CITIZENS LEAGUE REPORT

No. 123

Reapportionment of Hennepin Co for the Election of Co. Commissioners

February 1961
TO: Board of Directors
FROM: Forms and Structure Committee, Mrs. Stanley G. Peterson, chairman
SUBJECT: Reapportionment of Hennepin County for the Election of County Commissioners.

As a result of the growing concern in Hennepin County, particularly in the suburban areas, over the inequitable representation of voters on the County Board of Commissioners, and the likelihood that serious efforts would be made in the 1961 Legislative session to correct it, the Board of Directors requested the Forms and Structure Committee in 1960 to prepare a report and recommendations for a Citizens League position.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions

1. The present representation on the Hennepin County Board grossly violates the basic democratic principle that voters should have equal power in the selection of their elected officials. At the extremes, the commissioner from the first district, in east Minneapolis and St. Anthony, represents 82,706 people, whereas the commissioner from the fifth district, including all the territory outside Minneapolis except St. Anthony, represents 355,238 people.

2. The major proposals for redistricting differ as to whether the Board should have five members, as at present, or seven members. Either of these seems acceptable from the standpoint of the functions and powers that the Board now has or is likely to have within the next decade. Since the Board's duties are largely administrative, however, the committee feels that a five member Board is preferable.

3. If the powers of the County continue to expand and the role of the County Board becomes more legislative, the question of the number of commissioners will need to be reexamined, as well as the question of whether the Board should continue to be elected entirely on a district basis. At this point, however, the desirability of expansion of the County's functions and the legislative powers of the County Board is uncertain.

4. The major proposals for redistricting (the County Board proposal - H.F. 856#, and the Parish-Peterson proposals - H.F. 813 and H.F. 815) have their strengths and weaknesses. However, all would assure a more equitable representation on the County Board than can exist under present law.

* This proposal was endorsed by a 4 to 1 majority of the County Board, with suburban Commissioner S. Earl Ainsworth voting NO.
Recommendations

The Citizens League of Minneapolis and Hennepin County, through action by its Board of Directors, recommends that:

1. The Legislature adopt a law to rectify the present inequitable representation on the Hennepin County Board of Commissioners.

2. The Legislature give favorable consideration to a bill combining the principal features contained in the redistricting proposal submitted by the Hennepin County Board of Commissioners (H.F. 856) and the two proposals submitted by representatives Parish and Peterson (H.F. 813 and H.F. 815). Any such modified bill should include provisions to:

   (a) Make reapportionment mandatory following each decennial census, with adequate safeguards to insure that reapportionment is actually carried out.

   (b) Establish a 10% deviation from the average district population as the maximum deviation permitted for any commissioner district. Under the 1960 census figures showing a total Hennepin County population of 842,845, the average population per district is 168,569 persons under a five-member board, and 121,835 persons under a seven-member board. Using the 10% maximum deviation, the minimum population for any district under a five-member board would be 151,771, and the maximum population would be 185,425; and under a seven-member board the minimum would be 109,651 and the maximum would be 134,019.

   (c) Abolish the existing prohibition against districts including territory both inside and outside the City of Minneapolis.

   (d) Assure that under the 1960 census figures a majority of the population in each of two districts under a five-member board and in each of three districts under a seven-member board would be residents of areas outside the City of Minneapolis.
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X. League appraisal.

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"B"  Maps and Parish-Peterson proposals.
I. RESEARCH SCOPE AND METHOD

The committee examined the existing statutes governing representation on the Hennepin County Board of Commissioners, analyzed the County Board and Parish-Peterson proposals (those presented to the 1959 Legislature and those now being offered), and heard explanations of their proposals by commissioners Matthews, Hanson, Swanson, and Ainsworth, and State representatives Parish and Peterson.

The committee was briefed on the general background of county government by Orville C. Peterson, executive secretary of the League of Minnesota Municipalities. The committee also received information and opinions about the Hennepin County government from the representatives and commissioners. The committee relied on the League staff for general research assistance.

II. POWERS AND ACTIVITIES OF THE COUNTY BOARD

An appreciation of the role of the County government, and that of the County Board within the government, is basic to consideration of representation on the Board.

Historically, counties were geographical subdivisions of the state for the performance of state functions in local areas. Hennepin County still retains much of this emphasis in the functions it performs - welfare, judicial administration, recording of legal documents, collection of taxes, construction of roads; and in the degree of discretion it exercises in performing them - detailed direction through legislation and, increasingly in recent years, through state administrative supervision and standards. However, the movement is more in the direction of permissive legislation for the County allowing the County to take on new activities but not requiring it to do so.

