

VIII.

CONCLUSION

In the end, Pennsylvania needs to look “back” to its older, more established centers—but not out of nostalgia.

Instead, the Commonwealth needs to look again at its cities, its rural and urban boroughs, and its older townships with an eye to competitive advantage, and in a spirit of strategy and self-interest.

These brick-built, human-scaled communities represent the historic hubs of the state’s past greatness. But they also represent the key to the state’s future, and so they must move again to the center of the state’s planning, coordinating, and investing.

A majority of Pennsylvanians—58 percent—still live in the Commonwealth’s cities, rural and urban boroughs, and older townships. Moreover, these communities possess powerful strategic advantages unavailable elsewhere in the Commonwealth—advantages that give the state its best shot at revival.

Pennsylvania’s cities, boroughs, and older townships possess centrality and convenience. They marshal numerous health centers and educational institutions, strong business traditions, and abundant transportation links. And equally important, they offer in abundance the charming town centers, distinctive neighborhoods, and clusters of shops, restaurants, and urban cultural institutions the state requires if it hopes to retain and attract the skilled workers it badly needs.

In that sense, these pages—far from looking “back” to Pennsylvania’s once-prosperous older places sentimentally—challenge the state to leverage the unique strength of those places to generate a new dynamism.

Pennsylvania should turn its focus back to its towns, cities, and older townships as a way of reenergizing its future.

ENDNOTES

I. *Renewing Older Pennsylvania*

1. By the Center for Rural Pennsylvania's definitions, Pennsylvania's north-east region consists of Berks, Bradford, Carbon, Lackawanna, Lehigh, Luzerne, Monroe, Northampton, Pike, Schuylkill, Sullivan, Susquehanna, Tioga, Wayne, and Wyoming counties (15 counties); the southeast region encompasses Bucks, Chester, Delaware, Montgomery, and Philadelphia counties (5); and the south-central region includes Adams, Cumberland, Dauphin, Franklin, Lancaster, Lebanon, Perry, and York counties (8 counties). The center also demarcates the following additional regions: the central region (16 counties)—Bedford, Blair, Cambria, Centre, Clinton, Columbia, Fulton, Huntingdon, Juniata, Lycoming, Mifflin, Montour, Northumberland, Snyder, Somerset, Union; the southwest (8 counties)—Allegheny, Beaver, Butler, Fayette, Greene, Indiana, Washington, Westmoreland; and the northwest (14 counties)—Cameron, Clarion, Clearfield, Crawford, Elk, Erie, Forest, Jefferson, Lawrence, McKean, Mercer, Potter, Venango, Warren.
2. Counting the Pennsylvania side of the Newburgh, NY-PA metro area as a Pennsylvania metro brings the total to 15. We exclude this partial metro and assume the state possesses 14 metro areas.
3. Pennsylvania has one town (Bloomsburg, Columbia County), which is counted with boroughs in this report since it is essentially like them.
4. Anne Canby and James Bickford, "Highway Investment Analysis" (Draft paper, 10,000 Friends of Pennsylvania, 2003).
5. Governor's Center for Local Government Services, "Borough Council Handbook" (Harrisburg: Commonwealth of Pennsylvania Department of Community and Economic Development, 2000), p. 1. Available at www.inventpa.com/docs/Borough_Council.pdf
6. Governor's Center for Local Government Services, "Township Commissioners Handbook" (Harrisburg: Commonwealth of Pennsylvania Department of Community and Economic Development, 2000), p. 1. Available at www.inventpa.com/docs/Borough_Council.pdf
7. Two other definitions of the state's "older," more established areas were also considered: the U.S. Census Bureau's "urbanized area" determinations and the Center for Rural Pennsylvania's recently developed definition of rural and urban municipalities. Careful comparison and mapping of the three possible geographies confirmed that the state's municipal classification system provides a "middle ground" framework that corresponds well with traditional understandings about growth patterns and the political map.
8. See Edward L. Glaeser and Jacob L. Vigdor, "Racial Segregation in the 2000 Census: Promising News" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2001). Black/non-black segregation is calculated using a "dissimilarity" index, which measures the proportion of blacks that would need to move across census tracts to get an even proportion of black residents across the entire MSA.
9. Census 2000. Numbers are adjusted for inflation.
10. See Thomas Bier and Charlie Post, "Vacating the City: An Analysis of New Homes and Housing Growth" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2003).
11. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Long-term employment growth measures percentage change annual in non-farm, non-seasonally adjusted employment from 1992 to 2002. Short-term employment growth measures percentage change in annual non-farm, non-seasonally adjusted employment from 2001 to 2002.
12. Bureau of Labor Statistics. See NEWS document, "Mass Layoffs in August 2003," released 9/25/03. The number of mass layoffs includes the number of establishments in the state that have at least 50 initial claims filed against them during a consecutive five-week period. The number of claimants for unemployment insurance is based on an aggregation of the weekly unemployment insurance claims filings for the month in each state.
13. Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry, "Pennsylvania Labor Force," September 2003 (seasonally adjusted numbers).
14. See David H. Bradley, Stephen A. Herzenberg, and Peter R. Wiley, "The State of Working Pennsylvania, 2003." (Harrisburg: Keystone Research Center, 2003)
15. Bureau of Labor Statistics.
16. Bureau of Economic Analysis, Total Full-time and Part-time Employment by Industry, 1970–2000.
17. Bureau of Economic Analysis, Gross State Product, 2001.
18. Bureau of Economic Analysis, Total Full-time and Part-time Employment by Industry, 2000.
19. Bureau of Economic Analysis, Gross State Product, 2001.
20. Bureau of Economic Analysis, Total Full-time and Part-time Employment by Industry, 1970–2000.
21. Bureau of Economic Analysis, Gross State Product, 2001.
22. Bureau of Economic Analysis, Total Full-time and Part-time Employment by Industry, 1970–2000. See www.bea.gov/bea/regional/reis/
23. Bureau of Economic Analysis, Gross State Product, 2001. See <http://www.bea.doc.gov/bea/regional/gsp/>
24. U.S. Conference of Mayors, "Metro Economies Report" (2003).
25. Bureau of Economic Analysis, Total Full-time and Part-time Employment by Industry, 1970–2000.

