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METROPOLITAN REFORM: A REVIEW OF U.S. EXPERIENCE

by

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February 19, 1976
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Portland, Oregon

My task this evening is to cast your efforts at local government reorganization in this Tri-county area into a national perspective, to tell you where reform has been tried, where it has been implemented, and, perhaps most important, to indicate what reorganization has accomplished.

But first, on behalf of the Academy and the national panel, I want to congratulate the members of the commission, your chairman and staff, on the excellent start you have made in this study. We have been awed by the accomplishments of this commission in only two and and one-half months of existence. The number of meetings held already clearly shows that the most important virtue demanded of this group will be stamina. If you can maintain the momentum, I am sure you will be successful.

Reorganization of local government has been going on for a long time. One of the first reforms in a major U.S. city was the merger of the City and County of Boston in 1821. Philadelphia merged with its County in 1854 and San Francisco followed suit in 1856. In 1876, the City of St. Louis separated from its surrounding county to resolve the dual issues of representation and taxation. The present "super city" of New York was created in 1898 when its boundaries were enlarged to include the surrounding counties of Brooklyn, Queens and Richmond.

These 19th century reforms were motivated by pressures of growth and spurred by the desire of city residents to escape from rural domination and inequitable local taxation policies. They were not attempts to create metropolitan governments, but rather were efforts to establish

strong city governments which would capture the entire urbanized area. George Romney's phrase "The Real City" was more appropriate to that era than it is to the present. For then, the notion of suburbs and sprawl had not been conceived. The automobile had not made its impact. The City was the answer.

Significant structural reform of local government in the United States since these turn-of-the-century efforts did not take place until after World War II, when in 1949 the City of Baton Rouge was consolidated with its Parish or County. Since 1949, fifty proposals for city-county consolidation have gone to referendum. During that period, 38 were defeated at the polls and only 12 were adopted by the voters. The rate of success has been very low. There have only been three city-county consolidations approved by the voters since 1970. Five were attempted in 1974; all of them failed.

Metropolitan government in the United States generally has been synonymous with county reorganization. The most notable reform successes have involved the transformation of a single county government into an areawide unit--Nashville/Davidson County, Jacksonville/Duval County, and Indianapolis/Marion County. City-county consolidation has been the most widely attempted and most successfully implemented reorganization model. Consolidation advocates stress the need for greater economy and efficiency in government, but also argue that eliminating overlapping governments will result in a system that is easier for the citizen to understand and to control. The pure consolidation model calls for a single government for a metropolitan area. In practice, most consolidation efforts do not

result in only one government. Political and pragmatic considerations often dictate that small municipalities remain in existence, special districts continue to operate and autonomous authorities are continued. The merger of Indianapolis and Marion County by the Indiana State Legislature in 1970 was given the label "Unigov." To the uninitiated, "Unigov" sounds like the ad man's answer to local government fragmentation. But according to the 1972 Census of Governments, there are 52 units of local government in Marion County, including five municipalities, nine townships, and 27 special districts.

Another model which is appropriate to single county metropolitan areas is two-tier metropolitan government. Basically, the two-tier model calls for two levels of government within a metropolitan area--local or community units and an areawide unit. Functions should be assigned to the local level or the areawide level and some responsibilities should be shared between the two. The two-tier concept has gained credibility in recent years as a balanced and feasible alternative for metropolitan reform. As you know the Committee on Economic Development published in 1970 a major policy statement which advocated this approach. Most of you were furnished copies of that statement at your inaugural session.

The two-tier model appears to be a new and fresh approach to metropolitan reform, yet the idea itself has been with us a long time. I learned recently that a gentleman named Sylvester Baxter published a book in 1891 in which he argued for a two-tier government for the Boston area. He advocated the creation of an enlarged metropolitan county that would provide those services of "general public concern" and the preservation of local communities which would continue to control those functions that were "exclusively (of) local interest."

Despite the endorsements received by the two-tier model, it has been implemented in only one U.S. metropolitan area--Miami-Dade County, Florida. The Miami example is not a good one, since approximately 45 per cent of the residents in Dade County have only one tier of local government. John DeGrove, classes it as a "modified two-tier government," and as he says "For more than half of the city-resident population; the two-tier description is accurate, but to the 530,000 residents of the unincorporated area there is only the Board of County Commissioners to serve them."

There have been two recent attempts to create metropolitan governments based upon the two-tier model, both of which failed to win voter approval. Salt Lake City, Utah tried in March, 1975, and Sacramento, California tried in November, 1974.

The content of those two plans is interesting. Let me explain them to you briefly.

The Sacramento Charter provided for the consolidation of the City and County. It provided for the consolidation of the three existing municipalities, but only if they individually voted to be merged. It would have also consolidated a number of special districts and school districts. An eleven member Board of Supervisors, elected from single member districts, with staggered terms, would have formed the legislative body. The chief executive officer was to be the Mayor, elected at large for a four year term. Urban and rural service districts were provided for purposes of different levels of service and taxation. Most significantly, sub-governments known as "communities" were to be established. These community councils were to be governed by five members, with the options of election at-large or by district, depending on the desire of

the community. The communities were to be responsible for certain services including parks, recreation, street lighting, cultural activities, and parking meters. They could decide priorities for certain city-county services. They could prepare community plans and review and administer some planning and zoning matters. Another significant feature was the authorization of community councils to levy property taxes, subject to voter approval, for community purposes and to provide for higher levels of some services.

The Salt Lake City Charter was similar in many respects. It called for the merging of the City and County and the consolidation of some twenty three special districts into the County government. The legislative body was to consist of fifteen members elected from communities of equal population. The chief executive officer would be a Mayor, elected at-large to a four year term. The charter also provided for elected community councils with an interesting variation. Five persons were to be elected to these community councils. The Chairperson was to have been elected at-large and would serve in a dual capacity--as head of the community council and as a member of the City and County Council. The other four community council members were to be elected by district. The Salt Lake Communities were given little power--they could not levy taxes--their main role was stated as "to propose policies and formulate specific recommendations relating to and defining the kinds and levels of governmental services and the methods of financing such services deemed necessary to satisfy the needs and desires of the citizens within the community." While their role was strictly advisory, the fact that the chairperson of each community or sub-government was a member of the area-wide legislature would have

strengthened the role of the lower tier units.

As I suggested earlier, our experience in this country with metropolitan reform has been limited mostly to single county situations. Yet 140 of the 276 Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas are multicounty and all but two of the twenty largest metropolitan areas are multicounty. The normal response in multicounty areas has been to establish a regional agency or authority to deal with problems which spill over city and county boundaries. Such agencies often are responsible for a single function such as water, sewer, or transportation. Tri-Met and the Port are good examples.

The growth of regional planning agencies or councils of government has been a very recent phenomenon. In 1960, only 56 regional councils were in operation, but by 1970, the number had risen to 476. Most COGs are voluntary associations of elected officials created ostensibly to increase coordination and communication among units of local government. The mandatory membership requirement of CRAG is not typical. The growth of COGs can be attributed directly to requirements for areawide planning and review as a condition of federal grant and assistance programs. Most COGs have engaged in little more than planning and advisory activities. With few exceptions, they have not become involved in the political and policy issues which surround metropolitanization. The adoption of regional fair share housing programs by a handful of COGs is an exception.

The only significant example of multicounty metropolitan reorganization in the United States is the Twin Cities Metropolitan Council (1967) in the seven county region of Minneapolis/St. Paul, Minnesota. Since its establishment, this council of 30 gubernatorially appointed members has evolved into a regional agency of substantial authority which controls the

activities of special districts and can shape and control the physical development and growth of the region. A companion piece of state legislation provided for a regional tax sharing plan which on a formula basis allows all local governments in the region to benefit from non-residential growth in the region despite its location within a single jurisdiction.

Does metropolitan reform make a difference or does it just make it different? The evaluation and measurement of local government performance is still a primitive field. Social scientists and public administration experts have yet to devise irrefutable methods for determining if one city works better than another city, or if one form of government is superior to other forms. They are working busily to discover formulas and techniques for deciding the best form of government for metropolitan areas. Their efforts have been stymied for several reasons: the lack of data, especially data which can be used to compare individual cities over time, and data which is comparable so that City X can be judged against City Y; the lack of similarity among cities and metropolitan areas--local governments do different kinds of things, for different groups and numbers of people, under varied constitutional and legal conditions--and, the lack of agreement on basic values, that is, what is a "good" system of government.

The public administration community is reaching some consensus on criteria that can be used to judge the "goodness" of a system of local government. Since 1963, the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR) began developing criteria which could be used to determine the assignment of functions in a local government system. Then, in 1974, ACIR further refined their original seven criteria and shortened them to

four main criteria, each with a number of subcomponents. These four are: economic efficiency, fiscal equity, political accountability, and administrative effectiveness. While most agree that these are good, basic yardsticks to judge governmental systems, there is substantial disagreement over the weight which should be given them. Some argue that effectiveness is most critical, others that efficiency should be supreme, and others maintain that equity should be given overriding consideration. Despite these debates, the four criteria are being applied, although with some difficulty and caution, to actual metropolitan governments and performance judgments are being made.

Much of the evidence on the accomplishments of reformed governments is anecdotal and comes from spokesmen of the reorganized jurisdictions. Sometimes the most talked about change is the new image of the local government and the favorable perceptions toward the region by its own citizens and outsiders. Jacksonville, Florida was viewed as a corrupt backwater in the fifties and now is touted as a dynamic, vibrant city of the New South. This new image is cited as a major reason for its attraction of industry and tourism in recent years, and is seen as having led to a tremendous increase in federal aid dollars. Consolidation in Jacksonville is also credited for leading to tax reductions and "considerable" cost savings. According to John DeGrove, "The always sensitive property tax rate declined slightly in each of the first three years of consolidated government," and substantial sums were saved through central purchasing.

York Willbern was able to cite a number of managerial economies following the Indianapolis-Marion County consolidation:

> Improved accounting and data processing equipment and procedures have been instituted. Increased insurance coverage has been obtained for lesser premiums. Interest income on city funds is higher. The combined Unigov agencies employ significantly fewer total personnel than did their predecessor agencies in the city and county governments, although salaries have been increased, particularly at the upper levels.

The Indianapolis Unigov Act also created six major administrative departments which is claimed to have improved substantially administrative control and coordination. But Willbern notes that the impact on service and taxes has not been that extensive.

An evaluation of the Nashville-Davidson, Tennessee, consolidation commissioned by the ACIR outlines a number of significant accomplishments under the reformed government. According to Robert E. McArthur, "the new structure furnished a much more diversified tax base," provided a framework for more comprehensive problem-solving and program implementation," "reduced the amount of housekeeping duplication and competing functions," and "undoubtedly strengthened Nashville's position as the developmental leader of middle Tennessee." And the citizens are satisfied," nearly 68 percent of the respondents agreed that Metro was "generally more efficient than city and county governments were before Metro was adopted."

The literature on, and case studies of, local government reform are replete with examples of improvements in two of the four ACIR criteria: administrative effectiveness and economic efficiency. It seems clear that reformed governments do increase the professionalization of the bureaucracy, eliminate duplications in such areas as purchasing and data processing, enable better management through administrative consolidations, and provide the new jurisdiction a more viable, if not a growing, tax base. Improvements in fiscal equity, meaning essentially fairer taxation policies and resource redistribution, seem to be slight. Some scholars explain this

through the assertion that changes in the governmental structure are rarely accompanied by change in the structure of politcal influence. In other words, "those who got, keep." Improved accountability and citizen participation, the fourth criterion, cannot be determined conclusively. The size of policy bodies has increased usually, opinion polls indicate improved satisfaction on the part of voters, and minority representation has generally been increased or at least has not decreased.

There have been a number of accomplishments by the Metropolitan Council in Minneapolis/St. Paul. In a 1973 study by Ted Kolderie, an attempt was made to evaluate the performance of that agency. Its first major accomplishment was the organization of the sewerage system on a fully regional basis which has led to a marked improvement in the region's water quality. It has played a role in the location of subsidized housing and to quote Kolderie: "Through 1971 and 1972 more Federally subsidized housing was approved in the suburbs than in all of the years of the program up to that date." The bus system has been vastly upgraded and a trend of declining ridership was reversed. Sanitary landfills have replaced most of the open burning dumps, and there have been savings in the millions of dollars in hospital construction costs.

Probably the most important achievement of the Twin Cities Council was the adoption of a development framework or growth policy for the seven county region. This framework is now being applied to make specific decisions about the location and timing of growth in the region. A recent analysis of the process which was followed in preparing the development framework reached a conclusion of great significance:

> The Metropolitan Council structure has allowed development of strong political capacity and leadership at the regional level. When regional bodies such as Councils of Governments are made up of local government officials whose primary allegiance is naturally and rightly with their local government rather than the regional body, the job of communicating regional concerns falls to a professional staff. If regional problems are only technical in nature, then technical professionals are needed to solve the problems. However, if regional problems are also political in nature, involving decision making concerning resource allocation and an informed political rhetoric to communicate with the people, then politicians are needed to solve the problems.

This emergence of a "regional politician" in the Minneapolis/St. Paul example illustrates that perhaps the greatest need at all levels of government is leadership. And, in that regard, structure becomes a critical factor. As far as our multi-county metropolitan areas are concerned, the current practice of creating voluntary, advisory agencies and setting up single purpose authorities has not produced a regional perspective or the regional leadership which seems essential if decisions are to be made on a regional basis.

The study committee which we sponsored in the Tampa Bay area came to this same conclusion, and I quote from their final report of last year:

> The position of the panel is that regional policy must be responsive to a regional constituency. Local government officials must be judged by their own constituency for decisions pertinent to their own jurisdictions. The components of problems that are truly regional . . . cannot be solved by policies which are only a sum of the "parts" advocated by local jurisdictions.

My review of history and experience in the United States with metropolitan government and its reform lead me to conclude that we have learned a great deal about governing in single county situations. Although we haven't always applied it, we know how to modernize county government

and we recognize an array of methods to provide for city-county cooperation. But we really know very little about the governance of our multi-county regions and there are so few success stories and examples.

This is why the work now underway here in Portland and in the four county region of Denver, Colorado is so important. If two more examples of multi-county metropolitan governments can be achieved through sound analysis and the involvement of the community and its leadership, we will not only increase our knowledge but can stimulate reform efforts in other metropolitan areas of the United States.

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MULTNOMAH
WASHINGTON

TRI-COUNTY LOCAL GOVERNMENT COMMISSION

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RONALD C. CEASE, Chairman
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April 30, 1976

M E M O

TO: Tri-County Local Government Commission

FROM: A. M. Rich

RE: Background Material for Phase II

All Commission members received a publication entitled Guidelines and Strategies for Local Government Modernization, November, 1975, prepared by the National Academy of Public Administration.

This is a good time to take it off the shelf and re-read certain parts of it, particularly that part dealing with functional analysis.

Attached is a copy of the "Summary of Findings" chapter of a publication by the National Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations entitled Governmental Functions and Processes: Local and Areawide. I think you will find this worth reading. The full report is available at the Commission office.

Encl.

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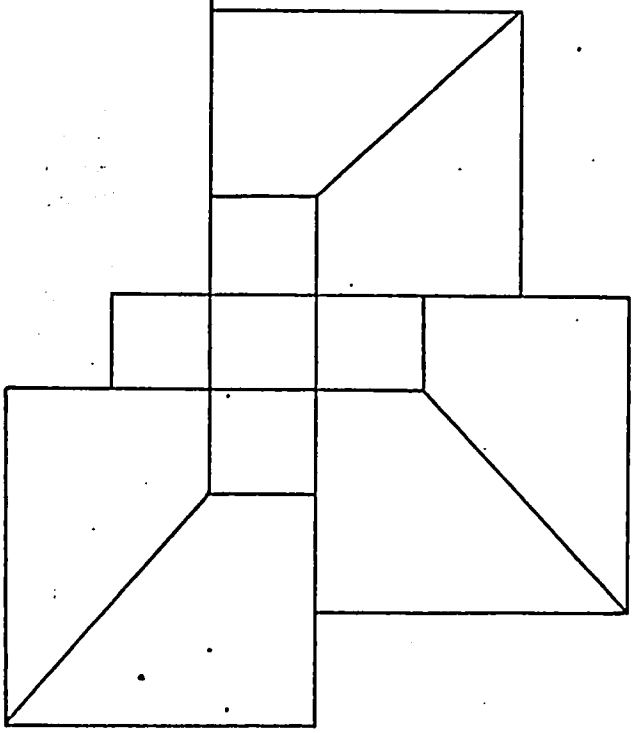
Chapter I

SUMMARY FINDINGS



Every level of government in a federal system has exclusive or shared responsibility for providing a wide variety of public services. However, the actual sorting out of functional tasks among different levels and types of government is a perennial source of tension and uncertainty in American federalism. The question continually arises: who should do what?

Since its 1963 report *Performance of Urban Functions: Local and Areawide*, this Commission has recommended various specific functional assignment policies that would result in a more manageable set of service responsibilities for national, State, areawide, and local governments. This report, though broader in scope, continues in that tradition. It discusses deficiencies in the existing apportionment of service responsibilities, suggests the characteristics of an ideal functional assignment policy, and offers recommendations as to how Federal, State, and local governments might reorder their respective functional responsibilities.

PRESENT ASSIGNMENT POLICIES

Endless Variation

Who does what? That is a question with innumerable answers in the American federal system. There is little uniformity among and within States as to what level and type of government has responsibility for a particular function or any of its components.

The 50 State-local governmental systems all differ in their functional assignment policies. Education is provided through county-dependent districts in parts of the South, by municipalities and townships in New England, and by independent non-coterminous school districts elsewhere. Corrections is almost exclusively a State function in Connecticut, Delaware, Rhode Island, and Vermont; it displays significant county dimensions in California, Michigan, and Texas; municipalities have considerable responsibilities in New York, Missouri, and Pennsylvania. Similarly, highways are an exclusive State function in Virginia, but primarily a county-municipal function in Wisconsin. Variations of this sort occur in almost every State-local governmental service (see Table I-1).

Even within a service there are different allocation patterns. For example, municipal governments are often the primary providers of basic police services, but councils of government may provide communications services while a State government may have responsibility for training and criminal laboratory services. Land-use controls are basically a local function although comprehensive land-use planning occurs at the regional level and States sometimes assume direct control of critical environmental areas or promulgate land-use regulations that affect local actions.

Varying patterns of service allocation reflect State-local reliance on different service providers. Counties are of minimal or no functional significance in New England while they are major service providers in California, Maryland, New York, and Virginia. Townships have extensive service responsibilities in 11 Northeast and Midwest States, are limited-purpose governments in another ten States, and do not exist in another 29. Special districts have considerable duties in Florida, Georgia, Illinois, and Washington, but are virtually unused in Alaska, Hawaii, Montana, Rhode Island, and Vermont. Similarly, substate districts have gained increasing prominence in States like Texas, Georgia, and Virginia, but are not used in Wyoming, Hawaii, Delaware, Alaska, and Rhode Island.

The distribution of service responsibilities also varies among jurisdictions within a State. Home-rule counties, for example, assume more urban and regional service responsibilities than their non-home-rule counterparts (see Table I-2). Large, independent, multi-county special districts have more than doubled in the last ten years, but they are mainly concentrated in metropolitan areas. On the other hand, State governments usually assume more direct and contractual service responsibilities in rural areas. Moreover, regional councils of local governments usually have quite different functional planning duties in urban and rural areas.

Functional assignments, then, differ among and within functions and also among and within the 50 State-local governmental systems. This variation in service allocation patterns makes it almost impossible to ascertain what the general service roles of State, regional, county, special district, and municipal governments are. The proliferation of assignment patterns, in turn, makes it difficult to determine whether functions are being effectively allocated to different levels and units of State and local government.

Structural and Procedural Hurdles

Frequently, the variation of service allocation patterns reflects structural and procedural traits of many State-local governmental systems that hinder a reordering of service assignments. The main obstacles to more effective functional assignment include:

1) the voluntary but selective character of most intergovernmental service agreements and functional transfers and consolidations;
2) the unwillingness to use Federal grant-in-aid management procedures such as the A-95 project notification and review system to sort out eligible areawide and local service providers;
3) the lack of authoritative and generalist substate districts and regional councils generally that can provide various areawide services;
4) the continued proliferation of independent, unifunctional, areawide and local special districts that do not coordinate their services with established local governments;
5) the slow pace of county modernization and the resultant inability or unwillingness of counties

Table I-1

Dominant Direct Service Provider* by Type of Government and Selected Function, the Fifty States: 1967

Function	Type of Dominant Service Provider						
	State	County	Municipality/ Township	School District	Special District	More than One Main Provider	Total Number of States
Education	1	3	4	40	0	2	50
Highways	46	0	0	0	0	4	50
Public Welfare	35	11	3	0	0	1	50
Hospitals	28	10	2	0	4	6	50
Health	29	2	4	0	0	15	50
Police	1	0	47	0	0	2	50
Fire	0	0	50	0	0	0	50
Sewage	0	0	41	0	3	6	50
Refuse Collection	0	0	49	0	0	1	50
Parks & Recreation	0	2	44	0	2	2	50
Natural Resources	48	1	0	0	0	1	50
Housing/Renewal	2	0	22	0	22	4	50
Airports	5	8	29	0	6	2	50
Water Transport**	12	0	21	0	11	1	45
Parking	0	0	48	0	1	1	50
Corrections	46	1	1	0	0	2	50
Libraries	1	14	30	0	3	2	50
General Control	5	28	6	0	0	11	50
General Public Buildings	3	29	16	0	0	12	50
Water Supply	0	0	45	0	2	3	50

*A dominant service provider is one that accounts for more than 55 percent of the direct general expenditure in a particular function.

**Only 45 State-local systems exhibit this function; consequently, dominant producers total only 45 whereas in all other functions they total 50 for the 50 State-local systems under consideration.

Source: Derived from U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Compendium of Government Finances* Volume 5, *1967 Census of Governments* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969), Tables 46, 48.

to assume various local and regional service responsibilities;

6) the continued defeat of most local government reorganization proposals that would involve a clearer sorting out of local and areawide service responsibilities; and
7) the lack of decentralization of State-administered services and the inability of most State-local governmental systems to devolve service responsibilities from county or regional to municipal and neighborhood sub-units of government.

The most prominent obstacle to more effective service assignment involves the lack of authoritative regional service mechanisms. The need for stronger county government highlights this barrier. Only 16 States now grant functional home rule to counties and only 4 percent of eligible jurisdictions now are home-rule entities. Most counties also face stringent restrictions affecting city-county and multi-county consolidation. The various strictures on county organization and powers and State reliance on these bodies to deliver State-mandated services have combined to help prevent them from assuming more urban and regional services. Thus, over 70 percent of 160 surveyed non-home-rule metropolitan counties did not perform such urban or regional functions as fire protection, refuse collection, urban renewal, mass transit, solid waste disposal, water supply, or air and water pollution control (see Table I-2).

