURCES: 1990 U.S. Bureau of the Census Tiger Files (1990 map); 1990 CPH-S-1-2 "1990 Census of Population and Housing Supplementary Reports Urbanized Areas of the United States and Puerto Rico", dated 12/93 (1990 data);

1970 U.S. Bureau of Census 1970 Census of Population, Volume 1, Characteristics of the Population, Part A, Number of Inhabitants, Section 1, United States, Missouri-Wyoming, Puerto Rico, and Outlying areas.

with low service needs.[111] In such a way, they keep out social needs associated with lower-cost housing and keep demands on tax base low. Taxes are further reduced by spreading these controlled needs over a broad rich property tax base.

The dynamic of fiscal zoning creates three sets of mutually reinforcing relationships. First, the communities with high tax resources, low tax rates, and little affordable housing can continue to attract more and more business, the presence of which continually keeps the overall tax rate comparatively low and increases revenues. Because of low social needs, these cities can provide a few high-quality local services.

A second reinforcing relationship involves those cities that have increasing social needs but have small and often declining property tax bases. This combination leads to both declining consumer demographics and increased property tax rates often chasing a declining level of services. All of these factors are large negatives in terms of business location and retention. Often, central and satellite cities and older suburbs spend a great deal on unsuccessful efforts to become more socio-economically stable, as their tax base stagnates or even evaporates out from under them.

The third relationship concerns developing suburbs that lose the battle of fiscal zoning. These are fast-growing suburbs that have not attracted business or executive housing. They must pay for their schools, police, parks, curbs, and gutters with fewer resources. To keep taxes from exploding, they are forced to abandon long-range thinking and build the lower-valued homes and multi-family units rejected by the wealthier suburbs. As they develop, they frequently do not address the expensive issues of sewer systems and road construction. Hence, in addition to low valued homes and business, they often develop on septic systems that will soon have to be remediated at very high cost. Similarly, the narrow country roads soon will have to be widened in an already developed community at far greater expense. These decisions, in the long run, catch up with low fiscal capacity developing suburbs. As their wells fail and congestion increases, they ultimately become the declining suburbs of tomorrow. Further, in a perhaps futile attempt to remain competitive in terms of property taxes, working-class developing communities often suppress local expenditures on public services, particularly on schools.

The increase of property wealth in some affluent communities and the stagnancy or decline of value in central and satellite cities and older suburbs represents an interregional transfer of tax base. As such, the loss of value in older poorer communities is one of the costs of economic polarization and urban sprawl. Federal, state, and local governments spend billions of dollars building infrastructure such as schools, freeways, and sewers which add enormous value to growing parts of the region. To the extent that these public expenditures serve to transfer value, they are wasted. Adding to this dysfunction, the infrastructure of new cities is paid for by taxes and fees levied on the residents and businesses of the older parts of the region.

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[111] D. Winsor, *Fiscal Zoning in Suburban Communities* (1979); B. Rolleston, "Determinants of Restrictive Suburban Zoning: An Empirical Analysis," *Journal of Urban Economics* 21 (1987): 1-21; M. Wasylenko, "Evidence of Fiscal Differentials and Intrametropolitan Firm Relocation," *Land Economics* 56 (1980): 339-56; Cervero, "Regional Mobility."

2. Cities

In the Pittsburgh region, in the places where social needs are greatest, overall total property value is comparatively low. The 1997 tax base per household for the Pittsburgh region was $80,789. (Figure 27).[112] The Stressed subregion and the city of Pittsburgh were about 86 percent of this value. The High Need communities were only about half the regional value at $41,013. These are places that face rapidly growing social needs with very few tax-base resources. On the other hand, the Affluent communities, which have few poor or needy residents, had an average tax base per household of $125,467, or 155.3 percent of the regional value.

Tax Base per Household, 1997

	Region	High Need Communities	Stressed Communities	Affluent Communities	Pittsburgh
Value	**$80,789**	**$41,013**	**$69,350**	**$125,467**	**$70,612**
% of Reg Val	**100**	**50.8**	**85.8**	**155.3**	**87.4**

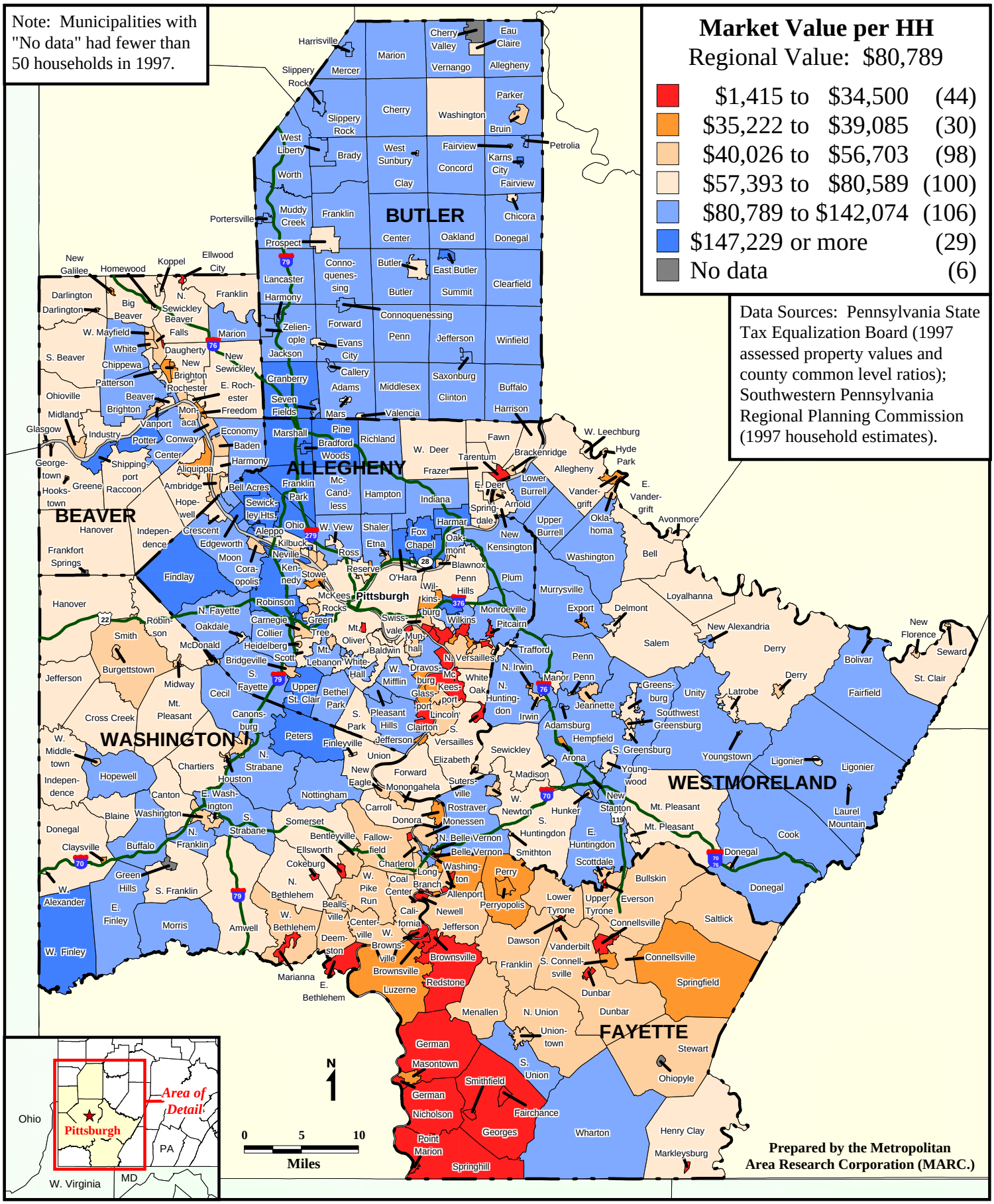
More than half (235) of the Pittsburgh region's communities had tax bases per household that were less than the central city; ninety-two of these places had tax bases between $34,501 and $50,000, and forty-four had tax bases at or below $34,500, or about 43 percent of the regional average. These places were mostly located in the Mon Valley and in southwestern Fayette County; about three-quarter's of them were High Need communities while the rest were primarily Stressed places. They included Stressed Wall ($30,460) and Smithfield ($30,115), as well as High Need Belle Vernon ($22,210) and Rankin ($18,599).

In contrast, there were thirteen communities in the Pittsburgh region that had property values per household greater than $200,000, including three that were over $400,000. Except for West Finley, they were all located in northern Allegheny County and in Beaver County and almost all were Affluent communities. The highest tax base communities included Fox Chapel—$415,110 or five times the regional average—and Sewickley Heights—$482,903, six times the regional average.

Between 1985 and 1997 the Pittsburgh region experienced a 19.4 percent increase in overall property value per household, from $67,676 in 1985 (in 1997 dollars) to $80,789 in 1997 (Figure 28). During this period, both Pittsburgh and the High Need subregion remained about the same, and the Stressed communities saw an increase of 15.7 percent. Yet many High Need and Stressed places experienced huge losses in tax base. Thirty-three communities lost more than 10 percent of their tax bases and thirteen of those lost at least 30 percent. These places were an even mix of High Need and Stressed communities. The High Need communities were mostly located in the Mon Valley and included: Rankin (-42.3 percent, from $32,222 in 1985 to $18,599 in 1997); Duquesne (-42.7 percent, from $53,185 to $30,496); East Pittsburgh (-51.2 percent, from $77,782 to $37,953); and Homestead (-55.9 percent, from $55,242 to $24,370). Indeed, as a

[112] All tax-base figures are from the Pennsylvania State Tax Equalization Board and are based on assessed property values and county common level rations. Eight communities had fewer than 50 households in 1985 and/or 1997: Cherry Valley, Frankfort Springs, Glasgow, Green Hills, Haysville, Homewood, Ohiopyle, and Seven Fields. Ellwood City values are for the Beaver County portion only.

Figure 27: Market Value per Household by Municipality, 1997



result of the loss of the steel industry, many of these Mon Valley communities have been officially declared "distressed" by the state, making them eligible for state aid.[113]

The Stressed communities with high tax base losses were primarily satellite cities in Fayette, Beaver, and Washington Counties. These included: Newell, which experienced a decrease of 33.5 percent (from $47,246 to $31,413); West Alexander at a decrease of 35.5 percent (from $73,992 to $47,713); Neville, which experienced a decrease of 42.6 percent (from $256,466 to $147,229); and Allenport at a decreased by 47.2 percent (from $107,407 to $56,703).

In contrast, the Affluent Communities, on average, saw an increase of 31.0 percent of their property value per household from 1985 to 1997. Individual communities that increased at a very high rate were again located primarily in northern Allegheny County. Two of the places with the largest increases were Marshall (from $146,788 in 1985 to $296,292 in 1997—101.9 percent) and Pine (from $96,140 to $232,796—142.1 percent).

Percent Change in Tax Base per Household, 1985-1997

Region	High Need Communities	Stressed Communities	Affluent Communities	Pittsburgh
19.4	-0.1	15.7	31.0	-1.5

3. School Districts

The average annual spending in the school districts of the Pittsburgh region in 1996 was $7,193 per student, ranging from $5,329 in the New Brighton Area District to $9,669 in the Quaker Valley District (Figure 29).[114] Interestingly enough, at $9,830 per student, Pittsburgh was the highest spender. Central cities often spend a relatively high amount on education due to the fact that these school districts commonly have more money-intensive special education programs—for children with unique challenges such as learning disabilities, physical disabilities, behavioral problems, or speaking English as a second language.

The districts that spent the least per student were in primarily outlying areas of Butler County, such as the Karns City district ($5,472) and Penn-Trafford ($5,336). In addition to Pittsburgh, the districts that spent the most per pupil were Affluent communities close to Pittsburgh, such as the Gateway district ($9,304) and Fox Chapel Area district ($9,621).

In Pennsylvania, the majority of school funding—57 percent—comes from local tax base. The state provides another 39 percent, based upon what each district received the year before.[115] This "hold harmless" funding system guarantees that each district will receive at least the same

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[113] Ehrenhalt, Alan. "Cooperate of Die" *Governing*, September 1995, p. 28-32.

[114] 1996 school district expenditure data from The Pennsylvania Department of Education.

[115] Pennsylvania Department of Education. The data are based on the 1996-97 school year. The remaining 4 percent of funding comes from federal and other sources.

Figure 28: Percentage Change in Market Value per Household by Municipality, 1985-1997 (Adjusted by CPI)

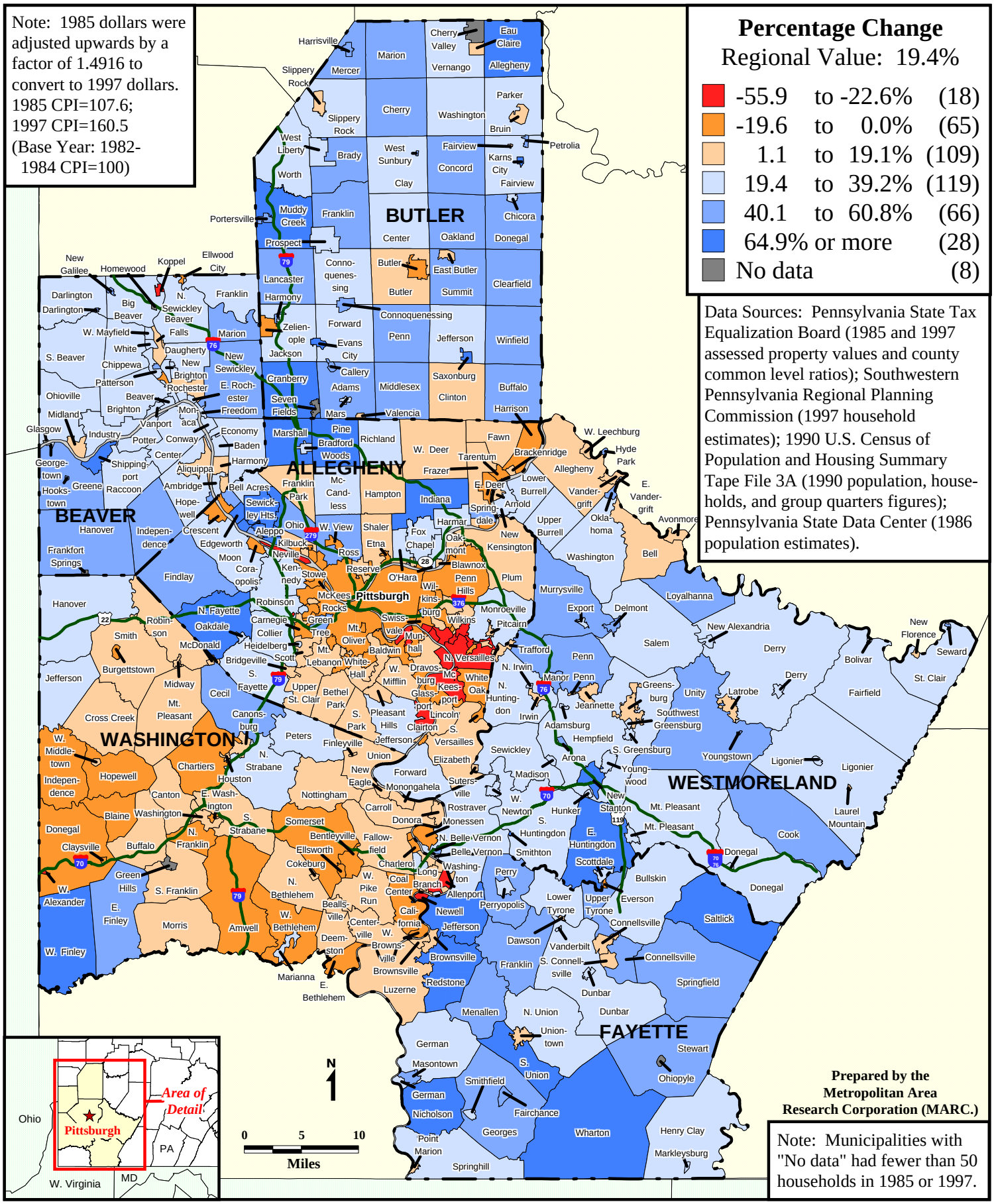
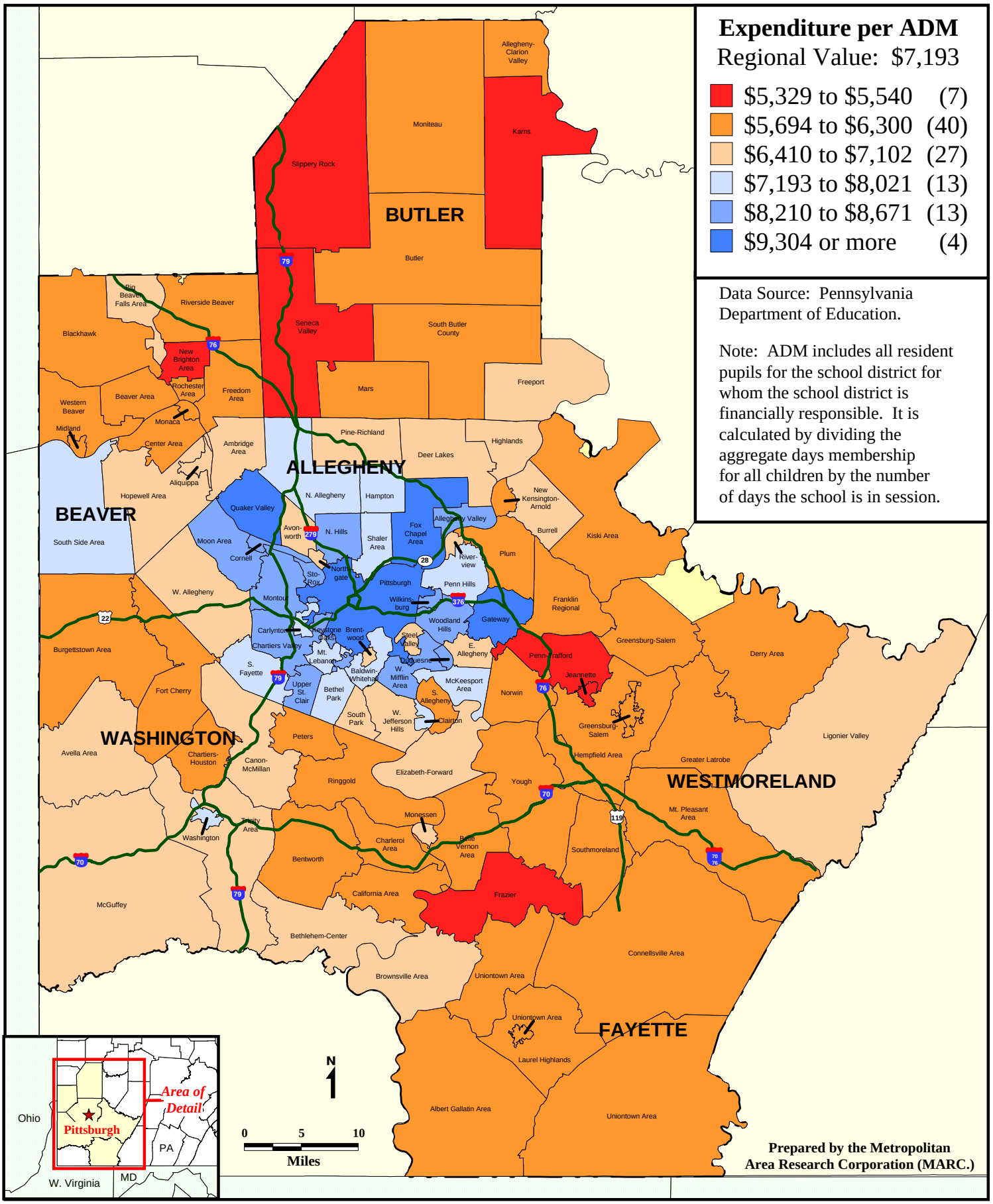


Figure 29: Expenditures per Average Daily Membership by School District, 1996



amount of state aid as it received in the previous year. Yearly increases in state funding have been based on varying factors, and more recently have begun to rely primarily on an aid ratio comparing a district's property market value and personal income to statewide averages. This allows low tax base and low-income districts to receive greater increases in funding then other districts. The 1999-2000 school year includes a 3 percent increase in funding (approximately $107.1 million), two-thirds of which is based on this market value/personal income ratio. In addition, while all districts will be guaranteed an increase of at least 1 percent, districts with an aid ratio of at least .7 are guaranteed an increase of 4 percent. [116]

Only a limited number of districts qualify for increases in funding of at least 4 percent for the 1999-2000 school year. In the Pittsburgh region, just 28 of the 104 districts are expected to qualify. Yet out of the twenty-five lowest spending districts in 1996, only 10 are in this category. The remaining 15 districts, mostly located in Westmoreland and Butler Counties, are expected to receive increases of between 1 and 4 percent.[117] Clearly, the current level of state funding is not enough to offset disparities in school spending in the Pittsburgh region.

J. Jobs

1. The Spatial Mismatch Hypothesis

Twenty-five years ago, John Kain, an economist at Harvard, argued for the existence of a "spatial mismatch" between affordable housing and available jobs.[118] The theory posits that American cities are undergoing transformations from centers of goods and production to centers of information processing. The blue-collar jobs that once made up the economic backbone of cities have either vanished or moved to the developing suburbs, if not overseas. Central-city low-skilled manufacturing jobs are no longer available. In addition, neighborhood retail businesses that served the middle class have also to a large extent relocated to the suburbs.[119] The spatial mismatch theory states that it is not lack of jobs per se that is the problem, since central-city population growth has been as slow as central-city job growth. The problem is that the percentage of central-city jobs with high educational requirements is increasing, while the average education level of central-city residents is dropping.[120] In addition, essentially all of the

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[116] Ibid. $70,500,000 of the total increase in education funding is allocated based on the market value/personal income ratio. The remainder is allocated as follows: $7.9 million is distributed to districts with an Average Daily Membership of less than 1,500; $6.8 million is distributed to districts with at least 10 percent of their children from low-income families; $6.4 million is distributed to districts whose ADM increased between the 1997-98 and 1998-99 school years; and $15 million is distributed to qualifying districts to ensure a) that all districts receive at least a 1 percent increase and b) that all districts with aid ratios of at least .7 receive at least a 4 percent increase.

[117] Ibid.

[118] John Kain, "Housing Segregation, Negro Unemployment, and Metropolitan Decentralization," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 82 (May 1968): 175-97.

[119] John D. Kasarda, "Urban Industrial Transition and the Underclass," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 501 (January 1989): 36.

[120] Ibid.

net growth in jobs with low educational requirements is occurring in the suburbs and exurbs.[121] This low-skilled jobs exodus to the suburbs disproportionately affects central-city poor people, particularly minorities, who often face more limited choice of housing location in job growth areas and a lack of transit services from the urban core to those suburbs.[122]

2. Jobs per Capita

Because we are interested in where the jobs are found in relation to those who need them, in looking at employment in the region, we look at where the jobs are located, rather than how many employed people live in each jurisdiction. Number of jobs per capita is also a measure of a jurisdiction's relative strength in the regional economy and in competition for tax base.

On average, the Pittsburgh metropolitan area had 54.5 jobs per 100 persons in 1997 (Figure 30).[123] The city of Pittsburgh had 115.7 jobs per 100 persons, among the highest in the region. Many cities in the region had very few jobs—fifty had less than 10.8 jobs per 100 persons. A few of these places were very small and Affluent communities such as Laurel Mountain and Twilight, and a few more were High Need communities like Marianna and West Brownsville. Most, however, were Stressed inner suburbs and satellite cities such as: South Franklin (4.1 jobs per 100 persons), Midway (3.2 jobs per 100 persons), Frazer (3.1 jobs per 100 persons), and Reserve (2.6 jobs per 100 persons). On the other hand, nineteen communities had more jobs per 100 persons than Pittsburgh. Most of these were Affluent and Stressed places, half in Allegheny County, and half in other parts of the region. These job centers included Neville (237.5 jobs per 100 persons), Green Tree (323.8 jobs per 100 persons), and Findlay (324.0 jobs per 100 persons).