The Hennepin County Board of Commissioners is mainly the central administrative body of the County, but it also has certain quasi-legislative and quasi-judicial powers. Examples of the quasi-legislative powers are the power to adopt a budget within certain limits, to set the property tax levy for the general fund, the welfare fund, and the sanatorium fund, to appoint the lay members of the Sanatorium Commission, to set salaries for some employees, to issue liquor licenses in unincorporated areas, and to determine where roads shall be constructed.

Examples of the quasi-judicial powers are the power to dissolve school districts and attach their territories to adjoining districts (this power does not extend to the Minneapolis School District), to allow property of residents of one school district to be set off to an adjoining district, and to act as a board of assessment equalization.

Most of the County Board's activities have county-wide application, but as indicated above, some extend only to the non-Minneapolis part. Examples of the latter include the work of the supervisor of assessments, who gives advice and assistance to local assessors outside the City of Minneapolis, the County Board's control over school district dissolutions and boundary changes, and improvement of certain lakes.
III. FUTURE ROLE OF THE COUNTY AND THE COUNTY BOARD.

It is good general practice to look beyond immediate conditions when proposing changes in laws, in view of the difficulties of amending laws once enacted and the value of making laws adaptable to changing conditions. With reference to representation on the County Board, this means deciding these basic questions:

Is the Hennepin County government likely in the foreseeable future to move more in the direction of local self-government? Is the County Board likely to become more of a legislative body?

Viewing recent history, it seems likely that the County will increasingly operate under enabling legislation, permitting it to extend its operations into new fields of activity, and that the responsibilities of the County Board will increase. This seems to be an inevitable extension of recent tendencies, and an inevitable continuance of the nationwide increase in governmental responsibilities at all levels, particularly in the large urban centers, such as Hennepin County.

In view of these tendencies, it seems that the question that should most concern the citizens of Hennepin County is: Should the county government be altered to meet these changes in our area, or should we make some other type of adjustment in the arrangement of local governments in this area? Specifically, are the types of governmental problems that increasingly seem to call for action by the county government the type that in the long run will best be handled by a unit of government with a larger area of jurisdiction, such as a metropolitan government?

The Forms and Structure Committee is studying this basic problem, but as yet has reached no conclusion. On this conclusion will depend the answer to the questions of whether the County should seek more home rule, and whether the County Board will need to become more of a legislative body.

At the moment the County does not have home rule, nor the availability of the greater flexibility of an optional form of government, and present indications are that these are not likely to come for a number of years. Thus, the powers of the county generally and the county board particularly are not likely to undergo any basic changes in the near future, although they will be likely to continue to expand gradually along the lines they have the past 10 or 15 years.

This view of the present and immediate future governs our appraisal of the proposals for reapportioning the County Board.

IV. THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUITABLE REPRESENTATION

The committee subscribes to the principle that in our democratic society, people have a right to equal representation as individuals in the selection of those who govern, whether they are administrative or legislative officials. For the vesting of equal power of selection in all in the long run is the best guarantee of equal treatment for all, whether on administrative or legislative decisions.
On the basis of this principle, the committee can not agree with those who may defend the present representation on the County Board on the ground that present commissioners do not regard themselves as representing a district when making their decisions, but rather take the overall approach to problems.

Much has been said and written in both Minneapolis and the suburbs about the fairness or unfairness of County Board decisions as they affect the City and suburbs, a lot of which has not been based on fact or has been exaggerated. However, as already noted, the County Board does as a matter of law exercise certain powers only with respect to suburbs (operations of the supervisor of assessments, school district boundaries), and on the other hand by law it provides certain services that are of principal benefit to the non-Minneapolis area (lake improvement) which are financed by taxes levied county-wide, including the City.

Possibly those who complain the most about discrimination of the present County Board on matters relating to just one part of the County would be satisfied only if those powers were removed from the Board, or were made County-wide in application. There is no denying, however, that these complaints would be less justified if there were equal representation, person for person, throughout the County.

V. THE PRESENT LAW AND REPRESENTATION ON THE HENNEPIN COUNTY BOARD

Representation on the Hennepin County Board is provided for in Laws of Minnesota, 1929, Chapter 381, a special act for Hennepin County.

It provides for five commissioners, with four elected by district within the City of Minneapolis and one from outside the City, except that the first district within Minneapolis shall also include the village of St. Anthony. (See Map, Appendix "A")

The law specifically provides that no part of Hennepin County outside of Minneapolis shall be included with any part of Minneapolis in any commissioner district, with the exception noted above.