Other regional service mechanisms are even less authoritative. Federally and State-encouraged substate districts and regional councils generally have only planning and grant management responsibilities and rarely deliver areawide services. The weak financial base of these jurisdictions, their often tenuous relationships with established local governments, and their competition with other separate regional planning organizations, in many cases have reduced even their supportive planning capabilities. Combined with this is the reluctance of most local officials to vest these instrumentalities with direct operational responsibilities. All these factors now make many of these mechanisms relatively weak actors on the substate scene.

The paucity of generalist regional bodies in turn has encouraged the proliferation of independent regional special districts with substantial regional service responsibilities. Over half of the countywide or multicounty special districts in the 72 largest metropolitan areas in 1970 were responsible for more than 40 percent of metropolitan expenditures in their respective functions. In 15 cases, they

were responsible for 80 percent or more of their respective functional outlays. Health and hospital, sewerage, and utility districts were most prominent in this regard (see Table I-3). These instrumentalities generally perform only one service, and their organizational and fiscal independence often prompts them to perform their assignments with little or no regard for the interrelated responsibilities of other local or areawide bodies. While a few States have authorized regional multiservice corporations and a few others have brought these special districts under the central control of a regional council, these independent entities still are the main regional service devices in most substate areas.

Another conspicuous structural problem affecting functional assignment has been the failure of most major governmental reorganizations. Most proposals have been defeated in popular referenda; those that have succeeded continue to face the problem of providing services on both areawide and local bases. Miami-Dade County and Indianapolis-Marion County, for example, have experienced pressures to reinvigorate local administrative or governmental units so that the upper-tier or areawide government can better attend to pressing regional service needs.

Certain procedural problems adversely affect functional assignments as well. Intergovernmental service agreements often occur in relatively noncontroversial functions or in the supportive aspects of a service (see Table I-4). Some governments, especially smaller rural municipalities and some larger central cities, sometimes are not involved in interlocal agreements even though they could benefit by them. On the other hand, functional transfers and consolidations, often a more durable way of changing functional assignments, sometimes result in the

Table I-2

Performance of Selected Urban, Regional, and Traditional Services by Selected Types of Metropolitan Counties: 1971

	Type of Metropolitan County			
	Home-Rule	Unicounty	Central County	Suburban Fringe
	Percent Performing Function			
Function	(N=28)	(N=59)	(N=76)	(N=31)
URBAN				
Fire	43%	27%	22%	19%
Refuse Collection	39	10	13	23
Libraries	68	34	37	42
Parks & Recreation	75	32	34	45
Hospitals	64	18	22	45
Urban Renewal	25	5	9	6
REGIONAL				
Mass Transit	14	0	3	0
Airports	36	17	17	35
Junior Colleges	39	3	17	13
Solid Waste Disposal	61	22	31	29
Sewage Disposal	61	12	26	19
Air Pollution	57	21	22	13
Water Pollution	57	16	25	6
Water Supply	39	4	17	22
TRADITIONAL				
Police	79	73	63	64
Coroner's Office	82	76	78	71
Jails	86	80	92	64
Probation/Parole	71	75	71	68
General Assistance	61	68	75	64
Medical Assistance	54	61	64	58
Roads & Highways	79	58	72	61
Public Health	86	70	70	68
Mental Health	79	73	70	48
Tax Assessment/Coll.	75	64	77	61
Courts	79	77	66	61
Prosecution	79	61	74	58
Public Defender	54	61	71	42

Source: ACIR tabulation of questionnaires from the 1971 ACIR-ICMA-NACO county survey.

Table I-3

Regional Special District Share of Selected Metropolitan Functional Expenditures in the 72 Largest SMSA's: 1970

Function	Percent of Metropolitan Functional Expenditure					Total # of Cases
	0-20	21-40	41-60	61-80	81-100	
Education	1	0	0	0	0	1
Highways	1	1	0	0	1	3
Health/Hospital	2	1	1	4	0	8
Sewerage	5	1	7	1	1	15
Parks/Recreation	8	1	0	0	0	9
Natural Resources	4	1	2	0	1	8
Housing/Urban Renewal	1	4	0	2	1	8
Water Transport	1	0	1	1	4	7
Library	0	0	0	0	2	2
Utility	5	3	4	4	1	17
TOTAL	**28**	**12**	**15**	**12**	**11**	**78**
% of Distribution	**36**	**15**	**19**	**15**	**15**	**100**

Source: ACIR Tabulation.

unnecessary centralization of local services or the decentralization of areawide ones.

The existing ad hoc approach to functional assignment, then, reflects certain basic structural and procedural features of most State-local governmental systems. In only a few instances have procedures been instituted to handle functional assignments in a systematic and balanced fashion.

Tensions in the Assignment System

The present, piecemeal system of functional assignment tends to produce continuing pressures for the centralization or decentralization of various services.

These strains take four main forms. First, there is concern about service efficiency. Present assignment patterns often result in service inefficiencies when local or areawide governments perform services which could be less expensively provided by another level or unit of government for reasons of economies of scale. Inefficiencies also can result when jurisdictions do not use interlocal contracts or pricing policies to provide services at the lowest possible cost.

A second pressure stems from service inequities. These occur when a functional assignment imposes uncompensated costs or benefits on another jurisdiction. For example, local governments often engage in exclusionary or fiscal zoning practices which create severe fiscal disparities and patterns of racial and economic segregation. Such practices burden some jurisdictions far more than others. Other inequities result when local governments have to perform redistributive services requiring regional or State fiscal equalization.

A third source of servicing stress is ineffective delivery. This occurs when functions are assigned to jurisdictions that do not have the management expertise, breadth of functional responsibilities, geographic scale, or legal authority to perform the service adequately. Thus, non-home-rule counties assume fewer urban and regional functions than home-rule jurisdictions. Unifunctional special districts generally do not coordinate their services with related local governmental units. Very large or very small governments often do not have a well-defined management expertise for considering different program strategies that might best meet their assigned functional responsibilities.

Finally, present assignments frequently neglect the need for citizen access, control, and participation in the delivery of services. Regional special districts are often State-imposed and have faulty working relationships with general local governments. Some Federally encouraged substate districts have extensive systems of citizen participation while others do not. Regional councils are not governed usually on a one-man, one-vote basis. A-95 agencies generally do not refer their grant notifications to interested non-governmental agencies, and both cities and counties have been pressured by various types of Federally encouraged districts to increase their citizen participation efforts.

What are the ramifications of these imbalances in the present assignment system? Inefficient assignments raise the cost and reduce the quality and scope of a service. Inequitable assignments result in an unfair distribution of service costs and benefits. Ineffective assignments yield illogical and uncoordinated patterns of service delivery; unaccountable assignments produce popular political alienation with all levels of government. All these costs arise, to a greater or lesser degree, from the present, ad hoc approach to distributing service responsibilities. A more ordered and reasoned assignment policy could certainly avoid many of these costs.

Table I-4

Function or Activity Ranked by Prevalence of Interlocal Cooperation: 1972

Percent of Service Agreements	Activities				Functions		
	Data	Legal	Fiscal Supportive	Personnel	Areawide	Shared	Local
301+	Crime Lab			Police Training	Sewage Disposal Solid Waste	Jails Libraries	Street Lighting Refuse Collection Animal Control
201-300	Police Comm. Planning Engineering Service Crime Identification	Legal Services	Assessing		Water Supply Electric Supply Civil Defense	Ambulance Public Health	Schools Fire Services
101-200	Fire Comm.		Tax Collection Utility Billing Payroll	Fire Training	Air Pollution Abatement Hospitals Mosquito Control Flood Control Water Pollution Abatement Nursing Services Soil Conservation	Police Mental Health Housing Juvenile Delinq. Welfare Probation	Street Construction Water Dist. Parks Mapping Plumbing Sewer Lines Alcohol Rehab. Traffic Control
0-100	Civil Defense Comm. Microfilm Services Public Relations Record Maintenance	Licensing	Treasury	Civil Defense Training Personnel Services Transportation Management Services	Service Trans. Museums Irrigation	Zoning Urban Renewal Noise Pollution General Develop. Work Release	Cemeteries School Guards Police Patrol Building Inspection Snow Removal

Source: ACIR Tabulation from 1972 ACIR/ICMA survey on intergovernmental service agreements (2,248 municipalities over 5,000 population were surveyed).

Summary

The present functional assignment system produces little consistency as to the servicing roles of State, area-wide, or local governments. The structural and procedural deficiencies of most State-local governmental systems prevent a wholesale sorting out of functional responsibilities among different levels and units of government. This, in turn, has created an assignment system that is continuously and precipitously centralizing or decentralizing functions without any real thought being given to the appropriate servicing roles of various governmental levels and units. Consequently, most services are not delivered in as efficient, effective, equitable, and accountable fashion as they might be if there were a systematic functional assignment policy.

A NORMATIVE APPROACH TO FUNCTIONAL ASSIGNMENT

Four Assignment Factors

This report probes four basic characteristics that an ideal assignment system should reflect: economic efficiency, fiscal equity, political accountability, and administrative effectiveness. Taken together these characteristics suggest that functional assignments should be made to jurisdictions that can (1) supply a service at the lowest possible cost; (2) finance a function with the greatest possible fiscal equalization; (3) provide a service with adequate popular political control; and (4) administer a function in an authoritative, technically proficient, and cooperative fashion. In more specific terms, these factors include:

1. *Economic Efficiency*: Functions should be assigned to jurisdictions
   (a) that are large enough to realize economies of scale and small enough not to incur diseconomies of scale; [economies of scale]
   (b) that are willing to provide alternative service offerings to their citizens and specific services within a price range and level of effectiveness acceptable to local citizenry; [service competition] and
   (c) that adopt pricing policies for their functions whenever possible. [public pricing]
2. *Fiscal Equity*: Appropriate functions should be assigned to jurisdictions
   (a) that are large enough to encompass the cost and benefits of a function or that are willing to compensate other jurisdictions for the service costs imposed or for benefits received by them; [economic externalities] and
   (b) that have adequate fiscal capacity to finance their public service responsibilities and that are willing to implement measures that insure interpersonal and inter-jurisdictional fiscal equity in the performance of a function. [fiscal equalization]
3. *Political Accountability*: Functions should be assigned to jurisdictions
   (a) that are controllable by, accessible to, and accountable to their residents in the performance of their public service responsibilities; [access and control] and
   (b) that maximize the conditions and opportunities for active and productive citizen participation in the performance of a function. [citizen participation]
4. *Administrative Effectiveness*: Functions should be assigned to jurisdictions
   (a) that are responsible for a wide variety of functions and that can balance competing functional interests; [general-purpose character]
   (b) that encompass a geographic area adequate for effective performance of a function; [geographic adequacy]
   (c) that explicitly determine the goals of and means of discharging public service responsibilities and that periodically reassess program goals in light of performance standards; [management capability]
   (d) that are willing to pursue intergovernmental policies for promoting inter-local functional cooperation and reducing inter-local functional conflict; [intergovernmental flexibility] and
   (e) that have adequate legal authority to perform a function and rely on it in administering the function. [legal adequacy]

Criteria and Service Assignment

How do these four criteria and their subcomponents actually relate to service assignment? In general, they focus on either the level or type of government to which a function is to be assigned. Thus, some of the criteria argue for regional or State provision of a function and others for local provision of a service. Still other criteria argue for certain types of governmental units to perform the service at a regional or local level. Figure I-1 indicates the relationship of the various criteria subcomponents to the assignment question.

Criteria subcomponents that generally call for regional or State assumption of a function include economies of scale, fiscal equalization, economic externalities, and geographic adequacy. These suggest that a jurisdiction should be large enough to provide services at a relatively low unit cost, have enough resources to provide redistributive services, or have enough area to administer services which should be uniformly delivered over a wide area (*i.e.*, transportation and water resources management) to avoid imposing costs on neighboring jurisdictions.

Criteria subcomponents that favor local provision of a function are service competition, citizen access and con-

Figure I-1

Assignment Criteria and Their Relationship to the Level and Form of Government to Which A Function Should Be Assigned

Criteria Subcomponent	Level of Government To Which Function is Assigned	Type of Government
ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY—Economies of Scale	Areawide or State	
FISCAL EQUITY—Economic Externalities	Areawide or State	
FISCAL EQUITY—Fiscal Equalization	Areawide or State	
ADMINISTRATIVE EFFECTIVENESS—Geographic Adequacy	Areawide or State	
POLITICAL ACCOUNTABILITY—Access and Control	Local	
POLITICAL ACCOUNTABILITY—Citizen Participation	Local	
ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY—Service Competition	Local	
ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY—Public Pricing		Technically Proficient
ADMINISTRATIVE EFFECTIVENESS—Management Capability		Technically Proficient
ADMINISTRATIVE EFFECTIVENESS—Legal Adequacy		Authoritative
ADMINISTRATIVE EFFECTIVENESS—General Purpose Character		Authoritative
ADMINISTRATIVE EFFECTIVENESS—Intergovernmental Flexibility		Cooperative

trol, and citizen participation. These factors suggest that services which depend on continuous political control or popular participation for satisfactory performance should be assigned locally. Moreover, where public choice about service quantity or quality is especially significant, local administration can lead to wider service choices and better evaluation of service delivery.

Other criteria subcomponents underscore the type of governmental unit that should be assigned a function. Public pricing and management capability argue for a technically proficient jurisdiction. Legal adequacy and general purpose character suggest that an authoritative jurisdiction (both in its powers and the number of functions that it has responsibility for) should administer a regional or local service. Finally, intergovernmental flexibility means that cooperative units of government are best suited to administer areawide or local functions, especially those having inter-level or inter-local ramifications.

In practice, these criteria argue for the assignment of certain activities regionally and others locally (see Table I-5). But since many functions have subcomponents that are of an areawide or local nature, they frequently argue for local or areawide assignment of these subcomponents (see Table I-6). In short, functions and parts of functions can be assigned to local, areawide, and State units of government on the basis of these ideal assignment criteria.

At the same time, however, application of these assignment criteria is not an easy task. These standards are not always mutually compatible or easily ordered. Many functions (*i.e.*, social services and land-use control) have differing elements of political accountability and fiscal equity, for example. The first criterion would argue for local assignment of the service; the latter for regional or State assignment. It is not always completely clear, then, which level of government should be accorded the responsibility for the service. Much depends, then, on how important each criteria is in a particular service.

Alternative Assignment Systems

While the different assignment criteria indicate, in general terms, what level and type of government should perform a particular function, what governmental systems can accommodate these assignment criteria? Chapters V and VI of this report indicate three alternative governmental systems that theoretically can balance these criteria and apportion service responsibilities among State, areawide, and local jurisdictions.

The first governmental system for assigning services is a polycentric one. This has both local and regional jurisdictions, but the regional units have no formally delegated functional responsibilities. Rather they assume functions that are transferred to them by underlying local governments or that they perform for constituent units by contract. Consequently, the polycentric method for assigning services involves the market method of allocating functions to different levels of government. Functions—local, areawide, and State—are provided only by the governments that choose or are sought out to perform them.

A second method of distributing service responsibilities involves essentially a two-tier governmental set-up. This system apportions legal responsibilities between the general purpose governments at the two levels. The upper or areawide tier performs generally those functions that involve regulation or redistribution or economies of scale, mediates interlocal functional conflict, and coordinates local decisions having an areawide impact. Local governments and counties in a multi-county setting perform all those functions not specifically delegated to the higher level of government. The State provides services that neither the areawide or local levels can administer effectively. Moreover, local units of government are sometimes but not always represented in the upper-tier units.

A third approach places all regional and local functions under a single consolidated unit of government. In this fashion, a unified government directly performs area-

Table I-5

Activities Which Can and Cannot be Handled Locally

Functions	Local Activities which can be handled by a Locality of 10,000 population	 25,000 or more	Areawide Activities which cannot be handled Locally
Police	Patrol Routine investigation Traffic control	Same	Crime laboratory Special investigation Training Communications
Fire	Fire company (minimal)	Fire companies (better)	Training Communications Special investigation
Streets and Highways	Local streets, sidewalks, alleys: Repairs, cleaning, snow removal, lighting, trees	Same	Expressways Major arteries
Transportation			Mass transit Airport Port Terminals
Refuse	Collection	Same	Disposal
Water and Sewer	Local mains	Same	Treatment plants Trunk lines
Parks and Recreation	Local parks Playgrounds Recreation centers Tot-lots Swimming pool (25 m.)	Same plus Community center Skating rink Swimming pool (50 m.)	Large parks, zoo Museum Concert hall Stadium Golf courses
Libraries	Branch (small)	Branch (larger)	Central reference
Education	Elementary	Elementary Secondary	Community colleges Vocational schools
Welfare	Social services	Same	Assistance payments
Health		Public health services Health center	Hospital
Environmental Protection		Environmental sanitation	Air pollution control
Land Use and Development	Local planning Zoning Urban renewal	Same plus Housing and building code enforcement	Broad planning Building and housing standards
Housing	Public housing management	Public housing management & construction	Housing subsidy allocation

Source: Adopted from Howard Hallman, *Government by Neighborhoods* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Governmental Studies, 1973), p. 24.

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Table I-6

Hypothetical Assignment for Components of Functional Activities

Activity/Component	Areawide	Shared	Local
PLANNING			
Intelligence	x		
Forecasting	x		
Plan Formulation		x	
Operations Review		x	
Liaison/Coordination	x		
FINANCING			
Revenue Raising		x	
Revenue Distribution	x		
Fiscal Control		x	
Budgeting			x
STAFFING			
Selection			x
Recruitment		x	
Training	x		
Appointment/Removal			x
ADMINISTRATION			
Supervision	x		
Management Analysis		x	
Productivity Analysis		x	
Technical Assistance	x		
STANDARD SETTING			
Formulation of Rules		x	
Rule Interpretation	x		
Rule Adjudication	x		
Rule Evaluation		x	
Rule Amendment		x	
Rule Enforcement			x
ENFORCEMENT			
Investigation	x		
Inspection	x		
Licensing	x		
Certification	x		
SERVICE DELIVERY			
Operations			x
Construction			x
INFORMATION			
Record-Keeping		x	
Communication		x	
Data Collection		x	
Reporting			x
Public Relations			x
EVALUATION			
Fact-Finding	x		
Public Hearings		x	
Testing/Analysis	x		
Consultation		x	

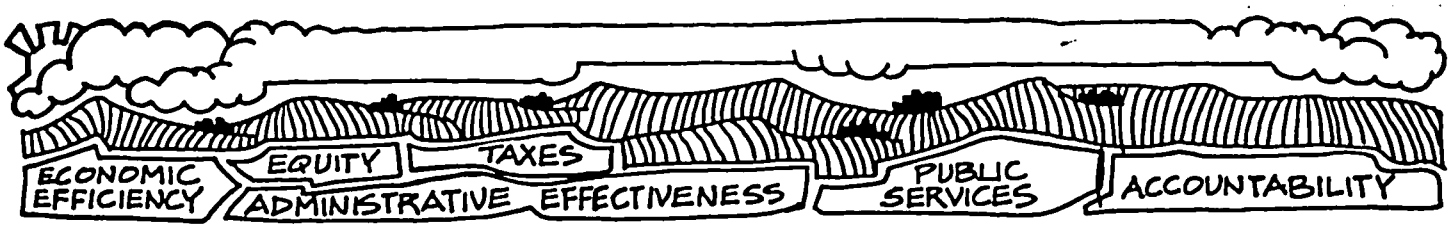
Source: ACIR Tabulation.

wide services throughout its jurisdiction and administers local services through decentralized local service districts. The State, again, performs those functions that the consolidated unit cannot manageably administer.

Each of these three governmental arrangements for administering local and areawide services exists in one form or the other in one or more metropolitan areas, with the first being the most prevalent. All three obviously reflect different political preference for the assignment of local and areawide services. And all three models, to a greater or lesser degree, meet some of the ideal assignment criteria already enumerated.

Summary

Functional assignment criteria offer a normative guide to more effective allocation of service responsibilities among State, areawide, and local jurisdictions. Moreover, they are reflected partially in the polycentric, two-tier, and consolidated governmental arrangements that exist in substate areas. Considerations of economic efficiency, fiscal equity, political accountability, and administrative effectiveness continue also to be prominent issues in various functional assignment debates. Simultaneously, the urgency of the service allocation issue is highlighted by numerous pressures: local fiscal disparities; nationally sponsored areawide programs in environmental control, transportation, and economic development; the emergence of stronger State bureaucracies; and continued emphasis on human resource service decentralization, especially in larger cities. A systematic assignment policy and process involving Federal, State, and local government is clearly needed. Such a policy would permit a more reasoned and manageable apportionment of service responsibilities among State, areawide, and local governments.



"METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT EXPERIMENT SUCCEEDS IN TWIN CITIES"

A Special Address by

ARTHUR NAFTALIN

Minneapolis Mayor, 1961-69

Sponsored by the

TRI-COUNTY LOCAL GOVERNMENT COMMISSION

7:30 p.m., Thursday, May 20, 1976
Room 294, Smith Memorial Center
Portland State University

Free parking is available in the
University Center Parking Garage
S.W. 5th and Harrison St. Entrance

Arthur Naftalin, professor of public affairs at the University of Minnesota, is a Board Member of the National Academy for Public Administration. While Mayor of Minneapolis he was Honorary President and Vice President of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, 1968-69; National Steering Committee Member of the Urban Coalition, 1967; Member of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, 1962-69; and executive committee member of the National League of Cities, 1962-69.

The Tri-County Local Government Commission's monthly meeting will be keynoted by Naftalin's discussion of the Twin Cities successful experiment with metropolitan government reorganization, the functions of the Metropolitan Council, its relationship to local and state government, and the nature of its governing board. An update on the Tri-County Local Government Commission's reorganization project will be given.

CLACKAMAS MULTNOMAH WASHINGTON

TRI-COUNTY LOCAL GOVERNMENT COMMISSION

1912 S.W. SIXTH, ROOM 244 PORTLAND, OREGON 97201 (503) 229-3576

July 7, 1976

M E M O

TO: COMMISSION MEMBERS

FROM: A. MC KAY RICH

RE: HOWARD W. HALLMAN'S PRESENTATION ON JULY 15

We have attached a copy of a speech delivered by Mr. Hallman to the ASPO National Planning Conference in May, 1974. Unfortunately, we have no other articles available more current than this, with the exception of his book, "Neighborhood Government in a Metropolitan Setting" (available from our library). However, as the article illustrates, Mr. Hallman's expertise in the field of neighborhoods/local government (both with respect to theory and actual practice) should prove a valuable resource for the Commission.