Between 1990 and 1997 the Pittsburgh region experienced an increase of only 7.9 percent in jobs per capita (Figure 31). During this period, the city of Pittsburgh gained jobs per capita at the rate of 12.8 percent. Despite the overall regional increase in jobs per capita, about one-hundred cities lost jobs and twenty-two of these lost more than 37 percent of their jobs. Many of these places had few jobs to begin with, such as the Stressed cities of Frazer, which went from 8.4 to 3.1 jobs per 100 persons (-63.1 percent); South Franklin, which went from 15.3 to 4.1 jobs per 100 persons (-73.2 percent); and Midway, which went from 12.2 to 3.2 jobs per 100 persons (-73.8 percent). Other places with high job losses were High Need Pulaski, which went from 26.1 to 14.0 jobs per 100 persons (-46.4 percent) and East Bethlehem, which went from 33.0 to 8.9

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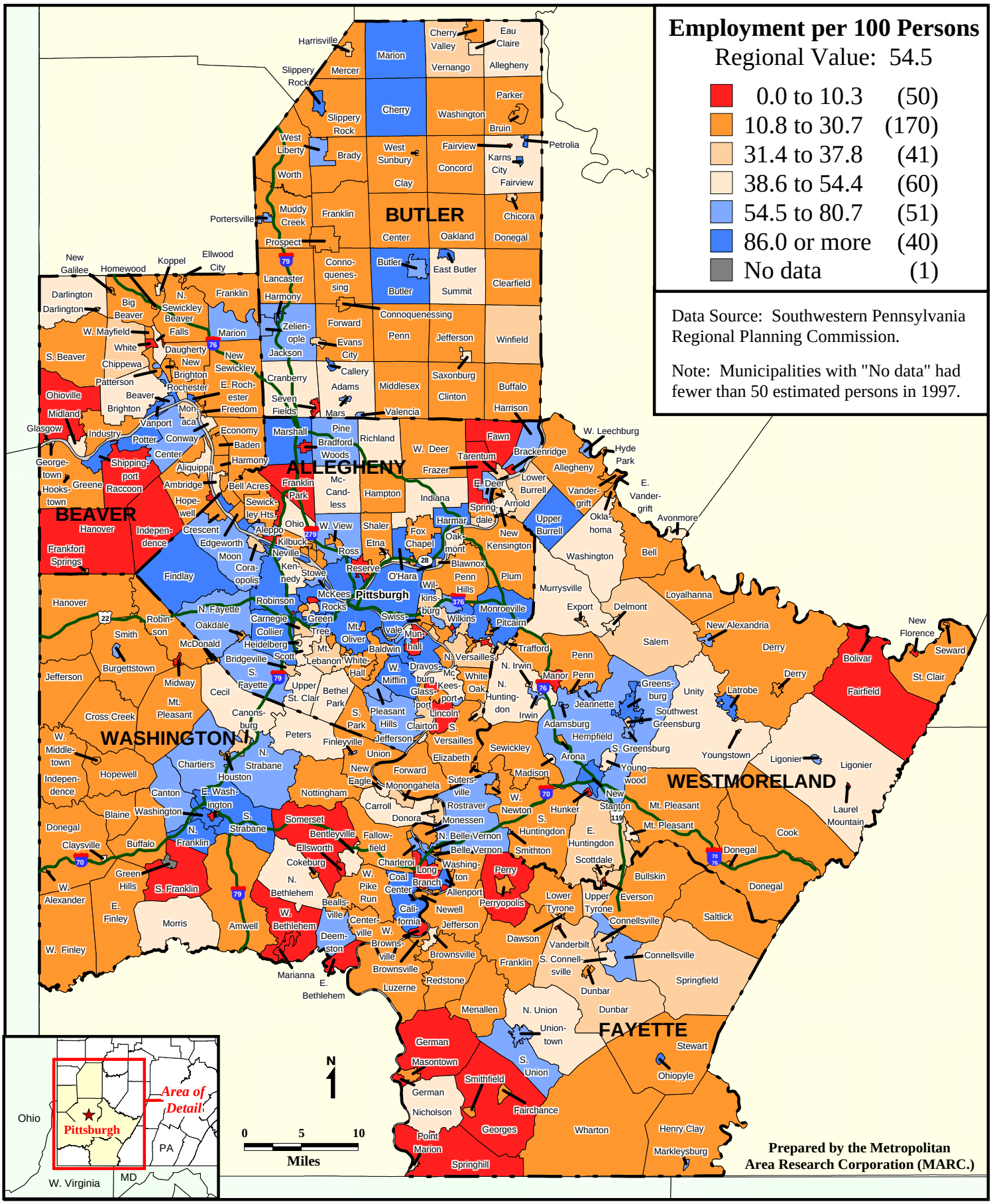
121 Ibid.

122 For further discussion of the pros and cons of the spatial mismatch hypothesis, see Joseph Mooney, "Housing Segregation, Negro Employment and Metropolitan Decentralization: An Alternative Perspective," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* (May 1969): 299-311. See Hutchinson (1974); Farley (1987); Inlanfedt and Sjoquist (1990-2); Offner and Saks (1971) Friedlander (1972); Harrison (1974), Leonard (1986); all in Kathy Novak, "Jobs and Housing: Policy Options for Metropolitan Development," (Research Department: Minnesota House of Representatives February 1994); David Elwood, "The Spatial Mismatch Hypothesis: Are the Teenage Jobs Missing in the Ghetto?" in *The Black Youth Employment Crisis* eds. Richard B. Freeman and Harry J. Holzer (1986): 147-90.

123 All jobs data are from the Southwestern Pennsylvania Regional Planning Commission. Green Hills had fewer than 50 estimated persons in 1990, 1997, and 2015.

Figure 30: Employment per 100 Persons by Municipality, 1997



jobs per 100 persons (-73.0 percent). Some job-rich Affluent cities also experienced high losses, including Moon, which went from 132.3 to 61.7 jobs per 100 persons (-53.4 percent) and Ohio, which went from 227.2 to 54.4 percent (-76.1 percent). Places that experienced the most job growth per capita were mostly small, Stressed satellite cities as well as some cities in eastern Beaver County. Yet these places were a mix of cities that had extremely low job rates to begin with, such as Ellsworth, (from 2.6 to 7.2 jobs per 100 persons, a 176.9 percent increase) or had moderate job rates in 1990, such as Mars (from 29.2 to 70.4 jobs per 100 persons, a 141.1 percent increase).

Job projections to 2015 show that job centers in the Pittsburgh region are expected to remain in much of the same areas, as the regional value is expected to increase by only 1.1 percentage points to 55.6 percent (Figure 32). Jobs per capita are expected to remain high in parts of Allegheny County. Areas with few jobs per capita will continue to be in Stressed satellite and older communities scattered throughout the six counties, but concentrated particularly in eastern Washington County and western Fayette County, as well as southwestern Beaver County.

V. Metropolitan Solutions

The foregoing patterns demonstrate, if nothing else, the need for a metropolitan approach to stabilizing the central city, satellite cities and older suburbs and the need for creating equity throughout the Pittsburgh region. If the people of the Pittsburgh region allow social needs to further concentrate on the declining tax base of places like Wall, Smithfield, Rankin, Allenport, and Belle Vernon, these communities can do little to stabilize fundamentally. Similarly, as long as parts of the region can exclude the costs and effects of social responsibilities, the region's resources will naturally flow there. As polarization continues, the concentration of poverty intensifies and creates an increasingly rapid socioeconomic decline that rolls outward from the central city and older suburbs, and from satellite cities. Further, fragmented land-use patterns and competition for tax base lead to wasteful, low-density sprawl, institutionalize polarization, and squander valuable natural resources.

The Metropolitan Area Research Corporation and a growing core of urban scholars believe that regional polarization needs a strong, multifaceted, regional response. In order to stabilize the central and satellite cities and older suburbs and prevent metropolitan polarization, there are three areas of reform that must be accomplished on a metropolitan scale: 1) greater fiscal equity among jurisdictions of a region, 2) smarter growth through better planning practices, 3) structural reform of metropolitan governance structures to allow for fair and efficient implementation of their present task and ultimately of the other reform measures. The areas of reform are inter-related and reinforce each other substantively and politically.

Figure 31: Percentage Change in Employment per Capita by Municipality, 1990-1997

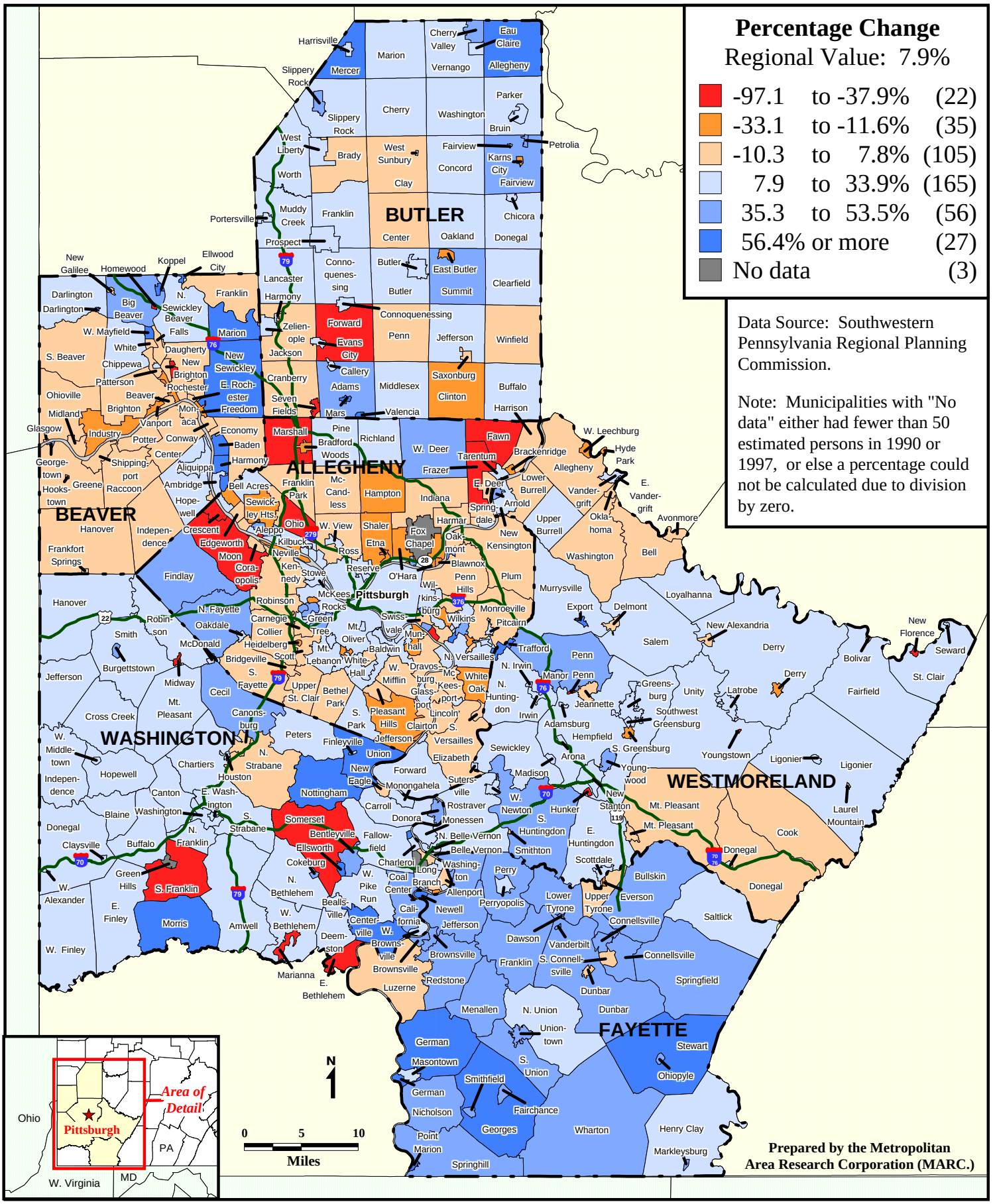
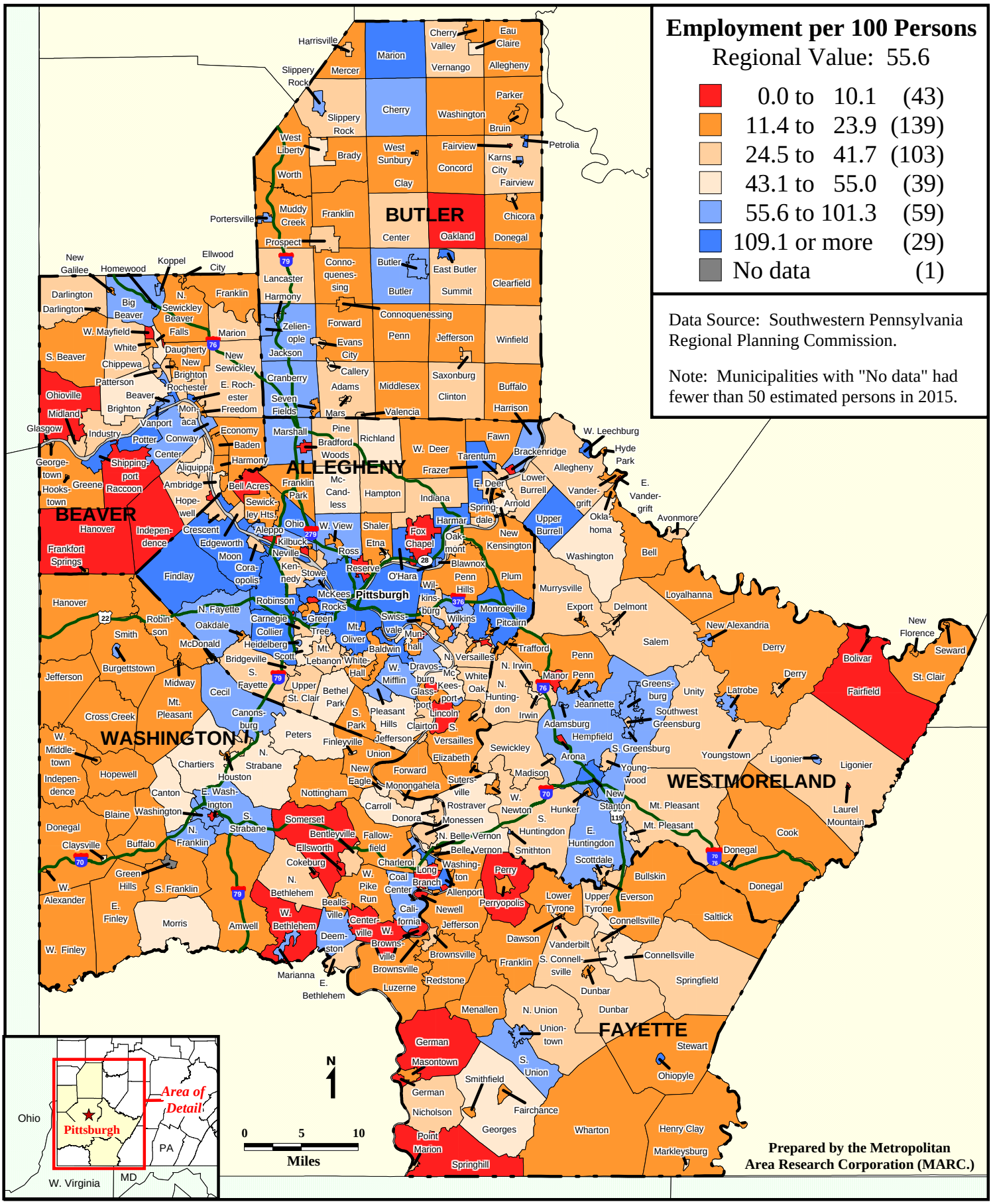


Figure 32: Projected Employment per 100 Persons by Municipality, 2015



A. Equity

1. Tax-base Sharing

An important first step in creating equity among metropolitan jurisdictions with land-use planning powers is some form of tax equity between these jurisdictions. Minnesota has pioneered a system that, through the sharing of a portion of the local property tax base, creates greater regional equity among cities and counties in the provision of public services while preserving local autonomy. Tax equity among jurisdictions is often an appropriate entry point for regional discussions because it does not threaten local autonomy, it does not require difficult discussions of race, class, and housing, and it creates a scenario where the majority of citizens live in areas which will immediately receive lower taxes and better services.

As long as basic local services are dependent on local property wealth, tax-base sharing is a critical component of metropolitan stability. Its purposes, all interrelated, are threefold. Tax-base sharing: (a) creates equity in tax rates and in the ability of local governments to provide public services; (b) diminishes intra-metropolitan competition for tax base; and (c) makes land-use planning easier, both substantively and politically.

a. Tax-base Sharing Creates Equity

The equity argument states that basic public services such as police and fire, local infrastructure, and parks should be equitable on a metropolitan level. People of moderate means should not have inferior public services because they cannot afford to live in property-rich communities. The equity problem is usually most critical in the central and satellite cities as concentrated poverty multiplies needs exponentially in the face of relatively weak, often evaporating local tax base and declining state and federal support for urban programs. Virtually everywhere in a metropolitan region where social needs are growing rapidly, the tax base is uncertain or declining; everywhere in a given region where the tax base is accelerating dramatically, social needs are stable or declining. By regionalizing the tax base, the growing property wealth in the region will be available to meet the region's growing social needs.

b. Tax-base Sharing Reduces Competition for Tax Base

Proponents of tax-base sharing argue that intra-metropolitan competition for tax base is detrimental to a region. First, it is bad for cities to engage in bidding wars for businesses that have already chosen to locate in a given region. In such situations, public monies are used to improve the fiscal position and services of one community at the expense of another, while business takes advantage of the competition to unfairly reduce its social responsibilities. Even the threat of leaving can induce large public subsidies from troubled communities. These arguments are reinforced by the large use of Tax Increment Financing (TIF), which allows cities to compete—some might say gamble—for tax base not only with their own resources but with those of the local school district, county, and state.

Opponents respond that competition among communities encourages efficient use of government funds and teaches local officials that successful cities are lean, mean, and competitive. In response, more often than not, those who benefit from intra-metropolitan

competition are developing, high tax-capacity areas with room to expand, no social problems, and comparatively low taxes; those that lose in competition are low tax-capacity, fully-developed areas with considerable social problems and high taxes. In the end, affluent expanding suburbs dominate the market and grow increasingly stronger while the poor suburbs, saddled with the debts of unfair social burdens, are over-leveraged and cannot compete.

c. Tax-base Sharing Supports Land-use Planning

The fragmented nature of a metropolitan tax base worsens at least two aspects of urban sprawl: unnecessary outward movement and low-density development patterns. Unnecessary outward movement occurs when the growth of new units on the metropolitan fringe exceeds the growth of new regional households and the fully-developed parts of the region (places with existing infrastructure) become seriously under-utilized. This type of sprawl is fueled in part by the push of community decline in the older, developed areas and its attendant fiscal crisis, and the pull of rapidly growing communities that need tax base to pay for infrastructure.

As new communities develop, they face large debt burdens in terms of infrastructure such as streets, sewers, parks, and schools. As the debt comes due, and potential property tax increases threaten, there is tremendous pressure on these communities to spread these costs through growth. Low tax base developing communities often frantically build low-valued properties—sometimes on inadequate septic lots—simply to accumulate enough tax base to pay yesterday's bills. They do this without considering the long term infrastructure cost associated with later sewer and other infrastructure remediation.

Unnecessary low-density development occurs when communities are built at densities that cannot be served by public transit and create infrastructure costs that are unsustainable by the existing tax base.[124] In this light, the same local fiscal pressures that encourage low-density development to enrich property tax base also contribute to unnecessary low-density sprawl. When communities can increase their tax base and limit their local social responsibilities and costs through fiscal zoning (zoning in such a way as to capture the most tax base), they will do so. One only has to look at the great disparities in tax base per household on a metropolitan level to understand the potentially large local fiscal incentives for fiscal zoning. Requiring large lot sizes is a sure way to ensure that expensive housing will be built.

Minnesota's experience with tax-base sharing legislation provides a clear example of how tax-base sharing facilitates land-use planning. In the Twin Cities region in the early 1970's reformers attempting to pass legislation for metropolitan land-use planning used tax-base sharing as a quid pro quo to gain political support in the low fiscal capacity developing suburbs.[125] When low tax base communities were told that an urban service line was going to be drawn through the middle of their cities and that land outside that boundary would be zoned at agricultural densities, they cried foul. They argued that they desperately needed the land for the development of tax base to keep rising taxes down and to pay for overcrowded schools. Compromise and acceptance

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[124] American Farmland Trust. "Density-Related Public Costs," (Washington, D.C., 1986).

[125] Alan Dale Albert, "Sharing Suburbia's Wealth: The Political Economy of Tax Base Sharing in the Twin Cities," BA Thesis, Harvard University, March, 1979.

was reached when they were shown the potential benefits of a tax-base sharing system, *i.e.* that they would receive new tax base and would actually gain fiscal capacity per capita faster than they would solely through the development of lower-valued residential property. In the end, in Minnesota the low tax base communities accepted land-use planning in exchange for tax-base sharing.

2. Reinvestment in Older Communities

Reinvestment in older core communities and satellite cities also helps to create fiscal equity. Central and satellite cities and older suburbs, already fiscally stressed with low tax bases, high taxes, and minimal services, cannot begin the process of reinvestment that is necessary to remain competitive. Regional funds must be created to clean up older industrial parks and polluted areas (brownfields), rebuild infrastructure such as sewers and roads, rehabilitate housing, replenish and augment urban parks and amenities. These programs cannot be geared only to the central city, but must involve the satellite cities and older suburbs as well—particularly the Mon Valley communities—where such problems are often very severe. Part of the reinvestment strategy includes equitable geographic allocation of transportation investment, which involves a more publicly accountable distribution and balance of highway and transit resources. In conjunction with the rebuilding of the older communities in the region, significant public and private employment intended for individuals emerging from the welfare roles should be directed to those parts of the region.

B. Smart Growth

Unless the Pittsburgh region begins to manage the process of growth at the edge, it will undermine any remediative efforts happening in the fully developed parts of the region. If local governments representing 30 percent of a region can continue to develop only expensive homes and jobs, without worker housing, they will rapidly draw off all the wealth and economic growth of the region. At the same time, the growing parts of the region will commit the entire region to sprawling land use vastly disproportionate to population increases, worsening congestion, greater energy consumption, worsening pollution, and growing social separation. Land-use planning requires setting outward limits for growth in the form of an urban growth boundary, staging new infrastructure (such as roads and adequate sewer) together with new housing, developing at a density that will support at least some minimal form of public transportation, and assuring the provision in all subdivisions of a fair share of affordable housing. Oregon leads the nation in regional land-use planning. Minnesota has adopted a structure to do much of what is outlined in the Oregon model, but has often failed to implement its statutes. Washington, Maryland, Florida, Georgia, Tennessee, and many smaller regions have also adopted smart growth land-use plans, although some have been more effective than others and some are too new to evaluate. An underlying debate on this issue is growing in more than half of U.S. state legislatures.

1. The Oregon Model

In the early 1970s under the leadership of moderate Republican Governor Tom McCall, Oregon instituted the nation’s most thoughtful, comprehensive land-use planning system. At the heart of Oregon's system are 19 planning goals that are achieved through comprehensive

planning at the city and county level. While we believe that the debate about land-use planning throughout the country is extremely positive and that the various solutions that are being created will provide new models and new evidence about how growth management can work, the Oregon model described below remains the most effective effort to date. It involves the following elements, all of which are the necessary components for the most effective land-use planning framework: (a) community-wide planning goals; (b) locally developed land-use plans addressing these goals; (c) review of these plans by a regional entity; (d) an adjudication process; and (e) periodic effectiveness evaluation by an independent entity.[126]

a. Planning Goals and Guidelines

Under the Oregon system, the state promulgates a statement of planning goals applicable to all jurisdictions. The goals include the creation of an urban growth boundary around every city and county (a regional boundary in the Portland metropolitan area), affordable housing (including overall density goals), and coherence with regional plans for transportation, sewerage, parks, and school infrastructure. Any local plans and policies inconsistent with these goals are challengeable in court or in special forums created for such adjudication. In conjunction with these reforms, building standards and maximum turnaround time for local development decisions are then made uniform. These reforms help builders make long-term plans to maximize their resources and foster patterns of region-wide sustainable development.

In terms of the development of a regional or urban growth boundary, the region or city is required to plan for growth at present absorption rates and to draw a line around the area that would accommodate such growth over a set period of time, perhaps twenty years. Growth is deflected from sensitive environmental areas and highly productive farmland and toward areas where urban services were present or could most easily be provided.

The density and affordable housing goals reinforce the barrier-reduction component of fair housing, as discussed below. In Oregon, the housing rules promulgated under this goal require Portland's metropolitan cities to allow for a construction mix that includes at least 50 percent multifamily development and allows development at certain minimum target densities. In the city of Portland, the target density is ten units per buildable acre; in most Portland suburbs, it is six to eight units.[127]

In Washington County, Oregon, the most affluent of the Portland region's three metropolitan counties, 11,110 multifamily units approved in five years nearly equaled the 13,893 units that were planned to be built over twenty years under the pre-housing rule plans. Multiple family housing now makes up 54 percent of new development.[128] Before the housing rule, average lots sizes were 13,000 square feet. Since the rule, two-thirds of the homes are built on

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126 Downs, *New Visions*, pp. 180--81.

127 1000 Friends of Oregon and the Home Builders Association of Metropolitan Portland, Managing Growth to Promote Affordable Housing: Revisiting Oregon's Goal 10, executive summary (Portland, Ore., September 1991), p. 3.

