

Regional Restructuring and Its Impact on Public
Services: Some Strategies for the City of Pittsburgh

Prepared for
The Pittsburgh Foundation

University Center for Social and Urban Research
University of Pittsburgh

February, 1987

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I. INTRODUCTION

The city of Pittsburgh and southwestern Pennsylvania have experienced major changes in recent decades. For example the regional economy has moved away from reliance on traditional heavy manufacturing industries toward a more diversified, but predominantly service-oriented, economy. In addition, large population shifts have occurred, largely from the city to other parts of the region.

During any time of change certain groups within the population are likely to bear a greater share of the cost. While the region may be developing a stronger, economic base with prospects for future prosperity, it is the role of the public sector to assist in finding equitable and efficient ways to help minimize the costs to those affected. It must help them adjust to the changing economic circumstances. The problem for a central city such as Pittsburgh, which serves a broad metropolitan area, is that change may mean an increased demand for some services coupled with a decreasing ability by the city's population to pay for those very services. Also, it is not always possible to reduce services in exact proportion to losses in population or jobs.

This paper focuses on problems associated with recent demographic and economic trends, on the effects of such trends on delivery of city services, and on strategies for maintaining services and responding to problems. Throughout the paper it is assumed that trends in the city are inextricably linked with the southwestern Pennsylvania economy, in general, and the metropolitan area, in particular. For example, the high-quality public services and amenities provided by the city help

attract new businesses and industries to the area; this in turn contributes to the economic vitality of the city and stabilizes its population base.

A critical issue is whether those who would live in the city would also be in a position to pay for much of the services that they would receive. Ensuring this would require maintaining a strong economic base and good quality of life. This paper provides analysis of both problems and opportunities for the city in the context of major structural changes in the regional economy.

II. DEMOGRAPHIC PROBLEMS AND EFFECTS ON CITY SERVICES

The purpose of this section is to identify demographic problems in the City of Pittsburgh which are likely to negatively impact the vitality of the city, particularly the provision of city services. Demographic conditions and trends are important because they can greatly affect the demand for public services as well as resources available to offer services. Understanding demographic change can also help to identify those factors which might be used to address demographic problems. For example, the quality of city services will influence the make-up of the population as well as be influenced by it.

A variety of demographic variables have been considered, including total population, population by race, population by age, population by income, and persons in poverty. Possible causes of each of the problems and the effects of demographic problems on City services will be discussed.

A. The Problem of Declining Population

From 1960 to 1984 the City of Pittsburgh, as well as Allegheny County and the Pittsburgh SMSA, consistently lost population (see Table 1). During this period the city lost one-third of its population while the County and the SMSA lost 13 percent and 8 percent, respectively.

Almost all of the decline in city population is apparently accounted for by the loss of white residents. For example, from 1970-1980 the white population in the city decreased by nearly 20

percent while the black population declined by less than 2 percent (see Table 2). About one-half of the decline in white population (and in the overall population) occurred in the under 15 age group and about one-half occurred in the 15-64 age group (see Table 3).

Consistently, some of the greatest losses in population have been in the 35-54 age cohorts (see Table 4). By 1980 the city had 55.6 percent fewer people in the 35-44 age group than in 1960 and had a 45.1 percent loss in the 45-54 age group for the same period. In relation to the elderly population, there was a decline of persons age 65-74 but nearly an equal increase in persons 75 and older from 1960-1980.

Preliminary forecasts by the Southwest Pennsylvania Regional Planning Commission indicate that population declines in the City ended around 1984. In addition, overall population in the City is expected to increase slightly by the end of the decade.¹

Causes of the Problem

Migration of population out of the City and the lack of immigration appears to explain much of the decline in population. For example, from 1975 to 1980 about 89,000 people (179,411-90,422) left the City for someplace else in the SMSA while only 17,995 moved into the City from the SMSA (see Table 5). It is interesting to note that more people moved into the City from outside the SMSA than from within the SMSA (31,310 compared to

¹ Unpublished, communicated by phone to UCSUR staff on January 15, 1987.

17,995). Apparently the City of Pittsburgh does not appeal to many residents of the SMSA (including some already in the City) as a place to live.

In addition, declining birth rates certainly contributed to a smaller child and teenage population. Not only did a large segment of the childbearing population leave the City, but those who remained had fewer children per person than residents had in the past.

The reasons for the out-migration of population in the 1960s and 1970 from the City of Pittsburgh are most likely the same as those which explain out-migration from many U.S. cities in the same period. In particular, rising incomes (see Section I.B. below) along with affordable suburban housing and highways to downtown jobs enabled many families to leave the central city. Besides the pull of better housing and more space, people were probably attracted to the suburbs by lower tax rates and perceptions of less crime and better schools.

For the period 1980-1984, the loss of manufacturing jobs and industry in the region (Southwest Pennsylvania) is an additional cause of population decline in the City of Pittsburgh. The loss of about 100,000 manufacturing jobs in Southwest Pennsylvania from 1979-1983 probably meant increased migration out of the city and region as well as reduced migration into the city and region (University Center for Social and Urban Research. "The State of the Region").

Since no one knows for sure why residents migrated out of the city, the reasons suggested above are only logical possibilities. Research will be conducted by UCSUR later this year to determine the specific motivations of people who have moved or may move out of the city.

Effects of the Problem on City Services

The primary effects of declining population are reduced resources to support services, lower demand for some types of services, and greater difficulty in promoting industry because of a reduced work force. Each of these effects is discussed below.

The population declines have reduced resources because fewer residents are available to pay the City income tax, to generate additional jobs through consumer spending, to develop property and pay property taxes, and to start or support businesses which pay business taxes. The rate of decline in population will not translate into an equal rate of lower tax receipts because of higher or lower incomes and because of changing labor force participation rates. However, there is no doubt that the major loss of residents, particularly in the higher income and more productive 35-54 age group, has reduced some types of tax revenues.

In relation to demand for services, aggregate demand is not likely to decrease, and pressure may actually grow to expand some types of services. One reason for stable or increasing demand for services is that even if a neighborhood loses residents the

public areas still have to be maintained. In addition, non-residents continue to use the city. Sixty percent of the city's work force are non-residents and the majority of recreational and cultural facilities in the region are located within city boundaries, with all the service demand that entails. As Gordon (1970) said, "Suburbanites, continuing to earn their living in the city, require more roads for their coming and going, more downtown real estate for their parking, and the continued provision of many other city services, from police and fire protection for themselves and their business properties to libraries and other cultural amenities." Also, as "the metropolitan area grows and central city needs increase, its opportunities for tapping new revenue sources sharply diminish." These comments are equally applicable to Pittsburgh in 1987.

Of course, a smaller population will tend to reduce demand for some services. In particular, the large decline in school-age children has meant lower demand for elementary and secondary education. If resources are available, reduced aggregate demand could allow the school system to improve services to provide more help to young people who did not or normally would not receive an adequate education.