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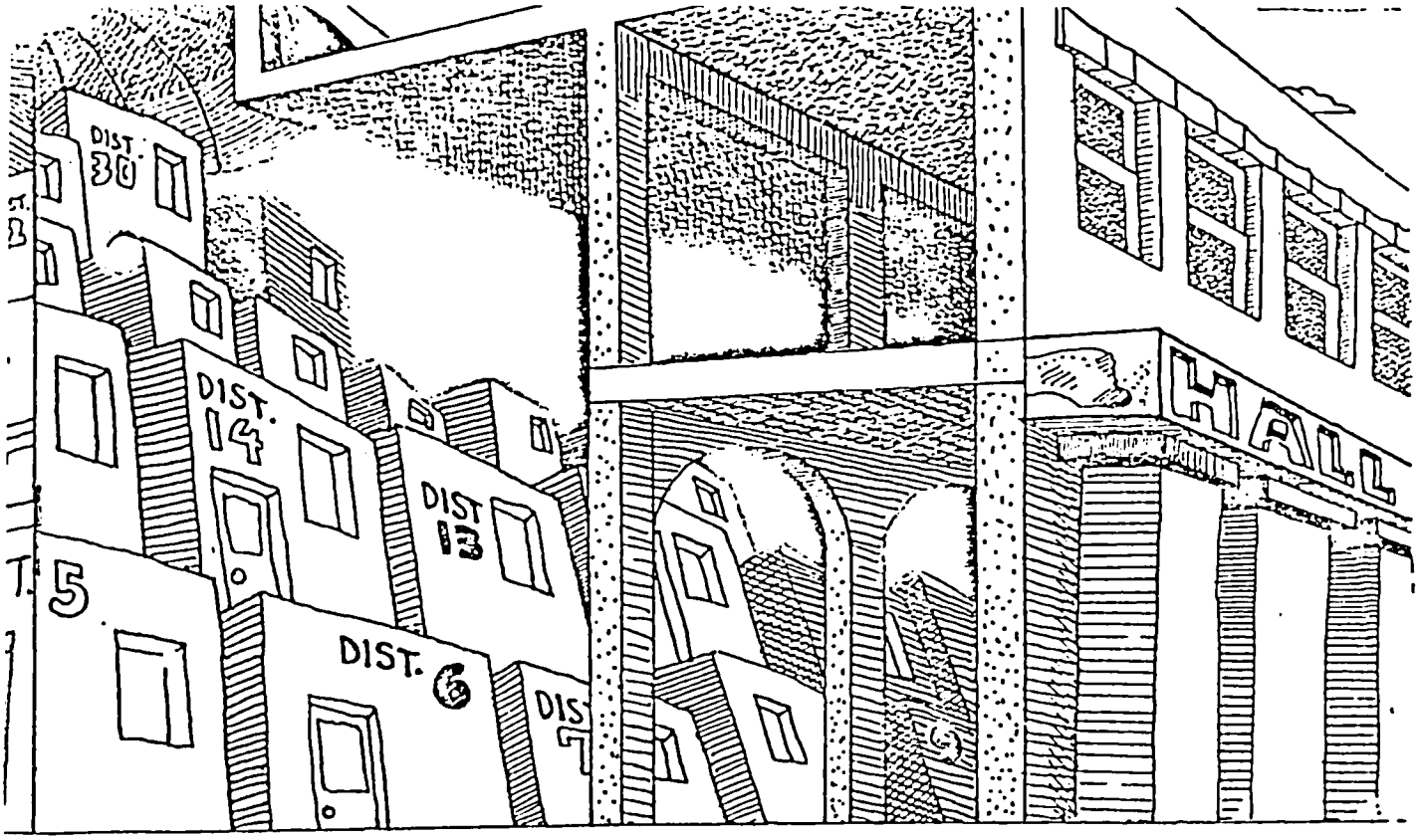
Attachment



standards available from any professional organization, but some inferences can be made. The U.S. Census reports that an average city has nine street maintenance employees per 10,000 people. In a city of 20,000, an 18-person unit could take care of the streets, sidewalks, and street trees. For refuse collection, the route of one truck is the measure of efficient and economic operation. While route coverage varies with population density, crew size, curbside versus backyard pickup, and distance to disposal site, a single truck might serve several thousand people. Or a neighborhood might contract with a private firm or a public agency serving a wider territory for refuse pickup.

Third, police. In recent years, a number of organizations have recommended consolidation of small rural and suburban police units to obtain more viable forces. Figures vary somewhat on the number of persons required for 24-hour patrol service. The National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals recommended at least 10 officers; the International Association of Chiefs of Police says 12; a Minnesota study sponsored by the Governor's Commission on Crime Prevention and Control suggests 13. The U.S. Census reports that cities under 50,000 have an average of 17 police per 10,000 people and cities over 50,000 have 28 police per 10,000 inhabitants. Accordingly, a neighborhood could have enough officers assigned to maintain sufficient around-the-clock police patrol.

Certainly the professional experts will refute these figures in terms of efficiency, economy of scale, specialization of services, and other arguments traditionally used in support of consolidation. But their arguments do not hold up to rigorous examination. For instance, in a study of the feasibility of neighborhood government a colleague and I took a look at a number of small enclave cities and suburban units in seven different metropolitan areas. We did not muster tremendous statistical evidence, but it was apparent that these small units were delivering a variety of public services capably at costs not exceeding and often less than those in the central city. Residents seemed satisfied with their services. The physical appearance of these small cities was as good as, or better than, similar sections in the central city.

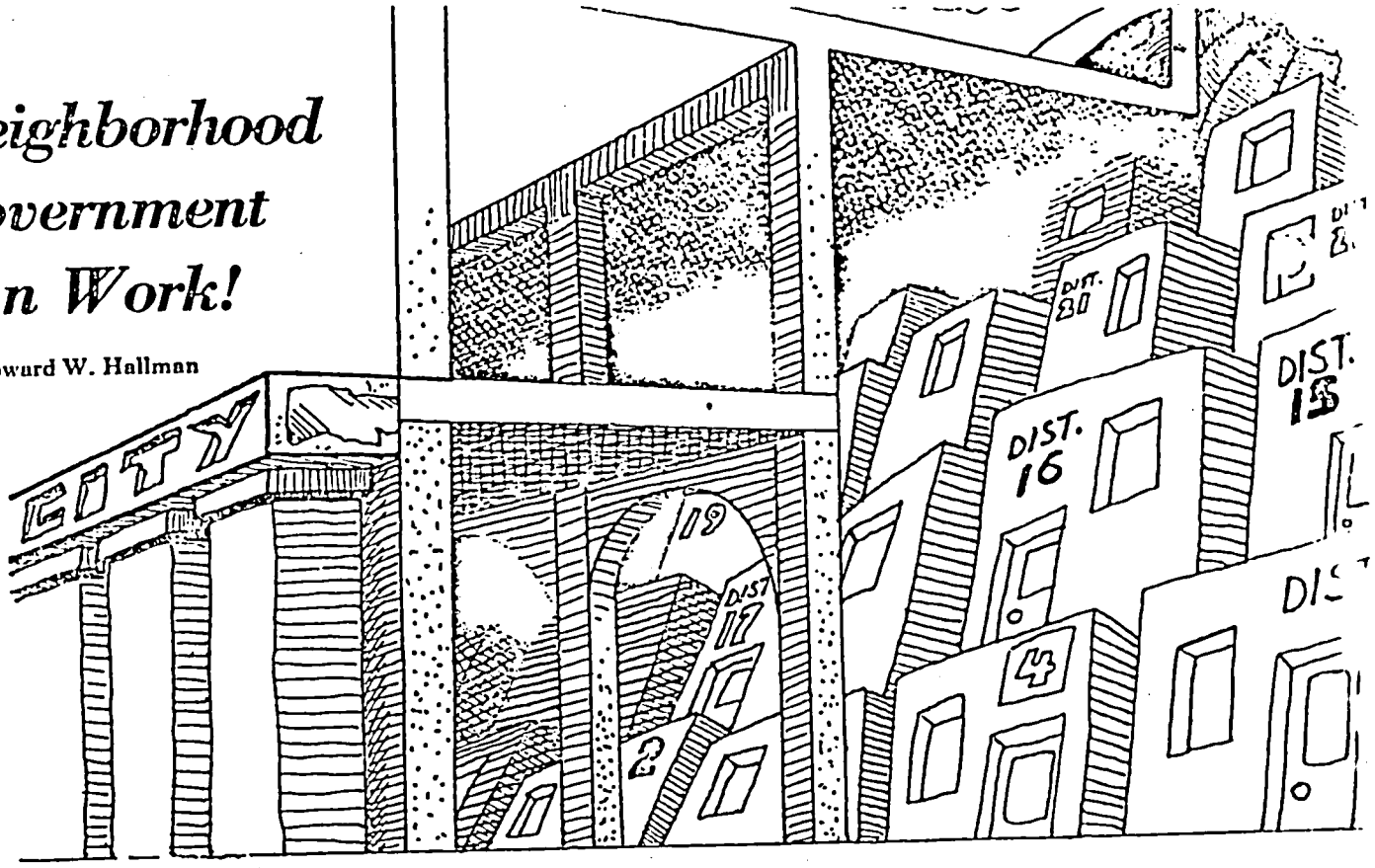
Of course the suburbs are not like the central city. They can have better service because the people are wealthier, houses are not as old, and public facilities are newer. Yet, when Elinor Ostrom and Roger B. Parks of Indiana University correlated studies of police service in six small suburban cities outside Indianapolis and Grand Rapids with socially comparable, adjacent neighborhoods of the two central cities, they found that residents in the independent suburbs "related their police better with regard to responding rapidly, police-citizen relationships, the likelihood of police accepting bribes, and a general evaluation of the job being done." Furthermore, they were "less likely to have been the victim of a crime, more likely to have reported victimization, and more likely to have received some form of assistance from the police." Cost comparisons showed that the Grand Rapids suburbs got more service for less cost per capita than the central city, while the three Indianapolis suburbs paid a little more per capita to get better service.

I hypothesize that similar analysis would reveal that a recreation unit serving 10,000 or so could provide as good a neighborhood program at no greater cost, and perhaps at lower costs, than a division of a large recreation department. The same would hold true for certain basic public works functions, such as street maintenance and refuse collection, as soon as a minimum size is reached--and that size is surprisingly small. Thus, for a number of public services I am convinced that neighborhood government could be at least as efficient and more or as economical as central city government.

But what of the specialization argument favoring large

Neighborhood Government Can Work!

By Howard W. Hallman



Thomas Jefferson, toward the end of his fruitful life, said about government that "it is not by the consolidation, or concentration of powers, but by their distribution, that good government is effected. . . . Were we directed from Washington when to sow, and when to reap, we would soon want bread. It is by this partition of cares, descending in gradation from general to particular, that the mass of human affairs may be best managed, for the good and prosperity of all."

This is a good time to start thinking about neighborhood government. We might paraphrase Jefferson to say, "Were we to depend wholly upon city hall and its professional experts to maintain good neighborhoods, we would soon find widespread deterioration." Deterioration we have. This is plain to any casual observer of American cities and painfully apparent to those who have studied urban problems in depth. There are many causes, among them the failure of big city bureaucracies to perform effectively.

Consolidation of power in city hall will not make it possible to preserve neighborhoods, build a sense of community, get owners to maintain their properties, encourage residents to use private and public facilities carefully, come to grips with social problems, and respond to all aspects of urban deterioration. Yet this is one of the notions of the reform movement of the last generation which has not yet passed from the scene.

The doctrines are familiar: centralization of executive power, appointment of nonpartisan professionals, hierarchical administration to maintain clear lines of authority, accountability (principally through periodic elections), citizen involvement (mainly at public hearings and in citywide advisory committees staffed by city personnel). These doctrines have produced some improvements in public administration and in city life, but for neighborhood preservation they have not worked nearly as well as reformers hoped.

To go along with these improvements in executive management, we now need a complementary approach which decentralizes policy determination and administrative authority for certain tasks. Let us place responsibilities for actions as close as possible to the people affected. Let people at the grass roots have a say in guiding the programs serving them. To accomplish this we should organize neighborhood government.

By neighborhood government, I mean a subunit of city government, governed by a representative body elected by the residents, exercising power delegated to it by the city and the state. It would advocate neighborhood needs.

Is it practicable? I believe that it is for certain kinds of governmental activities. Three functions can furnish examples.

First, take recreation, which is one of the easiest. The National Recreation and Park Association for years has published recommended standards for parks and recreational facilities. City planners are correctly cautious in applying such standards literally; population density, family income, and other factors have to be taken into consideration. Nevertheless, they provide an approximation of scale of recreational activities. According to these standards, a neighborhood recreation complex should serve a population of 8,000 to 12,000 people and a service area of one-quarter to one-half mile in radius. In small- and medium-size cities, a neighborhood of this scale could certainly manage its own playground. In larger cities, neighborhoods might be bigger and would have several such playgrounds and perhaps a community center with additional facilities, also feasible for neighborhood management.

Second, consider public works. There are no population

Howard W. Hallman is president of the Center for Governmental Studies in Washington, D.C. He gave this speech at the ASPO National Planning Conference in May.

Power is not a charity to be given away like a Thanksgiving basket to the poor

units? At this point we should return to Jefferson, who said that it is by the "partition of cares, descending in gradation from general to particular, that the mass of human affairs can be best managed." The partition of cares is the key. The small-scale unit provides the basic services and the larger unit the specialized activities.

This is the way police services work out in Dade County, Florida. There, about 55 per cent of the population lives in 27 cities and the rest in unincorporated areas. All but two of the cities have a general police patrol, and all but four handle traffic enforcement. But the county, functioning as a metropolitan government, operates a crime laboratory serving all the cities. It also handles criminal intelligence, vice investigation, central accident records, and confinement of felons. The county also takes care of capital crimes and traffic homicide investigations for 24 of the 27 cities, communications for 22, training for 15, and robbery investigation for 11.

The same partition-of-cares philosophy can be applied to other fields of service. Thus, neighborhood governments could run playgrounds, the city could take care of district facilities like ice skating rinks and large parks, and a metropolitan agency could sponsor the sports arena and zoo. The neighborhood could collect trash, and the city or a metropolitan agency could handle disposal. The neighborhood could run a branch library, and the central library could provide the reference collection, interlibrary lending, the book purchasing for all neighborhood branches. A local fire company could provide routine fire protection, and the city department could take care of specialized fire fighting, training for all neighborhood units, citywide communications, and pooled service and back-up arrangements. Neighborhood health centers providing outpatient services could relate to the city hospital and the regional medical center.

In the area of city planning, the city master plan could demarcate major transportation routes (with sensitivity to community patterns), general land uses, and location of major facilities. The neighborhood would have a voice in specific land-use decisions, zoning changes, and the precise location of public facilities. Neighborhood government would work out the details of any neighborhood renewal plan, but the city development agency would take care of specialized services in land acquisition and disposal in accordance with the plan. The city planning commission in an advisory manner and the city council as a policy body would retain a measure of control over broad features of neighborhood development. Neighborhood government would not be completely sovereign.

Likewise, since the neighborhood government I envision would exercise delegated power from the city, city council and executive agencies would oversee its operations. For example, the city could check on neighborhood police for honesty, respect for civil liberties, and effectiveness in halting crime. The city controller could conduct a post audit of neighborhood accounts.

Is such a federated arrangement visionary? I think not. All around the country there are steps being taken which move in this direction.

Ten years ago this movement got started as part of the Community Action Program, which leaders in poor neighborhoods, particularly minority communities, seized upon as a means for getting a piece of the action. Beginning in 1966, residents gained firmer control in some cities through the organization of community corporations. By then another vehicle for citizen involvement, this time closer to city hall, emerged under the Model Cities Program. At about the same time several mayors—Lindsay in New York, Welch in Houston, White in Boston, D'Alesandro in Baltimore—started little city halls as their means of neighborhood outreach. Community control of schools became a major issue in the late 1960s, and the urban renewal program provided residents a larger role through project area committees.

Since 1970 the quest for neighborhood decentralization has taken the form of charter amendments, ordinances, and city council policies to graft some kind of neighborhood operation onto the basic structure of city government.

A forerunner of this approach was the 1961 charter of New York City, which required community planning boards to be established by 1968. Sixty-two of them have been appointed by borough presidents. Within the last couple of years they have begun to move beyond a limited planning advisory role to exercise modest decision-making authority in assigning their district's share of new street lights, bus shelters, and street trees. Six of them have lump sums to allocate for small-scale projects. In a district management experiment, eight community boards now review street repaving priorities and send their chairmen to meetings of the district cabinet, made up mostly of departmental field supervisors.

In 1971 Newton, Massachusetts, adopted a new charter with provisions for neighborhood area councils, patterned after a model law which the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations first suggested in 1967. Honolulu adopted a new charter in 1972 and set up a neighborhood commission to develop a plan for formation of neighborhood boards, selection of members, and specification of duties. Detroit adopted similar provisions in its new charter last November. In May, the voters of the District of Columbia approved a home rule charter and passed a separate referendum authorizing establishment of advisory neighborhood councils.

The Dayton City Council in 1971 endorsed creation of neighborhood priority boards. They started by assigning funds to special projects and have now branched out to other activities, such as rendering advice on zoning changes and the city budget. Last year the city council of Eugene, Oregon, adopted a neighborhood organization policy giving official recognition to neighborhood

organizations with acceptable neighborhood charters. The city council of Portland, Oregon, passed an ordinance in February providing for recognized neighborhood associations which will be notified of pending measures affecting their neighborhoods and will assist city agencies in determining neighborhood priorities. The Indianapolis City-County Council has blocked implementation of a state law providing for community boards, but the Metropolitan Development Commission notifies recognized citizen associations of pending zoning cases and other planning issues affecting their neighborhoods.

Although these varied efforts do not constitute tidal change which will sweep away all the old city government structures, they do indicate a ground swell of activity. This is occurring not because of federal funding, as happened with Community Action and Model Cities programs, but because many different local officials and citizens are convinced that some kind of decentralization involving residents in meaningful policy roles is necessary if our cities are to be governable. I believe this is a significant trend and hope that it will develop into full-fledged neighborhood government with its own staff and services.

As this occurs, we should continuously keep in mind the philosophy of partition of cares. Neighborhood government can do some things, but not everything. I have already mentioned some citywide tasks, such as police and fire training and communications, refuse disposal, and major recreation facilities. There are other functions, such as mass transportation, air pollution control, economic planning, and guidance of location of population growth, which require a metropolitan scale for action. State governments have many important tasks to perform, and so does the national government.

A national scope is needed particularly in matters relating to the distribution of wealth. Cities have more than their share of poor people, and many cities have less than their share of revenue sources in relation to the services they must provide. While the states can and should do something about revenue sharing, only the national government can deal effectively with the distribution of personal wealth. A national policy of a guaranteed job at a living wage for all who want to work and adequate income assistance for those who cannot work would make an enormous contribution to life in the inner city. Thus, wise general policies are needed as badly as particular ones.

Neighborhood government should therefore be cast in the American federal system. This arrangement was best described by Morton Grodzins, who called it a "marble cake." He wrote: "No important activitiy of government in the United States is the exclusive province of one of the levels. . . . If you ask the question 'Who does what?' the answer is in two parts. One is that officials of all "levels" do everything together. The second is that where one level is preponderant in a given activity, the other makes its influence felt politically . . . or through money . . . or through professional organizations." In other words, shared power is a fundamental characteristic of the federal system. Neighborhood government would share power in a local federated structure.

Power also has a competitive dimension. After all, in many respects power is a finite commodity. If one group gains some power, another loses a little. Power is not a charity to be given away like a Thanksgiving basket to the poor. An opportunity for power might be offered, but it has to be taken affirmatively and expressed through specific actions.

This means that neighborhood government must not be merely a service institution, sharing in the administration of services. It also must be an advocate for a specific geographic area and its people, much as a city government plays an advocacy role in dealing with the state and national governments.

Undoubtedly neighborhood government from time to time would be in contention with the existing power structure: the mayor, city councilmen, other political leaders, professionals who run the bureaucracies, leaders of employees' unions, preexisting civic associations, and other established interests. These power holders recognize this risk. So city councilmen in Indianapolis opposed creation of community boards, the New York teachers union fought school decentralization until it was tamed to a form they could influence or control, and some civic associations dominated by property owners in the District of Columbia were against formation of neighborhood councils.

This is natural, for the established groups have as much right to express their interests as the new organizations. Such a phenomenon would make neighborhood government into a political institution, and properly so. In a representative democracy like ours, politics is the proper arena for working out competitive interests. What is important is that everybody have a fair chance for political participation, and often this takes an organization. Our cities would be better places if the voices of neighborhoods were louder, so that they could be heard along with the voices of municipal bureaucracies, politicians, real estate interests, and other special interest groups.

But don't we need greater social unity, not divisiveness? Nearly 50 years ago Harold Laski wrote an appropriate rebuttal to this line of thinking: "The center of significance is no longer the search for unity, but rather, what that unity makes. And what it makes must, if it is to win my allegiance, include results I recognize as expressive of my need, results, even more, that I realize I have helped to make. For my needs will go unexpressed save as I make them articulate. I must build myself into the decisions which bind my behavior. . . . Once it is realized that the structure made is intended to contain my activities, it is obvious that I must put my own hand to its construction."

Through neighborhood government, city residents would participate more fully in constructing the social edifices which affect their daily lives. This is a need, not only of poverty areas, but of all neighborhoods in large cities. Moreover, neighborhood government would make better citizens. As the poet Edwin Markham wrote,

We all are blind, until we see
That in the human plan
Nothing is worth the making if
It does not make the man.

Why build these cities glorious
If man unbuilded goes?
In vain we build the work unless
The builder also grows.

By themselves, new neighborhood institutions cannot solve all urban problems, but they are part of the solution. And the increased community participation they produce would strengthen the fabric of urban life. That is why I favor and advocate neighborhood government. □

C-76

CLACKAMAS MULTNOMAH WASHINGTON

TRI-COUNTY LOCAL GOVERNMENT COMMISSION

1912 S.W. SIXTH, ROOM 244 PORTLAND, OREGON 97201 (503) 229-3576

July 13, 1976

M E M O

TO: FULL COMMISSION

FROM: A. McKay Rich AK

RE: Assignment of Functions and Responsibilities

In an attempt to learn more about the process of assigning functions and responsibilities in the municipality of Metropolitan Toronto - the oft cited best example of two-tier government in North America - I sent an inquiry to their Information Officer. The attached reply should be of interest.

AMR/bjg

Attch. (Letter)

THE MUNICIPALITY OF METROPOLITAN TORONTO
PLANNING DEPARTMENT
Commissioner of Planning: R.J. Bower
City Hall, Toronto, Ontario M5H 2N1, Canada Telephone 367- 8101

May 31, 1976

Mr. A. M. Rich
Staff Director
Tri-County Local Government Commission
1912 S.W. 6th, Room 244
Portland, Oregon 97201
U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Rich:

Your letter of May 11, 1976, addressed to Mrs. Elizabeth Nealson, has been forwarded to our department. Mrs. Nealson retired as Information Officer for the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto on April 30th, and has not been replaced.

In response to your question concerning the division of responsibilities between the Metropolitan Government and the governments of the constituent area municipalities, we are enclosing a copy of "Update", published by the Royal Commission on Metropolitan Toronto which is expected to make its report later this year. The Commission has published background reports which are listed on page 3, and the rest of this newspaper refers to comments on different aspects, by people who have submitted briefs to the Commission. It does not appear that any of the background studies nor the briefs directly relate to your question. We are also unable to cite any other reports that have dealt with the evolution of Metropolitan Toronto through changes in responsibilities.