II. *Development Trends in Pennsylvania*

1. All of the migration data cited here and below come from the U.S. Census Bureau.
2. This report assesses the extent of "brain drain" (or the out-migration patterns of young workers aged 25–34) in the 1990s by tracking the size of the 15- to 24-year-old age cohort over the decade, rather than by simply comparing the changing number of 25- to 34-year-olds in 1990 and 2000. This approach controls for historical fluctuations in the size of generations. It also allows for a more direct examination of the ability of the state to retain this coveted cohort.
3. See William H. Frey, "Census 2000 Reveals New Native-Born and Foreign-Born Shifts across the U.S." (Ann Arbor: Population Studies Center at the Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 2002).
4. School enrollment data from several urban school districts—including Reading and Philadelphia—suggest that some cities' populations may be growing more than census data indicate. School enrollment data sometimes detect population change that the census does not, such as growth among the children of undocumented immigrant families.

26. Bureau of Labor Statistics. See NEWS document, "Average Annual Pay by State and Industry," released 9/24/02. Included in annual payroll data are bonuses, cash value of meals and lodging when supplied, tips, and employer contributions to 401(k).
27. Bureau of Labor Statistics. See NEWS documents, "Average Annual Pay by State and Industry," released 9/16/93, 9/24/02. Numbers adjusted for inflation.
28. Bureau of Labor Statistics. See NEWS document, "Average Annual Pay by State and Industry," released 9/16/93.
29. Bureau of Labor Statistics, compiled by The Reinvestment Fund in "Workforce 2002: Measuring What Matters." National numbers from BLS 2000 National Occupational Employment and Wage Estimates table. See http://www.bls.gov/oes/2000/oes_nat.htm
30. Census 2000. Numbers are in constant 1999 dollars.
31. The Philadelphia MSA includes counties in New Jersey, where wages tend to be higher. Thus, the average annual pay in the MSA would likely be lower if only the five PA counties were included.
32. Bureau of Labor Statistics. See NEWS document, "Average Annual Pay in Metropolitan Areas, 2001," released 11/8/02.
33. U.S. Census.
34. Keystone Research Center, "The State of Working Pennsylvania, 2002," p. 11.
12. Data provided by The Reinvestment Fund. See The Reinvestment Fund's website at www.trfund.com/policy/policy.rema.methodology.htm for additional information.
13. Research for Democracy, "Blight-Free Philadelphia," pp. 9–10.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 16–25.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
16. See James Q. Wilson and George Kelling, "Broken Windows: The Police and Neighborhood Safety." *Atlantic Monthly* (March, 1982), pp. 29–38. Available at www.theatlantic.com/politics/crime/windows.htm
17. This account draws heavily on Research for Democracy, "Blight-Free Philadelphia," pp. 12–13.
18. G. Sternleib, R. Burchell, J. Hughes, and F. James, "Housing Abandonment in the Urban Core," *Journal of Criminal Justice* 21: 481–495.
19. Mark Setterfield, "Abandoned Buildings: Models for Legislative and Enforcement Reform." Hartford: Trinity Center for Neighborhoods, 1997.
20. James Q. Wilson and George Kelling, "Making Neighborhoods Safe," *Atlantic Monthly* (February, 1979), pp. 46–52. Available at www.atlantapd.org/cpdocs/mns.html
21. William Spelman, "Abandoned Buildings: Magnets for Crime?" *Journal of Criminal Justice* 21: 481–495.
22. Dowell Myers and Elizabeth Gearin, "Current Preferences and Future Demand for Denser Residential Environments," *Housing Policy Debate* 12 (4): 633–659.
23. See, for example, Richard Florida, *The Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community, and Everyday Life*. (New York: Basic Books, 2002). For a discussion focused specifically on the older, urban neighborhoods of one Pennsylvania region, see also Richard Florida, "Quality of Place and the New Economy: Positioning Pittsburgh to Compete." Pittsburgh: R.K. Mellon Foundation, Heinz Endowments, and Sustainable Pittsburgh, 2000.
24. See Robert Burchell and others, *Costs of Sprawl—2000*. (Washington: National Academy Press, 2002).
25. See South Central Assembly for Effective Governance, "Cost of Community Services: Hopewell Township" (2002) and "Cost of Community Services: Shewsbury Township" (2002). Both are available at www.southcentralassembly.org/publications.htm
26. Burchell and others, *Costs of Sprawl—2000*, pp. 228, 250, and 252.
27. See Research for Democracy, "Blight-Free Philadelphia," pp. 48–51.
28. These tax capacities represent the amount of revenue that a place would raise if it assessed statewide average tax rates against its actual property and earned income tax bases.
29. See Glaeser, Sheinkman, and Sheifer (1995), Simon (1998), and Glendon (1998), cited by Ashish Arora and others, "Human Capital, Quality of Place, and Location," Working Paper, Carnegie Mellon University: 2000. See also R. E. Lucas, "On the Mechanics of Economic Development," *Journal of Monetary Economics* 22 (1988): 3–42, and Jane Jacobs, *The Economy of Cities* (New York: Random House, 1969).
30. Progressive Policy Institute, "The 2002 State New Economy Index."
31. U.S. Census Bureau.
32. Gordon F. De Jong and Michele Steinmetz, "Pennsylvania's Brain Drain Migration and Labor Force Education Gap, 2000" (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania State Data Center, 2003).
33. Susan B. Hansen, Carolyn Ban, and Leonard Huggins, "Explaining the 'Brain Drain' from Older Industrial Cities: The Pittsburgh Region," *Economic Development Quarterly* (17) (2003): 132–147.
34. Richard Florida, "Competing in the Age of Talent: Quality of Place and the New Economy" (Pittsburgh version) (Pittsburgh: R.K. Mellon Foundation, Heinz Endowments, and Sustainable Pittsburgh, 2000)
35. Ross C. De Vol and Rob Koepp, "America's Health Care Economy," (Santa Monica: Milken Institute, 2003). This report uses a broad definition of health care, which includes multiple SIC categories.