The demand for housing services may also be somewhat reduced because of the decline in the number of households (see Table 6). However, demand may not be significantly reduced since the number of households has not declined in proportion to the loss of population and since the housing stock is continuously aging and

in need of more attention. From 1960 to 1980 the City lost only 11.8 percent of total households while losing 29.8 percent of the population primarily because changing family structures (e.g., more single adult households and more female-headed households) resulted in fewer persons per household (see Table 7).

Finally, the smaller work force in the City and region most likely contains fewer skilled and professional persons compared to work forces in previous years. Since labor force characteristics are a major consideration for firm retention and growth, City efforts to create jobs may be hampered. More resources will probably be required to promote economic development because a less qualified and less diverse labor force reduces the City's attractiveness to industry.

B. The Problem of Growing Concentrations of Elderly and Poor

A principal problem of American cities and of Pittsburgh is that those who remain in the city tend to be elderly and poor. First, elderly residents of Pittsburgh age 65 and over have increased from 11 percent of the population in 1960 to 16 percent in 1980 (see Table 4). In relation to the region, the state, and U.S., Pittsburgh has a significantly older population (see the percent of population age 50+ in Table 8).

In addition, the percent of population in poverty increased in the City from 1970 to 1980 while the rates in Allegheny County and the SMSA declined. Moreover, the percent of population in poverty in Pittsburgh is nearly twice that of the county and the SMSA. One out of every six City residents (16.5 percent) were in

poverty in 1980 (see Table 9).

Another indication of the concentration of low income persons in the City is provided by data on per capita personal income (see Table 10). City residents have significantly less income compared to residents in the county and the SMSA. Further, personal income in the City grew much less during the 1969-1979 period compared to incomes in the county and SMSA. However, during the recessionary and inflationary period of 1979-1983, personal income in the City declined less than in the county and SMSA. This probably reflects the lower dependence of the City's labor force on manufacturing industry, which experienced severe cyclical and structural decline from 1979-1983.

Causes of the Problem

The proportion of elderly in the City's population has increased in part because person's 65 and over are less mobile than younger persons. While the number of persons below 65 decreased by 180,000 from 1960 to 1980, the number of persons age 65+ remained about the same (see Table 4). The elderly are less mobile probably because of lower incomes, poorer health, need for urban services, and attachment to a neighborhood or house.

The proportion of City residents in poverty has increased because of reductions in federal social programs (e.g., CETA), the growing number of female-headed households, higher unemployment rates, and the out-migration of middle and high income residents. Cuts in federal income supports and job

programs have tended to place some people in poverty. The growing number of female-headed households in the City is a major contributor to rising poverty since many of these women don't work because of their children or a lack of education and skills. Moreover, many of these women who do work earn low wages in the secondary labor market. The City of Pittsburgh has a concentration of female-headed households (25 percent of all family households in 1980), and the number of these households is increasing at a faster rate than in Allegheny County or the Pittsburgh SMSA (see Table 11).

Higher unemployment rates contribute to poverty by reducing individual and family incomes (see Section II.B. on City unemployment). Out-migration of middle and upper income residents contributes to the concentration of poor residents by leaving behind low-income residents who are less mobile.

Research undertaken elsewhere (e.g., REI, 1985) support the view that the old, less-well educated, and the poor are concentrating in central cities because of their lack of mobility. Younger, more educated, white and professional groups are more likely to migrate out of the city because they are in the "easiest circumstances." Also, out-migration is generally low for previously employed manufacturing workers. Their lack of movement is attributed mainly to age, union affiliation, unemployment compensation, and benefit provisions.

Effects of the Problem on City Services

The growing number and proportion of persons 75 years or older will greatly affect the demand for health services. This age group has extensive health service needs which tax the service delivery system and add pressure to costs.

The growing elderly population will require additional services in other areas as well. For example, hot meals and home visitation services will be needed more and more. In addition, new and better types of housing and improved home maintenance programs will be needed.

The increased poverty and low-income population in Pittsburgh will require additional education and training programs to improve employment opportunities and incomes. Social services of all types are needed, although affordable day care and after-school services may help as much as anything, particularly for single women with children. In addition, single women with children need smaller dwelling units at an affordable rent, and they need some financial assistance, such as Section 8 housing.

Demand for other services is increased as concentrations of poor grow in specific neighborhoods. Experience shows that demand for police and fire services is greater in these areas. Further, residents' paucity of income means an increased rate at which housing deteriorates due to the lack of simple maintenance and repairs. This puts more strain on housing rehabilitation programs as the costs for housing improvements and maintenance

escalate. Overall then, an imbalance in Pittsburgh's population, primarily in terms of income, will create greater discernable disparities across neighborhoods.

III. ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND EFFECTS ON CITY SERVICES

The purpose of this section is to identify economic problems in the City of Pittsburgh which are likely to affect the provision of City services. Five economic problems will be discussed: the reduced labor force and low employment, black and youth unemployment, declining industries, declining occupations, and low-wage job growth. Causes of these problems will be identified along with effects on City services.

A. The Problem of a Reduced Labor Force and Low Employment

Although the Pittsburgh economy has been recovering since 1984, the number of persons in the labor force and the number employed remain below levels of the 1970's (see Tables 12 and 13). From the peak year of 1980 to the trough year of 1984, the City of Pittsburgh lost 6.2 percent of its labor force and 9.3 percent of its employment. Despite improvements, in 1985 the labor force was 5.8 percent and employment 7.0 percent below that of 1980.

From the comparison with Allegheny County, it is clear that since 1980 labor force and employment in the City declined but also recovered earlier than in the county (see Tables 12 and 13). Furthermore, the degree of decline in labor force and employment in the City was greater from the peak to trough years in the 1980s compared to percent declines in the county.

Causes of the Problem

The loss of manufacturing and other jobs after 1980 clearly reduced employment in the City. Subsequent losses of income and

population contributed to a depressed economy and lower employment. The loss of population and the growing numbers of discouraged workers largely explains the labor force decline. Population losses and numbers of discouraged workers grew as a result of the high unemployment rates of 1982 to 1984 (see Table 14). These factors were present in the City as well as throughout the region.

Effects of the Problem on City Services

In relation to revenues, the loss of employment (and indirectly labor force decline) probably affected the City most by reducing income tax receipts and resources for supporting services. Further economic decline as a result of employment losses hurt other tax receipts as well.

Decreased employment and labor force levels have affected the demand for services by reducing the total population served but by increasing service needs of the population remaining. Greater numbers of displaced, unemployed, and low-income workers increased the need for employment and social services.

B. The Problem of Black and Youth Unemployment

In recent months the City's unemployment rate has been at or below regional, state, and national averages. For example, in the third quarter of 1986 unemployment averaged 6.7 percent in the City, 6.9 in Allegheny County, 7.7 in the Pittsburgh SMSA, 6.7 in the state, and 6.9 in the nation. Further, City unemployment rates in 1986 were the lowest in at least eleven years (see Table 14). Consequently, it might appear that

Pittsburgh does not have an unemployment problem.