With respect to redistricting, the law says:

"In case of any change in the interior boundaries of any wards of such city (Minneapolis), or in case it appears after any state or federal census that 35 per cent or more of the population of the city of the first class in such county is contained in any one such district, the county board shall and in any event after any such census the county board may change the boundaries of any such districts thereby affected or may redistrict such territory so that such districts shall be composed of contiguous territory and shall be equal in population as nearly as practicable and so that the interior boundaries thereof shall as near as practicable follow city boundary lines."

Thus the law provides that the County Board shall act when it finds certain population conditions after state or federal census, but it specifically limits four commissioners to Minneapolis (plus St. Anthony) and one to the rest of the County. There is no provision for petition or referendum on the Board's acting.
The distribution of population among the five districts on the basis of the official 1950 federal census and the official 1960 federal census is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>1950 Population</th>
<th>1950 Percent of county total</th>
<th>1960 Population</th>
<th>1960 Percent of county total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>84,963</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>82,706</td>
<td>9.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>136,410</td>
<td>20.1%</td>
<td>125,235</td>
<td>14.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>189,868</td>
<td>28.0%</td>
<td>177,307</td>
<td>21.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>111,883</td>
<td>16.5%</td>
<td>102,359</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>154,861</td>
<td>22.9%</td>
<td>355,238</td>
<td>42.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>677,985</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>842,845</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The official 1960 census figures clearly show the disparity of representation that now exists, particularly between district 5 (suburban and rural Hennepin) and the City districts, but also among the City districts.

Generally speaking, a vote in east Minneapolis and St. Anthony has over four times as much influence in the selection of a County Commissioner as a vote cast in St. Louis Park, Hopkins, Plymouth or any other section of the fifth County Commissioner District.

VI. ELECTION BY DISTRICT VS ELECTION AT LARGE

Acknowledging the need for fair representation for suburban and rural Hennepin, it is legitimate to ask whether this could and should be attained by election at large, in part or whole, rather than strictly on a district basis.

The committee believes this is an academic question at this time in the light of the present state of feelings on the part of suburban and rural Hennepin, and the likelihood of their feeling that, with Minneapolis' continued predominance of total population (about 55% by the 1960 census) it would select more than its proportion of total commissioners at an at-large election. Serious interjection of the idea at this time would probably obstruct achievement of the most urgent need: fair apportionment.

Recognizing the practicalities of the situation, the committee nevertheless believes that the issue of at-large representation deserves serious consideration by the entire County in the future, for it has an advantage that can not be provided by the district system. This is the greater assurance of representation of the County-wide viewpoint. As the County comes to take on more activities and as the interdependence of all parts of the County grows, in line with the recent trend, this will be an increasingly important consideration.
The leading proposals for legislation to reapportion the Hennepin County Board are put forth by (1) four members of the County Board, who represent present districts in Minneapolis (one district also includes St. Anthony village), and (2) State representatives Richard A. Parish and C. Donald Peterson, who represent the north and south halves of the 36th Legislative district, which encompasses all of suburban and rural Hennepin.

Bills incorporating the general features of these proposals were drafted for the 1959 Legislature, and a Parish-Peterson bill (H. F. 368, 1959 Legislature) was reported out by the House Committee on Counties and Towns. However, no bill was approved by the Hennepin County legislative delegation.

Since 1959 both groups of authors have made modifications in their plans. These have not changed the fundamental points, except that representatives Parish and Peterson are now offering a five-member alternative to their seven-member proposal of 1959. The proposals have now been introduced in the Minnesota House of Representatives as H. F. 813 and H. F. 815 (the Parish-Peterson proposals), and H. F. 856 (the County Board proposal).