The approach taken by the Province of Ontario when it passed the original Metropolitan Act in 1953 was to outline generally what was to be the responsibility of Metropolitan Toronto, with the details to be determined by the new Metro Council over time. This is not to say that the Province of Ontario did not pass specific amendments to the original Act for significant changes such as the unification of police forces or the taking over of responsibility for social services by the Metropolitan Corporation.

MUNICIPALITY OF METROPOLITAN TORONTO
PLANNING DEPARTMENT

As an example of the implementation of the evolutionary process, we can point to the creation of a Metro roads system through Metro Council setting appropriate criteria and by by-law assuming control of different roads from the area municipalities. Similarly, the Metro water distribution system can include suburban mains of a smaller size than mains in the central city which remain under the jurisdiction of the City of Toronto. Generally, Metro Government is considered a partnership between the Metro Corporation and the area municipalities. It is not felt that Metro is necessarily the dominant element in the partnership with overall control of the entire governmental structure.

We are not suggesting that there has never been friction between the aspirations of the Metropolitan Corporation and the wishes of the area municipalities. In cases such as controversial expressways which were felt to be of general benefit to the entire metro area, individual municipalities could and did oppose the building of such facilities. As in all governments there are inevitable conflicts arising from rule by majority control, but generally Metro has attempted to recognize the special interests of various minorities.

Since the creation of Metro in 1953, the Province of Ontario has established regional municipalities throughout the province, with a similar division of responsibilities between the regional governments and the governments of the constituent municipalities. The appropriate provincial agency which might provide information is the Local Government Department of the Ministry of Treasury, Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs at Queen's Park, Toronto, Ontario.

In conclusion, we will refer to a program by Alistair Cooke in the excellent television series he did a few years ago titled America, in which he quoted one of the founding Fathers of the United States federal union as saying that the three ingredients needed to ensure the success of the new federation were compromise, compromise, and compromise.

Yours truly

A. Murray

AM:MK
Enc

A. Murray
Information Officer - Planning Department

CLACKAMAS MULTNOMAH WASHINGTON

TRI-COUNTY LOCAL GOVERNMENT COMMISSION

1912 S.W. SIXTH, ROOM 244 PORTLAND, OREGON 97201 (503) 229-3576

January 6, 1977

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: FULL COMMISSION

FROM: A. McKAY RICH

RE: TWIN CITIES CITIZEN LEAGUE

Many Commission members have expressed some interest in organizing a Tri-County Citizens' Organization. This will be a major item for discussion at the January 20th Commission meeting.

Attached is an article that describes The Twin Cities Area Citizens' League -- one of the more effective citizens' organizations in the country. It took time for it to develop into what it is today, but the article should provide some information pertinent to the discussion on January 20.

AMR:els
Attachment: Article from National Civic Review, July 1976

The Citizens League

Report on Its Achievement of a Record of Cumulative Effectiveness in the Twin Cities Area

EDITOR'S NOTE: In response to a request from the editors of the NATIONAL CIVIC REVIEW, the Citizens League has prepared this report summarizing the briefing session on its history, organization, methods and program held in the Twin Cities Area, April 7-9. Citizens from 19 urban regions participated in the briefing which was chaired by the 1975-1976 president, Arthur Naftalin, former mayor of Minneapolis. Presentations were made by some 30 present and past CL officers, board members, committee and task force chairmen and members, including six past presidents and the two former executive directors. The summary language refers to CL, collectively, speaking through its officers, members and staff. The authors are Executive Director Ted Kolderie and Associate Director Paul Gilje.

A private-sector institution—such as the Citizens League in the Twin Cities area—is critically important in helping a metropolitan community understand what its problems are, and what ought to be done about them.

In November 1975 NATIONAL CIVIC REVIEW carried the text of an important report of the Metropolitan Affairs Nonprofit Corporations—*Regional Productivity*—which argued that the development of new institutions, at the metropolitan regional scale, is the first and most fundamental policy action that should be taken in any effort to address the problem of the performance . . . the productivity . . . of urban areas.

That report was made to the National Science Foundation by a panel of executives from private-sector urban affairs organizations in the major metropolitan regions, asked to advise the foundation how to proceed under its charge to improve productivity in the nonfederal public sector.

Briefly, the conclusions of the analysis in that study were that:

- Within the nonfederal public sector the major issues about productivity are to be found in the performance of the life-support systems in the major urban areas: transportation, housing, health care, criminal justice, waste disposal, communications, education, etc.
- No effort to improve these systems can begin, or can be effective, without a framework of decision making within which it is possible to raise and discuss, and to resolve, the issues respecting the performance of these systems.
- This framework of policy discussion, to be effective, must match the scale at which these systems exist, and operate, which is, in most cases, the scale of the urban region as a whole. "It is time," the report concluded, "to move from the municipal to the metropolitan definition of 'the city' as the basis for our urban programs."

The report stressed the importance of new governmental institutions, competent for the critical function of *resolving* issues on which real interests conflict.

But it also urged attention to the importance of new institutions—which it said must be private—for the separate function of *raising* the issues, and frequently of offering the proposals to which the regional governmental body will react.

One of the most hopeful signs in the effort to improve the performance of the urban areas, and an important trend followed in the REVIEW, *is the emergence of regional citizen organizations,* performing essentially these functions, in many of the larger metropolitan areas. In some cases they are 50- or 75-year-old civic-reform or governmental research organizations, renewing themselves. In some cases they are spin-offs from a top-level business-leadership group. In some cases they develop as extensions of community foundations. In a few cases, even, they are being set up as an extension of a regional council of governments.

The particular metropolitan area in which this institutional development has moved furthest seems now to be the Twin Cities area of Minnesota. Partly, and perhaps initially, the interest of persons in other areas was in this region's new governmental institutions, especially the metropolitan council and its related agencies. But partly, too, and increasingly, their question has been why, and how, this kind of change could occur. What led to the concern about regional organization? What stimulated the existing governmental system to act?

In the subsequent examination of the Twin Cities area's issue-raising mechanisms, particular attention has been focused on the Citizens League, a private, nonprofit issues-study group.

It proved difficult for the Citizens League to respond adequately to the many individual inquiries about its history, structure and study procedures. Ralph Widner, at the Academy for Contemporary Problems, therefore proposed that representatives from all organizations in all regions interested in understanding the role of the regional citizen organization in the change and progress of the Twin Cities area come together for a single, intensive briefing. The Lilly Endowment agreed to underwrite a portion of the costs. The briefing was held at the Spring Hill Center, in the Twin Cities area, April 7-9, 1976, for about 40 persons from 19 different urban regions.

What follows is a summary of the material presented to those who attended.

The session was consciously and deliberately confined to a discussion about the Citizens League. It was not possible in a two-day session to look more broadly at the whole development of regional citizen organizations. That remains, as a topic for another meeting, and perhaps another report in the REVIEW, as this broad national discussion proceeds, on the question of the reorganization of government, and of the improvement of the major systems in the metropolitan regions of this country.

Essentially, the job is to look ahead, at problems before they

become crises and at opportunities before they are lost, and to create a climate of opinion in which the community and its governmental system will respond.

The Citizens League is a metropolitan organization with about 3,000 individual members and with the support of some 600 business firms, nonprofit organizations, foundations, etc., doing in-depth studies of major community issues through committees of lay persons, drawn from its membership, serviced by the professional and clerical staff.

This central concept has remained constant. Around it, however, the structure and procedures of the organization have been continuously changing. The evolution of the league and other community organizations for issue-raising, and the evolution of governmental bodies for issue-resolving, have in fact proceeded together, as interrelated parts of the institutional development of the Twin Cities area into more advanced and complex forms.

The changes that produced the Citizens League had their beginnings in the passing of an older generation of civic and political leadership in Minneapolis, about 1940. Younger persons in the locally-based business firms were moving toward leadership positions. For about 10 years they met informally, usually for lunch at the YMCA, to discuss public issues. They were organized only loosely, in a network of "Good Government Groups," without staff.

In 1951, in the revival of public life that took place around Hubert Humphrey's time as mayor, an effort was begun to strengthen this capacity to provide careful, objective research on important local government problems. After discussions with persons in Cleveland and Seattle, a Citizens League was formed in Minneapolis. It was guaranteed $30,000 a year for three years by local firms. Its first staff was hired early in 1952. And it quickly began the evolution into its present form.

The function of reviewing and rating candidates for local office proved difficult to do well and credibly. This was quickly dropped.

Early, during the original membership-building, there was an emphasis on retailing information to the community. There were large public meetings (2,700 for Frank Lloyd Wright in 1956), publications, and radio and television programs. Gradually, as the league got more into depth on the issues, its role changed toward that of a wholesaler, relating to persons working in public affairs issues in other organizations.

Early, too, the league was essentially reacting to proposals initiated by local government. "Should there be an additional 3 mills for parks?" "Should the new library be located at 4th and Nicollet?"

A key change occurred in 1962. The league had taken under review the proposal of the school board for the first major building program since the 1920s. The league found, and criticized, a program basically aimed at rehabilitating old buildings. But it did more. It laid out, alternatively, a replacement program involving the closing and demolition of whole schools, the selling-off of sites and the construction of new schools at new sites. The community rejected the school board's proposal. A new proposal for a replacement program was prepared. With league support, it passed. The whole experience taught the organization an important lesson not only about finding the key points of timing and leverage in public issues but also about its own ability to generate proposals as well as to critique proposals coming from government.

There was also an evolution of name. It began as the Citizens League of Minneapolis. It later became the Citizens League of Greater Minneapolis and then (finding that impolitic) of Minneapolis and Hennepin County. By the mid-1960s, it was fully a Twin Cities area organization, and became simply the Citizens League.

It is, in practice, a leadership-training program, but as a by-product of its primary mission which is to help the Twin Cities community understand its problems and what should be done about them. We do this by moving our understanding to the community and to the people in government. All our experience is that the most effective change takes place as a result of forces impacting on the governmental system from outside. Initiatives need to b taken, and are taken, from within the system as well. But, fundamentally, government does not rush out to meet what may or may not develop as rea problems some distance down the road.

Basically, the Citizens League and the other groups performing essentiall the same function act to identify these forces, to show how they will develo into problems, and to design possible responses which government can mak early.

It is an important virtue of this arrangement—as one of the participan in the Spring Hill meeting pointed out to us—that it also serves largely t remove the partisan/political element from the issue side of local publi affairs. In many cities, the group that sets the agenda, with issues and pro posals, is the staff of the central-city mayor. The agenda is thus, from th start, partisan. In the Twin Cities area, much of the issue-raising function i handled by nonpartisan institutions. This becomes an expense, carried b the private community. But, in enlarging the potential for bipartisan agree ment on problems and for early action, it is worth the investment.

The trick is finding a substitute for visible crisis, as a spur to policy action

At Spring Hill, we laid out a concept of this whole process or cycle o decision making that we've found useful in thinking both about the com munity and about our own role. It goes something like this: *Events* occur In time the symptoms (*Data*) appear. When recognized, this leads to correctiv *Policy Action* which in turn produces new *Events*.

In the simplest model, the events that cause government to act are crises Flood waters may be inundating homes. Sewage may be running in the stree Or taxes may be rising, because the city's deteriorating credit has led to lowered rating on its bonds. In any case, what is happening is visible (par ticularly, now, through television) to the average citizen; and, if it is hap pening where he lives, directly threatening, government acts.

In a community that does not want to operate by crisis, or is performing at a level where it need not, a much more complex and difficult linkage is obviously needed between *Events* and *Policy Action*. Somebody, somehow, has got to be able to look at what's happening in such a way as to spot the signs of trouble when they first appear, or, at least, to note the kind of change in trends that might signal a need for some kind of adjustment in public policies.

For this, a community needs a more elaborate kind of record-keeping and data-reporting system: one that measures, for example, not the rise in river levels in March but the depth of the snow pack upstream in December. It needs a process for consulting with itself to identify those changes that represent issues, potential problems, or opportunities, on which somebody should be put to work.

There should then be a careful analysis of the problem, or opportunity. In a crisis it is the immediate causes that are most visible: When the flood is upon you, the problem is that the dikes are not high enough. Ahead of the crisis, there is time to think through to more fundamental causes: to understand, for example, the way floods are caused by improper development in the watershed, or the way environmental destruction is caused by the local property tax in a metropolitan region. Finally, proposals must be developed. And all of this discussion must be carried on in a process that is open and broad enough to create the level of community concern, and understanding and consensus that, like the crisis itself, will stimulate government to act.

It is, clearly, a fragile and vulnerable arrangement, dependent on the community support of independent public affairs organizations in the private sector, on the willingness of public officials to take controversial actions on problems that are not yet directly visible to a majority of their constituents, and—in ways we are only now coming really to understand—on the performance of the institutions of information and communication in the community.

The problems facing the community must be identified, preferably early, before they reach crisis proportions. Each year the Citizens League selects a few of these for study.

Annually the board of directors selects approximately six projects for study by Citizens League committees. The assignment from the board to a committee is quite specific, not just to look at education, housing or transportation issues in general. After about six to nine months of work, a committee submits a written report with recommendations to the board. When approved by the board these reports become official league positions.

Because we can undertake only a few projects each year, and because such a substantial commitment of volunteer and staff time is taken, we must be extremely careful in deciding our priorities.

The first step is ascertaining community needs and problems. This means that we need the broadest possible system of keeping in touch with what is

going on in the community, on a continuous basis. We are always putting items into a file as we run across ideas in newsletters, journals and the media. We poll our membership from time to time on subjects that might be considered. On occasion we have sent letters to selected public officials and others who we know are closely following issues in their respective fields. We also will have informal visits with such persons. We talk with research and planning people in public agencies. Our weekly public breakfast forums always turn up a list of possibilities.

Many other groups need to do this also. For example, foundations need help in their grant-making programs; other study groups, for their own research or action programs; and news editors, for planning coverage of public affairs. In recognition of its common interest with other groups the league has begun a new information services project, with assistance from a local foundation. We are now publishing a twice-monthly newsletter (separate from the membership newsletter, the Citizens League NEWS) called *Public Life*, which helps us keep in touch with developments in a host of fields that require in-depth exploration. We share *Public Life* broadly in the community. As of mid-1976, approximately 2,000 persons were on the mailing list, about two-thirds of whom were not members of the Citizens League. *Public Life* still is distributed free. A subscription policy must be established soon.

Once a year we compile a list of issues, from which we will select the issues for our own research program. This is done usually in February, which is a convenient time because it gives the program committee about three months to prepare recommendations to the board of directors. The board takes action on the research program for the coming 12 months in May or June. Our program committee is one of three standing committees appointed by the board of directors. It is mostly, but not entirely, made up of members of the board.

The staff puts together a list of issues, organized within about 15 different categories, such as education, health, housing, transportation, public safety, and so forth. At this point, descriptions of the issues are brief one-liners, giving only a hint of their scope. Any topic which has been suggested to us is included along with those we have identified. We know that some topics have only the remotest possibility of being picked, but at least they are included in the first list. Members of the program committee then add their own suggestions. After this step, there may be as many as 150-200 possibilities in front of us, which the program committee immediately trims down to about 50 that are deemed appropriate. Usually if about three of about 15 members of the committee believe an issue belongs on the list, it will survive the first cut.

The staff then takes the projects which have survived and writes about a 10-line description of each. That memo becomes the basis for further consideration and really constitutes the issues that are deemed to be important to the community and which have some possibility of being programmed by us. Writing this description is a good discipline for us, because it forces us to

define each issue with some degree of precision. If the issue can't be described adequately, it probably means we don't yet know what we're talking about.

We very carefully trim the list down to the six or so projects we will include in the research program. The trimming is done in a series of about three or four meetings. Usually, after the committee has picked the six it will recommend one more meeting to agree on the wording of each project. There is no formula for trimming the list. In the second cut-down from 50 to 25, not much time is available to discuss each project individually. The focus tends to be on the more popular topics. The staff prepares a fresh memorandum for each meeting, including a rewrite of the project descriptions as deemed appropriate.

The most critical cut of all, of course, is the last one. In 1976 a new procedure was added to help with that step. The staff scheduled a series of briefing sessions in advance of the meeting with persons knowledgeable about each topic under consideration. Members of the program committee were encouraged to attend with the staff. This enabled us to improve our knowledge about the status of each issue in the community before final action.

Over the years the program committee has assembled criteria to help members decide on projects:

- *Importance.* Is the project of importance to the community?
- *Urgency.* Is action needed now or can the project be delayed?
- *Necessity.* Will, or can, other organizations carry the responsibility?
- *Cost-benefit.* Is the estimated impact of the project worth the amount of staff and volunteer time required? Is the project of manageable size?
- *Effectiveness.* What are the prospects for ultimate implementation of the recommendations which might be made?
- *Expectation.* Is this a project which the community expects the Citizens League to take on?
- *Awareness.* Is the public generally aware of and interested in the subject?
- *Interest.* Is it likely that Citizens League volunteers can be recruited for this project?
- *Membership.* Will the project attract members with a broad, general interest in the subject, or is it more likely to attract only committee members with expertise and involvement in the subject area?
- *Definition.* Is the problem adequately defined so that a Citizens League committee would have a clear understanding of its assignment?
- *Emotion.* Is the problem capable of being resolved by reason based on fact, or are the emotional overtones too large to permit reasoned analysis?

Acceptance of the committee's recommendations by the board of directors is not automatic; there are occasional substitutions of projects.

Using committees from our own membership, we first educate ourselves and intensively analyze the problem, before we start talking about solutions.

We strongly resist the temptation to focus on answers before we know what

the questions are. Too frequently, a problem may be stated in terms of the solution, for example, "the problem with transportation in this region is that we don't have a subway system." The answer may be a subway system (although we have recommended another approach), but the problem is something else (in our case, we concluded that too many people were driving, not riding, regardless of the vehicle).

The formation of each committee and the selection of the chairman are very important. All members of the Citizens League are notified through the bi-weekly CL NEWS of the opportunity to volunteer for a new committee. Usually, between 35 and 70 persons will volunteer. The only requirement for committee membership is that a person be a dues-paying member, unless the board of directors makes a specific exemption.

We encourage League members with no previous involvement or interest in the subject matter to volunteer. These generalist members bring fresh thinking and an ability to raise questions from a different perspective than persons who have been intimately involved. But we also welcome members who are knowledgeable about the project under study, because they can offer valuable insight on the nature of the question.

The sign-up form asks members to identify their interest in the subject matter under study so that others may know what occupational or other involvement someone may have. Members are informed that if their involvement is closer than they feel would be appropriate for actual committee membership, other types of participation in the study are available, such as receiving minutes or receiving both notices and minutes of meetings and being welcome to audit committee meetings in person. The program committee monitors committee sign-up and arranges for additional recruitment of members to accomplish whatever balance is deemed necessary, such as for geographic, female-male, occupational or other reasons.

A typical committee will have at least 50 members at the outset, with some as large as 100. Size has never been a problem. An inevitable "shake-down" occurs, with a typical committee having about 35-50 active members.

The chairman of each committee is named by the president of the Citizens League. Prior knowledge of the subject under study rarely is a major consideration in picking a chairman. Someone with no previous involvement may be picked deliberately, to assure a fresh approach. A person with an analytical mind and an ability to perform as an effective moderator and to move the committee toward a conclusion is more important.

Mechanical aspects of committee meetings are taken very seriously. Probably most important are the minutes, which typically run six or seven pages, single-spaced. Our professional staff takes the minutes. They are dictated from notes and transcribed directly onto photo-ready masters by our very capable clerical staff. Once a staffer catches on, dictation takes about two hours, with another two hours required for transcription. We repeat this every week for every committee. The minutes are designed to convey a complete sense of the meeting for someone who was not present. They are much

more than a verbatim account. Underlined lead-in sentences summarize the content of each paragraph to enable the reader to skim the minutes if necessary.

Weekly committee meetings, alternated between Minneapolis and St. Paul, are usually held in public libraries or other locations which make meeting rooms available without charge. The most popular meeting time is 6:30 p.m. to 9:00 p.m. (when the libraries close). Some committees meet from 4:30 to 7:00 p.m., which avoids conflicts with night meetings of other organizations but produces conflicts with household duties or employment hours. Once in a great while a committee will meet for breakfast or lunch, but the time available is limited. Moreover, with members coming from throughout the metropolitan area, such an hour is very inconvenient.

We try to arrange meeting rooms with tables, rather than in rows of chairs. Cardboard name plates on tables are used to identify persons since name tags on persons are not large enough to be read across the room. Non-members are invited to sit in a different part of the room so it is clear that, if they enter the discussion at any point, they are resource persons, not regular members.

In the past we mailed first-class notices to every member weekly, but higher postage rates in 1976 forced us to take two different approaches. With some of our committees, notices are now mailed every other week; with others they are still sent weekly, but only to absentees.

We believe the openness of the committee process is an important part of our overall credibility. We distribute the minutes widely—even to persons who do not request them, in order to keep them informed of our activity. In some cases we also send notices of meetings, knowing that some public officials or others particularly close to an issue are anxious to follow what we do. It is not unusual for our meetings to be monitored from start to finish by an interested party or agency. We also send minutes and notices to members of the news media. Only rarely does a reporter show up at meetings.

The first phase of committee activity, orientation, brings members to a common level of understanding about the facts and issues before they begin debate among themselves. Regardless of the current level of knowledge among committee members, we always go through an intensive series of orientation meetings. If committee members were to do nothing more than share previously accumulated knowledge about a subject, they would severely limit their ability to be exposed to new ideas or different ways of thinking about a problem. Under such an approach the most vocal and persuasive committee members would be able to capitalize on the situation to advance their own interests.

The orientation is accomplished chiefly by inviting resource persons to appear personally before the committee to present information and to have interchange with members. A typical committee will bring in an average of three per week over a period of three months or more; they constitute the Citizens League "faculty." We don't pay compensation or expenses, except

that if a meal is involved we'll probably pick up the check, but that's a rare situation. Over the period of a year, probably 250 to 300 resource persons meet with committees. The function of the resource person is to provide background information on the subject under study and give insight on issues. Usually, resource people will give about 20 minutes of opening comments, followed by 20 to 25 minutes of discussion. They have been briefed by the staff in advance and given minutes of previous meeting. A detailed letter sent in advance spells out what we are asking. Copies of the letter are made available to committee members so they can see if the resource person is responding as requested.

Our committee members are busy; even though we faithfully reproduce the resource persons' comments in the minutes, we consistently find that members learn mainly by listening and questioning, and less by outside reading.

We solicit committee members' ideas for names of resource persons or subject matter that should be covered. Usually the decision on who to invite is made by the committee chairman working with the staff. Committee members soon learn that every effort is made to expose the committee to the widest range of viewpoints possible.

During the orientation phase, the committee occasionally will spend part of a meeting in internal discussion; after six weeks or so of input, members get anxious to share ideas with each other.

Each week during orientation an agenda packet will include a substantial amount of written material, including staff memoranda and reprints of articles. Most of the facts and figures get placed into the committee record in this manner. By the time a committee has completed its work, the written material can fill a two-inch-thick notebook for each member.