III. The Consequences of How Pennsylvania Is Growing

1. David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 452.
2. Land consumption data come from the U.S. Department of Agriculture Resource Conservation Service's Natural Resources Inventory (NRI) for 1982, 1987, 1992, and 1997; population change data reflect intercensal projections scaled by the 1980, 1990, and 2000 censuses. The NRI is a national longitudinal panel survey of land use that allows for analyses of changing trends over a 15-year period. As a sample, the NRI is subject to all the typical errors of sampling, and its figures remain estimates. Another note: The NRI defines "urban" areas to consist of residential and industrial parcels; construction sites; rail yards; cemeteries; airports; golf courses; landfills; water and sewage facilities; small parks within built-up areas; and highways, roads, and railroads. Also included are open tracts of land that are completely surrounded by urban land.
3. Data come from the Bureau of Economic Analysis.
4. See Center for Rural Pennsylvania, "Economic Values and Impacts of Sport Fishing, Hunting, and Trapping Activities in Pennsylvania" (2002).
5. See Pennsylvania 21st Century Environment Commission, "Report of the Pennsylvania 21st Century Environment Commission" (1998).
6. EPA stream-quality data can be found at www.epa.gov/waters/data/downloads.html Development-related impacts contribute some 40 percent of all stream pollution in southeastern Pennsylvania according to the Metropolitan Philadelphia Policy Center, "Fight (or) Flight: Metropolitan Philadelphia and Its Future" (2001). Thirteen percent of that region's 6,450 miles of streams and waterways were classified as polluted in 2001.
7. See Thomas Hylton, "Save Our Land, Save Our Towns: A Plan for Pennsylvania" (Harrisburg: RB Books, 1995), p. 12.
8. The Reinvestment Fund, "Choices: A Report on the State of the Region's Housing Market" (Philadelphia, 2001), p. 33. Available at www.trfund.com/about/publications/book.pdf
9. Philadelphia abandonment and vacant lot data come from the Neighborhood Information System, available at <http://cml.upenn.edu/nbase/>
10. These figures come from Research for Democracy, "Blight-Free Philadelphia: A Public-Private Strategy to Create and Enhance Neighborhood Value" (Philadelphia, 2001), pp. 6–7.
11. *Ibid.*

