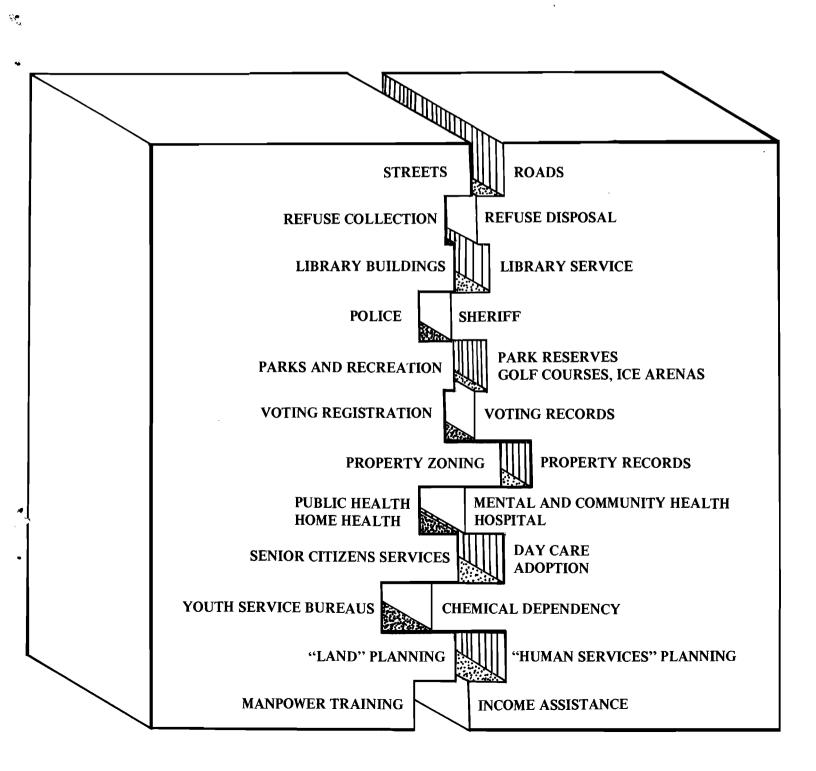


CITIZENS LEAGUE REPORT

Knitting Local Government Together . . .

How a Merger of City-County Functions Can Provide Better Local Services for Twin Cities Citizens



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How a Merger of City-County Functions Can Provide Better Local Services for Twin Cities Citizens

Prepared by
Citizens League County Government Committee
Harry Neimeyer, Chairman

Approved by Citizens League Board of Directors September 18, 1978

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INTRODUCTION

This report tries to answer the question of whether or not this region needs both county and municipal government. It is an extension of the Citizens League's 1974 study, Local Government in a Time of Transition.

That report described the changes that were occurring in local government. It recommended that the region needed to "...critically re-examine the purpose to be served by county government in an area that is almost totally urbanized."

Over the last decade, most aspects of the system of local government in this metropolitan area have been, in one way or another, restructured. The area began to address the need for public policy-setting and planning at the metropolitan level. The creation and development of the Metropolitan Council is testimony to the area's efforts. The structures of both county and municipal government came up for review. Three counties conducted reviews under the Optional Forms Act. Two did not result in significant change, but the third may. The City of St. Paul was restructured. Changes were made to the city charter in Minneapolis. review even reached the township and neighborhood level. Towns were granted more "municipal-like" authority. And, the two central cities adopted plans for neighborhood representation.

The Citizens League has participated in and sometimes led efforts to strengthen representation at both the metropolitan and the local levels. Our 1967

report on the need for metropolitan planning and policy-setting suggested the basic structure for the Metropolitan Council. A 1966 report recommended restructuring Hennepin County. And, reports in both 1970 and 1978 suggested structures for neighborhood representation.

Metropolitan government has been thoroughly examined...functions have been determined, a structure chosen, and considerable attention given to relations with other units of government. By contrast, reviews of county and municipal government have focused almost exclusively on structure. Questions regarding the appropriate role for each have not been asked and Their similarities and answered. differences have not been explored. Little has been said about existing ties between the two or the potential for more.

While the Twin Cities does not face an immediate crisis in local government, there are problems on the horizon that need attention now. Our structure of local government is slow to change. And, it is imperative that we begin immediately to address problems. The League pointed this out in 1974. It asked both state and local policy makers to review Twin Cities local government and make proposals for changing it. No proposals have been made. Thus, the Citizens League feels compelled to initiate the discussion...hence, this report.

MAJOR IDEAS..

In the interest of citizens, policy makers should combine the functions of municipal and county government in the Twin Cities metropolitan area.

In place of the current two-part structure, the region should have a system of local government made up of a single type of unit...a unit responsible for the functions of both municipal and county government.

The aim of this proposal is <u>not</u> to reduce or eliminate services now provided by local governments in this region. Rather, we want to find a new structure for providing these services.

This new structure is needed for two major reasons:

-First, no clear rationale can now be presented for the present system. Many people draw the line between county and municipal responsibilities by making a distinction between "human" and "physical" services. Counties, they say, provide (or should provide) human services, while municipalities provide physical services. This distinction is often hard to draw. Can't police, parks, and housing services, which are all provided by municipalities, be considered human services?

-Second, it is more likely to give citizens the kinds of services they need and want. With two types of local government, it is more difficult for citizens to place responsibility for the services they receive. Local government structure should be scrutinized from the citizens' perspective. And, on that basis, combining municipal and county functions makes sense.

It would be prudent to act now.

While there is not now a crisis, the Legislature and the community at large must now consider the idea of creating a unified level of local government. Failure to do so leaves the region with a system of local government based almost exclusively on historical patterns...structural patterns whose worthiness has never been proven for a community as urbanized as ours.

The Minnesota Legislature should initiate action to combine municipal and county government in the Twin Cities metropolitan area.

The Legislature's first step should be to establish a Commission, its charge being to lay out a plan for creating a unified system of local government. The Legislature should require the Commission to decide:

-How the responsibilities of county and municipal government should be combined...that is, how the type of

. IN OUR REPORT

unit that will replace these two should be structured.

- -The number of units of the new unified level of local government ...that is, how many to set up from border to border of the seven-county area.
- -Whether combination should occur at once in all metropolitan counties or be phased in.
- -Whether local special-purpose districts should be included as a part of the new type of unit.
- -Whether the system for operating local public services should be organized at the same scale as policy setting, or at a larger or smaller scale.

County and municipal functions should only be combined in the seven-county, Twin Cities metropolitan area.

This is the only part of the state where it is necessary to knit together the services of local government. Urbanization and the municipal incorporations which come with it have progressed farther in the Twin Cities than in any other part of the state. For example, five metropolitan area counties have municipalities or urban towns from border to border.

The Metropolitan Council should continue to act as the region's overall policy-making and planning body.

The Council's role in the Twin Cities is unique. No other unit of government is responsible for taking a metropolitan view of public services. The Council brings together our whole urban community in the same way that, for example, the Rochester City Council does for that community. The only difference is that in Rochester the legal boundaries of the city and the "community" are the same.

The Metropolitan Council is also distinct because it serves local governments directly, whereas both counties and municipalities serve citizens directly. And, with this, the Twin Cities has two "front line" types of government providing citizens with urban services.

The division of local government responsibilities between counties and municipalities is only traditional.

This has been the pattern throughout the midwest. The need now is to work out a better organization for providing local urban services...a system which is designed specifically for urban and urbanizing areas.

Twin Cities officials and civic organizations are trying to decide "who should do what."

A number of organizations (including those representing local municipalities and counties) have called for a better definition of roles. Most recently, there has been debate over the role of counties and municipalities in providing health services.

And, at the national level, both counties and municipalities are trying to become the focal point for the President's national urban policy. A recent Supreme Court case held that municipalities could provide certain services to contiguous unincorporated areas. These local and national events all suggest that responsibilities are not likely to sort themselves out.

Combining municipal and county functions is not one of the options being considered.

Citizens concerned about local government have focused on its cost. The potential that structural changes have

for improving expenditure control is not widely known. Public officials are also reluctant to initiate discussions that might lead to major changes in Twin Cities local government. Most public officials assume that the current dual system is permanent...and that we have to continue to search for some rational means of dividing services. We say, "Why divide services at all?" A unified level of local government responsible for all services now provided by counties and municipalities should be considered as a logical possibility.

Some urban areas have already restructured their local government systems.

Several major cities in this country are responsible for all urban services. They exercise powers that, in the Twin Cities, we divide between counties and municipalities. And, in the London metropolitan area, a system of local government (with much the same tradition as ours) was replaced with a new system which provides local services through a network made up of one type of unit.

FINDINGS

Two sets of 'front line' local government units, counties and municipalities, blanket the Twin Cities metropolitan area.

Counties were originally set up to administer state programs and to provide government services in rural areas. As such, they covered the entire state.

The responsibilities of county government included:

- -Maintaining and constructing roads.
- -Keeping property records, vital statistics, assessing property, and collecting taxes.
- -Administering relief and welfare programs.
- -Providing police protection.
- -Administering the courts system.

As the area urbanized, some of these services broke off and became municipal responsibilities. Traditionally, the municipalities provided their own police protection, courts, roads, libraries, parks, land-use control, and licensing. Some municipalities also had their own hospitals and relief programs. The county's role in urbanized areas was to keep records, maintain some roads, collect property taxes, and administer the state's welfare and courts system.

In recent years, county government has become a major source of urban services

and a prominent part of local government in this metropolitan area.

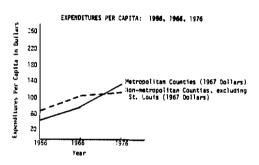
In recent years, metropolitan counties have solicited or been given additional responsibility for urban services. For example:

- -All of the metropolitan counties operate parks and libraries. Hennepin and Ramsey Counties were the first to develop these services, but now all of the other five metropolitan counties have them.
- -Metropolitan counties are responsible for the disposal of solid waste.
- -They have assumed responsibility for public health services as a result of the passage of the Community Health Services Act in 1976.
- -Except for Hennepin and Ramsey Counties, metropolitan counties have authority over land use in unincorporated areas.
- -Counties have been authorized to provide a full range of personal health and social services.
- -Through the federal government's Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), metropolitan counties have become major sponsors of job training and placement programs.
- -Most recently, four metropolitan counties have begun developing programs for economic development.

In other states, counties provide an even broader range of urban services. For example, Allegheny County,

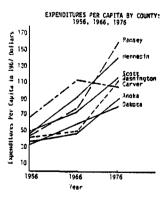
Pennsylvania (including Pittsburgh), administers the local public transportation system, airport, and port authority. Franklin County, Ohio (including Columbus), operates a stadium. Onondaga County, New York (including Syracuse), has major responsibility for public education, including operation of the local community college. Los Angeles County, California, operates that region's major cultural institutions, including its art museum and music center.

With its additional responsibilities, county government has grown significantly, particularly in urban areas.



CHANGE IN EXPENDITURES PER CAPITA

	1956-1966	1966-1976
Metropolitan counties	78%	69%
Non-metropolitan counties (excluding St. Louis)	503	18%
*Adjusted for in	flation	



Source: Reports of the Public Examiner on Revenues, Expenditures, and Debt of State and Local Governments in Minnesota: 1956, 1966, 1976.

Note: All data on county revenues and expenditures in this report have been taken from the State Auditor's reports. The most recent audited report covers 1976. This source was used because comparable data were

(See additional graph on page 3.)

Simultaneously with the growth of county government, municipal government has also expanded.

While counties have grown in terms of function, municipalities have grown mainly in geographic terms. Almost the entire seven-county metropolitan area is now governed by either municipalities or townships having quasi-municipal authority. 1 In two counties, Hennepin and Ramsey, municipal government goes almost from border to border. of White Bear Township in Ramsey County and Hassan Township in Hennepin County are the only unincorporated areas.) And, in the other five counties, municipalities continue to organize: four new municipalities since 1970 and eleven new ones between 1960 and 1970.

Since 1960, 33 existing municipalities have rewritten either their charters or their articles of incorporation. In doing so, the municipalities have for the most part strengthened their internal structures.

Like county government, the expenditures of municipal government have also grown.



CHANGE IN EXPENDITURES PER CAPITA"

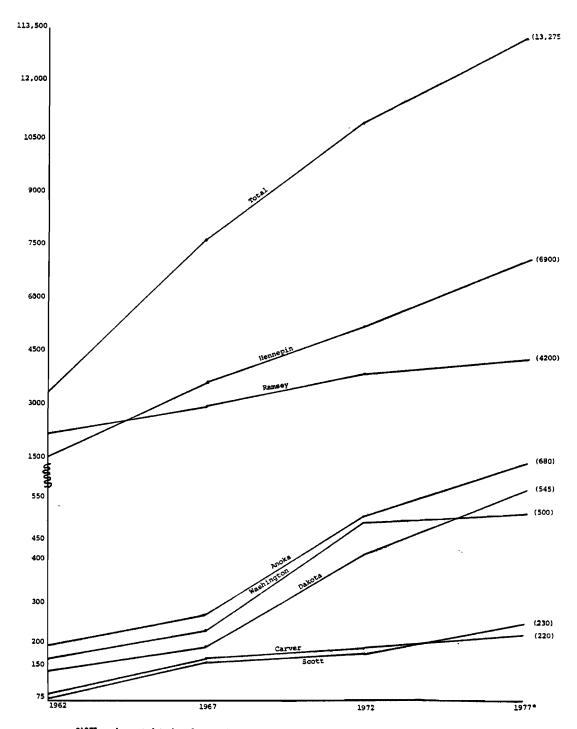
Twin Cities	1956-1966	1966-1976
Metropolitam Municipalities	56%	24%
Non-Twin Cities Municipalities	225	885

* In 1967 Dollars

Source: Reports of the Public Examiner on Revenues. Expenditures, and Debt of State and Local Governments in Hinnesota: 1956, 1966, 1976.

Note: All data on county revenues and expenditures in this report have been taken from the State Auditon's reports. The most recent audited report covers 1976. This source was used because comparable data were needed. COUNTY EMPLOYEES (FULL-TIME EQUIVALENT): 1962, 1967, 1972, 1977*

Source: U.S. Census of Governments



^{*1977} employment data based on estimates by each county. 1977 census not available until early 1979.

A metropolitan unit of government, the Metropolitan Council, has also been introduced. Its role is distinct from local government's.

The Legislature established a structure of government in the Metropolitan Council which separates the functions of operations from policy making. This arrangement is dramatically different from that of county and municipal government. Rather than giving the Council responsibility for certain services, its primary responsibility is to set policy for the metropolitan area as a whole. It does not operate services. Rather, metropolitan services are operated by semi-autonomous operating units (e.g., the Metropolitan Transit Commission, the Metropolitan Waste Control Commission).

The Council's policy-setting authority covers almost every urban service. In each case, its policies provide the framework in which units of local government operate.

Relative to other units of government, the Council's function is unique. No other units try or have responsibility for developing a metropolitan framework for specific services.

The region now has two kinds of local government operating the same kinds of services.

Earlier in this century, it was easier to distinguish the role of the county from that of the municipality.

Before the addition of "urban services," the counties mainly served people living outside of municipalities. With incorporation, municipalities would take over many of the services previously performed by the county, for example, police protection, health and sanitation, and, in some cases, property assessment.

Counties could also be distinguished from municipalities because of their legal status. Unlike municipalities, counties never have been eligible for "home rule" charters. While the state constitution permits "home rule" counties, the Legislature never has passed the necessary enabling legislation. By not doing so, the Legislature may have been trying to keep county governments as one and possibly the only means for carrying out statewide policies through local "agents."

The functions of county and municipal government in the metropolitan area are increasingly similar.

Both counties and municipalities are now operating urban services. In some cases the services are identical and in others the only major distinction is that the county's program covers a larger area. The following examples typify the kind of system which is developing:

- -Both counties and municipalities build and maintain roads. The county systems include everything from two-lane streets in residential areas to four-lane highways and, in the case of Hennepin County, two sections of freeway. The municipal systems surround the county system. One system is usually indistinguishable from the other.
- -Both counties and municipalities have authority to operate park systems. Ramsey and Anoka Counties both operate ice arenas as a part of their parks programs. At the same time, municipalities in these and other counties operate ice arenas. The Hennepin County Park Reserve District operates a golf course, and so does the City of Minneapolis. By contrast, in Dakota County the county parks are not designed for organized recreation programs. The commissioners have designated them for "passive"

recreation," leaving local needs for tennis courts, ice arenas, baseball diamonds, etc. to be met by other units of government.