However, looking below the surface of overall unemployment, we find that the City has high unemployment among blacks and youth (see Table 15). In 1985, the most recent year of data, the rate of black unemployment was about four times the rate of white unemployment in the City. Moreover, the rate of black unemployment in the City was about one-third higher than that of black unemployment in the state and nation. Both black males and females had high unemployment, although the rate for males was about one and a half times the female rate.

The youth unemployment problem is primarily in the 16-19 age group, although unemployment rates for ages 20-21 are above average (see Table 15). At 15.9 percent unemployment in 1985, City youth age 16-19 had a higher rate of unemployment than youth in the county or SMSA but lower than in the state or nation.

We should also point out that the scope of the unemployment problem may be greater than indicated since unemployment statistics are renowned for being under-reported. For example, while the official unemployment rate for the Pittsburgh metropolitan area as of January 1986 was 9.3 percent, the Full Employment Action Council (FEAC) estimated the real rate of unemployment to be 16.7 percent (Rutenburg, 1986). The reason why the latter estimate is so much higher than the former is that the FEAC includes in its analysis the unemployed plus the discouraged and the part-time employed for economic reasons. While the government collects data on the latter two groups, they

are not included in the official unemployment rate. Considerable debate exists on who exactly constitutes the unemployed, and the FEAC estimate is just one of the many estimates which challenge official counting procedures. However, such a large variance in the estimates, a difference of 7.4 percent means that the magnitude of the problem may be underestimated and thus the ability to identify service needs and to effectively plan programs for problem amelioration may be seriously affected.

Causes of the Problem

There are a number of possible reasons for the City's high black unemployment compared with white unemployment. First, it is possible that layoffs in manufacturing industries have affected a larger proportion of black residents than white residents because blacks were more recently hired in many cases. Second, black unemployment rates will tend to be higher than white rates since unemployed blacks are probably more likely to remain in the City than unemployed whites. Third, recent studies have also indicated a growing marginalization of black males in the labor market, i.e., members of this group are dropping out of the work force completely (Darity and Myers, 1985).

Fourth, the higher proportion of female-headed households among black residents than whites has probably contributed to the higher black female unemployment rate compared to the white female rate. Finally, cuts in federal programs, such as job and college aid programs, may have reduced opportunities for black residents more than for whites.

Youth unemployment rates have probably been high for many years. Reasons for the high rates include the large number of secondary school students who drop out before receiving a high school diploma. A second reason is that some students who complete high school do not have preparation for a job or for college. Finally, cuts in federal financial aid programs for college have probably increased youth unemployment.

Effects of the Problem on City Services

High unemployment among black and youth residents affects City services by both reducing the number of tax paying citizens and increasing the number dependent on or needy of City services. Tax receipts are lower primarily because of lost income taxes. Service demands are increased primarily for training, education, juvenile and criminal justice activities, food, housing, and job programs.

C. The Problem of Declining Industries

One of the most serious problems for the City of Pittsburgh relates to those industries which had employment declines at a faster rate than that of all industries in the City. Examining the most recent decade, 1970-1980, we find that many of the major industry categories experienced employment declines greater than the overall average of -12.3 percent (see Table 16). The rapidly declining industries were construction, manufacturing, communications, wholesale trade, retail trade, private household services, other personal services, and public administration. Naturally, a rapidly declining industry also declined in share of total employment.

Another serious problem for the City are those industries in which a high volume decline occurred. From 1960 to 1970 this was particularly true of manufacturing (both durable and non-durable), transportation, wholesale trade, insurance/real estate/finance, and private household services. From 1970 to 1980 this was true of manufacturing, (both durable and non-durable), retail trade, other personal services, and public administration. From 1960 to 1980 the largest employment declines were in wholesale trade (-38,093), manufacturing (-33,041), private household services (-13,374), and transportation (-9,032).

Insurance, real estate, and finance was the one industry to decline from 1970-1980, but at a lower rate than the decline for all industry in the City. Since 1980, this industry has probably

become a growth industry in the City given state and national trends for the industry.

One other set of industries which may pose a problem in the future are industries whose rate of growth worsened in the 1970s compared to the 1960s. Industries fitting this description and not already listed above are 1) business and repair services and 2) professional and related services. If growth rates continue to decline for these two industries, the industries may soon become declining instead of growing industries.

Causes of the Problem

There are a number of reasons for the loss of manufacturing and other industry. In the immediate post-war period the U.S. dominated the world economy in manufacturing production, however, recent decades have seen the development of a restructuring of global economic activity. The U.S. strength in manufacturing has been eroded by the emergence of, for example, Pacific Basin nations and their ability to produce goods at a more competitive rate. The result has been a decline in durable goods manufactured domestically, and a shift in the national economy to a service sector orientation. Especially pertinent to this region has been the fall off in demand for domestic steel products and the rationalization and shut down of facilities.

Facilitating or resulting from these sectoral trends has been the changing structure of the firm. Ownership has become diffused among shareholders and thus control has shifted to professional management, whose action is based more on a rational

calculation of profits than on the historically-based geographic or community loyalty of the old family controlled firms. In addition, the spatial organization of firms has altered with the development of dispersed branch plant operations and a centrally located headquarters. There has resulted a spatial separation of decision-making from production, making it easier to move plants to lower cost locations. These factors, in combination with scientific advancements in production and communication technology, at the local level result in reductions in manufacturing industrial bases and structural shifts in labor demand.

Effects of the Problem on City Services

A primary effect of the industry declines has been to reduce total employment and population, thereby reducing income and other tax receipts in the city, which add to the difficulty of providing public services. Public service demands have increased as a result of structural unemployment, homelessness, and inner city decay. Dislocated workers and others affected require housing support, education, and sometimes food. In particular, heavy demands are placed on training programs in order to help the unemployed and disadvantaged prepare for jobs being offered by the changing mix of industries. The recent trend of replacing high paying manufacturing jobs with lower paying service jobs suggests that greater demand for services associated in low incomes (e.g., low cost housing) will occur.

D. The Problem of Declining Occupations

A major problem for the City of Pittsburgh is the group of occupations which have declined at a faster rate than total employment. Looking at the most recent decade, 1970-1980, we find six occupations which have declined by more than the total loss of 12.2 percent: clerical, craftsmen and foremen, operatives, private household workers, transport workers, and laborers (see Table 17). Because of the above average decline in employment, each of these occupations also declined in share of total employment from 1970-1980.

Another set of occupations which pose a problem for the city are those which lost employment, although the percentage decline was less than the average for the decade. Two occupations fit this description for 1970-1980: total service workers and cleaning service workers. The share of total employment in the city actually increased from 1970-1980 for these two occupations.

A final set of occupations which might pose a problem for the city are those which had declining growth rates (or worsening loss rates) in the 1970s compared to the 1960s. Only one occupation which has not already been included in the two categories above fits this type of problem. The occupation, professional and technical workers, had a 3.3 percent employment increase from 1970-1980, which was much below the 18 percent increase in the 1960s.

