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ABSTRACT

This background paper for the Community Goals Forum at the University of Pittsburgh focuses on some of the local experiences that seem to be related to the Pittsburgh citizenry's low level of confidence in and expectation of local government as a means for improving the quality of life in the metropolis. The recent development of the great urban complexes in America is discussed in general terms, and a comprehensive review of Pittsburgh's experience in attempting to develop a government commensurate with the metropolitan community is given. Some alternative efforts, governmental and non-governmental, to substitute for metropolican government are noted. Proposals for discussion are suggested to further the purpose of the Forum's task to generate and clarify the optimal relationship between goals and government in the metropolitan community of Pittsburgh. See SO 004 802 for related documents. (Author/SHM)

UNIVERSITY FORUM

BACKGROUND PAPER

GOALS AND GOVERNMENT OF THE METROPOLIS

FEBRUARY 24, 1972

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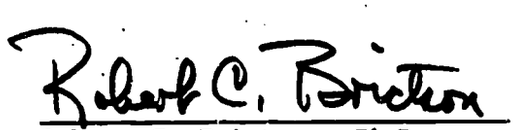
FEBRUARY, 1972

J. Steele Gow, Dean

Division of Instructional Experimentation

and School of General Studies

Albert C. Van Dusen, Ph.D.
Secretary of the University
Principal Investigator



Robert C. Brictson, Ph.D.
Director of Research Programs

GOALS AND GOVERNMENT

OF THE METROPOLIS

Background Paper for the Community Goals Forum
of February 24, 1972, at the University of Pittsburgh

Contents

Steele Gow
January 3, 1972

INTRODUCTION

This Forum is meant to explore the role of local government in the Greater Pittsburgh citizenry's pursuit of major community goals.

From a community-goals survey we conducted among civic leaders and activists here, we learned what was perhaps already obvious: That even among these "influentials" the level of confidence in and expectation of local government as a means for improving the quality of life in the metropolis is exceedingly low. And, if those who presumably have superior access to and influence upon the institutions of government place little hope in them, we can scarcely expect more of the general citizenry and especially the deprived minorities who exercise less leverage. Such pessimism, of course, is not peculiar to the Greater Pittsburgh area, for the popular view is that virtually all our major urban complexes are governmentally deficient and perhaps even ungovernable. However, disillusionment with and hoplelessness in regard to local government does seem to have a special quality to it in this metropolitan community. In this background paper for the Forum, therefore, we will review some of the local experience that seems to account for the citizenry's low level of expectation for the metropolis' governmental institutions.

We will do so, however, with a further purpose in mind. We certainly hope that the Forum will not simply add to the sense of defeatism but rather that it will help generate visions of a more effective and confidence-inspiring system of government for the Greater Pittsburgh urban complex. This project of the University-Urban Interface Program is concerned with emerging community goals and is, therefore, intended to be future-oriented, to be seeking ways in which the institutions of the community can most effectively respond to the people's aspirations. While good government itself might well be treated as a goal, we are more concerned with the Metropolis' government as an important and perhaps essential means for pursuing many of the community's major goals. All of the community's institutions, this University among them, need to have a functionally effective--and hopefully a democratically responsive--system of local government with which to work, if they in turn are to function effectively, if the community's goals are to be articulated and its institutional and other resources are to be mobilized and coordinated for the pursuit of those goals.

Furthermore, the kind of goals with which we are concerned here are those which shape the community's developmental future, which set directions and determine priorities, and which are the stuff of visionary leadership. We could, of course, carp about unpatched potholes in the streets or inefficient staffs in public offices, about inadequancies in the municipal housekeeping and routine service functions of our local governments. But that is a popular pastime in which we indulge daily, so that we would be adding little in this Forum to what goes on in any case. If we are to make a significant contribution, we will have to go beyond fault-finding over surface symptoms and attempt a more fundamental diagnosis of the metropolis' local government system itself. It is, we submit, not potholes and lazy clerks that account for the disillusionment with local government, but lack of visionary leadership, confusion and contradictions in the setting of directions and determining priorities, and failure to articulate the metropolitan community's developmental future in terms that can inspire hope and confidence.

In this background paper then, we will be seeking with constructive intent to do several things to set up the Forum's discussion. We first will deal in general terms with the social phenomenon of metropolitan or megalopolitan development which has created in our great urban complexes something new under the sun. Next we will review this particular area's rather special experience in attempting to develop a government commensurate with the metropolitan community. We will look at some alternative efforts, governmental and non-governmental, to substitute for metropolitan government. Then we will consider what has happened at the neighborhood district or sub-community level as the metropolis has come into being. And finally, we will present--with the intent at least of provoking discussion--some propositions that suggest the different approaches that can be taken to our topic.

Throughout we will try, and will ask that the Forum participants try, to keep in mind that our purpose is to gain insight into how democractically responsive local government can further the Greater Pittsburgh citizenry's pursuit of major community goals.

I THE METROPOLIS AS PARADOXICAL BEHAVIOR

Among the social animals, none behaves in more wondrous ways than man. We gather ourselves together in ever larger numbers and proportion, under an apparently lemming-like compulsion, unto great urban complexes. Yet we complain bitterly about the unsatisfactory and worsening quality of life which we experience in these same metropolises. An adequate explanation of such paradoxical behavior awaits perhaps some superhuman ethologist. Meanwhile, let us make what we can of it ourselves.

We ought to acknowledge first of all that mankind may very well be still poorly adapted--psychologically and perhaps even biologically--to living in the metropolis. The massive urban complexes that have become characteristic of our times are unique in the history of human civilization. They are in essential ways quite unlike the walled cities of a few thousand inhabitants or even the industrial cities of a few hundred thousand which figured prominently in the past. These great agglomerations of millions of people have taken the form of vast conurbations which sprawl over a large area but in which people interact intensively because of the mobility and communication made possible by modern technology. Mankind has gathered into these metropolises only within the last few generations and, so recent is their development in evolutionary terms, we probably should not be surprised by their troubled state.

