


CITIZENS LEAGUE REPORT



**SUB-URBS
IN THE
CITY**

**Ways to expand participation and representation in
Minneapolis government**

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The Citizens League, founded in 1952, is an independent, non-partisan educational organization in the Twin Cities Area, with some 3,600 members, specializing in questions of government planning, finance and organization.

Citizens League reports, which provide assistance to public officials and others in finding solutions to complex problems of local government, are developed by volunteer research committees, supported by a fulltime professional staff.

Membership is open to the public. The League's annual budget is financed by annual dues of \$10 (\$15 for family memberships) and contributions from more than 600 businesses, foundations and other organizations.

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CITIZENS LEAGUE REPORT

SUB-URBS

IN THE

CITY

Ways to expand participation and representation
in Minneapolis government

Prepared by
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Minority Representation in Local Government
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Approved by
Citizens League Board of Directors
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MAJOR IDEAS

- * Minneapolis government is having increasing trouble winning the "consent of the governed" for the difficult things that must be done in the older inner city. A new system of decision-making -- based on a much-improved system of representation for its people -- is imperative, if the problems of the city are to be effectively and speedily resolved.
- * Changes have outrun the ability of the present system -- substantially unaltered in 100 years -- to represent the population adequately. More and more, the city's population is changing from a collection of middle-class home-owning families and upper-income professionals to one of diverse groups: single young people. . . large poor families. . . low-income elderly. . . blacks and Indians. More and more, too, there is a separation between the interests of business, professional and labor leaders who continue to work and have an interest in the city but are no longer residents. Most basic, the job of the city has fundamentally changed. It is no longer platting open land, nor is it simply keeping house. Nor -- contrary to the expectation a decade ago -- is it a builder of major urban facilities. Its task is now, and in the coming decade, the reconstruction of the physically and socially deteriorated neighborhoods . . . the rebuilding of the communities within which its people live.
- * We have waited too long, already, to begin developing the new arrangements for securing consent which this job of remodeling existing neighborhoods requires. The consequences are visible all around us: the refusal of the poor and the black to accept decisions of agencies in which they have no voice; the rejection of major road improvements; opposition to new schools and new school programs; efforts, most recently, to halt the rebuilding and even the programs directed to maintenance of residential areas until affected persons are able to participate.
- * These protests cannot be brushed away as the misguided efforts of a self-interested few. Their growing volume, and their growing influence, reflect a real failure of the present system to involve the people most affected in an early and a meaningful way in the decisions about the nature of the changes that must take place.
- * We need a "finer screen" of elections that will represent diverse groups of people -- particularly racial and economic minorities -- more faithfully. And we need to knit their representatives into the city decision-making in a more effective way.
- * Because we want these representatives of these various groups to play a significant, formal role . . . not simply to be advising and pressuring from the outside . . . our approach to representation must be geographic. Neighborhoods and communities will be the units of representation -- not economic or social groups directly.

. IN OUR REPORT

* We propose a double approach.

-- There should be a new opportunity for people to group together within the ten communities of Minneapolis identified by the City Planning Commission. Community councils should be established, built out of elections within the neighborhoods. These councils will be the voice of the communities to the City Council, and to every level of government seeking a representative committee of citizens to advise on its programs.

-- There should also be a new opportunity for representation at the city-wide level. Seats at-large should be added to the City Council, for which new coalitions of groups can contest. This will add an important new dimension to representation, while tending to balance the decision-making system.

* We believe these changes in representation should, and can, be brought about by the City Council. We hope the Council will act. Should it not, we think an improved system of representation is of sufficient importance that the change should be initiated by the State Legislature.

* The basic, continuing, positive responsibility of the Community councils will be to work out, and to present to the City Council, their own ideas of what they want their communities -- Northeast. . . Kenwood-Isles. . . University. . . North Side -- to be. And, of course, what they want their Community councils to be doing in the future.

* This new opportunity for the neighborhoods to participate need not impair the city's ability to make hard decisions. Irresponsible protest activity will be required to meet the test of responsibility. Individuals who now proclaim themselves spokesmen for the people will be required to gain their legitimacy through the ballot. Separate, different, special-purpose citizen advisory bodies will be brought together into a recognized Community council concerned with, and knowledgeable about, a broad range of city problems.

* Finally, a stronger system of representation should be balanced by a stronger system of executive leadership and administration. The present diffusion of responsibility in Minneapolis government among the Mayor, Coordinator, and City Council President should -- and can -- also be eliminated. See Citizens League report, "Who Will Help Us Get Action?", April 25, 1969.

* For a summary of specific recommendations, see page 23.

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THE PROBLEM OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION AND
MINORITY REPRESENTATION IN MINNEAPOLIS

I. The system of representation is not effectively operating in Minneapolis!

Statements and actions by many people and groups during the past two years have called for changes in the operation of the system of representation in Minneapolis, particularly for the involvement of citizens in decisions affecting them and the representation of all interests, including minorities, on policy-making boards. These requests are an understandable response to major changes in the city and to programs which increasingly affect growing numbers of residents. As such, however, they are only a few of many signs indicating possible breakdowns in the system. It is time we recognize these conditions and, within constitutional limits, move to make the changes necessary to rebuild an effective, representative system of local government.

A. Signs indicate breakdowns in the operation of the representative system.

We are disturbed about many current signs which indicate possibly serious breakdowns in the operation of the representative system in local government and a consequent reduction of confidence in it. These appear in demands for recognition of the problems of minorities and low-income people in policy decisions; demands for the representation of minorities on elective and appointive policy-setting boards; a petition for a charter amendment to permit a referendum on all actions of the City Council; low voter turnout in local elections; the low level of participation by people in organizations searching for and presenting candidates for local offices; and the complaints of citizens in attempting to obtain rapid satisfaction for their grievances.

1. Statements by minorities demand representation for those who have been left out of policy decisions.

Minority persons (black or Indian) have had limited representation in the political parties, and few have been elected to governing bodies or been appointed to the numerous advisory boards and commissions. Prior to the demand for representation by the Black Coalition in April, 1968, only three black people had ever been elected to local public office ^{1/}, and only a handful had ever been appointed to boards and commissions. This situation--plus recognition that such representation is one of the most important channels for voicing concern for the problems experienced by these people and a way of assuring consideration for their interests in deliberations leading to public policies--led to two demands by the Black Coalition, as follows:

Representatives of the black community recommend that:

"Since the establishment of the City Council black people in this community have never been represented, (therefore) all necessary steps (must) be taken to have a councilman-at-large selected by the black community to be appointed by the City Council

1/ Mrs. Nellie S. Johnson - elected to the Library Board in 1945.
L. Howard Bennett - elected to the School Board in 1963.
John Warder - elected to the School Board in 1965.

"All policy and decision-making boards have adequate representation from the black community . . . and all programs be subject to review and consultation with representatives before being initiated. The black community refuses to accept programs and policies established without their interests and desires being known."

These statements express in an explicit manner the desire that minorities be recognized and involved in the development of policies and programs affecting them. The lack of such representation is a major indication that the system of representation is not effectively operating, as it does not include representation of the views and positions of sizable segments of the population.

2. Disruption of meetings and conflict in the community express frustration with the present system of representation.

The verbal conflict and disruption of numerous meetings of bodies such as the Mobilization of Economic Resources (MOER) Board, Citizens Community Center (CCC) Board, Pilot City and the Urban Coalition organizations, formed in response to the problems of racism and poverty, are expressive in part of the frustration with the present representative system, its responsiveness and effectiveness. This condition of frustration can only contribute to an atmosphere of conflict and even despair. The National Advisory Committee on Civil Disorders has observed that:

"Viewed from the perspective of the ghetto resident, city government appears distant and unconcerned, the possibility of effective change remote. As a result, tension rises perceptibly; the explosion comes as the climax to a progression of tension-generating incidents. To the city administration, unaware of this growing tension or unable to respond effectively to it, the outbreak of disorder comes as a shock."

3. Dissatisfaction with the operation of the system of representation and a lack of communication with residents, particularly in the inner cities, is a problem in many large central cities.

Demands for changes to the system of representation are not unique to Minneapolis. They are observed in many large cities and by large groups throughout the country, including national citizen commissions such as the Advisory Committee on Civil Disorders, which commented in part:

There is a widening gulf in communications between local government and the residents of the erupting ghettos of the city. As a result, ghetto residents develop a profound sense of isolation and alienation from the processes and programs of government. This lack of communication exists for all residents in our larger cities; it is, however, far more difficult to overcome for low income, less educated citizens who are disproportionately supported by and dependent upon programs administered by agencies of local government. Consequently, they are more often subject to real or imagined official misconduct ranging from abrasive contacts with public officials to arbitrary administrative actions."

Ghetto residents increasingly believe that they are excluded from the decision-making process which affects their lives and community. This feeling of exclusion, intensified by the bitter legacy of racial discrimination, has engendered a deep-seated hostility toward the institutions of government. It has severely compromised the effectiveness of programs intended to provide improved services to ghetto residents.

* * *

No democratic society can long endure the existence within its major urban centers of a substantial number of citizens who feel deeply aggrieved as a group, yet lack confidence in the government to rectify perceived injustice and in their ability to bring about needed change.

* * *

To meet the needs identified above, we recommend pursuit of a comprehensive strategy, which would accomplish the following goals:

- . Effective communication between ghetto residents and local government.
 - . Improved ability of local government to respond to the needs and problems of ghetto residents.
 - . Expanded opportunities for indigenous leadership to participate in shaping decisions and policies which affect their community.
 - . Increased accountability of public officials.
4. A petition for a charter amendment to permit referendum and initiative for city ordinances indicates a lack of confidence in the operation of the system of representation.

Recent efforts by a group of citizens have resulted in a petition for amendment to the city charter to permit a referendum on all actions of the City Council within 90 days following such action, to require a referendum on urban renewal projects in the areas affected, and to permit enactment of ordinances by initiative.

This petition reflects dissatisfaction with the present way decisions are made and is basically an expression of 15,000 citizens in search for a means to permit them to directly participate in making decisions, ratifying urban renewal projects directly affecting them, and reviewing City Council ordinances with which they may disagree. *The referendum and initiative approach appeared to be the only mechanism possible to many of these supporters....but it has many drawbacks. It would provide for review but would also make informed judgment more difficult. It would not involve people in decisions before they are made, but largely permit them to act only after the fact.*

5. The ballot box is not seen as a meaningful form of participation by a large segment of the population.

The ballot box has traditionally been viewed as the primary way for citizens to participate in their government by voting for persons to represent

them in public office at periodic elections. In Minneapolis, for example, elections are held in June every two years to elect the Mayor, Aldermen, some members of the School Board, Park Board, Library Board, Board of Estimate and Taxation, the Comptroller and the Treasurer.

Experience in the past two city general elections, in 1967 and 1969, indicates a substantial portion of the population did not participate. Many who were eligible to vote either were not registered or were registered but did not vote. This situation prevails even in state general elections, but there is a falloff in voting from a state to a city election of 23%. *There are major differences within the city between how voting is perceived as indicated by voter registration.*

Voter Registration. A person must first be registered before he can vote. In the 1968 general state election (President, Congress) we find that 14% of the estimated population over age 21 in Minneapolis was not registered. This figure is unevenly spread throughout the city. Generally, wards with a high percentage of low-income and minority persons had a considerably lower level of registration. (See Map 1 for description of wards and low-income areas.) Thus, although wards 1, 2, 7, 10, 11, 12 and 13 had in excess of 90% of those eligible to vote registered, other wards nearer the inner city had substantially lower registration (ward 3, 62%; ward 5, 69%; ward 6, 55%; ward 8, 82%; and ward 9, 79%).

This phenomenon is also noted in city general elections of 1967 and 1969. In these elections approximately 9% fewer are registered than for general elections, with a total of 23% not registered. The differences between the wards on the periphery of the city and those nearer the center areas with a higher percentage of low-income and minority people are again apparent, in the following table:

Table 1

Estimated Percentage of the Eligible Voter Population
Registered for 1967 and 1969 Elections *

Ward 1	-	75%	Ward 8	-	68%
Ward 2	-	73%	Ward 9	-	64%
Ward 3	-	52%	Ward 10	-	77%
Ward 4	-	79%	Ward 11	-	89%
Ward 5	-	58%	Ward 12	-	84%
Ward 6	-	43%	Ward 13	-	92%
Ward 7	-	79%	City Average	-	72%

* Percentages of the population which are registered are probably overstated, as registration remains in effect for four years after a person votes. These figures, therefore, do not reflect the movement out of a precinct during this period of time.

WARD BOUNDARIES

This is a detailed map of Minneapolis, Minnesota, showing the city's layout, major roads, and parks. The map is divided into numbered districts (1-13) and shaded areas. Key features include Lake Superior, Lake Michigan, Lake Huron, Lake Erie, and Lake Ontario. The map also shows the city's boundaries with Anoka County, Ramsey County, and Hennepin County. A scale bar at the bottom indicates distances in feet (0 to 4800).

NORTH

1600 0 1600 3200 4800

SCALE IN FEET

BAC 1949

CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS
PLANNING COMMISSION
801 CITY HALL

Less than half of the eligible voters actually voted in city elections.

More important than the number who were registered, however, is the number of people who had the interest and took time to actually vote. In this case, the situation appears even more appalling. In the national election of 1968, approximately 25% of those who were registered did not vote, while in the city elections of 1967 and 1969 this figure increased to an average of 48%.

Although the figures of the percentage of registered voters who voted are generally used to describe voting patterns, they tell only part of the story. It is difficult to know how many eligible voters there are, but if estimates of the total eligible voter population (those over 21 years of age) are considered, we find that 66% of the total actually voted in 1968 while an average of only 42% did so in the city elections of 1967 and 1969.

Table 2

Estimated Percentage of Eligible Voters Who Voted
(as adjusted*)

<u>Ward</u>	<u>1968 State General Election</u>	<u>Average of 1967 and 1969 City General Elections</u>
1	70%	46%
2	64	37
3	47	31
4	75	51
5	49	32
6	38	25
7	72	44
8	61	38
9	59	37
10	70	39
11	84	56
12	79	53
13	<u>87</u>	<u>58</u>
Total City	66%	42%

*Estimates of eligible voter population were derived from the 1960 census. The total population over 21 years of age was 318,595 or 65.98% of the total 482,872. This fixed percentage was then used to compute the eligible voter population for each ward.

An upward adjustment of 5% was added to the computed totals to offset the decline in population estimated by the Metropolitan Council since 1960.

Ward estimates do not reflect differences in age distribution between wards or the declines in population in excess of 5% which have occurred in certain wards since 1960. As a result, percentages cited for the 3rd, 5th, 6th, 8th and 9th wards may be somewhat lower than actual because of the clearance of housing units for urban renewal and freeways while the estimated figures in the 7th, 11th and 13th wards may be somewhat high.

6. Participation in political parties is minimal.

Political parties have traditionally been viewed as a second major way that citizens can participate in their government. The influence of political parties in finding and proposing candidates for public office cannot be overestimated. Although endorsement by one of the political parties may not guarantee election, their influence as an organization is important in many wards and districts where party identification carries considerable weight with a segment of the voters. The fact that many candidates seek this endorsement with appearance on the party's sample ballot testifies to its importance. Apart from the importance of this label--even in non-partisan elections--the parties may also be of direct aid to candidates by providing voter lists, workers and financial support.