36. Linda Loyd, "Region Faces Shortage of Science Workers," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 7, 2002, and Karen Roebuck, "Worker Shortage Still Plagues the Health Care Industry," *Pittsburgh Tribune-Review*, February 23, 2003.
37. Pennsylvania Center for Workforce Information and Analysis, "Pennsylvania: Workforce 2008" (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry, 2002).
38. *Ibid.* The number of computer engineers, computer support specialists, and systems analysts, for example, are expected to grow 109 percent, 97 percent, and 75 percent, respectively.
39. Pennsylvania Department of Education, cited in *Workforce 2002: Measuring What Matters* (Philadelphia: The Reinvestment Fund, 2002).
40. The National Association of Manufacturers, The Manufacturing Institute, and Deloitte and Touche, "Keeping American Competitive: How a Talent Shortage Threatens U.S. Manufacturing" (2003).
41. National Association of Manufacturers, *The Skills Gap 2001: Manufacturers Confront Persistent Skills Shortages in an Uncertain Economy* (2001), cited in The National Association of Manufacturers, The Manufacturing Institute, and Deloitte and Touche, "Keeping American Competitive."
42. Progressive Policy Institute, "The 2002 State New Economy Index."
43. David Birch, Jan Gundersen, Anne Haggerty, and William Parsons, "Entrepreneurial Hotspots: The Best Places in American to Start and Grow a Company," (Waltham, MA: Cognetics Inc., 2001). Ranking is based on the number of firms started in the last 10 years that employ at least five people today, as a percent of all firms, and the percent of firms 10 years old or less four years ago that grew significantly during the last four years. Data collected from Dun and Bradstreet in 2001.
44. David Birch, Jan Gundersen, Anne Haggerty, and William Parsons, "Who's Creating Jobs?" (Cambridge: Cognetics Inc., 1999). Percentages based on job growth from 1994 to 1998 for firms 0–4 years old in 1994.
45. Progressive Policy Institute, "The 2002 State New Economy Index."
46. See Florida, "Competing in the Age of Talent: Quality of Place and the New Economy" (Pittsburgh: R.K. Mellon Foundation, Heinz Endowments, and Sustainable Pittsburgh, 2000). See also Edward L. Glaeser "Learning in Cities," *Journal of Urban Economics* (46) (1999): 254–277.
47. Richard Florida and Brian Knudson, "Beyond Spillovers: The Effects of Creative-Density on Innovation," Working Paper. Carnegie Mellon University, 2003.
48. Florida, "Competing in the Age of Talent."
49. Karen R. Ihlanfeldt and David L. Sjoquist, "The Spatial Mismatch Hypothesis: A Review of Recent Studies and Their Implications for Welfare Reform," *Housing Policy Debate* (9) (4) (1998): 849–892.
50. See Steven Raphael and Michael A. Stoll, "Modest Progress: The Narrowing Spatial Mismatch between Blacks and Jobs in the 1990s" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2002). The dissimilarity index describes the imbalance between residential and employment distributions for 302 MSAs for the year 2000. The index ranges from 0 to 100; the actual numerical value can be interpreted as the percentage of either jobs or people (in this case blacks) that would have to move to different neighborhoods to completely eliminate any geographic imbalance.
51. Margy Waller and Alan Berube, "Timing Out: Long-Term Welfare Caseloads in Large Cities and Counties" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2002).
52. Metropolitan Philadelphia Policy Center, "Fight or Flight: Metropolitan Philadelphia and Its Future" (2001).
53. De Jong and Steinmetz, "Pennsylvania's Brain Drain Migration and Labor Force Education Gap, 2000." Data collected from the *Current Population Survey*, 1999–2001. Numbers indicate the unemployment rate of Pennsylvania workers in the labor force ages 18–64 by educational attainment for 1999 to 2001.
54. *Ibid.*
55. Jennifer Cheeseman Day and Eric C. Newberger, "The Big Payoff: Educational Attainment and Estimates of Work-Life Earnings," *Greater Philadelphia Regional Review*, Spring 2003. Data collected from the *Current Population Surveys*, March 1976–2000.
56. De Jong and Steinmetz, "Pennsylvania's Brain Drain Migration and Labor Force Education Gap, 2000."
57. In 2000, for example, the average annual pay for Pennsylvania's manufacturing sector was \$42,597, compared to \$32,153 in the services sector and \$17,116 in retail (Bureau of Labor Statistics).
58. Manuel Pastor, Jr., and others, *Regions that Work: How Cities and Suburbs Can Grow Together* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).
59. Neil Peirce, with Curtis W. Johnson and John Stuart Hall, *Citistates: How Urban America Can Prosper in a Competitive World* (Washington: Seven Locks, Press, 1994).
60. Myron Orfield, *Metropolitics: A Regional Agenda for Community Stability* (Washington and Cambridge: Brookings Institution and Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 1997).
61. See Richard P. Voith, "City and Suburban Growth: Substitutes or Complements?" *Business Review* (September/October, 1992); Richard Voith, "Do Suburbs Need Cities?" *Journal of Regional Science* (38) (3) (1998): 445–464; H.V. Savitch and others, "Ties That Bind: Central Cities, Suburbs, and the New Metropolitan Region," *Economic Development Quarterly* 7 (4) (1993): 341–357; Larry Ledebur and William R. Barnes. *All In It Together: Cities, Suburbs, and Local Economic Regions* (Washington: National League of Cities, 1993).
62. Richard P. Voith, "The Suburban Housing Market: Effects of City and Suburban Employment Growth," Working Paper 96- 15, Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia, 1996.
63. Myron Orfield and Thomas Luce, "Pennsylvania Metropatterns: A Regional Agenda for Community and Stability in Pennsylvania" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2002).