128 Ibid.

lots smaller than 9,000 square feet.[129] Without the growth boundary and housing rule, the same number of housing units would have consumed an additional 1,500 acres of land.[130] Because of the density savings already realized, there will be space for 14,000 additional units within the Portland urban growth boundary. While the price of land has gone up within Portland's urban growth boundary, the housing rule has lowered the cost of housing on a regional basis, and Portland's average housing costs are lower than those of comparable West Coast cities. Seventy-seven percent of the region's households can afford to rent the median-priced two-bedroom apartment, and 67 percent can afford mortgage payments on the median-priced two-bedroom home.[131]

In addition, increasing building density and housing-type diversity makes mass transit economically and physically possible. Density also saves local infrastructure costs for building new highways and sewer extensions.

b. Local Land-use Plans

If local governments are to be required to develop a comprehensive land-use plan that addresses the regional goals, citizen participation should be required in formulating these plans as is required under Oregon's system. Planning and revision would remain in the hands of local governments, which helps preserve local autonomy, but within the context of a broader regional framework.

c. Plan Review

Under Oregon's plan, a special state land-use agency reviews all local plans to ensure consistency with the goals and suggest revisions of any inconsistencies. This entity has the power to withhold approval from local plans, which prevents the municipality from receiving beneficial services such as regional roads, sewers, or other aid from state and federal governments. The same entity coordinates local transportation, utility regulation, environmental protection, and activities of other governmental units that have a regional significance. This ensures that all actions of state agencies within the region are consistent with regional plans, local plans, and other agency decisions.

Transportation is particularly important in this regard. Land-use policy needs to govern decisions about new infrastructure. All land use and infrastructural decisions must be coordinated in a way that maximizes the use of existing roads, sewerage, and other infrastructure. Today, in transportation planning, congestion and demand (perhaps also political power) are the main criteria for providing new infrastructure. This means that a growing community receives new sewers or roads even if an adjacent community has excess paid-for capacity. Such infrastructure-on-demand costs less for the new community, perpetuates leapfrogging low-density patterns at

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129 1000 Friends and Home Builders, "Managing Growth"; Robert Liberty, *Oregon's Comprehensive Growth Management*.

130 1000 Friends and Home Builders, "Managing Growth".

131 Ibid.

the periphery, and the entire metropolitan region pays. In addition, land-use policy that places affordable housing near new jobs can relieve commuter congestion on regional roads.

d. Adjudication Process

The Oregon system includes an adjudication process to settle disputes between the local governments and the state land-use agency and between developers and local governments. A special court, or a quasi-judicial administrative agency is designed to do this, without resorting to state and federal courts. This allows localities to develop an expertise in these matters and be more efficient. It also costs less and renders faster decisions than the courts.

e. Independent Review

Finally, an independent entity, not the state structure, periodically evaluates the effectiveness of the coordinated plan.

In the end, such a system does not involve a prohibition on growth or even growth control, but is a system of sustainable, planned growth. It recognizes the new housing needs of a growing regional population, while also recognizing that growth must be anticipated and planned. Through planning, the region maximizes the use of existing public infrastructure, reduces stress on highways and sewers, allows individuals access to opportunity in communities where it is plentiful, reduces regulation and its costs for the building industry, and stabilizes the region's core communities.

2. Affordable Housing

Another component of smart regional land-use planning is ensuring that housing that is affordable to families of all income levels is available in all parts of the region. The provision of affordable housing throughout the region helps to reduce the concentration of poverty, reduce racial segregation, and stem the polarization occurring among the region's communities. Regional affordable housing gets workers closer to new jobs, helps reduce congestion on roadways, and allows older people and young divorced parents to remain in their communities as their financial and health conditions change.

There are three components to fair housing: (a) reducing non-rational barriers in zoning codes, development agreements, and development practices; (b) creating a regional funding source to provide subsidies for housing throughout the region; and (c) providing a system of testing to first understand, then eliminate, the pattern of housing discrimination in the region. Montgomery County, Maryland has been a national leader along the first two steps through its moderately-priced dwelling unit program. Oregon, Massachusetts, Minnesota, and New Jersey have taken important steps here as well. Social science data exist on housing discrimination, but no state has actively taken steps in this direction.

3. Transportation Planning

Coordinated transportation planning helps the region grow smarter. At the federal level, with the implementation of the 1991 Intermodal Surface Transportation and Efficiency Act

(ISTEA), and more recently, the 1998 Transportation Equity Act for the 21st Century (TEA-21), large federal resources were made available for transit and other forms of investment which would strengthen the viability of the fully developed core of many U.S. regions. ISTEA has been a significant help to places with a strong commitment to public transportation and, if properly implemented, TEA-21 could be an equally important piece of legislation. Of particular importance to regional stability, TEA-21 includes an increase in funds for highway system improvements and a decrease in new capacity funds. TEA-21 includes a job access program which is intended to help people coming off welfare get to their new jobs located throughout a metropolitan area. TEA-21 also includes a community preservation pilot program that addresses the integration of transportation and land use. A significant part of a regional agenda in any metropolitan area includes making sure that state legislation conforms to take full advantage of the flexibility of TEA-21, making regional decision makers that allocate TEA-21 funds more accountable to all the citizens of a given region, and allowing representatives from the older, fully-developed communities—places that have very different transportation needs than those living on the region's fringe—to be full participants in decisions involving the allocation of transportation dollars.

C. Metropolitan Structural Reform

Metropolitan planning organizations (MPOs), already set up to develop regional transportation plans and allocate enormous federal and state transportation resources, should be made more representative and accountable to the regions they serve—particularly regional bodies that are charged with managing growth in the region or managing large regional systems such as sewer, water, and transportation. Presently, these MPOs make region-shaping decisions without detailed discussion concerning the impact of their decision on the social health of the fully developed part of the region. A directly elected MPO, or one that was apportioned so that all the different types of metropolitan communities would be proportionately represented, would have more legitimacy and a broader perspective for making major decisions concerning the region's future.

Another problem with powerful regional bodies that are not elected is that there is often not significant public input in their decisions. Part of this is because older core communities have never thought these decisions were relevant to their future. Ultimately, MPOs should evolve into bodies that much more explicitly weigh the effects of their decisions on the social health of the older parts of the region and into structures in which all of the sub-regional groups discussed above are fairly represented at the table. It is our belief that they should evolve into directly elected structures and should assume growing responsibility for implementing the initiatives discussed above.

VI. A Closer Look at Tax-base Sharing

Tax-base sharing is an important first step in regional reform, as it helps build relationships and coalitions which will serve to advance other regional reforms. In Minnesota, we found that when the central city and older suburban areas could be united on common shared fiscal interests, we could overcome some of the more intense barriers created by race and class

that had long divided these subregions. The regionalism effort in the Pittsburgh region would be greatly advanced if Pittsburgh, its struggling suburbs, and declining satellite cities could unite.

To an extent, tax-base sharing already exists in Pennsylvania. As mentioned above, the state redistributes taxes to local school districts based in part on property values in those districts. Moreover, the Pittsburgh region has taken an important step toward regional tax-base sharing with the creation of the Allegheny Regional Asset District in 1993. With the creation of this district, Allegheny County levied a 1 percent sales tax to be used for county-wide purposes. Specifically, the revenue generated from this tax is used as follows: 50 percent is distributed by ARAD to fund "regional assets," such as libraries, large parks, and the Pittsburgh Zoo; 25 percent is distributed to Allegheny County to eliminate the personal property tax and reduce property taxes; and 25 percent is redistributed back to municipalities according to a revenue sharing formula based on per capita market value and tax revenues.[132]

This last 25 percent is the most critical, as it is a step toward the equity that a full regional tax-base sharing system could provide. However, its utility is limited. Applicable only to Allegheny County and based on only one-quarter of county-wide revenue, it does not provide enough funding, nor cover a wide enough area in the Pittsburgh region to begin to address the problems of many High Need and Stressed communities. Moreover, two-thirds of all funds each municipality receives must be used to reduce local taxes, leaving only the remaining third to supplement local revenue for needed services. In addition, the city of Pittsburgh is required to use 100 percent of its revenue to replace its personal property tax and reduce its amusement tax, therefore providing no additional revenue to the city.[133]

A. The Politics of Tax-base Sharing

1. The Twin Cities Fiscal Disparities System

In 1971, the Minnesota Legislature adopted a regional tax-base sharing system for the Twin Cities metropolitan area, commonly referred to as “the fiscal disparities program.”[134] Under this program, each city in the region contributes forty percent of the growth of its commercial and industrial property tax base acquired after 1971 to a regional pool. Tax base is then distributed from this pool to each city on the basis of inverse net commercial tax capacity. A highly equalizing system, the fiscal disparities program reduces tax base disparities on a regional level from 50-to-1 to roughly 12-to-1. Presently about 393 million dollars, or about 20 percent of the regional tax base, is shared annually.

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132 Allegheny Regional Asset District.

133 Ibid.

134 Many states have a statewide general revenue sharing system and many have school equity systems that eliminate much of the burden of local schools from the central city and older suburbs, but do not affect local units of government—cities and counties—with land-use powers. Currently the State of Minnesota is the only state in the nation that has a tax-base sharing system in place to provide fiscal equity among cities and counties in a metropolitan region, although this policy is currently being debated in a number of state legislatures across the county. In addition to its tax-base sharing system, Minnesota also has a statewide general revenue system and an school equity system.

While Minnesota's fiscal disparities program produces powerful equalizing effects, the formula is still not perfect. Fiscal zoning and competition for tax base continues. In this light, while a partial tax-base sharing system like the Minnesota program does not end regional competition, it does make it marginally more fair. A system that shares a larger percent of the regional tax base would be much more effective in reducing competition.

There are also some inequities. Communities in the Twin Cities metropolitan area with a higher than average commercial base, but with low-valued homes and increasing social need, contribute tax base. On the other hand, cities dominated by high-valued homes that have eschewed commercial development, but have large per-household tax bases, receive money from the system. A system that shares high-valued residential tax base as well as commercial and industrial tax base would reduce this problem.

In the 1995 session, the Minnesota legislature passed, but the governor vetoed, Fiscal Disparities II: The Metro Area Tax Cut Act. Under this bill, metropolitan jurisdictions would share the growth on the increment of value above $200,000 on high-valued homes. Short of total sharing, this expanded fiscal disparities system would have counterbalanced the inequities of the present system, undermined fiscal zoning and competition for tax base, and greatly expanded the tax-base sharing system. In addition, with only 17 percent of the region contributing tax base and fully 83 percent receiving, it was a most popular proposal among local governments.

The bill was called the Metro Tax Cut Act because its provisions required communities receiving new tax base under it, for the first two years, to use half of this new tax base for a property tax cut. The bill was "sold" as the largest single property tax cut offered by the legislature that year. The northern low tax base suburbs strongly supported the bill and it passed with bipartisan support.

2. Is Tax-base Sharing Possible Only in Minnesota?

There is a broadly shared belief that tax-base sharing came out of some cosmic consensualism in progressive Minnesota that cannot be duplicated elsewhere in the nation. This is not true.

First, tax-base sharing in Minnesota has always been controversial. Many suburban governments at first feared loss of tax base and local control. But legislative leaders realized the high degree to which property wealth was concentrated. To help convince other elected officials of the benefits of sharing the tax base, they developed computer runs that showed the projected amount of tax base cities would actually gain. Most of the older and developing middle-class suburbs were potential recipients. When officials from these suburbs realized that tax-base sharing was likely to substantially increase their tax base and stabilize their future fiscal situation, they became supporters. As one legislator put it, "before the (simulated tax-base sharing) runs, tax-base sharing was communism, afterwards it was 'pretty good policy.'"

The legislative debate surrounding the fiscal disparities program was hardly consensual. Legislators from recipient communities supported tax-base sharing and legislators from

contributing communities opposed it. When the bill became law, contributing communities brought suit against the state and litigated unsuccessfully all the way to the United States Supreme Court.[135] Contributors remain opposed, and every session their representatives introduce bills to either limit their contribution to the system or abolish the program entirely. Thus the Minnesota experience with tax-base sharing should not be viewed as a rarefied consensus, but as a strategy model for creating political coalitions to influence regional reform.

It is often said that Minnesota is different from the rest of the nation because it does not have any social or racial divisions. In response, Minnesota and the Twin Cities can be placed on a continuum. While the social and economic declines and polarization are clearly not as severe as New York, Chicago, or Detroit, they are worse than most younger and smaller regions and even than some of similar size, age, and complexity. The public schools of the central cities of Minneapolis and Saint Paul have 60 percent poor and non-white/non-Asian students in their public schools—only ten points behind Chicago—and more rapidly growing concentrated poverty. A recent regional debate on fair housing was marred by divisive discussions of race and class. Further, while the Twin Cities has the rudiments of regional cooperation, it has an unusually high number of local governments with land-use powers (187) and school districts (49) that must cooperate. In the end, the same basic dynamics that have divided and conquered older, larger regions are firmly rooted in the Twin Cities. Likewise, the local coalitions that are beginning to take action in the Twin Cities in response to regional polarization can be built elsewhere.

B. Tax-base Sharing in the Pittsburgh Region

At the outset, clearly the numbers add up to a viable coalition for tax-base sharing in the Pittsburgh region. About 70 percent of the Pittsburgh region live in cities that could gain new tax base under a properly structured proposal. While the region is divided like most regions across a variety of issues, proponents of tax-base sharing have to remember that all they are asking of the majority of communities is support for an arrangement that would give them both better levels of service and lower property taxes.

Equity mechanisms must be forged in the give and take of each local community. They must ultimately reflect the political situation and the balance of political power present in a given place at a given time. We have created models of several possible regional property tax-base sharing scenarios for the Pittsburgh region. Most of the scenarios produced positive results for at least 50 percent of the region's population. In other words more than half of the regional population would be the recipients of new property tax base, thus receiving lower taxes and better local services at the same time.

While there are countless formulas that could be used in a tax-base sharing system, we present here two examples. In this run, each of the four-hundred and twelve municipalities in the region[136] contributes 40 percent of its growth in commercial/industrial tax base into the tax-base

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135 *Burnsville v Onischuk,* 301 Minn. 137, 22 N.W.2d 523 cert. denied 420 U.S. 916 (1974).

136 Ellwood City was not included in the tax base sharing calculations because only a portion of the city is included in the study area.

sharing pool. This pool is then redistributed back out to these jurisdictions based on their total tax base in 1997. Thus, those places with low tax base receive additional tax base from the pool, while those places with high tax base contribute to the worse-off areas. This particular model run produced new tax base for 72.1 percent of the region's population (Figure 33). The places that gained the most new tax base were primarily high need older suburbs and satellite cities, including North Braddock ($1,430 per capita), Dawson ($1,527), Vanderbilt ($1,545 per capita), Everson ($1,548), and Rankin ($1,736). Indeed, one-hundred and ninety-one cities received more new tax base per capita than the city of Pittsburgh, which received $485 per capita. See Appendix B for a spreadsheet that gives a complete description of how this tax-base sharing model was calculated and that shows how much each jurisdiction contributed to, or received from the pool.

The second run shares 40 percent of the region's total market value growth from the period between 1985 and 1997, and redistributes the pool according to per capita income in 1997. This run limits the amount of money the city of Pittsburgh can receive to $100 million.[137] Again, those places with lower income residents receive additional tax base from the pool, while those places with higher income residents contribute to the worse-off areas. This particular model run produced new tax base for 66.9 percent of the region's population (Figure 34). The places that gained the most new tax base were again primarily high need older suburbs and satellite cities, but included a few more Stressed communities than the first run. Some of the largest gainers include California ($4,395 per capita), Homestead ($4,545), Vanderbilt ($4,675 per capita), Homewood ($5,026), and Rankin ($5,052). Pittsburgh would receive $290 per capita. See Appendix C for a spreadsheet that gives a complete description of how this tax-base sharing model was calculated and that shows how much each jurisdiction contributed to, or received from the pool.

VII. Conclusion

The foregoing represents a pattern of metropolitan development that the Pittsburgh region cannot afford to continue. The region's development is beginning to be characterized by sprawling inefficient land use, worsened by wasteful zero-sum competition among local governments in a single regional economy. In addition, growing disparities between local governments, neighborhoods and the citizens of the region serve to polarize the region socially, economically, racially, and politically. The status quo represents a divisive system that wastes money, energy, time, human potential and in some cases even people's lives. It is preventing the Pittsburgh region from becoming all that it can be.

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[137] Once the net distribution for each community is determined, the share distributed to the city of Pittsburgh is examined. If the share calculated for Pittsburgh is less than the maximum allowed, no adjustments are made. If the net distribution is greater than the maximum allowed, the model is run again. This time, Pittsburgh is excluded from all of the calculations; instead, it is given a net distribution equal to the maximum allowed out of the tax base pool. A final net distribution for each of the other communities is then determined.

Figure 33: Redistribution of 40% of Commercial / Industrial Market Value Growth 1985-1997 According to 1997 Total Market Value per Capita by Municipality

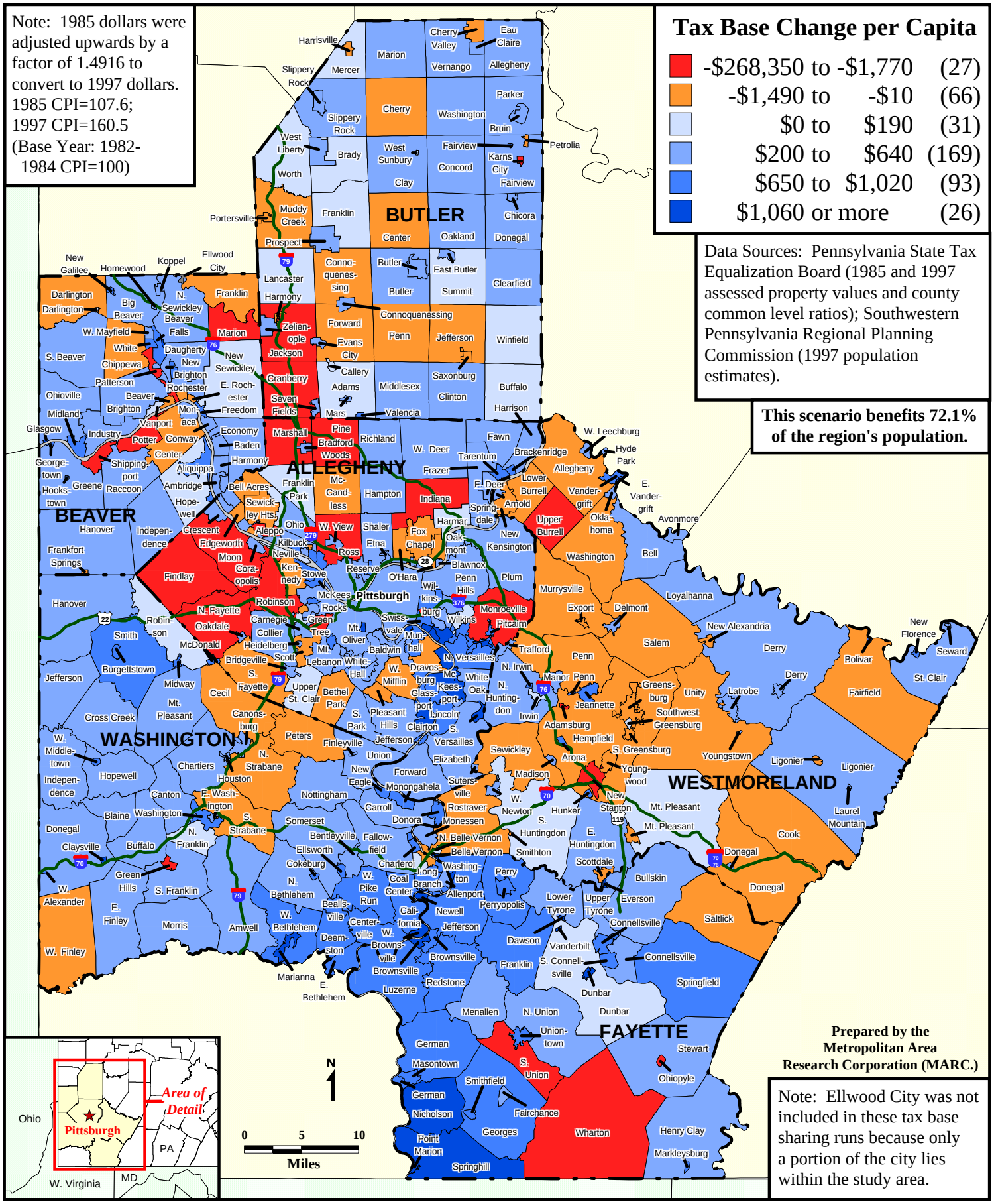
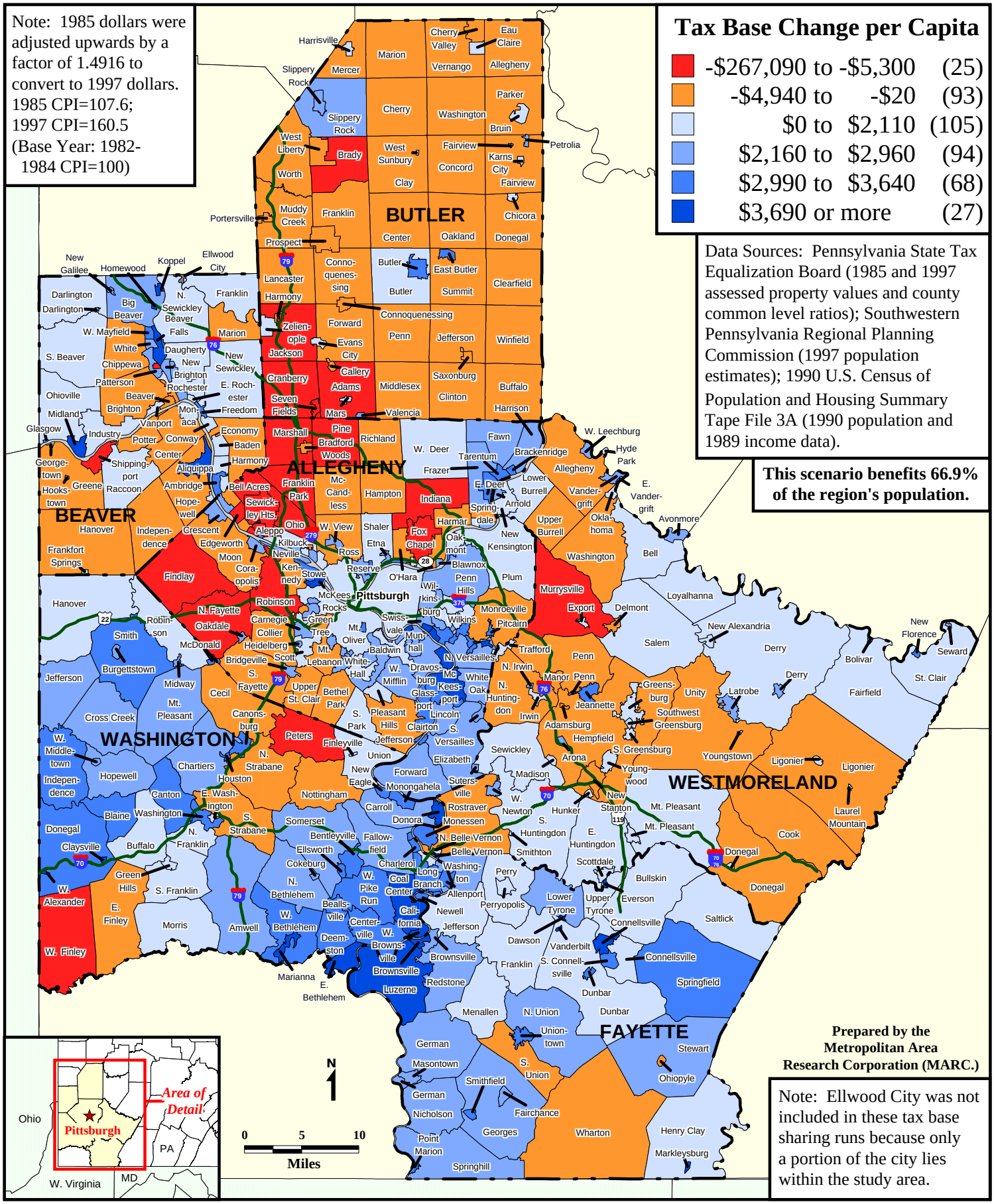


Figure 34: Redistribution of 40% of Market Value Growth 1985-1997 According to per Capita Income by Municipality with a $100,000,000 Cap on Pittsburgh



Poverty continues to concentrate in Pittsburgh and communities like Clairton, McKeesport, Rankin, and West Homestead; the schools in these places are becoming increasingly poor and segregated. Further, the property tax base in these places is rapidly declining, forcing these struggling communities to do more with less and to compete with comparatively high taxes and low spending on services. Low tax base developing suburbs like Newell and Allenport grow rapidly without the fiscal base to fully support the infrastructure they need.