Next the committee develops agreement on findings (the facts about the issues in controversy) and conclusions (the value judgments drawn from the facts). We discipline ourselves very closely to make sure that the committee does not jump ahead to recommendations as soon as the orientation stage is completed. We insist that the committee first develop general agreement on a draft of findings and then draw conclusions. Often study groups move to recommendations too soon. When a person advances a recommendation, one of the best ways to test whether the problem has been analyzed is to ask: "If this is the solution, what is the problem?"

When the committee begins its deliberations, the staff first prepares a summary of what has been learned so far. Such a summary may be quite lengthy, running 12 to 15 pages, single-spaced. (We've never been able to keep the drafts as brief as we would like.) The summary is an extremely valuable tool. It assembles in one place and in somewhat organized fashion the relevant material presented over the previous months. Many members may have forgotten some information. Others will have had a difficult time sorting things out.

We find that a committee tends to do a lot of nit-picking when a long draft is first presented. This is frustrating, because the draft admittedly is

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During the orientation phase, the committee occasionally will spend part of a meeting in internal discussion; after six weeks or so of input, members get anxious to share ideas with each other.

Each week during orientation an agenda packet will include a substantial amount of written material, including staff memoranda and reprints of articles. Most of the facts and figures get placed into the committee record in this manner. By the time a committee has completed its work, the written material can fill a two-inch-thick notebook for each member.

Next the committee develops agreement on findings (the facts about the issues in controversy) and conclusions (the value judgments drawn from the facts). We discipline ourselves very closely to make sure that the committee does not jump ahead to recommendations as soon as the orientation stage is completed. We insist that the committee first develop general agreement on a draft of findings and then draw conclusions. Often study groups move to recommendations too soon. When a person advances a recommendation, one of the best ways to test whether the problem has been analyzed is to ask: "If this is the solution, what is the problem?"

When the committee begins its deliberations, the staff first prepares a summary of what has been learned so far. Such a summary may be quite lengthy, running 12 to 15 pages, single-spaced. (We've never been able to keep the drafts as brief as we would like.) The summary is an extremely valuable tool. It assembles in one place and in somewhat organized fashion the relevant material presented over the previous months. Many members may have forgotten some information. Others will have had a difficult time sorting things out.

We find that a committee tends to do a lot of nit-picking when a long draft is first presented. This is frustrating, because the draft admittedly is

proposals on the table advanced by other committee members. If the less desirable proposals had not been put forth, it is possible that the individual never would have suggested the base-sharing concept.

The lesson here, therefore, is that no one should be ashamed to make a proposal. If nothing else, it may serve the invaluable function of stimulating the emergence of better ideas.

It is important to keep in touch with the community during proposal development. As the committee is nearing the end of its work, members and staff sometimes have a tendency to turn inward on themselves. But precisely the opposite should occur. At this time the committee needs to be fully informed about the status of the issue in the community. Informal conversations by phone and in face-to-face interview are very important. It is not necessary to ask someone on the outside for a reaction to a specific proposal. But skillful questioning can elicit feelings which will serve to anticipate how a proposal may be received. These outside contacts must be made very carefully. We discourage sharing preliminary drafts of reports. That is an open invitation for suggested changes which, if not made, may irritate the outsider whose advice was sought, and which, if made, may compromise the report unnecessarily. Compromising can be made in the political process.

Close contact with the league board of directors is important, too. In 1974 the board of directors began a new program of liaison with its research committees. A five-to-seven member panel from the board is appointed on an ad hoc basis for each committee. The panel meets two or three times, very informally, with the chairman and members who wish to attend. One meeting is usually held when the committee is working on findings, and a second during the time conclusions are being discussed or just as alternative recommendations are being explored.

The board panel does not second-guess the committee, nor does it issue its own recommendations. It simply serves to raise questions early. "Has the committee explored this issue?" "Do you have findings to back up this conclusion?" The ad hoc panel process was started because the board was finding it increasingly difficult to raise questions after the research committee had completed its work and submitted its report. In a sense the board panel serves the same function as other contacts with the community. It gives the opportunity for some outside input at a time before all decisions have been made.

In addition to the panel, the chairman of a research committee may meet with the entire board with a progress report. This is not always possible, however, because the board agenda usually is full.

Details are critical to a recommendation's acceptability. We stimulate the committees to be as specific as possible in their recommendations. For example, a recent report on the appointment process in government outlined the precise steps that would be taken. Without those precise steps it was not really possible for the reader to get a complete idea of what the committee was talking about. Details also help establish a report's credibility. A recommendation with enough specifics means the committee knows what it is talking about. Moreover, a specific recommendation is much more likely to be picked up by others, and placed in ordinance or bill form for implementation.

One way of determining whether a recommendation is specific enough is to ask if it is clear who is responsible to carry it out. A recommendation ought to involve action by a specific body. Simply urging that something be done, without specifying who, doesn't spotlight the proposal. In our report on the Mississippi River, we specifically urged the metropolitan council to initiate the process for designating the river, as it passes through the metropolitan area, as a critical area under the Critical Areas Act. That was far better than expressing a desire that the river be designated a critical area.

The organization of the report affects how the proposals will be received in the community. League reports don't look very glamorous. They are typewritten, single-spaced, on both sides of the paper, with some graphs and charts, but no photos. Some critics believe we should adopt a more professional approach to graphics, while others believe such "frills" would detract from the overall quality and credibility of the reports. Even though the typical Citizens League report is such that you must want to read it, we try to talk in straight language so that the average person can understand. In the front of the report is a summary for the busiest reader. We underline summary sentences at the start of each major paragraph, which also helps the fast reader.

The exact format may vary somewhat, depending upon the committee, but usually a league report will include the following:

- *Introduction*—in which we outline the current setting in the community on the issue in question.
- *Summary of Major Ideas*—no more than two pages; for the busy reader.
- *Findings*—a major section; the facts about the issues in controversy.
- *Conclusions*—a major section; our value judgments drawn from the findings.
- *Recommendations*—a major section; the specific proposals for change which grow out of the conclusions.
- *Discussion of Recommendations*—in which we elaborate on how recommendations would be carried out and explain why certain recommendations were rejected and others adopted.
- *Background*—selected information to assist the lesser informed reader in understanding the subject matter; also charts and graphs.
- *Charge, Membership, and Work of the Committee*—short sections in which we outline the assignment, list the members, and describe the work schedule of the committee, including a listing of the resource persons.

The title of the report is a major vehicle for communication. We think very carefully about the title, and try to capture the central message of the report in no more than six or seven words. The title is the last addition to the report, written just as we make the report public. Our report on neighborhood preservation was titled "Building Confidence in Older Neighborhoods"; on controlling land use on the suburban fringe, "Growth Without Sprawl"; on transportation, "Building Incentives for Drivers to Ride."

Minority reports are not uncommon. Sometimes a committee member will lose a significant vote in committee and submit a minority report to the board of directors. The member is allowed to make a statement to the board which then decides what to do. The board will always make a notation of the minority report and, if it is not too lengthy, probably will arrange for it to be reproduced as an addendum to the majority report. In one recent case a motion at the board level to adopt the minority report lost by one vote, the closest a minority has come to winning. If the board were to override the majority, it is likely that the complete report would be referred back to committee for further work.

The board of directors assumes full responsibility for league reports. Once a Citizens League report has been submitted to and approved by the board, the research committee goes out of existence. The board has full control. The usual pattern is for the committee chairman to make an oral statement on the report, which will have been mailed in advance. Then the board questions the chairman, considers any minority statements, and debates among itself. About 50 percent of the time the board is unable to complete action in one meeting. In such cases, another meeting is scheduled.

Ultimate approval by the board is almost inevitable. At least for the last 10 years no report has been rejected. In 1970, however, the board required that a report be rewritten because the findings and conclusions did not support the recommendations. Subsequently, that report became the foundation for a major reform of municipal and school aid accomplished by the 1971 legislature.

Most of the time the board will make slight changes. Even if uncomfortable, the board is reluctant to change a recommendation if it follows from a conclusion which is based on fact..

When approved the report becomes the board's report. It is henceforth an official Citizens League position.

> **The understanding that develops—of the problem, and of its solution—must be concurred in by a broad range of organizations and individuals, public and private, whose support is essential if action is to result.**

The effectiveness of a proposal is inherent in the proposal itself. If it is timely, relevant, realistic, constructive and understandable, and if it emerges from an independent and credible study in which all points of view were heard, then it will be a powerful proposal in a community committed to solving problems. It will, that is, when it is received, known and understood by the community. Unknown, or misunderstood, it will have no impact. A critical stage in our process, therefore, is the one in which the perception of the problem that develops in the study committee, and the solution, is communicated to that broader community of persons deeply involved in the public life of the region.

Again: this communication is in part built into the study process, and into

the report. The discussions in committee are an educational experience, for members and for resource persons. The minutes are circulated widely. And the report is written, formated and titled in an effort to communicate the central message of the proposal. Still, an effective presentation is essential.

The first step is simply to get attention. Up to 100 copies of the report will be sent to key individuals ahead of the release date. Its recommendations will be summarized in the CL NEWS. And from 1,000 to 3,000 copies of the full report will be mailed within a couple of weeks. Relatively few persons will read the entire report, early. But they will scan its recommendations. And they will know it is around.

Its reception by the media is critical. We work mainly with the city desk and with the reporters. Copies go to them as soon as possible after the report is approved. The release date is set ahead, to give them time to read the report. We have an informal session with reporters. The study committee chairman explains the report and answers questions. For television, we tend to avoid the "talking head" press conference. Given time, and perhaps a suggestion, they will illustrate the report's proposals with film—which is better for their medium and for community understanding.

The live, oral presentation is perhaps the most important. Time is short. Everybody's mail is overloaded. Persons in public life learn more by listening, and questioning, where they can get a feel of the competence and soundness of an idea, and of its proponents. So we move quickly to those other groups that are involved in the problem we have been studying. The study committee chairman will be busy on a round of presentations before public and private organizations, further developing attention and understanding.

Our reports make specific recommendations as to what should be done, and by whom. As a public body begins to respond, league volunteers and staff will help with additional information. Sometimes—as in 1970 when a report recommended the development of a new public hospital by Hennepin County jointly with the development of a private hospital complex across the street—members of the league study committee will be asked to become members of the public review body, which carries the idea the next step of refinement. (In the hospital case, the study committee of the metropolitan health board did recommend a "co-located and contiguous" development; and a multi-story, shared-service facility, linking the two hospitals like Siamese twins, opened in the summer of 1976.)

We sponsor public breakfasts weekly in Minneapolis and every other week in St. Paul. These hour-long sessions are held at cafeterias, which saves money for the people who attend and saves us administrative work in setting up the meetings. A resource person is invited to speak at each meeting, for about 20 minutes, and then answer questions for about 20 minutes. The topics will cover the range of public affairs in the Twin Cities area. But occasionally we'll invite someone in to discuss an issue spotlighted in a recent Citizens League report, which helps in the community education about our proposals.

Longer-term, the follow-up on CL proposals becomes the responsibility of

the board of directors. While the study committee chairman carries the load in the early round of presentations, the committee itself has dissolved. Through its community information committee, the board can keep in touch with developments, and can update its statements in support of a report and proposal.

Since about 1974 the league has been increasingly involved in studies of community systems that are heavily non-governmental: health care, housing, transportation (most doctors and hospitals, dwelling units, and vehicles and drivers being private). There is no single, central agency for system change. And action by a public body may not be most appropriate. In such situations, local foundations have occasionally given the league a short-term grant to support the next stage of follow-up work. The Minneapolis Foundation, for example, supported a one-year effort to develop model agreements for "neighborhood maintenance associations," to experiment with group purchase of maintenance services, and to conduct a "Parade of Neighborhoods," all toward implementation of the report "Building Confidence in Older Neighborhoods."

Effectiveness is cumulative. A regional citizen organization is, in effect, a kind of consultant to the community. As for any adviser, time and experience are required to develop confidence in one's credibility and judgment. It makes sense, therefore, to begin with smaller and simpler issues, and move on gradually to the larger and more complex.

The Citizens League cannot implement its own recommendations. It cannot act, directly. It contributes ideas. But it has neither the official status nor the financial resources which are also essential ingredients for implementation. Action depends on the response and, therefore, on the attitudes of the people in state and local government, and in the civic, business, labor and other organizations to which government looks for concurrence.

In some ways it is a complication to have these major elements organized separately in a community. Yet it is also a strength, a check-and-balance that, by forcing a process of open debate and testing, helps ensure the soundness of decisions. We have little doubt, in the Citizens League, that we do a better job because we have no power other than what comes through the soundness of the job we do in analyzing issues and developing proposals.

In the interest of making the most effective use of volunteers' time; the "support structure" of the Citizens League has been kept as lean, and as flexible, as possible.

Citizens volunteer their time mainly for work on issues. The staff is there to lift off of them the detailed operational work. Still, the running of the organization requires strong policy supervision.

The board is a working board. Each year eight members are elected for three-year overlapping terms by the CL membership in a mail ballot. Annually, in June, the 24 elected members select an additional 14 directors, including a president, for one year. There is a different president every year.

No director may serve two consecutive elected terms. This mandatory turnover has been extremely important in keeping the league current with the changes in the community, as new issues, new private organizations and new public institutions emerge.

Responsibility for the organization is centered in the operations committee. Since the reorganization in 1974, which also created the program and community information committees, operations has been responsible for all internal and interorganizational affairs. It prepares a budget for board approval, oversees the financing effort and sets staff salaries.

Most important, it now handles on a continuing basis the job of strategic planning formerly handled by a series of ad hoc program planning task forces. It watches all aspects of the organization—membership, finance, issues, staff, structure, community relationships—looking mainly for areas that seem to be getting out of balance. It must plan the league's response to new demands, such as the requests recently for service to other cities around the country. It advises the nominating committees and, in a general way, the program and community information committees. Its membership (like that of the other two major standing committees) comes partly from the board and partly from outside of it, in order to spread the involvement more broadly among the active members.

Operational duties are also spread throughout the staff. The executive director is principal staff to the operations committee and to the board. The associate director supervises the office force, in addition to staffing the program committee. Another member divides time between committee work and membership/finance duties. Another handles the weekly community leadership breakfasts and the CL NEWS, in addition to staffing a study committee. Two work only with study committees. One writes *Public Life.*

The office staff includes a secretary to the executive director who is office manager, a bookkeeper/membership assistant, two persons handling records, notices, minutes and mailings for the study committees, a person maintaining files and records, and one person handling printing and production and general mailing.

The CL office has continued in downtown Minneapolis. Small meetings can be held in a conference room there. Almost all League meetings, however, are held in facilities available in the community.

The membership maintains itself at about 3,000. Individual dues, which began at $5 in 1952, are now $15, and $25 for a family. The renewal rate is about 90 percent. This means that, on the average, one new member a day will maintain the present level. Regularly, over the years, the league has reappraised the question of the size of its membership. To date, the decision has been that to move for a substantially larger membership would not add enough, either in revenue or in credibility and impact, to offset the costs. We are giving more attention, instead, to the composition of the membership, to be sure that it is as representative as possible of [illegible]

It is [illegible] to get [illegible]

who tend to be well above average in income and in education, and disproportionately (even for the Twin Cities area) in white-collar, professional occupations. We are making increased efforts to draw in members of the minority community. But these also resemble our general membership. The balance that is needed for credibility must be secured partly in our study process, by making sure we hear from the broadest range of opinion; and partly in our process of moving proposals to the community, by making sure we touch base with all major groups.

The League's support from the business community is remarkably broad-based. Our budget for 1976 is about $240,000. About two-thirds comes from contributions by business firms, heavily, the locally-based firms. We have almost 600 such supporting members. They; too, renew at about a 90 percent rate. There is a maximum level on any single membership. And the funding is to the organization: We do not fund individual studies. This kind of commitment, to an organization that is not a service organization to business but is working simply on long-term and fundamental (and therefore low-visibility) improvements in public-sector systems; and frequently forcing attention to controversial and unpopular questions, is a real tribute to the kind of business community that exists in the Twin Cities area.

In many respects this role is more logical for philanthropic institutions. And we do expect that an increasing share of League revenues will come from this sector—as foundations grow, add to their professional staff, expand their interests from education and health toward general public affairs, and return gradually to the concept of sustaining support for certain important community functions.

The League also performs, quietly, a number of miscellaneous services. We publish biennially the fullest directory of public organizations and public officials in the metropolitan area. We run, willy-nilly, a kind of "placement service" for persons who come to us for advice about work in the public sector, and for appointing authorities, collecting the names of qualified people for public positions. League people—volunteers and staff—are resource persons at others' meetings, give seminars, design programs for conferences, and generally respond to questions, increasingly from elsewhere, about developments in the Twin Cities area.

The Citizens League cannot be understood apart from the "political ecology" in which it lives.

What we have said up to this point should have made it amply clear that it is the whole community—not any single organization within it—that must be involved in any successful effort to understand its problems and what should be done about them. Neither the existence nor the effectiveness of the Citizens League, as a particular organization playing a particular role in the community's system of governance, can be understood, therefore, without some understanding of the major institutions in the Twin Cities area.

We are not sure ourselves that we understand all the interrelationships. But we offer the following, with reasonable confidence.

The basic characteristics of the region offer at least the opportunity for a successful performance. It is new, founded little more than 100 years ago. It is prosperous, with a balanced economy and almost the lowest proportion of poverty-level families in the nation. The metropolitan area contains one of the nation's largest universities. It contains also the state capital. There is a strong desire for excellence, and a strong tradition of voluntarism. It is large enough to support expensive, high-quality institutions, yet small enough and isolated enough to develop a strong sense of regional unity. The Minneapolis/St. Paul division cuts across, and in important ways softens, the central city/suburban division. The freeways make it possible to gather people easily for meetings. The entire region is a toll-free dialing area.

Much turns on the character of the business community. The Twin Cities area is a headquarters town. Important financial and intellectual resources are, therefore, available. So are decisions. There is also a receptivity to change: Having itself recently been through a fundamental transition from a resources-based to a new scientific-technical and manufacturing economy, the business community has been open to change in other community institutions as well.

The media of communication play a key role. It is through them that this entire discussion about community problems, and their solution, is carried on. Most of the newspapers and television and radio stations are also locally owned. In the press, particularly, there is a tradition of commitment to the coverage of government as well as of politics. There has been some tradition, too, of their independence within the community, and of a willingness to take strong and occasionally unpopular positions on major community issues.

Government has been a separate, and strong, factor, not simply a glove into which some interest puts its hand. It is dominated at all levels on the policy side: executives are relatively weak. It has been, in recent years, increasingly a young person's activity: People come into office, fairly early in their career, for relatively short periods of time. The system has been, perhaps as a result, remarkably problem-oriented. Politics has been competitive, and open. There has been a willingness on the part of the legislature to take responsibility for the problems of the metropolitan area. Since 1967 there has been the metropolitan council, a legislatively-created institution charged specifically to bring to the legislature a report on problems and recommendations for action.

All these institutions have evolved gradually. And the area is continually changing. Not all the changes are improvements. Some threaten the continuation of what is, as we have said, a fragile system for community decision making. What maintains it, fundamentally, probably is the relative openness of the institutions, and the dispersal of influence, along with a deep-seated recognition of the importance of debate and dissent in the making of sound community decisions.

Different but essentially comparable institutions for studying metropolitan issues are now emerging in most of the country's major urban regions.

The political ecology varies greatly from region to region. Yet the logic of the situation compels each area toward some set of institutions, and some process, similar to those in the Twin Cities area. No area wants to move simply from crisis to crisis. This being so, every area is driven toward the development of some arrangement for identifying, early, its problems and its opportunities, and for acting on them. Finally, there is a growing awareness —beginning, as it did in the Twin Cities area, in the private sector—that it is the metropolitan rather than the municipal city that forms the logical basis for dealing with major urban problems.

The emergence of such institutions—visible at the Spring Hill meeting—is largely unseen in the country at large. This reflects the organization of the media: There are local media covering local affairs, and national media covering national affairs, but essentially there are no national media covering local affairs.

The evolution proceeds as representatives of particular urban regions exchange information—as they did at our meeting—directly with each other. In the late 1950s and early 1960s the Twin Cities area was itself an importer of urban know-how, with its civic leaders and public officials traveling to look at urban renewal programs or metropolitan governments elsewhere. More recently, this area has become a heavy net exporter.

It is a process that deserves much more attention, and assistance, than it has had—especially from national organizations and foundations concerned about the political and social health of the urban regions, and, of course, from the national government.

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GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE: THE OLD AND THE NEW

by

Kenneth S. Martin

written for a USC Grad class
Fall 1975

Submitted to:
David Mars
P.A. 421

It is an observable fact, however, that in most cases few are interested in changing the game: the familier present evil is more often than not preferred to some uncertain future good. Most of the time most people will settle for a new deck or perhaps simply a new shuffle of the cards. The conditions for political reform, then, require some critical mass of the unsatisfied. Lacking this, there is no logic strong enough to bring about the transformation, that is what the gap between Utopia and Cleveland is all about.

Lowdon Wingo

Structure In Metropolitan Areas

The structure of government in metropolitan areas can be defined as the relationship of all units of government and within all units of government. And here the term "unit of government" is to be broadly interpeted. Structure is normally thought of in hierarchical terms, and this will be the view herein. To summarize the structure of a given area is to show the relationships as they currently exist.

A very simplified example of the existing structure of a metropolitan area might read something like this:

1. Metropolitan Transit District-providing transit service to the entire metropolitan area.
2. Council of Governments (COG)-providing regional planning (with implementation essentially voluntary) and mandated to do A-95 reviews for all federal monies being funneled into metropolitan area.
3. Two counties-providing traditional county services.
4. Three county service districts-providing perhaps street lighting, storm drainage and sewage collection to all or parts of the two counties.
5. Eleven cities-several of which provide a full range of municipal services and several of which provide little or nothing in the way of municipal services.
6. Twenty special districts-providing services ranging from fire protection to vector control.

This hypothetical metropolitan area thus has approximately 48 units of government. They are shown hierarchically, but

it is really a hierarchy of levels of government with the highest level equating roughly to that unit with the widest or potentially widest focus of operation. The level of government hierarchy is frequently not directly related to the actual or potential power and influence of the units. Units of government in the hypothetical model are, as was noted, loosely defined. Normally, a COG for instance would not be defined as a unit of government. In dealing with governmental structure in metropolitan areas, however, it is important to have a generic term which involves all of the actors and thus here the COG is included as a "unit of government." Likewise, county service districts are often not considered as separate units since the Board of Supervisors is in effect usually their controlling body, but again here they will be considered separate units.

Reorganization of Structure In Metropolitan Areas

Reorganization of governmental structure within metropolitan areas can be defined as formal or informal changes in the relationship between the units. Formal changes would take the form of signed agreements, legislative acts and similar instruments. Informal changes might include major attitudinal shifts or evolutionary processes such as the decline in importance of townships.