The substantial influence of the political parties and their role in candidate selection would suggest that these organizations would attract a substantial portion of the population to participate in their activities. However, this is not the case. The party caucuses--the smallest unit of party organization--are held every two years, in February preceding the state general election. The last precinct caucuses were held on February 24, 1970, while the previous caucuses were in 1968. Within these small districts, consisting of a few blocks, residents who are interested may participate in the election of party officers for the precinct, delegates to the subsequent legislative district conventions, and pass resolutions. *The delegates elected at these caucuses serve for two years and are the only persons who may participate in ward or city conventions called prior to the city elections the following year to endorse candidates for numerous local elective offices.*

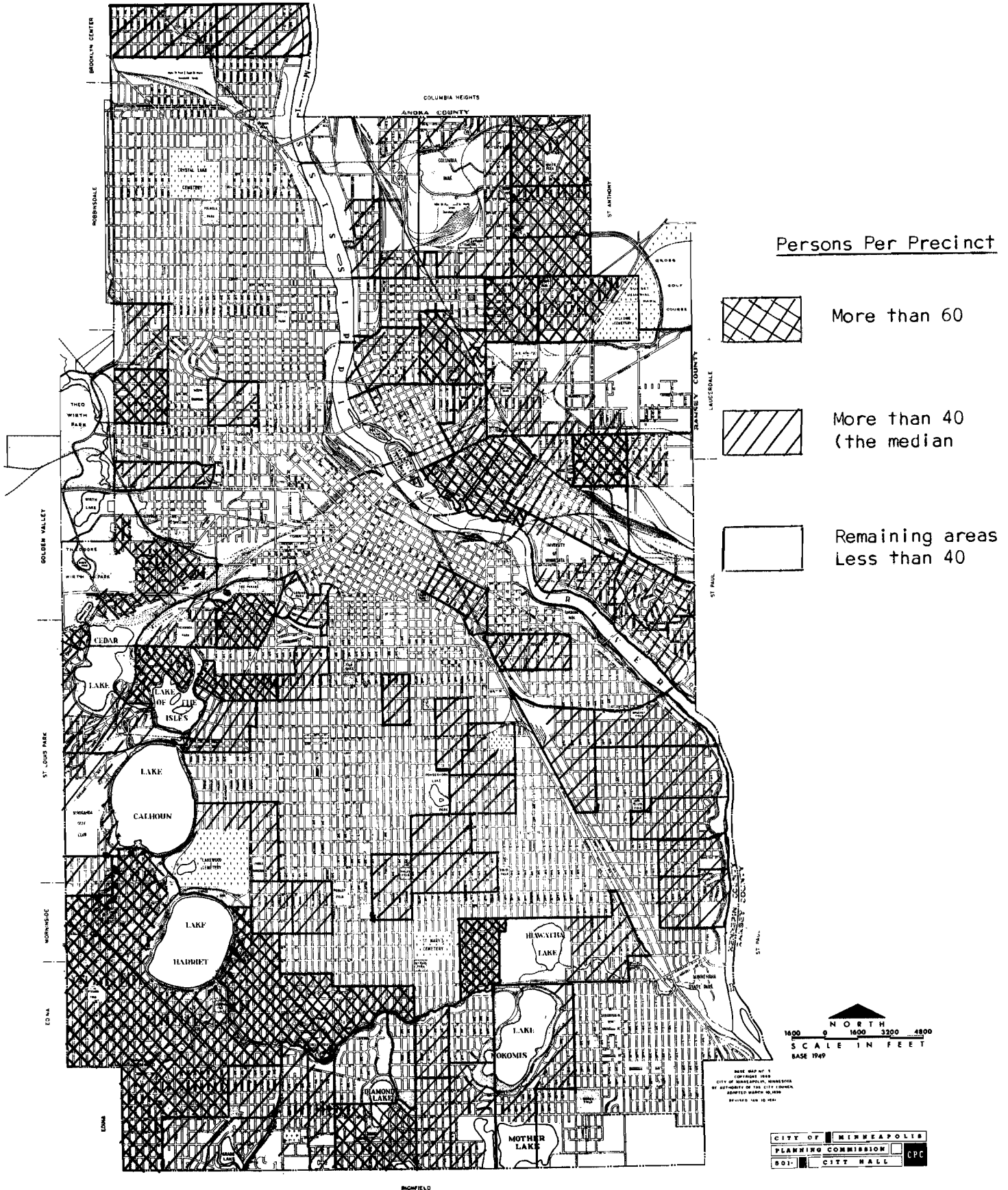
Precinct caucus attendance.

Precinct caucuses in past years have attracted only a handful of voters, even in years when there have been spirited campaigns for state and national elections, such as 1968. Although the precinct caucuses are open to any person who is interested in identifying with either of the parties and in endorsing candidates for offices, in 1968 the combined attendance at both party caucuses in the 195 precincts of Minneapolis was only 7,860 persons, or 2.6% of an estimated total eligible voter population of 302,665.

The low turnout for precinct caucuses is not evenly distributed throughout the city. Instead, attendance varied from a high of 1,556 in the 13th ward to 293 in the 3rd. Wards with the highest attendance were: 13th - 1,556; 7th - 786; 11th - 762; 1st - 668; 2nd - 653; and 10th - 522. Wards with the lowest attendance were: 3rd - 293; 4th - 362; 5th - 420; 8th - 433; 12th - 445; and 6th - 451. Thus, wards with 30% of the total population produced 48% of the attendants while an equal 30% produced only 19%. Within wards there are comparable differences in the level of activity in the caucuses. Thus in the 13th ward, precinct 10 had a total attendance of 186 persons, whereas precinct 17 had only 43. At the opposite extreme, the highest attendance in the 3rd ward was 56 in precinct 1 and only 7 in precinct 13.

Map 2

TOTAL PRECINCT ATTENDANCE OF THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES IN 1968



Generally, the areas of the inner city identified as target areas had considerably lower attendance than areas on the periphery. However, notable exceptions are observed in many precincts of the 4th and 12th wards, where attendance is as low as those near the inner city, and in a few instances the turnout at a few precincts in this inner area is substantially above some precincts on the periphery. (See Map 2 for description of precincts above the median for attendance.)

Endorsement of candidates in local elections.

The actual endorsement of candidates for local office, as noted earlier, is handled at ward and city conventions. Only delegates elected at precinct caucuses the previous year, when there are state or national elections, may participate in these ward and city conventions.

Aldermen are generally endorsed at ward conventions if they receive the support of 60% of the voting delegates. This procedure limited participation in the selection of candidates to a total of 3,444 delegates who were eligible in the 1969 ward conventions. However, because of the fall-off in attendance by delegates at these conventions, only 1,790 people elected as delegates in a state or national election year actually participated in this activity. They were divided as follows for the various wards:

Table 3

Attendance at 1969 Ward Conventions

Ward	D.F.L.		Republican		Total	
	Eligible Delegate Positions	Delegates and Alternates Present	Eligible Delegate Positions	Delegates and Alternates Present	Eligible Delegate Positions	Delegates and Alternate Present
1	254	148	42	27	296	175
2	225	184	47	36	272	220
3	205	150	14	6	219	156
4	250	185	46	21	296	206
5	228	106	21	15	249	121
6	134	120	24	13	158	133
7	189	70	70	40	259	110
8	207	82	42	26	249	108
9	227	143	39	25	266	168
10	209	59	64	24	273	83
11	196	50	98	79	294	129
12	255	30	60	53	315	83
13	194	15	104	83	298	98
	2,773	1,342	671	448	3,444	1,790

B. Factors accounting for breakdowns in the system of representation.

New problems are posed for the system of representation as a result of major changes in the composition of the population and increases in the need for some types of public services; major changes in programs of local government which are increasingly directed to rebuilding a city with aging homes and public facilities--programs which affect increasing numbers of people; and changes in the attitudes of people related to their confidence in elected and appointed public officials and acceptance of a system where decisions are made for them.

1. Population changes pose new problems for the system related to the extent that growing numbers of low-income, minority and aged people in the city are represented.

Minneapolis has a large and growing concentration of poor, minority and aged persons.

- * The proportion of the total population with incomes lower than the average citizen of Hennepin County has been rising with the exodus of middle-income families and the movement into the city of people with lower incomes.
- * Racial minorities (blacks and Indians) are presently estimated to constitute 6.7% of the total population - rapidly increasing from 8,400 in 1950 to 13,800 in 1960 and possibly 30,000 in 1968.
- * Persons over 65 years of age have substantially increased in recent decades numbering 64,800 in 1960 or 13.4% of the population.

These trends are parallel to those observed in other major cities of the country where central cities are increasingly becoming a reservoir of the poor, elderly and racial minorities.

Great pressures accompanying the changes in the composition of the population are placed on local government to meet the needs of these people -- needs related to health care, employment, recreation, housing, welfare, education, transportation and protective services.

2. Deterioration of physical structures has increasingly been recognized as one of the major problems in the city.

Minneapolis is becoming an older central city with aged and deteriorating physical structures.

The condition of housing and physical facilities in the city continues to age and deteriorate to the extent that in 1960 approximately 110,000 residents lived in inadequate housing units. In 1960, 25% to 50% of the housing had reached a critical point in condition and age, with over half of the supply 50 years or older. This condition is also reflected in many public facilities, such as schools, where 22 of 69 elementary schools are over 70 years old. These conditions are most obvious in the older inner city areas but they are gradually moving out from the core to encompass larger portions of the city.

3. The city has responded to these conditions by altering the basic direction of its programs and by moving to rebuild its older neighborhoods. It has done this, however, without being sure there was an adequate system of representation.

The city has responded to these changes in population and its physical condition by engaging in wholesale rebuilding and improvement programs such as urban renewal, code enforcement, and capital improvements. In the process it has changed the basic direction of its programs. Courts, hospitals, airports and major sewer facilities have all been shifted as major functions to other levels while the city settles down to rebuilding itself. Part of this new direction is also reflected in numerous federally aided programs in health, employment, welfare and education, or combinations as in Model Neighborhood and Pilot City, where the city has requested funds and jointly sponsored programs directed to the needs of its low-income citizens.

4. The change in direction of city programs has affected an increasingly large number of residents, many of whom feel they are not represented in these program decisions.

This change toward rebuilding has had an important and direct impact on the lives of thousands of residents. Since 1960, over 12,500 mostly low-cost family housing units have been demolished for urban renewal, freeway construction and code enforcement. A minimum of 35,000 people have been required to move in urban renewal programs alone, and thousands have had to finance required improvements to their homes. Still others, on low and fixed incomes, have been increasingly burdened with the added cost of financing citywide programs of urban renewal, rehabilitation, street paving, school replacement, park reconstruction, library replacement, and the assessments related to street and park improvement projects in their neighborhood.

5. People are less willing to accept a system where decisions are made for them.

Substantial changes in the attitudes of many citizens about the way in which public decisions are made are also increasingly evident in the past few years. Large portions of the population no longer accept a system in which decisions are made for them, even if these are made by elected representatives. This is seen in the statements of minority groups and the organization of neighborhood groups throughout the city who desire to know about pending programs, zoning changes and proposed public improvements in their neighborhoods before decisions are made. Others have formed in response to urban renewal, code enforcement and freeway programs when they realized these projects would directly affect them. They have basically asked for a voice in the planning of these programs and some influence in decisions about them.

6. Credibility of representatives is being questioned by many people.

Voices are heard from neighborhoods and interest groups about the lack of any representative of their area or certain interests on citizen advisory boards. The Black Coalition has demanded representation on city boards and commissions; resident organizations such as the Northeast Federation complain about the lack of any representation on the Human Relations Commission; a coalition of citizen service organizations calls for federal denial of approval for the city's "workable program" because of a lack of citizen participation, while the Urban Coalition has expressed dissatisfaction with the composition of the newly appointed General Hospital Advisory Board and called for an expansion of its membership to include larger representation of the poor.

Questions are raised about who present members represent when there appears to be little follow-through or communication between appointed individuals and the groups they supposedly represent. In a survey of 25 members of appointed boards, only 6 members viewed themselves as representatives of any special-interest group or geographic area, while only 3 indicated they attempted to maintain regular communication with any group or area about the activity of their board or commission. Most tended to rely on the staffs of agencies for this communication or felt that interested individuals should appear at hearings or meetings if they wanted to express a position or voice a concern.

A lack of communication by some elected officials with people living in the area, at least about programs and decisions which affect them, has also diminished the confidence of many people in the operation of the system of representation. Presently this relies on informal techniques such as calling the alderman or public official, by participating in local or citywide organizations which attempt to keep track of what's happening, or by incidental contacts at the time of election.

The present system of representation does not provide a structure or method understood by residents as a way for continuous communication to occur with their representatives on issues of importance to them.

II. Involvement of Citizens and the Representation of Minorities is Desirable and Needed.

The participation of citizens and the representation of minorities in the development of plans and programs and the making of decisions affecting them are consistent with our theory of representative democracy. It is something which many people are calling for, largely because local government does make many decisions and provides many services affecting its residents even though it has limited resources.

The involvement of residents in decision-making will not be harmful. Properly handled, it will be helpful, as it can significantly contribute to improved decisions and reduce the possibility for conflict and delays in programs.

- A. *The concept of citizen participation and the representation of the broad range of interests and positions within a society, including those of minorities, is an integral part of the democratic theory of politics.*

The democratic theory contends, among other things, that citizens should be involved in government, and that this involvement should be grounded in effective communication between the elected representatives and their constituents. It suggests that people have a right to participate in and have some control over the institutions which dominate their lives, and contends that in the making of public policy the concerns and views of all segments of society, including those of minorities, be expressed and considered; that alternative positions be stated in the deliberations leading to decisions; and that these views be voiced, if possible, by persons elected to the policy-making body.

- B. Citizens have asked for ways to participate and for representation largely because the city provides and controls many services affecting them and makes important decisions in the way federal and state programs are set up and operate within the city.

Decisions by local governing bodies--City Council, School Board, Park Board, Library Board, County Board--are regularly made about the level of services they directly provide, the number and location of capital improvements, the way funds will be allocated, generally how programs will be administered, and the tax levies required for them. These include police, fire, recreation, education, public works, health and housing inspection.

Local governing bodies determine what federal or state programs they will request and make many important policy decisions, within the guidelines of these programs, about how they will be set up and operate.

In the area of urban renewal, for example, the Mayor and City Council appoint members to the Housing and Redevelopment Authority, and approve the planning and execution of individual projects as well as the city's contribution toward their funding. Decisions about the location of public housing projects are also made by them. Approval of the city is also required for the location of freeways and major streets and the specific construction projects on state-funded streets. In the area of welfare, the city and county make decisions about some of the amounts of aid recipients can receive. The School Board makes decisions about the staffing levels in schools, and policies related to the operation of federally funded programs.

The participation and representation in these many important decisions by citizens will not in itself get at the large problem of limited financial resources available to local government. This situation only aggravates many conditions and frustrates public officials in their attempts to respond to problems encountered by many residents -- particularly low-income, minority and elderly people. However, it can do much to give people confidence in their local public officials and a feeling that their views and problems are recognized and being considered in many important decisions.

- C. Residents of neighborhoods and minority people have asked that they be involved and represented. It is increasingly apparent they will be heard. The issue is what form this will take to aid in the making of improved decisions.

The involvement of residents in decisions affecting them will not be harmful. Such involvement can significantly contribute to improved decisions and reduce the possibility for conflict and delays in programs.

Citywide decisions in the past which did not involve residents often delayed decisions or, at a minimum, resulted in considerable conflict and mistrust.

Residents have quickly organized to react against planned improvements when they became aware that an action or decision was imminent. This is observed in the conflicts over the freeway location in the Prospect Park area and the Bottleneck. Likewise, arterial paving projects which proposed widening of streets and widening boulevards on Franklin Avenue, Fourth Street S.E., E. 50th Street and 26th Avenue N. were actively opposed by local resident groups. A code enforcement project in Jordan also encountered opposition from some affected homeowners after it was initially announced. Similar complaints about lack of citizen involvement in the planning and development of proposals were most recently voiced in hearings on the Sargent-Domian report on school buildings before the School Board.

Protests have also been made by groups of low-income and minority people in areas such as membership on boards and commissions, police community relations, landlord-tenant relations, hot lunch programs in schools, housing opportunities, and health services.

The issue is not whether these protests are reasonable or in the best interests of the entire city, but rather how they can be channeled into the representative system and contribute to improved decisions which recognize and balance these concerns before decisions are made.