Consider the 1970 U. S. Census returns. We already knew, of course, that we had become a predominantly urban people, with more Americans living in urban areas than in rural ones. But what our latest head-count pointed up spectacularly was the extent to which we had become not so much a city people as a metropolitan people. Not only do two out of three of us live in metropolitan communities but, for the first time in history, more of the metropolises' residents (76,000,000) now live outside the central cities than live inside them (61,000,000). Actually, 13 or more than half of the 25 largest cities in the U. S. lost population in the preceding decade. These 25 largest cities combined had a net gain in population of only about 710,000, which is less than the suburban population gain of any one of several of the metropolitan areas. New York City, as the nation's largest, lost some 10,000, while the New York Metropolitan area gained 715,000. The suburbs of Washington, D. C., gained 800,000, which increase is greater than the total population of the central

city. The Los Angeles metropolitan area, notorious for hardly having a central city, gained almost 2,000,000 in the decade. Indeed, the top 25 metropolitan areas had a combined population increase of 8,900,000, growing at a rate 12 times that of their central cities. We are, then, dealing with a substantially new phenomenon and, understandably, are experiencing difficulties with it.

Most fundamentally perhaps, we are finding it difficult to adjust our thinking about government to the new reality of these massive urban complexes. If the quality of life for most of us is to be significantly improved, it will have to be done in what have become our metropolitan communities. It will not be done separately in the central cities nor separately in the suburbs but of necessity will be done comprehensively in the metropolises as interdependent wholes. The metropolis is "where it's at" these days, because that is where we are--in ever increasing numbers and proportion.

We probably are by now pretty generally prepared to acknowledge--in principle if not in practice--that the traditional image of the "city" has little other than a formal meaning standing alone. But even the image of the radial city to which people go downtown to work in the morning and go back to suburban residences at night is becoming obsolete. Economists now estimate that two-thirds of all new jobs are in the suburbs and commuting is becoming quite as much among suburbs as between the central city and suburbs. The emergent metropolis is a seething tangle of interactions and interdependencies rather than, simplistically, a dominant city with dependent satellites. And consequently, the sprawling metropolis has become a functional community in most important respects except one--that of government. One of these great urban complexes typically has no comprehensive government but instead has sometimes scores, sometimes hundreds, sometimes more than a thousand local government units--a situation well calculated to frustrate any effort to articulate and pursue overall community goals.

The Other Side of the Coin

Were that the whole of it, though, we would have but half the problem we do in fact have. Many of a metropolis' local units of government--not all, but many of them--are in no way coterminous with real sub-communities. Many boroughs, townships and lesser cities exist largely by historical precedent or corporate action long since outdated by subsequent population shifts and economic

developments. Some are now sterile shells encompassing what have long ceased to be functional sub-communities, while others have never been more than fabrications of political manipulators or real estate developers. Metropolitan development has so outrun the static pattern of local government boundaries in suburbia that by now it is almost sheer chance if one of these local government units coincides with a real sub-community. On the other hand, the governmental jurisdiction of a large central city often obscures the existence of real sub-communities within it, ones which have no governmental means to articulate and pursue the goals their people share. The ward representation, and precinct and neighborhood organizations which served the purpose tolerably well in times past have been either reformed away or effectively overwhelmed by the city's central government. Unquestionably there are, within any metropolitan community, functionally real sub-communities which need governmental means to deal with the shared special concerns of their people, and we will have more to say about that in a subsequent chapter. But the point is that, both within the central city and within the metropolitan area beyond it, we have today a most imperfect fit between governmental units and functional sub-communities.

The typical American metropolitan community, therefore, has neither an effective overall instrument of government nor the internal "working parts" with which to deal with the problems that besiege it. At the same time, people's expectations in our affluent society are rising and spreading. Urban dwellers today tend to take for granted the material essentials and basic services and to look expectantly beyond such matters to a psychologically and aesthetically more fulfilling quality of life. Goals and aspirations are forcefully asserted within our metropolitan communities today by previously submissive or repressed segments of the population, notably by the blacks and the poor and--with an intensity of group awareness that is new--by the youth. Frustration or even rage is generated when conventional local governments prove to be unresponsive or impotent. In this connection, a task force of the President's National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence warned in September, 1970, that, when governmental institutions fail to reflect public needs and aspirations, the people feel forced to take matters into their own hands, even if that means going beyond the bounds of democratic self-government processes. The report presented this dismal prospect:

> If present trends are not positively redirected, we can expect further social fragmentation of the urban environment, formation of excessively parochial communities, greater segregation of different social groups and economic classes, imposition of presumptive definitions of criminality on the poor and on racial minorities, a possible resurgence of communal vigilantism and polarization of attitudes....
>
> It is logical to expect the establishment of the "defensive city", the modern counterpart of the fortified medieval city.[1]

Dream not, the report suggests, of pursuing positive goals in metroplis, but rather look forward to fortified "cells" of high-rise apartment buildings and residential compounds for those who can afford them in the center of the community and to racially and economically homogeneous suburban enclaves for those who can escape to their relative security on the fringes. And, we are left to presume: Either learn to adapt to and function under conditions of virtual urban guerrilla warfare, in which violence and the threat of violence really govern. Or invent and implement radically different and more effective means for governing our metropolitan communities.

The Challenge Before Us

We are a socially inventive people, are we not? How well, then, have we been responding to this challenge?

The thesis of this paper is that we not only have failed so far to invent effective solutions but we have, by some of our efforts to do so, contributed further to the problem. It will be argued that we need to take a fundamentally new approach which recognizes as the basic realtiy that a metropolitan community is a continuously changing pattern of human interaction requiring a flexible and adaptive form of government, free of fixed geographic boundaries and readily responsive to changes in that interaction pattern.