Causes of the Problem

Losses in occupations are closely tied to industry declines. The loss of manufacturing industry largely explains the decrease in craftsmen and foremen and operatives jobs. The general decline of business probably explains the drop in clerical positions. Moreover, the significant increase in professional and technical jobs suggests that growth of services and other industry more than replaced the professional and technical jobs lost due to manufacturing decline. In general, the losses in many occupations reflect the overall economic decline of the region and the city.

Effects of the Problem on City Services

The loss of employment in many occupations shows that the city experienced declining income tax receipts at all income levels. Highly paid manufacturing occupations were lost as well as many low-wage occupations. These losses in employment certainly reduced the resources available to city service and increased the number of unemployed and underemployed who need more education, training, and social services.

E. The Problem of Low-Wage Job Growth

City residents who work within the city are concentrated in low-paying occupations (see Table 18). About 45 percent of residents working in the city earn no more than 20 percent below the median wage for the Pittsburgh SMSA. This compares to 38 percent of non-residents who work in the city and receive no more than 20 percent below the median wage. Furthermore, non-

residents have a more even wage distribution.

Evidence that the low-wage sector is likely to grow is illustrated in Table 19. This list shows the projected growth in occupations in the SMSA from 1980 to 1990. It is clear that the occupations with the most openings pay below-average wages and are service jobs which require little training. Of interest also is that many of the jobs expected to grow are traditionally female occupations, e.g., food preparation specialists, typists, nursing personnel, and cosmetologists. The jobs slated to decline are predominately male occupations, such as crane operators, highway maintenance workers, and taxi drivers.

As indicated in Table 20, city residents compared to non-residents are already concentrated in service occupations, which tend to be low-paying. Unfortunately comparable data for years other than 1980 are not available, so it is difficult to determine to what extent this is a continuing trend. However, if one were to examine the research done on other major cities and generalize those findings to the City of Pittsburgh, then a bi-polarization of wages among city residents would be expected. The theory is that of a vanishing middle-class within cities. Top wage earners remain city residents to take advantage of a central city location; low wage earners remain because they have no option.

Evidence of bi-polarization in the city of Pittsburgh is contained in "Prospects for Employment" (UCSUR, 1986). The report indicates that job growth will occur primarily in highly-

skilled white collar and unskilled service occupations. These projections are particularly important if it is recognized that the income distribution of city residents is already skewed towards below-median income earnings.

Causes of the Problem

The continuing decline of manufacturing is the major reason for the increasing concentration of low-wage jobs. Manufacturing generally pays higher wages than other industries, and the shift from manufacturing to service jobs has resulted in lower overall wages as well as greater numbers of low-paying jobs.

Effects of the Problem on City Services

Income tax receipts decline and service demands increase as wages decline. While fewer resources are available to finance services, demands for housing, food, training, and other assistance increases.

IV. POSSIBLE STRATEGIES FOR ADDRESSING PROBLEMS

Many of the forces that have changed cities like Pittsburgh and regions like southwest Pennsylvania are not subject to local control. Examples of these forces include the growing competition from Europe and the Pacific Basin nations, the recent tendency of corporate managers to focus on short-term profits instead of geographic or community loyalty, advancements in production and communication technology, and changes in federal taxes and aid programs.

However, many cities have realized that effective local responses to local problems are possible. Beyond efforts to lobby for state and national action, cities can counteract outside forces and manage local conditions to a large degree. Effective strategies and policies rely on assessment of the best points of intervention, i.e., the elements of problem situations which are within city control. Given the current national political environment, such decisions will need to be guided by a philosophy of regional self-reliance and the maximization of internal resources to ameliorate problems. Below are the basic strategies the City of Pittsburgh can use to address demographic, economic, and public service problems.

Strategy I. Improve the City's Attractiveness to People

There are a number of important factors which relate to the desirability or liveability of the city. People live in a central city in order to be part of a neighborhood, be near their place of employment, obtain appropriate housing, take advantage

of cultural opportunities and restaurants, and have easy access to education and health services. Besides the draw of these positive factors, negative factors must also be absent to a large degree. For example, people will live outside the city and even outside the metropolitan area if they do not feel safe from crime, schools are poor, few jobs are available, or taxes are high.

Improving the attractiveness of Pittsburgh includes building on strengths such as viable neighborhoods, cultural and educational opportunities, and low crime rates relative to other cities. Improving the attractiveness of Pittsburgh also includes reducing problems or perceptions of problems, such as high taxes and traffic congestion.

Some possible components of the strategy to improve the City's attractiveness are discussed below. Successful implementation of a number of components is likely to retain population (particularly middle and upper income groups), increase in-migration, and increase city revenues for supporting public services.

The first component is to improve neighborhoods and housing. The neighborhood structure of the City of Pittsburgh is one of its strengths. However, the difficult economic conditions of the region plus reductions in government funding could, and already have in some districts, combine and interact to undermine the viability of particular neighborhoods. Given the easy differentiation of neighborhoods across physical, social and

economic characteristics, it should be possible for the city to target policies for the most effective expenditure of resources. Certainly the amelioration of problem areas is, to some extent, beyond the purview of local government. The root cause of neighborhood problems lies in an economic system which disadvantages certain groups of the population. Local government, however, can have some compensatory effect through housing improvement grants, by tackling the problem of racial housing segregation, and also by attempting to ensure an equitable provision of and access to public services.

One way in which neighborhood improvement can be realized is through the development of programs of self-reliance. "Self-reliance" means the exploitation of resources within the neighborhood itself. Fortunately, within Pittsburgh, one of the greatest assets of a neighborhood is often organized "people-power" in the form of neighborhood organizations, action committees or Community Development Corporations. Every effort should be made to continue to strengthen the capabilities of these groups. In particular, information must be disseminated on pertinent programs. Planning and communication skills must be enhanced and, especially given cutbacks, the ability to win and administer independent grants from institutions outside of government must be encouraged.

Neighborhood revitalization and improvement is more than just housing repairs and rehabilitation; it is a multi-dimensional task. Policies have to incorporate action which will

attack other elements of the problem, for example, unemployment. We would suggest that the best way to utilize small business and minority business programs is to have the major initiatives at the neighborhood level. Where a sense of community exists, it is the residents who are best able to recognize need, perceive opportunities and direct resources within their own neighborhood.

In addition, the public sector through its leadership role should continue to promote the involvement of private organizations in neighborhood issues. Once again, the city's ability to develop and promote partnership schemes is one of its strengths. An example of partnerships for neighborhoods is CTAC (Community Technical Assistance Center), illustrative of the innovative efforts which are necessary now and will be even more so in the future. Partnerships which involve public and private institutions and resident groups offer a multi-participatory approach necessary for a multi-faceted problem.