- -Both counties and municipalities have authority to operate library systems. And, in five counties (Hennepin, Dakota, Anoka, Ramsey and Washington), significant populations are served by separate municipal systems in addition to the county system. Recognizing that they do not have clear service areas, the library systems have formed a non-profit corporation (the Metropolitan Library Service Agency) to allow patrons of any member library (county or municipal) to use the services of member libraries.
- -Both counties and municipalities provide police protection. In some counties (for example, Hennepin, Ramsey and Washington), some municipalities contract with the county sheriff for all police services. Without these contracts, the sheriffs in Hennepin and Ramsey Counties would have no patrol responsibilities. In Anoka County, most municipalities do their own patrolling, but contract with the county for jail services, dispatching, and major crime investigation. In the two central cities and larger first-ring suburbs, there are independent police departments...many having their own dispatching systems, lockups, and investigative units.
- -Many municipalities and three counties (Dakota, Scott and Anoka) have authority to establish housing and redevelopment authorities. Dakota and Scott Counties are already operating. The county HRAs are prohibited from serving municipalities which already have municipal HRAs. But, their authority is, where applicable, identical.
- -Except for Hennepin and Ramsey, all metropolitan counties and municipalities have authority to regulate land use. The counties have authority only

in unincorporated areas. While Hennepin County does not have the authority to pass land-use ordinances, the county does do land-use-related planning. In order to comply with the mandatory planning act passed in 1976, the county will develop plans for transportation, solid waste, parks and open space, and capital improvements. And, in doing these plans, the county will relate them to topics not covered directly by them, including health care, social services, criminal justice, and possibly land use.

-Both counties and municipalities have authority to provide health services. These services break down into two major categories: personal health, including mental health services; and environmental health services, including inspections and solid waste disposal.

Anoka County is the only county with a "comprehensive health" department. That is, all current services are under one department. There are no municipal health departments in the county. The county's inspectors serve the whole county. Coon Rapids did operate a mental health clinic, but this is now a joint project of the city and county.

All of the other counties have mental health centers. And, only Hennepin, Ramsey and Carver provide personal health services directly. They each operate primary care clinics, as do the Cities of Minneapolis, Bloomington and St. Paul. In addition, both Hennepin and Ramsey Counties have county hospitals.

Licensing disposal sites and planning for future disposal of solid waste are currently major elements in the environmental health programs in all seven counties. Some counties are also inspecting and testing private wells. However, most health-related inspections are municipal

responsibilities. Rather than have their own health departments, most municipalities have relied on the State Department of Health for these inspections. The Community Health Services Act could change this. It gives counties the authority to establish health departments and, through them, begin providing a full range of inspection services. Municipalities have the option of doing their own inspection or purchasing it. All metropolitan counties and municipalities are now in the process of planning environmental health services.

As urbanization continues, the dual system will become more extensive throughout the metropolitan area.

The dual system is most developed in the two central counties. Hennepin and Ramsey Counties not only have the largest total populations, but they also are the most urban of the seven metropolitan counties. (See Tables 1 and 2.)

Table 1
1974 LAND USE

	% Urban*	% Cultivated*
Ramsey	69%	3%
Hennepin	38%	27%
Anoka	12%	26%
Washington	11%	40%
Dakota	9%	60%
Scott	5%	61%
Carver	5%	65%

Source: State Planning Agency, 1975 Pocket Data Book.

*Remaining land is used for pasture, transportation, parks, forests, and marshland.

Table 2

· <u></u>		
		Projected
		Rate of
	1975	Population
	Population	Growth
	Density	1975-1990
Ramsey	3070 people/	5%
	sq. mi.	
Hennepin	1690	4%
Anoka	413	46%
Washington	332	38%
Dakota	274	49%
Scott	102	33%
Carver	89	20%

Source: State Planning Agency

Within their boundaries are the region's oldest and largest cities and suburbs. In this environment, the demand for urban services has been high and is likely to get higher. Unlike the five suburban counties, Hennepin and Ramsey also have municipalities almost from border-to-border. As a result, the potential for two responses to any one problem is significantly greater than they might be if there were fewer or more smaller municipalities.

Units of government have not typically been comfortable with having "outsiders" (public or private) provide services for them. Municipalities and counties are no exception. When the opportunity has presented itself, each has provided services directly. If doing so becomes a hardship, they will again turn to other units of government, including each other, for help. This has been the pattern in older cities. For example, in recent years, Hennepin County has assumed responsibility for both Minneapolis' city hospital and its jail.

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Units of government have not typically been comfortable with having "outsiders" (public or private) provide services for them. Municipalities and counties are no exception. When the opportunity has presented itself, each has provided services directly. If doing so becomes a hardship, they will again turn to other units of government, including each other, for help. This has been the pattern in older cities. For example, in recent years, Hennepin County has assumed responsibility for both Minneapolis' city hospital and its jail.

In those parts of the other five counties where development is permitted, we can and should expect growing demand for urban services. In addition, we should expect the size (and possibly the number) of municipalities to grow. Rather than seeking to move services to the county, these growing municipalities are likely to want to assume more responsibilities themselves.

Experience has also shown that when a unit of government does assume direct responsibility for a service, the other unit (in this case, the county) continues to provide the service or some part of it. For example, a municipality may decide to hire its own police officers, but it will continue to use the county's dispatching and crime investigation unit. Or, one municipality may sever all ties with the county for police services, and as a result the county sheriff may start to solicit contracts with other municipalities.

The capabilities of county and municipal government are different, and perhaps complementary.

Counties and municipalities share responsibility for providing urban services with the state and federal government and the Metropolitan Council.

The process of providing a service can be divided into three different pieces:

- -Broad policy-setting...deciding which types of services to provide and setting major guidelines for them.
- -Financing...responsibility for levying the taxes which raise the revenue necessary to support a service or a group of services.
- -Program policy-setting and operation ...within the context of broad policy

guidelines, establishing and operating day-to-day specific services.

County highway programs provide a good example of how the process now appears to be working. County highways are planned by each county but within policy frameworks established by the Metropolitan Council, the state, and federal governments. They are financed with revenue from the local property tax, the state gasoline tax, and motor vehicle registration fees. And, they are maintained (i.e., operated day to day) by the county and, in some cases, by the municipalities. Appendix A shows the approximate distribution of responsibility for all major county services.

Responsibilities shift from time to time. Municipalities may stop purchasing police protection from the sheriff and begin operating their own police departments when they reach a certain The same thing may happen with public works and planning. The process works the other way as well. A municipal library may become part of the county library system. The municipality may retain ownership of the building, but the service will be operated by the county. Some services previously financed by the counties are now financed by the state, for example, judges' salaries and 31% of the cost of general relief. Some that were financed by the federal government are now financed locally.

The way in which the parts of the process are divided may vary with the service. However, some patterns have emerged. Broad policy and financing seem to be coming increasingly from the state, federal governments, and, more recently, from the Metropolitan Council. Both the counties and municipalities are the major "operators" of local services. Metropolitan-wide systems are operated through a series of semi-autonomous metropolitan agencies (e.g., the Metropolitan Transit Commission).

County government is heavily involved in direct delivery (operation) of services.

County government has a long history of operating services for the state government. Federal legislation in the early 1960s (particularly Title XX of the Social Security Act) added the federal government to the county's list of clients. There may also be potential for the county to become a major operator of services for municipalities.

In the case of both the state and the federal government, counties have cultivated their relationships. For example, the metropolitan counties have supported the state's recent efforts to decentralize, through county government, the work of the Departments of Corrections and Health. And, the metropolitan counties have indicated that they would support further decentralization provided the state provides full financing.

The state has made assignments to the county because it is the only unit of local government which covers the entire state. Through the counties, the state can have locally administered and, to a certain extent, financed state programs.

Because of their size, counties (particularly Hennepin and Ramsey) bring economic and socially diverse populations together under a single unit of government. One result is a broader tax base...a tax base which is likely to include both affluent and depressed communities, and one which allows the cost of public services to be shared by a larger number of citizens. Without county government or some other unit of similar size, municipalities where the demand for services is relatively high would have to bear these costs themselves.

The difference in demand shows up most frequently in terms of social programs; however, there may also be differences for other services. Acting under the premise that the benefits of programs for the disadvantaged go beyond the municipality in which they are located, the Legislature has transferred responsibility for some services from municipalities to the county. For example, during the 1975 session, the Legislature transferred the township relief program in Minneapolis to Hennepin County. At the same time, the Legislature also changed the financing system for Hennepin County General Hospital, requiring a greater portion of the hospital's cost to be paid by a county levy for suburban Hennepin County.

At the national level, counties have urged the federal government to rely on them to carry out federal programs. Or, as the National Association of Counties puts it, to "think county." When the Carter administration published an urban policy which made reference only to cities, the National Association of Counties mounted a major protest. In an "open letter to President Carter," the Association's president said, "Counties have led the way toward partnerships to solve urban problems. Now, your urban policy is fostering a return to a discredited and outmoded practice of governments competing (not cooperating) for federal assistance . . . Congress has recognized the value of the urban county as a partner through programs such as the Community Development Block Grants and Comprehensive Employment and Training Act. Your policy fails to recognize and build on this fact."2

The Association went on to urge its members to write the President requesting an executive order "to all federal departments, agencies, and staff to make clear the vital and essential role of county government in the American federal system.³

Counties have not had major responsibility for broad policy-setting.

As "operators," they do set policy related to specific programs but counties do this within the context of broad policy guidelines set by their clients ...usually the state and federal governments. For example, state law requires counties to have a detoxification program. State regulations outline standards for this program. Counties operate within these standards. In some cases they may even exceed them.

The Metropolitan Council, while not a client of the counties per se, sets policy for the region in a number of areas, and the counties must operate within its framework.

There are three major service areas where the Council does not set broad policy for local governments: property record keeping, human services, and libraries.

Each county has its own record-keeping system (including hardware and soft-ware). There are no cooperative arrangements between them despite the fact that they all collect the same kinds of information and use it for similar purposes (see Appendix E).

For the most part, each county's human services programs operate on their own. There is little policy setting or planning for these services at the metropolitan level. One exception is manpower. Four counties (Anoka, Scott, Washington and Carver) operate a joint program. In addition, the five fringe counties purchase some health services (mainly chemical dependency) from Hennepin and Ramsey Counties.

Library programs in all seven metropolitan counties are coordinated through the Metropolitan Library Service Agency (MELSA). While MELSA is primarily designed to facilitate inter-library loans and other shared services, it can serve as a forum for discussion of metropolitan library policy. However, this is not a major part of its purpose.

The proportion of county revenues from state and federal sources is increasing.

Property tax and fees are used to finance at least a portion of the cost of many services. And, while their dollar amount is sizable and growing, the share of total county revenues from local sources has been decreasing (see Table 3 on page 10). Revenues from other sources (mainly the state and federal governments) have increased.

For four counties (Hennepin, Ramsey, Washington, and Scott), federal and state revenues peaked in the early 1970s. As a result, the share of revenue from property taxes has increased. In the other three counties, state and federal revenues continue to rise (see Appendix B). In no case has the property tax share of total revenue risen above or come close to the 1966 percentages. Hennepin and Ramsey Counties have been affected the most, initially as a result of a "cap" placed on the federal funds that they received through Title XX of the Social Security Act and, more recently, as a result of changes in the formula for distributing state aids.

While the county's role in operating services has grown, citizens may have more familiarity and personal identification with their city.

Counties are, according to state law, "involuntary corporations." They were created as a 'group' by the Legislature when the state was organized. By contrast, municipalities have, for the most part, been created on a one-by-one basis at the request of a group of citizens. This difference in origin may account in part for the tendency by citizens to associate with their city rather than their county.

In testifying before our committee, one county commissioner characterized county government as not being "in front of the people." The commissioner explained that in his district the rural residents are familiar with county government and know what it does. "Some farmers refer to the county commissioner as the 'road commissioner'." By contrast, city residents do not relate to county government; rather, the commissioner said, they think about the city council.

Appearing before the Citizens League's Committee on Community Representation, another county commissioner described the city as the citizen's "first link with government." He went on to say:

"Polls and surveys have shown that citizens will more often call their alderman than any other elected official when they have a problem. On the other hand, the county commissioner is more an elected administrator. His job is more to deal with other government officials than to deal with constituents." While some commissioners would not describe themselves as "elected administrators," none has disagreed that municipal officials are not usually the first elected officials that citizens turn to for help.

Locally, there have been no recent surveys of public opinion designed to compare counties as a unit of representation with municipalities.

Table 3

PROPERTY TAX AND "FEE" AS A PERCENT OF COUNTY REVENUE RECEIPTS
1956, 1966, 1976

County	1956	1966	1976
Anoka	65%	64%	38%
Carver	67	55	47
Dakota	67	64	46
Hennepin	56	52	43
Ramsey	57	48	36
Scott	58	55	44
Washington	67	61	38

Note: Total revenue receipts as a percent of property tax receipts for "licenses and permits" and "departmental fees and service charges."

Source: State Auditor's Reports; 1956, 1966, 1976.

One survey done in Los Angeles County in 1973 did tend to confirm that citizens had a "relatively better understanding of city government and felt they could have a greater effect on it than county government." (See Appendix C.)

The municipality's strength lies in providing representation.

The policy responsibilities of the municipalities are not unlike those of counties. They are responsible for policy work as it relates to operating programs. And, they have not typically been asked to make basic decisions regarding the creation of public programs or the addition of major public facilities.

The revenue-raising capacity of the municipalities is limited by their local property tax base. Relative to county government, municipalities depend to a greater extent on outside revenue sources...particularly state aids. For example, between 1972 and 1976, municipal revenues from local taxes declined from about 32% to 26% of total revenue. And, "intergovernmental revenue" increased from about 32% to about 40% of total revenue.

Municipal government is well suited to provide local representation for citizens. First, the size of most municipalities makes it relatively easy for city officials to stay in touch with constituents and for constituents to reach their councilmen. Second, city councils usually meet in the evening when citizens can attend. And, third, relative to county government, citizens seem to have greater awareness of municipal government. This may be the case for

no other reason than the fact that most citizens say they live in "New Hope," "Afton," or "Burnsville," and not "Hennepin County," "Washington County," or "Dakota County." And, when they have a problem related to local government, their first impulse is usually to turn to their municipal officials.

Size is an additional constraint on what municipalities can do effectively.

Depending on their role, there are both upper and lower limits. In this metropolitan area, most municipalities are relatively small. Almost half have fewer than 5,000 persons, and 37 (27% based on 1976 Metropolitan Council estimates) have fewer than 1,000 persons. However, in population terms, only about 7% of the region's population lives in municipalities of 5,000 or less.

Because they are small and their ability to raise revenue is limited, many municipalities cannot operate a full range of municipal services efficiently. Their size may also limit their ability to provide good local representation. Our committee did not take testimony on this specific point. However, the findings of the League's 1974 local government report provide ample evidence. Specifically, that study found that it was difficult for small municipalities to effectively deal with other units of government, particularly the county, the Metropolitan Council, and the Legislature. municipalities cannot justify the expenditures necessary to analyze and respond to actions by these units of government.

Although they serve the same piece of ground, counties and municipalities work substantially independently of each other.

Formal ties on decision-making are rare.

There are few areas where municipalities or their representatives play a formal role in county decision making. Possibly the most highly developed relationship existed in Ramsey and Hennepin Counties. Until 1974, the mayor of St. Paul served as chairman of the Ramsey County Board of Commissioners.

The mayor of St. Paul was not removed from the County Board because of dissatisfaction with the concept of linking county and municipal government. In fact, the 1970 report of a legislative commission on Ramsey County government recommended that the mayor be retained as the Board's chairman.

The mayor was removed primarily because his presence gave the City of St. Paul "extra" representation on the Board. And, this violated the principle of "one man, one vote." Suburbanites also felt that it was unfair that a suburbanite could never be chairman of the County Board.

Supporters of the change also felt that the mayor did not have time to serve as chairman of the county board. Former mayor and county board member, Larry Cohen, felt that this was not the case. By contrast, Cohen's predecessor, Mayor McCarty, was known for his poor attendance at board meetings.

Until 1975, mayors and town board chairmen were responsible for filling any mid-term vacancies on county boards. Since 1975, vacancies have been filled through special election (375.101, Minnesota Statutes, 1976).

There have been other links. However, most of them have been built around a single subject. For example:

- -In Anoka County, municipalities appoint members to serve on the county's Joint Law Enforcement Council.
- -In Hennepin County, municipal officials are appointed by municipalities to serve on the county's Human Services Advisory Boards, Community Development Advisory Board, Criminal Justice Coordinating Council, and the Hennepin Emergency Communications Organizations.
- -Ramsey and Hennepin Counties are required to have Community Health Services Boards made up of 51% local officials. Appointments are made by the County Board.