From this point on, we will focus more intensively on one such metropolitan community, that of Greater Pittsburgh. As much as any and more than most of the major urban complexes, our own metropolis might reasonably be expected by now to have worked out a solution to the problem of matching the metropolitan community's governmental structure to its needs for articulating and pursuing community goals. This particular metropolis has lived with that problem for a long time, having had a majority of the community's population

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1. The task force was directed by Donald J. Mulvihill, a Washington attorney, and Melvin M. Tumin, Princeton Professor of Sociology.

outside the central city since the 1920's, whereas many other metropolises have developed that characteristic more recently. Metropolitan Pittsburgh's population has been virtually stable for many years, whereas the population boom in other metropolises at least provides an excuse for their failing to catch up with it governmentally. Also, while it is a full-fledged metropolis, Greater Pittsburgh is neither one of the very largest (ranking 9th among SMSA's in this country) nor the most complex (having nothing like Greater New York's 1,400 governmental units in three states). Yet this one, we can expect, will be challenge enough for us.

II HOW METRO BECAME A DIRTY WORD HERE

Most community leaders and virtually all politicians agree that there is little or no chance for voter approval of a federated metropolitan government in the Greater Pittsburgh area.

Our community-goals survey among "influentials" found the matter of metropolitan government ranked high on "desirability" and low on "probability." While a large majority of these leaders thought it would be good for the community and personally favored it, they thought that most others opposed and would defeat it. In two decades of discussing the matter with practicing politicians, the author has been told consistently that, yes, while a metro government makes good sense and while the particular politician may favor it personally and in private, the voters would overwhelmingly defeat it and destroy the political career of anyone publicly promoting it. In short, although as individuals most community leaders and many leading political figures favor metropolitan government, they are convinced almost unanimously that most others like them and certainly most rank-and-file voters are adamantly against it.

Yet the cold, hard fact is that, when the citizens of Allegheny County were given an opportunity to vote on a federated metropolitan government, they supported it by better than two to one. They favored an enabling state constitutional amendment in 1928 by 70 per cent and a charter in 1929 by 68 per cent. Since then, it is generally conceded, the objective need and justification for a metropolitan government have greatly increased with continuing urbanization, yet the popular belief in metro's political impossibility persists.

What people believe, of course, is itself a political fact and needs to be dealt with. There is a perverse fascination to the history of how the people of this area were conditioned to believe that most of them bitterly oppose what most them individually will say they favor. And, so central to the Forum's purpose is the resulting political fact, this paper will take time to review briefly that history.[2]

The story of how metro became a dirty word here begins more than six decades ago when, in 1907, Pittsburgh forcibly annexed the old City of

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2. For a more detailed account, see "Metropolitics in Pittsburgh," by Steele Gow, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1951.

Allegheny. Previously, since its own incorporation as a city in 1816, Pittsburgh had annexed 25 boroughs and townships without appreciable difficulty. But Allegheny was a considerable city in its own right, with 130,000 residents to Pittsburgh's 322,000. Clearly Allegheny's people did not want to join Pittsburgh, for they voted against doing so two-to-one. However, under special legislation setting up the referendum, Pittsburgh's larger number of voters prevailed. Old Allegheny became Pittsburgh's Northside and began its decline from a high-class, park-rich city to a slum-infested section of the metropolis. That fate ever after has haunted Pittsburgh expansion proposals.

More than that, the forcible annexation inspired the organization of the Allegheny County League of Cities, Boroughs and Townships. This League forged around Pittsburgh an iron ring of local governments pledged not to enter into even voluntary consolidations, so that units beyond them were denied so much as a choice, being non-continguous with the central city. Even the mildest kinds of substitutes for annexation were shot down repeatedly for the next 20 years, until the futility of that course was firmly established.

For instance, as the 1920 Census approached, "booster" elements led by Attorney William Grimes tried to raise Pittsburgh's rank among cities through the guise of a "municipal division board." Grimes ordered promotional pamphlets and scheduled an appearance before the League. The League politicos heard him out, despatched a negative resolution to their buddies in the Legislature, and sent Grimes home without a prayer to await delivery of his now useless pamphlets. The Allegheny County Civic Club tried next in 1921 but was sucked by the League into a joint committee which predictably could not agree on anything. Grimes tried again in 1923 and this time, while his own bill was shot down again, Grimes' persistence and the public pressures being generated did induce the League to sponsor legislation for a "safe" study commission, one which had only five of 24 members from Pittsburgh and which had as chairman Joseph T. Miller who had been a principal organizer of the anti-Pittsburgh League. Again, predictably, the study commission did next to nothing for the two-year term the Legislature gave it. So much for the possibility of annexation or, so it seemed, for any route to metropolitan government.

County Metro Efforts

Then something very peculiar happened. Study Commission Chairman Miller, from an ardent opponent of metropolitanism, suddenly became a spirited promoter of a particular version thereof which required a state constituional amendment authorizing a charter referendum to "Municipalize" Allegheny County. The National Municipal League was convening in Pittsburgh in 1925 and just possibly Chairman Miller was converted by the preachings of that pro-metro group.

However, there were rumors, which later surfaced into public print, of another explanation. It seems that the Pittsburgh Railways Company was collapsing into insolvency, milked by its so-called underliers. These underliers were those who had sold separate small streetcar lines to form the Railways Company and, as creditors, drew their return directly from the fare box, profit or no profit. Under bankruptcy management, Railway's Company earnings would go into escrow and the underliers would no longer get their money out of the Company as before. Unless, that is, the bankrupt system could be unloaded on some municipal government. The City of Pittsburgh did not cover a wide enough area and Allegheny County, which did, was not a municipality in law. But a County-wide municipal or metropolitan government would do just fine. The principal Railways Company underliers were the Mellons, and the Pennsylvania Water Company was another Mellon enterprise, and the Water Company had an official named Joseph Miller, who also happened to be chairman of the Study Commission. And therefore, so went the rumors, the Study Commission got to work on the necessary state constitutional amendment to permit "municipalizing" Allegheny County.