IV. Behind the Trends

1. Issues PA, "The Puzzle of Fragmentation," *Pennsylvania Economy League*, February 2002. Available online at www.issuespa.net/resources/pdf/The-Puzzle-of-Fragmentation.pdf
2. Diane Mastrull, "Schools Eat Up Acreage, Fuel Sprawl" *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 3, 2002, p. A1.
3. Governor's Center for Local Government Services, "Pennsylvania Local Fact Sheet" (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Department of Community and Economic Development, 2002). Available at <http://www.inventpa.com/docs/Document/application/octet-stream/49179d08-f2af-46a5-b4ed-a92cc7cb42d4/pa-fact2003.pdf>
4. *Ibid.*
5. These figures report data from the U.S. Census Bureau's Census of Governments, as compiled and analyzed in Myron Orfield, *American Metropolitics: The New Suburban Reality* (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2002), p. 132.
6. David Rusk, "Little Boxes, Limited Horizons: Local Governance in Pennsylvania" (Background Paper, Brookings Institution, 2003).
7. Issues PA, "The Puzzle of Fragmentation."
8. Jerry Paytas, "Does Governance Matter? The Dynamics of Metropolitan Governance and Competitiveness," Working Paper, Carnegie Mellon Center for Economic Development, 2002. Available on the web at www.smartpolicy.org/publications.smtml
9. *Ibid.*
10. These studies are reported in Governor's Center for Local Government Services, "Fact Sheet—Consolidated Police Services Study" (undated) and Pennsylvania Bureau of Local Government Services, "A Study of the Cost Effectiveness of the Northern York County Regional Police Department: A Revisit" (Harrisburg: Department of Community Affairs [now Department of Community and Economic Development], undated).