Counties and municipalities have their own service organizations, at both the state and metropolitan levels. The Association of Minnesota Counties and the Metropolitan Inter-County Council serve the counties, and the League of Minnesota Cities and the Association of Metropolitan Municipalities serve the cities.

Every contract between a municipality and a county generates a link. In Anoka County, where there is a substantial amount of contracting, ties are extensive. But in Washington County, where the only contracts are for police services, there are few formal ties.

Informal relations between counties and municipalities are more common.

County commissioners may consult with municipal officials regarding appointments to county committees. Or, a specific county project (for example, highway construction) may generate some communication on an ad hoc basis. City managers and county administrators will meet from time to time. The local Leagues of Municipalities in Dakota and Ramsey Counties may provide a forum for such meetings. On an informal basis, a Hennepin County administrator attends meetings of that county's city managers. Ramsey County plans to assign an administrator to this task as well.

The metropolitan counties have operated most services by themselves.

Inter-county programs have been limited. With the exception of the Mosquito Control District, which was established in 1958, most of the programs have developed in the last ten years. Only two, the Metropolitan Inter-County Council and the Metropolitan Library Service Agency, involve all seven metropolitan counties. (See Table 4 on page 14.)

Some of the counties have also had joint programs and departments. Dakota and Scott Counties had a joint library program until 1969. Carver and Scott Counties had a joint court services department until 1975. Today, Carver

and Scott Counties have a joint "economic council." This council oversees some programs such as Head Start and CETA. The Hennepin County Park Reserve District and Scott County have a joint powers agreement through which they operate parks in Scott County.

There are also some contractual relationships between metropolitan counties. Such agreements are mainly for use of facilities owned and operated by the two central counties. For example, the detoxification centers and workhouses in Hennepin and Ramsey Counties are used by other metropolitan counties. (An inventory of joint programs and contracts is found in Appendix D.)

One area of particular concern is property record keeping. There are no joint programs or cooperative agreements for record keeping between metropolitan counties. Each county keeps the same basic information on each parcel. Use of the information does not vary significantly from county to county. Despite these similarities, each county has its own system for keeping records. Each has its own computer and its own programs. The machines are not compatible, and, with a few exceptions, neither is their software. (See Appendix E.)

Existing data processing technology would permit any number of cooperative arrangements. Information could be stored and processed separately through the use of remote terminals in each county. Or, counties could have their own processing units but use the same programs. This would cut the cost of software development and allow for information sharing.

Counties have not, for the most part, sold services to municipalities.

County governments have developed considerable capabilities to operate urban services, but contracting activity has been limited to police protection, central purchasing, some data processing and, to a more limited degree, highway maintenance. City managers from both Hennepin and Ramsey Counties reported to our committee that they purchase more services from other municipalities and the state

than they do from the county. For an inventory of city/county contracting and shared services, see Appendix F.

It is difficult to estimate the exact amount of contracting or shared services between counties and municipalities. However, the 1976 report of the State Auditor shows that about 5.6% (\$24.5 million) of the metropolitan counties' revenues came from either "fees for service" or "grants from local units of government." Some of the fees could come from citizens or governments (including other counties).

Table 4

MAJOR SERVICE AGREEMENTS BETWEEN METROPOLITAN COUNTIES

Name	Anoka	Carver	Dakota	Hennepi <u>n</u>	Ramsey	Scott	Washington
Metropolitan Inter- County Council	x	Х	х	x	X	x	x
Manpower Consortium (CETA)	X ·	x				x	X
Mosquito Control District	x		x	x	X	x	X
Metropolitan Library Service Agency	x	· X	x	x	X	x	X
Metropolitan Area Tree Utilization Service	x	x		x	x	x	x

And, in at least one case, the "grants" included a grant from the Metropolitan Council for the purchase of parkland. Thus, the 5.6% probably overestimates the purchases by municipalities of services from county government.

State statutes permit extensive ties between counties and municipalities. The "commonality of powers" provisions of the state's statutes regarding joint exercise of powers (Minnesota Statutes, 1976, 471.59, subd. 8) permit counties to perform on behalf of any city, town, special district, or state agency "...any service or function which that unit (i.e., the city, town, etc.) would be authorized to provide by itself." This provision was enacted in 1973.

Its potential impact is unclear. As of the end of 1976, there has been no significant increase in joint powers activities between county and other units of local government, including municipalities. Evidence of this is the relative stability of the portion of county revenue receipts from other units of local government and "fees for services." Between 1966 and 1976, revenue from these sources increased from about 4.5% to 5.6% of total revenue receipts for metropolitan counties.

In some parts of the country, municipalities purchase all or a large part of their services from county government. Probably the most extensive purchase-of-service arrangements are to be found in Los Angeles County. That county has provided municipal services to each of the approximately thirty municipalities which have incorporated since 1954. Participation in the program (known as the Lakewood Plan) is strictly optional. Each municipality retains the option of providing a service directly. Some communities have exercised their option and have discontinued their contracts with the county, primarily because

local officials felt that they did not have enough control over contracted programs. 6

No clear rationale has been presented which distinguishes the mission or function of one unit from that of the other.

Counties cannot be distinguished from municipalities on the basis of their role in providing "human" as opposed to "physical" services.

Many people draw the line between county and municipal responsibility at "human" and "physical" services, assigning counties the former and municipalities the latter. However, the distinction between "human" and "physical" services is not clear. Health and social services are usually described as "human services;" road maintenance and construction as "physical services." Yet, both serve people. And, the benefits from both services spread across a large section of the region.

Counties do have a history of providing services which would be classified as "human services." And, county officials have suggested that, in the future, county government, particularly in urban areas, should be the primary source of human services. In many respects, the county's importance in providing human services has already been recognized. The Community Corrections Act and the Community Health Services Act gave county government major responsibility for operating programs previously carried out at the state level. A recent legislative proposal giving counties both major policy-making responsibility and state revenue for health and social services, has passed the Minnesota House of Representatives.

If police, park and housing services

are considered "human services," then municipalities also have experience in "human services." They face growing demands from citizens for these types of services. As a part of its research on "human services," the Metropolitan Council has observed:

"As federal social programs have been cut back and funding ceilings established for existing programs such as Title XX (of the Social Security Act), there has been increasing pressure on municipal governments to allocate federal community development and local tax funds to human service programs, particularly those operating at the neighborhood level."

Consistent with the Council's observation, an official of the Association of
Metropolitan Municipalities (AMM) said
in an interview that "municipalities
would be more interested in providing
certain human services if they were
not constrained by being at their levy
limits." (According to AMM about 75%
of the metropolitan municipalities
subject to levy limits are at them or
within 2% of reaching them.) The AMM
has also recently formed a special
committee to study and make recommendations regarding the Metropolitan
Council's proposed "social framework."

Some examples of municipally sponsored human services programs are:

- -The Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul and some suburbs have their own health departments, providing both personal and environmental health services.
- -In Hennepin County many municipalities without health departments have been contracting for nursing services with a private provider.
- -The Hopkins City Council has approved a proposal to create a "safe house" for battered women.

- -There are youth service bureaus operated by school districts and municipal police departments in many municipalities...most recently citizens in Woodbury have asked their City Council to support this kind of program.
- -The City of Richfield has a housekeeping service for elderly residents. Minneapolis has a senior citizens ombudsman.
- -Municipalities in three parts of Hennepin County have organized through joint powers agreements "human services planning boards."
- -While their application for funds was turned down by the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Fridley City Council approved a proposal to establish a "community service center" to house that city's social service programs.

School districts are also providing human services. Increasingly, schools have their own counseling programs and, in a more limited fashion, provide some basic health services. School officials have said that they are appropriate as a provider of human services because: They are already recognized by citizens as dealing with personal problems; they have facilities which are dispersed throughout the community; and they have the space to provide additional services.

Counties and municipalities cannot be distinguished by their revenue sources.

Both counties and municipalities finance services with property tax revenue. The revenue comes from the same tax base and is collected all at once...that is, separate tax statements are not sent by each municipality and the county. The bill is itemized, but that alone may not distinguish county government from city government.

Both counties and municipalities have policy-setting responsibility for local programming. Thus, it is difficult to separate them on this basis.

Counties have been given responsibility for program policy-setting with each assignment from the Legislature. For example, with the passage of the Community Health Services Act and the Community Corrections Act, counties were given responsibility for setting policy for local public programs in health and corrections.

In recent years, the Legislature has also granted counties authority to alter their structures without legislative approval. The Optional Forms Act (1973) gave the counties a choice of structures, including the addition of county commissioners and changing the status of other officals from elected to appointed.

The ordinance-making authority of county government has been increased. This is particularly true for ordinances related to land-use planning and shoreline and floodplain management. In 1959, all counties (except Hennepin and Ramsey) were given authority to adopt ordinances related to land use. In 1974, substantial revisions were made, and the county's land-use authority was increased (see Minnesota Statutes, 1977, Chapter 394.21-394.37).

Legislative actions have also strengthened the policy authority of municipalities with respect to local services.

-First, the municipalities remain the state's only "home rule charter" unit of local government. While only 25 municipalities in the metropolitan area now have home rule charters, the fact that the option is available to them sets them apart from counties. Even though counties have acquired broad authority through special legislation, the "home rule charter" remains an important symbol.

-Second, the current formula for distributing state aids to local governments favors municipalities. In 1978, aids to municipalities increased, while those for Anoka, Carver, Dakota, Scott and Washington Counties remained at their 1977 levels. Hennepin and Ramsey Counties have not received any local government aids since 1976.

The formula is significant, because it provides revenue which is almost entirely unencumbered. That is, recipients can use it for any public purpose. This enhances their policymaking authority.

The Legislature does not appear to be "of one mind" regarding the responsibility for policy-setting for local programs. As the examples above illustrate, its actions have enhanced the policy role of both metropolitan counties and municipalities, and has made them similar in this regard.

There have been efforts to clarify responsibilities, but they have brought little results.

Organizations, including the Citizens League, have called for a better definition of roles.

Calls for study of the division of responsibility between units of local government have come from both citizens and the service organizations of local government.

A 1975 study of county government by the Council of Metropolitan Area Leagues of Women Voters found that the division of responsibility between counties, municipalities, and the Metropolitan Council was "fairly blurry."8

The Citizens League's 1974 report, Local Government in a Time of Transition, concluded that, "The responsibilities of each level of local government are no longer based on a well-defined purpose. . . Today (1974) potential conflict exists over the responsibilities of local governments . . . In general, however, we have given inadequate attention to the general organization of the local governmental system in the state.9 The League's report went on to recommend that the Legislature "establish a citizens commission to undertake a comprehensive review of local government in the Twin Cities metropolitan area. 10

Both the Association of Minnesota Counties (AMC) and the Association of Metropolitan Municipalities (AMM) have expressed concern about the role of their respective units of government relative to other units of local government. An editorial appearing in the April, 1978, issue of Minnesota Counties states that, ". . .a critical self-evaluation of county government's role in relation to the State and other levels of local government must now be undertaken."

In 1976, the AMM attempted to organize a "government services study project," The coordinating committee for this project eventually decided not to pursue the study. The committee also considered asking the Legislature to establish a Minnesota Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, but did not proceed with it.

The Legislature, when assigning responsibility, has been inconsistent.

With total authority over local government, the Legislature could act to clarify the roles of counties and municipalities in the metropolitan area. It could, for example, adopt some criteria for assigning responsibility. Or, it could simply decide that certain services were to be "county" and that others were to be "municipal."

No such action has been taken. Some recent laws have even worked to the contrary. For example:

- -Legislation passed during the 1978 session authorizes the Commissioner of Health to make grants to both cities and counties for family planning.
- -A 1978 bill allows both cities and counties to levy taxes for supporting sheltered workshops.
- -The Community Health Services Act gives counties authority to establish health departments, but for a limited amount of time, it also gives this option to municipalities.
- -In the last few years, the Legislature has begun allowing counties to establish housing and redevelopment authorities...previously they were municipal only.

Over the years, special legislation has blurred the legal distinctions between counties and municipalities. For example, through special legislation, Hennepin and Ramsey Counties have acquired almost all of the powers of

municipalities...a major exception being authority to regulate land use directly. As the flow of special legislation continues, it is possible (perhaps even likely) that the roles of counties and municipalities will be further confused.

Local officials should not be expected to sort out the responsibilities of county and municipal government.

Local officials cannot be expected to act, because they do not perceive a "crisis." And, therefore, there is no reason to ask basic questions. This may change in the aftermath of Proposition 13. Even then, local officials might not be able to address the problem.

First, they are so close to the system that they might not be able to take a broad enough perspective...to give serious consideration to fundamental changes. Their impulse would probably be to try to adjust the current system.

Second, any discussion of "who should do what" will raise a number of 'turf' questions. Anyone involved in this kind of discussion knows that one possible outcome could be a recommendation that responsibility be shifted "from us to them." Leadership (government or private) will quite naturally do as much as possible to avoid serious consideration of "who should do what."

Other metropolitan areas have addressed the problem through boundary changes and by restructuring local government.

Boundary changes are rare.

In two states (Connecticut and Rhode Island) counties have, through time

and urbanization, been totally replaced by municipalities. In three others (Missouri, Maryland and Virginia) there are provisions for county boundaries to recede as those of municipalities expand. This eliminates any overlap in the jurisdiction of counties and municipalities.

Combining city and county functions under a single type unit of local government is more common.

Twenty-five communities (seventeen since 1956) in varying degrees have consolidated city and county govern-Typically, consolidation has involved the county and the largest city (e.g., Jacksonville/Duval County, Nashville/Davidson County, Indianapolis/Marion County, Honolulu/Honolulu County). Suburban communities may remain completely independent (Indianapolis/Marion County). They may receive some services from the consolidated government (Nashville/Davidson County). Or, they may receive all services from the consolidated government, retaining their independence in name only. plans in both Nashville and Jacksonville allow the consolidated governments to expand and thus take in any independent or semi-independent municipalities (see Appendix G.)

The 1963 reorganization of London achieved similar results but did so through a different approach. Rather than building a new system around the boundaries of existing units of government, the map was wiped clean. Old boundaries were replaced with a system of 33 boroughs (population about 220,000). Each borough was given roughly the same authority as the old types of government which they replaced. A metropolitan government, the Greater London Council, was also created. The boroughs provide local services and the Greater London Council metropolitan ones. (See Appendix H.)

CONCLUSIONS

Currently there is no immediate crisis in local government in the Twin Cities.

The system of local government is functioning. But, its problems have been well documented.

The Twin Cities region does not now face a crisis in local government. For the vast majority of citizens, the system is working. But, it is not doing so without generating concern. For some, the problem is that local government's costs are out of control. For others, the problem is one of confusion. They just simply do not understand the system. Or, they feel that there is no logic to the division of responsibility between local governments.

Recent discussion surrounding the Metropolitan Council's proposed "social framework" highlights these concerns. In the Council's September 1978 issue of Perspectives, a member of the Council, referring to human services, asks, "Are taxpayers getting their money's worth? Are costs borne equitably? Are services meeting needs?" In the same issue, a member of the St. Paul City Council states, "The problem is that, although local governments are providing human services, there is no focus and little direction to their involvement."

Concerns over rising costs and division of responsibility combine into a

fairly well accepted feeling by citizens and local officials that local government is "out of control." In the human services area, this has generated major planning efforts like the social framework. And, for local government in general, there are now proposals to put strict statutory controls on spending by local governments as well as requests from local public officials for clarification of "who should do what."

Looking into the future, demands for new services and expenditure control are likely to grow. The current system of local government has not responded effectively.

While it does not compare with the 1960s, local governments have demands for additional services. However, they are also facing growing pressure to trim or at least cap expenditures. So far, the response of local governments has been to seek outside sources of revenue. They have asked for additional local government aids from state government. And, they have sought additional federal funds. But, the state and federal government face similar pressure for cost control. And, it is likely that local governments will not get the revenues they need to continue current programs without increasing local taxes.

Internal reorganization could be another response, particularly for county governments. Since the

mid-1960s, all of the metropolitan counties except Carver have centralized their management to some degree. Only one (Hennepin), however, is now structured such that all departments report to the county administrator and not directly to the county board. Appendix I.) Ramsey County is now implementing a system similar to Hennepin's, but its success or failure will not be known for some time. Two counties in addition to Ramsey (Anoka and Dakota) have tried to reorganize under the Optional Forms of County Government Act. The report of the Dakota County Government Study Commission was rejected by referendum. Those who opposed it felt it would lead to additional cost. The report of the Anoka County Government Study Commission proposed no significant changes.