At the same time, the places with the least poverty in their schools, that are becoming less poor and less diverse, and have the highest tax-base resources in the region, are attracting more jobs and the larger share or resources—fueled by government highway investment. These places that are able to entice affluent families and new business with high service levels and relatively low tax rates, will only continue to grow and zone in ways to capture the most tax base. In order to compete, the declining older parts of the region—where infrastructure is already in place and is under-utilized—must have schools and other public services that retain and attract the middle-class if they are to draw in significant redevelopment and renewal.

The problems (and potential problems) that the Pittsburgh region faces can be mitigated first through the implementation of some form of local fiscal equity among the units of government with land-use planning powers in order for the declining older parts of the region to compete. Second, planning for regional growth needs to be done in a way that is efficient and sustainable, such as implementing an urban growth boundary. Finally, the region's MPO needs to be restructured to help bring the issues of land use and the social health of the fully developed communities more significantly into their deliberations. Directly electing the MPO, or at least making its membership fully reflective of the different types of regional communities, would also ease the decision making process.

This report represents the beginnings of an agenda designed to deal with growing regional instability and disparities. While it is controversial, it represents only a best first effort, subject to the negotiation, reformation, and synthesis that occurs in all political progress. While the issues will be difficult, it is our hope that this region can work together—reason together—to solve its mutual problems.

The real importance of this discussion is the realization that the Pittsburgh region is suffering from a series of problems that are too massive for an individual local government to confront alone, that they are the same problems that have caused the decline and death of other urban centers, and that unless the people of this region concentrate their efforts on finding new solutions, they can expect no better outcome.

Appendix A: Z-Score Calculations Used to Determine Subregions

	Municipality	% Children Under 5 in Poverty, 1990	Z-Score - Children in Poverty	% Female-headed Households with Children, 1990	Z-Score - Female-headed Households	Median Household Income, 1989	Z-Score - Median Household Income	Market Value per Household, 1997	Z-Score - Market Value per Household	Average Z-Score	Subregion
1	Glasgow	100.0%	-4.9712	66.7%	-5.3016	$20,000	-0.6339	$27,194	-0.5178	-2.8561	High Need
2	Rankin	76.9%	-3.5438	70.6%	-5.7020	$10,872	-1.4552	$18,599	-0.6003	-2.8253	High Need
3	Homestead	72.7%	-3.2842	51.1%	-3.6999	$11,390	-1.4086	$24,370	-0.5449	-2.2344	High Need
4	McKees Rocks	67.4%	-2.9567	52.3%	-3.8231	$16,255	-0.9709	$35,793	-0.4354	-2.0465	High Need
5	Duquesne	52.7%	-2.0484	45.7%	-3.1455	$15,801	-1.0117	$30,496	-0.4862	-1.6729	High Need
6	Aliquippa	54.9%	-2.1843	42.4%	-2.8067	$16,804	-0.9215	$38,780	-0.4067	-1.5798	High Need
7	Beaver Falls	54.0%	-2.1287	40.0%	-2.5603	$14,423	-1.1357	$41,042	-0.3850	-1.5524	High Need
8	East Pittsburgh	47.9%	-1.7518	42.6%	-2.8272	$16,150	-0.9803	$37,953	-0.4146	-1.4935	High Need
9	Ambridge	52.2%	-2.0175	39.5%	-2.5089	$15,383	-1.0493	$42,574	-0.3703	-1.4865	High Need
10	North Braddock	56.7%	-2.2956	34.7%	-2.0161	$18,550	-0.7643	$23,566	-0.5526	-1.4072	High Need
11	Redstone	64.7%	-2.7899	27.7%	-1.2974	$15,752	-1.0161	$30,857	-0.4827	-1.3965	High Need
12	Clairton	44.2%	-1.5231	40.3%	-2.5911	$17,396	-0.8682	$30,423	-0.4869	-1.3673	High Need
13	Midland	54.8%	-2.1781	32.7%	-1.8107	$15,528	-1.0363	$42,833	-0.3678	-1.3482	High Need
14	Washington C	50.0%	-1.8815	34.3%	-1.9750	$16,365	-0.9610	$45,859	-0.3388	-1.2891	High Need
15	Dawson	75.5%	-3.4573	15.6%	-0.0550	$15,729	-1.0182	$23,397	-0.5543	-1.2712	High Need
16	Connellsville C	51.4%	-1.9680	30.4%	-1.5746	$16,635	-0.9367	$29,711	-0.4937	-1.2432	High Need
17	McKeesport	44.9%	-1.5664	33.0%	-1.8415	$16,427	-0.9554	$29,559	-0.4952	-1.2146	High Need
18	New Florence	60.5%	-2.5304	26.7%	-1.1947	$19,063	-0.7182	$43,402	-0.3624	-1.2014	High Need
19	Fayette City	46.3%	-1.6529	30.1%	-1.5438	$16,845	-0.9178	$24,136	-0.5472	-1.1654	High Need
20	Marianna	53.7%	-2.1102	28.2%	-1.3487	$19,250	-0.7014	$30,925	-0.4821	-1.1606	High Need
21	Brownsville B	50.8%	-1.9310	22.6%	-0.7737	$11,791	-1.3725	$23,843	-0.5500	-1.1568	High Need
22	New Brighton	41.2%	-1.3378	34.8%	-2.0264	$17,543	-0.8550	$38,839	-0.4061	-1.1563	High Need
23	Petrolia	60.0%	-2.4995	28.0%	-1.3282	$16,786	-0.9231	$98,569	0.1668	-1.1460	High Need
24	Donora	46.0%	-1.6344	30.4%	-1.5746	$16,620	-0.9380	$36,245	-0.4310	-1.1445	High Need
25	Uniontown	44.4%	-1.5355	30.7%	-1.6054	$15,383	-1.0493	$41,247	-0.3830	-1.1433	High Need
26	Charleroi	46.8%	-1.6838	26.1%	-1.1331	$15,789	-1.0128	$40,718	-0.3881	-1.0545	High Need
27	Point Marion	46.8%	-1.6838	25.3%	-1.0510	$17,670	-0.8435	$31,037	-0.4810	-1.0148	High Need
28	Bentleyville	36.1%	-1.0226	33.0%	-1.8415	$18,080	-0.8066	$45,181	-0.3453	-1.0040	High Need
29	Brownsville T	39.5%	-1.2327	28.7%	-1.4001	$17,917	-0.8213	$28,255	-0.5077	-0.9904	High Need
30	Wilmerding	39.0%	-1.2018	27.8%	-1.3076	$16,185	-0.9771	$35,222	-0.4408	-0.9819	High Need
31	**Pittsburgh**	**37.0%**	**-1.0782**	**36.3%**	**-2.1804**	**$20,747**	**-0.5667**	**$70,612**	**-0.1014**	**-0.9817**	**Central City**
32	Wilkinsburg	30.4%	-0.6704	38.3%	-2.3857	$22,709	-0.3901	$38,461	-0.4098	-0.9640	High Need
33	Finleyville	37.9%	-1.1338	28.9%	-1.4206	$15,972	-0.9963	$49,747	-0.3015	-0.9631	High Need
34	Vandergrift	46.1%	-1.6405	26.4%	-1.1639	$20,114	-0.6236	$38,189	-0.4124	-0.9601	High Need
35	Braddock	27.1%	-0.4665	33.0%	-1.8415	$17,340	-0.8732	$22,791	-0.5601	-0.9353	High Need
36	Butler C	39.5%	-1.2327	28.8%	-1.4103	$17,391	-0.8686	$57,998	-0.2224	-0.9335	High Need
37	Vanderbilt	50.0%	-1.8815	17.1%	-0.2090	$15,417	-1.0463	$21,756	-0.5700	-0.9267	High Need
38	Freedom	34.6%	-0.9299	29.2%	-1.4514	$18,575	-0.7621	$36,091	-0.4325	-0.8940	High Need

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39	West Newton	49.4%	-1.8445	21.3%	-0.6403	$18,949	-0.7284	$47,342	-0.3246	-0.8844	High Need
40	Sutersville	52.9%	-2.0607	19.1%	-0.4144	$19,850	-0.6474	$42,479	-0.3712	-0.8734	High Need
41	Masontown	46.4%	-1.6591	21.3%	-0.6403	$18,470	-0.7715	$37,288	-0.4210	-0.8730	High Need
42	East Vandergrift	31.1%	-0.7137	30.0%	-1.5335	$19,271	-0.6995	$25,660	-0.5326	-0.8698	High Need
43	Belle Vernon	38.1%	-1.1462	20.5%	-0.5581	$13,696	-1.2011	$22,210	-0.5656	-0.8678	High Need
44	Greensburg	36.0%	-1.0164	31.3%	-1.6670	$20,223	-0.6138	$67,692	-0.1294	-0.8567	High Need
45	Monessen	38.1%	-1.1462	26.9%	-1.2152	$18,131	-0.8020	$54,970	-0.2514	-0.8537	High Need
46	Dunbar B	45.5%	-1.6035	20.4%	-0.5479	$19,437	-0.6845	$22,713	-0.5608	-0.8492	High Need
47	Mount Oliver	31.1%	-0.7137	28.2%	-1.3487	$18,619	-0.7581	$30,188	-0.4891	-0.8274	High Need
48	German	45.7%	-1.6158	18.9%	-0.3939	$18,516	-0.7674	$33,029	-0.4619	-0.8097	High Need
49	Irwin	41.3%	-1.3439	25.1%	-1.0304	$20,923	-0.5508	$51,656	-0.2832	-0.8021	High Need
50	Menallen	41.9%	-1.3810	22.1%	-0.7224	$19,263	-0.7002	$41,620	-0.3795	-0.7958	High Need
51	Tarentum	40.1%	-1.2698	22.4%	-0.7532	$19,932	-0.6400	$34,205	-0.4506	-0.7784	High Need
52	Everson	33.3%	-0.8496	23.2%	-0.8354	$18,261	-0.7903	$22,478	-0.5631	-0.7596	High Need
53	Ellwood City	38.0%	-1.1400	16.7%	-0.1680	$16,577	-0.9419	$1,415	-0.7651	-0.7537	High Need
54	East McKeesport	28.9%	-0.5777	29.3%	-1.4617	$20,861	-0.5564	$40,332	-0.3918	-0.7469	High Need
55	Fairchance	47.5%	-1.7271	13.8%	0.1298	$16,875	-0.9151	$34,500	-0.4478	-0.7400	High Need
56	Springfield	37.5%	-1.1091	18.1%	-0.3117	$15,686	-1.0221	$37,675	-0.4173	-0.7151	High Need
57	Eastvale	31.6%	-0.7446	25.0%	-1.0202	$20,625	-0.5776	$29,677	-0.4940	-0.7091	High Need
58	Braddock Hills	8.2%	0.7014	38.9%	-2.4473	$17,462	-0.8622	$64,299	-0.1619	-0.6925	High Need
59	Claysville	35.1%	-0.9608	23.0%	-0.8148	$20,694	-0.5714	$38,526	-0.4091	-0.6891	High Need
60	Turtle Creek	22.9%	-0.2070	27.3%	-1.2563	$18,084	-0.8063	$32,073	-0.4710	-0.6851	High Need
61	Stowe	30.8%	-0.6951	25.1%	-1.0304	$19,681	-0.6626	$44,556	-0.3513	-0.6849	High Need
62	West Mayfield	35.2%	-0.9670	22.6%	-0.7737	$19,397	-0.6881	$54,300	-0.2578	-0.6717	High Need
63	West Brownsville	39.1%	-1.2080	16.5%	-0.1474	$17,750	-0.8363	$29,809	-0.4928	-0.6711	High Need
64	Export	39.5%	-1.2327	18.1%	-0.3117	$19,031	-0.7211	$37,649	-0.4176	-0.6708	High Need
65	Sharpsburg	20.4%	-0.0525	29.7%	-1.5027	$18,897	-0.7331	$48,387	-0.3146	-0.6507	High Need
66	North Charleroi	31.8%	-0.7569	20.4%	-0.5479	$18,311	-0.7858	$34,088	-0.4517	-0.6356	High Need
67	Georges	42.7%	-1.4305	13.1%	0.2016	$17,796	-0.8322	$32,519	-0.4668	-0.6319	High Need
68	White	23.6%	-0.2502	30.2%	-1.5541	$23,494	-0.3195	$40,485	-0.3904	-0.6285	High Need
69	Darlington B	29.2%	-0.5962	27.8%	-1.3076	$23,846	-0.2878	$49,841	-0.3006	-0.6231	High Need
70	Verona	40.3%	-1.2821	20.0%	-0.5068	$22,047	-0.4497	$55,241	-0.2488	-0.6219	High Need
71	Pitcairn	33.9%	-0.8867	20.9%	-0.5992	$21,142	-0.5311	$32,377	-0.4681	-0.6213	High Need
72	Dunlevy	33.3%	-0.8496	25.5%	-1.0715	$25,577	-0.1320	$39,085	-0.4038	-0.6142	High Need
73	Glassport	33.6%	-0.8681	20.3%	-0.5376	$20,146	-0.6207	$36,364	-0.4299	-0.6141	High Need
74	Fallston	34.3%	-0.9114	23.1%	-0.8251	$20,125	-0.6226	$71,635	-0.0916	-0.6127	High Need
75	St. Clair	47.4%	-1.7209	15.0%	0.0066	$21,346	-0.5128	$60,610	-0.1973	-0.6061	High Need
76	South Connellsville	37.0%	-1.0782	17.2%	-0.2193	$19,221	-0.7040	$37,638	-0.4177	-0.6048	High Need
77	Arnold	26.1%	-0.4047	24.4%	-0.9586	$19,375	-0.6901	$43,319	-0.3632	-0.6041	High Need
78	McDonald	45.9%	-1.6282	15.8%	-0.0756	$24,135	-0.2618	$40,973	-0.3857	-0.5878	High Need
79	Pulaski	25.6%	-0.3738	24.1%	-0.9278	$20,326	-0.6045	$36,537	-0.4282	-0.5836	High Need
80	Jeannette	24.9%	-0.3305	24.1%	-0.9278	$18,482	-0.7705	$50,773	-0.2917	-0.5801	High Need

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81	New Kensington	33.6%	-0.8681	22.5%	-0.7635	$21,525	-0.4966	$62,451	-0.1797	-0.5770	High Need
82	Burgettstown	38.5%	-1.1709	18.3%	-0.3323	$22,333	-0.4239	$46,151	-0.3360	-0.5658	High Need
83	East Bethlehem	23.4%	-0.2378	22.8%	-0.7943	$18,819	-0.7401	$33,782	-0.4546	-0.5567	High Need
84	Upper Tyrone	43.9%	-1.5046	10.8%	0.4378	$19,259	-0.7005	$43,607	-0.3604	-0.5319	Stressed
85	Millvale	18.1%	0.0897	26.3%	-1.1536	$20,294	-0.6074	$35,266	-0.4404	-0.5280	Stressed
86	Canonsburg	22.5%	-0.1822	26.7%	-1.1947	$22,015	-0.4526	$51,839	-0.2815	-0.5277	Stressed
87	Swissvale	22.4%	-0.1761	27.5%	-1.2768	$23,773	-0.2944	$44,563	-0.3512	-0.5246	Stressed
88	California	24.1%	-0.2811	19.8%	-0.4863	$16,811	-0.9208	$42,452	-0.3715	-0.5149	Stressed
89	Hookstown	60.0%	-2.4995	0.0%	1.5467	$18,594	-0.7604	$45,540	-0.3419	-0.5138	Stressed
90	Elizabeth B	23.9%	-0.2687	23.1%	-0.8251	$21,888	-0.4640	$37,489	-0.4191	-0.4942	Stressed
91	North Union	24.0%	-0.2749	21.0%	-0.6095	$19,191	-0.7067	$42,534	-0.3707	-0.4904	Stressed
92	Monongahela	12.0%	0.4666	27.8%	-1.3076	$18,849	-0.7374	$41,855	-0.3772	-0.4889	Stressed
93	Ellsworth	22.4%	-0.1761	20.2%	-0.5273	$18,214	-0.7946	$33,543	-0.4569	-0.4887	Stressed
94	Monaca	29.3%	-0.6024	21.2%	-0.6300	$22,402	-0.4177	$50,234	-0.2968	-0.4868	Stressed
95	Avalon	15.8%	0.2318	28.9%	-1.4206	$22,670	-0.3936	$44,831	-0.3487	-0.4828	Stressed
96	Allenport	20.8%	-0.0772	24.2%	-0.9380	$20,132	-0.6220	$56,703	-0.2348	-0.4680	Stressed
97	West Homestead	36.4%	-1.0412	17.5%	-0.2501	$22,298	-0.4271	$66,570	-0.1402	-0.4646	Stressed
98	Koppel	30.9%	-0.7013	18.6%	-0.3631	$20,508	-0.5882	$61,569	-0.1881	-0.4602	Stressed
99	Stockdale	27.8%	-0.5097	17.6%	-0.2604	$20,667	-0.5739	$32,908	-0.4630	-0.4518	Stressed
100	South Heights	28.6%	-0.5592	20.5%	-0.5581	$24,107	-0.2643	$40,252	-0.3926	-0.4436	Stressed
101	Markleysburg	31.0%	-0.7075	14.3%	0.0784	$19,500	-0.6789	$34,421	-0.4485	-0.4391	Stressed
102	Frankfort Springs	35.7%	-0.9979	15.0%	0.0066	$22,250	-0.4314	$52,999	-0.2703	-0.4233	Stressed
103	Wall	15.6%	0.2441	20.7%	-0.5787	$17,857	-0.8267	$30,460	-0.4865	-0.4119	Stressed
104	New Stanton	33.0%	-0.8311	30.5%	-1.5849	$30,417	0.3035	$133,818	0.5049	-0.4019	Stressed
105	Nicholson	36.3%	-1.0350	8.5%	0.6739	$18,687	-0.7520	$33,350	-0.4588	-0.3930	Stressed
106	Roscoe	18.2%	0.0835	22.0%	-0.7121	$21,417	-0.5064	$38,621	-0.4082	-0.3858	Stressed
107	Youngstown	18.9%	0.0402	21.6%	-0.6711	$21,471	-0.5015	$40,862	-0.3867	-0.3798	Stressed
108	Latrobe	28.5%	-0.5530	19.5%	-0.4555	$23,500	-0.3189	$62,473	-0.1795	-0.3767	Stressed
109	Dunbar T	28.5%	-0.5530	14.6%	0.0476	$19,798	-0.6520	$45,985	-0.3376	-0.3738	Stressed
110	Hyde Park	41.9%	-1.3810	10.3%	0.4891	$23,750	-0.2964	$52,625	-0.2739	-0.3656	Stressed
111	Lower Tyrone	39.4%	-1.2265	7.8%	0.7458	$19,107	-0.7142	$53,611	-0.2645	-0.3649	Stressed
112	Independence T (Wash.)	29.8%	-0.6333	18.5%	-0.3528	$23,917	-0.2814	$61,701	-0.1869	-0.3636	Stressed
113	Bellevue	14.0%	0.3430	25.8%	-1.1023	$23,742	-0.2972	$42,759	-0.3685	-0.3563	Stressed
114	Rochester B	6.1%	0.8312	32.7%	-1.8107	$26,319	-0.0653	$47,720	-0.3210	-0.3415	Stressed
115	Derry B	16.2%	0.2071	19.8%	-0.4863	$19,505	-0.6784	$41,055	-0.3849	-0.3356	Stressed
116	Coraopolis	18.3%	0.0773	21.2%	-0.6300	$21,865	-0.4661	$48,210	-0.3163	-0.3338	Stressed
117	Scottdale	23.4%	-0.2378	17.1%	-0.2090	$20,885	-0.5542	$52,793	-0.2723	-0.3184	Stressed
118	Carnegie	8.3%	0.6952	26.9%	-1.2152	$21,684	-0.4823	$52,945	-0.2708	-0.3183	Stressed
119	Luzerne	31.2%	-0.7198	8.6%	0.6637	$18,354	-0.7820	$36,846	-0.4253	-0.3159	Stressed
120	Bolivar	31.3%	-0.7260	10.4%	0.4789	$20,096	-0.6252	$40,489	-0.3903	-0.3157	Stressed
121	Bridgewater	20.6%	-0.0648	24.1%	-0.9278	$22,609	-0.3991	$96,046	0.1426	-0.3123	Stressed
122	Versailles	26.5%	-0.4294	14.6%	0.0476	$21,170	-0.5286	$48,063	-0.3177	-0.3070	Stressed

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123	Somerset	34.4%	-0.9176	17.6%	-0.2604	$27,310	0.0239	$73,694	-0.0718	-0.3065	Stressed
124	Seward	34.8%	-0.9423	6.9%	0.8382	$18,312	-0.7858	$46,151	-0.3360	-0.3065	Stressed
125	Eau Claire	34.8%	-0.9423	13.7%	0.1400	$23,125	-0.3527	$75,515	-0.0544	-0.3023	Stressed
126	Southwest Greensburg	14.7%	0.2997	25.3%	-1.0510	$24,929	-0.1904	$53,815	-0.2625	-0.3010	Stressed
127	Wharton	30.8%	-0.6951	16.1%	-0.1064	$21,031	-0.5411	$95,756	0.1398	-0.3007	Stressed
128	Leetsdale	18.8%	0.0464	24.8%	-0.9996	$21,570	-0.4926	$107,681	0.2542	-0.2979	Stressed
129	Rochester T	37.2%	-1.0906	7.3%	0.7971	$18,819	-0.7401	$65,503	-0.1504	-0.2960	Stressed
130	Chalfant	16.7%	0.1762	22.6%	-0.7737	$24,191	-0.2568	$47,557	-0.3225	-0.2942	Stressed
131	Smith	20.4%	-0.0525	18.2%	-0.3220	$21,862	-0.4663	$48,780	-0.3108	-0.2879	Stressed
132	Canton	26.9%	-0.4541	18.0%	-0.3015	$25,037	-0.1806	$62,265	-0.1815	-0.2794	Stressed
133	Coal Center	22.2%	-0.1637	9.1%	0.6123	$15,250	-1.0613	$28,580	-0.5045	-0.2793	Stressed
134	West Sunbury	10.5%	0.5593	22.6%	-0.7737	$18,500	-0.7688	$67,565	-0.1306	-0.2785	Stressed
135	West Elizabeth	19.6%	-0.0030	19.2%	-0.4247	$24,375	-0.2402	$38,052	-0.4137	-0.2704	Stressed
136	East Deer	11.8%	0.4789	23.5%	-0.8662	$21,840	-0.4683	$58,625	-0.2164	-0.2680	Stressed
137	North Versailles	20.5%	-0.0587	20.2%	-0.5273	$25,130	-0.1723	$48,696	-0.3116	-0.2675	Stressed
138	Springhill	27.8%	-0.5097	9.7%	0.5507	$19,969	-0.6367	$32,031	-0.4714	-0.2668	Stressed
139	Donegal B	33.3%	-0.8496	16.1%	-0.1064	$28,750	0.1535	$56,226	-0.2394	-0.2605	Stressed
140	Smithfield	26.7%	-0.4418	9.3%	0.5918	$19,779	-0.6538	$30,115	-0.4898	-0.2484	Stressed
141	Ohioville	41.9%	-1.3810	10.3%	0.4891	$27,551	0.0456	$68,248	-0.1241	-0.2426	Stressed
142	Whitaker	11.2%	0.5160	22.7%	-0.7840	$23,571	-0.3125	$41,121	-0.3843	-0.2412	Stressed
143	Perry	31.8%	-0.7569	10.4%	0.4789	$24,697	-0.2112	$38,109	-0.4131	-0.2256	Stressed
144	Harrison	18.3%	0.0773	20.7%	-0.5787	$24,766	-0.2050	$60,998	-0.1936	-0.2250	Stressed
145	Centerville	22.8%	-0.2008	12.3%	0.2838	$20,403	-0.5976	$48,113	-0.3172	-0.2079	Stressed
146	West Bethlehem	28.9%	-0.5777	9.3%	0.5918	$21,571	-0.4925	$44,962	-0.3474	-0.2065	Stressed
147	West Mifflin	25.0%	-0.3367	21.0%	-0.6095	$26,867	-0.0160	$97,671	0.1581	-0.2010	Stressed
148	New Eagle	21.2%	-0.1019	14.0%	0.1092	$22,188	-0.4370	$45,134	-0.3458	-0.1939	Stressed
149	Elco	11.1%	0.5222	18.0%	-0.3015	$21,346	-0.5128	$33,087	-0.4613	-0.1883	Stressed
150	Mercer	20.8%	-0.0772	17.3%	-0.2296	$22,411	-0.4169	$81,021	-0.0016	-0.1813	Stressed
151	Port Vue	21.3%	-0.1081	14.9%	0.0168	$24,976	-0.1861	$38,470	-0.4097	-0.1718	Stressed
152	East Rochester	23.3%	-0.2317	13.3%	0.1811	$21,875	-0.4652	$65,186	-0.1534	-0.1673	Stressed
153	Loyalhanna	21.3%	-0.1081	15.2%	-0.0140	$22,437	-0.4146	$68,952	-0.1173	-0.1635	Stressed
154	North Irwin	15.4%	0.2565	16.3%	-0.1269	$23,214	-0.3447	$36,153	-0.4319	-0.1617	Stressed
155	South Union	32.3%	-0.7878	12.8%	0.2324	$25,891	-0.1038	$85,375	0.0402	-0.1547	Stressed
156	South Greensburg	23.1%	-0.2193	12.7%	0.2427	$21,000	-0.5439	$72,680	-0.0816	-0.1505	Stressed
157	Stewart	22.8%	-0.2008	8.4%	0.6842	$18,235	-0.7927	$52,117	-0.2788	-0.1470	Stressed
158	Houston	9.8%	0.6025	18.4%	-0.3425	$21,591	-0.4907	$44,244	-0.3543	-0.1463	Stressed
159	Brackenridge	19.8%	-0.0154	12.6%	0.2530	$22,223	-0.4338	$40,792	-0.3874	-0.1459	Stressed
160	Blawnox	19.0%	0.0340	13.1%	0.2016	$21,178	-0.5279	$51,722	-0.2826	-0.1437	Stressed
161	Donegal T (West.)	30.7%	-0.6889	10.2%	0.4994	$21,250	-0.5214	$97,130	0.1530	-0.1395	Stressed
162	Vanport	7.9%	0.7199	19.6%	-0.4657	$21,496	-0.4993	$49,105	-0.3077	-0.1382	Stressed
163	Trafford	14.5%	0.3121	18.5%	-0.3528	$23,694	-0.3015	$60,010	-0.2031	-0.1363	Stressed
164	Parker	37.8%	-1.1277	5.6%	0.9717	$21,146	-0.5308	$98,595	0.1670	-0.1299	Stressed