The comparative provisions are summarized in the following four pages. (For purpose of this analysis the County Board proposal is the name given to the one supported by the four Minneapolis commissioners and opposed by the commissioner from suburban and rural Hennepin.)
### COMPARISON OF COUNTY BOARD PROPOSAL AND PARISH-PETERSON PROPOSALS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTY BOARD PROPOSAL (H.F. 856)</th>
<th>PARISH-PETERSON PROPOSAL: 1 (H.F. 813)</th>
<th>PARISH-PETERSON PROPOSAL: 2 (H.F. 815)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1) NUMBER OF COMMISSIONERS</td>
<td>Seven.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Five.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2) PROVISIONS FOR REDISTRICTING ON</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BASIS OF 1960 CENSUS.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(a) Location of districts.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Distributed throughout County so as to</td>
<td>Three in Minneapolis (plus St. Anthony),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>contain contiguous territory.</td>
<td>two in suburban and rural Hennepin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Six months after filing of official 1960</td>
<td>Four in Minneapolis (plus St.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>census figures, or within six months of</td>
<td>Anthony), three in suburban and rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>effective date of act, whichever is later.</td>
<td>Hennepin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The incumbent County Board.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>County Board &quot;shall&quot; act. But there is no</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>enforcement mechanism, and no specifi-</td>
<td>Redistricting is certain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cation of maximum population deviation</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to provide clear condition for redistri-</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cting action.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(d) Is redistricting certain?</td>
<td>Same as H.F. 813.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Redistricting is certain.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(e) Standards for size, shape of new</td>
<td>Same as H.F. 813, but with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>districts.</td>
<td>different boundaries, popula-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Districts shall be bounded by town, vil-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lage, ward or precinct lines, composed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boundaries specifically set forth in sta-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tute. (See Appendix &quot;B&quot; for boundaries</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
of contiguous territory, and contain as nearly as practicable an equal population but no city of the second, third, or fourth class shall be in more than two county commissioner districts.

No restriction on constituting a district to include territory both inside and outside Minneapolis. Boundary lines may also divide up other municipalities and towns, but cities other than Minneapolis may not be in more than two districts.

No referendum required or permitted.

November 1962.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTY BOARD PROPOSAL (H.F. 856)</th>
<th>PARISH-PETTERSON PROPOSAL: 1 (H.F. 813)</th>
<th>PARISH-PETTERSON PROPOSAL: 2 (H.F. 815)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maintain contiguous territory.</td>
<td>rest of the County is frozen, although Minneapolis could have but two of the five. Thus redistricting could only assure that Minneapolis districts would be equitable among themselves, and the rest of the districts would be equitable among themselves (see Section VIII below for further discussion.).</td>
<td>the split between Minneapolis and the rest of the County is frozen on a four-three or three-four basis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within six months of official filing of future federal censuses.</td>
<td>No provision.</td>
<td>Same as H.F. 813.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incumbent County Board.</td>
<td>Incumbent County Board.</td>
<td>Same as H.F. 813.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County Board &quot;shall&quot; act, if it appears that 25% or more of population of County is in any commissioner district. But there is no enforcement mechanism.</td>
<td>County Board &quot;shall&quot; act. But there is no specification of maximum population deviation to provide clear condition for redistricting action. There is no enforcement mechanism.</td>
<td>Same as H.F. 813.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Districts shall be bounded by town, village, ward or precinct lines, composed of contiguous territory, and contain as nearly as practicable an equal population, but no city of the second, third, or fourth class shall be in more than two county commissioner districts.</td>
<td>No standards, except that no districts shall contain territory both inside and outside Minneapolis (with exception of St. Anthony).</td>
<td>Same as H.F. 813.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
COMPARISON - continued (h)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTY BOARD PROPOSAL (H.F. 856)</th>
<th>PARISH-PETERSON PROPOSAL: 1 (H.F. 813)</th>
<th>PARISH-PETERSON PROPOSAL: 2 (H.F. 815)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

No restriction on constituting a district to include territory both inside and outside Minneapolis. Boundary lines may also divide up other municipalities and towns, but cities other than Minneapolis may not be in more than two districts.

(f) Respect for municipal boundary lines.

Districts clearly separate Minneapolis from rest of County (except for inclusion of St. Anthony with Minneapolis). Other municipalities are not split up by district boundaries.

(g) Action required to approve redistricting.

By County Board. No referendum required or permitted.

By County Board. No referendum required or permitted.

Same as H.F. 813.
VIII. EFFECT ON FUTURE REDISTRICTING OF PARISH-PETERSON PROPOSAL SEPARATING MINNEAPOLIS FROM REST OF COUNTY

As indicated in the preceding comparison, the Parish-Peterson proposals specify boundaries that retain the split between Minneapolis (plus St. Anthony) and the rest of the County in setting up districts. A split is to be perpetuated in redistrictings by the County Board following future censuses, that is, no part of a Minneapolis (plus St. Anthony) district may include territory from the rest of the County.

Presumably following future censuses the County Board could shift an entire district from Minneapolis to suburban Hennepin. In other words, while H.F. 813 specifies that Minneapolis shall have three of the five districts in 1960, the shift of population to suburban Hennepin County by 1970 might be such as to justify giving suburban Hennepin County more representation. The only way this could be accomplished under H.F. 813 would be to take an entire district away from Minneapolis and give it to the rest of the County.