III. Responses to demands for participation and representation have been made.

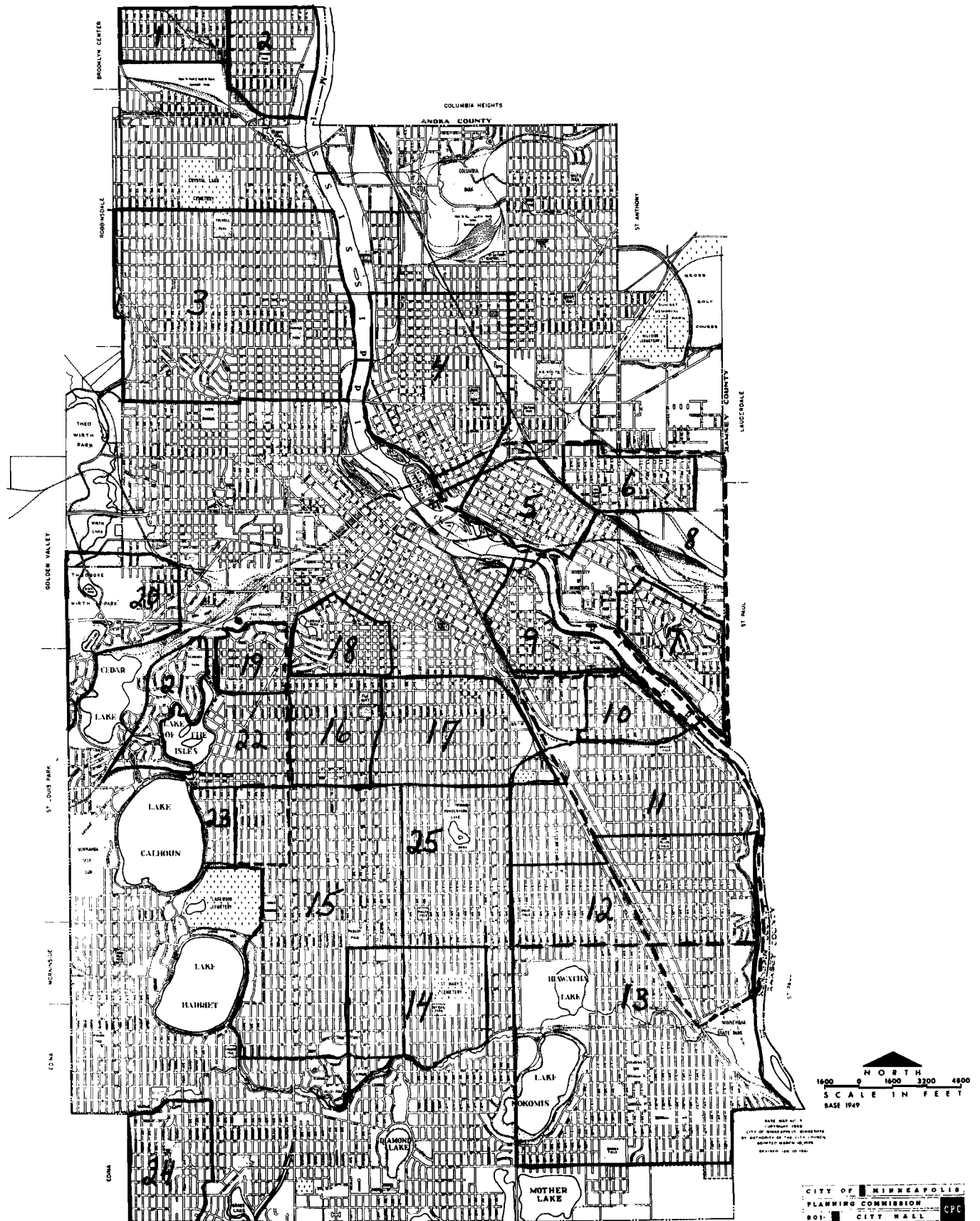
Recognition of demands for participation and representation is seen in responses from people at the grass roots and local government. Neighborhood residents in many areas have voluntarily organized to identify issues important to them and to develop a mechanism for communicating with and influencing governing bodies and agencies in programs directly affecting them. Likewise, local government has responded in three ways -- by setting up new citizen advisory committees partially made up of affected residents or recipients of programs, by changing the membership of existing boards and commissions, and by decentralizing the administration of some programs.

A. Increasing numbers of neighborhood residents have organized groups within their communities to voice their concerns and to communicate with the city on many issues affecting residents of communities.

The past decade has seen the emergence of an increasing number of local neighborhood or community organizations. They include names with familiar neighborhoods in their titles, with boundaries seen in Map 3.

1. Shingle Creek Park Activities Council
2. Bohanon Area Activities Council
3. Jordan Area Community Council
4. Logan Park Area Community Council and St. Anthony Community Council
5. University District Improvement Association
6. Como Improvement Association
7. Prospect Park and East River Road Improvement Association
8. SEMPACC - South East Minneapolis Planning and Coordinating Committee
9. Cedar Riverside Area Council
10. Seward Neighborhood Association
11. Longfellow Community Council
12. Longfellow Area Property Owners Association
13. Roosevelt Area Action Group
14. Field Neighborhood Group
15. Lakewood-Portland Neighborhood Improvement Association
16. Whittier Neighborhood Council
17. Phillips Neighborhood Improvement Association
18. Loring-Nicollet Community Council
19. Lowry Hill Homeowners
20. Bryn Mawr Association
21. Kenwood-Isles Area Association
22. Uptown Activities League
23. East Calhoun Homeowners Association
24. Armatage Council
25. South Central Assembly of Neighborhoods (SCAN) includes area of 12, 14, 15, 16, 17

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Presently there are at least 40 such groups with approximately 1,500 members. They cover nearly three quarters of the city, with many overlapping boundaries.

It is notable, however, that a number of them are organized in inner city areas. Some began as homeowners' protective associations; others developed around an effort to get a particular park for their neighborhood; while still others are outgrowths of school projects, zoning battles, library decisions to close a branch, and efforts by the Planning Commission staff to stimulate a constituency for the planning program.

Some of them have joined together in the Council of Community Councils--a citywide organization of neighborhood associations. Although the primary interest of these organizations has been physical problems such as code enforcement and zoning, many have expanded their interests to cover issues such as combined trash and garbage collection, beautification, police protection and security, city planning, schools, and recreation.

The organizations in neighborhoods and communities represent an attempt by an increasing number of residents to identify issues important to their area and to develop a mechanism for communicating with governing bodies and agencies about these in the hope of influencing policies and the administration of programs which directly affect them. Most of these groups have been issue-oriented and have not been directly involved in the political process of candidate selection. Their activity in discussing issues and passing resolutions distinguishes them from the ward level organizations in political parties. The ward organizations generally do not engage in any continuous discussion of local issues or even adopt platforms, but instead tend to direct their efforts mostly to selecting and supporting candidates at the time of elections.

The increasing formation of these local resident groups, their requests for information, notification of hearings and meetings, and their efforts to communicate their interests with City Hall clearly shows the traditional means of citizen participation by voting and participation in political parties are not adequate mechanisms for dealing with current issues and concerns in a large number of communities. This would appear to be particularly the case in neighborhoods near the inner city where major renewal and rebuilding programs are proposed or under way.

B. Local government has responded to demands for participation and representation in many ways.

1. New citizen boards have been set up by the governing bodies of local government to handle federal poverty programs and particular issues.

a) Federal programs

MOER Board - Citywide

The federal poverty programs started in 1964 by the Economic Opportunity Act stipulated there should be "maximum feasible participation" of citizens in their development and operation. In Hennepin County, the local agency designated by Hennepin County, the Minneapolis City Council, and the Mayor to receive and administer anti-poverty funds from OEO and other federal agencies was the Mobilization of Economic Resources Board (MOER). This 51-member body is made up of 17 social service and governmental agency representatives, 17 business and community representatives,

and 17 low-income and minority residents elected from districts in the target areas. (Target areas are census tracts on the north and south sides of Minneapolis with higher delinquency rates, lower family incomes, higher numbers of ADC cases, and a population with fewer years of education than the averages of the city.) The election of the 17 residents was the mechanism used for achieving "maximum feasible participation".

Separate appointive or elected citizens advisory boards were also set up in the original subsidiary operating programs under MOER, such as the Citizens Community Centers, Head Start, Concentrated Employment Program, New Careers, and the Parent and Child Development Center. For example, before the Citizens Community Centers were placed under direction of MOER, most of the 30-40 members of the advisory boards to the North, South and East side centers were elected at-large from the areas served by the centers. Other boards were made up only of members who were recipients of services or those who directly participated in the programs.

PILOT CITY - North Minneapolis

The Pilot City Regional Center is a multi-purpose agency set up in 1967 to develop social services, health, employment, education and community development programs, and coordinate services between numerous agencies for 52,000 residents in North Minneapolis. The policy-making body in this program is the TACTICS Board (Technical Advisory Committee for Implementation of Community Services). It is composed of 32 residents elected from elementary school district areas, plus 21 representatives appointed by cooperating social and governmental agencies. In 1969, this program employed 250 persons and received \$1,965,000 in federal funds - a large portion of which was related to the joint venture by Hennepin County General Hospital, Minneapolis Health Department, and Pilot City in the Pilot City Health Center.

MODEL NEIGHBORHOOD - South Minneapolis

The requirement of "maximum feasible participation" was carried into the national Model Cities legislation and is seen in the Minneapolis program of Model Neighborhood. Residents of the south Minneapolis neighborhood, covering 2½ square miles with 59,000 population, elect 29 members to the Policy and Planning Committee from within six districts, six at-large, and 28 members from minority groups--11 black, 11 Indian-American, and 6 low-income. An additional 37 members are representatives selected by social agencies, neighborhood improvement associations, racial, church, PTA and business groups, while 6 teenagers are chosen in school elections. The total 107-member Policy and Planning Committee (P&PC) is responsible for the planning and some aspects of the management of programs which are anticipated to receive up to \$30 million in federal Model Cities funds in the next four years in the area of urban renewal, health care, elderly, welfare and police-community relations.

The P&PC has recently completed their first year of planning and is now moving to implement programs through city agencies with a \$4.8 million

federal grant. Under the Model Cities program funds are made available only for projects receiving approval of both the P&PC and the City Council.

b) Citywide citizen advisory committees on specific-limited issues.

The City Council and the School Board have frequently set up and appointed members to citywide-special citizen advisory committees during the past decade. These ad hoc committees, following a long-established practice, are created by resolution of the governing body to provide a "broad base" of "knowledgeable and interested" citizen opinion and support in evaluating and proposing ways of resolving issues which may be controversial. Others exist to simply provide citizen input into plans or proposed programs. Generally these groups exist only until their report is submitted.

Committees established by the City Council in recent years include: Community Improvement Program Committee - 110 members; Police and Fire Salaries - 9 members; Building and Housing Codes - 15 members; and Combined Trash and Garbage - 15 members. The School Board has also recently set up a committee of this type - the Citizens Committee on School Buildings consisting of 48 members, following numerous complaints in public hearings about the lack of citizen involvement in the Sargent-Domian consultants study.

2. New statutory or standing boards have been created or the membership of existing ones has been expanded or changed to include representation of minorities and other groups of people.

a) Statutory boards

State law or the city charter requires appointment of a number of citizens to boards which have limited policy-making or administrative authority. The citizen members are appointed by the Mayor with the consent of the Council. In addition to these positions the Mayor has frequently appointed a citizen to sit in his place on many of the boards. The boards, their total membership, and the number of citizen members, include:

Housing and Redevelopment Authority - 5 members - all citizens.
City Planning Commission - 9 members - 4 citizens and 5 ex-officio.
Civil Service Commission - 3 members - all citizens.
Public Welfare Board - 7 members - 5 citizens and 2 ex-officio.
Municipal Employees Retirement Board - 5 members - 1 citizen and 4 ex-officio.

Although the number of members of these boards is fixed by law, it has been customary, according to W. Glen Wallace and Lawrence M. Irvin, for many positions on these boards and others to be reserved for certain broad interest groups such as labor or business. For example, two of the three positions on the Civil Service Commission have historically been filled by persons identified with the labor or business communities, while similar "slots" plus others for real estate or architects exist in positions on the Housing and Redevelopment Authority and the City Planning Commission.

Changes in response to requests for representation of other interests, particularly from those affected by programs or policies of these boards, have largely occurred by appointment of minority persons to fill vacancies or to sit in place of the Mayor. As a result there are minority persons presently on the Housing and Redevelopment Authority and the Civil Service Commission, and, until last year, there was a black person on the Public Welfare Board and the City Planning Commission.

b) Standing advisory committees

A series of citywide standing advisory committees has been set up by ordinance or resolution of the City Council. They function to advise the Council and/or the Mayor on matters such as human relations, capital improvements program, beautification, industrial development, and the workable programs, or to hear appeals and handle enforcement of some ordinances. These boards, the number of members, and the appointing authority include:

1. Human Relations Commission -
21 members - 15 appointed by Mayor and 6 by City Council.
2. Capital Long-Range Improvements Committee and its 7 task forces -
138 members - 127 appointed by City Council plus 11 ex-officio.
3. Committee on Urban Environment -
25 members - 9 appointed by the City Council, 9 by Mayor, and 7 ex-officio.
4. Industrial Development Commission -
9 members - all appointed by City Council.
5. Housing Appeals Board -
5 members - 2 appointed by the City Council and 3 ex-officio.
6. Workable Program Committee - (appointed in 1968 but not presently active) - 189 members - all appointed by Mayor.

Most of these committees were established in the past few years partially in direct response to new city programs and the requests of many citizens. Others, such as CLIC, go back to 1952.

The membership of some of these committees either encompassed minority persons in the initial appointments or the total membership was expanded temporarily, as in the case of CLIC, where 4 minority persons were simply added to the committee. All of these appointments were not made without controversy, however, as noted in the original appointments to the Human Relations Commission and the famous struggle between the Mayor and the City Council in the "Ron Edwards case".

3. Agencies have set up citizen advisory boards and decentralized the administration of some programs by changing their organization and placing centers in local communities.

a) Citizen advisory boards

Local governmental agencies, such as the School Board, Housing and Redevelopment Authority, and the Hennepin County Welfare Board, have responded to demands for representation by setting up citizen advisory

committees. These committees were often formed either in response to requests within the community or to fulfill federal requirements for certain programs. They are generally partially composed of residents living in areas affected by the programs or by recipients of the services. Although they often begin with appointments by the sponsoring agency, in some cases they have moved to election of members by residents of the designated community.

The School Board has established two citizen advisory committees, called Pyramids, in the attendance areas of North High School and the South-Central High areas. They function to advise the Pyramid Director, an administrative coordinator within the school administration, about matters such as human relations training and materials, reading programs, school hours and course offerings, plus whatever is placed before them by the Pyramid Director.

The North Pyramid Schools Advisory Council is composed of 16 members. The members were initially appointed by the Pyramid Director from a list submitted by the eight elementary school principals which feed into North High School, but in May, 1969, elections were held for the 16 positions in conjunction with the Pilot City elections.

The South-Central Pyramid Council is made up of 60 members including an equal number of students, teachers, parents and residents. They were elected in a special election held in each of the 11 elementary schools in the area in May, 1969.

The School Board has also encouraged formation of citizen resident councils in its community school programs, held in the schools as part of the extended day programs for children and adults. Presently there are 67 such boards in as many schools with a total of 1,200 persons on these councils.

A Residents Council was organized by the Housing and Redevelopment Authority for the General North Side Renewal Project in March, 1969. This group is made up of 17 members and alternates elected from designated districts and 13 residents at-large appointed by the elected representatives. It functions to review proposals for rebuilding in areas cleared within the project and to advise the Authority about the community's needs. The Council was set up in accordance with a policy of the U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development outlined in July, 1968. The costs of setting it up and maintaining it are considered part of the eligible federally funded costs of the renewal project.