11. Governor's Center for Local Government Services, "Fact Sheet—Consolidated Police Services Study."
12. Pennsylvania Bureau of Local Government Services, "A Study of the Cost Effectiveness of the Northern York County Regional Police Department: A Revisit."
13. Alletta Emeno, Stephanie Arnold, and Sam Wood, "Costly, Unequal Policing a Suburban Quandary." *Philadelphia Inquirer*, September 21, 2003, p. A1.
14. These studies are reported in Governor's Center for Local Government Services, "Fact Sheet—Consolidated Police Services Study," and Pennsylvania Bureau of Local Government Services, "A Study of the Cost Effectiveness of the Northern York County Regional Police Department."
15. Much evidence affirms this claim, but some caution must be exercised on the point, as the research literature on government efficiency issues remains inconclusive in many areas and has produced few generalizable conclusions given the site-specific focus of individual analyses.
Supporting the claim, significant empirical evidence suggests that, in many cases, the combination of two or more smaller local governments into a larger "regional" one yields service-cost efficiencies over time. Among these investigations are John DeGrove, "The City of Jacksonville: Consolidation in Action," in Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *Regional Governance Promise and Performance: Substate Regionalism and the Federal System*, vol. 3 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1973); James Horan and G. Thomas Taylor, *Experiments in Metropolitan Government* (New York: Praeger, 1977); and Sally Selden and Richard W. Campbell, "The Expenditure Impacts of Unification in a Small Georgia County: A Contingency Perspective of City-County Consolidation," *Public Administration Quarterly* (Summer, 2000): 169–201.
Other research, however, has failed to identify savings, or even attributed cost increases to consolidations. Highlights of this work are summarized in Alan Altshuler, William Morrill, Harold Wolman, and Faith Mitchell, eds., *The Committee on Improving the Future of U.S. Cities through Improved Metropolitan Government, Governance and Opportunity in Metropolitan America* (Washington: National Academy Press, 1999).
Still, this review also holds out the potential for cost savings in Pennsylvania. Concludes the study: "The preponderance of the evidence indicates that small local governments (and thus metropolitan areas characterized by fragmentation) are more efficient for labor-intensive services, whereas larger units are more efficient for capital-intensive services (because of economies of scale) and for certain overhead functions" (p. 106).
16. The Pennsylvania State Tax Equalization Board found the Lehigh County's ratio of assessed value to market value was 47.2 percent and Northampton County's was 47.4 percent in 2000.
17. Selden and Campbell, "The Expenditure Impacts of Unification in a Small Georgia County."
18. See, for example, Paul G. Lewis, *Shaping Suburbia: How Political Institutions Organize Urban Development* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996), pp. 48–73; John I. Carruthers and Gudmundur Ulfarsson, "Fragmentation and Sprawl: Evidence from Interregional Analysis," *Growth and Change* 33: 312–340; and "Growth at the Fringe: The Influence of Political Fragmentation in United States Metropolitan Areas." Papers in *Regional Science* 84 (forthcoming).
19. See Orfield, *American Metropolitanities*, pp. 85–96.