Reorganization is what is happening now in terms of structural change and what changes are actively being planned or scheduled for the future. Within this document, specific

past reorganization will be treated simply as presently existing structure.

Methodology

The focus in this study will be on specific areas more than on general information and conclusions of fact. There are two major reasons for this. First, there is not enough information available nor is the detail great enough in a study of this limited scope to warrent general conclusions. Second, it is my feeling that the more concrete examples will be more instructive particularly considering that a major portion of this project is to orally communicate this material to the class.

This study will first concentrate on the existing structure within example areas. The study will then address reorganization in general (in terms of major forms). Finally, it will detail one metropolitan area's attempts at restructuring itself as a multiple example of many of the major forms of structure.

GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE

Variety of Structural Differences

There is a wide variety of structural differences within metropolitan areas, but a choice needs to be made as to which to look at. Factors affecting this choice are listed below.

1. Availability of information
2. An interest in exposing the reader to the innovative more than the mundane.
3. Desire for simplicity in terms of numbers and types.
4. Desire not to get bogged down in a discussion of differences which are not really that important (townships as they affect most states, for instance, or the difference between counties and parishes).

GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE IN THE _____ METROPOLITAN AREA

This section will deal with examples of different sorts of metropolitan governance structures. First, Portland, Oregon will be viewed as an area without major recent changes, but with increasing activity in the area of structural reform. Second, a look at Miami, Florida exemplifies an area with more recent major structural reform. A third view reveals Nashville, Tennesse as characteristic of the more recent effects of city-county consolidation. Finally, a look at Toronto, Ontario brings us closer to actual metropolitan government than any U.S. area has thus far come.

Portland

Portland is the major metropolitan center in the state of Oregon. The area is a regional transportation and distribution point and is a major west coast port. The area's economy is highly diversified.

The Portland metropolitan area contains 931,200 people exclusive of the portion of the SMSA in the State of Washington.[1] The city of Portland has approximately 378,000 inhab-

itants.[2]

The governmental structure of the Portland metropolitan area is in many respects traditional. The area covers three counties and contains 32 cities, 145 urban service (water, sewer, fire, etc.) type districts and approximately 125 other special districts(school, diking, drainage, etc.). A multitude of cities, counties and special districts is what I loosely refer to as traditional. The numbers and relationships vary, of course, but the pattern is a familiar one throughout America as is conspicuously noted by Bollens and Schmandt.[3] There are, however, some less traditional aspects of governmental structure which will be covered in greater detail later in this report but which should be listed here as a part of the area's governmental structure. These include: the Columbia Region Association of Governments, the Metropolitan Service District, the Portland Metropolitan Area Local Government Boundary Commission, the Port of Portland, the Comprehensive Health Planning Agency, the Tri-County Metropolitan Transportation District, the State Department of Environmental Quality, and the State Land Conservation and Development Commission.

Multnomah County in which the city of Portland is situated, is a home rule county governed by a five person Commission. The Chairperson of the Commission is also the administrative chief of the county. The other four commissioners are full time legislators with no administrative functions. Washington County to the west of Portland is also a home rule

county governed by five part-time commissioners whose functions are strictly legislative. The Chairmanship here is determined by the five commissioners and does not carry any great amount of additional responsibility or power except for the prestige factor. The commissioners have no formal administrative responsibilities and they pass very little of their real or perceived power on to their Chief Administrative Officer. Clackamas County to the south of Portland is a non-home rule county governed by three full time commissioners. They have no administrative responsibilities and no CAO. Chairmanship rotates frequently and carries little weight.

The City of Portland has a commission form of government with each commissioner heading certain administrative bureaus. The mayor is elected to that position by the voters. The mayor is not a strong mayor in the sense of having veto powers etc., but he does have the power of deciding which commissioners including himself get control of which bureaus. The city has its own charter.

Most of the cities are chartered cities, even many of the smaller, less than full service ones. Council sizes vary, usually between five and nine. City services range from everything to practically nothing and contracting with other governmental entities is popular among the smaller units.

Special districts of all sizes and shapes pervade the area often existing inside as well as outside of incorpor-

ated places. All special districts have elected five member commissions and staffs commensurate with their size and functional responsibilities.

Even if it were not a next to impossible task, I will not attempt to note which kinds of services are offered by which units of government. Let me, instead try to convey in abbreviated prose a sense of municipal service provision in the area. The City of Portland offers the full range of traditional municipal services. Perhaps a dozen of the suburban cities in general are full service municipalities. The counties all offer the traditional county services such as sheriff, courts, assessment and taxation, etc. and additionally are involved strongly in provision of certain municipal services particularly sanitary sewers and street lighting. Municipal services offered by counties are most often handled through the mechanism of the county service district, the board of which is the Board of Commissioners. Special districts in the area are particularly heavily involved in domestic water supply, fire protection, parks and recreation and sanitary sewers. Mass transit is handled by a specially created transit district as are all port facilities. Air and water pollution are preempted by the state as is boundary determination and certain aspects of planning.

Miami

The Miami metropolitan area lies in Southeastern Florida and is a single county (Dade) metropolitan area. The 1970

The cities retain their own fire and police departments (though there is county wide dispatch for police and mutual aid for fire protection). The cities can control the sale of alchoholic beverages within their limits and can adopt codes and ordinances which exceed the county dictated minimum standards of performance in any area of service.

While the urban county structure as a concept has been around for sometime, only the Miami area to date has actually adopted it. Bollens and Schmandt identify five major stumbling blocks to implementation of this form: 1)state enabling legislation or constitutional ammendments are often required to authorize attempts at this form; 2)resistance from county officials fearful of the unknown effects on their current status; 3)determination of election boundary lines within the urban county often gets hopelessly intertwined with area or party control issues; 4)inability to decide which functions and powers should be given to the urban county and which retained at the local level; 5)inadequacies in the financial powers of many county governments.

Once implemented, this structure may still have a tough time proving itself. In Miami three major problems have continued to plague Miami Metro. First, there has continued to be distrust and lack of total acceptance of the plan by the municipalities and individuals who lost power as a result of the restructuring. Second, the county has experienced financial difficulties because of inadequate financing mechanisms. Third, Miami Metro has had problems

producing the kind of dynamic leadership necessary to fully implement such a significant structural change. This last problem is partially related to the internal municipal reticence and partially related to the internal structure which the county adopted in its charter (essentially a manager-council form). Despite these restraints, however, the Miami version of the comprehensive urban county plan seems to be firmly established with its benefits outweighing its disadvantages.

Nashville

Nashville is located in the north central part of Tennessee astride the Cumberland River. This metropolitan area contains 448,444[5] (1970). Nashville is a major commercial and financial center. As the state capitol it is, of course, important governmentally. The city is famous as the heartland of America's country-western music and is also a widely known religious educational and publishing center.

But more importantly for this report, Nashville is a successful consolidated city-county. Currently existing governments include the city-county (referred to as Nashville or Nashville Metro), six very small municipalities (compromising perhaps 5% of the total metropolitan population) and several utility districts (mostly providing water) which are rapidly being acquired by the city-county's division of sanitary service.[6]

The governing body of Nashville consists of a mayor

(full time position) and fory-one council members, thirty-five from single member districts and six elected at large. The mayor appoints most department heads and with council confirmation, almost all members of commissions including the school board. The city-county is divided into two service areas. The general service area, which includes the six small outlying municipalities, receives the following services from Nashville: schools, public health, police, courts, public welfare, public housing, urban renewal, streets and roads, traffic, transit, library, refuse disposal and building and housing codes. Within the urban services area (which pays additionally) additional services include: fire protection, intensified police service, sewage disposal, water supply, street lighting and cleaning, and liquor supervision. The urban service area boundary is expandable on request of the residents.

City-county consolidation appears to be working effectively for Nashville. Several writers[7] have noted that while city-county consolidated government has not yet been a cure all for long standing problems, it has shown some impressive results. Among the positive accomplishments attributed directly to adoption of this structure are: vast improvements in the school system, lessening of racial tensions (through speeded up integration and removal of many social and economic inequalities), ability to acquire park land in advance of development, significant increase in pace of badly needed sewer construction, greater governmental responsiveness and

responsibility, improved bonding abilities, elimination of overlapping services.

Toronto

There are no examples of truely metropolitan government structure in the United States. Both the true single-tier system and the more prevalent two-tier form of metropolitan government structures are found in Canada, however, and it is there one must turn for examples.

(Even though the scope of this report is in general the U.S., I must include a good example of the two-tiered model because it is in the vangard of the reformist movement in American governmental structure today. Additionally, the single-tiered structure which many feel follows logically from the two-tier form, is the ideal, the pie-in-the-sky, which many reformers keep at least in the back of their minds if not on the tip of their tongues).

Toronto is Canada's second largest city and serves as the capitol of Ontario Province. The city of Toronto contains 712,786[8] (1971) people and is a part of the greater Toronto metropolitan area which has a population of 2,628,043[9] (1971). Toronto is a major commercial and financial center.

The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto consists of the City of Toronto and five boroughs. Metro Toronto is governed by a thirty-two member council with a chairman selected by the council either from the outside or from within their ranks. All members except the chairman are

elected officials of the local units. An eleven member executive committee handles much of the council's important work such as "preparing the annual budget, awarding contracts, nominating all heads and chief deputies of departments and proposing policies. A two-thirds vote of the Metropolitan Council is necessary to overrule the executive committee on contract awards and personnel nominations."[10]

Metropolitan Toronto is endowed with a broad range of powers including water supply, sewage disposal, arterial roads, transit, health and welfare, administration of justice, parks, public housing and redevelopment, planning, law enforcement, air pollution control, civil defense, solid waste disposal and licensing. Some of these functions such as water and sewage are shared---Toronto provides regional sewage treatment and the Boroughs handle local collection systems; Toronto handles regional production and distribution of water while the Bouroughs retail it to the individual users. A metropolitan school board also equalizes educational opportunity with local boards setting local policies and having the option of additional local taxes for additional service.

The Boroughs have limited (mostly shared) powers in terms of water supply (local distribution), sewage disposal (local collection), finance (local levy for limited local services), streets (local construction and maintenence), planning (local and advisory to Metro) and fire protection.

There is little doubt as to the effectiveness of this

form of government. Its widespread and rapidly growing use throughout Canada as well as the Toronto experience attest to this fact. However, as the Toronto example demonstrates, this form of governmental structure cannot be left alone after it is instituted. Major changes in 1957 and 1967 produced the government we see today in Toronto. And changes will likely be needed in the future. The City of Toronto's position within the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto has always been a special one. It is still the largest member of the Metro but this position is declining. The city is faced with some major capitol outlays vital to its retaining its livability. And the Metropolitan Council has thus far not shown any great inclination towards spending a disproportionate share of its capitol wealth on the city. Thus as Metro Toronto enters its twenty-third year, the City of Toronto is looking towards additional policy shifts if not major changes, particularly transformation to a single-tier system, in the area's governmental structure.

Reorganization

It is virtually impossible to talk about governmental structure without talking about government reorganization. Reorganization describes the process by which structure is attained. Reorganization accounts for the methods of restructuring. The various approaches to reorganization are the constructs for change.

There are, of course, innumerable constructs for change

in structure, but a number of general reorganizational approaches can be identified. A list of approaches to governmental reorganization might read something like this:

1. Creation of study commissions.
2. Elimination of units of government.
3. Voluntary associations.
4. Functional consolidations.
5. Intergovernmental agreements and contracts.
6. Preemption by state or federal governments.
7. City-county consolidation.
8. Metropolitan governments.
9. Decentralization-the community group, citizen action approach.
10. Two-tier approach.

This section will consist of a brief examination of each of the above reorganizational approaches. The examination will be against the background of a specific governmental setting and the results of each approach will therefore be verified for the most part by actual example.

The setting of this exercise will be Portland, Oregon. Beyond the obvious reason for this choice which is my personal familiarity with the area, it is important to note that nearly every aspect of governmental reorganization has at least been keenly viewed if not actually attempted and accomplished in terms of viable structural change in this metropolitan area. This examination by example commences below.

Creation of Study Commissions-This commonly precedes many kinds of restructuring attempts. Some commissions are created

to look for problems, some to search for solutions to problems and some for both purposes. Other commissions are charged with drawing up specific structural changes such as a proposed city-county charter. In general, study commissions are non-permanent and usually an attempt is made to represent a community cross-section on any such panel.

In the Portland case, a study commission was formed which perhaps had much more far reaching affects than many do.

On the recommendation of a State Legislative Interim Committee on Local Government, the 1963 Legislature created the Portland Metropolitan Study Commission. The purpose of this body was "to determine the boundaries within which it is desirable that one or more metropolitan services be provided and to prepare a comprehensive plan for the furnishing of such metropolitan services as it deems desirable in the metropolitan area and to suggest solutions to the problems." The Commission remained in operation from 1963 through June 30, 1971. Many of the past attempts to "reform or modernize local government" were proposed by this group. A partial listing of the Study Commission's accomplishments excerpted from its 1971 Report to the Legislature covers much local government reform activity in the Portland area.

Accomplishments

1. Legislation enabling the creation of a metropolitan service district and actual creation of the district.
2. Establishment of Boundary Commission in the state's

three standard metropolitan statistical areas.

3. Organization of the Columbia Region Association of Governments in the Portland area.
4. Initiati n by contract of the regional air quality control program which evolved into the Columbia-Willamette Air Pollution Authority (later preempted by the state).
5. Fire district consolidations in East Multnomah County.
6. Consolidation of the health department of Multnomah County with that of the City of Portland.
7. Increased cooperative purchasing by local governments.
8. Initiation of a proposal for creation of an Interim Committee on Local Government which drafted legislation to revise and make more uniform special district laws.
9. Preparation of model charter drafts for: (a) a metropolitan municipality (b) a city-county made up of Portland and Multnomah County (c) a consolidated city in East Wahington County.

Elimination of Units of Government-There has been and continues to be a general trend in this country towards elimination of units of government and cut down on governmental overlap. School district consolidation is an example of elimination of government with which most of us are familiar. In metropolitan areas, there are often many more governments, much more overlapping and greater resistance to reduction. This has in a number of states led to formalizing proceedures for the elimination of units of government.

The effort made in this direction in the Portland area was effected in 1969 with the formation of the Portland Metropolitan Area Local Government Boundary Commission. Created by legislation drafted by the previously mentioned

Portland Metropolitan Study Commission, the Boundary Commission is charged with controlling the growth of cities and special districts and with working towards a reduction in the total number of units of government under its jurisdiction. The agency has been successful in halting the proliferation of units of government and in actually reducing the number of units through annexations, mergers and consolidations. The attached table gives an indication of the Commission's work in this area.

Voluntary Associations-Voluntary associations most commonly take the form of councils of government which are necessitated by many grant review proceedures for federal aid to local governments. One could define councils of governments (COGS) in any number of ways, but Bollens and Schmandt's definition adequately sums them up.

> ...a voluntary association of governments (customarily general local units only) designed to provide an areawide mechanism for key officials to study, discuss and determine how best to deal with common problems.[11]

COGs normally have some power in terms of their review function over the channeling of federal monies into the local areas. This is somewhat dissipated, however, by the fact that they are composed of members who are competing for the funds. While COGs often are empowered to do various kinds of planning, they are seldom blessed with enforcement powers for such plans. This lack of authority is not an absolute rule, however, and Portland's COG is an exception.

In 1958 the Portland Metropolitan Planning Commission was formed. Its purpose was to provide planning data useful to all the jurisdictions within the area. This was strictly a voluntary effort funded primarily by the major city and county in the metropolitan area. The Metropolitan Planning Commission produced a number of useful documents and ultimately was the nucleus around which the Columbia Region Association of Governments was organized. CRAG came into existance in 1966 as a voluntary association dedicated to formulating a regional land use plan and acting as a regional A-95 review agency. It became a mandated membership organization in 1973 as a result of state legislative action and is currently taking a strong role in the region's planning by virtue of authority granted at that session.

Functional Consolidations-This method of restructuring government is not an uncommon one. It accomplishes some reform (thereby appeasing those who demand reform) but it does not create major shifts in structure (which is feared by many who wish to maintain their own power positions as is or who simply see all change as suspect).

In the Portland area functional consolidations have had good success in the past. As mentioned earlier, the the health departments of the City of Portland and Multnomah County were merged in the early 60s. Under Boundary Commission tutelage there have been a number of successful fire district consolidations and water district consolidations and water district consolidations and mergers.

The major drawback of this proceedure as a rationalizer of governmental structure is that it is strictly voluntary. In the Portland area as in many other areas, this resource soon becomes exhausted. No amount of truth and wisdom will prevail in reducing units of government which do not wish to be changed. Thus, governmental structure change using this route can come to a halt long before optimum conditions are met.

Intergovernmental Agreements and Contracts-This reorganizational tool is even milder in form than the previous one. Because no permanent structural changes are fostered by this method, those persons and groups usually most opposed to changes in governmental structure are less likely to appear. This does not mean that significant changes cannot accompany this form, only that they are not generally perceived as such. Intergovernmental agreements might exist on almost any subject and can range from philisolphical statements of agreement with little impact--two cities on opposite sides of the river may agree to consult with each other before promulgation of regulations regarding the river--to binding contracts where one unit agrees to purchase specified services for specified prices over specified time periods.

In the Portland area for instance, the City of Portland and the Unified Sewage Agency in Washington County have an agreement to trade off services when drainages cut across their common boundary. This is a general intergovernmental agreement. In specific cases where this happens and service

by one unit is actually to be provided by the other, an actual contract covering that particular area is drawn up and signed by both units. A more common contractual arrangement in the Portland area is for a Rural Fire Protection District to provide service either to a city or another district by formal contract. Water, and to a limited extent, sewage treatment is also handled in this way in the Portland Metropolitan area. The Lakewood plan was installed sparingly in the past, and no extensive uses have been instituted since formation of the Portland Boundary Commission.

Preemption by State or Federal Governments-An area's governmental structure can be changed by inaction as well as action. If local units fail to respond to service needs or other general problems, pressure can build to the point where a higher level of government which is legally able will step in. This, of course, has been a major philosophical debate since the birth of our country and before. A most recent example has been a continuing battle over whether the federal government should get directly involved in the land use planning business. Many of the battles in this who-shall-do-what-war will certainly be fought in the courts, but on many issues--particularly those between states and cities which are created by grace of the states--the major issues are not judicial but political. Who has the money, initiative, determination, responsibility, etc. to do what?

One result of efforts by the previously mentioned Portland Metropolitan Study Commission was creation of a

multijurisdictional body to deal with air pollution problems in the metropolitan area. This agency was known as the Columbia-Willamette Air Pollution Authority. A fairly successful beginning and continuing operation ultimately foundered in a sea of bickering between the constitutional units on policy and financing. The result was that the State Department of Environmental Quality stepped in and took over the function of air pollution control for the entire metropolitan area.

City-County Consolidation-This has been a pervasive if not highly successful method of governmental restructuring in the United States. Generally speaking, there are only eleven consolidated city-counties in the U.S. today. This excludes: certain Virginia consolidations which are quirks of unique state law and not really designed as city-county consolidations; several consolidations not in metropolitan (SMSA) areas; and four city-counties that were the result of a city-county separation as distinct from city-county consolidation. These are Baltimore, San Francisco, St. Louis and Denver. The eleven can generally be divided into two catagories--old and more recent. The older consolidations (New Orleans, Boston, Philadelphia, New York and Honolulu) occurred before or just after the turn of the century. The more recent ones have occurred since 1949 when Baton-Rouge-East Baton-Rouge Parish consolidation went into effect.

It is not unusual to discover that both successful and unsuccessful attempts at city-county consolidation have been

preceeded by previous formal and/or informal efforts. This was the case with the Portland Metropolitan area. Consolidation of Portland and Multnomah County was considered as a viable alternative several times between the turn of the century and May of 1974 when the voters formally rejected it.

Some specific problems with this type of structure were mentioned earlier. In general the major problem both in attaining and maintaining this structural form is lack of unanimity. With few exceptions, there have been left in existence after consolidations separate cities and districts which often continue to operate if not in contravention, at least without proper cooperative spirit towards the new city-county.

Metropolitan Wide Governments-This approach to governmental structuring can actually be the first step towards either the two-tier or single-tier metropolitan government. In an area with only one county it could be the major stride towards a metropolitan county plan such as Miami. Or it may simply be the logical evolution from the systems of overlapping single purpose districts so prevalent already in many metropolitan areas. Metropolitan governments are single or limited purpose units capable of serving an entire metropolitan area.

Creation of such units can solve certain problems of inefficiency and diseconomy and can provide for long range planning on a functional basis not possible with a multi-

tude of smaller districts. The danger in creating such metropolitan wide limited purpose districts is that in the long run, the same problems once prevalent at the local level (proliferation of governmental units without central purpose) are simply transferred to the metropolitan level

This danger is quickly being approached in the Portland metropolitan area. The Columbia Association of Governments is a statutory, mandated membership, regional planning agency covering the entire three county metropolitan area. A separate state statute also governs the Tri-County Metropolitan Transpotation District. The regional aspects of solid waste disposal, sewage treatment and disposal, control of surface water and running of the zoo are allocated exclusively to the Metropolitan Service District which has existed for several years but has yet to perform in any of the ennumerated areas. Health planning is handled by a Comprehensive Health Planning Agency which covers the entire metropolitan area as well as two adjacent counties. Boundary determinations as mentioned earlier are taken care of by a separate state appointed commission. Another separate special state statute covers the very powerful Port of Portland, a special district controlling all airports and docks within the three county metropolitan area.

Decentralization-The Community Group, Citizen Action Approach- This approach to governmental reorganization is now becoming very popular in many areas. While it can involve formal structural changes, incorporation of community boundaries

into charters or ordinances, in many cases this method has remained informal. Many community or neighborhood groups remain strictly advisory. Their power in terms of accomplishing their goals is as varying as the circumstances in which they operate. Their impact on existing governmental units is, however, more universal. That is, whether they are effective or not, they are a force which must be dealt with and that requirement alone has changed the internal, if not the external structure of many governments in the metropolitan areas.

Major efforts at formalized decentralization have occurred in Portland, Tigard, Clackamas County, Multnomah County and Washington County. Other cities in the area are beginning to follow suit.

In Portland, neighborhood groups are formally recognized by ordinance. A city bureau exists to provide staff help to the neighborhoods and to relay their input to the council on matters of importance to the neighborhoods. The City of Tigard has set up Neighborhood Planning Organizations primarily to form neighborhood plans which become specifics of the Comprehensive General Plan. Washington County has organized Community Planning Organizations for the entire county for planning and other policy input. In Clackamas County various area study groups have been established to provide planning input for refinement of the County's Comprehensive Plan. Multnomah County currently has the county divided into quadrants in order to rationalize its human

services delivery system. That county will soon be organizing citizen input groups for its planning process. Most units of government in the area are making extensive use of citizens advisory committees, particularly in the planning and budgeting areas.

Other areas where citizen groups are being employed include police service and park and recreation programs. Committee structure with a mixture of technical (staff) and lay citizens is prevalent in the local COG (CRAG) and in the cities and counties.