The Hennepin County Welfare Board in December, 1969, appointed a 21-member Citizens Advisory Committee, consisting of eight representatives each of welfare recipients and community group interests, and five representatives of the County Commissioner districts. This action followed a requirement for such boards in the 1967 Social Security Amendment and enabling legislation passed in the 1969 session of the Legislature. The purpose of the committee will be to bring observations and reactions about welfare policies and the administration of welfare programs to the department and the County Board as well as act as liaison to bring the Welfare Department's purposes, problems and needs to the community.

b) Decentralization of Services

In a few instances, agencies have decentralized the administration of services by establishing "local" offices within neighborhoods. Thus the Housing and Redevelopment Authority has set up three local offices in the North, South and East Minneapolis areas with assistant directors given the power to make some decisions about public housing and urban renewal within their areas. A similar approach is seen in the school Pyramids, which are administrative organizations in the North and South-Central school areas. It has also been proposed for the County Welfare Department in handling welfare cases in a recent consultant's report. Another variation on this is the recent experiment by the Police Department in its "little city halls".

In all of these cases, the primary purpose of decentralization is to make these services more accessible to residents or users and in some instances to enable a degree of citizen involvement through advisory committees to the community administrator.

Decentralization, in some cities, and in another sense, has meant the delegation of power and authority to elected citizen community boards to control specified policies, personnel and expenditures. This approach is observed in New York, where the legislature authorized the decentralization of schools in New York City and permitted communities to elect a local school board with limited powers over the expenditure of some funds and the hiring of personnel for schools in their community. As such, this approach does not entail full local separation and sovereignty but rather the transfer of power in the form of a grant of limited independent legislative authority over local services to a local community. Nevertheless, this approach has been very controversial and resulted in considerable conflict in New York. It should be noted, however, that, although the idea of breaking up (decentralizing) the city may appear unthinkable to many, such an allocation of governmental powers is currently the practice in the suburbs, where areas are incorporated that are much smaller than the central city and with total possible populations of 30,000 to 50,000--the same as major communities of large central cities.

c. Political party reform has recently increased opportunities for minority representation.

The concern for changes in the representative system and particularly the standing of persons holding minority positions was expressed at numerous caucuses and conventions in 1968, particularly in the Democratic Party. Statements urging changes to rules and procedures which had reduced opportunities for involvement of all who expressed an interest in participating and provisions in delegate selection for those who were in the minority were requested.

The response of the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party in Minnesota to these demands was to call a constitutional convention which developed a new constitution providing for cumulative voting for delegates in national conventions thereby improving the opportunities for representation of minorities.

An attempt to improve attendance at precinct caucuses by reducing the difficulties in notifying people was partially remedied in the 1969 session of the Legislature by the decision that all precinct caucuses of both parties should be held on the same day, thereby encouraging joint efforts by the parties to publicize the caucuses.

D. Voter registration has been made more accessible.

The relatively low registration of voters in the past few elections, particularly in low-income neighborhoods, has been made easier by location of registration centers in libraries in these neighborhoods and by use of mobile centers in the 1968 general election. The mobile centers, however, were not used in voter registration for the city election in 1969. Although the city makes registration easier for people by permitting them to do this in their community, it has not participated directly in any major campaign to contact people for this purpose.

IV. The multiple responses to demands for representation and participation have many weaknesses.

A. The present approach of creating citizen advisory boards in all functions essentially does not permit communities to make their own choices or have a central voice in decisions affecting them.

There is no visible, clearly understood system of communication to familiarize residents with plans, programs or decisions affecting them, or to permit them to voice their concerns.

In the area of planning, the Planning Department was very supportive of working with and encouraging neighborhood resident organizations in the work of the Community Improvement Study during the mid-'60s. However, when the time arrived to decide upon membership of the local community advisory committees for particular portions of the study, the City Council chose instead to assign members from the citywide advisory committee to the community one. This resulted in minimal representation by residents of the local areas in development of the most complete statement to date of these areas, their problems and future.

The present approach to citizen participation largely relies upon either the efforts of individuals to organize into pressure groups to make their case before the appropriate governing body, or action by the governing body or agency to set up advisory boards. This has resulted in a myriad of boards--few of which can claim they are representative of anyone other than their members. Essentially, the present approach only encourages an action-reaction approach to problems, without involving any substantial number of people in local communities in the decisions.

B. The present approach to creating separate citizen advisory boards for existing and newly created programs only encourages a proliferation of such groups, fragmented approaches to problems, multiple overlapping elections in the same communities and, with this, further confusion and potential for breakdowns in communication with citizens.

1. Proliferation of boards.

The growth in citizen advisory boards continues unabated as special committees are set up to advise the City Council, School Board, Park Board or agencies operating programs. These boards, although they may serve to involve a number of residents or recipients of programs and may benefit from their input, are not tied into any visible, understood or effective mechanism for communication with interested people in the city. As a result, they often appear to be simply a further layering on of units of government. Few residents of the city are familiar with these boards, their membership, functions or activities, and only bump into them as they may pursue an issue. A continuation of the present trend can only make it even more difficult for residents, particularly those with little familiarity with city government, to understand it or even want to take an interest.

The proliferation of boards is demanding an increasing amount of the time of public officials, administrators and many citizens who are members of many of these. Some people serve on up to three or four such boards, plus others like the Urban Coalition. The meeting time demanded only frustrates their participation and effectiveness even on a single one.

2. A fragmented approach to problems.

The numerous responses to citizen participation have led to creation of a number of boards directed to limited, functional programs and thereby result in a fragmented approach to problems. Thus we have citizen advisory boards for schools, welfare, urban renewal, planning and numerous poverty programs. Boards are set up to advise agencies and levels of government. In the area of welfare alone there are at least four citizen boards totally or partially concerned with these programs: A county advisory committee, a city welfare board, Model Neighborhood, Pilot City, and MOERR.

3. Numerous separate special elections are held within the same community.

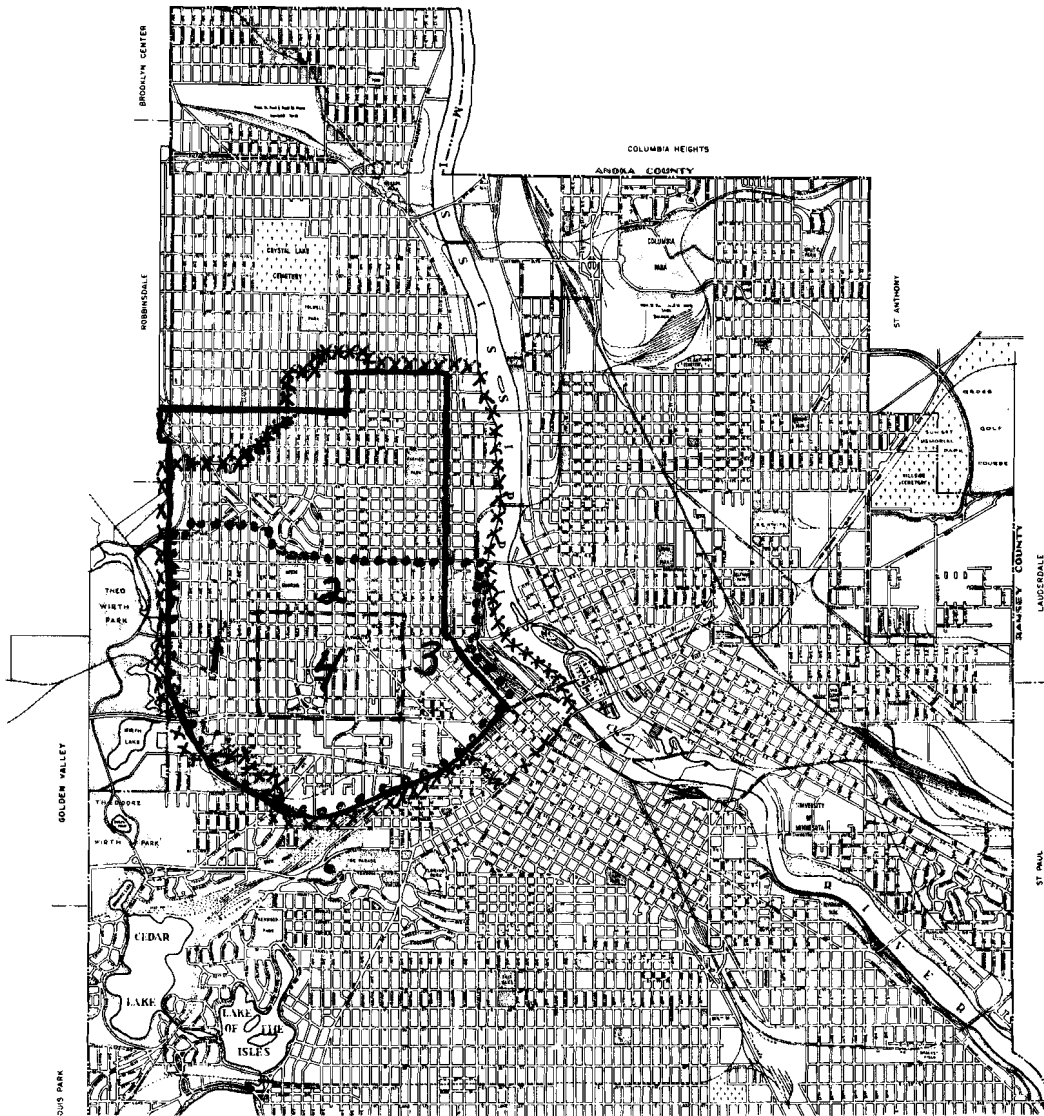
In some instances, such as on the Near North Side, there are elections to four citizen boards within the same area. These include Pilot City, MOER, the Pyramid Advisory Board, and the Residents Council of the Housing and Redevelopment Authority. Candidates for each of these must be solicited from within the area and residents are asked to vote in three separate special elections apart from the general citywide elections. (See Map 4)

Under the present approach the decision about whether members should be selected by appointment or election is made by the governing body or agency desiring the board. Frequently, elections are used when the purpose is to open the selection to the residents directly and leave the decision of who is to represent them up to them.

Election of members would appear to be a satisfactory approach to the extent that it notifies interested people about who serves on these boards or who represents them. This value is diminished, however, to the extent that elections are overused, and the question arises of "who represents me on which board?". In any case, the substantial efforts needed to get people out to special elections for boards which they little understand would appear to have reached the point of diminishing returns. In the most recent elections to Pilot City and Model Neighborhood, for example, the total number who voted was 869 and 924 respectively, in areas with total populations of 52,000 and 59,000.

Map 4

CITIZEN BOARDS HOLDING SEPARATE ELECTIONS
IN NORTH MINNEAPOLIS



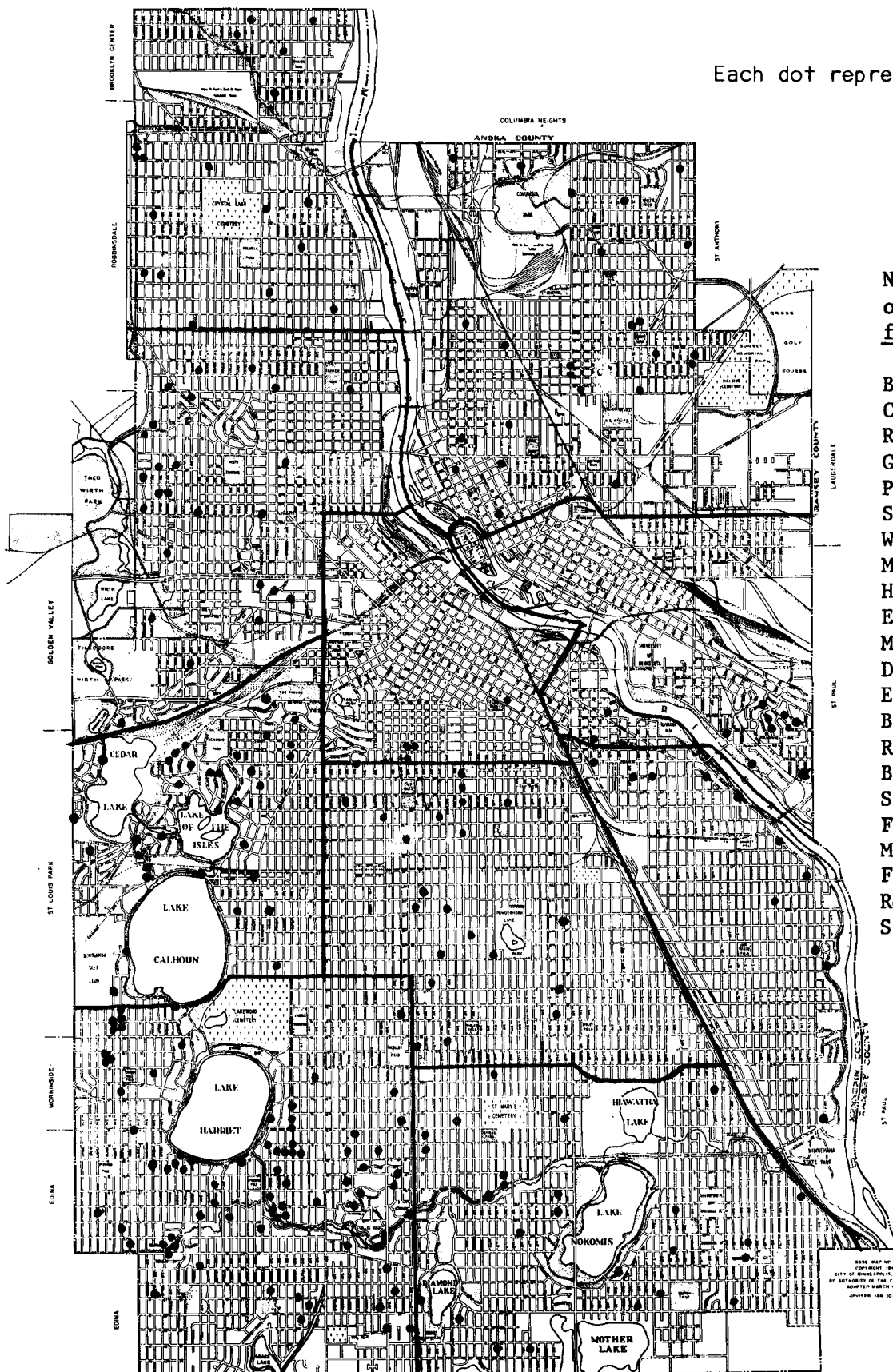
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1. ——— PILOT CITY - TACTICS BOARD
32 elected from 9 elementary school districts
2. * * * * NORTH PYRAMID (SCHOOLS)
16 elected from 8 elementary school districts
3. NORTHSIDE RESIDENTS REDEVELOPMENT COUNCIL
(HOUSING AND REDEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY)
17 elected from special election districts
4. - - - - MOBILIZATION OF ECONOMIC RESOURCES (MOER BOARD)
2 elected from within the target area (4) plus
1 at-large from the northside.

Map 5

LOCATION OF RESIDENCE OF THE 335 CITIZEN MEMBERS OF 15 MINNEAPOLIS BOARDS AND CITY RESIDENTS ON 7 HENNEPIN COUNTY BOARDS -- 1965-1969

Each dot represents one person



Number of members on Minneapolis boards from the suburbs

Brooklyn Center	1
Crystal	2
Rockford	1
Golden Valley	12
Plymouth	1
St. Louis Park	8
Wayzata	8
Minnetonka	5
Hopkins	3
Excelsior	2
Mound	1
Deephaven	1
Edina	22
Burnsville	1
Richfield	4
Bloomington	2
St. Anthony	1
Fridley	1
Mounds View	1
Falcon Heights	1
Roseville	3
St. Paul	1
Total	82

Boundary lines indicate the 10 Communities of Minneapolis
as identified by the City Planning Commission.