20. Environmental Law Institute, "Chesapeake 2000 Tax Policy Study" (Washington, 2003), pp. 82–87.
21. See Milan Simanich, "Midland Students to Continue Ohio Classes," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, February 24, 1998, and Carmen J. Lee, "Troubled Schools Struggle with New Transfer Law," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, August 29, 2002.
22. Governor's Center for Local Government, "Pennsylvania Local Fact Sheet".
23. Alan R. Kugler and Mary C. Bula, "Addressing Needed Changes in Pennsylvania's Local Governance" (Erie: Pennsylvania Economy League, Inc.—Northwest Division, 1999).
24. Governor's Center for Local Government Services, "Local Land Use Controls in Pennsylvania" (Harrisburg: Department of Community and Economic Development, 2001), p. 1. Available at www.inventpa.com/docs/Document/application/pdf/09b26a6d-5167-41a6-b6ca-4e03658bc240/Planning_Series_1.pdf
25. 10,000 Friends of Pennsylvania, "Smart Growth Policies for Sewer Infrastructure" (Philadelphia, 2003), p. 3.1.
26. The quotation comes from Joanne R. Denworth, "Growing Smarter Legislation—New Options for Multi-Municipal Planning and Implementation" (Philadelphia: 10,000 Friends of Pennsylvania, 2001), p. 3. This article provides an excellent, detailed discussion of the planning process in Pennsylvania and recent MPC amendments.
27. This figure reflects unpublished 2003 information collected by the Governor's Center for Local Government Services.
28. This point draws on Wendall Cox, Ronald Utt, and Howard Husock, "How Smart Is 'Smart Growth?'" (Harrisburg: Commonwealth Foundation, 2000), pp. 15–16. Available at www.Commonwealthfoundation.org/environment/env03-01.pdf
29. Joanne Denworth, *Planning Beyond Boundaries: A Multi-Municipal Planning and Implementation Manual for Pennsylvania Municipalities* (Philadelphia: 10,000 Friends of Pennsylvania, 2002).
30. This 2003 data on municipalities' use of planning and zoning comes from the Governor's Center for Local Government Services.
31. These figures report Brookings analyses of unpublished 2003 data from the Governor's Center for Local Government Services. See also Governor's Center for Local Government Services, "2000 Annual Report on Land Use," pp. A-44 and A-46, and Stanford Lembeck, Timothy Kelsey, and George Fasic, "Measuring the Effectiveness of Comprehensive Planning and Land Use Regulations in Pennsylvania" (Harrisburg: Center for Rural Pennsylvania, 2001), pp. 10–12. Available at www.ruralpa.org/Land%20Use.pdf
32. Lembeck, Kelsey, and Fasic, "Measuring the Effectiveness of Comprehensive Planning and Land Use Regulations in Pennsylvania," p. 12.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
36. Editorial, "School's Flawed Plan: Poison Pill for Farms." *Lancaster New Era*, September 3, 2003, p. A10; Ryan Robinson, "Ephrata Farm Vote Is Hailed, Blasted," *Lancaster New Era*, September 25, 2003.
37. This discussion draws heavily from Denworth, "Growing Smarter Legislation," p. 3.
38. 10,000 Friends of Pennsylvania, "Smart Growth Policies for Sewer Infrastructure."
39. *Ibid.*, pp. 3.2–3.7.
40. *Ibid.*, pp. 3.4–5.
41. *Ibid.*, pp. 2.5–2.6.
42. *Ibid.*, pp. 2.12–2.14.
43. Personal communications from John Mizerak, Governor's Center for Local Government Services, September 19 and 25, 2003.
44. Joan Miles and Ray Reaves, "Analysis of 'An Inventory of Multi-Municipal Comprehensive Planning in Southwest Pennsylvania'" (Draft paper, Sustainable Pittsburgh, 2003).
45. See Rusk, "Little Boxes, Narrow Horizons," pp. 46–49.