Consolidation of smaller municipalities might be another response. The larger units would presumably offer a more efficient means for providing local services. Proposals for consolidations have been made from time to time. However, there has been only one consolidation (Morningside and Edina) since 1960.

A new system of local government is needed for the Twin Cities region, one which makes more sense to citizens.

A new structure should be chosen based on its potential to be understandable to citizens and to function in their interest.

The current system of local government falls short on both counts. It is not easy to understand. And, there is good reason to doubt its ability to function in the interests of citizens. Adjustments to the current system have been suggested. Some have not been implemented. Those which have, have not been totally satisfactory. A

growing number of citizens are concerned about local government, and these concerns cannot go unanswered.

Alternative structures for Twin Cities local government must now be considered. The alternative that is chosen should be the one that offers the most promise of being understandable to citizens and of functioning in their interest. Alternatives should also be evaluated on the basis of their feasibility. While we are prepared for major changes, these must be tempered by our sense of what is "feasible"... both short term and in the long run.

There are three major alternatives to consider: Eliminate either municipal or county government; reallocate services between municipalities and counties; and, combine the functions of county and municipal government under a single unit of government.

Eliminating either municipal or county government would involve a major realignment of responsibility. Some services could be provided by transferring them to the remaining unit of local government. Others could be taken care of by moving them to either the metropolitan or state level.

For example, the 1953 reorganization of Toronto followed this plan. Municipalities are responsible for all local services, that is, local streets and roads, water distribution, garbage collection, and the operation of schools. A Metropolitan Corporation was created, eliminating counties. The Corporation is responsible for regional services (e.g., expressways, water purification, sewage treatment) and major capital improvements (e.g., school construction).

Services could also be reallocated between county and municipal government. Criteria for assigning responsibility could be developed, and then the Legislature could act accordingly. Criteria could be developed either by "service" or by "process." If it was done by service, then, for example, criteria would focus on health care or highways. If it was done by "process," then criteria would be aimed at assigning responsibility for policy setting, financing, or operating.

Criteria for dividing responsibilities between units of local government has been the focus of many studies by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. Volumes III and IV of the Commission's 1974 study, Substate Regionalism and Federal System, survey efforts to divide responsibility and suggest criteria for making assignments.

Under the third alternative, combining the functions of county and municipal government, much of the current system of local government would be put aside. A new unit of local government would be created. It could resemble municipalities or counties in its size. Or, the map could be wiped clean and an entirely new set of boundaries drawn.

Combining the functions of county and municipal government is a logical response to the confusion over their roles.

The original reasons for having two types of local government are no longer applicable in the metropolitan area.

There was a need for two types of local government because two distinct communities had to be served...one urban and the other rural. Urban parts of the metropolitan area demanded services which were different from those demanded by rural areas. Today, that situation has disappeared in Ramsey County and most of Hennepin

County. Not far behind are Anoka, Dakota, and Washington Counties. And, in Carver and Scott Counties it still exists, at least for now. But, for the other five counties, it now seems possible that one type of generalpurpose government could be sufficient.

A new case has not been made for having two independent general-purpose types of local government.

Currently, this metropolitan area has two sets of elected officials responsible for overseeing the services of local government. If some clear distinctions could be made between county and municipal service, then two separate systems of representation might be justifiable...but we can find no basis for making distinctions.

It has been suggested that counties and municipalities should be distinguished in terms of "human" and "physical" services. However, we find that most services are a little of both. Even if the definitions could be clarified and all public services sorted accordingly, the case has not been made for giving the county a monopoly on human services and the municipalities a monopoly on physical services.

It has also been suggested that counties could be distinguished from municipalities because they provide "emergency services to people who are in trouble"11 while municipalities deal with "normal" needs of the general population. distinction is useful for classifying public services, but it does not justify two systems of local representation. It is not clear that either city councils or county commissions can take initiative when it comes to services for people "in trouble." For example, both have been reluctant to go beyond identifying needs and getting involved with long-term operating responsibilities for various social programs unless state and federal financing is available.

By contrast, the Legislature or the Metropolitan Council do provide different types of representation. The former takes a statewide perspective and the latter a metropolitan Their concerns are perspective. distinct from those of local government, and their policy activities reflect this. The Legislature has been able to initiate social programs. The Council has been able to initiate metropolitan policies for land use and other public concerns. Neither the city councils nor the county commissions could initiate these types of programs or policies.

Maintaining the current system of representation will serve to weaken local government. From the citizen's perspective, the dual system is at best confusing. It makes it difficult for the citizen to place responsibility for public services. The dual system also complicates relations with metropolitan, state and federal governments. For almost any given local government service, other units of government must deal with two sets of local officials...who may or may not agree on the proper course of action even though they may be representing the same constituents.

Dividing services and resposibilities between municipalities and counties is not the best alternative. It may not serve the interests of citizens.

With a municipal/county system, services would continue to be divided between these two units of government. There is little to be gained by doing this. As is pointed out above, there is little difference in their capabilities for providing representation. And, we can find no rationale for dividing responsibility. It is likely that the current patterns would

continue despite the fact that most of the dividing was done on a unilateral basis.

Even if a new and more cooperative process could be introduced, there would still be the danger that the quality of public services would suffer because of the way services were divided or because some "pieces" (probably the least desirable) had been left out altogether. For example, one county board sees its county park system as providing passive recreation. 12 Local municipalities have described their role in parks to be 'organized recreation.' Recently three municipalities asked that county to acquire a tract of land consisting mainly of a lake. thought that the site was too large for them to develop and operate. However, the county said that, "the area does not fit the county park scheme: it is not large enough. Small parks such as this cost more per acre to operate."13

Finally, citizens may not be well served because a dual system may be self-serving. One type of local government can shelter its actions by pointing at the other. Politicians will do this with taxes, and we have no reason to believe that they and their administrators will not do this with services.

A dual system also may be self-serving when it comes to discussing new programs. In talking with officials of county and municipal government we observed that they were reluctant to say that there is any similarity between the two... yet, we find that they are both providing the same types of services. County officials supported the work of municipalities in providing physical services. And, municipal officials described the county as the provider of "human services."

It would not be desirable or feasible to eliminate either county or municipal government.

If either counties or municipalities were eliminated in the metropolitan area, all of the work of local government would potentially be left to the remaining unit. Given their current sizes and structures, we question whether either unit would be capable of assuming all of the responsibilities of the other. Many municipalities are too small to support many of the health and social services provided through county governments. And, counties are probably too large to give citizens as effective a system of representation as is now found in municipalities.

The alternative can also be questioned as to its feasibility. Perhaps the size problems of municipalities could be overcome through more extensive use of joint powers agreements. And, it might be possible to make representation at the county level more effective by increasing the size of county boards or by making them the only elected general-purpose body in local government. But, it is unlikely that this approach would ever be politically acceptable.

The functions of county and city government should be combined under a single type of general-purpose local government.

By combining the functions of city and county government, each part of the metropolitan area will be governed by one and only one type of general-purpose local government.

We envision a system where there would be a number of units of local government...but, they would all be the same type of unit and their boundaries would be mutually exclusive. By contrast, today we have a system of local government built around two types of local government. There are seven units of one type and about 190 units of the other.

Our concern here is mainly with general-purpose units of government and the functions they perform. We did not study schools and other special districts closely enough to make a firm conclusion regarding their future. However, we can see how the presence of special districts with their own elected officials might further confuse the system, thus making it more difficult for citizens to control it.

Combining functions will bring better control over expenditures and possibly even some reduction.

With two types of local government it is harder to control expenditures. Both counties and municipalities have their own elected officials. both have the power to tax. And, furthermore, they both tax the same base. The result is a system which is difficult for the citizen to understand and evaluate. It is difficult for citizens to relate their decisions at the ballot box to increases or decreases in certain services. Elected officials know this and, consciously or not, can use each other to "screen" their decisions. In the short run, it may result in higher spending...but in the long run, the voters may resent the system and react by cutting it back severely.

While duplication of services is not a major problem, the region does have two separate administrative structures for urban services. Joining the functions of counties and municipalities under combined city-county units at least opens the prospect for substantial savings. Depending on what is included in "administrative costs," they can be anywhere from 5% to 15% of

current expenses. 14 It is difficult to say how much of this cost would be saved if there were only one unit of local government. That would depend on the way the combined system was organized and managed. It can be argued that the additional cost of two units of local government translates into services that are more tailored to local needs. But, there is little evidence supporting this. And, it may be possible to tailor services without going to separate administrations.

There is also potential for better representation and accountability.

A combined system would replace two sets of elected officials with one. And, that one would be the only local elected body responsible for the services provided by local government. There would also be one less government levying property tax. And, from the citizen's point of view, the whole system of local government would be less complicated and perhaps easier to hold accountable.

There are, however, questions about the feasibility of combining municipal and county functions.

Politically, the idea of combining the functions of city and county government is more attractive than eliminating one or the other. One set of officials or boundaries would not necessarily be totally eliminated. This alternative allows more room for compromises on both structure and boundaries.

Feasibility goes beyond political considerations. Combining the functions under a single type of government would raise hundreds of questions related to management.

For example:

- -Would salary standards and work rules now used in some parts of the metropolitan area be expanded to others?
- -Would the new type of local government be eligible for the same types of federal aids that counties and municipalities now receive?
- -Or, would it be necessary to move some services now provided by local government to the state or metropolitan level?

RECOMMENDATIONS

The 1979 Legislature should establish a commission to lay out the specific actions to be taken to move the region to a unified system of local government.

The Legislature's 1979 objective should be to begin action to combine the functions of county and municipal government in the metropolitan area only. To this end, it should adopt a policy calling for the creation of a single type of general-purpose local government for the Twin Cities area. The policy statement should specify that under a new system the functions of county and municipal government will be combined.

The policy statement should authorize the creation of a commission to plan for the new system. The commission should be appointed by the Governor. It should be composed of one private citizen from each Metropolitan Council district and four members of the Legislature from the metropolitan area serving as ex officio members. Two members from the House and two members from the Senate should be appointed by the leadership in each house.

The commission should present its report to the Governor in the fall of 1980 in sufficient time for the Governor to incorporate the commission's recommendations in his 1981 legislative package.

The commission should involve citizen groups and other organizations,

specifically the service organizations for local government such as the Association of Metropolitan Municipalities and the Metropolitan Inter-County Council. It should do so by requesting them to submit agenda items for commission discussion and prepare recommendations on agenda items for commission consideration.

The commission should be asked to address issues related to the structure and operation of a combined system of local government.

Several issues must be addressed by the commission. Among them, the commission should be required by the Legislature to make recommendations on:

- -How to combine responsibilities of counties and municipalities.
- -Whether the new system should start operating at the same time through-out the metropolitan area.
- -Whether county and municipal government should be combined in the same fashion in each county.
- -Whether special districts should be included as a part of the new system.
- -Whether the system for operating local public services should be organized at the same scale as policy-setting.

How should responsibilities of counties and municipalities be combined?

We fear that this question will be misunderstood. Let us be more specific about what it means and what it does not mean. A system of local government comprised of one unit whose boundaries cover the entire metropolitan area is not contemplated. Rather, we foresee a system of local government with several units of the same type, each covering a separate geographical portion of the metropolitan area. Today we have two types, municipalities and counties. Our recommendation is that there be only one type. There are three major design options:

- -Combine responsibilities around a type of unit based on something like existing county boundaries.
- -Combine responsibilities around a type of unit based largely on something like existing municipal boundaries. In some areas existing municipalities are too small to take responsibility for all county and municipal services. Hence, some realignment would be necessary.
- -Combine responsibilities around a type of unit of intermediate scale.

The first alternative is usually referred to as a 'city-county consolidation.' It has the advantage of providing a large and growing tax base from which to support local programs. Because of the size of the units, programs can be of sufficient size such that any economies due to scale can be realized. And, it can be argued that the capabilities of a larger unit are broader than that of a smaller one. As such, it is the desirable model.

The second alternative, combining functions around a municipal-type unit, might result in a system which is more responsive to citizen needs. Because it is smaller, citizens may find it

more accessible and controllable. For example, our committee did hear testimony that citizens in general felt closer to municipal than to county government. Citizen access may also mean that the nature of services (quality and quantity) will differ widely throughout the metropolitan area. And, that less popular services will not be provided at all.

The second alternative is limited in terms of revenue-raising ability. And, size may also limit the ability of units to operate services directly. But, there is nothing preventing smaller units from working together through joint powers or other kinds of cooperative agreements. The record has not been good on this, but the potential is there.

Through the third alternative, it may be possible to take advantage of the strengths of the first two. alternative could create a type of unit that would be big enough to have good revenue-raising potential and the ability to operate services efficiently, but small enough for there to be effective representation. Problems may arise, however, in implementation. Of the three, this one would probably require the greatest amount of restructuring. The first two each build on an existing system. This one would probably be almost totally new. Of the three, this alternative is the least tried....the only example that we know of is the reorganization of London in 1963 (see Appendix H).

Should the new system start operating at the same time throughout the metropolitan area? Or, should it be phased-in?

One approach would be to phase in the new system as a county reached a certain level of urbanization. Under this plan, it would probably be implemented immediately in Hennepin and Ramsey Counties. Anoka, Dakota, and Washington

counties might follow in a few years....followed by Carver and Scott. It can be argued that the reasons for combining functions do not now hold in the suburban counties. As such, two types of local government may still be appropriate.

Another approach would be to implement the new system at once in all metropolitan counties. This would keep the system of local government uniform throughout the metropolitan area. And, in the suburban counties, implementation now might be beneficial because they would have the new system as they develop and thus might avoid making radical changes later.

Should county and municipal government be combined in the same fashion in each county?

Again, the answer may depend on our level of concern for consistency. Twin Cities residents move around the community and it might be desirable to keep the system of local government the same throughout. But, that leaves the problem of finding a single structure that is suitable for all.

Should special districts be included as a part of the new system?

Special districts could continue unaffected by the merger of city and
county functions or they could be
included. Most prominent among the
special districts are the schools. In
recent years school districts have
added services which give them, in a
limited way, the character of a generalpurpose government. For example, many
school districts now have their own
child care and health care programs.
With this kind of development, it might
be advisable to consider whether or not
the school's or any other special district's functions should be combined

along with those of municipal and occupate government.

Should the system for operating local public services be organized at the same scale as policy-setting, or should it be at a larger scale? smaller scale?

Historically, local governments have been organized such that most operating responsibilities are at the same scale as policy-setting and financing. City councils and county boards usually have their own operating departments to carry out their decisions.

Operating may also be organized at a different scale from policy-setting and financing. There are some examples of this in both the public and private sectors:

- -In state government, over the last few years, there have been an increasing number of state programs operated by local governments under broad policy guidelines set by the Legislature and with revenues provided by the state.
- -In local government, services have been operated at a larger scale. This has been done through joint powers agreements.
- -In private industry, a number of companies are restructuring such that operating decisions are made by local management while long-term policy is set by central management. For example, the 1977 annual report of one local company described the change this way: "It is our intent to plan the future direction of our enterprises at the management company level and to allow operating decisions to be made at the local level without undue interference from above."

The commission must decide the scale at which services should be operated.

It should do this on a service-byservice basis. In some cases it may
feel policy-making and operating should
be at the same scale. In others, it
may conclude that a larger scale would
be best, and in still others it may
decide that a smaller scale is appropriate.

In making these decisions the commission should consider the effect of the scale of operation on both efficiency and control. For example, a largerscale operation may offer the prospect of "economies of scale" but there may also be the danger that the operating unit will be uncontrollable. And, as a result, it may not provide the services that citizens want and need.

If the commission chooses to have some services operated at scales different from those used for policy and financing decisions, then it should consider the possibility of doing so through semi-autonomous public agencies or private corporations. Some public services are already operated this way. For example, the Metropolitan Transit Commission, the Metropolitan Waste Control Commission, and most local Housing and Redevelopment Authorities operate as semi-autonomous agencies. In the case of the first two, they are under the authority of the Metropolitan Council. And, the HRAs operate under authority of city councils and county

boards. Semi-autonomous agencies have also been used in both Sweden and Japan to reorganize their civil service (see Appendix J).

With semi-autonomous agencies, the policy-setting bodies would describe the kinds of services they wanted and then contract with a public agency or private corporation to do the work. This approach has three possible advantages:

- -It is more likely to generate a variety of approaches to operating a service. And, the representative unit can choose one or more depending on its needs.
- -One agency can be the operator for several units of representation. This might cut administrative costs.
- -It will generate competition between "in house" departments, semi-autonomous agencies, and private corporations for public contracts. This is likely to help in controlling costs.