The second component is to improve the provision and maintenance of infrastructure--primarily roads, bridges, water and sewer systems. Given the age of the city and its unique topography, infrastructure expenditure is especially demanding. The issue, however, is not new infrastructure facilities but the replacement and repair of existing facilities.

Good roads and access are essential for the efficient functioning of a city. Given also the 60 percent of Pittsburgh's workers who commute, fast and efficient city ingress and egress is vital, especially to the downtown area. In addition, the

quality of these services is perhaps the most visible to the consumer, i.e., the taxpaying resident, and as such receives the most attention as, for example, in voting decisions.

Infrastructure maintenance is a severe problem throughout the United States. It has been estimated that \$50 billion annually (Thayer, 1985) would be needed just to bring the system up to par. The fiscal crunch that most cities have been experiencing since the early 1970s is the major reason why the disparity between needed expenditure and actual expenditure exists. As a means of dealing with limited resources, long-term, major spending on renewal was postponed in preference to low-cost, minimum maintenance expenses. The result of this policy has been a considerable cost escalation and, as a consequence, the collapse of bridges, sewers and roads in some cities. Witness, for example, the difficulties with the McKeesport water system which were a direct result of the failure of an old system. The disruption that the collapse of essential services brings to a city is tremendous.

Previously, cities were to some degree able to supplement their infrastructure spending with grants or loans from the federal government. However, such funding has fallen prey to cutbacks so that now some cities will be in even greater difficulty. Some have predicted that the reduced allocations in monies will be catastrophic for cities such as Pittsburgh.

Despite resource limits, action at the local level is possible and has already begun in Pittsburgh. Extensive

improvements in infrastructure can occur through careful capital planning (i.e., prioritizing and scheduling projects) and through financing with various traditional and innovative debt payment methods.

The third component is to reduce crime. Although Pittsburgh has low crime rates relative to other cities, crime is high compared to rates in other parts of Southwest Pennsylvania. If the city expects to retain population and prevent migration to the suburbs, improvements in crime prevention and law enforcement need to occur. Furthermore, as suggested below, the city needs to do a better job of advertising strengths such as its low crime rate.

Improving public schools is the fourth component. Middle and upper-income residents often leave central cities to obtain better education for their children in the suburbs. Pittsburgh needs to continue to improve public education as well as publicize the quality of primary and secondary schools.

Finally, there needs to be improved marketing of the city. It is not enough to have a liveable city, but people must be aware of the good qualities and perceive them as such. Pittsburgh has many strengths and is improving in many ways. A marketing campaign could help to retain and attract tax-paying citizens.

Strategy 2. Improving the City's Attractiveness to Industry

Retaining and attracting residents to the city and the region is tied to job opportunities, whether they be in private

enterprises, non-profit organizations, or government. The City of Pittsburgh has had an active economic development program, but greater effectiveness may be possible. The program should be re-examined to determine whether any of the components could be improved. Major components include enhancing labor supply/demand match through education and training, infrastructure improvements such as transportation and utilities, financial packaging, retention and expansion services, supporting start-ups and small businesses, and industrial recruitment.

Strategy 3. Seek Alternative Revenue Sources

Whether or not population or industry can be increased, the City is likely to need additional revenue sources. Cutbacks in federal support along with increasing service demands may cause revenue shortfalls. As a first step, a sophisticated analysis is needed of projected revenues, service demands and costs, and alternative revenue sources. Alternative revenues can include user fees, additional taxes on residents and industry, and a commuter tax (i.e., non-resident income tax).

One issue which needs to be carefully considered in relation to new taxes is whether any increase in fiscal burden is likely to drive away people or firms. Likewise, would a decrease in the resident income tax actually increase revenues? Long-term estimates of economic effects should be part of any evaluation of possible revenue sources.

Strategy 4. Improve the Productivity of City Services

Improving productivity is a necessary response by local

government to a situation of limited resources and increasing service demands. Productivity improvement essentially means some combination of greater effectiveness and efficiency. Productivity gains can occur by reorganizing city departments, directing and motivating personnel to achieve priority goals, and delivering services through some alternative to city personnel.

Reorganizing departments will improve productivity when service functions can be combined in order to achieve personnel reductions while effectiveness is maintained. For example, police officers and other city personnel have been trained in some cities as fire fighters. Whenever a fire alarm occurs, some police and other employees will go to the fire location to help fight the fire.

Finding ways to improve the performance of city employees is important since about 70 percent of the city general fund expenditures is used for personnel costs. Productivity of personnel can be increased through better goal setting and performance measurements, monetary and nonmonetary incentives, training, and technology.

Alternative service delivery includes any method of providing services besides city departments funded with tax dollars. Privatization (contracting with a private company), subsidizing private companies which provide services, issuing vouchers, granting franchises, contracting with another government, and load shedding (giving up a service so that another level of government will provide it) are some forms of

alternative service delivery.

One reason these forms of delivery could improve productivity is that some private companies and other governments may be more efficient than the original local government provider. A second reason is that having citizens who consume services pay at least part of the cost for a service directly instead of through taxes will tend to reduce demand for services.

Strategy 5. Assess Services to the Disadvantaged

The elderly, poor, and unemployed have special needs for food, housing, day care, health care, education, and training. Trends of recent decades have increased the concentration of disadvantaged in the city and periodic assessment of services provided in relation to service needs should be made to check the adequacy of services. The outcome of such an assessment should be a community plan and commitment for addressing service needs. Money spent on such services will often be cost-effective by helping the unemployed to become employed and by preventing delinquency and crime.

V. CONCLUSION

Pittsburgh and the region have experienced population declines, a tremendous loss in job opportunities, especially in manufacturing, and a consequent increase in unemployment rates. As a somewhat ameliorating trend though, there has been the increase in service-sector activities, primarily within the city. Given this orientation it becomes especially important to develop closely-tailored training programs which match the needs of various types of people in the labor market with the potential skills demanded by businesses, particularly in the growing service sector. Of primary importance is to prepare the unemployed and disadvantaged for the jobs of today and the future so that more residents can become independent, tax paying citizens instead of remaining dependent on public services and outside the mainstream of society.

Within the region, the city has the largest portion of problem groups such as the poor, the elderly, female-headed households and unemployed youth. Not only are these groups growing; they are unlikely to benefit significantly from any improvement in regional prosperity.

In terms of the provision of public services, the ability to meet existing and potential need for both human and physical-maintenance services is being further eroded by a declining tax base and federal government cutbacks. As a result, Pittsburgh has experienced the problems of other declining cities:

...(1) useful but unused and underused physical capital facilities--housing, schools, factory buildings and hospitals, and mass transit operations, to mention just a few; (2) the decline of fiscal resources to maintain even basic fire and police services, and the hidden psychic costs that these engender. The latter is a cost not restricted to particular distressed localities, as reflected in the striking national rise in the use of private police forces to protect those businesses, neighborhoods and people who can afford the cost of this type of socially unproductive investment...; (3) the excess waste of human resources as dislocated workers experience unemployment, loss of private health insurance, and the need to 'reskill' at substantial personal cost if they are to overcome this waste...; (4) the uneven distributional impacts of public service cutbacks which reflect the relative political weakness of specific constituencies in resisting the cuts. (Smith, forthcoming).