Two-Tier Approach-The final category on my list[12] of reorganizational approaches is the two-tier government structure. A more detailed example of this form of governmental structure was presented earlier. The statement below reflects the current interest in this method of government.

> The rationale behind the concept of two-tier government is that, while there is an urgent need to modernize and improve the American system of local government, proposals to consolidate local units into larger and larger jurisdictions and efforts to centralize functions at higher levels of government are not the most optimal solutions in all cases. Such consolidation efforts often fail to respond to the desire of citizens for a local community. Centralization, alone, can result in inefficiencies and diseconomies. While some responsibilities, such as air pollution and mass transportation, can be handled effectively only on an areawide basis, others must be kept close to the people. The need, then, is to balance centralization with decentralization.[13]

The above quote comes from the National Academy of Public Administration (NAPA). The Academy has funded two locally conducted projects with an emphasis on study and imple-

mentation. Two more awards were recently made by NAPA and projects will soon be starting in Denver, Colorado and Portland, Oregon (see Appendix 1).

CONCLUSION

At the beginning of this study I noted that the term "unit of government" should be loosely construed throughout the work. Lest the reader has missed my intention, I would add here that "structure" also has been liberally construed.

I have indicated herein that there is a wide variety of governmental form in our metropolitan areas. The examples amply demonstrate this, I believe, though certainly they cannot be all-encompassing.

A major section of this paper is concerned with reorganization because that issue is inseparable from governmental structure. The case study of Portland vis-a-vis governmental reorganization was intended to better exemplify the concepts of structure being noted in the same way the other cities were used to demonstrate the several major structural forms.

This article is not comprehensive, nor is it completely unrepresentative of the subject. It exemplifies the area of governmental structure and that is its purpose.

NOTES

[1] This is a 1974 updated figure supplied by the Oregon Bureau for Census and Research. It is arrived at both as a result of actual updated local censuses and interpolation.

[2] Ibid.

[3] John C. Bollens and Henry J. Schmandt, The Metropolis (New York, 1975).

[4] Encyclopaedia Brittanica, 15th Ed., Vol. 6, Chicago, et.al. Helen Hemingway Benton, Chicago, (1974), p. 854.

[5] Ibid., Vol. 7, p. 202.

[6] "Nashville Story," National Civic Review (May, 1969) 197-200, 210.

[7] Most notably Bollens & Schmandt and the author "Nashville Story" noted above.

[8] Encyclopaedia Brittanica, 15th Ed., Vol. 10, Chicago et.al. Helen Hemingway Benton (1974), p. 53.

[9] Ibid.

[10] John C. Bollens and Henry J. Schmandt, The Metropolis (New York, 1975) p. 286.

[11] Ibid., p. 304.

[12] This list is intended to be representative, not exhaustive. Other writers have included more categories and/or have divided the approaches differently. The list represents my personal view as a practitioner in the field as opposed to a comprehensive recapitulation of the voluminous writing on the subject.

[13] Prospectus for "Requests for Proposals to Participate in National Study of Two-Tiered Government," National Academy of Public Administration, Washington, D.C. May 15, 1975.

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TABLE I

UNITS OF GOVERNMENT UNDER JURISDICTION OF THE

PORTLAND METROPOLITAN AREA BOUNDARY COMMISSION *

As of July 1, 1969; July 1971, July 1, 1973; and December 31, 1974

Type of Unit	Columbia Co. '69	'71	'73	Dec. '74	Clackamas Co. '69	'71	'73	Dec. '74	Multnomah Co. '69	'71	'73	Dec. '74	Washington Co. '69	'71	'73	Dec. '74	To '69	'71
Cities	7	7	7	7	12	14[A]	14	14	6	6	6	6	12	12	12	12	37	39
Fire Districts	6	6	6	6	19	19	19	20	11	10[B]	9	9	10	10	8	8	46	45
Lighting Dists.	0	0	0	0	21	20	19	6	62	4	1	0	33	10	0	0	116	34
Park Districts	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	2	4	4
Sanitary Dists.	0	0	0	0	4	4	3	3	0	0	0	0	17	0[C]	0	0	21	4
Water Districts	0	0	0	0	22	22	22	21	20	20	20	17	11	11	7	7	53	53
Vector Control Dist	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Total Independent Units	15	15	15	15	80	81	79	66	99	40	36	32	85	45	29	29	279	181
County Service Districts[D]	0	1	1	1	1	6	7	7	21	22	8	8	4	6	2	3	26	35
TOTAL ALL UNITS	15	16	16	16	81	87	86	73	120	62	44	40	89	51	31	32	305	216

* There are approximately 150 additional local units in the four-county area which are not under the diction of the Boundary Commission. One hundred eighteen of these units are school districts.

[A] The cities of Johnson City & Rivergrove were incorporated under proceedings prior to boundary commi law.

[B] Parkrose RFPD consolidated with Multnomah RFPD #10 under proceedings initiated by the Portland Met tan Study Commission. Boundary Commission gave informal approval.

[C] Sanitary districts dissolved as a result of formation of Unified Sewerage Agency of Washington Cour The proceedings for this county service district were initiated prior to boundary commission law.

[D] Because County Service Districts have the Bd. of County Commissioners as governing body and utilize central administrative services of the county, they are not considered as independent government units by the Boundary Commission.

Metropolitan Areas . . . . . Joseph F. Zimmerman, Editor

Rochester Panel Studies Structure

Three-Phase Project Will Redesign System

A 30-member study group in Monroe County, New York, has released *Report of the Greater Rochester Intergovernmental Panel*, reviewing the first two phases of a three-phase local governmental reorganization project. The study is financed by the National Academy of Public Administration (1225 Connecticut Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20036) under contract with the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development (see the REVIEW, July 1973, page 376), and is a companion study to one completed in the Tampa Bay metropolitan area.

The two metropolitan areas were selected to explore the concept of a two-tier governmental setup as a workable alternative to the existing system. The academy established a national panel to oversee the project and fostered the creation of the Greater Rochester Intergovernmental Panel (GRIP).

The project utilizes a functional rather than a structural approach to total governmental reorganization. Functions were tested against designated values and responsibilities were reordered, and specific recommendations for restructuring local government along the new lines resulted in a practical model for a two-tier, neighborhood-oriented metropolitan government.

To facilitate the translation of the two-tier concept into a workable reorganization scheme, the academy proposed three essential criteria against which any governmental structure might be evaluated: (1) equity in financing and delivering governmental services; (2) economy and efficiency by vesting governmental functions in a unit of appropriate size to provide for economies of scale and specialization of skills and technology; and (3) citizen access and control reflected by city input in the public decision-making process to reduce the sense of alienation from government.

The Rochester area group designed a three-phase study. Phase I was an analysis of the existing system. Phase II redesigned the structures employing the two-tier concept to meet the functional requirements determined by Phase I. Phase III will investigate the practical questions of governmental reorganization and will attempt to engender additional public input into and understanding of the proposals.

GRIP identified 19 functions performed by various local units in the county and placed them in five categories: physical services, human services, public safety, taxation, finance and intergovernmental relations, and education. All the functions were analyzed to determine the providers and beneficiaries, and the method of financing. The next step involved evaluation in terms of the criteria outlined above. Finally, each function was assigned to the appropriate level of government.

The following step was the development of a matrix to clarify the interrelationships between the functions and the tier of government that would be responsible for their execution. Each function was evaluated in terms of four essential activities—planning, funding, delivery and regulation—and categorized according to whether it should be performed by the upper or lower tier or shared.

Following is a summary of the model designed by GRIP. The upper tier's political jurisdiction would be coterminous with the county. The areawide government departments would be grouped into functional categories. The model calls for a 29-member legislature elected from single-member districts for four-year terms. A chief administrative officer would be appointed by the legislature for a coinciding term.

The lower-tier model advocates the maintenance of existing political jurisdictions within the county. These units would execute the functions asigned to the lower tier in Phase I. In Rochester, formal community council districts, based on cohesive units of 20,000 to 40,000 population and represented by neighborhood councils, would be created to exercise direct responsibility for local services not requiring city-wide coordination, planning or management. Within existing towns, villages would be created where population concentrations form natural, cohesive units.

Looking forward to Phase III the report identifies areas that have yet to receive final consideration. One is the development of the mechanism for sharing certain functional responsibilities to achieve decentralized delivery of areawide services. Additionally, consideration will be given to the structural design of the lower tier units, and the taxation and financial analysis will be continued.

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Tampa Panel Urges Coordinating Council

The Suncoast Study Panel, a 25-member citizen group appointed by local elected officials in the Tampa Bay region of Florida, has issued its final report—*Multi-County Needs in Hillsborough, Pasco, and Pinellas Counties*. The study was undertaken as part of the same project outlined for the Rochester area above.

The report finds a lack of, and examines the need for, coordination between multi-county authorities, intra-county authorities and local governments. Single-purpose authorities created to solve regional problems have been a deterrent, particularly to citizen control over regional decision making.

The panel recommends the creation a coordinating body called the Tam Bay council composed of members elect for two-year terms from single-memb districts of 50,000 population. The coun would be supported by a combination state and local funds assessed on a capita basis.

The council, a special district, wo be assigned responsibility for water sources, sewage treatment, solid w disposal and transportation, and dire to adopt regional policies and set m mum service standards. Additional f tions could be assumed by a two-thi vote of the governing body. The coun would not provide "services except und extraordinary local government request Any service provided by the coun would be on a wholesale basis to lo governments.

The council is to prepare a compr hensive regional development guide. Ea general purpose government must sub its comprehensive plan to the council determine whether it is in conflict wi the guide. The council also is to negotia and resolve conflicts. In view of the f the council would be a major plann agency, the panel recommends the tra fer to it of the staff of the Tampa B regional planning council. The prop has encountered opposition from many cal officials.

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Boston Chamber of Commerce Proposes Metropolitan Council

The Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce has introduced in the state Hou of Representatives a bill establishing metropolitan council in an area consisti of 100 cities and towns in eastern Mas chusetts. The 15-member council wou be selected as follows: five would b

Regional Productivity

A Report by the Metropolitan Affairs Nonprofit Corporations*

IN 1973 the National Science Foundation provided a grant to several private urban affairs groups for a background study in the foundation's Experimental R&D Incentives Program. These groups are jointly known as the Metropolitan Affairs Nonprofit Corporations (MANCs). The MANCs include Central Atlanta Progress, the Cleveland Foundation, the Metropolitan Fund, Inc. (Detroit), the Citizens League (Minneapolis/St. Paul), the Regional Plan Association (New York), the Greater Philadelphia Movement, the Allegheny Conference on Community Development (Pittsburgh), the Bay Area Council (San Francisco), the Economic Development Council of Puget Sound and the Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies.

Under the terms of the grant, the MANCs were asked to explore means for improving productivity and technology utilization in the nonfederal public sector. They have intensively considered this question, conducting the work in two phases.

In the first phase, conferences were held in four regions—San Francisco, Minneapolis, Pittsburgh and New York—selected to represent a cross section of the country's large urban areas (in size, growth rate and economic base). The subjects included four key technological concerns—transit, environmental monitoring, service delivery and physical development. The participants included leaders from industry, government, civic organizations, foundations, universities and consulting firms. Through these conferences the MANCs in effect conducted in-depth group interviews with a wide spectrum of technical specialists and urban generalists.

In the second phase the conclusions were tested and refined through additional review conferences in Detroit, Atlanta and Washington.

As a consequence of this study and review process, this report constitutes a comprehensive appraisal by more than 300 highly-experienced practitioners of technology and public affairs in seven representative urban regions across the country. It is the judgment of this well-versed and widely-representative group which provides the report's credibility.

In the following pages, the report findings, basic conclusion and recommendations are summarized. The full report on which this summary is based consists of three volumes as follows:

Volume 1—Books I-II—*Summary and Documentation*: a detailed annotation of the summary text and description of the study methodology;

Volume 2—Books III-VI—*Phase I Conferences*: specific descriptions of the

* A summary of a report by the Metropolitan Affairs Nonprofit Corporations, prepared under Grant No. DI-39565 from the National Science Foundation, August 1, 1975.

regional conferences in Minneapolis (regional social services), San Francisco (regional transit), New York (environmental monitoring) and Pittsburgh (regional growth);

Volume 3—Books VII-IX—*Phase II Conferences*: specific descriptions of the regional conferences in Detroit and Atlanta (regional citizen involvement) and the final review conference in Washington.

Copies of these volumes can be obtained through the Public Sector Office in the Experimental R&D Incentives Program at the National Science Foundation (1800 G Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20550). The detailed conference records are available at the Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies (1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20036).

Findings

A. *Crucial issues of productivity are now arising in the performance of the regional "life support" systems.*

Traditionally, productivity in local government has been approached with what might be termed "the view from the street." The problem typically has been seen as one of finding technological improvements for traffic control, firefighting, street repair, the day-to-day problems encountered by citizens and public administrators. Some significant efficiencies have been achieved with these engineering innovations. The compactor trash truck and radio-dispatched police car are examples.

But regional productivity must now be considered in a broader context, what might be called "the view from the air." From this perspective, what appears is not the historical municipality, the traditional city. Instead, in our increasingly urban society, the "view from the air" reveals a vast and complex "new city," the metropolitan region.

In this broader view, productivity is defined as the region's overall effectiveness in combining human and natural resources and capital to achieve desired levels of service and environmental quality with minimum social and economic cost. The key regional systems in this process include transportation, communications, energy, water supply, waste treatment, major open space, and specialized facilities in commerce, housing, education, culture, health, security and justice—in each case with a private/public intermixture.

This highly interdependent, larger community can be compared to a living organism. It needs energy; it needs a system of circulation; it needs a means of processing wastes; it needs continuous maintenance and renewal; it needs a coherent means of growth and cultural fulfillment.

These "life support" systems largely determine the condition of the urban area. Their operation and interaction greatly influence the amount of travel, the location of homes and jobs, the rate of resource use, the standards of health and education, the amount of waste. And the regional-systems nature of these urban life processes has been steadily increased by the forces of modern technology. The impact can be seen in the vast networks for auto-

mobile movement, rail transit, power and water supply, waste management, communications.

The fundamental issues regarding the productivity of today's great regions thus lie in these basic regional systems, public and private. The overall output in terms of regional services is determined by their performance. The deficiencies in this performance have been felt in many painful ways in recent years. The effects include neglect of existing assets, shortsighted use of resources, rising service costs, declining service quality, bitter conflicts over growth policy.

Thus, although the productivity of the "new city" systems has not been clearly defined and discussed as a public concern, it underlies many of the most pressing issues of our urban society, including the broad concern about the overall quality of life.

B. *Basic improvement in this performance requires a broad regional concept of private/public coordination.*

The operation of the basic regional systems is a challenge of staggering proportions requiring intricate networks of public and private institutions acting directly and indirectly, internally and externally. There is thus a vital need for broad coordination in the design and performance of these systems:

- There should be the element of *planning* to identify the key problems within and between the basic systems (transportation, energy, waste management, etc.,) and weigh the long-range costs and benefits of various options for their development;
- There should be the ability to *achieve consent* to define options and gain public consensus on an agenda for effective use of existing and future assets;
- There should be adequate means to *implement the agenda*, with incentives to obtain results and assurance that these means are sensibly related; and
- There should be the ability to *assess the results* in achieving the selected options.

In short, this large, modern-day complex of public and private interests should have the ability to think and act as a community, coherently raising and resolving the issues of key importance to its well being.

C. *The nation has not faced up to the institutional lag in providing for this coordination.*

As the "new city" has spread inexorably across traditional local boundaries, governments which once covered whole communities have found that they are now only parts of the much larger conurbation.

The typical region is bound together by complex support systems involving huge investments, large-scale organization and sophisticated technology. Yet its public institutions still largely reflect the 18th and 19th century patterns

of municipalities and counties; and many jurisdictional and fiscal ground rules which served well in a less urban era now act as obstacles to effective regional decision making.

This governance gap results from several factors:

- The "new city" has emerged quickly, primarily in the burst of population and economic development after World War II. The growth has outpaced the community's ability to adapt.
- Well-informed private leadership for issue raising and consensus building at the regional scale has been largely absent.
- The great potential leverage of the federal government has not been fully utilized in strengthening public capabilities: 490 metropolitan planning and review bodies have been created across the country to meet federal aid standards, but the federal criteria for region-wide decision making have not been broadly enough construed. The new "regional" agencies are politically based on the existing framework of smaller governmental units within the region and find it difficult to act from a region-wide perspective. Areawide special districts have often been proficient in their specific tasks—execution of single-purpose programs—but the essential role of allocating resources and coordinating actions between these regional programs has been largely missing.
- Under the federal and state constitutions, only the states possess the power to create regional coordinating machinery; and the states are only beginning to recognize their key responsibility in this regard.

Thus both privately and publicly, internally and at the federal and state levels, the concept of broad regional coordination has been largely lacking. The institutional dimensions and demands of the areawide community as a whole have not been adequately recognized.

D. *The nationwide price of continued drift in this situation is tens of billions of dollars each year.*

The "costs of doing nothing" about the basic causes of low regional productivity can be inferred from a quick look at four examples.

1. *"Go It Alone"* Pressures. When one section of a region feels a need for a new or expanded program its natural first inclination is to act on its own. The benefits of simplicity, independence, local recognition and perhaps insulation are often felt to justify the substantial cost penalty resulting from a small procurement; and this feeling is nurtured by the intense competition among suppliers.

As soon as one section proceeds, furthermore, the pressures build up on other sections (again with supplier help) to "keep up with the neighbors"—and the opportunities for more economical joint programs are progressively diminished.

Case after case can be noted around the country of inefficiently small or redundant facilities and noncompatible equipment in the various sections of a region. Examples in specific systems include sewage disposal, solid waste collecting and treatment, police communications, data-processing, hospitals, libraries.

The extra annual costs of these localized solutions, compared with regionally coordinated facilities and equipment, can amount to several hundred million dollars in the typical major region.

2. *"Spread City"* Pressures. A joint study by the Regional Plan Association and Resources for the Future, and a related study by the Real Estate Research Corporation, suggest that per-capita energy consumption in low-density suburbs is roughly double that in high-density cities; and this same comparison probably applies for other major impacts—direct cost, dead time, air pollution. These studies, in other words, confirm the tight interlock between regional land use, transportation, energy consumption, and environmental quality.

The extra cost of "spread city" results in large part from the inefficiencies of low-density transportation. People are virtually dependent on the automobile, with high vehicle/fuel/highway costs and great proneness to congestion; goods suffer a major trucking-time penalty in most construction, heating and supply activities; and utilities require extended collection/distribution networks or small treatment facilities.

A few regions have made heroic efforts to address this problem through the provision of new rail transit systems. The San Francisco Bay and Washington, D. C., areas, for example, have launched comprehensive and costly programs for regional rail service.

Treating one system by itself, however, cannot provide the leverage necessary to deal with the basic difficulty. The original economic planning of these rail systems assumed high-density residential/commercial development around transit stations; but after the funding was approved and construction started, the local communities (for understandable reasons) often resisted the zoning needed for these densities.

The result in each case will be reduced ridership and increased deficits, diminished transit services (and a curtailed system), additional sprawl development, further-reduced ridership. The eventual costs to the region's citizens can therefore be an unexpected major tax burden, inadequate service, and a continued rise in highway congestion and related energy consumption, and air pollution.

The regional rail transit systems proposed for Atlanta and Baltimore could well travel this same track.

The problems with such systems reflect the growing mismatches between the location of major public-access facilities (schools, libraries, stores, offices, theaters, hospitals and other community "magnets") and the residential areas of current demand for these facilities.

In most cases, regions have tried to meet the problem by fitting facilities "systems" to the new low-density residential patterns. This has often resulted in neglect and abandonment of existing plant, and the costly construc-

tion of scattered new capacity at locations mostly hard to reach by low-income users and custodial or specialized labor.

Usually ignored in this paradox has been the alternative of rehabilitating existing facilities and housing (thus stabilizing present neighborhoods) and converting underutilized facilities to special services which, with an adequate transit system, could be easily accessible to the entire region.

The resulting savings in debt service and operating costs, for the facilities themselves and the other regional systems that serve them, could total several hundred million dollars a year in a major urban region. The long-term reduction in overall social and environmental costs could be even more significant.

3. *"Peak Demand"* Pressures. Regional water/sewer, electric/gas, transit and telephone systems are commonly sized to meet the traditional peak-period requirements. This results in average operations at about half of capacity wth heavy expenses for idle plant and operators.

The costs of these vast systems could be reduced by looking at possible changes in the maior utility user systems—industries, offices, stores and housing—aimed basically at load balancing. Peak-hour premium pricing, coupled with user programs for peak-spreading, could again save hundreds of millions of dollars a year in debt service and operating costs (and, therefore, user charges) for the typical major region.

4. *"Property Tax"* Pressures. The earnest competition between the region's local jurisdictions for real estate ratables results in a growing economic and social imbalance.

For example, local governments generally receive less in property taxes from middle- and low-income housing than they must pay for the community services required by these units. But a tax increase—combined with inducements from other sections of the region—causes the abandonment or conversion of stores, offices, plants, luxury housing, etc., that yield taxes greater than their community service demands; and this increase repels the new higher tax yield development which that section of the region might otherwise attract.

The result has been called the "tyranny of the local property tax": those sections of the region which need more and more services get less and less revenue.

The long-term overall costs of such spiraling regression are difficult to estimate; but because this resource misallocation affects most of the basic regional systems, these costs are very substantial—possibly even higher than in the previous three cases. And here, particularly, the greatest costs are in the long-term social consequences—growing inequities and tensions and possibly eventual violence.

These brief examples provide a clear lesson: Some of the biggest problems in regional productivity lie not within but between the major regional systems. Symptoms in one system may actually reflect a basic problem in another system. Some of the greatest opportunities for improved productivity

should, therefore, be sought not in individual systems but in the system interactions for the regional complex as a whole.

Suggesting the overall magnitude of such costs, it should be noted that urban-related federal and state/local expenditures in 1974 totaled $93 billion and $150 billion, respectively, having risen from $7 billion and $20 billion (or 1230% and 650%, respectively) since 1955. Substantial portions of these increases clearly represent the costs of basic problems within and between the major regional systems. The private sector costs are probably of similar magnitude.

Conclusion

The most basic step in improving regional productivity lies in private/public institution-building

In essence, the gap between the reality and the governance of the large urban areas needs to be closed. This will mean strengthening or creating policy institutions that can look at problems from the perspective of the metropolitan region, and which must be the instruments of broad private and public innovation and coordination.

These institutions can be achieved without replacing existing governmental levels and agencies. In fact, they should actually complement these units. The policy instruments should fit into the largely decentralized institutional setting which characterizes most urban regions, just as the strategic policy machinery in a business enterprise frequently comprises only a small portion of the overall organization.

In other words the broader institutions are not needed to do what local governments are doing. They are needed as regional capabilities for the areawide and intersystem coordination which existing governments require but cannot provide adequately.