C. Membership on official city boards and commissions is still not representative of the diverse interests, incomes or communities of the city.

The present membership of official elected and appointed boards in many cases does not include representatives of all interests, geographic areas or racial minorities and low-income people in the city. Present boards are composed of members with higher incomes and more education than the average population of the city. Members tend to live in only a few areas of the city - particularly three communities on the South and Southwest periphery of the city. Thus a total of 51% of the members of 15 advisory and policy boards come from the Southwest, Nokomis and Calhoun-Isles communities, where only 30% of the 1960 population lived. By contrast, the Near North, Central and Powderhorn communities, which have the greatest concentrations of low-income people and virtually all of the racial minority population, plus 37% of the total population, have only 22% of the membership of such boards and commissions living within them. This pattern is also observed on a ward basis, where 36% of the membership of these boards lived in the 7th, 11th and 13th wards where 24% of the population resides, whereas the 3rd, 5th, 6th, 8th and 9th wards with 40% of the population had only 20% of the membership living in these wards. (See Map 5)

Although it is entirely possible that present members on these boards might be able to express an interest or be concerned about the problems of minorities or of residents of various areas of the city, it seems entirely reasonable that this concern might better be expressed by people who are identified with the groups or areas. In any case, the visibility of representatives of these groups or areas can give the people identified with them greater confidence that they are likely to be represented.

D. Elected public officials have not been directly involved in community advisory boards thereby limiting communication between residents and their elected representatives.

Many citizen advisory committees, especially those which are based in communities including Model Neighborhood, Pilot City, Pyramids and the Residents Renewal Council, do not have elected Aldermen, Park Board Commissioners, or School Board members on their boards - even in a non-voting capacity. Instead, many of them tend to either have representatives of agencies as members or in any case they work more closely with administrators of programs. The involvement of elected officials comes only indirectly and informally whenever the local board invites the public official to a meeting or when the official on his own initiative makes an inquiry of the board. Thus a vital link between local community boards and their elected representatives is not established in spite of the fact that these officials make decisions about these programs and can act to voice the interests of these communities in deliberations preceding these decisions.

This condition is somewhat understandable in light of the number of boards in some wards and districts. This does not suggest that these officials are unfamiliar with what is happening in their areas, but it does limit the communication between these officials and some of their constituents in programs of growing importance to people living in these communities.

- E. Political parties do not have caucuses before municipal elections, thereby limiting the opportunity for initial selection of candidates to a few people.

Caucuses are held during the year of state general elections, thereby limiting activity in selection of candidates for municipal elections the next year only to delegates elected the previous year when state or national issues are more likely to be prominent.

- F. Present methods of notifying citizens about meetings and hearings important to them are inadequate.

The city is required to publish notices of committee meetings of boards and governing bodies only in a designated legal newspaper. Therefore, a complete list of such meetings and hearings is contained only in Finance and Commerce, a paper of limited circulation. In addition, residents living within 200 feet are notified about requested changes in zoning. In addition to these, however, the city in cooperation with the Minneapolis Tribune has recently listed the meetings with locations and times of numerous advisory boards. While this practice is to be commended, it still does not alert many people to meetings which might be of interest, since agendas and topics to be covered at these meetings are not identified.

Recent efforts of the City Council and the School Board to hold meetings in communities have attracted only a few residents - in part because of the limited system of notification of these residents. While this effort by these two boards is commendable, others, such as the Park and Recreation Board, Housing and Redevelopment Authority, City Planning Commission and CLIC, do not have meetings in neighborhoods.

The time of many meetings of boards is inconvenient for a substantial number of residents. These daytime meetings require people to take off time from their jobs - something which is extremely difficult for many. In addition, the scheduling of topics on agendas results in holding people for long periods of time, thereby discouraging them from making the effort to attend hearings and meetings in the future.

- G. Registration of voters has been made more accessible by having centers located in communities but the city does not regularly participate in greater efforts related to voter registration drives.

The response of eligible voters to elections partially depends on the early efforts made by many groups to get people registered.

These efforts should receive the support of the city as they are not directly related to partisan activities but much more to getting as many voters as possible to participate in the election of their representatives.

In 1968, the City Council participated in a voter registration drive by underwriting the cost of mobile stations thereby making it easier for people to be registered - particularly in the inner city areas. However, this practice was not continued in the registration efforts before the 1969 city election.

RECOMMENDATIONS

We recommend a double approach to the problem of citizen participation and minority representation by movement at the same time by the Minneapolis City Council to support establishment of Community councils and amendment of the City Charter to provide for election of at-large aldermen. More specifically we recommend that:

- I. Community councils be authorized by an ordinance passed by the City Council with the support of the School Board, Park Board and County Board, as expressed in resolutions adopted by these bodies. In the event the City Council does not act, or other governing bodies do not participate, legislation for this purpose should be initiated by the Minnesota Legislature in the 1971 session.

We recommend the legislation authorizing formation of Community councils contain the following provisions:

A. Powers: Community councils should have the following powers:

1. Appointment of their own people to serve on citywide agencies.

- a. Each Community council should nominate people to the appointing authority when notified of vacancies on statutory boards.
- b. Each Community council should appoint at least one person with full rights of membership to all citywide advisory committees established by ordinance or resolution of local governing bodies.
- c. The affected Community councils should appoint all members of committees requested by agencies or governing bodies for programs or projects limited to local areas within the boundaries of the councils.

2. Review and comment:

Community councils should be notified of all spot zoning changes, variances, permits, licenses and public improvements requested or proposed within their boundaries for their review, comment and recommendation within a reasonable period of time.

3. Planning and resolutions:

Community councils in their operation should initiate plans for the development of their areas and should hold public meetings for discussion of issues, and they may pass resolutions to be forwarded to the appropriate agency or governing body.

- B. Formation: Community councils should be established by a two-step procedure -- one setting the boundaries, and the other the filing of a petition by residents indicating an interest in having a council in their community.

1. Setting of boundaries:

A boundary commission, consisting of the chairmen of the City Council, School Board, Park Board, City Planning Commission, and Human

Relations Commission, the Mayor, and a member of the County Board who is a resident of Minneapolis, should be established for the purposes of developing and setting boundaries for each Community council and its election districts. Suggested boundaries should reflect areas identified as communities, while election districts should be developed which will maximize the opportunity for election of minorities. The commission should act to fix the boundaries only after holding public hearings.

2. Establishment of councils:

Community councils should be established in the designated communities where a petition containing the names of 500 residents has been filed with the boundary commission and elections are held.

C. Membership:

Community councils should be made up of residents elected from small geographic districts and residents elected by a proportional vote from a combination of districts within the community. Aldermen and district-elected Park Board members should be ex-officio, non-voting members.

D. Elections

Members of the Community council should serve two-year terms and be elected in elections jointly with the city general election. The boundaries of voting precincts should be changed to coincide with election districts in each community to facilitate voting for the members of the community council, the district members of the Park Board, the ward-elected aldermen, and the Legislature.

E. Staffing:

Each Community council should appoint an executive secretary who would be exempt from civil service and paid a salary not less than assistants to the City Council. The executive secretary should work under direction of the Community council to represent it at public hearings, committee meetings of legislative bodies and act as the advocate for citizens of the community. He should consider citizen complaints and seek their resolution with appropriate public officials and agencies.

F. Compensation of members:

Members of the Community council should receive per diem compensation in an amount sufficient to cover their out-of-pocket expenses and to encourage their participation.

We see no reason why the model we have proposed could not be applied in other large cities, such as St. Paul, and provide a reasonable basis for citizen participation in reviewing and commenting on plans and proposals before the Metropolitan Council.

II. We recommend the City Council and the Charter Commission move to amend the City Charter to provide for election of two or four Aldermen-at-large.

III. We recommend that appointing authorities--the Mayor, City Council, School Board, Park Board and County Board--make appointments of persons to boards and commissions to assure that their membership is representative of minority groups, geographic areas, and the diverse interests within the city. At this time, it is particularly important that racial minorities and low-income people have membership on all boards and commissions. We note that the City Planning Commission, the Committee on Urban Environment, and the Industrial Development Commission do not have representatives of minority groups, and that many communities are not represented on a number of boards. The City Council should direct the Coordinator to each year publish a list of members of all boards and commissions with their home addresses and occupations, plus a summary indicating the municipalities and wards of residence of these members.

We recommend the City Council quickly move to appoint an Assistant Coordinator for Human Resources Development--a position which has been authorized for almost two years but never filled.

IV. We recommend that communication between the city and its residents be improved in the following ways:

- A. Governing bodies and policy-making boards should discontinue meeting almost exclusively in City Hall. Instead, meetings should be held as often as possible in communities of the city, particularly when decisions affecting these residents are being made.
- B. Meetings and hearings of policy and advisory boards should be largely held in the evening or at times convenient to most affected parties.
- C. Notification of meetings of policy and advisory boards and public hearings should be made to all interested organizations and individuals by means of a central clearing house for notices and agendas and by public service announcements through the mass media.

V. We recommend the political parties have annual caucuses with one scheduled before the municipal elections to enable people to directly participate in finding and endorsing candidates for local public office.

VI. We recommend that the City Council make a regular practice of using mobile stations and locating centers within communities to make the registration of voters as convenient as possible.

DISCUSSION OF RECOMMENDATIONS

Part I - GENERAL DISCUSSION

We recommend a double approach to the problem of citizen participation and minority representation by a movement at the same time to establish Community councils and amendment of the City Charter to provide for election of at-large aldermen.

We have concluded that participation of citizens and the representation of minorities in development of plans and programs and in the making of decisions affecting them are desirable and needed.

The involvement of residents in these activities will not be harmful; properly handled, it will be helpful. Such involvement can significantly contribute to improved decisions and reduce the possibility for conflict and delays in programs.

The major issues are: How can citizens be meaningfully involved, and more effectively communicate with each other and their elected representatives; and what can be done to increase the opportunities for representation of minorities?

I. COMMUNITY COUNCILS

What can a Community council do to provide opportunity for communication and meaningful involvement?

1. Establishment of Community councils can be expected to provide a visible structure for substantial citizen participation and communication between neighbors of varying interests, races and incomes with each other.

We contemplate that councils in their operation would provide an opportunity for all segments of the community--especially the minorities and low-income people who previously were left out of discussions--to voice their concerns and aid in identifying problems and issues in their community. As a consequence, the councils could become vehicles for dialogue about urban problems within individual communities.

Our proposal can contribute to a better understanding of the living conditions and problems experienced by people living within a community than any presently available. Issues important to minority or low-income people can be brought to this arena and discussed not only by these groups but also by those immediately affected who live within the community. A mutual understanding and appreciation of the problems at "our front door" can provide a way for people to immediately understand the problems experienced by others and release the energies of local residents in mobilizing community resources directed to the solution of these.

2. Councils, at a minimum, can provide a sounding board for problems initially identified within limited areas of the city--both those capable of resolution at this level and the identification of those which can better be handled by units of government with the resources and talent. The organized discussion and understanding of the particular aspects of programs permit development of proposals which can be specifically directed to such units.

In the field of education, many problems may arise within schools related to behavior of students, curriculum, and the organization of the school day. Many of these problems might be handled entirely within the community by enlisting the support of parents and community organizations or agencies. The Community council can provide a forum for concerned parents or residents in the community to meet with the staffs of the schools and, by mutual exchange, arrive at various approaches to handling the issues which are identified. In some instances additional resources may be needed from the school system, or problems might be identified in the policies or procedures of the central school system. In these cases, the Community council can become a vehicle for identifying what these issues are, as well as proposed changes to the allocation of resources, provide a base for support of additional resources, or call for changes to policies or procedures.

The area of recreation offers another example of where a Community council can perform this dual service. Individuals within a community who are concerned about the activities of young people when they are not in school or in the home can bring these to the council. Likewise, young people who are concerned about the availability of recreational opportunities, or have proposals for changes to existing programs or for new ones, can bring these to the council. In the discussion that follows with agencies providing existing services, specific problems can be identified and proposals made to change them or to provide new services. It is possible that some of these might be handled entirely within the community with the talent and resources which can be mobilized, or requests can be sent to recreational organizations or governmental bodies to change their existing operations or to provide additional services.

3. Analysis of existing programs and evaluation of their effectiveness can be performed by local residents most directly affected by the programs.

This type of activity can best be accomplished at the community level, where residents most directly affected by the programs can contribute their ideas and their assessment of existing activities. Presently, this is not possible since evaluation of programs is performed, if at all, only at the administrative level of the operating agency. In the area of recreation, for example, it may be possible for residents and young people to determine the number who participate in programs, the problems related to the lack of participation, and a determination made about the relevancy of such programs.

4. A pool of knowledgeable local leaders, familiar with the operation of local government and the various concerns of local residents, can be developed in work on councils.

One of the major difficulties experienced by many people who are interested in resolving a variety of problems of people living in their neighborhoods is their lack of knowledge about what units of government are responsible and the steps followed in the making of decisions. Questions about where to turn and what to do are likely to arise in the discussions of the councils as they attempt to handle particular issues.

The educational effects of participation are already seen in the knowledge of participants of existing citizen boards who today are much more familiar with the operation of local government than the general public. It can similarly be anticipated that many of the participants on councils--including women, minority, and low-income persons--will emerge as local leaders and thereby provide a pool of knowledgeable persons to the Community council or appointing authorities for positions on citywide boards and possibly even candidates for public office.

5. A structure to solicit the participation of affected citizens and their ideas in the development of plans and programs and the review of proposed projects is provided for local government.

A mechanism for involving residents in the development of plans and programs has been requested by numerous agencies. In the past, the City Planning Commission in its Community Improvement Program desired to involve residents in an analysis of their communities and development of plans for them. A mechanism was not readily available to achieve this purpose other than to solicit the support of existing voluntary neighborhood associations in the areas where they existed. Likewise, the Housing and Redevelopment Authority, in its desire to have residents within renewal projects participate in the planning and execution of these projects, could not turn to any existing resident organization but instead had to actively develop an advisory board of their own. This is equally true of the school pyramids and even of Model Neighborhood.

Community councils would provide units of government which may either desire citizen input or be required to have this under new federal programs with an existing organization which would be functioning. For example, if the Model Cities program is broadened to cover the entire city, a major portion of the question of how to obtain the maximum feasible participation would be answered through these local Community councils. Similarly, such a structure could be utilized in much the same way as suburbs to provide local resident input to the deliberations and decisions of the Metropolitan Council.

Review of proposed projects directly affecting residents can be most effectively accomplished through Community councils.

Presently, the process for review of numerous public building projects and zoning changes largely takes place either in citywide advisory boards or directly by the official governing bodies. On many occasions in the past, these governing boards and advisory boards, such as the Planning Commission and CLIC, have indicated an interest in knowing the thoughts of residents directly affected by them. Examples include building projects such as schools, parks, and streets, and zoning changes. Referral of these proposals to the Community councils would substantially assure that local residents would be given an opportunity to express their thoughts.

6. Continuous communication between elected officials and their constituents on matters of public policy and the administration of programs and services would be substantially improved by establishment of Community councils.

Public policy issues can be discussed as they arise, and the attitudes of a group of residents representative of the community communicated to the elected officials, through Community councils.

Past efforts of the city to communicate with residents have depended upon the initiative of the citizens who became aware of proposed programs or improvements and then requested information about the actions of elected representatives. Such actions, at best, have been sporadic and more often than not have resulted in an action-reaction approach to urban problems. No identifiable mechanism exists for continuous contact between citizens and their representatives beyond the limited discussion which precedes the ballot box. Instead, as new programs are developed, either a separate structure for citizen involvement is established, with little regard for the existing organizations or programs, or programs such as Pilot City and Model Neighborhood only indirectly involve the locally elected public officials.