If the city is to cope with increased demand for services and fewer resources, then a comprehensive plan must be formulated.

This paper has suggested five strategies which might be used by the City to address some of the trends and problems which affect City services. The proposed strategies are: 1) improving the city's attractiveness to people; 2) improving the city's attractiveness to industry; 3) seeking alternative revenue sources; 4) improving the productivity of city services; and 5) assessing the adequacy of services to the disadvantaged.

Addressing problems and taking advantage of opportunities is likely to require greater innovativeness on the part of the public sector. The cuts in government resources necessitate an evaluation of the role that local government plays in the areas of intervention, but especially in the area of employment creation which has not traditionally been a local government sphere of activity. With the complex nature of the job market

and the changes taking place in the economy, local government needs to decide where and how its activities can be most efficient and effective, given available funds. For example, there is currently a multiplicity of policy initiatives ranging from training to firm creation to physical development assistance. To what extent is such a broad scope of activity necessary? Would government activity concentrated in one area yield greater returns?

Such questions which challenge the normative base of government policy action to date are necessary not only because the increased constraints from lack of resources mean governments are unable to act but also because such constraints raise the question whether government should be the primary actor in dealing with these public problems. Perhaps the promotion of greater corporate responsibility in these areas might be a more appropriate role for government rather than directly bearing the responsibility for problems created by private decision-making.

Certainly additional research is needed, particularly on labor market questions such as: 1) how severe is the bipolarization of incomes among city residents? 2) what is the likely pool of "working poor"? and 3) what are the trends in labor participation rates among black males? It is only when the complexity of the labor problem and other problems is fully recognized and better understood that a rational, comprehensive and coordinated package of public policies can be instituted and expected to be somewhat effective.

Table 1. Total Population, 1960-1984
(in thousands, except for percent)

AREA	1960	1970	1980	1984 (Est.)	Percent Change		
					60-70	70-80	80-84
City of Pittsburgh	604	520	424	403	-13.9	-18.5	-5.0
Allegheny County	1,629	1,605	1,405	1,410	- 1.4	- 9.7	-2.8
Pittsburgh SMSA	2,405	2,401	2,264	2,213	- 0.2	- 5.7	-2.3

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Population Reports

Table 2
 Population
 By Sex and Race
 City of Pittsburgh
 1970-1980

	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>Percent Change</u> <u>1970-1980</u>
Male	184,932	147,968	-19.99
Female <u>WHITE</u>	211,435	170,319	-19.45
Total	396,367	318,287	-19.70
Male	47,665	46,326	- 2.81
Female <u>BLACK</u>	55,610	55,223	- 0.70
Total	103,275	101,549	- 1.67

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census
 Population Reports.

Table 3. Population by Age and Race in the
City of Pittsburgh, 1970-1980

	WHITE			BLACK		
	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>% Change</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>% Change</u>
Under 5 years	24,587	14,234	-42.1%	9,794	7,790	-20.4%
5-14 years	62,074	30,741	-50.4%	23,427	17,414	-25.6%
15-59 years	241,702	195,706	-19.0%	56,757	60,603	+ 6.7%
60-64 years	24,636	21,371	-13.2%	4,427	4,370	- 1.2%
65+ years	59,281	56,235	- 5.2%	10,499	11,372	+ 8.3%

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Population Report

Table 4
Population by Age
City of Pittsburgh, 1960-1980
(Percent of total population in parentheses)

AGE	1960	1970	1980	Percent Change 1960-1970	Percent Change 1970-1980	Percent Change 1960-1980
Less than 5	58,101 (9.61%)	34,726 (6.68%)	22,515 (5.31%)	-40.2	-35.1	-61.2
5-9	53,137 (8.80%)	40,530 (7.79%)	22,424 (5.29%)	-23.7	-44.7	-57.7
10-14	48,035 (7.95%)	45,295 (8.71%)	26,154 (6.17%)	- 5.7	-42.2	-45.5
15-19	41,510 (5.87%)	48,841 (9.39%)	38,659 (9.12%)	+17.7	-20.9	- 6.8
20-24	37,231 (6.16%)	45,238 (8.70%)	48,238 (11.38%)	+21.5	+ 6.6	+29.6
25-34	72,882 (12.06%)	42,860 (10.16%)	66,100 (15.59%)	-27.5	+25.0	- 9.3
35-44	82,030 (13.57%)	53,363 (10.26%)	36,413 (8.59%)	-35.0	-31.8	-55.6
45-54	78,968 (13.07%)	67,203 (12.92%)	43,323 (10.22%)	-15.0	-35.6	-45.1
55-64	64,830 (10.73%)	62,027 (11.93%)	52,183 (12.31%)	- 4.3	-15.9	-19.5
65-74	46,504 (7.69%)	43,765 (8.41%)	41,021 (9.68%)	- 5.9	- 6.3	-11.7
75+	21,104 (3.49%)	26,269 (5.05%)	26,908 (6.35%)	+24.5	+ 2.4	+27.5
TOTALS	604,332	520,117*	423,938	-13.9	-18.5	-29.9

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Population Reports.

*Total and population age break-downs reflect the uncorrected data taken from the printed Census documents.

Table 5

Migration
1980 Residence
(Numbers in parentheses are % of total)
Population 5 Years and Over

RESIDENCE IN 1975	City of Pittsburgh	Allegheny County	Pittsburgh SMSA
Same House	257,788 (64.1%)	910,815 (66.4%)	1,439,725 (67.4%)
Different House	139,727 (34.7%)	451,523 (32.9%)	685,038 (32.0%)
Central City, SMSA	90,422 (22.5%)	171,728 (12.5%)	179,411 (8.4%)
Remainder, SMSA	17,995 (4.4%)	183,282 (13.4%)	359,080 (16.8%)
Outside, SMSA	31,310 (7.8%)	96,513 (7.0%)	146,547 (6.9%)
Persons 5 years +	402,172	1,372,532	2,137,497

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Population Reports.

Note: Vertical percentages do not add to 100 because of persons moving abroad and persons moving to an unreported location.

Table 6
 Total Households
 (In thousands of units)
 1960-1980

AREA	1960	1970	1980	Percent Change 1960-1980
City of Pittsburgh	188.3	178.0	166.1	-11.8
Allegheny County	483.9	512.5	540.9	+11.8
Pittsburgh SMSA	709.9	759.2	829.2	+16.8

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Population Reports, and County and City Data Books, Bureau of the Census, 1962, 1972, 1983.

Table 7

Average Number of Persons
Per Household
1960-1980

<u>AREA</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>
City of Pittsburgh	3.10	2.82	2.44
Allegheny County	3.29	3.13	2.63
Pittsburgh SMSA	3.32	3.10	2.68

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Population Reports.