The commission should evaluate the region's experience so far with semi-autonomous public agencies and private providers. This should be done as a part of the background research leading to a decision on the structure for the new units of local government.

BACKGROUND ON PREPARATION OF CITIZENS LEAGUE REPORTS

Each year the Citizens League Board of Directors adopts a research program with about six study topics. The Board makes its selection following a recommendation from its Program Committee, a standing committee of the Board. The Program Committee spends about four months in trimming a list of possible projects, which may have as many as 200 possibilities at the outset.

Under the League process, the Board submits an assignment to a committee made up of members of the Citizens League who have been given the opportunity to participate through an announcement in the League's semimonthly newsletter. The Board approves membership on all committees and appoints the chairman.

The committee then goes to work and, after a period of six months to a year, submits a report with background, findings, conclusions and recommendations to the Board of Directors.

A period of time after the committee has begun meeting, but before it has reached its conclusions and recommendations, the Board of Directors names about five persons from the Board to meet with the study committee chairman and committee members to review how the committee is progressing and to raise questions which might subsequently be raised at the Board level. A five-member group from the Board may meet with the chairman about three or four times. The five-member Board panel may submit a list of questions for consideration by the Board when the committee's report is submitted.

Under the League's constitution and by-laws, the Board approves all League reports and position papers before they become official League policy and are released to the public. The Board may take whatever action on the report it deems desirable, including approval, modification or rejection. Once a report is approved by the Board, it becomes the full responsibility of the Board as official policy of the Citizens League.

The study committee officially disbands when the report is acted on by the Board. The chairman and others from the committee frequently are asked to help explain the report to the community.

COMMITTEE ACTIVITY

With the county as the base for discussion, the League's Board of Directors assigned this committee the task of describing a plan for local government. Specifically, the committee's charge from the Board was as follows:

"What functions should county government perform in the Twin Cities metropolitan area? Municipal governments blanket virtually all of the urbanized portion of the area and are given responsibilities to provide basic services to property, such as streets, fire, and police. At the other end of the scale, the Metropolitan Council and its subordinate agencies are responsible for areawide planning and provision of regional services, such as waste disposal and transportation. County government lies in between, working heavily in human services, record-keeping and courts. The committee shall (a) review the kinds of services now provided by municipalities, counties and metropolitan agencies; (b) identify areas of overlap or gaps; (c) determine the best role for metropolitan area county governments in coming years; and (d) determine whether any structural changes are desirable in metropolitan area county governments to enable them to carry out their functions most effectively."

It was clear that the focus was to be on county government. But, in order to address the points of concern in the charge, the committee had to broaden the scope of its work. Major consideration had to be given to work of municipalities and the Metropolitan Council.

Most recent studies of county government have been focused on questions related to structure. This committee, by contrast, began its inquiry by examining the major functions of county governments. Our hope was to develop criteria which could be used as a guide for charting the future course of county government in this metropolitan area. Any discussion of structure was to follow and be consistent with the role for counties described by the criteria.

The committee considered and rejected numerous types of criteria. None provided a valid means of distinguishing county government from municipal government. As a result, the committee debated and eventually agreed that the two could not be distinguished because they were both performing essentially the same kinds of functions. This conclusion ultimately led the committee to question whether or not the region needed both municipal and county government.

With the exception of one member, the committee was unanimous in the

conclusion that there should be only one elected general-purpose unit for representation below the level of the Metropolitan Council. The committee was more divided on how to structure the system of representation. members supported the recommendation which appears in Appendix K. And, three members felt that the majority's recommendation would be unworkable. The three members were: Randall Halvorson, Virginia Redgrave, and Rosemary Rockenbach. While they agree with the concept of one unit of representation, they dissent from the committee's recommendation. Mr. Halvorson submitted a minority report on this subject. A copy of it is available in the Citizens League office.

One committee member, Victor Miller, chose to dissent from the entire report.

The committee began work on October 18, 1977, and completed its report on August 1, 1978. A total of 39 meetings were held, an average of one per week, with each session lasting about 2½ hours. Some committee members also met informally for dinner before each meeting.

In the course of its work, the committee met with a broad range of people associated with county government, including county commissioners and other elected county officials, mayors, county administrators, city managers and state legislators. Those persons who visited with the committee and thereby contributed to its understanding of county government and local government in general are listed below. Their titles and positions are the ones they held at the time they spoke to the committee.

- Ghaleb Abdul-Rahman, Metropolitan Council staff.
- Deane R. Anklan, former Ramsey County Engineer.
- Robert Barrett, professor and director of Urban and Regional Studies,
 Mankato State University.

- G. Steven Bernard, former White Bear Lake City Manager.
- Robert Burns, Washington County Assessor.
- Ann Collopy, Hennepin County Records
 Management Supervisor.
- Stanley Cowle, former Hennepin County Administrator.
- William J. Craiq, assistant director, Center for Urban and Regional Affairs, University of Minnesota.
- John Derus, chairman, Hennepin County Board of Commissioners.
- Jerry Enders, former chairman, Council of Metropolitan Area Leagues of Women Voters.
- Thomas G. Forsberg, Chief Judge,
 Tenth Judicial District
- Clifton E. French, superintendent,
 Hennepin County Park Reserve
 District.
- Thomas Greeder, Washington County Auditor.
- Stan Groff, Dakota County Social Service Director.
- Roger Israel, Metropolitan Council staff.
- Robert W. Johnson, Anoka County Attorney.
- Steven Johnson, director, Scott County
 Court Services.
- Wayne A. Johnson, Director of Finance and Records, Hennepin County.
- Thomas J. Kelley, former Ramsey County Administrator.
- Ed Knudson, Metropolitan Council staff.

 Albert Kordiak, chairman, Anoka County
 Board of Commissioners.
- <u>Patrick McManus</u>, director of Community Corrections, Minnesota Department of Corrections.
- Laurence Mills, Executive Secretary,

 Dakota County Board of Commissioners.
- <u>Robert Nethercut</u>, director, Metropolitan Parks and Open Space Commission.
- Senator Harmon Ogdahl, Minnesota Senate.
- Elliott Perovich, former mayor, City of Anoka.
- <u>John Pidgeon</u>, Bloomington City Manager <u>Joseph Ries</u>, Scott County Administrator.

Robert Rosene, consulting engineer for Cities of Eagan and Apple Valley.

<u>Joel Rosenfeld</u>, director, Metropolitan <u>Library Service Agency (MELSA)</u>.

Robert H. Rohlf, director, Hennepin County Library System.

Robert P. Sandeen, Dakota County Engineer.

Wesley Scheel, chairman, Washington County Board of Commissioners.

James Simonet, Washington County Recorder.

Richard Stafford, Washington County Treasurer.

Bernard Steffen, former Anoka County
Administrator.

Walter Stock, mayor, City of Prior Lake.

Russell L. Streefland, vice-chairman,
Dakota County Board of Commissioners.
Linda Sutherland, State Planning Agency.
Thomas A. Thompson, former Minneapolis
City Coordinator.

Ray Thron, Metropolitan Council staff.

Lois Yellowthunder, research director,

Government Structure Committees in

Dakota, Anoka, and Ramsey Counties.

Kenneth Young, director, Hennepin County Court Services.

<u>William Zuber</u>, Ramsey County Human Services Planner.

Art Lee, Hennepin County Director of Public Services.

Kathryn Loff, director, Dakota County Library Service

Dean Lund, former executive director,
 League of Minnesota Cities.

Representative Paul McCarron, Minnesota House of Representatives.

In addition, while the committee was meeting, three County Commissioners -- Jeff Spartz and Nancy Olkon of Hennepin County, and Warren Schaber, chairman of the Ramsey County Board -- appeared as

speakers at Citizens League Community Leadership Breakfasts. Some committee members attended these sessions and reported on their substance to the whole committee.

In addition to its formal resource persons, Scott Dickman, Executive Director of the Metropolitan Inter-County Council, attended many of the committee's meetings. Mr. Dickman contributed to the committee's discussion on occasion and answered questions for committee members. We appreciated his presence.

Diane Ahrens, Ramsey County Commissioner, signed up for the committee, but did not participate actively. She did, however, sit in on four of the committee's meetings. Near the end of the committee's work, she critiqued the committee's report.

Outside the meetings, staff talked regularly with a variety of people from county and municipal government. Drafts of memoranda describing county services and organization were sent to relevant county staff for their comments. All meeting notices and minutes of most committee meetings were sent on a regular basis to the chairman of each county board of commissioners.

Most of the committee's meetings were held in Minneapolis and St. Paul. However, a few meetings were held in suburban communities including Burnsville, Stillwater, and Columbia Heights.

A total of 68 Citizens League members originally signed up for the committee. Fourteen participated actively in the committee's work. They are:

Harry Neimeyer, Chairman
Kenneth J. Andersen
Randall Halvorson*
Meredith Hart
Glenn L. Hendricks
Edward A. Hennen
Thomas J. Kelley
A. L. MacLean
Victor E. Miller**
Donald R. Newell
Helge G. Olson
Virginia L. Redgrave*
Rosemary Rockenbach*
Patricia Ryan

Staff assistance for the committee was provided by Bill Blazar, research associate, and Mary Maranowski, research assistant. Jean Bosch arranged all meetings and provided secretarial support.

^{*}Dissented from the committee's recommendation that the system of representation should be built around municipalities.

^{**}Dissented from the committee's report.

ACTION BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The Citizens League's Board of Directors considered the committee's report at three meetings during August and September, 1978. Ultimately, the Board acted to delete the committee's conclusions and recommendations, substituting the conclusions and recommendations that appear in this report.

Board discussion of the committee's report focused on two major issues:

- -Was the committee's conclusion that there should be only one type of local government below the metropolitan level justified?
- -And, if so, was the committee's proposed structure both desirable and feasible?

The Board had little trouble agreeing that the committee's conclusion was indeed justified. However, Board members felt that this conclusion was not generally shared by local officials and not a topic of debate by the general public. Board members felt that the primary objective of the report should be to initiate community discussion regarding the combination of county and municipal government.

The Board rejected the committee's proposed structure for local government. The Board feared that the committee's proposal would be interpreted to mean that some public services would be eliminated along with county government. The committee did not intend this. The committee's objective was only to propose a new means for providing public services.

The Board agreed with this objective but felt that any proposal to eliminate one unit of local government might be interpreted as meaning the services provided by the unit also would be eliminated. Therefore, the Board felt that a better approach would be to combine municipal and county government. This is consistent with the committee's conclusion that there should be only one type of local government below the metropolitan level and it avoids the risk that services will be eliminated.

The Board rejected the proposal also because members feared that it would be the focus of community debate rather than the committee's central conclusion, the need to have only one type of local government below the metropolitan level. Such debate might lead the community to reject the proposal, thus ending the discussion without ever reaching the point of agreeing or disagreeing with the committee's major concern.

Board members concluded that the Citizens League's first objective had to be community acceptance of the committee's central conclusion. Restructuring local government will be a long and complex affair...its feasibility will be questioned constantly. This community has undertaken and successfully completed complex projects. However, key to their success has been a strong commitment from the outset that they This must also needed to be done. be the case for local government... first there must be a firm commitment to combining city and county government.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

HOW RESPONSIBILITY FOR "COUNTY SERVICES" IS SHARED

	County highway programs	County solid waste programs	County land-use planning	County record- keeping	County parks	County libraries	County health services	County social services	County sheriff	County & district court/ court services	Correc- tions
Federal government	PF	-	-	-	PF	F	F	PF	-	-	F
State government	PF	P	P	P	F	P	Р	PF	Р	PF	PF
Metropolitan government	P	P	PF	-	PF	-	P	-	_	_	P
County government	0F	0F	OF	0F	OF	POF	0	OF	POF	OF	OF
Munic†pal government	Some main- tenance of county records	-	-	_	<u>-</u>	Pro- vide lib- rary bldgs.	Space for health clinics	-	Con- tracts for police pro- tection	Space for court- rooms	-
Special district	-	-	-	<u>-</u>	Oper- ating in Henn. County	-	-	-	-	-	_

KEY: P = Broad policy setting.

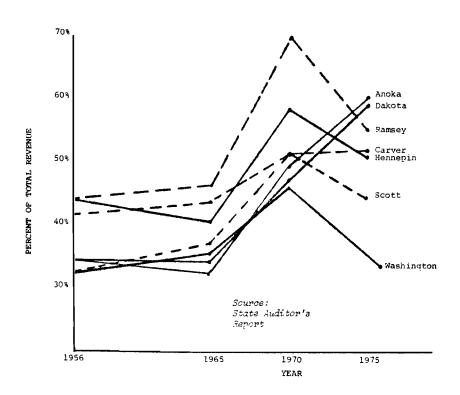
F = Financing

. 0 = Operating and program policy.

Note: The assignments are approximate. Where two or more governments share a single responsibility, there is no indication of one's share relative to the other. For example, the Metropolitan Council's role in setting broad policy for parks may be greater than that of the federal government.

APPENDIX B

STATE AND FEDERAL REVENUES, METROPOLITAN COUNTIES



APPENDIX C

EXCERPTS FROM "TO SERVE SEVEN MILLION" REPORT OF THE PUBLIC COMMISSION ON LOS ANGELES COUNTY GOVERNMENT February, 1976

 The level of public knowledge of and confidence in County Government are low.

Chart II presents the results of an opinion survey of a scientifically designed sample of residents of the County. Each respondent was asked to judge the way that County government is run, and then to make the same judgment for the local city administration. Each was then asked about his/her perceptions of his/her own capacity to affect the actions of an overwhelming majority of public witnesses and interviewees with whom we have spoken during our study. fact, if there has been any change in the weight of opinion since the poll was taken in the fall of 1973, the views presented to us suggest that it has further reinforced the same pattern.

First, only in the case of the County did no more than a minority (40%) of citizens indicate general approval of the way that government is run; the cities averaged 55%-60% majorities. Second, more than one-third of the respondents had no opinion with respect to the County, a rate more than twice as high as recorded for the City of Los Angeles and more than a third higher than Long Beach. Combining the nonfavorable responses, a full 60% of County residents sampled either did not state a view, or disapproved of County operations. Third, citizens showed a significantly lower level of confidence in their ability to affect County actions as compared with their perceptions of their influence over cities.

These figures lend credibility to the very widespread contention among citizens and local officials that County government is remote and invisible to the general public. More impressionistic evidence abounds (emphasis added). One Supervisor reported to us that he must regularly identify himself to his constituents as a former city councilman in order to be recognized. A councilman (and former mayor) from the San Gabriel Valley testified that his council had not been in direct contact with the Supervisor from that district for at least five years. City managers from Claremont to Rolling Hills Estates told of their frustrations in seeking points of access and authoritative sources of guidance in the County structure. A leader of the downtown Los Angeles business community detailed his unsuccessful attempts to get a hearing with County authorities on what he regarded as the wasteful practice of building rather than renting office space. An environmental activist from Santa Monica reported that her ultimate recourse, after years of attempts to get a hearing from County officials, was to the State Legislature, which she found significantly more accessible despite the intervening 500 miles. Though presented here in random fashion in order to show the dispersion and diversity of the complainants, our research indicates that these experiences are valid indicators of public perceptions. Analysis of the causes should take into account the fact that this invisibility persists despite strenuous attempts on the part of the Supervisors to draw attention to County government and their roles in it.

APPENDIX C (continued)

Chart II Citizen Evaluation of County Government

"In general do you think your city/the County government is run the way it should be, not run the way it should be, or don't you happen to have an opinion on that?"

	LA County	LA City	Long Beach	Other Cities
Run the way it should be	40%	55%	60%	57%
Not run the way it should be	26%	30%	19%	14%
No opinion	34%	15%	21%	29%

"Some people tell us that there is nothing they can do to affect what the city/ County government does. Other people say they can influence what gets decided here in . . . if they want to. How about you? Do you feel that you can affect what your city/the County government does nor not?"

	LA County	LA City	Long Beach	Other Cities
Yes, can affect	47%	70%	65%	72%
No, cannot affect	43%	30%	35%	28%

Source: Los Angeles Metropolitan Area Survey #7 U.C.L.A. Social Science Research Institute (Fall 1973)

However, to know the County is not necessarily to love it, as evidenced by the movements to secede from its jurisdiction which seem to be growing in strength. It is reasonable to ascribe such sentiment to physical remoteness in places like the Santa Clarita Valley, where a visit to one's local government may require a 100-mile round trip. But it is much more difficult to explain away the fact that the City of Los Angeles, with a close physical proximity to the County administration and much to gain from

the breadth and diversity of the County tax base, established a committee of the City Council in June 1975 to examine ways to secede (emphasis added). The seriousness of this action was reinforced by a subsequent letter from the Mayor seeking Federal funds to support the work. We have been told by a prominent citizen of Long Beach that opinion in his city runs along similar lines. Other secession movements have appeared in the South Bay area, in the San Fernando Valley, and in the San Gabriel Valley.