Changes to existing programs requiring an alteration of policies or the allocation of dollars are hampered under the present process, since these are established by elected policy makers and not by administrative agencies. The Community council provides a mechanism which will enable residents, in an ongoing manner, to continuously communicate their concerns and understanding of the issues to the elected policy makers. In addition, in the event that additional financial resources are needed to resolve certain problems, the Community council can provide an informed base of support for measures to supply these dollars. It is likely that greater support would be forthcoming for efforts to raise these funds if local residents have formulated these programs and have weighed the need for these against the effects of possible increases in taxation.

Our proposal will decentralize much of the deliberation and early consideration of alternative proposals but does not move to decentralize the final decision making, management or administration of services, unless this is specifically delegated by the governing body.

Complaints arising in the administration of programs and services can be quickly communicated to elected officials and agency directors for resolution.

Two of the difficulties faced by people who feel they have been unfairly treated by persons administering programs are that they do not know where to turn to register their grievances, and that there is a lack of assurance their complaints will be handled and quickly resolved.

Traditionally, individuals seeking redress of their grievances have turned to local aldermen or attempted to contact the possible agency. In recent years, the City Council has aided persons with this referral difficulty by establishing the Public Service Office (330-2332) which

can directly refer the person to the appropriate office. In cases where administrative rules or the policies of local governing bodies are the basis of complaints related to garbage collection, housing inspection, street maintenance or snow removal, individuals are simply informed that these are the rules and that little can be done about them. In such instances, the Community council and its executive secretary, in communication with elected officials and agency directors, can do much to clarify these situations and further act to influence changes where these would appear to be desirable.

II. AT-LARGE ALDERMEN

What can the election of at-large aldermen do to improve opportunities for representation of minorities and for improved decisions?

1. Opportunities for the election and representation of minority people on the City Council would appear to be most improved at this time by election of at-large aldermen and others to at-large positions on the School Board and the Park and Recreation Board.

Minority people in Minneapolis are geographically dispersed into various clusters located throughout the inner city areas on the north and south sides. This situation effectively reduces the possibility of election of a minority person by individuals who may identify with this minority. As such, Minneapolis and a few other cities are distinguished from large cities where substantial concentrations of minority people are found in large areas in sufficient numbers to significantly influence the election of any ward-elected aldermen. In cities such as Detroit, with large concentrations of minority people, the election of all of the aldermen on an at-large basis appears to have diminished the opportunities for election of minority representatives. It should be pointed out, however, that our proposal would retain the 13 ward-elected aldermen and simply add some additional aldermen to at-large positions.

Improved opportunities for representation of minority people would seem to be more possible at this time in Minneapolis if these minorities were able to combine their efforts with others supportive of their concerns in seeking the endorsement of political parties and the voters. The proposal would not guarantee representation to minorities, but does appear to offer an opportunity for this and thereby another option than those presently available. We recognize that in order for this proposal to achieve its objective, continued concern within political parties and by various organizations throughout the community would be needed as has been demonstrated in recent elections to the School Board and in endorsements in 1969 of minority persons for positions on the Park Board, Library Board, and Board of Estimate and Taxation. It also suggests that major efforts will have to be made to obtain the complete interest and involvement of minorities and others in the registration of voters and participation in the political parties.

The question of whether a person elected at-large to the City Council represents the black, Indian or low-income people will not be answered directly in such an election. However, to the extent that it would improve the possibility of their representation, it would result in "visible" representation and thereby the increased likelihood of a voice on these bodies for minority people.

We considered alternatives directed to providing representation for minorities in addition to at-large positions but all appeared to have serious shortcomings.

a) Alternative systems of representation

- 1) In discussing alternative approaches we accepted the present constitutional framework which provides for election of representatives by voters living within specified areas and apportionment of these election districts on the basis of population.

The system of representation as outlined in constitutions of the state and nation, city charters and state laws assigns the making of public policy largely to legislative bodies--the Congress, state legislatures, city councils, or designated boards--composed of "representatives" elected from specified areas--legislative districts, the entire city, wards or special districts. Representatives, under our system, are elected by voters living within equally apportioned districts under the rule of one man, one vote. Within this framework two specific proposals were reviewed, but we discovered they have many shortcomings:

- a. Gerrymandering of wards was viewed as one possible way of achieving minority representation. However, minority populations at the present time do not constitute more than, at best, 25% of the 37,000 population of any ward. Although it might be possible to draw the boundaries in such a way as to increase this percentage, the substantial geographic separation between the concentrations of minority populations would not make gerrymandering feasible even if it were desirable or possible under the city charter provisions which essentially provide for wards of equal size population varying by no more than 5% and consisting of contiguous territory not more than twice as long as it is wide.
- b. Increasing the number of aldermen and reducing the size of wards was considered as a second alternative. At one time, Minneapolis had 26 aldermen--two from each ward. This number was reduced to 13 in order to make the City Council a more effective policy-making body and to improve the visibility and accountability of elected representatives. It is questionable whether returning to a council of this size would be desirable, and in any case a doubling of the number of wards would probably result in increasing the opportunities for election of minority persons in only a couple of wards, while it would diminish the like influence of the elected minority representatives since they might be only 2 out of 26.

- 2) We considered basing election of representatives on organized groups of people as an alternative, but found this to be inadequate on a number of counts.

Election of public officials directly by a group of people might insure that a wide variety of views and positions would be represented, but it carries with it a number of practical problems.

Limited and changing identification by people with groups.

Major difficulties are encountered in deciding what groups should be recognized and further whether they are representative of the interests they allege. The use of groups to select representatives carries with it problems associated with the changing set of interests and the identification of a large number of people with these groups. In looking at the issues of our day, for example, there does not appear to be any unified, large group of people, whether by race or income, with a common identity and purpose representative of all the black, Indian, or low-income people in the city. Indeed, there are great difficulties in attempting to define the term "minority".

Groups are in flux.

There are problems associated with the fact that groups with which large numbers of people may identify, on the basis of race or income, are in a constant state of flux. Many organizations appear around individual leaders or issues claiming to represent the Indians, black people, or the poor, but as these leaders or issues change, they disappear. Such instability and the short life of these organizations make it extremely difficult to base a system of representation on them.

Two possible ways of permitting groups to have a direct voice on the City Council or even be voting members were considered:

- a. Appointment of persons elected by minority groups to participate in the deliberations of the City Council without a vote was seriously proposed and discussed. This approach would permit minority people to participate in the election of an advisory board but would not enable these "representatives" to make decisions and thereby be accountable to the group of people who elected them. As such, it is possible that this advisory position--particularly at the decision-making table--would be futile since what is important is a seat on the Council. It is unlikely that the City Council or any governing body would allow an advisory group to participate in the caucuses, committee deliberations, and the activities of the Council prior to its actual meeting. The question of who may be present during these deliberations has traditionally been a prerogative of the decision-making body. Experience would indicate that most governing bodies have seldom permitted any group to directly sit in or to participate in these discussions. In many respects this approach would probably result in organization of a group which would be much like existing organizations which can only work from the outside to influence the Council.

b. Appointment of minority persons by the City Council as their advisors with full voting rights was also considered. This proposal might avoid the difficulties inherent in having a group rather than the Council select the representatives, thereby increasing the confidence of the City Council, who would appoint the individuals. Under our present constitutional framework, however, these appointments could only be to advisory positions and would not carry with them voting rights. Also, this poses difficulties related to the Council's deciding who these people should be and who they represent. There is little assurance that such persons would be leaders in the minority community or, if they were, that they would continue as such. The proposal of the City Council to develop the position of Assistant Coordinator for Human Resources Development somewhat fits within this model. It should be noted, however, that although the City Council authorized this position nearly two years ago it still has not been filled.

2. Election of at-large aldermen can provide a citywide perspective on the City Council to balance and offset the forces of localism which might develop in the operation of Community councils.

Concern has been expressed by some that the closer communication and contact between ward-elected aldermen and their constituents might tend to make the decisions of the City Council somewhat more parochial and that the citywide view would be submerged. We see many positive advantages in this closer contact between an alderman and his constituents where he can obtain community input that is needed.

We are unable to predict what effect the Community council proposal would have on decisions, but suggest that it would not necessarily substantially increase these local pressures--other than in issues extremely important to individual communities. The proposed changes in the operation of our representative system would not restrict the decisions of local governing bodies but in many respects would improve them.

The diversity between communities in the city suggests that a number of aldermen will be able to devote a considerable amount of their time to citywide issues as they presently do, while a few others may tend to reflect these more localized concerns. Election of at-large aldermen would improve the possibilities for assuring that issues affecting the entire city are brought before the Council and that this citywide concern is adequately expressed.

The possible election of minority persons to at-large positions and the desire to develop a citywide perspective may appear to be in conflict. However, problems encountered by minorities within the population tend to be citywide as much as local.

What difficulties can be anticipated in gaining the participation of people -- particularly minority and low-income -- and what can be done to alleviate these?

1. We recognize that large numbers of people have not participated in local government--even to the extent of voting--and that difficulties may be expected in attempts to gain their participation. However, efforts must be made to increase the opportunities for all people--particularly low-income and minority people--by developing other options in which meaningful participation can be expected to be worthwhile.

Numerous reasons have been noted by many to explain why citizens do not participate in their government. The range of reasons includes a lack of knowledge and understanding, economic sacrifice, feelings of distrust and alienation, time required for service, inconvenience, the complexity of government, and simple disinterest. Many of these will not be alleviated or probably significantly altered within a short period of time, even if increased opportunities for participation are made available. However, there is hope that if many of these conditions are recognized and major efforts made to alleviate them and to contact substantial numbers of people, the level of participation will increase. Difficulties in finding and gaining the support of low-income and minority people to participate on citizen boards can be anticipated, but much can be done to overcome some of the conditions otherwise discouraging their involvement.

We recognize that many low-income and minority people are immersed in a day-to-day struggle for existence and have many personal crises in their lives. In addition, there are frequently deep feelings of distrust and alienation with government and the way in which it operates to provide for their needs. For many, service on community or citywide boards entails an economic sacrifice to the extent that they must incur expenses for babysitters or transportation which they otherwise would not do. In some instances, such service may require that they forego a job and some income if they were to serve.

Other difficulties relate to the operation of the board. These include the time required for service and the attitudes of members on the board. Some boards may meet during the day, when it is difficult for people with low incomes to receive permission from their employers to leave their jobs. In addition, the excessive number of hours spent in service on some boards ultimately deters people from wanting to participate on them. Other factors, such as the cultural, racial and social attitudes of members of the boards, have been pointed to by present members of citizen boards as significant barriers in communication, which ultimately influence the confidence that these people can have that they are accepted and their contributions desired.

The structure established for participation, the timing and length of meetings, the significance of the business at the meeting, attitudes of members, and the degree of economic sacrifice would all appear to be items which should be considered in developing a structure for citizen participation and in the operation of such an organization. Many of these will require substantial work after the initial organization is established, but much can be done to anticipate them and to plan for them in the efforts directed to their initial establishment. These relate to the functions which the organization would perform, the compensation of members, and the efforts that can be made to contact people to initially participate.

- III. We recommend that appointing authorities--the Mayor, City Council, School Board, Park Board, and County Board--make appointments of persons to boards and commissions to assure that their membership is representative of minority groups, geographic areas, and the diverse interests within the city. The City Council should direct the Coordinator to publish each year a list of members of all boards and commissions with their home address and occupation plus a summary indicating the municipality and ward of residence of these members.

We note that a number of citywide advisory boards presently lack representation of minority and low-income people. Although appointments of such individuals have been made in recent years to the Housing and Redevelopment Authority, Civil Service Commission, Human Relations Commission, Committee on Urban Environment and Capital Longrange Improvements Committee, the following boards do not have such representatives: City Planning Commission, Minneapolis Industrial Development Commission, and the Board of Estimate and Taxation. We also note that many boards do not have representatives from the various communities of the city, such as North Minneapolis, Northeast, the southeastern corner of South Minneapolis, and much of the Powderhorn community.

We urge the City Council to quickly move to appoint an Assistant Coordinator for Human Resources Development--a post which has been established for almost two years but never filled. This position could greatly assist in communicating the concerns and complaints of minority and low-income people in the development of the city budget and the administration of major city programs and would thereby contribute to increasing the confidence of minority people that their problems are recognized in City Hall at the top administrative level.

- IV. We recommend that communication between the city and its residents be improved by having meetings of governing bodies and policy boards in communities of the city, at a time convenient to most affected parties, and with adequate notification of these meetings to all interested organizations and individuals.

The gap in communication between the city and its residents partly results from the present remoteness and inconvenience to citizens of a large portion of the city's business which is intended to solicit the opinions of its residents. We recommend these conditions be alleviated in the following ways:

- * Meetings of governing bodies and policy-making boards should be held as often as possible in communities of the city, particularly when decisions affecting these residents are being made.

Many recent meetings of the School Board, and some of the meetings of the City Council, have been held in various locations throughout the city. We endorse this practice and strongly encourage these bodies and others to make every effort to move out into the community as frequently as possible, particularly when issues affecting residents in a limited area are before these bodies.

- * The meetings and hearings of policy and advisory boards should be largely held in the evening, or at times convenient to most affected parties.

At the present time, most policy and citywide advisory boards have their meetings during the day, when it is inconvenient for most

residents who must take off of work to attend these meetings. This practice, in itself, discourages residents from voicing their concerns and indirectly suggests to them that their views are not really desired.

- * Notification of meetings of policy and advisory boards and public hearings should be made to all interested organizations and individuals by means of a central clearing house for notices and agendas and by public service announcements by the mass media.

One of the major difficulties, apart from the inconvenience of meetings, is the fact that many individuals who potentially might be interested in decisions which affect them are simply not aware of the fact that they are about to be made. A major improvement in notification has recently occurred in publication of a Calendar of Public Meetings each week in the Minneapolis Tribune. This resulted from the urging of the Council of Community Councils. We suggest that this practice be improved upon by development of a central clearing house for notices and agendas which individuals and interested organizations could call to indicate the types of matters they are concerned about for the purpose of notification whenever these arise. The use of public service announcements by the mass media (radio and television and all newspapers) should also be explored as a way of informing the public about the meeting place, time, and topics to be covered at meetings of the numerous boards and commissions.

- V. We recommend that political parties have annual caucuses with one scheduled before the municipal election to enable people to directly participate in finding and endorsing candidates for local public office.

The present state law requires the political parties to hold precinct caucuses on the fourth Tuesday in February in every general election year. It does not prohibit the holding of such caucuses more frequently. This decision rests with the parties. It has been proposed in the new constitution of the 5th Congressional District of the D.F.L. but not yet approved by the State Executive Committee. Although this recommendation might slightly increase the cost to the parties in the rental of locations for such precinct caucuses, we believe it would enable residents who were interested to more directly participate in finding and supporting candidates for local public offices. Precinct caucuses held before municipal elections would permit individuals to channel their concerns on city issues more directly into the political parties and thereby improve the responsiveness of the parties to issues in the election.

- VI. We recommend the City Council make a regular practice of using mobile stations and having locations within communities for the registration of voters to make it as convenient as possible.

In 1968, the City Council participated in a voter registration drive by underwriting the cost of mobile stations which made it easier for people to be registered, particularly in the inner city areas. This practice was not continued in the registration efforts before the 1969 city election. We suggest that the city actively encourage and participate in voter registration efforts by making such registration as convenient as possible.

DISCUSSION OF RECOMMENDATIONS

Part II - DISCUSSION OF THE IMPLEMENTATION AND
SPECIFICS OF THE COMMUNITY COUNCIL RECOMMENDATION

I. Community Councils

A. *How should the Community council proposal be implemented?*

1. We recommend that Community councils be authorized by an ordinance passed by the Minneapolis City Council with the support of the School Board, Park Board, and the County Board, as expressed in resolutions adopted by these bodies.

Our recommendation that Community councils be established by action of local governing bodies recognizes that they will be most directly affected and involved in the boundary area commission, in their participation on the Community councils, and in the proposed system for making appointments to boards and commissions.