It took some doing, too. Miller had to get Governor Gifford Pinchot to put the amendment proposal on the agenda for a special session of the legislature in 1925, so that it could be approved as required by two consecutive biennial sessions and approved by the State's voters in 1928 and then a charter could be approved by a third legislative session in 1929, all before the County referendum could be held soon enough to take advantage of "booster" sentiment preceding the 1930 Census. And Miller did it all. The sworn enemy of anything

metro, Miller's own League of Cities, Boroughs and Townships, was uncharacteristically quiet. Not metro's enemies but its friends were, in the end, its undoing this time.

What happened was the "joker" clause. In rushing to get the first legislative action on the state constitutional amendment, Miller and friends made one fatal mistake. To appease McKeesport Senator William Mansfield, to whose committee the proposal was referred and who still opposed metro, they had to agree that the charter referendum would require approval by a majority vote in two-thirds of the County's local units of government. Then the measure's own floor manager, Senator Morris Einstein of Pittsburgh, became confused in the rapid action in the special legislative session and made the requirement that of a two-thirds vote in a majority of the local units. He just made the agreed upon revision in the wrong line of the bill, but that was to make all the difference.

The enabling state constitutional amendment was passed by the 1925 Special and 1927 Regular Sessions of the General Assembly and approved by the State's voters in the general election of 1928. In Allegheny County, where alone the charter referendum would be held, the constitutional amendment got 70 per cent of the vote. But it got the two-thirds majority, which the "joker" clause would require in the charter referendum, in only 52 of the then 123 local government units within the the County. Pittsburgh's more than 103,000 votes were almost 4 to 1 in favor, and McKeesport's 9,000 votes were 8 to 1 against. As each counted as one unit, they off-set each other. The issue would be decided in places like little Bridgeville which voted 330 to 166 for the amendment and where a one-vote switch would be needed in the 1929 referendum to give the charter the two-thirds vote required by the "joker" clause.

Using the leverage this gave them, opponents of metro went to work on the charter draft which had been prepared by municipal reformer Dr. Thomas Reed of the University of Michigan. They negotiated in the legislature an emasculation of the bill but then had to await word from W. L. Mellon, top Republican in the state at the time, as to whether he would tolerate their action. The word from him was that anything was all right if it "municipalized" the county, and so both houses in Harrisburg quickly approved the weakened measure. But home front enthusiasm waned greatly. The Republican Mellons backed the campaign in the County financially--even supporting indirectly

through the Study Commission a Democratic Party office headed by David Lawrence. And then for the first--and, as it turned out, last--time, a metropolitan government proposal was submitted to the voters of Allegheny County.

Sixty-eight per cent or more than two out of three voters in the County favored adoption. Majorities were won in 82 out of the then 124 constituent governmental units. The public's will had been made known in incontrovertible fashion. But no! The charter won the two-thirds majority required by the "joker" clause in only 50 of the units. The switch of only a few hundred votes in a few of the smallest units would have done it, even with the "joker." But the metro charter was lost.

Again and Again and Again

Nevertheless, the rationale for metropolitan government continued to be so compelling that leaders of various sorts kept trying to do something about it. First, Miller went back into the battle and succeeded in amending the state constitutional amendment in 1933 to remove the "joker" clause. Thereafter, right up until the state constitutional revision of 1968, it was possible for Allegheny County at any time to adopt a metro charter with only a simple majority vote in a majority of the now 129 local units of government. Of course, the 1929 charter got that kind of majority handily. The trick since 1933 has been to get a charter through the legislature and to the voters, and no one has been able to turn that trick although many have tried.

A charter bill got through both houses in Harrisburg once in 1935 but died in a conference committee. Miller's old Study Commission, after fighting off a rival commission set up by County Commissioner Charles "Buck" McGovern, had produced a new draft. It sailed through the Republican Senate, but in the Democratic House Dave Lawrence loaded it with utilities-taxing amendments calculated to offend the Republican Mellons, and no compromise was worked out. The Lawrence Democrats, in alliance with the C.I.O. and with New Deal backing from Washington, were flexing political muscle for the first time in a long, dry while.

It was they, the C.I.O. and Lawrence's man Mayor Cornelius D. Scully who initiated the next effort in 1939. They had Mellon and other industrialist and banker support but the key figure was Bryn Hovde, Administrator of the Pittsburgh Housing Authority. His Citizens Committee dusted off the original Tom Reed charter draft, modified it a little, and sent Hovde off to Harrisburg with it.

At the same time McKeesport Mayor George Lysle called together 400 officials of local government units who unanimously resolved to condemn the plan and told the legislators so. Hovde could not find a single legislator who, with the local vote-canvassers on his back, would sponsor the measure. And so another charter effort bit the dust. Then, with the Nazis overrunning Europe and with Pearl Harbor, the community's like the nation's attention turned elsewhere.

The spectacular post-war expansion of the suburbs created a host of new problems which were spelled out in a comprehensive series on "Growing Pains in the Suburbs" in The Press in 1951. Apparently in response, State Senator Elmer Holland initiated, and other district legislators joined him to sponsor, a bill authorizing a Metropolitan Planning Commission for Allegheny County. On it were represented the associations of local government officials, organized labor and business. With professional help from the Pennsylvania Economy League and the University of Pittsburgh's Institute of Local Government, the Commission produced in 1955 a report calling for "An Urban Home Rule Charter for Allegheny County."[3] Many of its subordinate recommendations have since been implemented, but the primary one indicated by the title has failed to generate significant action. The Civic Club of Allegheny County tried for a few years to stimulate interest but, with the powers in the community holding back, nothing was achieved.

Thus, since 1929, each new effort aimed at creating some sort of metropolitan community government has got less far than the preceding effort. With approval of state constitutional revisions in 1968, new avenues for doing what a special amendment earlier permitted Allegheny County alone to do are open to any county, but there is little evidence of serious intent in Allegheny County where it has all been tried so often before without success. The pessimism is understandable.