Table 8
Population
Comparative Demographics
1982

	Total Population (000s)	Median Age	Population by Age Group					Average Size of Households
			0-17	18-24	25-34	35-49	50+	
Pittsburgh	407.1	33.8	20.2	15.5	16.3	13.7	34.3	24.6
Allegheny County	1,704.4	34.5	22.5	12.4	16.0	16.3	32.8	3.13
Pittsburgh SMSA	2,385.0	34.3	23.6	11.9	15.6	16.6	32.3	2.65
Penna.	11,869.2	33.1	25.0	12.3	15.7	16.8	30.2	2.74
U.S.A.	233,298.3	31.2	26.7	12.9	17.0	17.3	26.0	2.74

Source: Estimated from U.S. Census, Sales and Marketing Management, 1983 Survey of Buying Power, Penn Southwest. Quoted in 'Environmental Scan,' United Way, 1984.

Table 9

Persons Below Poverty Level
 (As Percent of Population)
 1970-1980

	1970	1980	Change
City of Pittsburgh	15.40	16.50	+1.1
Allegheny County	9.42	8.98	-0.4
Pittsburgh SMSA	9.40	8.53	-0.9

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Population Reports. (Calculated).

Table 10
Per Capita Personal Income
1969-1983
(in 1969 Dollars)

	1969* Current ¹ Dollars	1979** Current Dollars	Constant ² Dollars	1983*** Current Dollars	Constant Dollars	Percent Change ³		
						1969-79	1979-83	1969-83
City of Pittsburgh	3,071	6,845	3,457	8,991	3,318	+12.6	-4.0	+8.0
Allegheny County	3,390	7,986	4,033	10,158	3,785	+18.9	-6.2	+11.6
Pittsburgh SMSA	3,149	7,698	3,888	10,050	3,708	+23.4	-4.6	+17.8

Source: *County and City Data Book, 1972

**U.S. Department of Commerce, bureau of the Census, Population Reports, 1980

***U.S. Department of Commerce, bureau of the Census, Local Population
Estimates, June, 1986.

¹ Current dollars mean current dollar value for each specified year.

² Constant dollars are current dollars adjusted by that years consumer price index (CPI) expressed as a ratio of the 1969 Consumer Price Index.

1969 factor = 1.000 CPI = 109.8

1979 factor = 0.505 CPI = 217.4

1983 factor = 0.369 CPI = 297.4

³ Percent change is calculated on the basis of 1969 dollars.

Table 11
 Female-Headed Households As A Percentage
 Of Total Family Households, 1970-1980

AREA	1970	1980	Change
City of Pittsburgh	18.1	25.0	+6.9
Allegheny County	12.1	15.9	+3.8
Pittsburgh SMSA	11.0	14.1	+3.1

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Population Reports, and County and City Data Book, Bureau of the Census, 1983.

Table 12

Civilian Labor Force*
(In Thousands)
1975-1985

AREA	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
City of Pittsburgh	185.2	184.0	182.5	183.5	182.7	188.4	187.3	184.6	181.6	176.7	177.4
Percent Change	--	-0.6	-0.8	+0.5	-0.4	+3.1	-0.6	-1.4	-1.6	-2.7	+0.4
Allegheny County	604.4	609.6	614.0	627.8	635.3	642.4	646.3	647.7	642.4	624.3	615.0
Percent Change	--	+0.7	+0.7	+2.2	+1.2	+1.1	+0.6	+0.2	-0.8	-2.8	-1.5

Source: Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry, Office of Employment Security, Research and Statistics Division, (by phone).

*Civilian Labor Force data are counts by place of residence. Prior to 1975 figures obtained were counts by place of work and the category was called Civilian Work Force.

Table 13

Total Employment
(In Thousands)
1975-1985

AREA	<u>1975</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>1984</u>	<u>1985</u>
City of Pittsburgh	170.3	168.6	167.6	169.6	169.5	175.0	174.4	165.2	159.6	158.8	162.7
Percent Change	--	-1.0	-0.6	+1.2	-0.0	+3.2	-0.3	-5.3	-3.4	-0.5	+2.5
Allegheny County	566.8	569.2	574.4	590.3	599.1	599.1	599.9	575.3	599.3	558.6	564.0
Percent Change	--	+0.4	+0.9	+2.8	+1.5	0.0	+0.1	-4.1	-2.8	-0.1	+1.0

Source: Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry, Office of Employment Security, Research and Statistics Division, (by phone).

*Counts are by place of residence; not by establishment.

Table 14

Unemployment Rate*
1975-1985

AREA	<u>1975</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>1984</u>	<u>1985</u>
City of Pittsburgh	8.0	8.4	8.2	7.6	7.3	7.1	6.9	10.3	12.1	10.1	8.3
Percent Change	--	+5.0	-2.4	-7.3	-3.9	-2.7	-2.8	+49.3	+17.5	-19.8	-17.8
Allegheny County	6.4	6.6	6.5	6.0	5.7	6.7	7.2	11.2	12.9	10.5	8.3
Percent Change	--	+3.1	-1.5	-7.7	-5.0	+17.5	+7.5	+55.6	+15.2	-18.6	-21.0

Source: Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry, Office of Employment Security, Research and Statistics Division, (by phone).

*Counts are by place of residence, not by establishment.

Table 15

Unemployment Rates by Subpopulation
by Area, 1985
(In Percent)

AREA	<u>Total</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	Female		Youth	
				<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>16-19</u>	<u>20-24</u>
City of Pittsburgh	8.3	4.9	19.9	4.5	15.6	15.9	9.8
Allegheny County	8.2	6.6	22.7	6.2	20.9	14.2	11.3
Pittsburgh SMSA	9.3	8.3	23.3	7.6	21.5	14.4	12.2
Pennsylvania	8.0	7.4	15.5	7.5	15.5	18.2	13.6
United States	7.2	6.2	15.1	6.4	14.9	18.6	-

Table 16.