APPENDIX C (continued

The fact that secession is very difficult to achieve under current State law is not the point. The significance of the movements lies in the fact that they exist as serious protests against County structure and policy, and in some cases even when it is difficult to see that any fiscal or other material advantages would reward their success.

This kind of dissatisfaction has also emerged each time during the last 20 years that an objective study has been conducted of the current County structure. Each major analysis—the 1958 Charter Commission study, the inquiries conducted by the League of Women Voters in 1958, 1967, and 1975, and those of the County's own Commission on Economy and Efficiency in 1970 and 1974—has concluded that these and other problems

are so serious that they demand fundamental renovation of the Charter. No study during these two decades has found that the system permits adequate access for the public to their government, nor that its soundness provides good reason for public confidence even though access is limited. Ouite the contrary, each has concluded that public understanding and confidence are severely impaired by the way that the government is now organized. Our own study has had the benefit, therefore, of a wealth of prior research which, together with our own, adds up to a continuous and growing trend toward greater estrangement of citizens, diminished perceptions of their capacity to affect policies or practices, and general frustrations with opaque County decision-making processes.

APPENDIX D

CURRENT SERVICE AGREEMENTS BETWEEN METROPOLITAN COUNTIES*

Service	Anoka	Carver	Dakota	Hennepin	Ramsey	Scott	Washington
Health and Social Services	Contract to use detox in Henne- pin and Ramsey Counties.	"Joint Economic Council" with Scott County.	-	of social service have contracts wi ers. Other count politan and non-m	unties" for a number s. That is, they the private provid- ies (both metro- etropolitan) use hrough the Hennepin	• With Carver County, "Joint Economic Council".	• Share a half-way house with Ramsey County.
Corrections	Contract with Hennepin for work-release program. Share a public defender with Washington County. On a "space available basis", use correctional facilities in Ramsey County.	• Occasional use of Ramsey County facilities.	. Use juvenile detention center in Anoka County. ** On a "space evailable basis", use correctional facilities in Ramsey County.	-	. Agreement with Hennepin County for workhouse space for women.	Occasional use of Ramsey Coun- ty facilities.	• Share a public defender with Anoka County. • Use Anoka County juwenile detention center on a informal basis.
Parks	e Joint powers agreement with Ramsey County to develop Chain O'Lakes	-		Hennepin/Scott joint powers agreement.	• Joint powers with Dakota allowing Ramsey to acquire park land in Dakota County for the Lilydale Regional Park. Joint powers with Anoka to develop Chain O'Lakes.	• With Hennepin, joint powers agreement.	-
Highways	• Contract with Ramsey to man- tain "border- line" roads.	-	-	. Joint powers with Scott County for river crossings. With Ramsey County for Ford Bridge and some streets in St. Anthony.		. Joint powers with Hennepin for river crossings.	. Contract with Ramsey for main- tenance of "borderline" roads.
Other		-	-	. Joint purchas- ing with Anoka and Ramsey Counties.	-	-	-

^{*}This supplements the agreements described in Table 4 on page 14.

[&]quot;"Anoka County leases the facility from the State Department of Corrections and then allows Dakota and Meshington Counties to use it on a "space available basis". Anoka County is now considering building its own center.

APPENDIX E

AUTOMATION OF COUNTY PROPERTY RECORDS, 1977

Equipment:	Anoka	Carver	Dakota	Hennepin	Ramsey	Scott	Washington
Computer Type:	Burroughs 1700	Burroughs L9400	IBM 370- 115	IBM-370 168	CDC Cyber 72/16	Burroughs 700	IBM System 3/10
Computer Size:	small to medium can run more than on program at once and 'talk' with other machines.	very small. does simple tasks one at a time.	small to medium similar cap- abilities to Anoka's.	large roughly 20 times more powerful than Dakota's.	medium to large	small some ability to 'talk' to other computers or terminals.	smallbut more general purpose than the Burroughs.
Compatibility:	some with the Burroughs 700.	none.	with other 370s of similar power.	with other 370s of similar power.	with other CDC machines of similar power.	some with the Burroughs 1700.	with other System 3s.
Software Development:	"in house"	consultant	"in house"	"in house"	consultant	consultant	"in house"

APPENDIX E (continued)

Type of			_				
Record:	Anoka	Carver	Dakota	Hennepin	Ramsey	Scott	Washington
Assessor							
Rolls:	3	o	3	3	3	3	3
Field Cards:6	2	ŏ	3	2			3
CAA: 1	2	ō	_	2	2	2	1
Auditor							
Books:			3	3	3	3	3
Tax Computation:	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
						ŀ	
Recorder				_	_	_	
Parcel Index:	1	0	0	2	1	0	1
Chain of Title: 2	1	0	0	2	1	0	1 1
Parcel History: 3	1	0	0	0	1	0	_
Reception books:4	1 1	0	0	3	1	0	1
Consecutive Index:5	1	0	0		1.	0	1
Treasurer							
Tax Billing:	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Special Assessments:	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Special Assessments:	-						-
Financial				1		Ì	
Payroll:	3	3	2	3	3	37	3
Budget:	3	2	2	3	3	1	3
General Ledger:	3	2	1	3	3	1	2 _
Vote							
Registration:	3		3	3	3	1	3
Count:	3		1	3	3	1	0
Utility:	3		0	3			
Licensing:	3		0	2			
Health:	3		3	3			0
Welfare:	3	3	3	3			
							
Engineering ⁸			0	3			3
Permits							
Construction:	Ì			0	2	1	1
Inspections:				١٠٥	-	ī	l ī
Other Land Use:				Ĭ	3	ī	l ī
Sewer/Water				Ĭ	2	Ī	l ī

KEY: 3 - on computer

2 - planned 1 - desirable

0 - not needed at this time

NOTES:

CAA = Computer Assisted Assessing.

²Description of ownership.

Describes transactions; seller and purchaser.

SOURCE: William Craig; Center for Urban and Regional Planning, University of Minnesota.

Description of ownership.

3 Description of how the size and shape of the parcel has changed.

⁵Lists the date and time of each transaction conducted by the Recorder.

⁶Contain the notes that the Assessor used in determining value.

⁷Not Human Services payroll.

 $^{^8\}mathrm{Mapping}$ and other graphics

APPENDIX

APPENDIX F

MUNICIPAL PURCHASING OF COUNTY SERVICES AND JOINT COUNTY/MUNICIPAL PROGRAMS

Service	Anoka	Carver	Dakota	Hennepin	Ramsey	Scott	Washington
Highways:	County does work for two municipalities. Columbia Heights has a contract to maintain some county roads.	The county does no work for municipalities. And, most municipalities under 5,000 maintain the county roads within their boundaries.	ities. So. St. Paul maintains the county	County maintains some traffic signals for Bloomington. Minneapolis and St. Anthony maintain county roads.	County does snow plowing and maintenance for 3 municipalities plowing only in 2 and general maintenance only in 4. 3 municipalities sweep and plow some roads for the county. 1 does sweeping only.	ities. But, all eight municipali- ties provide some snow plowing for county roads.	County does work - for three munici- palities.
Solid Waste:	The county's respo by the county of a disposal facilitie	nsibility is primari disposal facility. s. (Washington Coun	ly to license landfi Currently, none of ty had a landfill at	to adopt collection ills and provide a pl the metropolitan cout Lake Elmo but it is to use private land	an for disposal. Th nties owns and/or op now closed.) Munic	is might or might no perates an active la	ot involve operation ndfill or other
Record Keeping: (Data Pro- cessing)	Three municipalities use the county system for utility billing. Two of these also use it for payroll. The county has a fee schedule for doing municipal work on a job basis.		Process assessment information for some municipalities.	LOGIS, a consortium of 17 municipalities and the MTC and Metropolitan Sports Facilities Commission, purchases computer time.	The Ramsey County Computer Consor- tium (5 Ramsey County municipali- ties and Chanhas- sen) buy computer time.	None	Contracts with Woodbury, Still-water, Mahtomedi, and Forest Lake Township to process local assessments. With Woodbury for general accounting.
Property Issessing:	9 municipali- ties contract for assessment services.	All municipali- ties and 5 of ll townships contract.	County has a county-wide assessment program.	13 municipalities contract with the county for assessment.*	County has a county-wide assessment program.	3 of 11 town- ships and 4 of 8 municipalities contract for assessing.	23 of 37 town- ships and municipalities contract with the county for assessing.

Note: State law gives the Hennepin County Assessor responsibility for setting and enforcing assessment standards in municipalities with populations under 30,000. These communities may also contract with the county for this service.

Sheriff:	Patrol contracts with 3 municipalities. General law enforcement services to all others including jail, major crime investigation, and communications.	ties for serv- ices except Chaska.	Back-up service to larger muni- cipalities. Training program for municipal law enforcement offi- cers.	Contracts with 12 municipalities.	Contracts with 7 municipalities.	Contract with Belle Plaine. Crime scene search crew and investigators available to all municipalities.	Contracts with 7 municipalities and one township. Investigates all felonies.
Parks:	Coon Rapids operates (on a long-term con- tract) a golf course located within a county park.	None	None	None	County rents land to city of Maple-wood for parks. Also rents land to St. Paul and New Brighton for use as nurseries. The municipalities operate the nurseries. St. Paul uses a ponding area owned by the county for holding storm water back from Battle Creek.	None	None
Libraries:	The county has reciprocal borrowing agreements with the two municipal libraries, Columbia Heights and Anoka.	the four library	Two library buildings are owned by municipalities. All four libraries in the county's system are maintained by municipalities.	Whole system is county owned and operated. Reciprocal borrowing with Minneapolis through MELSA.	Municipalities provided the land for all five county libraries. Reciprocal borrowing with St. Paul.	Municipalities own and maintain all seven libraries in the county's system.	Three of the seven libraries in the county's system are owned and maintained by municipalities. Reciprocal borrowing with the independent libraries in four municipalities.
Health and Social Services:	Jointly fund mental health center with Coon Rapids. County's share about 40%. County provides public health services to all municipalities.	None	Hastings and Inver Grove Heights operate youth diversion programs with the county.	The county and about 21 municipalities contract with the Suburban Nursing Service for basic health services.	City of St. Paul and county fund community health clinics.	None	Information not available.
Note:	All metropolitan counti health departments. (S from the state and muni	ome counties, e.g.,	Anoka and Ramsey, a	lready have them.)]	Health Services Act. These departments mig	One result of this ht eventually take o	could be county over responsibility
Land-Use Planning:	None	All municipalities and town- ships contract with the county for comprehensive planning services, except Waconia, Chaska, Chanhassen	, , , , ,	None (state law prohibits Henne- pin and Ramsey Counties from doing land-use planning).	None (state law prohibits Henne- pin and Ramsey Counties from doing land-use planning).	The county is assisting Spring Lake Township.	Information not available.

APPENDIX G

ALTERNATIVES TO THE COUNTY/MUNICIPAL SYSTEM OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

No Counties	City/County Consol	City/County Consolidations				
Connecticut	Alaska	(3)	Maryland (1)			
Rhode Island	California	(1)	Missouri (1)			
	Colorado	(1)	Virginia (36)			
	Florida	(1)	_			
	Georgia	(1)				
	Hawaii	(1)				
	Indiana	(1)				
	Kentucky	(1)				
	Louisiana	(2)				
	Massachusetts	(2)				
	Montana	(2)				
	Nevada	(1)				
	New York	(1)				
	Pennsylvania	(1)				
	Tennessee	(1)				
	Virginia	(5)				

Source: The County Yearbook, 1977; National Association of Counties, Washington, D.C.; Table 2.

In twenty states some action has been taken to create systems of local government around one general-purpose representative body. Three of these states (Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Virginia) have done this on a state-wide basis.

Two basic approaches have been used: Eliminate one unit of government altogether, and eliminate the overlap in county and city boundaries.

The first approach, eliminate one unit, has in most cases been carried out through the consolidation of city and county government. Only two states, Connecticut and Rhode Island, have actually eliminated one unit...in both cases it was the county. In Connecticut, the state's eight counties were

eliminated in 1960. At that time, their responsibilities were minimal, for example, inspecting weights and measures and operating the agricultural extension service.

There have been seventeen successful consolidations since 1945. Only three, Miami/Dade County, Jacksonville/Duval County, and Indianapolis/Marion County, have involved major metropolitan areas (i.e., over 500,000 population). Ten have occurred in the south....four of these being in Virginia, where the state's whole system of local government is built around the concept of one unit of representation. None of the consolidations has involved more than one county. And, in most cases, suburban municipalities within the county have retained some degree of independence.

APPENDIX G (continued)

Virginia is the only state with both cities and counties where their boundaries are mutually exclusive: "Cities in Virginia are completely separate from and independent of the county in which they are located. The cities have their own governments....assess and collect their own taxes, and, except where joint cooperative agreements exist, are, for all intents and purposes, islands of government divorced from the county."15 Towns in Virginia also have their own governments, but they are not independent of the county. Citizens living in towns are governed by both county and town officials.

Compared with the total number of communities where counties and municipalities overlap, neither approach is in common use. In fact, most efforts to fundamentally change systems of local government have met with failure. Between 1970 and 1976 there were 38 referenda conducted on the question of city/county consolidation. Only seven passed. In other communities there have been plans for consolidation or boundary changes which never reached the point of referenda.

Several reasons have been offered for the failure of referenda. Most are political in nature and relate to the fact that city/county consolidation often involves merging a central city with suburbs. City residents see the merger as a chance for an expanded tax base, but tempering this is their fear of being outnumbered, and therefore out-voted, by suburbanites. Suburbanites have a similar concern. Despite their growing numbers, they are afraid of losing their independence and the authority that comes with it. Consolidation would mean ties to not only the city but also other suburbs.

Dissatisfaction with service delivery has never been a major generator of support from the general public for consolidation. This does not mean that there has not been dissatisfac-One study of six metropolitan areas showed that there was dissatisfaction but that the suburban residents being interviewed were "unequivocally opposed to the resolution of these deficiencies through city/county consolidation."16 Rather, an earlier study of Flint, Michigan, shows that dissatisfied residents wanted action, but that they wanted it to take some course other than consolidation, 17

APPENDIX H

SUMMARY OF FUNCTIONS OF THE GLC, THE ILEA AND THE LONDON BOROUGH COUNCILS

Services in which both GLC, ILEA and boroughs have responsibilities

and boroughs have responsibilities	
GLC	Boroughs
Planning authority for London as a whole.	Planning authority for the borough
Metropolitan roads (about 870 miles)	Local roads (about 6,800 miles)
Traffic management authority	Local traffic and parking schemes
Housing powers for strategic needs	Primary housing authority for the borough
Regional parks and open spaces and country parks	Local parks and open spaces
Main metropolitan watercourses	Local drains and watercourses
Refuse disposal	Refuse collection
Home defence — London-wide emergency planning	Home defence in the borough
Control of building construction (inner London only)	Control of building construction (outer London boroughs only)
Support of the Arts; cultural, recreational and entertainment facilities of regional significance	Support of the Arts; cultural, recreational and entertainment facilities in the borough
Historic buildings, monuments and statues	Historic buildings, monuments and statues (concurrent powers with GLC)
ILEA	
Education and careers service (inner London only)	Education and careers service (outer London boroughs only)

APPENDIX H (continued)

Separate responsibilities of GLC and boroughs

GLC

London Transport (policy and financial control)

Thames flood prevention

Land drainage

Fire authority

Licensing of petroleum storage

Licensing of places of entertainment, exhibition halls, and betting tracks

Licensing and registration of motor vehicles and licensing of drivers (as agent for the DOE)

Judicial services (as defined on page 58)

Smallholdings

Information service for Greater London

Supplies for itself, the ILEA and on request for boroughs

Research and Intelligence service both for itself and the boroughs

Scientific services

Boroughs

Personal social services, such as the care and protection of deprived children and services for elderly, handicapped and mentally disordered people, including residential care, day care centres, domestic help, meals at home and laundry facilities