The barrier that this provision places in the way of approximating equal populations among the districts following future censuses is illustrated by the following figures, based on population projections prepared by the Twin Cities Metropolitan Planning Commission.

1970 Redistricting

Assumption A. Minneapolis 3 districts, suburban Hennepin 2 districts.

(H.F. 813)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>% of Population</th>
<th>% of Representation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Minneapolis</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rest of County</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Assumption B: Minneapolis 2 districts, suburban Hennepin 3 districts.

(H.F. 813)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>% of Population</th>
<th>% of Representation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Minneapolis</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rest of County</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Assumption C: Minneapolis 4 districts, suburban Hennepin 3 districts.

(H.F. 815)
It is clear that the necessity of following the Minneapolis boundary in redistricting would impose an inflexibility that would inevitably lead to a distortion of representation. Under H.F. 813 (Assumptions A and B), for example, districts in Minneapolis representing 49% of the population would have 60% or 40% of the representation, depending on whether the "swing" district was inside or outside Minneapolis. Under H.F. 815 (Assumptions C and D), with seven commissioners Minneapolis districts with 49% of the population would have 57% or 43% of the representation.

Under the County Board proposal, on the other hand, the only legal limitation on the Board's redrawing of district lines would be the requirement that no village or city other than Minneapolis should be in more than two districts. This would not impose a serious obstacle to a redistricting that would result in a far closer approximation to population distribution throughout the county than H.F. 813 and H.F. 815.

IX. EXPLANATION OF THE PROPOSALS BY THEIR AUTHORS

From its study of the rival proposals and meetings with the respective authors, the League committee heard these arguments for the two proposals:

1. County Board proposal.
   a. Representation should be on the basis of equal population, as nearly as practicable.

   b. Five commissioners are perfectly capable of discharging the largely administrative duties of the County Board. Many larger counties in the country have five commissioners or even three.

   c. The present commissioners take the county-wide view in performing their administrative, quasi-legislative and quasi-judicial responsibilities. There is no
basis for the contention that the City commissioners discriminate against suburban Hennepin.

d. Certain parts of Minneapolis have more in common politically, economically and culturally with certain parts of suburban Hennepin than they do with other parts of Minneapolis. Examples are the similarity between Minneapolis' 13th ward and Edina, or north Minneapolis and Robbinsdale.

e. Division along the Minneapolis boundary line deepens an antagonism that is unwarranted by the facts and is harmful to the future development of the county as an integrated local unit of government.

f. District boundaries should not be frozen in the statute, nor left to legislative manipulation, removed from local control. If redistricting is left to the County Board, subject to population limits and contiguity of area and time requirements, the Board will have to act to reapportion fairly and expeditiously or it will be subject to court action.

2. Parish-Peterson proposals

a. It is fundamental to democracy that representation be based on population as nearly as practicable.

b. The County Board has important powers over rural and suburban Hennepin, particularly regarding assessment equalization and school district boundaries, which the Minneapolis-dominated Board has exercised unfairly from the point of view of that area. Suburban Hennepin needs fair representation as an area separate from Minneapolis to protect itself in these matters.

c. Alternative 1
(seven-member Board)
Expanding the Board to seven by adding two suburban commissioners will equalize representation without requiring an unseating of incumbent commissioners from the City. This will make the plan more palatable to the City commissioners.

c. Alternative 2
(five-member Board)
Enlargement of the Board can not be justified from the standpoint of the duties of the Board. To achieve equal representation within the framework of a separation of City and suburbs will necessitate reduction of Minneapolis representation from four to three.

X. LEAGUE APPRAISAL OF LEADING PROPOSALS FOR REAPPORTIONMENT

County Board proposal

Major advantages of this plan are:

1. It provides for redistricting, even though the action of redistricting is not as certain as by direct provision in the statute.

2. Abolition of the existing prohibition against districts' including territory inside and outside the City of Minneapolis is likely to help reduce the unhealthy tensions between City and suburbs, an end to be sought in the interest of greater intergovernmental cooperation in the County and the metropolitan area.
3. Abolition of the above-mentioned boundary requirement also removes a substantial obstacle to achievement of equitable representation for all the people in Hennepin County, because of an inflexibility that the Minneapolis boundary necessarily imposes on any redistricting program.