The local governing bodies--acting together--have sufficient powers to set up the machinery to enable formation of the proposed councils. All that is needed is the will.

2. In the event the City Council does not act, or other governing bodies do not participate, we recommend legislation be initiated by the Minnesota Legislature in the 1971 session to implement this proposal.

Our recommendation for Community councils is a proper matter for state concern. It relates to basic problems in the representative system and its operation--matters not only of concern in large central cities but also of concern in the metropolitan area. The Legislature, in establishing the Metropolitan Council, for example, did not detail any structure for involvement in the Council's decisions by local residents or units of government. This issue has increasingly moved to the forefront as one of the major unanswered questions related to the operation of the Council. Our recommendation proposes a structure which will permit substantial citizen input and evaluation of Council proposals as they directly affect communities within large central cities. The proposed structure establishes elective citizen boards in areas of approximately the same size as many suburbs. As such, it would develop a vehicle for citizen participation reflective of the people living within communities in a way that no present arrangement permits. It is possible, for example, that a Community council could function to review proposed freeway and transit projects which under federal rules must involve the participation of citizens.

The Legislature has acted to establish numerous units of local government by state law and even to significantly modify the operation of units established by home rule charters. In 1959 it acted to establish the Minneapolis schools as an independent school district and thereby removed it from under the city charter. Therefore, only the Legislature is able to pass legislation affecting it.

The issue of citizen participation and minority representation is increasingly urgent. Our proposal represents an attempt to respond to this issue and provide a means which will increase confidence in local government and in the operation of the system of representation. As such, it provides the Legislature with the opportunity to make a major contribution to solving one of the problems in our large central cities--a contribution which ultimately could be as significant as creation of the Metropolitan Council.

B. *What functions should the Community councils handle?*

1. The functions handled by the Community councils should be determined by them. Our recommendation envisions a multi-purpose body of residents within a community working to identify, analyze and respond to the problems within that community.

Although all communities may face many situations which are somewhat comparable, relative differences between communities in the concerns of residents resulting from the composition of the population and different types of conditions and programs affecting them suggest that each council determine the importance, for example, of housing, health care, education or recreation and where it would like to concentrate its energies. Even in terms of their operation, councils might decide to place a greater emphasis on their role in developing plans and programs for the community than handling and responding to citizens' complaints. Community councils, if they are to be effective, should develop a balance between their roles of participating in development of plans and programs, reviewing proposals, acting as advocates for change where it is needed, and responding to citizens' complaints and neighborhood issues by contacting appropriate city agencies and governing bodies. Even in this area, however, the determination of where the emphasis should be placed should rest with the people representing the specific community.

C. *What powers should be given to the Community councils to make them effective?*

1. We recommend the powers granted to the Community councils include those of appointment of its own people to serve on citywide boards; review, comment and recommendation on zoning changes, variations, permits, licenses and public improvements requested within their communities; and the passage of resolutions to be forwarded to the appropriate agency or governing body.

- a) Appointment by the Community council of its own people to serve on citywide agencies represents one step in the direction of assuring that the views of people in all geographic areas of the city are present on all citywide boards. The appointment of people to vacancies on boards or even the nomination of them would tend to aid the Community councils in three ways: It would focus discussion of issues relating to a particular board on persons who could carry the thinking of the Community council to this board and thereby increase the confidence within the community that their voice was being

The power to review, comment and recommend is parallel, in many respects, to the major powers initially granted to the Metropolitan Council by state or federal law. Although it falls short of giving the community a veto over what may happen within a community and essentially leaves these decisions to elected bodies, it can be expected to give the Community councils considerable influence and indirectly control over their destiny.

Some concern may be expressed that, in granting the review and comment power to Community councils, unreasonable delays would occur and the present system would be even more complex. However, these difficulties must be worked out in cooperation with the Community councils in developing simplified procedures that distinguish between various types of permits, licenses and variances, and with limitations on the time that such requests or proposals could be before the councils. For example, one procedure might be to give the Community councils a reasonable period of time (possibly 30-45 days) after the request or proposal is submitted to consider and develop their recommendation.

- c) Community councils in their operation would have many implied powers which should not be under-rated. These include the power to initiate plans for the development of their area, prepare ordinances, hold meetings, pass resolutions and act as spokesman for their community.

It is expected that, since one of the primary purposes of the Community council is to identify problems and act as a communication vehicle for the concerns within a community, the councils would regularly hold public meetings where various issues would be discussed. In the process of their operation, it is anticipated that these councils would be encouraged to develop their best ideas of what they want their communities to be for the City Planning Commission, which should review and integrate these plans into the city's comprehensive plan. It is expected they would receive planning assistance from the City Coordinator and the Planning Department. They should also pass resolutions and prepare ordinances to be forwarded to the appropriate agency or governing body for their consideration and action.

- d) We do not recommend the Community councils initially manage or administer services unless these are specifically delegated by an official governing body such as the City Council or School Board. Possible decentralization of services or functions to be managed and administered by the councils should be considered only after the councils have gained some experience.

Problems associated with developing and administering a budget, hiring personnel, and generally managing and administering services are tasks which consume considerable amounts of time and often tend to sidetrack essentially policy bodies from their major functions, thereby only frustrating and confusing the members. In some instances, however, it is possible that under existing programs communities such as Pilot City and Model Neighborhood might continue to have responsibilities of this type to assure resident involvement in the operation of these programs.

It has been suggested that Community councils might be able to directly administer some types of services which they would view as desirable, such as sidewalk snow removal or recreational programs. However, we believe that this issue requires considerable additional review and should be considered only after the councils have gained some experience.

D. How would Community councils be formed?

1. We recommend Community councils be established under a two-step procedure--one setting the boundaries, and the other the filing of a petition by residents indicating an interest in setting up a council in their community.

a) *The setting of boundaries for Community councils and election districts within them should be performed by a boundary commission in accordance with guidelines adopted by the commission and after public hearings are held within communities to gain the reaction of residents to the suggested boundaries.*

- 1) Boundary Commission -- Enabling legislation and resolutions establishing the Community councils should provide for formation of a boundary commission consisting of 7 members including: The chairmen of the City Council, School Board, Park Board, City Planning Commission, Human Relations Commission; the Mayor; and a member of the County Board who is a resident of Minneapolis.

This board should adopt guidelines it will follow in developing suggested boundaries, hold public hearings on these suggested boundaries, and then act to fix them.

We arrived at the recommended membership of the boundary commission after considering various alternatives, such as leaving the boundary determination up to the initiative of the community, or a body consisting only of the chairmen of the Planning Commission and the Human Relations Commission. Although there is merit in leaving the responsibility of deciding what the boundaries will be up to the initiative of the local areas, it was concluded that this would probably result in either very small areas--essentially neighborhoods attempting to form the proposed councils, or a situation where some areas of the city would be left out of councils, or in other cases some areas would overlap and be disputed between two councils. We concluded that it would be preferable for a boundary commission to first develop an outline of the possible areas for Community councils and then take these to the residents in public hearings for their reaction. This approach would spell out the guidelines used in describing communities and also tend to stir up interest which could be very educational in terms of letting people know what the Community councils are and what they can do.

The membership proposed for the boundary commission recognizes the interest of governing bodies directly affected by the councils whose cooperation will be needed to make them effective. Under the proposal, for example, the City Council, Mayor, School Board, Park Board, and the County Board would all be requested to accept nominations of persons from the Community councils for vacancies on their statutory boards and accept the appointments of Community councils to citywide advisory commissions which they established. The chairman of the Planning Commission would add a dimension of knowledge to this body since the

planning staff has closely worked with a number of communities and has done much of the work in analyzing and identifying both larger communities and neighborhoods. The chairman of the Human Relations Commission is suggested as a member because of the concern of this body for minority people in the city. It is anticipated that he would assist the commission in the adoption of guidelines and the drawing of boundaries by expressing concern that these permit adequate and fair representation for minority populations particularly in the drawing of election districts.

- 2) Boundary Guidelines -- We suggest that the guidelines for boundaries of the Community councils recognize the work of the Planning Commission and that Community councils be formed around communities as identified by the Planning Commission.

Importance of real communities - not wards.

In arriving at the possible areas which might be included within the boundaries of potential Community councils, we looked at possibly using wards or other political districts as well as the 10 communities identified by the Planning Commission. (See Map 6) It was our feeling that wards or other political districts should not be used, since they do not recognize an identity of interests within a geographic area and in fact frequently cut through some areas which function as neighborhoods. In addition, we were concerned that the Community council not be identical to wards to diminish the possibility of contests for aldermen becoming a paramount issue in the election campaigns of members to the Community council.

More than 10 councils possible.

In recommending Community councils be formed around areas identified as communities by the Planning Commission, we do not feel that this would limit the number of councils to 10. Instead, we suggest that this definition be used initially and that, in some instances if it appears the areas are too large or inadequate, these areas be redefined and their boundaries changed. In any case, we would see possibly 10 to 15 councils with populations ranging from 26,000 to 65,000 as areas for the proposed councils.

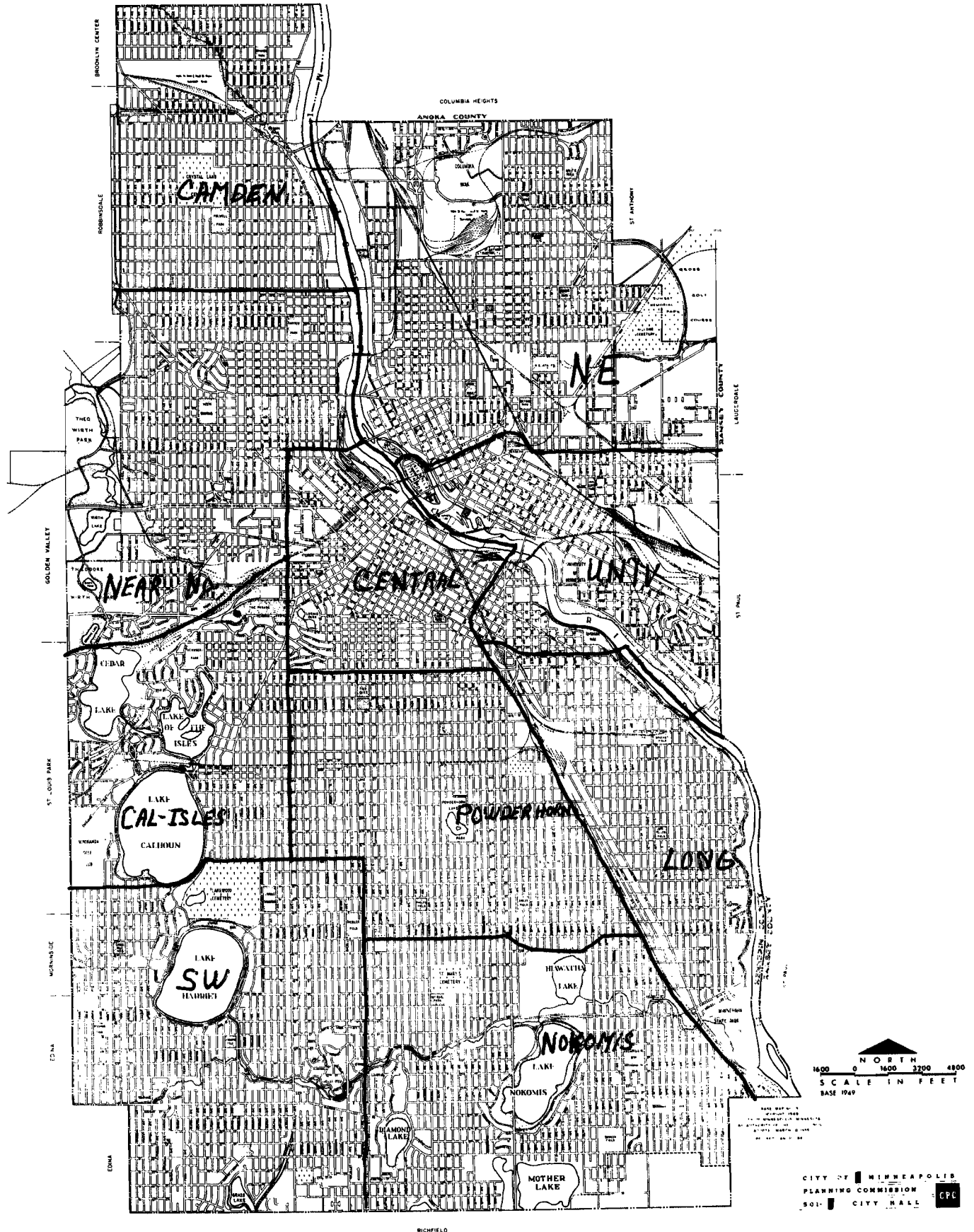
Election districts contain 2,000 to 3,000 people.

Election districts should be small areas with district lines following neighborhood boundaries as much as possible and drawn in such a way as to assure that minority populations would have substantial opportunity for election to the councils. This possibility would also be aided if some of these districts were combined to form a separate election district within the community in which candidates would be elected on a proportional voting basis.

Essentially, our proposal would see individuals being elected by their neighbors and communicating with them.

Map 6

COMMUNITIES OF MINNEAPOLIS AS IDENTIFIED BY THE CITY PLANNING COMMISSION



Provisions for changing boundaries.

The boundary commission, in establishing guidelines and procedures for initially forming the Community councils, should adopt procedures for changing the boundaries of Community councils and the election districts. One possible method for handling this would be to permit residents in a local area to petition for a change to the boundary commission. This request could then be considered together with the comments and recommendations of the affected Community council. It is also possible the Community council might itself initiate this action.

- b) *The actual establishment of Community councils should depend upon some limited effort within a community by residents in filing a petition with the boundary commission containing the names of 500 residents. Elections would then be set and the council established after the first election.*

- 1) We see this whole program as enabling for a community - not mandatory.

We recommend that Community councils be established in suggested areas only after a limited number of residents have indicated an interest in formation of such a council. The success of councils in finding potential candidates to run for positions and the turnout of voters and interest in the council to some degree will depend upon efforts by citizens within the community. It was felt that this indication of interest should not require substantial support within the community but simply one involving at least a group of people.

We considered the possibility of mandating the Community councils throughout the city in the legislation enabling formation of councils, but rejected this as we concluded that an indication of interest and support would be essential if the Community councils are to succeed.

E. *Who will be on the Community council and how will they be selected?*

1. We recommend the Community councils be made up of residents elected from small geographic election districts and residents elected by a proportional vote from a combination of districts within the community. Aldermen and district-elected Park Board members should be ex-officio, non-voting members.

We recommend that the membership of Community councils consist of both elected residents and district-elected local public officials.

District-elected residents would total 13 to 25.

This proposed arrangement would best assure that the diverse interests, and populations, within a community would have an opportunity for representation on the council. Likewise, the election of residents from small districts, plus a combination of districts under a proportional voting arrangement in communities with a substantial number of minority or low-income people who would not constitute a majority, would appear to substantially provide for maximum opportunities for the representation of minorities. Under our proposal, councils may have from 13 to 25 resident members.

In reviewing possible alternatives for selecting members of the Community councils, we considered the possibility of electing some or all of the members at-large from within the community. However, this alternative was rejected as we concluded that election of members at-large would tend to decrease the opportunity for a fine-grained selection of people representing the thoughts of residents within small neighborhoods and would create barriers in communication for the members and their large constituencies. It would also increase the relative effort and expense involved in running for an election.

Public officials from districts in the community are members.

The designation of district-elected local public officials, such as aldermen and Park Board commissioners, as members of the Community council would tend to assure increased communication between these officials and their constituents and also provide a vehicle for communication of concerns by local residents to such officials. In a few cases, this might require one alderman to be on two or even three councils, but this does not appear unreasonable.

Generally, we feel that it would be desirable to have public officials from all governing bodies as members of the Community councils. However, some of these, such as School Board members, are elected at-large from throughout the city and therefore do not have a defined territory or constituency. It is possible, however, that such officials might be assigned by their board to sit as non-voting members on assigned councils.