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165	Henry Clay	25.8%	-0.3862	7.5%	0.7766	$19,028	-0.7213	$62,532	-0.1789	-0.1274	Stressed
166	Youngwood	14.3%	0.3245	18.2%	-0.3220	$23,108	-0.3542	$67,282	-0.1333	-0.1213	Stressed
167	Saltlick	20.0%	-0.0278	11.8%	0.3351	$20,851	-0.5573	$56,674	-0.2351	-0.1213	Stressed
168	New Galilee	17.9%	0.1020	11.5%	0.3659	$21,181	-0.5276	$37,601	-0.4180	-0.1194	Stressed
169	Etna	5.7%	0.8559	23.5%	-0.8662	$24,850	-0.1975	$54,267	-0.2582	-0.1165	Stressed
170	Perryopolis	14.3%	0.3245	14.4%	0.0682	$22,262	-0.4303	$39,063	-0.4040	-0.1104	Stressed
171	South Huntingdon	23.8%	-0.2626	13.4%	0.1708	$24,898	-0.1931	$65,742	-0.1481	-0.1082	Stressed
172	Oklahoma	22.2%	-0.1637	14.2%	0.0887	$26,382	-0.0596	$51,116	-0.2884	-0.1057	Stressed
173	Darlington T	13.8%	0.3554	16.0%	-0.0961	$20,000	-0.6339	$76,376	-0.0461	-0.1052	Stressed
174	Washington T (But.)	23.2%	-0.2255	14.0%	0.1092	$24,022	-0.2720	$80,398	-0.0075	-0.0989	Stressed
175	West Alexander	13.6%	0.3677	12.9%	0.2222	$19,821	-0.6500	$47,713	-0.3210	-0.0953	Stressed
176	Beaver	19.8%	-0.0154	18.9%	-0.3939	$29,213	0.1951	$64,839	-0.1568	-0.0927	Stressed
177	Cokeburg	15.7%	0.2380	11.8%	0.3351	$22,500	-0.4089	$29,452	-0.4962	-0.0830	Stressed
178	Munhall	5.4%	0.8744	20.3%	-0.5376	$23,883	-0.2845	$43,118	-0.3651	-0.0782	Stressed
179	Dormont	8.5%	0.6829	22.1%	-0.7224	$27,661	0.0555	$49,112	-0.3076	-0.0729	Stressed
180	Marion T (But.)	28.2%	-0.5345	8.5%	0.6739	$21,856	-0.4669	$85,407	0.0405	-0.0717	Stressed
181	Blaine	29.4%	-0.6086	10.8%	0.4378	$26,033	-0.0910	$79,295	-0.0181	-0.0700	Stressed
182	Prospect	8.3%	0.6952	19.5%	-0.4555	$22,305	-0.4265	$72,372	-0.0845	-0.0678	Stressed
183	Deemston	18.2%	0.0835	11.7%	0.3454	$22,500	-0.4089	$51,856	-0.2813	-0.0653	Stressed
184	Conway	14.4%	0.3183	15.3%	-0.0242	$23,627	-0.3075	$56,694	-0.2349	-0.0621	Stressed
185	Mars	7.1%	0.7694	18.8%	-0.3836	$21,531	-0.4961	$66,877	-0.1372	-0.0619	Stressed
186	Ingram	8.4%	0.6890	20.9%	-0.5992	$26,595	-0.0404	$51,788	-0.2819	-0.0581	Stressed
187	Avonmore	22.5%	-0.1822	8.0%	0.7253	$21,058	-0.5387	$59,272	-0.2102	-0.0514	Stressed
188	Emsworth	12.9%	0.4110	18.6%	-0.3631	$27,883	0.0755	$49,253	-0.3063	-0.0457	Stressed
189	Robinson T (Wash.)	19.2%	0.0217	12.6%	0.2530	$24,500	-0.2290	$60,126	-0.2020	-0.0391	Stressed
190	Chartiers	22.9%	-0.2070	14.0%	0.1092	$27,278	0.0210	$73,264	-0.0760	-0.0382	Stressed
191	Glenfield	0.0%	1.2081	20.0%	-0.5068	$18,250	-0.7913	$75,311	-0.0563	-0.0366	Stressed
192	Franklin T (Beav.)	21.7%	-0.1328	13.4%	0.1708	$25,864	-0.1062	$73,230	-0.0763	-0.0361	Stressed
193	East Huntingdon	22.3%	-0.1699	15.2%	-0.0140	$24,070	-0.2676	$117,069	0.3442	-0.0268	Stressed
194	Connellsville T	20.9%	-0.0834	8.5%	0.6739	$23,766	-0.2950	$42,005	-0.3758	-0.0201	Stressed
195	Harrisville	17.4%	0.1329	13.5%	0.1606	$23,000	-0.3639	$80,890	-0.0028	-0.0183	Stressed
196	Franklin T (Fay.)	25.2%	-0.3491	4.1%	1.1257	$22,151	-0.4403	$40,026	-0.3948	-0.0146	Stressed
197	Dravosburg	9.1%	0.6458	13.8%	0.1298	$22,886	-0.3742	$36,523	-0.4284	-0.0067	Stressed
198	Derry T	20.2%	-0.0401	11.3%	0.3865	$24,381	-0.2397	$69,784	-0.1093	-0.0007	Stressed
199	Haysville	0.0%	1.2081	22.2%	-0.7327	$22,679	-0.3928	$74,800	-0.0612	0.0053	Stressed
200	Independence T (Beav.)	25.1%	-0.3429	10.8%	0.4378	$27,446	0.0361	$70,283	-0.1045	0.0066	Stressed
201	Brady	23.8%	-0.2626	13.0%	0.2119	$24,583	-0.2215	$112,820	0.3034	0.0078	Stressed
202	Bullskin	22.4%	-0.1761	9.2%	0.6021	$25,795	-0.1124	$54,333	-0.2575	0.0140	Stressed
203	Allegheny T (But.)	20.0%	-0.0278	13.0%	0.2119	$22,188	-0.4370	$113,980	0.3146	0.0154	Stressed
204	Fairfield	22.6%	-0.1884	6.8%	0.8485	$19,828	-0.6493	$86,860	0.0545	0.0163	Stressed
205	Lincoln	21.9%	-0.1452	10.2%	0.4994	$26,950	-0.0085	$53,008	-0.2702	0.0189	Stressed
206	Evans City	5.6%	0.8621	19.1%	-0.4144	$24,766	-0.2050	$65,931	-0.1463	0.0241	Stressed

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207	Ligonier B	9.8%	0.6025	14.6%	0.0476	$22,056	-0.4489	$72,301	-0.0852	0.0290	Stressed
208	East Finley	32.8%	-0.8187	8.1%	0.7150	$23,750	-0.2964	$135,595	0.5219	0.0304	Stressed
209	West Pike Run	13.7%	0.3615	11.9%	0.3248	$24,018	-0.2723	$51,030	-0.2892	0.0312	Stressed
210	Mount Pleasant B	6.6%	0.8003	12.0%	0.3146	$18,482	-0.7705	$59,883	-0.2043	0.0350	Stressed
211	Georgetown	50.0%	-1.8815	0.0%	1.5467	$35,625	0.7721	$51,241	-0.2872	0.0375	Stressed
212	Midway	10.2%	0.5778	15.0%	0.0066	$26,146	-0.0808	$44,666	-0.3503	0.0383	Stressed
213	Neville	13.0%	0.4048	20.4%	-0.5479	$23,412	-0.3269	$147,229	0.6335	0.0409	Stressed
214	West Leechburg	13.9%	0.3492	16.3%	-0.1269	$27,708	0.0597	$70,120	-0.1061	0.0440	Stressed
215	North Belle Vernon	8.1%	0.7076	11.5%	0.3659	$19,957	-0.6377	$54,829	-0.2528	0.0457	Stressed
216	Springdale B	8.4%	0.6890	13.6%	0.1503	$22,875	-0.3752	$54,172	-0.2591	0.0513	Stressed
217	Mount Pleasant T (West.)	17.2%	0.1453	11.5%	0.3659	$24,784	-0.2034	$71,076	-0.0969	0.0527	Stressed
218	Liberty	11.8%	0.4789	13.5%	0.1606	$25,728	-0.1185	$50,138	-0.2978	0.0558	Stressed
219	Baden	4.0%	0.9609	15.3%	-0.0242	$23,085	-0.3563	$44,730	-0.3496	0.0577	Stressed
220	Heidelberg	6.2%	0.8250	14.0%	0.1092	$22,056	-0.4489	$54,650	-0.2545	0.0577	Stressed
221	Concord	18.1%	0.0897	10.8%	0.4378	$23,864	-0.2862	$80,956	-0.0022	0.0598	Stressed
222	Callery	27.7%	-0.5036	10.0%	0.5199	$24,643	-0.2161	$128,742	0.4562	0.0641	Stressed
223	Castle Shannon	12.7%	0.4233	16.3%	-0.1269	$28,660	0.1454	$62,363	-0.1805	0.0653	Stressed
224	Arona	29.4%	-0.6086	0.0%	1.5467	$24,375	-0.2402	$38,081	-0.4134	0.0711	Stressed
225	Delmont	5.6%	0.8621	19.0%	-0.4041	$25,744	-0.1170	$76,097	-0.0488	0.0730	Stressed
226	Greene	17.9%	0.1020	11.7%	0.3454	$27,206	0.0145	$66,964	-0.1364	0.0814	Stressed
227	Hopewell T (Beav.)	23.1%	-0.2193	11.1%	0.4070	$29,830	0.2506	$72,436	-0.0839	0.0886	Stressed
228	Jefferson T (Fay.)	15.9%	0.2256	7.1%	0.8177	$23,419	-0.3262	$48,812	-0.3105	0.1016	Stressed
229	Crafton	6.6%	0.8003	16.4%	-0.1372	$28,186	0.1027	$52,610	-0.2741	0.1229	Stressed
230	Washington T (Fay.)	10.5%	0.5593	8.4%	0.6842	$23,547	-0.3147	$37,313	-0.4208	0.1270	Stressed
231	North Sewickley	14.4%	0.3183	10.9%	0.4275	$26,257	-0.0709	$64,841	-0.1567	0.1296	Stressed
232	Fairview T	23.4%	-0.2378	9.5%	0.5713	$27,803	0.0683	$94,017	0.1231	0.1312	Stressed
233	North Franklin	8.9%	0.6581	21.2%	-0.6300	$32,015	0.4473	$88,000	0.0654	0.1352	Stressed
234	Rostraver	18.3%	0.0773	10.1%	0.5097	$25,615	-0.1286	$92,990	0.1132	0.1429	Stressed
235	Morris	21.4%	-0.1143	12.4%	0.2735	$29,444	0.2159	$102,116	0.2008	0.1440	Stressed
236	Beallsville	17.6%	0.1205	7.1%	0.8177	$27,125	0.0072	$42,683	-0.3693	0.1440	Stressed
237	Sewickley T	18.1%	0.0897	5.6%	0.9717	$22,784	-0.3834	$70,776	-0.0998	0.1445	Stressed
238	Springdale T	15.6%	0.2441	11.8%	0.3351	$27,578	0.0480	$78,111	-0.0295	0.1494	Stressed
239	Harmony	2.3%	1.0660	15.5%	-0.0448	$23,949	-0.2785	$67,918	-0.1272	0.1539	Stressed
240	Donegal T (Wash.)	16.0%	0.2194	8.2%	0.7047	$23,804	-0.2916	$80,082	-0.0106	0.1555	Stressed
241	Hanover T (Wash.)	11.6%	0.4913	15.2%	-0.0140	$30,268	0.2901	$66,381	-0.1420	0.1564	Stressed
242	Newell	15.4%	0.2565	3.0%	1.2386	$22,857	-0.3768	$31,413	-0.4774	0.1602	Stressed
243	West View	7.7%	0.7323	15.7%	-0.0653	$28,575	0.1377	$64,149	-0.1634	0.1603	Stressed
244	Brentwood	5.0%	0.8991	16.0%	-0.0961	$27,698	0.0588	$59,156	-0.2113	0.1626	Stressed
245	Clay	16.4%	0.1947	8.7%	0.6534	$24,750	-0.2065	$83,082	0.0182	0.1650	Stressed
246	Aspinwall	0.0%	1.2081	22.0%	-0.7121	$29,519	0.2227	$76,160	-0.0482	0.1676	Stressed
247	Slippery Rock T	20.4%	-0.0525	7.9%	0.7355	$26,450	-0.0535	$87,290	0.0586	0.1720	Stressed

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248	Salem	12.7%	0.4233	8.8%	0.6431	$23,810	-0.2910	$73,449	-0.0742	0.1753	Stressed
249	Bruin	7.1%	0.7694	11.8%	0.3351	$26,071	-0.0876	$48,421	-0.3142	0.1757	Stressed
250	New Alexandria	13.3%	0.3863	14.1%	0.0990	$29,250	0.1985	$83,351	0.0208	0.1761	Stressed
251	Hunker	18.8%	0.0464	3.7%	1.1668	$25,114	-0.1737	$46,893	-0.3289	0.1776	Stressed
252	Valencia	27.8%	-0.5097	8.3%	0.6945	$35,000	0.7159	$61,670	-0.1872	0.1784	Stressed
253	Forward T (All.)	18.6%	0.0588	8.4%	0.6842	$29,115	0.1863	$58,708	-0.2156	0.1784	Stressed
254	White Oak	10.6%	0.5531	13.7%	0.1400	$30,110	0.2758	$58,117	-0.2212	0.1869	Stressed
255	Pennsbury Village	6.7%	0.7941	24.1%	-0.9278	$39,405	1.1122	$57,754	-0.2247	0.1885	Stressed
256	Patterson	0.0%	1.2081	19.2%	-0.4247	$28,632	0.1429	$64,832	-0.1568	0.1924	Stressed
257	Connoquenessing B	21.3%	-0.1081	6.8%	0.8485	$27,292	0.0223	$83,011	0.0175	0.1951	Stressed
258	Big Beaver	11.2%	0.5160	7.2%	0.8074	$21,791	-0.4727	$74,054	-0.0684	0.1956	Stressed
259	Bridgeville	9.6%	0.6149	9.5%	0.5713	$25,288	-0.1580	$55,788	-0.2436	0.1961	Stressed
260	Daugherty	19.7%	-0.0092	9.1%	0.6123	$30,139	0.2785	$71,231	-0.0955	0.1965	Stressed
261	Allegheny T (West.)	19.3%	0.0155	10.9%	0.4275	$31,156	0.3700	$80,256	-0.0089	0.2010	Stressed
262	Clearfield	18.1%	0.0897	10.2%	0.4994	$29,415	0.2133	$82,384	0.0115	0.2035	Stressed
263	Lower Burrell	7.2%	0.7632	13.5%	0.1606	$25,852	-0.1073	$83,624	0.0234	0.2100	Stressed
264	Homewood	0.0%	1.2081	9.1%	0.6123	$18,750	-0.7463	$61,325	-0.1905	0.2209	Stressed
265	Slippery Rock B	14.8%	0.2936	7.5%	0.7766	$25,167	-0.1689	$81,347	0.0016	0.2257	Stressed
266	Marion T (Beav.)	11.9%	0.4728	10.8%	0.4378	$26,053	-0.0892	$91,109	0.0952	0.2291	Stressed
267	Chicora	8.1%	0.7076	8.3%	0.6945	$23,542	-0.3152	$63,667	-0.1680	0.2297	Stressed
268	Carroll	10.4%	0.5655	12.5%	0.2632	$29,765	0.2448	$65,726	-0.1483	0.2313	Stressed
269	Saxonburg	10.8%	0.5407	14.6%	0.0476	$28,125	0.0972	$108,157	0.2587	0.2361	Stressed
270	Karns City	29.4%	-0.6086	7.4%	0.7869	$28,281	0.1113	$150,420	0.6641	0.2384	Stressed
271	East Washington	7.7%	0.7323	13.8%	0.1298	$30,427	0.3044	$59,760	-0.2055	0.2402	Stressed
272	Cook	20.5%	-0.0587	5.3%	1.0025	$23,710	-0.3000	$114,680	0.3213	0.2413	Stressed
273	Hopewell T (Wash.)	18.3%	0.0773	6.6%	0.8690	$27,102	0.0052	$84,921	0.0359	0.2468	Stressed
274	Vernango	10.0%	0.5902	9.2%	0.6021	$23,472	-0.3215	$93,819	0.1212	0.2480	Stressed
275	Smithton	0.0%	1.2081	6.5%	0.8793	$18,026	-0.8115	$52,119	-0.2788	0.2493	Stressed
276	Cross Creek	8.2%	0.7014	9.2%	0.6021	$25,761	-0.1155	$64,633	-0.1587	0.2573	Stressed
277	Winfield township	22.2%	-0.1637	8.0%	0.7253	$30,467	0.3080	$97,852	0.1599	0.2574	Stressed
278	Penn Hills	9.9%	0.5964	13.9%	0.1195	$32,325	0.4752	$65,078	-0.1545	0.2591	Stressed
279	South Beaver	11.8%	0.4789	9.5%	0.5713	$27,821	0.0699	$75,347	-0.0560	0.2660	Stressed
280	Bell	10.3%	0.5716	9.4%	0.5815	$27,176	0.0118	$71,039	-0.0973	0.2669	Stressed
281	North Bethlehem	9.2%	0.6396	8.9%	0.6329	$26,990	-0.0049	$60,799	-0.1955	0.2680	Stressed
282	Frazer	6.9%	0.7817	9.2%	0.6021	$26,603	-0.0397	$57,720	-0.2250	0.2798	Stressed
283	Mount Pleasant T (Wash.)	13.5%	0.3739	9.8%	0.5405	$30,193	0.2833	$75,521	-0.0543	0.2858	Stressed
284	Amwell	12.9%	0.4110	9.4%	0.5815	$30,042	0.2697	$73,025	-0.0782	0.2960	Stressed
285	Donegal T (But.)	22.9%	-0.2070	5.5%	0.9820	$29,074	0.1826	$105,533	0.2336	0.2978	Stressed
286	Elizabeth T	10.6%	0.5531	10.1%	0.5097	$30,542	0.3147	$63,264	-0.1719	0.3014	Stressed
287	Hempfield	14.8%	0.2936	10.8%	0.4378	$29,856	0.2530	$105,044	0.2289	0.3033	Stressed
288	Muddy Creek	12.8%	0.4172	7.7%	0.7561	$26,912	-0.0119	$88,478	0.0700	0.3078	Stressed

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289	Union	4.7%	0.9177	11.9%	0.3248	$29,140	0.1886	$60,379	-0.1995	0.3079	Stressed
290	South Fayette	14.9%	0.2874	15.5%	-0.0448	$35,699	0.7788	$104,611	0.2247	0.3115	Stressed
291	Butler T	12.7%	0.4233	13.3%	0.1811	$31,503	0.4012	$106,652	0.2443	0.3125	Stressed
292	Cherry	15.4%	0.2565	8.4%	0.6842	$25,234	-0.1629	$130,993	0.4778	0.3139	Stressed
293	Whitehall	9.4%	0.6272	15.9%	-0.0858	$34,183	0.6423	$90,597	0.0903	0.3185	Stressed
294	Long Branch	0.0%	1.2081	10.9%	0.4275	$26,053	-0.0892	$54,559	-0.2554	0.3228	Stressed
295	South Strabane	17.6%	0.1205	10.7%	0.4481	$31,000	0.3559	$119,477	0.3673	0.3230	Stressed
296	Harmony B	3.6%	0.9856	15.3%	-0.0242	$28,977	0.1739	$99,680	0.1774	0.3282	Stressed
297	Adamsburg	0.0%	1.2081	12.8%	0.2324	$25,357	-0.1518	$84,370	0.0306	0.3298	Stressed
298	Fallowfield	3.5%	0.9918	11.4%	0.3762	$29,287	0.2018	$55,349	-0.2478	0.3305	Stressed
299	Industry	13.8%	0.3554	6.9%	0.8382	$29,357	0.2081	$74,409	-0.0650	0.3342	Stressed
300	Penn B	8.1%	0.7076	0.0%	1.5467	$21,324	-0.5147	$43,309	-0.3633	0.3441	Stressed
301	Manor	13.5%	0.3739	8.5%	0.6739	$32,042	0.4497	$70,118	-0.1061	0.3478	Stressed
302	Reserve	9.8%	0.6025	9.3%	0.5918	$31,472	0.3984	$61,194	-0.1917	0.3503	Stressed
303	Oakmont	7.2%	0.7632	13.0%	0.2119	$31,539	0.4044	$84,168	0.0286	0.3520	Stressed
304	Scott	7.2%	0.7632	15.2%	-0.0140	$34,644	0.6838	$80,017	-0.0112	0.3555	Stressed
305	Connoquenessing T	6.0%	0.8373	12.8%	0.2324	$29,299	0.2029	$99,389	0.1746	0.3618	Stressed
306	Speers	5.8%	0.8497	12.6%	0.2530	$30,107	0.2756	$89,479	0.0796	0.3645	Stressed
307	Potter	50.0%	-1.8815	4.5%	1.0846	$29,205	0.1944	$302,060	2.1186	0.3790	Stressed
308	Portersville	0.0%	1.2081	12.0%	0.3146	$24,659	-0.2146	$103,068	0.2099	0.3795	Stressed
309	South Franklin	9.1%	0.6458	7.8%	0.7458	$29,691	0.2381	$72,232	-0.0859	0.3860	Stressed
310	Unity	11.2%	0.5160	9.5%	0.5713	$29,516	0.2224	$107,391	0.2514	0.3903	Stressed
311	Hanover T (Beav.)	11.6%	0.4913	7.4%	0.7869	$31,066	0.3619	$73,281	-0.0758	0.3911	Stressed
312	Ohiopyle	0.0%	1.2081	0.0%	1.5467	$16,875	-0.9151	$52,865	-0.2716	0.3920	Stressed
313	Summit	14.1%	0.3368	6.9%	0.8382	$29,758	0.2442	$99,864	0.1792	0.3996	Stressed
314	Baldwin B	6.6%	0.8003	10.0%	0.5199	$31,844	0.4319	$65,757	-0.1480	0.4010	Stressed
315	Zelienople	2.8%	1.0351	8.4%	0.6842	$26,680	-0.0328	$83,800	0.0251	0.4279	Affluent
316	South Park	9.6%	0.6149	13.1%	0.2016	$37,382	0.9302	$78,890	-0.0220	0.4312	Affluent
317	Cheswick	2.5%	1.0536	12.4%	0.2735	$31,767	0.4249	$79,045	-0.0205	0.4329	Affluent
318	Jefferson B	8.3%	0.6952	13.0%	0.2119	$34,548	0.6752	$99,152	0.1724	0.4387	Affluent
319	North Fayette	3.3%	1.0042	16.9%	-0.1885	$34,463	0.6675	$110,406	0.2803	0.4409	Affluent
320	Madison	0.0%	1.2081	7.8%	0.7458	$27,500	0.0410	$57,393	-0.2282	0.4417	Affluent
321	Harmar	11.6%	0.4913	10.5%	0.4686	$26,523	-0.0469	$170,375	0.8555	0.4421	Affluent
322	Upper Burrell	14.7%	0.2997	9.1%	0.6123	$31,214	0.3752	$131,528	0.4829	0.4425	Affluent
323	South Versailles	0.0%	1.2081	4.0%	1.1360	$26,719	-0.0293	$31,095	-0.4804	0.4586	Affluent
324	Washington T (West.)	11.6%	0.4913	8.4%	0.6842	$34,030	0.6286	$84,741	0.0341	0.4596	Affluent
325	Fairview B	9.1%	0.6458	0.0%	1.5467	$27,031	-0.0012	$46,826	-0.3295	0.4654	Affluent
326	Center T (But.)	9.7%	0.6087	11.4%	0.3762	$32,118	0.4565	$125,091	0.4211	0.4656	Affluent
327	Oakland	9.4%	0.6272	7.5%	0.7766	$30,904	0.3473	$93,348	0.1167	0.4670	Affluent
328	New Sewickley	7.1%	0.7694	4.7%	1.0641	$29,049	0.1804	$67,241	-0.1337	0.4700	Affluent
329	Cecil	6.6%	0.8003	10.1%	0.5097	$32,527	0.4933	$89,766	0.0823	0.4714	Affluent
330	Sewickley B	0.0%	1.2081	14.4%	0.0682	$30,402	0.3021	$114,542	0.3200	0.4746	Affluent