46. See, for example, Marlong G. Boarnet and Andrew Haughuout, "Do Highways Matter? Evidence and Policy Implications of Highways' Influence on Metropolitan Development" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2000) and Greg Leroy, Sara Hinkley, and Katie Tallman, "Another Way Sprawl Happens: Economic Development Subsidies in a Twin Cities Suburb" (Washington: Good Jobs First, 2000).
47. Anne Canby and James Bickford, "Highway Investment Analysis," Draft Paper, 10,000 Friends of Pennsylvania, 2003.
48. Half of the state's obligations for bridge projects crossing the border between older-urban and non-urban municipalities was also assigned to "cities and towns."
49. Personal communication from Eric Randolph, budget analyst, Committee on Appropriations, Pennsylvania House of Representatives, June 6, 2003. These figures reflect Pennsylvania State Police data and April 2001 budget numbers from the Legislative Budget and Finance Committee.
50. See Herb Field's columns in the *Harrisburg Patriot-News*: "Away from It All: Perry County Can Keep Its Charm, Attract Business Also," April 11, 2002, p. A10; "Mixed Message for Perry: Schweiker Industrial Project Undermines Anti-Sprawl Commitment," May 23, 2002, p. A18; and "Perry's Business Park: Tearing Up Pastures for Development Makes No Sense," July 3, 2003.
51. Personal communication from Corp. Anthony Durante, PSP Bureau of Research and Development, September 15, 2003.
52. Pennsylvania Legislative Budget and Finance Committee, *Department of Community and Economic Development Programs: A Performance Audit in Response to Act 1996-58* (Harrisburg, 2002), p. 192.
53. The annual expenditure levels reflect figures from the 2001–2002 Governor's Executive Budget reported in Dennis Bellafiore, Stephen Herzenberg, Meg Myer, and Allan Rothrock, "Economic Development Subsidies in Pennsylvania: Do They Fuel Sprawl?—A Preliminary Empirical Look" Working Paper. (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2003).
54. See Todd Behr, C.A. Christofides, and Pats Neelakantan, "The Spatial Allocation of Major DCED Programs" Working Paper. (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2003).
55. This "portfolio assessment" analyzed the geographical allocation of funds from seven key development-oriented economic development programs managed by the state Department of Community and Economic Development over the years 1998–2003. The programs were selected for review on the basis of their size, orientation to economic development as opposed to "community" development, and general relevance to state development outcomes. The programs selected included The Pennsylvania Industrial Development Authority (PIDA); the Infrastructure Development Program (IDP); the Opportunity Grant Program (OGP); Small Business First (SBF); Customized Job Training (CJT); the Machinery and Equipment Loan Fund (MELF); and the Industrial Sites Reuse Program (ISRF). For more information see Behr, Christofides, and Neelakantan, "The Spatial Allocation of Major DCED Programs."
56. See Bellafiore, Herzenberg, Myer, and Rothrock, "Economic Development Subsidies in Pennsylvania."
57. See *Ibid.*, pp. 3–6, for detailed descriptions of the OGP, IDP, and PIDA programs.
58. See Jake Haulk and Eric Montarti, "Wholesale Use of Retail TIFs," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, October 13, 2002, p. F1; Citizens for Pennsylvania's Future, "A Rift Over TIFs," *PennFuture Facts*, January 9, 2003; and Jennifer Bails, "Court Battles Resume over Deer Creek Crossing," *Valley News Dispatch*, September 30, 2003, p. A1.
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15. Pennsylvania’s Land Recycling Program, begun in 1995, has been a model for several other states. The law offers clients release from liability for approved remediation; it identifies risk-based standards for cleanup, simplifies the approval process, and limits future liability when standards are attained. The law also contains special provisions that encourage the redevelopment of “special industrial areas,” industrial properties where no financially viable responsible party can be found to clean up contamination. The program also includes multiple financial incentives—including the Industrial Sites Reuse Program, the Infrastructure Development Program, and the Brownfields Inventory Grant Program, among others—to spur reuse. A third feature of the program is the PaSiteFinder web site, which is designed for marketing on-line previously used commercial and industrial properties now available for redevelopment. To date, 360 sites have been listed on SiteFinder, 40 of which have been leased or sold. See www.dep.state.pa.us/dep/deputate/airwaste/wm/landrecy/

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