4. The proposal retains the five-member Board. While the committee does not feel the issue of five or seven members is crucial, it is not convinced that the scope and nature of County Board responsibility, now and in the immediate future, are of the kind that warrant addition of two more commissioners at salaries of $7,000 each.

5. Making the County Board responsible for future redistricting after each decennial census is consistent with home rule, and avoids the likely future repetition of struggles in the Legislative delegation.

**Major disadvantages of the County Board proposal are:**

1. Vesting the power to redistrict on the basis of the 1960 census in the present Board may result in very oddly-shaped districts not consistent with the usual objective of providing contiguous, compact territory, in view of the fact that the Board probably would be inclined to act so as not to unseat any of the incumbent four City commissioners. However, this type of redistricting is not an inevitable result. The proposal protects the tenure of all incumbents, for the duration of their term at the time of redistricting, even if the redistricting places them outside the district for which elected. However, they could qualify for reelection to that district by moving prior to expiration of their terms to reestablish residential eligibility.

2. The proposal leaves a serious doubt that redistricting would be accomplished following the 1960 census because:

   a. It fails to provide that the Board must redistrict if the census shows that any district exceeds a specified percentage deviation from the average population per district.

   b. It fails to provide an enforcement mechanism, such as in the Minneapolis charter. The Minneapolis charter gives the City Council three months to redistrict its wards, and if it fails to act, the Ward Boundary Commission, consisting of the Mayor, Comptroller, and Treasurer, is required to redistrict. Other enforcement machinery is possible.

3. Lack of an enforcement mechanism referred to in 2(b) also leaves a serious doubt that redistricting would be accomplished following 1970 and subsequent censuses.

**Parish-Peterson proposals**

**Major advantages of the Parish-Peterson proposals are:**

1. The redistricting provides positive assurance that the under-represented area outside Minneapolis would get more equitable representation immediately.
2. The statute itself accomplishes the redistricting for 1960.

3. Assuring suburban Hennepin three of the seven members of the Board, or two of the five members, would give that area less cause for future suspicion of the actions of the Minneapolis members of the Board, with the likely result of improved feelings and deemphasis of the imagined or real differences between Minneapolis and the rest of the County.

4. As a matter of home rule, it is better to give the County Board redistricting responsibilities following the 1970 and subsequent censuses than to have to resort to the Legislature. (However, this proposal seriously handicaps the County Board in making equitable reapportionment in 1970 and subsequently, as indicated in Section VIII above.)

**Major disadvantages** of the Parish-Peterson proposals are:

1. They perpetuate the distinct separation between Minneapolis and the rest of the County in the membership on the Board.

2. As the County's population balance continues to move toward suburban and rural Hennepin, freezing of districts to a four-three or three-two division between Minneapolis and the rest of the County would cause disparities between the average population of Minneapolis districts and the average population of districts outside Minneapolis, regardless of how conscientiously the County Board sought to redistrict following 1970 and subsequent censuses.

3. Even within the redistricting limitations referred to in (2), equitable apportionment would be left further in doubt following 1970 and subsequent censuses because:
   a. The proposals fail to provide that the Board must redistrict if the census shows that any district exceeds a specified percentage deviation from the average population per district.
   b. They fail to provide an enforcement mechanism in case the County Board refuses to act.
   c. They fail to specify a time within which the Board must act.

4. Expansion to a seven-member Board under H.F. 815 is less desirable than retention of a five-man Board.

**COMMITTEE'S CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

See pages 1 and 2 above.
APPENDIX A

HENNEPIN COUNTY

MAP OF EXISTING COUNTY COMMISSIONER DISTRICTS

Showing 1950 and 1960 population in each

City of Minneapolis

1950: 111,883
1960: 102,359

1950: 81,963
1960: 82,706

1950: 136,410
1960: 125,235

1950: 154,861
1960: 355,238

1950: 189,868
1960: 177,307
Appendix B

PARISH-PETTERSON PROPOSALS FOR REAPPORTIONMENT HENNEPIN COUNTY COMMISSIONER DISTRICTS: 1960

Seven-member Board (H.F. 815)

No. 7 is present north half of 36th legislative district.

No. 5 is present south half of 36th legislative district, less area in district 6.

Minneapolis: 1, 2, 3, 4.

Five-member Board (H.F. 813)

No. 5 is all area outside Mpls. and St. Anthony except area in district 4.

Minneapolis: 1, 2, 3.

No. 4 includes Bloomington, Richfield, Edina, Morningside, St. Louis Park, Hopkins, and Ft. Snelling reservation.