Furthermore, with the suburban spread continuing to the extent that metropolitan Pittsburgh now encompasses at least parts of four counties, the shopworn proposal of "municipalizing" Allegheny County or federating its constituent units hardly seems to be an inspiring cause any longer. While it still might be an improvement for some purposes, that proposed solution probably has been outrun by the problem.

Finally, there is now as there was not in previous decades the major political consideration that a metropolitan government proposal would be regared by at least some as being motivated by an intent to swamp the inner-city black

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3. Metropolitan Study Commission, "An Urban Home Rule Charter for Allegheny County," 1955.

vote with suburban white votes in order to minimize black influence on a governmentally autonomous Pittsburgh proper. This interpretation has surfaced elsewhere, most recently in regard to consolidation legislation proposed by Atlanta's mayor. While Pittsburgh does not have and is not even close to having a black majority, as Atlanta does have, it is nevertheless true that the black vote in the city proper is a much higher proportion than it is in the county. While a case can be made that the predominantly black areas of the city would benefit as would others from a municipalized county relieving the hard-pressed central city of some financial burdens, the new status of black politics is at least another factcr in the equation to upset calculations of probability for a county-based metro government.

III SOME SUBSTITUTES AND THEIR SHORTCOMINGS

In this as in other major urban complexes, the absence of a general-purpose government commensurate with the metropolis has led the community to resort to a number of substitute devices--some governmental or quasi-governmental in character and some outside our democratic processes of government. While these substitutes have positive accomplishments to their credit and may well have enabled the metropolis to survive and function after a fashion, few will claim that any or all of them together have met the need for means to articulate coherently and pursue effectively the metropolitan community's major quality-of-life goals. Indeed, it can be argued--and will be argued here--that each of these substitutes in one way or another contributes to the low level of confidence and hope which the metropolis' people have in their local government system.

One such substitute course of action is to have the county government, even though designed and structured as it is for simpler rural conditions, take on more and more municipal type functions. Since Allegheny County's area is obviously urban, the case for this has it, simply have the county offices perform urban duties. Over the years, indeed, Allegheny's accretion of functions not traditionally county-like has been considerable, and some have argued that in effect we have been "backing into" metropolitan government without having to confront the controversial metro issue head-on. This argument, of course, evades the fact that today's metropolis by any reasonable definition includes not only Allegheny County but all or parts of at least four counties. More significantly, though, the "ox-cart era" organizational design of county government is about as inappropriate for an urban complex as one can imagine, so that this county government's performance inevitably leaves a great deal to be desired.

Designed primarily to perform judicial, road-building and few other functions in sparsely populated areas, the county government has no single responsible executive and no separate legislating body but a three-man commission that combines some of both and has an array of so-called "row officers" who are separately elected. It lacks corporate status and is still, even in this urban area, legally considered an arm of the state government. To expect from such an anachronism, even if it has the best of persons in office, the sort of leadership that is needed for achieving major metropolitan community goals is to be quite unrealistic. And the discrepancy between reality and the expectations raised by this course of action can only help to erode the citizenry's confidence in the efficacy of local government.

Other substitutes rely on one or another means of coordinating the metropolitan area's multitude of governmental units short of actual governmental restructuring. Here the Allegheny Council for Inter-Governmental Action (formerly Allegheny Seminar) and some more localized councils of government have been tried but with very limited success and with virtually no prospect of serving the need we are considering. Historically, indeed, the most effective coordination of governments has been achieved by political parties when one of them was able to dominate throughout most of the area. The Republican Party was in that position here for many years preceding the Great Depression and, with the help it got from the national New Deal, the Democratic Party for many years thereafter. However, the day for that sort of thing appears to be past, both because political parties today are less able to exercise the necessary internal discipline--witness the current situation in the Democratic Party hereabouts--and because the shift of population preponderance from the central city to those parts of the metropolis beyond has greatly complicated the task of coordination. And, even if a party were capable of doing the job, the idea of a narrowly controlled party organization standing-in for open and formal government is questionable.

Special Purpose Authorities

Then there are the special purpose authorities. Even when serving well the special purposes for which they were created, these authorities cause their own problems. They remove from democratically controlled general government many important functions, so that citizens are that much less inclined to give serious attention to those governments where their votes count directly. And, in recent times, the multiplication of such authorities has been the principal contributor to the further fragmentation of government within the metropolitan community. In both ways, the creation of authorities has weakened the process of democratic self-government locally.

Yet this is not to disparage their positive contributions. With their additional bond-issuing powers, authorities have permitted capitalization of major undertakings that debt-limited local governments could not handle. They have "taken out of politics" and applied business-like practices to some functions that have been much improved thereby. And perhaps most importantly, they have made it possible to organize public efforts across municipal boundaries

on a scale commensurate with the scope of the particular need. Their most significant shortcomings lie not in their deficits requiring sometimes unplanned tax subsidization nor in their occasional lapses into unbusiness-like management, but rather in some of the qualities purposely designed into them--in their special single purpose and non-political character.

By separating from general government such things as mass transportation, sanitary services, auditoriums, urban redevelopment and housing, etc., we have created a host of additional units of government to confuse the citizenry as to whom to hold responsible for what. For long, it was the incorporation of additional boroughs out of townships that caused most of the fragmenting of local government, but that has waned while the incorporating of special purpose authoities has taken over. From carving up geography, we have turned to carving up government by functions, but the result is the same insofar as concerns the citizens seeking an instrument of government capable of providing leadership for the articulation and pursuit of broad quality-of-life goals of the metropolitan community. With appointive boards, authorities are at least once removed from the voters and, with their special purposes, each is one more unit that needs to be coordinated with the many others.