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331	Raccoon	9.4%	0.6272	4.3%	1.1052	$30,726	0.3313	$67,698	-0.1293	0.4836	Affluent
332	Collier	6.2%	0.8250	11.5%	0.3659	$29,669	0.2362	$135,240	0.5185	0.4864	Affluent
333	Buffalo T (Wash.)	5.6%	0.8621	8.2%	0.7047	$31,473	0.3985	$82,428	0.0119	0.4943	Affluent
334	West Deer	4.5%	0.9300	7.7%	0.7561	$31,672	0.4164	$68,321	-0.1234	0.4948	Affluent
335	Worth	14.1%	0.3368	4.9%	1.0436	$30,231	0.2867	$115,307	0.3273	0.4986	Affluent
336	Leet	13.3%	0.3863	11.9%	0.3248	$37,961	0.9823	$113,040	0.3056	0.4997	Affluent
337	Clinton	11.0%	0.5284	6.8%	0.8485	$30,536	0.3142	$116,806	0.3417	0.5082	Affluent
338	Ligonier T	4.0%	0.9609	7.0%	0.8279	$25,747	-0.1167	$118,826	0.3611	0.5083	Affluent
339	Edgewood	3.1%	1.0165	12.4%	0.2735	$33,423	0.5740	$100,528	0.1855	0.5124	Affluent
340	North Huntingdon	6.4%	0.8126	8.2%	0.7047	$32,066	0.4518	$92,355	0.1072	0.5191	Affluent
341	Buffalo T (But.)	8.8%	0.6643	9.4%	0.5815	$33,750	0.6034	$105,917	0.2372	0.5216	Affluent
342	Twilight	0.0%	1.2081	0.0%	1.5467	$22,857	-0.3768	$51,605	-0.2837	0.5236	Affluent
343	Jefferson T (Wash.)	1.8%	1.0969	6.0%	0.9306	$28,687	0.1478	$73,884	-0.0700	0.5263	Affluent
344	Plum	7.0%	0.7756	10.1%	0.5097	$36,782	0.8762	$81,893	0.0068	0.5421	Affluent
345	Wilkins	6.8%	0.7879	7.7%	0.7561	$33,281	0.5612	$88,361	0.0688	0.5435	Affluent
346	Jefferson T (But.)	5.4%	0.8744	7.8%	0.7458	$31,151	0.3695	$102,043	0.2001	0.5475	Affluent
347	Brighton	3.9%	0.9671	11.8%	0.3351	$36,463	0.8475	$88,879	0.0738	0.5559	Affluent
348	Ben Avon	6.0%	0.8373	9.0%	0.6226	$37,031	0.8986	$70,005	-0.1072	0.5628	Affluent
349	Middlesex	4.1%	0.9548	10.3%	0.4891	$32,318	0.4745	$117,755	0.3508	0.5673	Affluent
350	Crescent	5.6%	0.8621	6.4%	0.8895	$35,391	0.7510	$58,933	-0.2134	0.5723	Affluent
351	Oakdale	3.8%	0.9733	5.3%	1.0025	$32,368	0.4790	$64,884	-0.1563	0.5746	Affluent
352	Monroeville	8.1%	0.7076	13.1%	0.2016	$36,422	0.8438	$139,627	0.5606	0.5784	Affluent
353	Forest Hills	2.3%	1.0660	13.6%	0.1503	$38,577	1.0377	$90,443	0.0888	0.5857	Affluent
354	Chippewa	3.3%	1.0042	7.8%	0.7458	$33,014	0.5372	$88,205	0.0674	0.5886	Affluent
355	Penn T (But.)	9.2%	0.6396	8.2%	0.7047	$33,425	0.5741	$129,481	0.4633	0.5954	Affluent
356	Nottingham	8.2%	0.7014	5.7%	0.9614	$33,350	0.5674	$98,771	0.1687	0.5997	Affluent
357	Findlay	10.7%	0.5469	11.4%	0.3762	$35,028	0.7184	$160,611	0.7618	0.6008	Affluent
358	Seven Fields	0.0%	1.2081	20.0%	-0.5068	$40,852	1.2424	$130,059	0.4688	0.6031	Affluent
359	Economy	6.0%	0.8373	7.1%	0.8177	$35,304	0.7432	$83,250	0.0198	0.6045	Affluent
360	Center T (Beav.)	3.9%	0.9671	9.3%	0.5918	$34,978	0.7139	$97,028	0.1520	0.6062	Affluent
361	Forward T (But.)	11.7%	0.4851	3.2%	1.2181	$30,556	0.3160	$124,322	0.4138	0.6082	Affluent
362	Baldwin T	0.0%	1.2081	9.7%	0.5507	$34,044	0.6298	$86,508	0.0511	0.6099	Affluent
363	West Finley	14.3%	0.3245	4.9%	1.0436	$25,385	-0.1493	$209,300	1.2288	0.6119	Affluent
364	East Butler	0.0%	1.2081	9.5%	0.5713	$25,000	-0.1840	$171,721	0.8684	0.6160	Affluent
365	West Middletown	0.0%	1.2081	0.0%	1.5467	$27,917	0.0785	$45,833	-0.3391	0.6236	Affluent
366	Franklin T (But.)	1.0%	1.1463	7.5%	0.7766	$31,275	0.3807	$108,879	0.2656	0.6423	Affluent
367	Laurel Mountain	0.0%	1.2081	8.3%	0.6945	$36,250	0.8283	$72,700	-0.0814	0.6624	Affluent
368	Kennedy	0.0%	1.2081	11.5%	0.3659	$35,712	0.7799	$113,370	0.3087	0.6657	Affluent
369	Fawn	0.0%	1.2081	2.5%	1.2900	$31,312	0.3840	$58,888	-0.2138	0.6671	Affluent
370	Ross	4.0%	0.9609	10.0%	0.5199	$36,388	0.8407	$120,184	0.3741	0.6739	Affluent
371	Kilbuck	12.9%	0.4110	5.1%	1.0230	$41,719	1.3204	$80,589	-0.0057	0.6872	Affluent
372	Shaler	2.8%	1.0351	7.2%	0.8074	$36,972	0.8933	$84,529	0.0321	0.6920	Affluent

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373	North Strabane	4.2%	0.9486	8.7%	0.6534	$35,910	0.7977	$119,839	0.3708	0.6926	Affluent
374	Indiana	1.8%	1.0969	9.5%	0.5713	$34,778	0.6959	$133,774	0.5044	0.7171	Affluent
375	Richland	7.7%	0.7323	8.1%	0.7150	$38,968	1.0729	$118,979	0.3625	0.7207	Affluent
376	Patterson Heights	0.0%	1.2081	2.6%	1.2797	$31,071	0.3623	$86,180	0.0479	0.7245	Affluent
377	Aleppo	6.4%	0.8126	14.2%	0.0887	$41,736	1.3220	$151,700	0.6764	0.7249	Affluent
378	Penn T (West.)	0.0%	1.2081	5.5%	0.9820	$33,219	0.5556	$106,141	0.2394	0.7463	Affluent
379	Lancaster	5.3%	0.8806	4.9%	1.0436	$34,857	0.7030	$118,802	0.3608	0.7470	Affluent
380	Jackson	3.7%	0.9795	7.4%	0.7869	$35,452	0.7565	$137,845	0.5435	0.7666	Affluent
381	Moon	6.6%	0.8003	10.3%	0.4891	$42,016	1.3472	$127,926	0.4483	0.7712	Affluent
382	Adams	2.3%	1.0660	6.6%	0.8690	$35,417	0.7534	$127,420	0.4435	0.7830	Affluent
383	Bethel Park	3.5%	0.9918	8.4%	0.6842	$41,149	1.2692	$108,287	0.2600	0.8013	Affluent
384	Robinson T (All.)	6.2%	0.8250	10.8%	0.4378	$38,464	1.0276	$185,184	0.9975	0.8220	Affluent
385	Bell Acres	13.6%	0.3677	1.2%	1.4234	$35,729	0.7815	$164,842	0.8024	0.8438	Affluent
386	West Liberty	0.0%	1.2081	0.0%	1.5467	$33,125	0.5471	$97,280	0.1544	0.8641	Affluent
387	Cherry Valley	0.0%	1.2081	0.0%	1.5467	$30,625	0.3222	$121,512	0.3868	0.8659	Affluent
388	Mount Lebanon	4.7%	0.9177	10.6%	0.4583	$45,801	1.6877	$129,035	0.4590	0.8807	Affluent
389	Cranberry	4.8%	0.9115	7.6%	0.7663	$41,006	1.2563	$157,693	0.7339	0.9170	Affluent
390	Pleasant Hills	0.0%	1.2081	3.0%	1.2386	$41,577	1.3077	$112,211	0.2976	1.0130	Affluent
391	Green Tree	4.7%	0.9177	10.4%	0.4789	$40,648	1.2241	$234,019	1.4659	1.0216	Affluent
392	Hampton	1.6%	1.1092	6.0%	0.9306	$45,538	1.6641	$124,244	0.4130	1.0292	Affluent
393	Ohio	7.7%	0.7323	2.2%	1.3208	$42,075	1.3525	$161,427	0.7697	1.0438	Affluent
394	McCandless	2.3%	1.0660	5.9%	0.9409	$46,887	1.7855	$139,607	0.5604	1.0882	Affluent
395	Osborne	0.0%	1.2081	15.2%	-0.0140	$53,543	2.3844	$212,606	1.2606	1.2098	Affluent
396	Murrysville	2.1%	1.0783	4.7%	1.0641	$50,713	2.1297	$141,731	0.5808	1.2132	Affluent
397	O'Hara	2.5%	1.0536	8.5%	0.6739	$49,124	1.9868	$216,861	1.3014	1.2539	Affluent
398	Peters	3.0%	1.0227	7.6%	0.7663	$53,045	2.3396	$180,817	0.9556	1.2711	Affluent
399	Pine	0.0%	1.2081	1.1%	1.4337	$46,810	1.7785	$232,796	1.4542	1.4686	Affluent
400	Churchill	0.0%	1.2081	4.1%	1.1257	$58,553	2.8352	$159,600	0.7521	1.4803	Affluent
401	Bradford Woods	6.5%	0.8064	6.4%	0.8895	$68,254	3.7081	$148,653	0.6471	1.5128	Affluent
402	Sewickley Hills	0.0%	1.2081	2.2%	1.3208	$55,961	2.6020	$189,605	1.0399	1.5427	Affluent
403	Upper St. Clair	1.0%	1.1463	6.8%	0.8485	$67,657	3.6544	$189,528	1.0392	1.6721	Affluent
404	Marshall	1.9%	1.0907	2.2%	1.3208	$54,400	2.4615	$296,292	2.0632	1.7340	Affluent
405	Rosslyn Farms	0.0%	1.2081	9.5%	0.5713	$73,637	4.1925	$201,166	1.1508	1.7807	Affluent
406	Franklin Park	0.7%	1.1648	2.8%	1.2592	$66,836	3.5805	$199,859	1.1383	1.7857	Affluent
407	Ben Avon Heights	0.0%	1.2081	0.0%	1.5467	$72,169	4.0604	$142,074	0.5840	1.8498	Affluent
408	Green Hills	0.0%	1.2081	0.0%	1.5467	$50,927	2.1490	$363,160	2.7046	1.9021	Affluent
409	Edgeworth	0.0%	1.2081	7.8%	0.7458	$69,314	3.8035	$304,673	2.1436	1.9753	Affluent
410	Thornburg	0.0%	1.2081	6.5%	0.8793	$85,275	5.2397	$229,303	1.4207	2.1869	Affluent
411	Sewickley Heights	0.0%	1.2081	4.1%	1.1257	$85,219	5.2346	$482,903	3.8531	2.8554	Affluent
412	Fox Chapel	2.8%	1.0351	2.3%	1.3105	$123,138	8.6467	$415,110	3.2029	3.5488	Affluent
413	Shippingport	11.5%	0.4975	0.0%	1.5467	$22,500	-0.4089	$1,900,796	17.4529	4.7720	Affluent

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AVERAGE	19.6%		15.1%		$27,044		$81,183			
SD	16.2%		9.7%		$11,113		$104,258			

Data Sources: 1990 U.S. Census of Population and Housing Summary Tape File 3A; Pennsylvania State Tax Equalization Board (1997 assessed property values and county common level ratios); Southwestern Pennsylvania Regional Planning Commission (1997 household estimates).

Appendix B: Hypothetical Property Tax-base Sharing Run 1. Redistribution of 40% of Commercial/ Industrial Market Value Growth 1985–1997 According to 1997 Total Market Value per Capita by Municipality

	Municipality	Subregion	Net Distribution	Estimated Population, 1997	Per Capita Gain/ Contribute
1	Rankin	High Need	$3,922,319	2,259	$1,736
2	Everson	High Need	$1,449,209	936	$1,548
3	Vanderbilt	High Need	$838,837	543	$1,545
4	Dawson	High Need	$813,852	533	$1,527
5	Glasgow	High Need	$103,867	72	$1,443
6	Braddock	High Need	$5,757,651	4,025	$1,430
7	North Braddock	High Need	$9,203,527	6,478	$1,421
8	Brownsville B	High Need	$4,253,353	3,096	$1,374
9	Fayette City	High Need	$953,777	704	$1,355
10	Dunbar B	High Need	$1,589,890	1,209	$1,315
11	Homestead	High Need	$4,489,204	3,719	$1,207
12	Nicholson	Stressed	$2,374,988	1,988	$1,195
13	Marianna	High Need	$691,627	588	$1,176
14	Eastvale	High Need	$364,970	317	$1,151
15	Newell	Stressed	$588,605	516	$1,141
16	Wall	Stressed	$894,611	787	$1,137
17	McKeesport	High Need	$27,499,614	24,282	$1,133
18	South Versailles	Affluent	$522,695	466	$1,122
19	West Brownsville	High Need	$1,269,779	1,136	$1,118
20	Springhill	Stressed	$3,098,816	2,791	$1,110
21	Mount Oliver	High Need	$4,110,226	3,754	$1,095
22	Point Marion	High Need	$1,463,240	1,339	$1,093
23	Duquesne	High Need	$8,090,188	7,429	$1,089
24	Claysville	High Need	$1,029,615	951	$1,083
25	Clairton	High Need	$9,334,767	8,721	$1,070
26	Belle Vernon	High Need	$1,275,259	1,194	$1,068
27	Freedom	High Need	$1,854,036	1,830	$1,013
	Stockdale	Stressed	$620,146	612	$1,013
29	Cokeburg	Stressed	$707,507	699	$1,012
30	East Bethlehem	High Need	$2,725,872	2,697	$1,011
31	Turtle Creek	High Need	$6,083,805	6,037	$1,008
32	Pitcairn	High Need	$3,696,692	3,687	$1,003
33	Valencia	Stressed	$447,618	448	$999
34	Connellsville C	High Need	$8,828,636	8,984	$983
35	South Connellsville	High Need	$2,155,139	2,197	$981
36	Luzerne	Stressed	$4,672,799	4,780	$978
37	California	Stressed	$5,215,358	5,361	$973
38	East Vandergrift	High Need	$746,702	768	$972
39	Tarentum	High Need	$5,066,070	5,238	$967
40	Ellsworth	Stressed	$956,942	1,003	$954
41	Georges	High Need	$6,139,697	6,554	$937
42	Glassport	High Need	$4,703,382	5,052	$931
43	West Elizabeth	Stressed	$531,008	574	$925
44	North Charleroi	High Need	$1,350,819	1,468	$920
45	Coal Center	Stressed	$136,745	150	$912
46	McKees Rocks	High Need	$6,313,735	6,950	$908
47	Port Vue	Stressed	$3,780,959	4,184	$904
48	Millvale	Stressed	$3,707,536	4,131	$897
	Springfield	High Need	$2,652,295	2,958	$897
50	German	High Need	$4,912,042	5,486	$895
51	North Irwin	Stressed	$828,417	930	$891
52	Donora	High Need	$5,068,174	5,697	$890
53	Dravosburg	Stressed	$1,844,807	2,139	$862
54	Aliquippa	High Need	$10,826,713	12,708	$852
55	Elizabeth B	Stressed	$1,220,455	1,450	$842

	Municipality	Subregion	Net Distribution	Estimated Population, 1997	Per Capita Gain/ Contribute
56	Arona	Stressed	$322,902	384	$841
57	Penn B	Stressed	$415,275	495	$839
58	South Heights	Stressed	$526,117	628	$838
59	West Bethlehem	Stressed	$1,319,163	1,577	$837
	Wilmerding	High Need	$1,830,410	2,187	$837
61	Vandergrift	High Need	$4,778,051	5,749	$831
62	Smithfield	Stressed	$826,021	997	$829
63	McDonald	High Need	$1,846,207	2,238	$825
64	Brownsville T	High Need	$692,576	844	$821
65	Perry	Stressed	$2,300,718	2,808	$819
66	Roscoe	Stressed	$680,009	836	$813
	Whitaker	Stressed	$1,039,794	1,279	$813
68	Markleysburg	Stressed	$259,119	320	$810
69	Bolivar	Stressed	$422,903	525	$806
	East McKeesport	High Need	$1,944,303	2,412	$806
71	Dunlevy	High Need	$320,236	401	$799
	West Alexander	Stressed	$230,161	288	$799
73	Washington T (Fay.)	Stressed	$3,718,386	4,676	$795
74	Brackenridge	Stressed	$2,755,209	3,468	$794
75	East Pittsburgh	High Need	$1,586,602	2,001	$793
76	West Middletown	Affluent	$129,895	164	$792
77	Beallsville	Stressed	$401,299	515	$779
78	Wilkinsburg	High Need	$14,790,458	19,060	$776
79	New Galilee	Stressed	$375,820	485	$775
80	Georgetown	Stressed	$145,339	188	$773
81	Munhall	Stressed	$9,202,906	12,078	$762
82	Pulaski	High Need	$1,277,897	1,680	$761
83	Monongahela	Stressed	$3,548,832	4,718	$752
84	Smith	Stressed	$3,625,745	4,864	$745
85	New Eagle	Stressed	$1,585,518	2,131	$744
86	Midland	High Need	$2,371,521	3,201	$741
87	Centerville	Stressed	$2,742,399	3,719	$737
88	Midway	Stressed	$742,456	1,011	$734
89	Charleroi	High Need	$3,539,246	4,857	$729
90	Burgettstown	High Need	$1,216,940	1,673	$727
91	Washington C	High Need	$10,971,457	15,126	$725
	White	High Need	$1,136,660	1,568	$725
93	Deemston	Stressed	$539,652	749	$720
	Stowe	High Need	$4,989,166	6,926	$720
95	New Florence	High Need	$587,996	818	$719
96	West Pike Run	Stressed	$1,307,626	1,821	$718
97	Beaver Falls	High Need	$7,277,037	10,269	$709
98	Fairview B	Affluent	$161,362	228	$708
99	Franklin T (Fay.)	Stressed	$1,830,385	2,596	$705
100	Hookstown	Stressed	$114,616	163	$703
	Hunker	Stressed	$223,625	318	$703
102	Lincoln	Stressed	$758,787	1,092	$695
	North Versailles	Stressed	$8,828,785	12,698	$695
104	Liberty	Stressed	$1,693,546	2,475	$684
105	Long Branch	Stressed	$320,439	470	$682
	Uniontown	High Need	$7,979,513	11,696	$682
107	Bellevue	Stressed	$5,789,543	8,524	$679
108	Masontown	High Need	$2,474,721	3,658	$677
109	Emsworth	Stressed	$1,818,631	2,693	$675
110	Swissvale	Stressed	$6,610,792	9,842	$672
111	Chalfant	Stressed	$588,810	878	$671
112	Perryopolis	Stressed	$1,261,704	1,885	$669
113	Dormont	Stressed	$5,928,936	8,898	$666
114	Elco	Stressed	$239,062	360	$664
	Redstone	High Need	$4,226,772	6,369	$664
116	Avalon	Stressed	$3,450,563	5,206	$663
117	Ingram	Stressed	$2,310,981	3,530	$655

	Municipality	Subregion	Net Distribution	Estimated Population, 1997	Per Capita Gain/ Contribute
118	Jefferson T (Fay.)	Stressed	$1,314,379	2,011	$654
119	Jeannette	High Need	$7,053,363	10,814	$652
120	Bruin	Stressed	$405,310	633	$640
	Coraopolis	Stressed	$3,949,873	6,172	$640
122	Crescent	Affluent	$1,517,183	2,386	$636
	Homewood	Stressed	$99,897	157	$636
124	West Mayfield	High Need	$810,101	1,278	$634
125	North Bethlehem	Stressed	$1,174,272	1,858	$632
126	Fawn	Affluent	$1,593,096	2,524	$631
127	Slippery Rock T	Stressed	$2,987,688	4,743	$630
128	Versailles	Stressed	$1,051,717	1,680	$626
129	Verona	High Need	$1,876,910	3,004	$625
130	Raccoon	Affluent	$2,138,262	3,465	$617
	Sharpsburg	High Need	$2,104,102	3,410	$617
132	West Newton	High Need	$1,877,680	3,049	$616
133	Etna	Stressed	$2,324,951	3,789	$614
	Sutersville	High Need	$445,431	726	$614
135	Reserve	Stressed	$2,313,351	3,817	$606
136	Greene	Stressed	$1,691,932	2,799	$604
137	Canton	Stressed	$5,550,757	9,263	$599
138	Crafton	Stressed	$3,857,305	6,473	$596
139	Oakdale	Affluent	$956,676	1,616	$592
	Springdale B	Stressed	$2,157,731	3,647	$592
141	Slippery Rock B	Stressed	$1,801,222	3,078	$585
142	South Franklin	Stressed	$2,269,586	3,895	$583
143	White Oak	Stressed	$5,417,759	9,315	$582
144	Ambridge	High Need	$4,541,853	7,840	$579
145	Baden	Stressed	$2,902,175	5,023	$578
	Frazer	Stressed	$759,955	1,315	$578
147	Carnegie	Stressed	$4,940,212	8,555	$577
	Rochester T	Stressed	$1,837,451	3,185	$577
149	Fallowfield	Stressed	$2,818,052	4,904	$575
150	Cross Creek	Stressed	$1,002,462	1,768	$567
151	Monessen	High Need	$5,289,290	9,345	$566
152	Allenport	Stressed	$316,762	563	$563
153	West Deer	Affluent	$6,317,445	11,235	$562
154	Heidelberg	Stressed	$649,735	1,158	$561
155	Penn Hills	Stressed	$26,702,893	47,730	$559
156	Butler C	High Need	$8,660,677	15,605	$555
	Koppel	Stressed	$548,923	989	$555
158	New Brighton	High Need	$3,670,351	6,622	$554
159	Brentwood	Stressed	$5,463,954	9,905	$552
160	Avonmore	Stressed	$583,810	1,060	$551
161	Manor	Stressed	$1,510,605	2,748	$550
162	Chicora	Stressed	$547,059	1,004	$545
163	Bridgeville	Stressed	$2,765,238	5,093	$543
164	Baldwin B	Stressed	$11,910,136	22,054	$540
165	Carroll	Stressed	$3,308,722	6,152	$538
	Harrison	Stressed	$5,903,979	10,984	$538
167	East Deer	Stressed	$768,499	1,430	$537
168	Fairchance	High Need	$1,017,259	1,912	$532
169	Bell	Stressed	$1,269,060	2,394	$530
	Trafford	Stressed	$1,741,149	3,286	$530
171	Lower Tyrone	Stressed	$593,514	1,135	$523
172	Castle Shannon	Stressed	$4,516,555	8,652	$522
173	Blawnox	Stressed	$799,051	1,541	$519
174	North Sewickley	Stressed	$3,180,474	6,157	$517
	West View	Stressed	$3,669,458	7,092	$517
176	Hanover T (Wash.)	Stressed	$1,506,053	2,930	$514
177	Ben Avon	Affluent	$981,313	1,921	$511
178	Big Beaver	Stressed	$1,182,151	2,320	$510