Employment by Industry*
 City of Pittsburgh, 1960-1980
 (vertical percent distribution in parentheses)

Industry	Employment			Percent Change		
	1960	1970	1980	1960-70	1970-80	1960-80
Agriculture**	569 (0.27)	551 (0.29)	390 (0.23)	-3.2	-29.2	-31.5
Mining	421 (0.20)	408 (0.21)	587 (0.35)	-3.1	+43.9	+39.4
Construction	10,988 (5.23)	9,688 (5.03)	8,123 (4.81)	-11.8	-16.2	-26.1
Manufacturing	57,826 (27.53)	39,617 (20.57)	24,785 (14.67)	-31.5	-37.4	-57.1
Nondurable	17,782 (8.46)	12,370 (6.42)	7,883 (4.67)	-30.4	-36.3	-55.7
Durable	40,044 (19.06)	27,247 (14.15)	16,902 (10.00)	-32.0	-38.0	-57.8
Transportation	18,019 (8.57)	7,935 (4.12)	8,987 (5.32)	-56.0	+13.3	-50.1
Communications	-- (--)	5,821 (3.02)	4,507 (2.67)	--	-22.6	--
Wholesale Trade	45,309 (21.57)	9,008 (4.68)	7,216 (4.27)	-80.1	-19.9	-84.1
Retail Trade	-- (--)	33,237 (17.26)	29,023 (17.18)	--	-12.7	--
Banking & Credit	-- (--)	3,333 (1.73)	4,378 (2.59)	--	-31.4	--
Insurance, Real Estate & Fin.	10,312 (4.19)	6,624 (3.44)	6,288 (3.72)	-35.8	-5.1	-39.0
Business & Repair	6,102 (2.90)	7,272 (3.78)	8,285 (4.90)	+19.2	+13.9	+35.8

Table 16. continued

Private Households	14,415 (6.86)	2,740 (1.42)	1,041 (0.62)	-81.0	-62.0	-92.8
Oth. Pers. Serv.	-- (--)	6,854 (3.56)	3,964 (2.35)	--	-42.2	--
Entertainment	2,411 (1.15)	1,825 (0.95)	1,864 (1.10)	-24.3	+2.1	-22.7
Prof. & Rel. Serv.	31,466 (14.98)	44,065 (22.88)	49,842 (29.50)	+40.0	+13.1	+58.4
Hospitals	-- (--)	13,104 (6.80)	16,333 (9.67)	--	+24.6	--
Health Serv.	-- (--)	-- (--)	5,010 (2.97)	--	--	--
Ed. Serv.	-- (--)	16,691 (8.67)	18,201 (10.77)	--	+9.0	--
Pub. Admin.	12,245 (5.83)	13,587 (7.05)	9,665 (5.72)	+11.0	-28.9	-21.1
TOTAL	210,083 (100.00)	192,565 (100.00)	168,945 (100.00)	-8.3	-12.3	-19.6

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Population Reports, calculated.

* The 1960 Census categories were used as the base for comparison. Figures for 1970 and 1980 categories were adjusted accordingly.

** Includes forestry and fisheries.

Table 17

Employment by Occupation*
 City of Pittsburgh, 1960-1980
 (vertical percent distribution in parentheses)

Occupation	Employment			Percent Change		
	1960	1970	1980	1960-70	1970-80	1960-80
Prof., Tech., & Kindred	25,259 (12.12)	29,799 (15.49)	30,774 (18.22)	+18.0	+3.3	+21.8
Managers & Admin.	13,900 (6.67)	11,601 (6.03)	13,619 (8.06)	-16.5	+17.4	-2.0
Sales Workers	18,508 (8.88)	14,567 (7.57)	14,789 (8.75)	-21.3	+1.5	-20.0
Clerical & Kindred	38,982 (18.70)	40,593 (21.10)	35,224 (20.85)	+4.1	-13.2	-9.6
Craftsmen, Foremen, & Kindred	28,820 (13.83)	22,766 (11.83)	16,083 (9.52)	-21.0	-29.4	-44.2
Operatives	33,152 (15.91)	18,827 (9.79)	11,743 (6.95)	-43.2	-37.6	-64.6
Farmers & Farm Managers	49 (0.02)	93 (0.05)	701 (0.41)	+89.8	+653.8	+1,330.6
Service	27,338 (13.12)	31,447 (16.34)	30,771 (18.21)	+15.0	-2.1	+12.6
Cleaning	-- (--)	8,177 (4.25)	7,919 (4.69)	--	-3.2	--
Food	-- (--)	9,061 (4.71)	10,370 (6.14)	--	+14.4	--
Health	-- (--)	3,912 (2.03)	-- (--)	--	--	--
Personal	-- (--)	3,378 (1.76)	-- (--)	--	--	--
Protective	-- (--)	4,471 (2.32)	5,061 (3.00)	--	+13.2	--

Table 17 continued

Private Household Workers	5,346 (2.57)	2,974 (1.55)	880 (0.52)	-44.4	-70.4	-83.5
Transport	-- (--)	8,456 (4.39)	5,849 (3.46)	--	-30.8	--
Laborers	17,066 (8.19)	11,279 (5.86)	8,512 (5.04)	-33.9	-24.5	-50.1
TOTAL	208,420 (100.00)	192,402 (100.00)	168,945 (100.00)	-7.7	-12.2	-18.9

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Population Reports,
calculated.

* 1960 Census categories were used as the base for comparison. Figures for
1970 and 1980 categories were adjusted accordingly.

Table 18
 Wage Distribution of City Workers*
 1980

	City Residents	Non-City Residents
High Income	27.0%	29.0%
Middle Income	27.0%	31.0%
Low Income	45.0%	38.0%

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Population Reports.

* High income means more than 20% above the median wage for all city workers; middle income means between 20% above the median wage and 20% below the median wage; low income means less than 20% below the median wage.

Table 19
 Growing and Declining Occupations
 in Pittsburgh SMSA: 1980-1990

Occupations With Most Openings In Pittsburgh SMSA: 1980-1990	Most Rapidly Declining Occupations in Pittsburgh SMSA: 1980-1990
1. Janitors, Porters, Cleaners	1. Farmers (Owners & Tenants)
2. Sales clerks	2. Fuel Pump Attendants, Lubricators
3. Secretaries	3. Refractory Materials Repairers
4. Guards & Doorkeepers	4. Graduate Assistants
5. Nurses, Professional	5. Filers, Grainders, Buffers, Chippers
6. Food Preparation & Service Workers, Fast Food Restaurants	6. Key punch Operators
7. General Clerks, Office	7. Service Representatives
8. Waiters, Waitresses	8. Farm Laborers
9. Cashiers	9. Teachers, Secondary
10. Preschool &/or Elementary School Teachers	10. Crane, Derric, & Hoist Operators
11. Nurses' Aides/Orderlies	11. Stenographers
12. Managers, Store	12. Teachers, College
13. Kitchen Helpers	13. Railroad Brake Operators
14. Typists	14. Highway Maintenance Workers
15. Accountants & Auditors	15. Millwrights
16. Supervisors, Nonworking (Blue collar)	16. Punch Press Operators, Metal
17. Truck Drivers	17. Postal Service Clerks
18. Bookkeepers, Hand	18. Taxi Drivers
19. Licensed Practical Nurses	19. Chief Executives, Legis.
20. Plumbers &/or Pipefitters	20. Fire Fighters
21. Bartenders	21. School Crossing Guards
22. Accounting Clerks	
23. Cosmetologists/Women's Hairstylists	
4. Carpenters	

Source: Pennsylvania Office of Employment Security, 1984.

Table 20

Occupation by Place of Residence
Pittsburgh SMSA, 1980

	City Residence	Non-City
Managerial & Professional	24%	30%
Technical, Sales and Administration	35%	38%
Service Occupations	20%	8%
Precision, Production and Crafts	7%	11%
Operative, Fabrication and Laborer	13%	14%

Source: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Population Reports.

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