Indeed, none of the governmental or quasi-governmental substitutes for metropolitan government comes as close to performing the function of articulation and pursuit of major community quality-of-life goals as do some non-governmental means. The concern here, it will be recalled, is with the kind of goals "which shape the community's developmental future, which set directions and determine priorities, and which are the stuff of visionary leadership." In regard to that, we need to look most especially at the private, corporate business elite sponsored Allegheny Conference on Community Development (ACCD). Also important are such associated and inter-locking private organizations as the Pennsylvania Economy League Western Division and the Southwestern Pennsylvania Regional Planning Commission, but the ACCD is generally conceded to be the linchpin. Let us focus in on it.

The ACCD has been widely and rightly credited with saving this city and environs from the downhill slide to dismal decay on which they seemed bent until World War II. It master-minded the Pittsburgh Renaissance, played the political game when and as necessary, dealt in the multi-millions of dollars and still, almost two decades under way, has yet to be seriously challenged as to acting in any way contrary to the general public interest and welfare.

With such a record, the ACCD would seem at first blush to be just what we are looking for but it, too, has its shortcoming for our purposes. Indeed, its success and the great reliance upon it inspired by that success may have contributed as much as anything else to the lack of confidence in and alienation from democratic general government in this metropolitan community. Its story, necessarily in brief here, is a revealing one.[4]

The Conference Enters a Vaccuum

The ACCD, founded in 1943, had for its first couple of years an executive committee consisting of five persons who then were or had been educators, several who were professional planners or researchers, and only two from business as such. However, from the outset it had the backing of Richard K. Mellon, to whom the idea had been taken by Wallace Richards, secretary of the Pittsburgh Regional Planning Association which Mellon headed, Robert Doherty, President of Carnegie Institute of Technology (now Carnegie-Mellon University) and Edward R. Weidlein, President of Mellon Institute. After 1945, the leadership of ACCD became predominantly corporate executive and has been so ever since. It is unabashedly a big business supported and led organization. It has not pretended in its roster of participants to be representative of the pluralistic community the welfare and progress of which it set out to promote.

However, ACCD's long-time executive director Park H. Martin, who had been Director of Planning for Allegheny County, recalls that one of his first moves in 1945 was to work with County Commission Chairman John J. Kane to get support of the ACCD's program written into the first city mayoralty campaign platform of David L. Lawrence. Thus was initiated an indirect alliance between the Mellon-led Republican big business element and the Lawrence-Kane Democratic labor-based political machine, and it quickly demonstrated its potency. It was able to get early action on Point State Park to replace the worst downtown eyesore, on Equitable Life's Gateway Center Development just above it, and on the control of smoke pollution and river flooding as the area's two worst physical plagues and image destroyers. With passage in 1947 of the "Pittsburgh Package" of facilitating state legislation, the ACCD was clearly established as a major, or perhaps the major, force in the community's affairs.

There followed one success after another that could be traced in part or in whole to the ACCD--the Penn-Lincoln Parkway, a public parking authority,

4. The following account is based largely on the "Narrative of the Allegheny Conference on Community Development and the Pittsburgh Renaissance, 1943-1959," by Park H. Martin, privately published, March, 1964.

Mellon Square Park, a county sanitary authority, a number of city parklets, the Pa Pitt's Partners cleanup campaign, a new airport and terminal buildings, a mass transit authority, a regional industrial development council, the expansion of Jones and Laughlin Steel's Southside mill with the help of an urban redevelopment authority, a county regional parks system, an educational television station, and many more.

It is interesting to note, though, the number of special purpose authorities that appear in the list of successes above, each of them "taking out of politics" some governmental function. Also interesting are some of the behind-the-scenes maneuvers such as those involved in the county regional parks system. To quote Mr. Martin:

> "After the passage of the bond issue on May 20, 1958, at the Conference Sponsors' Meeting in June, it was announced that the three Mellon foundations had acquired or had under agreement to purchase some 3,700 acres of land in Allegheny County which they were offering to the county at cost for park purposes, and that the County Commissioners had officially acted to accept the offer of the foundations...Rarely are there projects this size in the public interest that are handled as quietly and expeditiously and fairly as this one."

Of course, there's nothing really wrong with that either, but it does typify the ACCD's paternalistic mode of operation which, given the vacuum in metropolitan community government to be filled by the private ACCD, could hardly be otherwise. In material ways especially, the community has benefited immensely from just such operations of the ACCD and continues to do so now. The question persists, though, as to whether so much reliance on a private organization for public purposes is helping to erode confidence in democratic processes of formal government within the community. The dependency may be hazardous, too, in that the death of a couple of key persons like Richard K. Mellon and Alan M. Scaife can sap the vigor of so narrowly based an organization, leaving the community at least temporarily leaderless (as some opinion in our goals survey of community "influentials" holds it now to be).

It is perhaps reasonable to conclude that the community has been far better off with than it would have been without the ACCD, but also that continuing reliance on such an essentially paternalistic private organization is hazardous to the health of community self-government. Like resort to special purpose authorities and other alternatives to effective formal government for the metropolitan community, this course of action treats specific civic ailments at the price of debilitating side effects for the total body politic.

IV MISFITS IN METRO'S INTERNAL PARTS

Not alone the absence of an effective overall government for the metropolis but the creaking obsolescence of its internal parts needs to be taken into account. The modern metropolis, as real and significant a community as it has become, is not a homogeneous, unitary thing but a complex system of interdependent but distinguishable sub-communities. The metropolis is such a system, that is, economically and sociologically. Governmentally, it hardly can be called a system at all, so rusty and ill-fitting are what need to be its internal "working parts." Enough of the citizenry's lack of confidence in and disillusionment with local government derives from experience at this level that it, too, needs to be considered if we are to deal intelligently with the relationship between goals and government in the metropolis.

The problem is not that there are too few sub-units of government in relation to the number of sub-communities within the metropolis. After all, Allegheny County alone has 129 units of general government, plus perhaps as many more special purpose authorities, school districts and the like, while the greater metropolitan area has several hundred more. Neither, it must be noted, is it simply that the metropolis has too many sub-units of government, since some of these governmental units like Pittsburgh itself encompass and obscure several real and viable sub-communities. Rather the problem is that the subdividing pattern of governmental units within the metropolis bears little relation today to the economic and sociologic pattern of sub-communities, to the actual pattern of persons' interaction.