Agencies not members.

We considered the possibility of having agencies represented on the Community councils but rejected this as it was felt that the Community councils should essentially be bodies concerned with public policy issues and primarily act to communicate their interests and concerns to the appropriate governing body. This does not suggest that they cannot contact or work with agencies -- indeed, it is expected that they will do so. However, direct representation and participation by the agency on the councils is not needed for this purpose. Another difficulty with membership for agencies relates to the limited staff agencies could make available for this purpose. If all agencies had members on all Community councils, either the agency directors would be taxed beyond their ability or they would have to assign a number of assistants to this task.

F. *When would elections be held?*

1. We recommend elections of members to Community councils be held jointly with the city general election and members serve a two-year term.

City general election.

We recommend that members of the Community council be elected in the city general election, as this is the time when city issues are being discussed and the turnout for the election is likely to be substantially higher than for any special elections called for this purpose. We recognize that tying the Community council elections to the city general

elections might run the risk of tying candidates for the Community council to the candidates for city offices. However, on balance, we feel that holding elections at this time would be preferable to having them jointly with the state general elections or in special elections. State general elections, although they have a relatively high turnout of voters, have a long ballot and are elections when local issues generally are not being discussed. Special elections, on the other hand, almost always have a very low voter turnout and would require the additional expenditure of upwards of \$40,000 simply for this purpose.

Term of office.

We recommend that the term of office be two years to increase the likely responsiveness of members on the Community council, and yet to provide some time for people to gain familiarity and to work together in this activity. This term recognizes the mobility of population in some communities, and the difficulties which might be experienced from a large number of vacancies appearing on boards where members had a long term.

We considered the possibility of having the term of office only one year or four years. However, we concluded that a one-year term, though it would presumably assure responsiveness, would limit the opportunities for members to gain familiarity with their duties. A four-year term, on the other hand, would tend to possibly insulate members from their constituents and possibly require an unreasonable commitment from people who could be approached to serve on the council.

G. *What staff assistance would be provided for councils?*

1. We recommend an executive secretary be appointed by each Community council who would be exempt from civil service and paid a salary not less than the administrative assistants to the City Council. The executive secretary should have a clerical staff and be provided with an office located in the community.

Appointment of an executive secretary by Community councils would provide them with substantial staff assistance in their operation and with a person who could act as an advocate for the council under their direction at committee meetings and hearings of legislative bodies and advisory boards.

Duties of an executive secretary.

An executive secretary would: Provide administrative services to the Community council in arranging for meetings and notifying members; report to the Community council and act on their behalf, when so directed, in carrying the resolutions of the Community council to the appropriate governing body or advisory board; and follow up on resolutions and report back to the council on their status. He could also perform a limited service of research on issues and problems. Finally, he would receive citizen complaints and refer these persons to the appropriate agencies. In the event that the complaint is not satisfactorily handled, he will be in a position to take note of this and bring the matter to the attention of the Community council.

It is important that the executive secretary be appointed by the Community council and be exempt from civil service in order to insure his independence from city agencies or governing bodies and to insure that Community councils have confidence that he represents only their interests. In the event the Community council is not satisfied with his performance, it should be able to replace him without having to go through any civil service discharge proceedings.

H. *Should the members be paid for their expenses and service?*

1. We recommend members of the Community councils receive per diem compensation in an amount sufficient to cover their out-of-pocket expenses and to encourage their participation.

Members of the Community councils can be expected to spend some time in service on the board and in some cases may incur additional expenses related to this service, such as babysitting and transportation. This condition is likely to exist particularly for the lower-income members whose participation is essential if these boards are to be fully representative. We believe these expenses should be recognized and compensation provided to cover them, plus an additional amount to simply recognize the time spent in this service. This proposal is consistent with the current practice of paying members of the Metropolitan Council, the Sewer Board, and the Metropolitan Transit Commission a per diem payment for their services. We have not attempted to determine what this payment should be and instead suggest that this be determined by the Community councils and the Boundary Commission.

I. *How will the expenses of the Community councils be funded?*

1. We recognize that our proposals for employment of an executive secretary, clerical assistants, and office space, plus the compensation of members, will require funding for the Community council proposal. We suggest that four alternatives be explored.

The possible source of funding should be one which will enable independent action by the Community council and one which would not permit decisions on funding to threaten the existence of the councils.

Some alternative sources of funding which should be explored include the following:

- * *Pooling of federal aids* -- Federally aided programs which require citizen participation, including Model Cities, Urban Renewal, highways, and welfare. Pooling the funds used by various existing agencies from grants under these categorical programs for this purpose might provide a possible source.
- * *State appropriation* -- In recent years, the state has moved to recognize some of the problems in our larger cities and provided funds for limited research and operating programs directed to these problems. These include the Center for Urban and Regional Affairs, the Storefront Schools of the University, and the Office of Local

and Regional Affairs in the State Planning Agency. The possibility of state appropriation for an experimental program of the type which we recommend should be considered.

- * *Foundation grants* -- Private foundations have evidenced much interest in experimental programs such as the one we propose. The Ford Foundation, for example, was instrumental in funding the initial efforts toward school decentralization in New York City. Similar support for the Community councils, or at least some of them, would be an excellent pilot project for foundations to consider.
- * *City Council appropriation* -- City Council funding of the councils is one possibility which should be seriously considered and adopted if other alternatives fail. The anticipated cost of this proposal would not be an excessive burden on the city taxpayers but is one expected to provide significant return in terms of improved communication and greater confidence in local government. However, we suggest that in moving to fund the councils from the general city budget some assurance be provided that the councils could act independently without the major fear of having their budgets threatened by aldermen who might be disturbed with the actions of the councils. One possible way of avoiding this difficulty would be to have the budgets prepared by the Community councils with the assistance of the Coordinator and then approved by the City Council. This approach would at least make the budget of the councils a matter for open and public debate and thereby reduce the possibility of control over the councils by the City Council.

J. *What would happen to existing community advisory boards?*

1. We recommend that most of the existing citizen boards which have some elected members, and the advisory boards in areas smaller or larger than communities, be eventually phased out by the sponsoring agencies or governing bodies which established them, to reduce the duplication of elections in communities, avoid the proliferation of special-purpose advisory bodies, and coordinate their efforts with those of the Community councils.

At the present time, there are essentially three different types of citizen advisory boards: They include federally aided programs such as Model Neighborhood and Pilot City, which cover nearly a complete community and have an elected citizen board with considerable responsibility for overseeing the operation of major programs; advisory boards to agencies and poverty programs, which may be elected or appointed; and voluntary neighborhood associations.

Model Neighborhood and Pilot City.

One approach to establishing Community councils in the areas of Model Neighborhood and Pilot City would be to integrate these programs and their boards into the Community councils which would operate in these areas. The territory covered by Pilot City and Model Neighborhood is somewhat comparable to the area recommended for a Community council. Issues related to the makeup of the board and questions about how the existing programs would be integrated would have to be answered, but this approach appears feasible. It is possible, for example, that the powers and functions of the Community councils in these areas might be added to those of Pilot City and Model Neighborhood and the size and membership of their boards reconstituted to follow the outlines of a Community council board.

Community citizen advisory boards to agencies and poverty programs.

We contemplate that existing community citizen advisory boards to agencies and poverty programs will be consolidated and affiliated as committees with the Community councils in the areas affected, while the membership of any necessary citywide boards will be reconstituted by changes in ordinances or resolutions with some members appointed by the Community councils. This issue and the composition of these boards are matters, however, which will have to be worked out by the sponsoring agencies in communication with the existing boards. Members of the existing community boards, for example, might continue as members under committees of the Community councils. Likewise, any new citywide boards set up should partially consist of members selected by each of the Community councils.

Voluntary neighborhood associations.

Voluntary neighborhood associations and those which organize around specific issues are not likely to be directly affected by the Community councils. We do not recommend that they be directly represented on the Community councils, but instead encouraged to participate in the elections of the councils and in presenting issues to them.

WORK OF THE COMMITTEE

Background

The Citizens League has had a continuing interest for many years in matters related to the organization of government in Minneapolis. Its research reports dating back to 1954 and 1956, plus numerous reports on proposed charter amendments during the early 1960s, and a report last year entitled, "Who Will Help Us Get Action? - A Proposal To Answer the Appeal for Political Leadership in Solving the Problems Confronting the City", have given the League considerable understanding and background about the organization and operation of local government in Minneapolis.

Interest in the question of minority representation and citizen participation in local government was sparked in two demands from the Black Coalition to the Urban Coalition calling for representation of minorities on the City Council and on all appointed boards and commissions.

Following statements at the April 10, 1968, Citizens League Board of Directors meeting, a specific research proposal was developed and the Board authorized the formation of a research committee with the following assignment:

"Review the present system of representation of minorities in city and county government in Minneapolis, St. Paul, Ramsey County and Hennepin County. Problems with the present system of representation should be analyzed, and the committee should anticipate problems that would arise in future years. The committee will look at experience elsewhere in representation of minorities and consider recommendations for changes in appointed boards or the elected representatives in county and municipal government. The committee will look at ways to broaden participation of minorities throughout municipal government, not just on the City Council, and the possibility of decentralizing some of the decision-making to the neighborhood level."

Membership

A total of 23 members actively participated in the work of the committee. The chairman was James L. Weaver, Director of Corporate Analysis, General Mills, Inc. Other members were: Mrs. C. P. Barnum, Jr., Thomas F. Beech, John Carmichael, Lee Doucette, Mrs. W. H. Goss, Peter Heegaard, Charles B. Howard, Mrs. Edgar Kuderling, Mrs. John Lilja, Bradley L. Morison, Gordon L. Nelson, Mrs. J. Putnam O'Grady, Harold Payne, Louis S. Schoen, Melvin Siegel, Mrs. Kenneth Sigford, John H. Stout, Willis F. Street, Michael P. Sullivan, Matthew H. Thayer, Mrs. Lee Wattenberg, and Mrs. T. Williams. The committee was assisted by Clarence Shallbetter of the Citizens League staff.

Committee Procedures

The committee began meeting on June 12, 1968. A total of 55 meetings were held, most of them in two-hour noon sessions but a third in evening meetings, until April 9, 1970. Detailed minutes of each meeting were prepared of both the presentations made to the committee and of its deliberations. These minutes were circulated to committee members, individuals who appeared before the committee, and a large number of officials and individuals interested in this question of minority representation and citizen participation in Minneapolis.

During the deliberations of the committee, it was concluded that differences in the organization of government between Minneapolis and St. Paul and difficulties in gaining familiarity with the situation in both cities would limit the committee's work to only Minneapolis. It should be noted, however, that we have concluded that the model developed for Minneapolis has great potential for application in other cities and that many of the elements and problems identified in Minneapolis are also found in St. Paul.

In the almost two years during which this committee has met, numerous events have altered the initial conditions first identified by the committee. These include appointments of some minority people to certain boards, the creation of new boards, the city elections of 1969, and, most recently, the filing of the petition for referendum and initiative on ordinances and urban renewal. Some of these events required that the committee review its findings and conclusions and further struggle with alternatives presented which attempted to directly respond to the initial demands as stated by the Black Coalition.

The committee attempted to obtain an understanding from the various parties and interests involved in these issues as they were related to its charge. Following are the names of the resource people who met with the committee:

Larry Harris, Urban Affairs Director of the Minneapolis Public Schools and past Director of the Minneapolis Urban Coalition.
Charles W. Johnson, member of the Urban League and past Vice-President of the Black Steering Committee.
Syl Davis, executive director of The Way and chairman of the Black Coalition in 1968.
Richard M. Erdall, Alderman of Minneapolis and President of the City Council.
W. Glen Wallace, Executive Secretary of the Capital Long-Range Improvements Committee.
Gene Eidenberg, deputy assistant to Mayor Arthur Naftalin.
Harold Kind, secretary of the Public Service Commission and previous secretary to Mayor P. K. Peterson.
Lawrence M. Irvin, Minneapolis Planning Director.
Mrs. G. L. Strauser, David Minge, members of the Model Neighborhood Policy and Planning Committee.
Robert Moffat, assistant to the Minneapolis Coordinator and past staff director of the Model Neighborhood program.
Clyde Belcourt, Charles Deegan, Dennis Banks, George Mitchell, Ardeth Lucher, Harold Goodsky, officers and members of the American Indian Movement.
Karl Nylina, past President of the Council of Community Councils.
Jay Tyson, previous vice-president of the Field Neighborhood Group and past member of the Council of Community Councils.
David Kienitz, member of the Seward Neighborhood Association and past member of the Minneapolis Park Board.
Philip Schmidt, President of the Council of Community Councils.
Norma Olson, Secretary of the Council of Community Councils and member of the City Planning Commission and the Committee on Urban Environment.

Roy Nordos, past President of the Longfellow Community Planning Council, and member of the Council of Community Councils.

Rex Jeide, member of the Roosevelt Area Action Group--participant in the Council of Community Councils.

Edward Peterson, second Vice-President of the Council of Community Councils and President of the Loring-Nicollet Community Council.

Charlotte Carmouche, Harvey Winston and Lou Greene, present and past members of the Pilot City TACTICS Board.

Dennis Wynne, community organizer with the Minneapolis Housing and Redevelopment Authority.

Dewey Boelter, member of the staff of the City Planning Commission and previous administrator of the Citizens Community Center South.

Harry Davis, director of the Minneapolis Urban Coalition and member of the Minneapolis School Board.

John M. Warder, past member of the Minneapolis School Board.

Frank Alsup, member of the Minnesota Council on Religion and Race.

Gleason Glover, director of the Minneapolis Urban League, member of the Urban Coalition, and Civil Service Commissioner.

John Doyle, director of education of the Youth Incentives Program, Minneapolis Urban League, and member of the South-Central Pyramid Advisory Council.

Lyall Schwarzkopf, State Representative, District 35, and Chairman of the Hennepin County Republican Party.

Dr. John B. Davis, Superintendent, Minneapolis Public Schools.

Henry Fischer, Chairman of the Hennepin County DFL and past assistant to the chairman of the State DFL party.

Donald Dwyer, past police chief of Minneapolis.

Samuel Krislov, professor of political science, University of Minnesota.

Donald Jacobson, past Minneapolis Assistant Coordinator of Environmental Control.

Daniel Kupcho, director of the Minneapolis Department of Inspections.

Robert Denny, former Minneapolis Alderman and past member of the Pilot City TACTICS Board.

Camillo DeSantis, Executive Director of the Pillsbury-Waite Neighborhood Services and member of the Policy and Planning Committee of Model Neighborhood.

Evan Stark, past director of the East Side Citizens Community Center.

Becky Finch, of the Minneapolis Tenants Union.

Committee members were supplied with copies of numerous articles and materials including:

A summary of the report of the National Advisory Committee on Civil Disorders.

Excerpts from "Black Power" by Stokeley Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton.

Papers presented at the 1967 and 1969 Conference of the National Municipal League entitled:

"Increasing the Responsiveness of Urban Government: Strategies for Change", by Cary S. Hersey.

"Representative Local Government: Neighborhood to Region - a Charter Commission Proposal for Neighborhood Associations in Los Angeles", by Victor Jones.

"Citizen Participation in Urban Schools", by Marilyn Gittell.

Reports of the Committee for Economic Development on "Reshaping Government in Metropolitan Areas", February, 1970; the Bureau of Municipal Research, Toronto, on "Neighborhood Participation in Local Government - A Study of the City of Toronto", January, 1970; and the State Legislative Program - Proposals for 1969 of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.

Statements of federal agencies such as HUD and HEW on citizen participation in Model Cities, schools and welfare programs, plus numerous articles in national journals and local newspapers during the past two years related to minority representation and citizen participation.

The committee received excellent cooperation from the officers, members and staff persons of the various organizations contacted for information. The committee is deeply grateful for this assistance, and for the insight it has received into one of the major issues of our day.



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