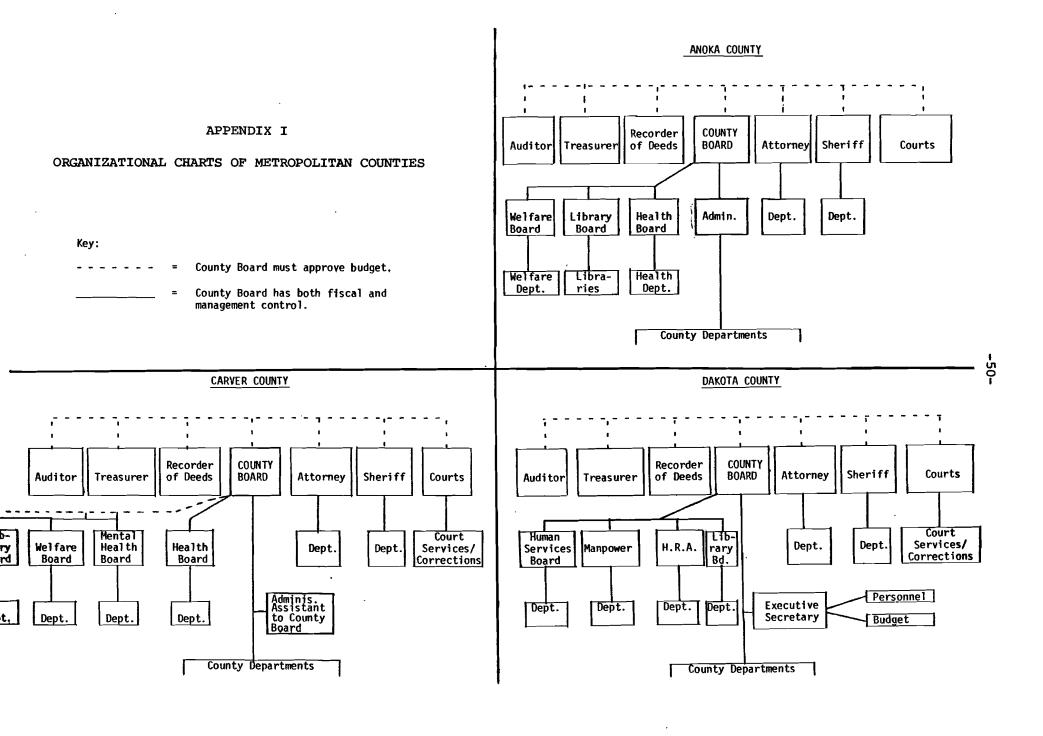
Environmental health services

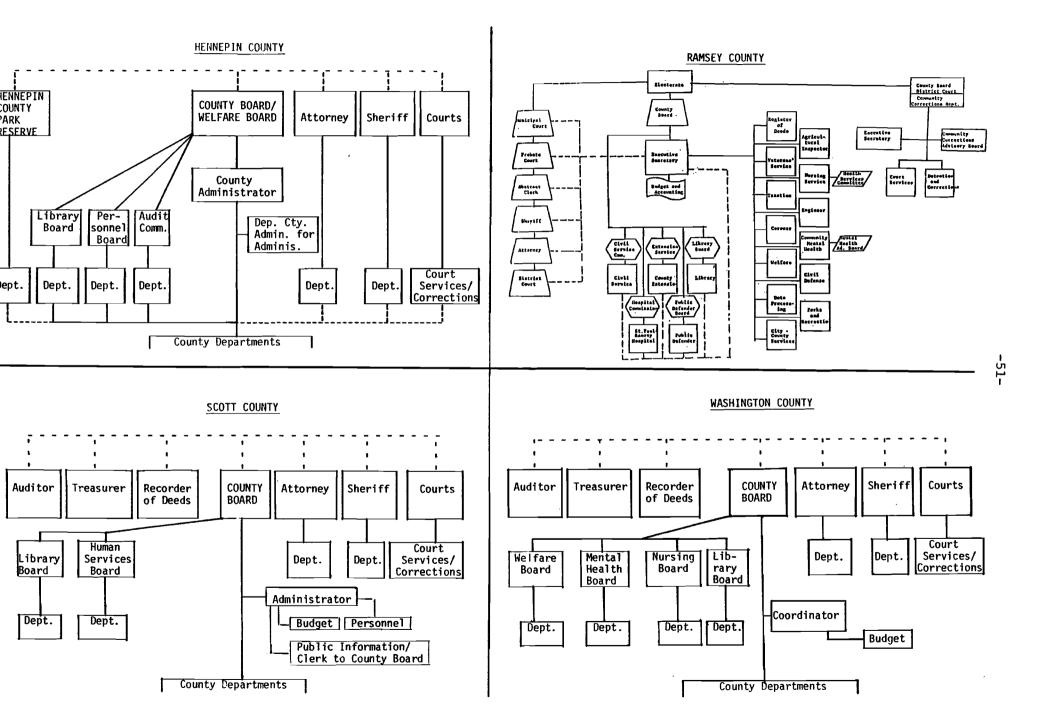
Most licensing functions, eg: of street traders, employment agencies, nursing agencies, etc.

Libraries and swimming baths

Borough information services

All other local government services, including control of weights and measures, food and drugs, noise and smoke control, consumer protection, registration of births, deaths and marriages, registration of electors, registration of local land charges, allotments, cemeteries and crematoria, street cleansing, working conditions in shops and offices, and many other services.





APPENDIX J

EXCERPTS FROM AN ARTICLE IN THE OCTOBER 24, 1970, "ECONOMIST"

The Barber's Cuts

The next smack of firm government comes on Tuesday.

It should be directed mainly to bureaucratic bottoms.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer is going to announce his cuts in government expenditure next Tuesday.

It could be half a Budget of considerable longer-term importance. Longterm changes in policy in Britian often are the somewhat skewed result of the initial impact of a new Government's philosophy against the prepared but shifting shock absorbers of civil service prejudices. Next week's cuts seem likely to be the result of such a mutual bombardment of minds in three main fields: (a) the contentious question of "hiving off"; (b) some selectivity in the social services; (c) so-called "cuts" in expenditure which are mainly redirections of the tax system. In each field the Government's intentions should be radical, but the civil service's interests are conservative. The danger next week is that the civil service may win.

"Hiving off" has been a subject for discussion and manoeuvre in Whitehall ever since the report of the Fulton committee on the civil service in 1968 noted:

In Sweden central departments deal in the main with policy-making; they are quite small and are predominantly staffed by younger men. The task of managing and operating policies is hived off to autonomous agencies whose senior staff are mainly older men of mature experience.

After the usual humming and hawing of any committee which is treading on some establishment toes, the Fulton committee concluded that in Britian:

There is indeed a wide variety of activities to which it might be possible to apply the principle of "hiving off". They range from the work of the Royal Mint and air traffic control to parts of the social services.

The Economist supports Swedish-style hiving off for precisely the radical reason that much of Whitehall will successfully aim to limit it: Britian desperately needs younger civil servants in policy-forming posts.

In Sweden, as an appendix to the Fulton report said:

The central government machine is very small. There are 11 ministers with a total staff of not much more than 1,500 between them; the ministry of education, for example, has a staff of about 120. This is made possible by the fact that large blocks of work that would be done by government departments in Britian are entrusted to autonomous agencies in Sweden. The agencies include both commercial bodies, and non-commercial bodies such as the national schools board and the national labour market board . . . The best young entrants to ministries are employed straightaway on secretarial work of high responsibility, rise quickly to the chief posts in the ministry by the time they are about 40, and then commonly go out between the ages of 45 and 50 to become the heads of agencies or occupy senior positions in them.

It cannot be a coincidence that in two other countries with obviously successful civil services, Japan and France, the top policy advisers in the civil service are generally in their early 40s; and that there has also been a trend towards having younger decision-makers in many business corporations; but in Britian last week it was proudly announced that the new civil service head of the monster Department of Trade and Industry was to be "one of the youngest permanent secretaries in Whitehall, aged 54." This relative gerontocracy in London has proved to be especially serious in economic policy where, as Keynes once fulminated, "there are not many who are influenced by new theories after they are 25 or 30 years of age, so that the ideas which civil servants and politicians and even agitators apply to current events are not likely to be the newest." That, indeed, is the main explanation of why the Treasury civil servants have wrongly persuaded Mr. Barber not to cut taxes together with expenditure next week. For precisely this reason, however, they will also not have advised him to banish them all from his side into supervisory agencies.

All that Britian may get next week is the hiving out of the ministries of certain subsidiary functions, following a process that was described in last week's white paper on government reorganisation:

Every minister is reviewing the whole range of his existing responsibilities so that the Government can decide whether they are necessary functions of central government and, if they are confirmed as necessary, whether they are rightly articulated in the departments organisational framework . . . The possibilities

of stopping activities altogether, of reducing them and of transferring them to the private sector will be explored.

Ever since the Fulton report Whitehall has been examining the prospects for three types of hiving off.

The first type, which would save most money, would be a transfer of some functions (eq. perhaps certain export promotional activities of the old Board of Trade) into agencies which would finance themselves wholly by the collection of fees. Labour tended to rule such experiments out, while the Tories enthusiastically rule them The second type, which would save some money, would be the establishment of agencies that would be told to finance themselves more by fees than at present: the Stationery Office is an obvious candidate. The third type of devolvement of function would be into an agency that would obviously have to work wholly or almost wholly with public money--eg, the Royal Mint --but where the senior-civil-servantturned-businessman-in-charge would be given a trading fund, and held responsible for using it efficiently. Other obvious candidates for one or other type of hiving off would be the Forestry Commission (which is the country's biggest producer of timber), the naval dockyards (which do ship repairing), the ordnance factories (which are subsidised arms manufacturers), many of the research and procurement activities of government, possibly the provision of passports, maybe even the employment exchanges, and certainly a lot of the advisory functions of the Ministry of Works.

As the Fulton report suggested, there would be scope for this system of hiving off in the social services. Perhaps the provision of meals in schools and hospitals could best be hived off to competitive private

APPENDIX J (continued)

any such changes in the social services next week will depend on the Government's policy for protecting the poor. Here again the right policy would be the most radical one. The Economist believes that the best recipe for Britian would be the provision of a minimum income for all by means of a negative income tax system, and then for the fullest possible charges to be made in the social services (including in the National Health Service, and including—this would be the really big saving—giving future old age pensioners only the pensions

that they have actuarially paid for). But there is no prospect of a negative income tax system being applied quickly. The Inland Revenue will oppose all progress because it says it cannot take on a further overload of work. One of the most important acts of the Conservative Government should be to hive off a lot of the Inland Revenue's present unnecessary load by going over to the American system of "self-assessment" of income tax and corporation tax, policed by spot checks. Company taxation should be put on this system at once.

APPENDIX K

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE STUDY COMMITTEE (NOT ADOPTED BY THE CITIZENS LEAGUE BOARD)

Make municipalities the unit of representation.

Build on existing strengths, make municipalities the unit of representation at the sub-metropolitan level.

Below the level of the Metropolitan Council, the region's system of local government should be reorganized so that municipalities become the only official and elected units for general-purpose representation.

Relative to county officials, city councilmen and mayors are more widely recognized by citizens as being responsible for public services. By making them the elected officials for local government, we will be placing authority in a place that citizens already recognize and understand.

It will not be necessary to change the composition of existing elected bodies or to create new ones. Had we chosen to build the system of representation around the county boards, their size would have had to be increased, and new districts would have had to be created. And, once this was done, there would be little assurance that the new system of representation would be better than the one now working with municipalities.

The proposal to create "boroughs" would involve even greater risk. It would not carry over any part of the existing system of local government.

Encourage the consolidation of smaller municipalities.

The Citizens League's 1974 report on local government concluded that, "The metropolitan area contains too many municipalities." To encourage consolidation, the report recommended that the Legislature:

- -"modify referendum requirements for consolidation proposals in which the consolidated municipality would total fewer than 100,000 persons." Rather than requiring separate referenda in each municipality involved in the consolidation, allow a single referendum over the entire area. Before a referendum could be held, there would have to be approval of the consolidation by the Municipal Commission.
- -"adjust the municipal aid formula to significantly increase the state aid to be received by a consolidated municipality."

A system of local government where municipalities are the only unit of general-purpose elected representation greatly increases the responsibilities of municipalities. The importance of having municipalities large enough to provide effective representation also increases. Thus, the implementation of the League's 1974 recommendations continues to be of major importance.

Local policy-setting should take place in the context of areawide policies. Such policies now need to be developed for keeping property records and for "human services."

The local unit of representation's first concern is with its own community. However, actions of any local policy-setting body have an effect on surrounding communities. As a result, there continues to be a need for metropolitan policies or framework. This framework is now lacking for property record-keeping and, with the exception of health care, for "human services."

The system for recording and storing property records should be standard throughout the region. This might cut costs and lead to easier access to these records. At present, the region has seven different systems for collecting and storing the same kinds of information. Maintaining the separate system is costly. Since this information is used for computing property taxes, it is important that it be standardized as much as possible. The current system works against this. And, furthermore, it prohibits some additional uses of the information, for example, the sharing of information for planning purposes.

Basic decisions have to be made with respect to "human services." It is not clear what types of services they include and whether or not they are or should be organized as a "system." Regardless of whether these services are part of one system or many, guidelines on the amount of service that the community needs and wants and the way in which the services should be provided are lacking. Public spending for these services is already substantial, and there is potential uncontrolled growth.

The Legislature should make an assignment for areawide policy responsibility

in both of these areas. If in either case the Legislature wants to make assignments to the Metropolitan Council, then it should first act to make the Council members elected.

Start the process of planning for the new system of local government.

For the seven-county metropolitan area only, adopt a policy designating municipalities as the unit of elected general-purpose representation.

During its 1979 session, the Minnesota Legislature should adopt a policy designating elected municipal officials as the source of local government representation for residents of the seven-county Twin Cities metropolitan area. This policy statement should set a timetable for the phasingout of elected county boards and, in those counties where the auditor, treasurer, and register of deeds are elected, their change from elected to appointed status. (Our analysis of the work of the county attorney and sheriff was not sufficient to make a recommendation regarding the selection process for these officials.)

The Legislature should take this action directly and should not delegate it to an outside commission.

The Legislature should establish a "planning committee" in each metropolitan county to plan for the transition from the existing system of county government to a system of local government built around municipalities.

The switch to a system of local government built around municipalities will be complex and may take a number of years to complete. Adjustments, no doubt, will have to be made for the special characteristics of each

metropolitan county. The responsibilities of what is now county government will have to be reassigned. In short, a planning committee should be appointed in each county. Its primary duties will be:

- -To develop a plan for providing the services now provided by county government.
- -To oversee the implementation of that plan.

The Legislature should specify that each planning committee have ten members. The members should include representatives of the state and of municipalities, with the majority being general citizens. The members should be chosen by the governor on the advice of the legislators from each county. A chairman should be selected from the membership by the members.

At the start of their work, each planning committee should poll the municipalities for their preferences regarding plans for providing "county" services. The poll should not be the only source of guidance. The committee should consider a wide range of options for providing services. Among the options that should be considered for each service are:

- -Centralized operating, that is, have a service provided on a county-wide basis. If this option is used, a special operating unit will have to be set up. The county board will no longer exist and a structure will have to be created to assume operating responsibility.
- -Decentralized operating, that is, having each municipality operate the service on its own.

- -Some combination of centralized and decentralized operating...for example, some parts of the county might be served by a central organization, and others might be served through municipalities.
- -With the planning committees in other counties, organize a single operating unit to serve all or part of the metropolitan area.
- -Requesting that the state operate a service directly.

A centralized system of operating services could be set up through a joint powers agreement participated in by all or part of the municipalities in each county. Such agreements are already used for a number of services. Municipalities and the governments with which they work are familiar with the joint powers concept. Its use would involve a minimum of readjustment for municipalities.

A decentralized system would require that each municipality, regardless of size, set up its own operating departments. For larger municipalities there would be little change from their current structure. However, for smaller ones, the additional cost would probably be burdensome. And, they would want to consider other alternatives, for example, a joint powers arrangement with one or more municipalities. The planning committees should anticipate this and should offer a structure that will facilitate jointpowers-type agreements between municipalities.

For both the centralized and decentralized approaches, the planning committee will want to give special consideration to ways of separating local policysetting and financing from operating.

APPENDIX K (continued)

The municipalities will be responsible for both local policy and financing. If operating is done only through city departments, there may not be sufficient separation of these responsibilities and they may not get the individual attention they need.

The decentralized approach poses some special equity questions. Over the last decade, the region has tried to develop a system where the cost of some services (particularly those to the poor) is shared on a county or state-wide basis. Cities with large indigent populations are thus relieved of part of the cost. The decentralized approach to operating could take us back to the old and inequitable system. Thus, if the planning committees wish to consider this approach, they should, depending on the service, also consider special provisions for financing.