Some of the consequences of this misfit will need to be dealt with in relation to the metropolis' capability for articulating and pursuing major community goals, but first there is required an accounting for the existence and persistence of the misfit itself.

The urban sprawl that creates the modern metropolis overruns not virgin territory but areas which, while perhaps sparsely populated, have long ago been laid out into governmental units such as townships. Some of the already more densely populated parts have long since been incorporated as boroughs or even cities and their governmental boundaries tend to remain firmly fixed as the tide of metropolitan development sweeps over, around and beyond them. The geographic boundaries of governmental jurisdictions previously exist,

in other words, and usually remain very much as they have been even as the pattern of population distribution changes radically and as wholly different patterns of social interaction come into being in their midst. The result is that, beyond the central city and perhaps other encompassed cities, the coincidence of sub-unit of government to current real sub-community is likely to be just that--a coincidence.

Like other metropolises, Greater Pittsburgh has its legacy of oddities resulting from this process. We have townships, the governments of which were designed for rural areas, that have many times the population of many of our boroughs and even some of our lesser cities, the governments of which are presumably designed for more ubanized settings. Real estate development considerations have led to the creation of boroughs with minuscule areas and populations and with virtually none of the characteristics of distinguishable communities. And the process continues, for the appearance of huge new shopping centers and the move of industry to ranch-style plants in the outer-sectors of the metropolis radically reorder traffic and human interaction patterns and redefine communities, while the old governmental boundaries persist.

Within the central City of Pittsburgh,[5] the situation while different is not thereby better, for Pittsburgh is not a unitary community, sociologically speaking, but on the one hand is part of such a community which goes far beyond its boundaries and, on the other hand, encompasses within it a number of quite distinguishable sub-communities. These sub-communities have their own interests and concerns, their own organizations and institutions of various sorts, but they have no formal status governmentally. They are recognized in the popular parlance--Homewood-Brushton and The Hill, Hazelwood-Glenwood and Oakland, Squirrel Hill and Shadyside, Northside and Southside, and numerous others. My Pitt colleague Jim Cunningham and others have called these "district neighborhoods" to distinguish them from the smaller few-block neighborhoods and to indicate that they have the size, character and most institutional resources to qualify them as true sub-communities. What they do not have, though, is an effective formal means for reflecting their community character governmentally.

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5. The studies of two Forum participants develop more adequately than can be done here, the situation in the central city. They are James V. Cunningham, The Resurgent Neighborhood, Fides Publishers Inc., Notre Dame, Indiana, 1965; and Samuel P. Hays, "The Politics of Reform in Municipal Government in the Progressive Era," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, October, 1964, and "The Changing Political Structure of the City in Industrial America," University of Pittsburgh, June, 1970.

During roughly the same era when the idea of metropolitan government was becoming a public issue, as recounted for this region in Chapter II, the municipal reformers were centralizing governmental authority within the city itself. Ward representation on City Council was seen as the source of corruption, log-rolling and divisive parochialism that hobbled progress. The perspective of the power elite tended to be city-wide (or, as noted earlier, for some metropolis-wide), whereas the ward system of representation left substantial power in the hands of local leaders--saloonkeepers and the like in some instances. In the Progressive Era, good government required that this system be reformed away, and it was.

In Pittsburgh today, while wards still exist, not only the Mayor but all nine of the City Council members are elected at large. Ward chairmen have political party channels of sorts and councilmanic slates of the parties usually make some obeyance to localism within the City, but the formal government itself is a thoroughly centralized one (as is, for much the same historical reasons, the City's school system and board). While it can be conceded that there were good and compelling reasons for the development at the time it occurred, it also needs to be recognized that something of value also was sacrificed in the process. The City's "district neighborhoods" have to work from the outside upon the formal government of the City rather than work as an integral part of that government.

The consequences of the misfit of government sub-units to sub-communities, both within the central city and within the metropolis beyond, need to be considered along with the absence of effective metropolitan government. Indeed, an overall government for the metropolis might well be more a hazard than a help were it either to involve wiping out all sub-units of government or to be based on so obsolete a pattern of sub-units as the one that now exists here. The sub-communities within a metropolis provide a value something like that of genetic diversity, and the continuing vitality and development of the metropolitan community is largely dependent upon theirs.

The great difficulty in all this comes from the fact that, on the one hand, adjustments in the structure of government tend to be made slowly and timidly if at all whereas, on the other hand, the metropolis and its sub-communities have been changing rapidly and probably will continue to do so. Static forms and dynamic processes are a dangerous combination and can cause explosions.

V SOME PROPOSITIONS FOR DISCUSSION

This Greater Pittsburgh metropolis, like others throughout the country, has yet to meet its need for institutions of local self-government that will enable its citizens to articulate coherently and pursue effectively major community goals for improving the quality of urban life.

Such is the import of the preceding chapters. While the presentation so far has been critical of what exists and of most of what has been attempted, the intent has not been to reinforce a defeatist attitude nor to foreclose the future of the metropolis' effective self-government as being hopeless. Rather the intent has been to open the subject as widely as possible in order to invite consideration of potential courses of action that are as bold as the problem is challenging. And the problem of governing the metropolis, because it is instrumental to so many of our social goals, is perhaps the most challenging item on our domestic agenda. This concluding chapter, therefore, will present some deliberately contradictory propositions which hopefully will provoke and help to organize constructive discussion in the Forum.

Proposition No. 1

That we have in the new state constitutional provisions for "home rule" the requisite authority and opportunity to adapt the metropolis' system of government to our needs and we ought to concentrate efforts in that direction.