	Municipality	Subregion	Net Distribution	Estimated Population, 1997	Per Capita Gain/ Contribute
	Mount Pleasant T (Wash.)	Stressed	$1,850,772	3,627	$510
180	East Washington	Stressed	$1,037,297	2,047	$507
	Harmony T	Stressed	$1,822,668	3,595	$507
182	Chartiers	Stressed	$3,762,576	7,473	$503
	Independence T (Wash.)	Stressed	$911,112	1,810	$503
	Latrobe	Stressed	$4,520,436	8,993	$503
185	Jefferson T (Wash.)	Affluent	$586,498	1,168	$502
186	Hanover T (Beav.)	Stressed	$1,815,587	3,628	$500
187	Blaine	Stressed	$342,209	692	$495
188	South Park	Affluent	$6,864,060	13,943	$492
	West Homestead	Stressed	$1,105,273	2,248	$492
190	Madison	Affluent	$257,103	525	$490
191	South Beaver	Stressed	$1,475,095	3,021	$488
192	**Pittsburgh**	**Central City**	**$167,017,441**	**344,506**	**$485**
	West Leechburg	Stressed	$640,045	1,320	$485
194	Donegal T (Wash.)	Stressed	$1,093,878	2,275	$481
195	Prospect	Stressed	$532,620	1,109	$480
196	Glenfield	Stressed	$91,498	191	$479
197	Finleyville	High Need	$205,987	431	$478
198	Eau Claire	Stressed	$172,171	361	$477
199	Amwell	Stressed	$1,961,266	4,158	$472
	Washington T (But.)	Stressed	$595,506	1,263	$472
201	Fallston	High Need	$184,938	394	$469
202	Youngstown	Stressed	$167,900	361	$465
203	Connellsville T	Stressed	$1,191,250	2,566	$464
204	Arnold	High Need	$2,687,813	5,885	$457
205	Fairview T	Stressed	$1,009,024	2,214	$456
206	Ohioville	Stressed	$1,761,513	3,868	$455
207	Elizabeth T	Stressed	$6,368,532	14,067	$453
208	Oakland	Affluent	$1,382,755	3,056	$452
209	Laurel Mountain	Affluent	$84,754	190	$446
210	Springdale T	Stressed	$792,600	1,780	$445
211	Monaca	Stressed	$2,841,244	6,422	$442
212	Baldwin T	Affluent	$1,021,011	2,329	$438
	Marion T (But.)	Stressed	$483,654	1,104	$438
214	Shaler	Affluent	$13,376,285	30,998	$432
215	Braddock Hills	High Need	$789,172	1,832	$431
	Derry B	Stressed	$1,233,392	2,862	$431
	Independence T (Beav.)	Stressed	$1,195,753	2,776	$431
218	Haysville	Stressed	$39,953	93	$430
	Kilbuck	Affluent	$355,702	827	$430
220	Daugherty	Stressed	$1,502,059	3,512	$428
221	Seward	Stressed	$217,219	511	$425
222	Oklahoma	Stressed	$396,493	946	$419
223	Bentleyville	High Need	$1,079,198	2,584	$418
224	Cheswick	Affluent	$768,279	1,868	$411
225	Connoquenessing B	Stressed	$214,658	529	$406
226	Hopewell T (Wash.)	Stressed	$382,153	952	$401
227	Nottingham	Affluent	$1,025,504	2,575	$398
	Pennsbury Village	Stressed	$289,534	728	$398
229	Houston	Stressed	$554,111	1,397	$397
230	Conway	Stressed	$934,937	2,370	$394
231	Patterson Heights	Affluent	$1,192,250	563	$393
	Union	Stressed	$2,503,452	6,370	$393
	Zelienople	Affluent	$1,750,883	4,457	$393
234	Vernango	Stressed	$276,377	708	$390
235	Industry	Stressed	$818,591	2,110	$388
236	Oakmont	Stressed	$2,524,769	6,535	$386
237	Morris	Stressed	$449,249	1,169	$384
238	West Liberty	Affluent	$106,175	278	$382
239	Economy	Affluent	$3,720,127	9,752	$381

	Municipality	Subregion	Net Distribution	Estimated Population, 1997	Per Capita Gain/ Contribute
240	Evans City	Stressed	$756,756	2,046	$370
	Forest Hills	Affluent	$2,547,739	6,894	$370
242	St. Clair	High Need	$574,444	1,564	$367
243	Somerset	Stressed	$1,070,372	2,940	$364
244	Aspinwall	Stressed	$994,622	2,738	$363
245	Whitehall	Stressed	$4,776,484	13,231	$361
246	Leet	Affluent	$571,280	1,602	$357
247	Menallen	High Need	$1,680,786	4,723	$356
248	Butler T	Stressed	$6,329,128	18,477	$343
	Jefferson B	Affluent	$3,171,864	9,260	$343
250	Middlesex	Affluent	$1,958,456	5,733	$342
251	Clinton	Affluent	$951,141	2,792	$341
252	Clay	Stressed	$810,477	2,441	$332
253	Stewart	Stressed	$248,608	756	$329
254	Clearfield	Stressed	$897,768	2,797	$321
	Loyalhanna	Stressed	$701,164	2,181	$321
256	Allegheny T (But.)	Stressed	$159,072	497	$320
257	Concord	Stressed	$444,138	1,416	$314
258	Upper Tyrone	Stressed	$613,264	1,988	$308
259	Bullskin	Stressed	$2,191,212	7,185	$305
260	East Huntingdon	Stressed	$2,375,532	7,835	$303
261	Ligonier T	Affluent	$1,994,913	6,781	$294
262	Richland	Affluent	$2,460,524	8,673	$284
263	Leetsdale	Stressed	$361,180	1,277	$283
264	East Finley	Stressed	$412,506	1,470	$281
265	Forward T (All.)	Stressed	$1,010,648	3,618	$279
266	Brighton	Affluent	$2,202,939	7,997	$275
267	Collier	Affluent	$1,434,652	5,300	$271
	North Union	Stressed	$3,755,287	13,864	$271
269	Donegal B	Stressed	$55,071	206	$267
270	Sewickley B	Affluent	$970,931	3,783	$257
271	Canonsburg	Stressed	$2,279,718	8,929	$255
	Ohio	Affluent	$681,782	2,672	$255
273	Mount Lebanon	Affluent	$7,651,111	30,832	$248
274	Buffalo T (Wash.)	Affluent	$518,706	2,113	$245
275	Hyde Park	Stressed	$128,527	526	$244
276	Donegal T (But.)	Stressed	$384,240	1,580	$243
277	Delmont	Stressed	$520,122	2,162	$241
	Plum	Affluent	$6,169,879	25,579	$241
279	Henry Clay	Stressed	$470,189	1,960	$240
280	Bradford Woods	Affluent	$306,194	1,280	$239
	Mars	Stressed	$413,877	1,730	$239
282	Seven Fields	Affluent	$259,392	1,134	$229
283	Parker	Stressed	$136,334	606	$225
284	Churchill	Affluent	$790,881	3,572	$221
285	Hampton	Affluent	$3,805,270	17,686	$215
286	East Butler	Affluent	$155,423	725	$214
287	North Huntingdon	Affluent	$6,179,510	29,155	$212
288	Derry T	Stressed	$3,214,237	15,459	$208
289	Neville	Stressed	$225,964	1,189	$190
290	Harmar	Affluent	$544,383	2,996	$182
291	Rosslyn Farms	Affluent	$77,290	437	$177
292	Sewickley Hills	Affluent	$102,202	603	$169
293	Dunbar T	Stressed	$1,217,996	7,340	$166
294	Irwin	High Need	$611,425	4,444	$138
295	Summit	Stressed	$591,068	4,578	$129
296	Wilkins	Affluent	$893,605	6,993	$128
297	Twilight	Affluent	$28,991	245	$118
298	Vanport	Stressed	$183,120	1,655	$111
299	Upper St. Clair	Affluent	$2,259,515	20,450	$110
300	Southwest Greensburg	Stressed	$252,738	2,347	$108
301	West Sunbury	Stressed	$18,754	175	$107

	Municipality	Subregion	Net Distribution	Estimated Population, 1997	Per Capita Gain/ Contribute
302	Buffalo T (But.)	Affluent	$692,102	6,751	$103
303	Darlington B	High Need	$30,518	304	$100
304	North Belle Vernon	Stressed	$187,584	2,053	$91
305	South Huntingdon	Stressed	$538,651	6,217	$87
306	Mercer	Stressed	$76,188	1,121	$68
307	Callery	Stressed	$26,074	416	$63
	Franklin Park	Affluent	$710,046	11,200	$63
309	Winfield township	Stressed	$211,595	3,770	$56
310	Robinson T (Wash.)	Stressed	$114,269	2,125	$54
311	Lancaster	Affluent	$132,023	2,474	$53
	North Franklin	Stressed	$255,630	4,851	$53
313	New Sewickley	Affluent	$338,364	7,035	$48
314	Mount Pleasant T (West.)	Stressed	$486,346	11,471	$42
315	Adams	Affluent	$244,994	6,089	$40
316	Brady	Stressed	$16,699	905	$18
317	Franklin T (But.)	Affluent	$32,022	2,434	$13
318	Hopewell T (Beav.)	Stressed	$31,823	13,205	$2
319	Worth	Affluent	$559	1,131	$0
320	Scottdale	Stressed	($97,234)	5,022	($19)
321	New Alexandria	Stressed	($13,766)	555	($25)
322	Cook	Stressed	($51,126)	1,941	($26)
323	West Mifflin	Stressed	($621,143)	22,470	($28)
324	Sewickley T	Stressed	($193,053)	6,465	($30)
325	New Kensington	High Need	($540,493)	15,189	($36)
326	Osborne	Affluent	($21,566)	524	($41)
327	Frankfort Springs	Stressed	($6,507)	130	($50)
328	Saltlick	Stressed	($245,338)	3,241	($76)
329	Harrisville	Stressed	($65,854)	850	($77)
330	Allegheny T (West.)	Stressed	($681,015)	8,378	($81)
	Greensburg	High Need	($1,289,300)	15,986	($81)
332	Franklin T (Beav.)	Stressed	($334,226)	4,026	($83)
333	Fox Chapel	Affluent	($482,812)	5,241	($92)
334	Sewickley Heights	Affluent	($104,180)	913	($114)
335	Scott	Stressed	($1,964,916)	16,466	($119)
336	Petrolia	High Need	($32,572)	256	($127)
337	Lower Burrell	Stressed	($1,704,297)	12,483	($137)
338	Harmony B	Stressed	($153,255)	1,049	($146)
339	Washington T (West.)	Affluent	($1,320,590)	7,797	($169)
340	West Finley	Affluent	($170,119)	980	($174)
341	Bell Acres	Affluent	($238,315)	1,357	($176)
342	Rochester B	Stressed	($937,884)	4,098	($229)
343	Export	High Need	($232,058)	982	($236)
344	Fairfield	Stressed	($551,878)	2,207	($250)
345	East Rochester	Stressed	($170,024)	648	($262)
346	South Fayette	Stressed	($2,906,902)	10,771	($270)
347	Connoquenessing T	Stressed	($945,702)	3,360	($281)
348	Beaver	Stressed	($1,472,888)	4,916	($300)
349	McCandless	Affluent	($8,889,974)	28,520	($312)
350	Ben Avon Heights	Affluent	($117,793)	347	($339)
351	Muddy Creek	Stressed	($788,950)	2,297	($343)
352	Penn T (But.)	Affluent	($1,953,457)	5,600	($349)
353	Jefferson T (But.)	Affluent	($2,019,323)	5,431	($372)
354	Penn T (West.)	Affluent	($7,306,121)	18,354	($398)
355	Thornburg	Affluent	($171,988)	418	($411)
356	Forward T (But.)	Affluent	($1,082,341)	2,546	($425)
357	Murrysville	Affluent	($8,732,970)	19,119	($457)
358	Salem	Stressed	($3,437,994)	7,366	($467)
359	Edgeworth	Affluent	($761,078)	1,538	($495)
360	Cherry	Stressed	($428,326)	805	($532)
361	Pleasant Hills	Affluent	($4,677,529)	8,172	($572)
362	Ligonier B	Stressed	($972,929)	1,586	($613)
363	Donegal T (West.)	Stressed	($1,624,347)	2,593	($626)

	Municipality	Subregion	Net Distribution	Estimated Population, 1997	Per Capita Gain/ Contribute
364	Bethel Park	Affluent	($22,147,564)	34,345	($645)
365	Darlington T	Stressed	($1,355,721)	2,063	($657)
366	South Greensburg	Stressed	($1,597,574)	2,228	($717)
367	Youngwood	Stressed	($2,417,469)	3,308	($731)
368	Center T (But.)	Affluent	($5,538,154)	7,371	($751)
369	Smithton	Stressed	($292,472)	377	($776)
370	Hempfield	Stressed	($34,727,404)	43,547	($797)
371	North Strabane	Affluent	($7,693,651)	9,206	($836)
372	Cherry Valley	Affluent	($82,982)	94	($883)
373	Cecil	Affluent	($9,235,026)	10,092	($915)
374	Center T (Beav.)	Affluent	($10,367,249)	11,265	($920)
375	Chippewa	Affluent	($6,766,095)	7,101	($953)
376	Peters	Affluent	($15,513,822)	16,140	($961)
377	Rostraver	Stressed	($12,359,824)	11,484	($1,076)
378	Saxonburg	Stressed	($1,735,421)	1,500	($1,157)
379	Portersville	Stressed	($356,239)	296	($1,204)
380	Mount Pleasant B	Stressed	($5,730,581)	4,713	($1,216)
381	South Strabane	Stressed	($9,812,949)	7,891	($1,244)
382	Speers	Stressed	($1,707,758)	1,282	($1,332)
383	Kennedy	Affluent	($9,456,489)	6,926	($1,365)
384	Unity	Stressed	($30,937,913)	21,169	($1,461)
385	O'Hara	Affluent	($12,858,355)	8,649	($1,487)
386	Edgewood	Affluent	($5,884,788)	3,309	($1,778)
387	North Fayette	Affluent	($20,025,101)	10,682	($1,875)
388	Karns City	Stressed	($390,526)	206	($1,896)
389	Pine	Affluent	($11,118,984)	5,450	($2,040)
390	Indiana	Affluent	($12,508,408)	6,121	($2,044)
391	Monroeville	Affluent	($60,239,317)	27,808	($2,166)
392	Jackson	Affluent	($7,999,902)	3,607	($2,218)
393	Ross	Affluent	($72,830,048)	31,471	($2,314)
394	Bridgewater	Stressed	($1,780,121)	713	($2,497)
395	Ohiopyle	Stressed	($215,143)	81	($2,656)
396	Upper Burrell	Affluent	($6,020,510)	2,258	($2,666)
397	Moon	Affluent	($66,890,838)	24,858	($2,691)
398	Marion T (Beav.)	Stressed	($2,564,708)	925	($2,773)
399	Patterson	Stressed	($1,595,668)	3,036	($2,834)
400	Green Hills	Affluent	($35,301)	12	($2,942)
401	South Union	Stressed	($34,996,591)	11,140	($3,142)
402	Adamsburg	Stressed	($802,395)	249	($3,222)
403	Wharton	Stressed	($11,408,264)	3,472	($3,286)
404	Cranberry	Affluent	($89,788,513)	21,286	($4,218)
405	Green Tree	Affluent	($19,594,689)	4,592	($4,267)
406	Aleppo	Affluent	($5,485,411)	1,205	($4,552)
407	Robinson T (All.)	Affluent	($51,629,427)	11,000	($4,694)
408	Potter	Stressed	($2,733,480)	561	($4,873)
409	New Stanton	Stressed	($10,965,191)	2,011	($5,453)
410	Findlay	Affluent	($30,510,783)	5,400	($5,650)
411	Marshall	Affluent	($31,508,055)	4,631	($6,804)
412	Shippingport	Affluent	($60,915,242)	227	($268,349)

Not included in the tax base sharing calculations (only a portion lies within the study area):

Ellwood City	High Need	-	824	-

Percentage of regional population living in winning areas: 72.1%

Note: 1985 dollars were adjusted upwards by a factor of 1.4916 to convert to 1997 dollars.
1985 CPI=107.6; 1997 CPI=160.5 (Base Year: 1982-1984 CPI=100)

Municipality	Subregion	Net Distribution	Estimated Population, 1997	Per Capita Gain/ Contribute

Data Sources: Pennsylvania State Tax Equalization Board (1985 and 1997 assessed property values
and county common level ratios); Southwestern Pennsylvania Regional Planning Commission (1997 population estimates).

Methodology:

Each municipality is required to contribute 40% of its 1985-1997 commercial / industrial market value growth into a tax-base pool. Then, a "distribution index" is calculated to determine what percentage share each municipality will get back out of the pool. This distribution index is equal to the municipality's
population multiplied by the ratio of the metropolitan region's market value per capita to the municipality's
market value per capita. Each municipality's distribution index is then divided by the sum of all the distribution indexes to arrive at each municipality's percentage share of the tax-base pool. This percentage is then multiplied by the tax-base pool amount to determine the actual amount the municipality receives back. Finally, the amount the municipality contributes is subtracted from the amount the municipality receives to arrive at the net distribution to the municipality.

Step 1: 1985-1997 municipal commercial / industrial market value growth * 0.40 = Municipal Contribution
Step 2: municipal population * ((region's market value / region's population) /
(municipal market value / municipal population)) = Distribution Index
Step 3: Distribution Index / sum of Distribution Indexes = Municipal Share of tax base to be distributed
Step 4: Municipal Share * sum of Municipal Contributions = Municipal Distribution
Step 5: Municipal Distribution - Municipal Contribution = Municipal Net Distribution

Appendix C: Hypothetical Property Tax-base Sharing Run 2. Redistribution of 40% of Market Value Growth 1985–1997 According to per Capita Income by Municipality with a $100,000,000 Cap on Pittsburgh

	Municipality	Subregion	Net Distribution	Estimated Population, 1997	Per Capita Gain/ Contribute
1	Rankin	High Need	$11,411,899	2,259	$5,052
2	Homewood	Stressed	$789,040	157	$5,026
3	Vanderbilt	High Need	$2,538,628	543	$4,675
4	Homestead	High Need	$16,904,241	3,719	$4,545
5	California	Stressed	$23,563,836	5,361	$4,395
6	Brownsville B	High Need	$13,313,852	3,096	$4,300
7	Dawson	High Need	$2,290,984	533	$4,298
8	West Alexander	Stressed	$1,217,478	288	$4,227
9	Markleysburg	Stressed	$1,336,959	320	$4,178
10	Everson	High Need	$3,830,991	936	$4,093
11	Duquesne	High Need	$30,390,879	7,429	$4,091
12	Braddock	High Need	$16,451,059	4,025	$4,087
13	East Bethlehem	High Need	$10,654,800	2,697	$3,951
	McKees Rocks	High Need	$27,459,228	6,950	$3,951
15	Wall	Stressed	$3,063,875	787	$3,893
16	Aliquippa	High Need	$49,133,793	12,708	$3,866
17	Donora	High Need	$21,971,200	5,697	$3,857
18	Claysville	High Need	$3,634,505	951	$3,822
19	McKeesport	High Need	$92,507,879	24,282	$3,810
20	Koppel	Stressed	$3,763,091	989	$3,805
21	Marianna	High Need	$2,230,816	588	$3,794
22	Beaver Falls	High Need	$38,763,375	10,269	$3,775
23	Midland	High Need	$12,072,113	3,201	$3,771
24	West Brownsville	High Need	$4,253,861	1,136	$3,745
25	Luzerne	Stressed	$17,815,258	4,780	$3,727
26	Coal Center	Stressed	$555,307	150	$3,702
27	Connellsville C	High Need	$33,188,390	8,984	$3,694
28	Point Marion	High Need	$4,870,764	1,339	$3,638
29	East Pittsburgh	High Need	$7,267,470	2,001	$3,632
30	Ellsworth	Stressed	$3,637,145	1,003	$3,626
31	Washington C	High Need	$54,786,466	15,126	$3,622
32	Haysville	Stressed	$334,527	93	$3,597
33	West Elizabeth	Stressed	$2,060,518	574	$3,590
34	Turtle Creek	High Need	$21,546,601	6,037	$3,569
35	Freedom	High Need	$6,463,196	1,830	$3,532
36	Monessen	High Need	$32,958,599	9,345	$3,527
37	Glassport	High Need	$17,784,612	5,052	$3,520
38	Bentleyville	High Need	$9,026,220	2,584	$3,493
	West Mayfield	High Need	$4,463,893	1,278	$3,493
40	Springfield	High Need	$10,311,745	2,958	$3,486
41	Mount Oliver	High Need	$13,032,845	3,754	$3,472
42	Wilmerding	High Need	$7,586,236	2,187	$3,469
43	Blaine	Stressed	$2,387,398	692	$3,450
44	Butler C	High Need	$53,726,402	15,605	$3,443
45	West Bethlehem	Stressed	$5,399,020	1,577	$3,424
46	Allenport	Stressed	$1,921,730	563	$3,413
47	Uniontown	High Need	$39,849,067	11,696	$3,407
48	Independence T (Wash.)	Stressed	$6,132,124	1,810	$3,388
49	Centerville	Stressed	$12,594,173	3,719	$3,386
50	Tarentum	High Need	$17,635,614	5,238	$3,367
51	North Braddock	High Need	$21,685,259	6,478	$3,348
52	Belle Vernon	High Need	$3,986,107	1,194	$3,338
53	Millvale	Stressed	$13,785,187	4,131	$3,337
54	Fayette City	High Need	$2,344,825	704	$3,331
55	Smith	Stressed	$16,124,168	4,864	$3,315

	Municipality	Subregion	Net Distribution	Estimated Population, 1997	Per Capita Gain/ Contribute
56	Elco	Stressed	$1,192,619	360	$3,313
57	Charleroi	High Need	$16,027,154	4,857	$3,300
58	Long Branch	Stressed	$1,550,410	470	$3,299
59	Pitcairn	High Need	$12,026,857	3,687	$3,262
60	Penn B	Stressed	$1,610,604	495	$3,254
61	Verona	High Need	$9,715,012	3,004	$3,234
62	Dunbar B	High Need	$3,908,143	1,209	$3,233
63	Beallsville	Stressed	$1,663,834	515	$3,231
64	North Charleroi	High Need	$4,710,001	1,468	$3,208
65	Smithfield	Stressed	$3,181,089	997	$3,191
66	Donegal T (Wash.)	Stressed	$7,237,986	2,275	$3,182
	Sharpsburg	High Need	$10,852,159	3,410	$3,182
68	Port Vue	Stressed	$13,309,335	4,184	$3,181
69	South Connellsville	High Need	$6,976,999	2,197	$3,176
70	Bolivar	Stressed	$1,664,615	525	$3,171
71	Stowe	High Need	$21,812,763	6,926	$3,149
72	New Florence	High Need	$2,573,091	818	$3,146
73	Clairton	High Need	$27,416,064	8,721	$3,144
74	East Butler	Affluent	$2,277,529	725	$3,141
75	Twilight	Affluent	$766,750	245	$3,130
76	Houston	Stressed	$4,349,262	1,397	$3,113
77	Jeannette	High Need	$33,623,337	10,814	$3,109
78	West Pike Run	Stressed	$5,656,620	1,821	$3,106
79	Newell	Stressed	$1,597,506	516	$3,096
80	Deemston	Stressed	$2,317,523	749	$3,094
81	Ambridge	High Need	$24,247,585	7,840	$3,093
82	Canonsburg	Stressed	$27,513,644	8,929	$3,081
83	Eastvale	High Need	$975,664	317	$3,078
84	Versailles	Stressed	$5,168,678	1,680	$3,077
85	Liberty	Stressed	$7,574,180	2,475	$3,060
86	New Eagle	Stressed	$6,498,671	2,131	$3,050
87	Brackenridge	Stressed	$10,550,991	3,468	$3,042
88	McDonald	High Need	$6,793,628	2,238	$3,036
89	Canton	Stressed	$28,111,509	9,263	$3,035
90	Monongahela	Stressed	$14,294,260	4,718	$3,030
91	East Deer	Stressed	$4,329,386	1,430	$3,028
92	East McKeesport	High Need	$7,300,860	2,412	$3,027
93	Roscoe	Stressed	$2,509,361	836	$3,002
94	Elizabeth B	Stressed	$4,351,685	1,450	$3,001
95	Glasgow	High Need	$215,675	72	$2,995
96	Munhall	Stressed	$35,686,708	12,078	$2,955
97	Whitaker	Stressed	$3,764,595	1,279	$2,943
98	German	High Need	$16,109,454	5,486	$2,936
99	West Homestead	Stressed	$6,567,324	2,248	$2,921
100	Etna	Stressed	$11,057,609	3,789	$2,918
101	Dravosburg	Stressed	$6,206,846	2,139	$2,902
102	Lincoln	Stressed	$3,140,703	1,092	$2,876
103	Springdale B	Stressed	$10,462,852	3,647	$2,869
104	Fallowfield	Stressed	$14,016,630	4,904	$2,858
	Heidelberg	Stressed	$3,309,938	1,158	$2,858
106	Georges	High Need	$18,700,615	6,554	$2,853
107	Midway	Stressed	$2,878,332	1,011	$2,847
108	Burgettstown	High Need	$4,754,575	1,673	$2,842
109	Harrison	Stressed	$31,205,505	10,984	$2,841
110	New Brighton	High Need	$18,787,718	6,622	$2,837
111	North Versailles	Stressed	$36,008,338	12,698	$2,836
112	Coraopolis	Stressed	$17,498,608	6,172	$2,835
113	Avalon	Stressed	$14,596,388	5,206	$2,804
114	Vandergrift	High Need	$16,117,166	5,749	$2,803
115	Cross Creek	Stressed	$4,945,822	1,768	$2,797
116	Ingram	Stressed	$9,820,137	3,530	$2,782
117	South Versailles	Affluent	$1,289,027	466	$2,766