The planning committee should consider and allow for the possibility that some services will be provided at the metropolitan level. Some services are already metropolitan, for example, sewage treatment and public transit. And, there might be potential for others, for example, property recordkeeping. As a resource to the planning committees, the Metropolitan Council should prepare a study of the potential for metropolitan service agreements. The study should review all local services, pointing out the opportunities for multi-county or metropolitan service delivery. The study should be available by the time the planning committees begin their work.

Many of the services currently provided by metropolitan counties are done so with state financing and according to state specifications. For these services, the planning committees should consider whether they might better be provided by the state directly... through a local office or an independent contractor. For example, it might be desirable for the state to have its own local administrators for income maintenance programs and the courts and corrections. And, if local officials wanted to provide a higher level of service than was being offered by the state, they could contract with the local administrator for additional service.

If services are to be moved to the metropolitan or state level, the planning committees should consider whether or not the municipalities should continue to have any formal policy and financing responsibility for them. A conclusion by the planning committees that some services are best provided at a "higher" level probably also means that policy and financing should be carried out at a higher level... that there is need for a broader perspective than can reasonably be expected from municipalities.

The planning committee should not adopt any plan unless it is reasonably sure that it will meet the following criteria:

- -First, that county services are divided up in a manner consistent with the abilities of the level of government to which they are assigned.
- -Second, that the municipalities will have good control over the way the services for which they are to be responsible are provided.
- -Third, that there is a mechanism for keeping the people in charge of administering these services responsive to what citizens need and want.

Transfer the responsibilities of county government in the metropolitan area to the municipalities in each county.

Upon completion, the committee's plan

should be reviewed by the Legislature to make sure that:

- -It does not conflict with the plans in other counties.
- -A process has been set up through which the municipalities in each county can decide collectively how to provide those county-wide services for which they are to be responsible.
- -The cost of county-wide services is shared in an equitable fashion by all municipalities.

Any legislative action needed to implement the plan should be taken after this review, including the formal transfer of responsibilities of county government to the municipalities in the county.

"Government service corporations" are one option for providing local services.

Provide county services through "government service corporations."

Each planning committee should consider the possibility of setting up a "government service corporation." These corporations would serve as vehicles through which municipalities could carry out their new responsibilities together. The service corporations would provide a means through which a centralized approach to operating might be taken.

The government service corporations would be administrative units. They would be creatures of the municipalities which have organized them. And, their only purpose would be to carry out programs designed and financed by their creators.

In the past (most notably with respect to the structure of the Metropolitan Council), the League has advanced the concept of separating policy-making from operating responsibilities. We continue to support that concept. The government service corporation is consistent with it because the corporation is an operating unit...taking policy direction from the governments which created it.

The service corporations should <u>not</u> be confused with Councils of Governments (COGs). COGs typically have been planning and policy-making bodies. The service corporations are to be set up as operating units only.

The service corporations should also not be confused with "special districts." Unlike special districts, the corporations will not have their own taxing authority, and, as mentioned above, they will not be freestanding units of government.

The creation of service corporations also opens the prospect for better accountability in local government. Separating administration from policysetting and financing will, no doubt, increase the level of public discussion of local government activities. Decision-making will be more distributed, and, as a result, decisions that might have been made within a single office will now have to be made in two or more. This will slow down the decision-making process, but only as it relates to major decisions.

While they are not described as such, the region already has some "government service corporations." For example, the region's public transportation and sewage treatment systems are operated by "corporations" whose directors are appointed by the Metropolitan Council and the Governor.

APPENDIX K (continued)

Broad policy is set for both corporations by the Legislature and the Council. As we have pointed out, county government itself is a form of service corporation, getting policy guidelines and financing from other units of government. And, the counties in discharging their duties have set up their own service corporations, for example, the Metropolitan Tree Utilization Service or the Manpower Consortium.

Extensive use of government service corporations represents a major change from the current structure for operating public services. "In-house" departments would not be as common. Operating responsibility will be removed from the process of setting policy on local programs. These changes raise many questions, most related to internal administration and control.

We have not dealt with these questions. Our concern here is to describe a concept to be debated by the planning committees. If they find the concept attractive, then they must begin to take up these questions. They will not be able to answer them all. But, that is not unusual. Some answers have to be worked out as the new system begins operating.

Alternative structures for organizing the "government service corporation."

The range of possibilities might include at least the following:

One multiple-purpose service corporation per county-The service corporation would be responsible for all those services designated as "countywide" by the planning committee. The service corporation would operate under the auspices of an appointed "board of directors." The board's only responsibility would be to set

operating policy and budgets. The board would not have authority to tax or to pass ordinances. It would have to rely on the governments it is serving for revenue and authority to act. The directors would be appointed by the governments and institutions being served.

-Multiple service corporations per county, each either performing a single function or serving only part of the county. Whatever work the planning committees decided was to be done, either on a county-wide basis or by individual municipalities, could be divided among several service corporations. Each might have its own board of directors or some type of management structure.

Corporations could be set up by service. For example, there could be a separate corporation for library services and another for parks. By contrast, it might be desirable to have one corporation providing both health and social services.

Corporations could be established on the basis of geography. There might be one corporation for every "X" number of people or "Y" square miles. Each would provide a full range of services. A planning committee might, for example, divide Hennepin County into four districts, each district having its own multiple-purpose service corporation.

Going one step further, there could be both geographic-based multiple-purpose corporations and single-service countywide corporations, or vice versa.

Directors would be appointed by the governments being served. A system of coordination between corporations would be needed. This might be done through discussions at the regular meetings of the city council or other government body which they represent on the corporate board.

APPENDIX K (continued)

-Inter-county service corporations—
For those services which the planning committees wish to have operated at the metropolitan level, inter-county service corporations could be created. They could be either multiple or single purpose. They could involve anywhere from two to all seven metropolitan counties. Again, the corporations would be headed by a board of directors, and those directors would be appointed by the governments and institutions that the corporation is serving.

Our proposal for the initial structure and operation of "government service corporations."

With the exception of the powers to levy property tax and pass ordinances, the planning committees should recommend that all of the responsibilities, property, and debts of today's county boards of commissioners should be transferred to a single government service corporation in each of the metropolitan counties. Each corporation will be managed under the authority of a board of directors.

Under the board's direction, other service corporations may be established. These could either be independent corporations or they might be subsidiaries of the original corporation.

The board of directors should not be permitted to levy taxes. Rather, the corporation should be supported by the governments for which it is working. It should continue to receive revenue from the state and federal governments through the same process now in use. But, for services supported through property taxes, revenue will have to be raised through levies set directly by the municipalities being served.

There are two major options for financing mandatory services and existing long-term debt:

- -The Legislature could determine the necessary county-wide property tax levy and could require the municipalities within each county to levy it. The Legislature could make its instructions biennially. And, if at any time during the biennium the actual cost of services is less than the amount levied, the corporation could return the revenue to the municipalities.
- -The board of directors could develop a budget, submit it to public hearing, and then each director would poll the municipalities in his district regarding the budget. And, when the budget is brought up for final approval, the director would vote according to the results of the poll. After adoption, the total amount of the budget could be divided among all municipalities according to their share of the county's total tax base. The municipalities would then be required to raise their share of the budget. They could do this through a property tax levy or through other revenue sources.

There are precedents for both procedures. The Legislature already sets mill rates for the Metropolitan Transit Commission. And, the conservation districts around both Lake Minnetonka and White Bear Lake have authority to raise revenue through their member municipalities.

Our preference is the latter approach...
to have the directors determine a budget
and then require member municipalities
to raise the revenue. This system
insures close ties between the corporation and its "shareholders," that is,
the municipalities. It also keeps
decisions about local services at the
local level.

Regardless of the method of financing, the board of directors should report to the municipalities on at least an annual basis. In its report, it should make recommendations regarding its budget and, if appropriate, the property tax rate and the need for authority to provide additional services on a county-wide basis. service corporation should also be available to individual municipalities as a means of securing municipal services. Specifically, municipalities should be able to purchase local services from the corporation on a fee-for-service basis. As a part of its annual report, the corporations should provide municipalities with a "menu" of available services. The "menu" should describe the service, with its cost contingent on the number of purchasers.

Leadership of the "government service corporation" should be chosen by the municipalities that it will be serving. The current system of popular election of county officials allows them to act independently, particularly with respect to municipalities. This selection process will automatically give municipal officials formal standing with the service corporation. Furthermore, with the corporation's board made up of their peers, it is more likely that municipal officials will use the service corporation for municipal services.

There should be no less than five nor more than ten directors for each government service corporation.

In approving this kind of plan, the Legislature should specify the appropriate ratio of population to directors, and boundaries should be set up by the chief judge of the district court in each county. Priority should be placed on setting boundaries so that no municipality is in more than one district.

When necessary, two or more municipalities should make a joint appointment. This should be done by a vote of their city councils. The vote should be weighted so it is consistent with one-man, one-vote requirements.

Discussion of committee recommendations

Why build the initial "government service corporations" around county governments?

Nationwide, municipalities have been transferring their functions to other units of government. A survey in 1975 of approximately 1,700 transfers by municipalities between 1965 and 1975 shows that about 56% of the transfers were to county government, 7% to other municipalities, 14% to the state, 19% to special districts, and 4% to regional government. 18 To a certain extent, we wish to build on this trend...that is, to have one or more semi-autonomous operating units working for municipalities as well as other units of government. This is not a transfer of function in the traditional sense, because responsibility for defining the nature of the services will rest with the unit of representation, that is, the municipalities.

We have chosen to organize this operating unit around county government. Counties are already recognized by the state and federal government as operators of public services. We want to build on this expertise by using county governments as the basis for establishing "government service corporations."

For operating purposes, the county is a good "middle ground" between municipalities and the Metropolitan Council. It is big enough to operate with some degree of efficiency but not so big as to be insensitive to local needs.

APPENDIX K (continued)

Using the county as the operating unit and the municipalities as the unit of representation provides some additional assurance that policysetting and financing will remain separate from operating. Both counties and municipalities already separate the functions. However, relative to our recommendation, the separation is minimal and at times non-existent. This is particularly so for county governments:

- -Anoka County has had a "county administrator" since 1968. With his appointment, many county departments began to report to the administrator instead of directly to the county board...hence some separation between policysetting/financing and operations.
- -Carver and Dakota Counties do not have county administrators. All departments report to the county board or one of its appointed boards. Commissioners, as a result, are more closely involved in day-to-day operations.
- -Hennepin County has a county administrator, and virtually all county departments are organized under the administrator's office.
- -Ramsey County is now in the process of appointing an "executive director" who will serve as the county's chief administrator. Prior to this appointment, county departments had reported directly to the board.
- -Scott County's administrator and Washington County's coordinator have responsibility mainly for budget, purchasing, and personnel. Some county departments report directly to the county board or its appointed board members.

Why only one service corporation in each county? Doesn't this increase the risk that the directors will not be able to control the bureaucracy?

"Simplicity" is the major reason for beginning with one corporation in each county. Together with the municipal system of representation, the introduction of the government service corporation represents a basic change in the region's system of local government. And, it will take time for the region to adapt to this change. Starting out with more than one corporation in each county might have caused some unnecessary disruption in the process of providing services.

It is possible that the board of directors will not be able to control the bureaucracy. And, the control problem may even increase if the municipalities begin, as we hope they will, to use the government service corporations for their services.

Essentially, there are two major approaches to controlling the service system, that is, for getting the system to produce the services that citizens want and need. The first approach is built around regulation, and the second is built around "market forces."

According to the first approach, the directors control the actions of the corporation by setting policy. The presumption is that the board can control the delivery of services through its policies.

According to the second approach, the municipalities, by choosing one method of providing services and not another, put some pressure on the bureaucracy to perform.

APPENDIX K (continued)

Therefore, for this system to work, the municipalities must be able to choose from among different methods of providing services. Included in the choices should be the option to provide the service themselves.

Initially, we have chosen the regulatory route. As stated above, "simplicity" was the major reason. However, in the long run the directors may find that this approach is not adequate... that is, that it cannot provide effective control. Therefore, we have given the directors the option of subdividing the original corporation and thereby introducing some market forces as a means of control.

What relationship, if any, is there between your proposal and proposals for an elected Metropolitan Council?

The focus of our report is on local government below the metropolitan level. While our recommendations are not contingent upon an elected Metropolitan Council, we continue to support the idea that the Council should be elected. As this report points out, the issues addressed by the Council and the perspective it takes are different from those of county or municipal government. And, a separate system of elected representatives is needed.

FOOTNOTES

"Urban towns" are described in Chapter 368, 1976 Minnesota Statutes. The chapter grants municipal-like powers to any town, "in which there reside 1,200 or more people or any town having platted area within 20 miles of the city hall of a city of the first class having over 200,000 population."

²"An Open Letter to President Carter,"

<u>County News</u>, National Association of

Counties, April 4, 1978.

3"Write, Say, Think 'County,'" County
News, National Association of Counties,
April 24, 1978.

⁴"Final Report," Legislative Interim Commission To Study Ramsey County Government, December 1970, p. 40-42.

Minnesota Statutes, 1976; 471.59, subd. 8

6See The Challenge of Local Government Reorganization, Vol. III, Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, February 1974, p. 37. And, "The Lakewood Plan," an unpublished paper, L. S. Hollinger, Chief Administrative Officer, County of Los Angeles, February 1968.

In his paper Hollinger observes:

"Los Angeles County is further distinctive from most counties in that it dropped its 'farm tools' over 60 years ago and has provided municipaltype services to the unincorporated area on an increasingly expanded

scale. As a result, from 1939 to 1954 --a period which witnessed the growth of unincorporated population from 445,000 to 1,150,000 (159%) -- not one city incorporation took place. In other words, the County was geared to provide, and did provide, all basic and necessary municipal services to this unincorporated 'city' of over one million people, as well as provide many basic services in welfare, probation, courts, recording of documents, hospitals, etc., throughout the entire County to all of its citizens regardless of whether they lived in a municipality or not.

"It is also significant to note that since 1954, 31 cities have incorporated and many areas have annexed to cities, yet the population of the unincorporated area of the County is still over 1,000,000. This, combined with the total population of 654,739 in the 29 cities which contract for the County to provide most of their basic municipal services, means that Los Angeles County provides such services to over 1,700,000 people. Only four cities in the United States -- New York, Chicago, Los Angeles and Philadelphia--provide municipal services to a larger population."

⁷"Policy Discussion Statement," prepared for public discussion in the Social Framework Program of the Metropolitan Council of the Twin Cities Area, April 24, 1978, p. 10.

⁸From comments by Jerry Enders, former

chairperson, Council of Metropolitan Area Leagues of Women Voters, to the Citizens League Committee on County Government, November 1, 1977. Ms. Enders was discussing the League of Women Voters' 1975 study, County Government in a Time of Transition."

⁹Citizens League report, "Local Government in a Time of Transition," pp. 3-4.

10 Ibid.

- 11 This distinction was suggested to the committee's staff by Hennepin County Commissioner Jeff Spartz during an interview. The same distinction was also made by Bernard Steffen, former Anoka County Administrator, in his remarks to the committee on November 8, 1977.
- 12 Comments by Laurence Mills, Executive Secretary, Dakota County Board of Commissioners, to the Citizens League Committee on County Government, November 15, 1977.
- 13"Lac Lavon Considered for Park,"
 Dakota County Tribune, July 19, 1978.

- 14 See Tables 10 and 18, Report of the State Auditor of Minnesota on the Revenues, Expenditures, and Debt of the Local Governments in Minnesota.

 Specifically, the expenditures for "general government." "General government is defined to include payments for "expenses of general government officers, executive, legislative, and judicial; boards and commissions; elections; general government buildings; and all general administrative expense payments."
- Frank K. Gibson and Edward S. Overman, League of Virginia Counties, 1961, p. 2.
- 16Parris N. Glendening and Patricia S. Atkins, "The Politics of City-County Consolidation," in <u>The County Yearbook</u>, 1977, National Association of Counties, p. 66.

17Ibid.

Pivot, Bruce B. Talley, in The County Yearbook, 1977, National Association of Counties, p. 71

THE CITIZENS LEAGUE

. . . Formed in 1952, is an independent, nonpartisan, non-profit, educational corporation dedicated to improving local government and to providing leadership in solving the complex problems of our metropolitan area.

Volunteer research committees of the CITIZENS LEAGUE develop recommendations for solutions to public problems after months of intensive work.

Over the years, the League's research reports have been among the most helpful and reliable sources of information for governmental and civic leaders, and others concerned with the problems of our area.

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- An average in excess of 100 persons follow committee hearings with summary minutes prepared by staff.
- Full reports (normally 40-75 pages) are distributed to 1,000-2,000 persons, in addition to 3,000 summaries provided through the CL NEWS.

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