The state constitutional amendments adopted in 1968 include provisions for home-rule charters, for optional forms to update local government, and for combining and consolidating units of government. At this writing, these new constitutional provisions still require enabling legislation to guide their implementation. However, if the General Assembly does not act on the matter by the deadline of this April 23, local municipalities will be able to adopt their own charters without state guidelines. One way or the other, therefore, we are approaching a time of decision and ought to make the most of it.

At least three versions of implementing legislation have been introduced. One of these (HB 1444) is sponsored by the Shapp Administration and its Department of Community Affairs, and is supported by the League of Cities. Another (SB 752 and HB 1566) was prepared by the Local Government Commission and a third (HB 1155) is sponsored by the Allegheny County delegation in the House. What, if anything, will emerge from the General Assembly is still uncertain as the deadline for action by the Legislature nears.

Here in the Greater Pittsburgh metropolis itself there has been little activity recently. A county committee under Maurice Louik has been waiting for the General Assembly to set guidelines. A city citizens committee under Richard Thornburg reported toward the end of the previous city administration but Mayor Pete Flaherty's administration has not followed up so far. Mr. Thornburg, now the U. S. Attorney here, has been promoting consideration personally in speeches and in articles.[6] Despite the apparent apathy, which may be the product of the negative conditioning previously reviewed in this paper, the opportunity for action is at hand if the community wishes or can be stimulated to take it.

The argument for doing so is that, while the new constitutional provisions may not be all that might be desired, they are what is currently available and they are adequate, if fully exploited, to substantially improve the governmental system of the metropolis. Therefore, the case has it, we ought to get on with it and forego impractical pipe-dreaming over more nearly ideal solutions.

Proposition No. 2

That the metropolis has to be viewed as a radically new social phenomenon requiring radically new means of self-government, so that a wholly new approach capable of inspiring enthusiasm to overcome engrained apathy is called for.

The very concept of metropolis requires us to think about it differently than we have been accustomed to think about cities or other geographically defined governmental jurisdictions. The metropolis is not essentially a place or an area but an economically and sociologically defined pattern of interaction and interdependence among people. Since the spatial dimensions of that pattern can and do change rapidly, we need to free our thinking about the metropolis' governance from the idea of fixed land areas and geographic boundaries. A really effective metropolitan community government needs to be spatially flexible, so that it can be adjusted readily to the changing pattern of human interaction and interdependence that makes the metropolis.

What this approach implies is a system, probably state mandated, whereby the social interaction and interdependency patterns would be reanalyzed and reappraised regularly, perhaps once a decade, and the spatial dimensions of the metropolis redrawn accordingly. Sub-communities within the metropolis would be

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6. See his "Discussion of the Pros and Cons of Home Rule," Pittsburgh Legal Journal, March, 1971.

redefined similarly and as frequently, to provide a continuously adapting two-tiered structure of government for the continuously changing metropolitan community. If we can redistrict by decades for state legislative and national congressional representation, we ought to be able to do it for this purpose.

Admittedly there are practical difficulties involved, not the least of them stemming from the historic dependence of local governments upon a real property tax base. Already, though, there is a movement away from that dependence in the large urban complexes toward more equitable ways of assessing ability to pay and of distributing support for governmental services. This and similarly concrete problems are well within our technical competency to solve. The greatest difficulty is a psychological one, that of generating sufficient interest and enthusiasm in the minds of the metropolis' citizenry to sustain so major an undertaking as the fundamental restructuring of the governmental system of the urban complex.

Indeed, the argument here is--and Greater Pittsburgh's experience with metro would seem to confirm it--that only a bold new approach is likely to have any chance at all of overcoming the defeatist attitude to which urban dwellers have been conditioned regarding their local governments. The radicalness of this proposal's departure from political convention, therefore, is to its practical advantage. It offers at least the possibility of inspiring hope and confidence whereas more conservative approaches have demonstrated that they cannot, and this psychological change is prerequisite to any other significant changes in the metropolis' governance.

Proposition No. 3

The metropolis' capability for coherently articulating and effectively pursuing major community goals can be enhanced more by the enlightened efforts of non-governmental institutions and organizations than by any restructuring of government that is at all likely to be achievable, and our energies should be directed accordingly.

In the metropolis as anywhere else, the various and different and often conflicting goals of people get articulated and represented through non-governmental organizations which compete to exercise influence on or control of whatever governments are at hand. A metropolis' governmental system serves simply as a broker among these competing interests, so that restructuring of that system would only change the brokerage mechanics. Attention and effort instead should be concentrated on organizing outside of government in order to assure that the

goals of all segments of the metropolis' people are represented by equitable leverage and influence.

The Allegheny Conference on Community Development, as previously discussed, is an outstanding example of effective organizing outside of government in order to influence and guide an existing governmental system. It is unreasonable to fault it for the fact that those segments of the citizenry outside its elite roster are not as well or effectively represented. In any case, some of the other elements of the metropolis' population have been getting themselves organized in one way or another and have become more influential in dealing with the existing governmental system. The poor and the blacks are examples of this. And now to attempt to focus attention on the restructuring of government can be interpreted as a diversionary tactic, as a means for changing the system just when previously ignored or neglected groups are becoming able to use the system.

Even if it were politically feasible to restructure the government of the metropolis as suggested in Proposition No. 2 or even as in Proposition No. 1, it is not necessarily desirable because the very weakness and ineffectiveness of the fragmented and ill-fitting governmental system the metropolis now has leaves open the opportunity for the citizens to do for themselves through private organizations and institutions what a more vigorous governmental system would preempt. Better, this case has it, that we leave the governments of the metropolis much as they are and devote our efforts as a people to developing non-governmental institutions and organizations of metropolitan scope and pursue our major community goals through them.

The above propositions are meant to suggest that there are at least three general directions in which we might head (with the author's preference for Proposition No. 2 being acknowledged). Participants in the Forum, it is hoped, will consider these and others that may occur to them with the intent of clarifying the optimal feasible relationship between goals and government in this metropolitan community.