	Municipality	Subregion	Net Distribution	Estimated Population, 1997	Per Capita Gain/ Contribute
118	Hookstown	Stressed	$448,197	163	$2,750
119	Leetsdale	Stressed	$3,488,177	1,277	$2,732
120	Braddock Hills	High Need	$4,986,387	1,832	$2,722
121	East Vandergrift	High Need	$2,090,049	768	$2,721
122	Stockdale	Stressed	$1,661,620	612	$2,715
123	Slippery Rock B	Stressed	$8,348,729	3,078	$2,712
124	Latrobe	Stressed	$24,340,843	8,993	$2,707
125	Fairchance	High Need	$5,174,635	1,912	$2,706
126	Petrolia	High Need	$690,267	256	$2,696
127	Emsworth	Stressed	$7,243,197	2,693	$2,690
128	West Leechburg	Stressed	$3,545,938	1,320	$2,686
129	West Middletown	Affluent	$440,237	164	$2,684
130	Seward	Stressed	$1,369,085	511	$2,679
131	Sutersville	High Need	$1,942,269	726	$2,675
132	Chalfant	Stressed	$2,346,464	878	$2,673
133	West View	Stressed	$18,858,482	7,092	$2,659
134	Nicholson	Stressed	$5,264,555	1,988	$2,648
135	Elizabeth T	Stressed	$37,217,071	14,067	$2,646
136	Wilkinsburg	High Need	$50,407,041	19,060	$2,645
137	Amwell	Stressed	$10,953,174	4,158	$2,634
138	Carnegie	Stressed	$22,482,701	8,555	$2,628
139	Dunlevy	High Need	$1,052,239	401	$2,624
140	Swissvale	Stressed	$25,702,727	9,842	$2,612
141	Fairview B	Affluent	$593,704	228	$2,604
	Neville	Stressed	$3,095,894	1,189	$2,604
143	Arona	Stressed	$993,863	384	$2,588
144	Brentwood	Stressed	$25,623,273	9,905	$2,587
145	North Irwin	Stressed	$2,394,780	930	$2,575
146	New Galilee	Stressed	$1,248,404	485	$2,574
147	North Bethlehem	Stressed	$4,780,257	1,858	$2,573
148	Arnold	High Need	$15,069,960	5,885	$2,561
149	Dormont	Stressed	$22,746,524	8,898	$2,556
150	Blawnox	Stressed	$3,931,710	1,541	$2,551
151	Cokeburg	Stressed	$1,781,594	699	$2,549
152	Somerset	Stressed	$7,471,201	2,940	$2,541
153	Castle Shannon	Stressed	$21,969,585	8,652	$2,539
	White	High Need	$3,980,951	1,568	$2,539
155	Jefferson T (Wash.)	Affluent	$2,962,358	1,168	$2,536
156	Oakdale	Affluent	$4,094,288	1,616	$2,534
	Reserve	Stressed	$9,674,054	3,817	$2,534
158	Redstone	High Need	$16,104,855	6,369	$2,529
159	Mount Pleasant T (Wash.)	Stressed	$9,129,922	3,627	$2,517
160	Bridgeville	Stressed	$12,769,506	5,093	$2,507
161	Stewart	Stressed	$1,891,024	756	$2,501
162	Baldwin T	Affluent	$5,787,154	2,329	$2,485
163	West Mifflin	Stressed	$55,772,933	22,470	$2,482
164	Chartiers	Stressed	$18,499,369	7,473	$2,475
165	West Newton	High Need	$7,541,233	3,049	$2,473
166	Baldwin B	Stressed	$54,244,439	22,054	$2,460
167	Frazer	Stressed	$3,229,668	1,315	$2,456
168	Brownsville T	High Need	$2,067,282	844	$2,449
169	Penn Hills	Stressed	$116,491,684	47,730	$2,441
170	Masontown	High Need	$8,900,460	3,658	$2,433
171	Big Beaver	Stressed	$5,552,849	2,320	$2,393
172	Carroll	Stressed	$14,673,444	6,152	$2,385
173	Crescent	Affluent	$5,556,268	2,386	$2,329
174	Springhill	Stressed	$6,493,363	2,791	$2,327
175	Crafton	Stressed	$15,002,372	6,473	$2,318
176	Fawn	Affluent	$5,849,328	2,524	$2,317
	Washington T (Fay.)	Stressed	$10,833,811	4,676	$2,317
178	Pulaski	High Need	$3,878,679	1,680	$2,309
179	Valencia	Stressed	$1,030,186	448	$2,300

	Municipality	Subregion	Net Distribution	Estimated Population, 1997	Per Capita Gain/ Contribute
180	Hopewell T (Wash.)	Stressed	$2,182,927	952	$2,293
181	White Oak	Stressed	$21,155,879	9,315	$2,271
182	Forward T (All.)	Stressed	$8,194,659	3,618	$2,265
183	Rochester B	Stressed	$9,200,879	4,098	$2,245
184	Slippery Rock T	Stressed	$10,582,513	4,743	$2,231
185	Derry B	Stressed	$6,383,645	2,862	$2,230
186	Patterson	Stressed	$1,245,763	3,036	$2,213
187	Lower Tyrone	Stressed	$2,484,545	1,135	$2,189
188	Avonmore	Stressed	$2,319,552	1,060	$2,188
189	North Union	Stressed	$30,001,948	13,864	$2,164
190	Bruin	Stressed	$1,335,088	633	$2,109
191	Bellevue	Stressed	$17,948,178	8,524	$2,106
192	Hunker	Stressed	$665,183	318	$2,092
193	Scottdale	Stressed	$10,466,574	5,022	$2,084
194	Cheswick	Affluent	$3,886,513	1,868	$2,081
195	Trafford	Stressed	$6,815,997	3,286	$2,074
196	Ben Avon	Affluent	$3,931,602	1,921	$2,047
197	Morris	Stressed	$2,385,174	1,169	$2,040
198	Youngstown	Stressed	$735,587	361	$2,038
199	Perry	Stressed	$5,718,422	2,808	$2,036
200	Darlington B	High Need	$613,099	304	$2,017
	Monaca	Stressed	$12,950,694	6,422	$2,017
202	Franklin T (Fay.)	Stressed	$5,199,787	2,596	$2,003
203	Baden	Stressed	$10,021,021	5,023	$1,995
204	Rochester T	Stressed	$6,348,166	3,185	$1,993
205	North Franklin	Stressed	$9,531,855	4,851	$1,965
206	Export	High Need	$1,914,049	982	$1,949
207	Wilkins	Affluent	$13,396,243	6,993	$1,916
208	Harmony T	Stressed	$6,799,386	3,595	$1,891
209	North Belle Vernon	Stressed	$3,880,516	2,053	$1,890
210	Southwest Greensburg	Stressed	$4,395,624	2,347	$1,873
211	Union	Stressed	$11,898,062	6,370	$1,868
212	Glenfield	Stressed	$354,922	191	$1,858
213	Forest Hills	Affluent	$12,647,696	6,894	$1,835
214	Donegal B	Stressed	$376,725	206	$1,829
215	Perryopolis	Stressed	$3,443,254	1,885	$1,827
216	South Heights	Stressed	$1,145,005	628	$1,823
217	Conway	Stressed	$4,313,905	2,370	$1,820
218	Upper Tyrone	Stressed	$3,567,166	1,988	$1,794
219	Scott	Stressed	$29,439,473	16,466	$1,788
220	Kilbuck	Affluent	$1,473,052	827	$1,781
221	East Rochester	Stressed	$1,143,899	648	$1,765
222	Menallen	High Need	$8,207,830	4,723	$1,738
223	East Washington	Stressed	$3,486,633	2,047	$1,703
224	Georgetown	Stressed	$317,770	188	$1,690
225	St. Clair	High Need	$2,637,285	1,564	$1,686
226	Mount Pleasant B	Stressed	$7,865,740	4,713	$1,669
227	Vanport	Stressed	$2,733,745	1,655	$1,652
228	Irwin	High Need	$7,242,672	4,444	$1,630
229	Hyde Park	Stressed	$843,138	526	$1,603
230	New Kensington	High Need	$24,158,171	15,189	$1,591
231	West Sunbury	Stressed	$272,879	175	$1,559
232	Oklahoma	Stressed	$1,442,843	946	$1,525
233	Smithton	Stressed	$571,617	377	$1,516
234	Eau Claire	Stressed	$544,567	361	$1,508
235	Madison	Affluent	$778,082	525	$1,482
236	Buffalo T (Wash.)	Affluent	$3,064,405	2,113	$1,450
237	Chicora	Stressed	$1,448,889	1,004	$1,443
238	Robinson T (Wash.)	Stressed	$3,061,140	2,125	$1,441
239	Dunbar T	Stressed	$10,453,794	7,340	$1,424
240	South Franklin	Stressed	$5,370,058	3,895	$1,379
241	Pennsbury Village	Stressed	$994,217	728	$1,366

	Municipality	Subregion	Net Distribution	Estimated Population, 1997	Per Capita Gain/ Contribute
242	Industry	Stressed	$2,862,939	2,110	$1,357
243	Greensburg	High Need	$21,570,161	15,986	$1,349
244	Whitehall	Stressed	$17,339,282	13,231	$1,311
245	Connellsville T	Stressed	$3,339,697	2,566	$1,302
246	Evans City	Stressed	$2,614,783	2,046	$1,278
247	Hanover T (Wash.)	Stressed	$3,602,304	2,930	$1,229
248	Henry Clay	Stressed	$2,390,610	1,960	$1,220
249	West Deer	Affluent	$13,597,457	11,235	$1,210
250	North Sewickley	Stressed	$7,440,984	6,157	$1,209
251	Churchill	Affluent	$4,287,878	3,572	$1,200
252	Mars	Stressed	$2,067,992	1,730	$1,195
253	Bullskin	Stressed	$8,565,587	7,185	$1,192
254	Plum	Affluent	$30,389,828	25,579	$1,188
255	Derry T	Stressed	$18,196,576	15,459	$1,177
256	Frankfort Springs	Stressed	$149,735	130	$1,152
257	Ohioville	Stressed	$4,380,758	3,868	$1,133
258	Jefferson T (Fay.)	Stressed	$2,274,968	2,011	$1,131
259	Sewickley T	Stressed	$7,080,824	6,465	$1,095
260	South Park	Affluent	$15,087,578	13,943	$1,082
261	Fallston	High Need	$424,282	394	$1,077
262	Finleyville	High Need	$432,269	431	$1,003
263	Shaler	Affluent	$30,899,076	30,998	$997
264	Rosslyn Farms	Affluent	$407,814	437	$933
265	Fairfield	Stressed	$1,989,987	2,207	$902
266	Youngwood	Stressed	$2,910,559	3,308	$880
267	South Greensburg	Stressed	$1,913,478	2,228	$859
268	Pleasant Hills	Affluent	$6,602,586	8,172	$808
269	East Huntingdon	Stressed	$6,014,465	7,835	$768
270	Loyalhanna	Stressed	$1,670,603	2,181	$766
271	Oakmont	Stressed	$4,852,925	6,535	$743
272	Ligonier B	Stressed	$1,157,622	1,586	$730
273	Salem	Stressed	$5,345,921	7,366	$726
274	Laurel Mountain	Affluent	$136,280	190	$717
275	New Alexandria	Stressed	$395,680	555	$713
276	South Huntingdon	Stressed	$4,350,039	6,217	$700
277	Speers	Stressed	$827,746	1,282	$646
278	Green Hills	Affluent	$7,336	12	$611
279	Saltlick	Stressed	$1,958,197	3,241	$604
280	Karns City	Stressed	$123,687	206	$600
281	Mount Pleasant T (West.)	Stressed	$4,416,693	11,471	$385
282	Daugherty	Stressed	$1,331,192	3,512	$379
283	Raccoon	Affluent	$1,234,182	3,465	$356
284	Butler T	Stressed	$6,524,512	18,477	$353
285	Aspinwall	Stressed	$936,443	2,738	$342
286	Darlington T	Stressed	$658,367	2,063	$319
287	**Pittsburgh**	**Central City**	**$100,000,000**	**344,506**	**$290**
288	New Sewickley	Affluent	$1,961,936	7,035	$279
289	Harrisville	Stressed	$209,662	850	$247
290	Zelienople	Affluent	$1,031,752	4,457	$231
291	Bell	Stressed	$48,180	2,394	$20
292	South Beaver	Stressed	$57,371	3,021	$19
293	Lower Burrell	Stressed	$75,439	12,483	$6
294	Franklin T (Beav.)	Stressed	$17,548	4,026	$4
295	Washington T (But.)	Stressed	($32,725)	1,263	($26)
296	Fairview T	Stressed	($72,157)	2,214	($33)
297	Portersville	Stressed	($17,272)	296	($58)
298	Prospect	Stressed	($105,434)	1,109	($95)
299	Ben Avon Heights	Affluent	($35,487)	347	($102)
300	Nottingham	Affluent	($350,352)	2,575	($136)
301	Parker	Stressed	($107,306)	606	($177)
302	Beaver	Stressed	($1,107,194)	4,916	($225)
303	Bethel Park	Affluent	($8,721,121)	34,345	($254)

	Municipality	Subregion	Net Distribution	Estimated Population, 1997	Per Capita Gain/ Contribute
304	Harmony B	Stressed	($334,039)	1,049	($318)
305	Marion T (But.)	Stressed	($380,941)	1,104	($345)
306	Mercer	Stressed	($463,350)	1,121	($413)
307	North Huntingdon	Affluent	($12,067,966)	29,155	($414)
308	Ohiopyle	Stressed	($42,301)	81	($522)
309	Hopewell T (Beav.)	Stressed	($7,032,050)	13,205	($533)
310	Concord	Stressed	($778,780)	1,416	($550)
311	Cherry Valley	Affluent	($56,230)	94	($598)
312	Greene	Stressed	($1,738,348)	2,799	($621)
313	Economy	Affluent	($6,492,790)	9,752	($666)
314	Clearfield	Stressed	($1,963,398)	2,797	($702)
315	West Liberty	Affluent	($223,460)	278	($804)
316	Donegal T (West.)	Stressed	($2,293,785)	2,593	($885)
317	Connoquenessing B	Stressed	($495,377)	529	($936)
318	Vernango	Stressed	($695,469)	708	($982)
319	Clay	Stressed	($2,453,297)	2,441	($1,005)
320	Callery	Stressed	($457,427)	416	($1,100)
321	Mount Lebanon	Affluent	($34,075,834)	30,832	($1,105)
322	Hanover T (Beav.)	Stressed	($4,035,448)	3,628	($1,112)
323	Donegal T (But.)	Stressed	($1,812,015)	1,580	($1,147)
324	Allegheny T (West.)	Stressed	($9,691,527)	8,378	($1,157)
325	East Finley	Stressed	($1,775,283)	1,470	($1,208)
326	Independence T (Beav.)	Stressed	($3,365,419)	2,776	($1,212)
327	Hempfield	Stressed	($53,150,851)	43,547	($1,221)
328	Monroeville	Affluent	($37,751,149)	27,808	($1,358)
329	Rostraver	Stressed	($16,831,204)	11,484	($1,466)
330	Adamsburg	Stressed	($377,607)	249	($1,516)
331	Allegheny T (But.)	Stressed	($768,599)	497	($1,546)
332	Edgewood	Affluent	($5,178,534)	3,309	($1,565)
333	Washington T (West.)	Affluent	($12,455,448)	7,797	($1,597)
334	Brighton	Affluent	($13,065,042)	7,997	($1,634)
335	Oakland	Affluent	($5,053,180)	3,056	($1,654)
336	Jefferson B	Affluent	($15,699,160)	9,260	($1,695)
337	Clinton	Affluent	($4,859,476)	2,792	($1,741)
338	Summit	Stressed	($8,009,953)	4,578	($1,750)
339	Chippewa	Affluent	($13,146,024)	7,101	($1,851)
340	Winfield township	Stressed	($6,990,274)	3,770	($1,854)
341	Kennedy	Affluent	($13,686,114)	6,926	($1,976)
342	Delmont	Stressed	($4,287,549)	2,162	($1,983)
343	Ligonier T	Affluent	($13,488,019)	6,781	($1,989)
344	Upper St. Clair	Affluent	($40,927,848)	20,450	($2,001)
345	Richland	Affluent	($18,076,103)	8,673	($2,084)
346	Manor	Stressed	($5,744,702)	2,748	($2,091)
347	Springdale T	Stressed	($3,750,927)	1,780	($2,107)
348	Center T (Beav.)	Affluent	($24,822,680)	11,265	($2,204)
349	South Strabane	Stressed	($18,179,498)	7,891	($2,304)
350	Wharton	Stressed	($8,423,710)	3,472	($2,426)
351	Muddy Creek	Stressed	($5,825,487)	2,297	($2,536)
352	Cook	Stressed	($5,095,155)	1,941	($2,625)
353	Middlesex	Affluent	($15,187,546)	5,733	($2,649)
354	Unity	Stressed	($56,565,871)	21,169	($2,672)
355	Ross	Affluent	($85,627,605)	31,471	($2,721)
356	Buffalo T (But.)	Affluent	($18,411,823)	6,751	($2,727)
357	Bradford Woods	Affluent	($3,501,942)	1,280	($2,736)
358	Upper Burrell	Affluent	($6,207,446)	2,258	($2,749)
359	Hampton	Affluent	($48,782,655)	17,686	($2,758)
360	North Strabane	Affluent	($26,221,287)	9,206	($2,848)
361	Thornburg	Affluent	($1,196,721)	418	($2,863)
362	Connoquenessing T	Stressed	($10,401,581)	3,360	($3,096)
363	Franklin T (But.)	Affluent	($7,685,137)	2,434	($3,157)
364	Jefferson T (But.)	Affluent	($17,785,939)	5,431	($3,275)
365	Bridgewater	Stressed	($2,362,901)	713	($3,314)

	Municipality	Subregion	Net Distribution	Estimated Population, 1997	Per Capita Gain/ Contribute
366	Cecil	Affluent	($35,945,428)	10,092	($3,562)
367	Cherry	Stressed	($2,906,231)	805	($3,610)
368	Saxonburg	Stressed	($5,432,318)	1,500	($3,622)
369	Leet	Affluent	($5,832,519)	1,602	($3,641)
370	Marion T (Beav.)	Stressed	($3,383,253)	925	($3,658)
371	Penn T (West.)	Affluent	($67,814,158)	18,354	($3,695)
372	Collier	Affluent	($20,045,796)	5,300	($3,782)
373	Lancaster	Affluent	($9,554,503)	2,474	($3,862)
374	South Fayette	Stressed	($41,744,771)	10,771	($3,876)
375	New Stanton	Stressed	($7,798,765)	2,011	($3,878)
376	McCandless	Affluent	($111,137,884)	28,520	($3,897)
377	Worth	Affluent	($4,474,626)	1,131	($3,956)
378	South Union	Stressed	($45,008,678)	11,140	($4,040)
379	Forward T (But.)	Affluent	($10,837,059)	2,546	($4,257)
380	Harmar	Affluent	($13,063,531)	2,996	($4,360)
381	Potter	Stressed	($2,501,072)	561	($4,458)
382	O'Hara	Affluent	($38,588,386)	8,649	($4,462)
383	Center T (But.)	Affluent	($32,988,032)	7,371	($4,475)
384	Sewickley B	Affluent	($17,116,229)	3,783	($4,525)
385	Moon	Affluent	($115,431,067)	24,858	($4,644)
386	Penn T (But.)	Affluent	($26,356,977)	5,600	($4,707)
387	Green Tree	Affluent	($22,663,939)	4,592	($4,936)
388	Brady	Stressed	($4,798,036)	905	($5,302)
389	Indiana	Affluent	($38,887,986)	6,121	($6,353)
390	Jackson	Affluent	($23,028,726)	3,607	($6,384)
391	Bell Acres	Affluent	($9,027,132)	1,357	($6,652)
392	Patterson Heights	Affluent	($20,243,717)	563	($6,668)
393	Murrysville	Affluent	($128,258,933)	19,119	($6,708)
394	West Finley	Affluent	($6,933,872)	980	($7,075)
395	Findlay	Affluent	($39,806,715)	5,400	($7,372)
396	Aleppo	Affluent	($9,192,978)	1,205	($7,629)
397	North Fayette	Affluent	($88,328,617)	10,682	($8,269)
398	Peters	Affluent	($133,663,927)	16,140	($8,282)
399	Adams	Affluent	($51,891,117)	6,089	($8,522)
400	Robinson T (All.)	Affluent	($98,712,745)	11,000	($8,974)
401	Ohio	Affluent	($24,903,933)	2,672	($9,320)
402	Osborne	Affluent	($5,586,143)	524	($10,661)
403	Franklin Park	Affluent	($131,514,856)	11,200	($11,742)
404	Cranberry	Affluent	($270,798,832)	21,286	($12,722)
405	Sewickley Hills	Affluent	($8,429,875)	603	($13,980)
406	Edgeworth	Affluent	($23,936,388)	1,538	($15,563)
407	Fox Chapel	Affluent	($101,999,205)	5,241	($19,462)
408	Pine	Affluent	($107,826,868)	5,450	($19,785)
409	Seven Fields	Affluent	($23,171,791)	1,134	($20,434)
410	Marshall	Affluent	($119,569,873)	4,631	($25,819)
411	Sewickley Heights	Affluent	($33,485,363)	913	($36,676)
412	Shippingport	Affluent	($60,627,786)	227	($267,083)

Not included in the tax base sharing calculations (only a portion lies within the study area):

Ellwood City	High Need	-	824	-

Percentage of regional population living in winning areas: 66.9%

Note: 1985 dollars were adjusted upwards by a factor of 1.4916 to convert to 1997 dollars. 1985 CPI=107.6; 1997 CPI=160.5 (Base Year: 1982-1984 CPI=100)

Data Sources: Pennsylvania State Tax Equalization Board (1985 and 1997 assessed property values and county common level ratios); Southwestern Pennsylvania Regional Planning Commission (1997

Municipality	Subregion	Net Distribution	Estimated Population, 1997	Per Capita Gain/ Contribute

population estimates); 1990 U.S. Census of Population and Housing Summary Tape File 3A (1990 population and 1989 income figures).

Methodology:

Each municipality is required to contribute 40% of its 1985-1997 total market value growth into a tax-base pool. Then, a "distribution index" is calculated to determine what percentage share each municipality will get back out of the pool. This distribution index is equal to the municipality's population multiplied by the ratio of the metropolitan region's income per capita to the municipality's income per capita. Each municipality's distribution index is then divided by the sum of all the distribution indexes to arrive at each municipality's percentage share of the tax-base pool. This percentage is then multiplied by the tax-base pool amount to determine the actual amount the municipality receives back. Finally, the amount the municipality contributes is subtracted from the amount the municipality receives to arrive at the net distribution to the municipality.

At this point, the net distribution to Pittsburgh is examined to determine if a cap needs to be imposed. If the net distribution to Pittsburgh is less than $100 million, no further adjustments are made. If Pittsburgh's net distribution is greater than $100 million, the model is run again. This time, Pittsburgh is excluded from all of the calculations; instead, it is given a net distribution of $100 million out of the tax-base pool. (This is done in order to make available a larger percentage of the tax-base pool to be distributed to the other area communities.) Steps 2-5 are then run again, excluding Pittsburgh from the calculations.

Step 1: 1985-1997 municipal property tax base growth * 0.40 = Municipal Contribution
Step 2: municipal population * ((region's aggregate income / region's population) /
(municipal aggregate income / municipal population)) = Distribution Index
Step 3: Distribution Index / sum of Distribution Indexes = Municipal Share of tax base to be distributed
Step 4: Municipal Share * sum of Municipal Contributions = Municipal Distribution
Step 5: Municipal Distribution - Municipal Contribution = Municipal Net Distribution
Step 6: If Pittsburgh's Municipal Net Distribution < $100 million, model run ends
or
Step 7: If Pittsburgh's Municipal Net Distribution > $100 million, rerun Step 1 without Pittsburgh
Step 8: Subtract $100 million from Municipal Contribution for Pittsburgh
Step 9: Rerun Steps 2-5, excluding Pittsburgh