The private capacity of the institutions must be for raising issues. It must provide the regional community initiative for identifying problems, analyzing possible solutions and establishing an agenda for governmental action. The public capacity must be for resolving issues. It must provide the authority for adoption and coordinated execution of programs in response to policy instructions from the regional community.

Encouragingly, such institutions are beginning to emerge in a few urban regions. In the next two subsections, certain essential roles and features of these institutions are explained.

Raising Issues—The Private Sector

Improved regional productivity requires broad citizen understanding and involvement

If there is to be effective governance at the regional scale, there must first be an informed and coherent community of regional interests. In effect, this "public" must be the creative, innovative, priority-setting force.

The need for this initiative reflects a basic political reality: The formal

machinery of government is essentially a neutral instrument. To operate effectively, it needs the guidance and support of interests organized to represent the full community. Yet in regionalism to date it is this essential energizing ingredient that has been most lacking and most neglected.

This lag in the private sector has resulted in two conditions:

First: Although much governmental machinery has been created for regional planning and review as already noted, it is not generally answerable to the region-wide community and is not well constituted for decision making. Areawide operating agencies, furthermore, may perform their particular tasks efficiently; but they lack coordination with an overall regional plan and are insulated from the public in their actions.

Second: Although a great and potentially constructive public concern has been generated by urban problems, this concern has not yet become focused on the regional systems nature of many of these problems. For example, public pressure frequently has been applied to local governments to resolve "growth" and environmental issues which can only be effectively and equitably addressed from a broader perspective.

And the resulting public frustration has sometimes expressed itself as opposition to all change. Such a posture can produce deadlock on vital community questions such as housing supply and key facilities. And it foments a deeply pessimistic attitude in some quarters about the basic ability of government, industry and technology to meet community needs.

In sum, there is increasing governmental machinery above the local level but no independent regionally-minded "public" to guide it. There is strong public concern about the community's problems but incomplete public understanding of their dimensions and interactions.

These potentially dangerous conditions dramatize the need for a better-informed and better-organized effort by the private community in regional education and self-determination.

To meet this need, the community must be able to perform various roles and functions.

a. *Vital Private-Sector Roles*

1) *Building a regional perspective*

Without being keenly conscious of it, urbanites have become "regional residents." Commuters may unknowingly pass through several municipalities on the way to work. TV weather forecasts cover the whole region. Branch banks and department stores have been established across the metropolis. Sports and cultural events attract areawide audiences.

The task now is to create a feeling of "regional community" to match this trans-metropolitan lifestyle. Basically, it is a sense of identity with the neighboring suburb where one shops, the central city where one works, the fringe area where one camps.

Intangible though such feelings may be, they are highly important. They represent a public understanding that the metropolitan region is in fact a tight web of human interests—a community—and must be viewed as an interdependent whole. Such an understanding can provide the foundation for an active "regional citizenship."

This new regional dimension to public consciousness will not come easily. It will require significant changes in many urban perspectives and attitudes, throug a sustained educational process. The public must be convinced that it has a direc and personal stake in regional productivity, and therefore a personal need for regional identity and concern.

In some areas a substantial degree of regional consciousness already exists. Bu generally lacking in the private sector are the independent mechanisms that ca pool and nurture this consciousness and constructively focus its expression.

2) *Establishing a regional agenda*

The next community role must be to adopt a strategy and an agenda for action The aim should be self-determination, action by the community to guide the forces of basic change, instead of allowing these forces to impact on the region in haphazard and wasteful fashion.

This will typically involve several steps:

- *Examining the condition of the region as a whole—conducting basic research with respect to regionwide characteristics and long-term social/economic/environmental goals and trends.*

  Such research can alert the community to future issues and assist in identifying regional objectives (in higher employment, lower accident rates, bette environment, more efficient resource use, etc.) and standards by which th progress toward these goals can be measured.

  The basic questions here would be: What kind of a new community do we (as regional citizens) want, and what kind do we seem to be getting?

  In short, reexamination from a broad, communitywide perspective will begi to indicate the key problems in and between the regional "life support" systems, the problems which have such great impact on overall regional performance. These regional connections must be well understood in the com munity-at-large in order to provide the essential public for improved governanc

- *Analyzing the basic regional problems and determining the possible solutions.*

  Regionwide systems can then be comprehensively reviewed. Taking transportation as a point of entry, for instance, such an inquiry should consider the full range of subsystem options for meeting travel needs—rail transit, improved bus service, car-pooling, etc.—emphasizing the interdependence among these subsystems and between transportation and the other basic regional systems. It should consider possible constraints: financial feasibility, fuel supplies, land-use impact, etc. It should estimate the long-range, regionwide costs and benefits of various alternatives socially, economically and environmentally.

  Related areas and issues can be addressed in similar fashion. Among other things these regionwide inquiries can reveal major opportunities for fuller use of existing urban resources, e.g., regional rail systems, power stations, hospitals, water-treatment plants, a vital consideration in a period of rising costs and threatened scarcities.

- *Raising these regional problems and possible solutions for community consideration.*

  This will involve extensive education and thorough public debate regarding the merits of proposed solutions and the regional priorities to be assigned to these programs.

  There must be such public involvement. The proposed remedies can be translated into effective regionwide policy only if they have broad public understand-

ing and support. One of the crucial issues to be debated in most regions will be strengthening the formal governmental means for implementing regional policy.

- *Reaching a consensus on a regional agenda for formal governmental action.*

  The regional public will not be a monolith with a single viewpoint. Inevitably, it will be a multilayered mosaic of individual and group interests, many of which are presently in conflict. A regional consensus will thus depend on the ability to reconcile many different values and group interests—to achieve a recognition of areawide benefits.

The above steps should result in agreed-upon goals which represent the community's concept of itself and its future. And this conceptual framework should guide the location of facilities with a regional impact. Without such guidance basic system mismatches and tremendous waste can occur; and searing conflicts with community and environmental values can be created.

3) *Providing a continuing regional constituency.*

A regional agenda cannot be established in a single sweeping decision. Rather it must be created and renewed over time, in a continuous process. In this process the regional community must constantly interact with a regional policy body (as described below) which can review and act on community proposals and provide the broad governmental coordination needed to implement this agenda.

The regional community should serve as the permanent constituency for this body, a source of ideas and support or constructive criticism that is areawide and intersystem in perspective. In its constituency role the regional community should perform at least four essential functions:

- "Spreading the risk"—reducing the specter of failure for governmental decisionmakers by demonstrating a clear regionwide demand and strong endorsement for regional programs;
- Providing continuity—maintaining a consistent advocacy for regional programs over extended periods, regardless of the electoral cycles in the region's various governmental components;
- Reducing conflicts—resolving many community value disputes in advance of formal governmental action, by debating and answering the basic questions of who uses, who benefits, who gets hurt, and who pays; and
- Improving operations—conceiving, considering and endorsing new management approaches without the need to defend established bureaucracies or procedures.

In sum, the urban region in a democratic society needs more than just governmental instruments. Most basically, it needs a creative policy source, the independent, regional public which can provide an areawide perspective, a broad community agenda, and continuing support for regional governmental bodies. These are essential ingredients in any real improvement of regional productivity.

But in general the private community is presently not able to perform in these roles. There is a wide divergence between public concern and public understanding; there are inadequate means for identifying and analyzing the basic areawide issues and possible options; and there is generally no regional

constituency to guide the governmental machinery set up to act on these issues.

And because these private-sector creative and supportive roles are so fundamental in regional decision-making, they should have first priority.

b. *Specific Private-Sector Functions*

1) *Leadership training*

To begin the process of building a coherent regional public there must be a core group of citizens willing to devote its time, thought and energy. Numbers will not be of prime importance in this volunteer leadership group. Instead, the key asset will be a special kind of knowledge acquired through joint study and practical experience.

Specifically, the citizen cadre should become deeply informed about regional problems and possible solutions. And it should be well-acquainted with the region's political ecology, its formal and informal decision-making framework. With these tools, the cadre can move throughout the community structure.

The cadre should be open to all—housewives, minorities, businessmen, labor. Like the region as a whole, it should be a community of diverse backgrounds. Its unifying characteristics should be an independence (its "special interest" would be the region as a whole), a regionwide perspective, an intersystem approach, a long-range outlook, and a willingness to work.

Thus constituted, this cadre can serve as the catalyst for an active and informed regional citizenship.

2) *Independent research and proposals*

Planning in the government agencies is highly important. But as discussed, the critical impetus for new policies and programs is most likely to come from the outside.

A broad capability is thus needed in the private sector for trend analysis, problem identification and option evaluation. With this support, regional citizens can address the critical areawide issues and make policy proposals to the civic leadership, local governments and state legislatures.

This will involve two distinct types of effort:

- Basic regional research—broad analysis, by professional staff or consultants, of the regionwide social/economic/environmental conditions from which community issues emerge, and depiction of how these conditions are changing over time; and
- Problem-oriented inquiry—intensive studies, by broadly-qualified citizen committees, of the most important of these regional issues.

3) *Community education*

Continuing education is necessary to achieve a regional identity and to develop understanding of regional issues and support for a regional agenda. Nothing is "known" until it is widely circulated to those actually or potentially affected by it. An issue becomes politically effective only when it is made visible out of a broad process of discussion.

A citizen cadre will be important in this educational process, in effect "wholesaling" information and ideas to other organizations and to regional decision makers and opinion shapers.

Regionwide communications media will be important as well, especially in the "retailing" of information to the full spectrum of the regional community. Unlike the villages of an earlier era, the "new city" is too large to address simply on a face-to-face basis.

In this retailing function the print and broadcast media will be essential in two ways: through in-depth reporting of regional issues, and by providing a forum for discussion.

And with modern communications technology, it is possible to create an electronic "town meeting" on a metropolitan scale. Experiments with such televised and computerized forums for regionwide debates on regional issues have been conducted at several points around the country (see the REVIEW, January 1975, pages 6 and 9).

4) *Feedback and analysis*

After consideration of issues, the regional community must have a means of expressing its opinion, with assurance that this opinion will be registered in the making of basic policies. In some instances, this will mean voting, such as on a rail-transit bond issue. But the complex decision-making process in the typical multilayered regional community should also involve less formal means of obtaining and evaluating metropolitan views.

For instance, the public response to a television debate on energy options for the region would be an important guide to public agencies and power companies. And community-group reactions to a regional health-facility proposal could be instrumental in its adoption or rejection.

One means for registering such views is the public marking and mailing of ballots after a television program on the issue. Balloting of viewers before they have had ample time to discuss and reflect on their feelings, however, can produce a superficial and perhaps deceptive reading of community attitudes. In the regionwide consideration of issues, therefore, provision should be made for full public understanding and thoughtful reflection at the "voting end." There should also be professional means at the "receiving end" for objectively analyzing these views and informing decision makers of their implications.

5) *Independent fund-raising*

All of the above private-sector capabilities depend on independence for success. The citizen cadre will be heeded because it is disinterested or multi-interested and provides a fresh perspective. Community research and proposals will be credible only to the extent that they are not dominated by special interests in the private sector or agency programs in the public sector.

In order to build and sustain these non-governmental abilities, there must therefore be continuous and broad-based financial support. Potential financial sources can include regional citizens, business and labor organizations and, most important, philanthropies. Federal and state contracts can be a further useful source—but only if drawn carefully to maintain the contractor's objectivity.

c. *The Basic Ingredient—A Regional Citizens Organization*

These private-sector capabilities will and should take many different forms and combinations. They will involve community-oriented philanthropies, in-depth and regionwide media resources, and independent regional research. They will require an increasing regional concern among existing groups throughout the area—business,

labor, special-issue organizations, etc.; and they will include citizen advisory groups for regional agencies.

The institutional design will vary from region to region depending on community structure and the history of civic endeavors. But the basic features of independence, areawide and intersystem concern, and long-range emphasis will be present in nearly every case.

In most metropolitan areas, therefore, this design should include an independent organization specifically intended to involve and speak for a regional constituency.

Such a group can be generically called a regional citizens organization (RCO).

As the name implies the RCO can be made up of regionally-minded citizens and can serve as a formal mechanism for strengthening the regionwide community. To this end, it can provide or secure a wide range of the above capabilities. For instance, it can train and equip the cadre of regional citizens, the volunteer group serving as the nucleus of a metropolitan citizenship.

And with the active participation of these citizens, it can play a critical role in the agenda-setting process—in issue identification, problem analysis, proposal development, community education and the review and interpretation of the community response.

Finally, it can speak for the community in the continuing process of interacting with governmental machinery to adopt and implement a regional agenda.

Despite the importance of these functions, the RCO would not need to be a massive organization with a large budget. It could perform its tasks with the citizen leaders and three additional ingredients:

—A professional staff able to conduct independent research, assist citizen committees in the analysis of complex intersystem problems, and clearly communicate study results;

—A strong commitment by civic, commercial and professional organizations to make key officials available for citizen-committee service; and

—The broad and continuing financial support described earlier as a basic need in the private sector (since membership will probably never be large enough to support the RCO solely through dues).

The RCO essential characteristics:

- *A generalist approach.* Though it may focus on a single issue at times, the RCO should be basically concerned with the whole range of issues involved in the regional systems—and particularly with the relationships between these issues (e.g., between transportation, land use, energy needs and environmental quality).
- *A regional perspective.* The RCO must represent the areawide point of view that is such a basic ingredient in the governance of today's urban regions.
- *A concern with "process."* The RCO should emphasize those problems in the governmental "ground rules," e.g., tax policies, communication channels, mission-oriented programs—which may be serving as serious disincentives to effective regionwide action.
- *A long-term view.* While it may address short-range actions (e.g., a decision on power plant siting), the RCO will be concerned mainly with long-range implications (e.g., the region's overall efficiency in energy use).
- *Independence.* The RCO credibility in region-wide issue analysis and policy

endorsement requires that it not be controlled by any governmental or private organization.

The RCO operating styles:

- *In-depth analysis.* The effectiveness of the RCO will depend on a careful identification of regional problems and alternative solutions—using both independent basic research and concentrated citizen-committee inquiry.
- *Broad contacts.* The RCO's catalytic role will depend on close relationships with government officials, community leaders, other public-interest groups, and finally the media.
- *Information marketing.* The RCO should make its studies available as concise reports with realistic policy proposals submitted, through the above outlets, to the regional community as a whole.

It is not necessary to "start from scratch" in providing these community capabilities. They are already being developed at various points around the country, demonstrating both the importance and the feasibility of such mechanisms.

As examples:

- Citizen training is performed in Leadership Atlanta, a program providing intensive exposure to a wide range of regional issues as seen by decision makers in the public and private sectors—based in large part on an earlier experiment in Philadelphia.
- Regional issue analysis and policy recommendations are provided by the Citizens League for the Minneapolis/St. Paul area. Initially formed to deal with city hall problems, the League has expanded its scope to the full region and now has more than 3,500 individual and 500 organization members. Its reports helped the community to understand the need for a regional policy body—the Metropolitan Council.
- Public education and opinion analysis were provided in CHOICES for '76 by the Regional Plan Association in New York. RPA identified five critical regionwide issues—housing, transportation, cities/suburbs, poverty, environment—and presented the pros and cons of possible solutions to the public by television, newspapers, a paperback book and small discussion groups throughout the area. Widespread balloting and polling determined the public responses and degree of participation.
- Other independent citizen-based efforts with a regional perspective include Regional Citizens in Detroit; Goals for Dallas; the Regional Forum in St. Louis; Dimensions for Charlotte-Mecklenberg; the Chicago Council on Population and the Environment; and the Community Planning Council in Jacksonville. Twenty communities are now being selected from among 200 nationwide applicants for participation in a Citizen Involvement Network supported by the JDR 3rd Fund, the Kettering and Lilly Foundations, the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration and the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Resolving Issues—The Public Sector

Improved regional productivity also requires a broad coordinating body which can reconcile region-wide programs

To play its issue-raising, priority-setting role the regional community must be able to establish an agenda. But community self-governance requires a further feature: the ability to insure that this agenda is sensibly implemented.

Many potential parts of such agendas are presently being acted on; but under the current governmental arrangements, these actions are normally

fragmentary and often contradictory. They are not fitted together in a coherent overall program.

As noted above, most governmental machinery at the regional scale is either locally oriented in its perspective or functionally insulated in its performance. Despite increased planning efforts, therefore, most regions still suffer from "balkanized" decision making and "mission oriented" programs.

What the typical region presently lacks is the equivalent of a general contractor. In the complex task of improving regional productivity, there should be a governmental institution which can consider the full range of regional services and speak for a fully regional constituency in coordinating them.

What is needed in this situation is a *regional policy body*, broadly representative and politically responsive to the region as a whole, able to adopt an overall agenda and coordinate the performance of the major regional systems. The policy body, in other words, should insure that the regional issues raised through community study and consensus are effectively resolved through formal governmental programs.

This vital role suggests the essential features of such an institution: its geographical jurisdiction should coincide with the full region; its responsibilities should emphasize the relationships between regionwide systems; and its members should be regionally responsive.

The policy body is envisioned as an instrument not to "administer" regional systems but to coordinate them; and thus areawide operating agencies will continue to be necessary. By improving the provision of basic regional services for hard-pressed local governments, furthermore, this body can actually assist the performance of the essential subregional functions.

Creation and strengthening of such a body, therefore, can well mean the reinforcement of existing special districts and units of city and county government rather than their elimination or erosion.

The underlying principle of an "umbrella" institution is not new. The need for politically-responsive coordination of complex community functions has been recognized for centuries throughout the world. What is being suggested here is the natural extension of this vital principle to the emerging "new city." Establishment of this regional policy body, furthermore, can be approached incrementally by gradually increasing or combining the capacities of present institutions.

Most urban areas may decide, for instance, to strengthen existing regional planning commissions or councils of governments. In such action the key questions would involve the scope of the agencies, the power of review and initiation which they should have, and the means by which council or board members should be selected. Careful consideration has been given to these questions by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.

The final form of the policy body, and the time required to achieve it, will vary from region to region depending on the area's traditions, its size and

density, and its perception of the need. But if the "new city" and its interwoven systems are to perform productively, these bodies must ultimately be able to provide effective and responsive regional coordination.

A few examples of such institutions or intentions are already in evidence around the country:

- In the Atlanta area, a regional planning and development body has emerged through an evolutionary process. An area planning agency was created in 1947 and later broadened in purview. Meanwhile, separate boards were being created for regional transportation and health studies. All of these functions were brought together in 1971 to form a new body with decision making powers, the Atlanta regional commission. A large portion of the board members represent larger-than-local districts within the region.
- In Minneapolis/St. Paul, the metropolitan council was established in 1967 as an "umbrella" body. Its responsibilities include preparation of a regional development guide, oversight of special-purpose districts, and review of federal-aid proposals and local plans. In its relation to regional special-purpose programs, the council provides coordination and broad policy guidance but avoids being drawn into day-to-day operations. Council members are appointed by the governor from legislative districts within the region; and a bill now before the state legislature provides for regionally-elected membership.
- Bills to achieve somewhat similar bodies through expansion and strengthening of the councils of governments have been introduced in the California legislature for the San Francisco Bay Area and in the Michigan legislature for the Detroit region. A bill for this same purpose in Denver was adopted by the legislature and signed by the governor two years ago but was narrowly defeated in a referendum.

Recommendations

A. *Recognize regional institution-building as a basic objective of private philanthropy and the federal and state governments, in the national interest.*

The urban regions now contain the bulk of the nation's population and economic wealth. They provide most of the jobs, generate most of the tax revenues, and serve as centers for specialized education, health care, commercial and cultural activities. And the federal government is assuming larger and larger responsibilities in financing the development and operation of the basic regional systems.

In sum the nation as a whole has a tremendous stake in improving regional productivity and in the necessary institution-building. As has been shown, the actual success of this process depends on the regions themselves and on the states. But the process can be strongly assisted by two key measures of nationwide scope:

For the broadening of regional citizen activity, provide sustained philanthropic support

As this report emphasizes, the issue-raising effort needed to improve regional productivity will depend on active regional citizenship. As years of frustrated efforts confirm, however, this regional community awareness cannot be achieved by federal mandate. It must be initiated, supported and maintained in the private sector, by indigenous regional institutions.

But to be effective and maintain their essential independence and credibility, these instruments will need continuing private financial support. The privately endowed foundations hold the key to this increased capability. Experience indicates that foundation funds are crucial to the independent studies and the continuing education and monitoring functions described above.

Foundations must thus play a vital role in the private-sector approach to productivity and the quality of life in urban regions. Careful consideration should be given to the urgent need for increased assistance for regional research and education, and to tax law and regulation changes for this purpose.

In this regard, several major regions have demonstrated the effectiveness of the "community foundation" and of associations of trusts and foundations, pooling philanthropic resources to coordinate and set priorities for the private support of regional projects. Such pooling can greatly increase the total impact of local foundation activity; and it is strongly recommended for all major regions. This step, along with additional national foundation support, can give much-needed encouragement to regional citizens organizations. And while foundation support will be valuable for specific projects of limited duration, it also will be essential on a continuing basis to keep the regional community informed of current and emerging problems and possible remedies.

Other financial sources—business and labor organizations, individuals and (for special studies) government agencies—will be important in supplementing foundation support, as mentioned earlier. But the philanthropic source is clearly the most critical.

For the strengthening of regional coordinating bodies, provide federal incentives for state action

The achievement of the policy bodies necessary to resolve regional issues depends on state authority. It is the states that possess the constitutional authority over local government organization and finance.

The federal government is constitutionally unable to create the required public-sector institutions. And the city and county governments are politically disinclined to do so. But the needed public-sector action can occur if the federal government will move toward the authority that is in the state legislatures, with inducements for the necessary regional bodies to be created or strengthened by state law.

In this strategy the federal government should become essentially performance oriented. It should make clear the results that are expected and

use the leverage of its financial aids to induce the states, using the power they possess, to legislate the improved means of regional coordination which will achieve this performance.

The federal level should thus simply urge that there be a state-established, regionally-representative policy body with sufficient scope and stature to resolve regionwide geographical and functional conflicts.

The most effective incentive for this purpose will be a bonus arrangement, with federal revenue-sharing and categorical-grant payments made significantly higher for those regions which have such bodies than for those which do not. And when achieved, the policy body should be the channel for all federal funding in the region.

And the federal incentives should be addressed to the region through the state legislature, leaving it to the legislature (with advice from the regional community) to decide on the precise form of the body.

This will be simpler for the federal government than detailed structural prescriptions. It will allow for variations to reflect the differences among states in law and in political tradition. And it will permit the change to occur at locations where the local governments and private institutions most affected can be best involved and represented.

While this federal role is indirect, it can be a critical factor. By applying strong leverage at the state level, where the authority for local government exists, this role can greatly accelerate the vital process of achieving regional "home rule."

As these regional institutions are established or strengthened—the citizens organizations with the help of philanthropic support, and the governmental policy bodies through federal incentives and state law—the new effort to improve regionwide productivity will gather momentum. These institutions can begin to look at problems from the perspective of the region as a whole, establish and implement an agenda and, when necessary, return to their state legislature with proposals for specific further changes.

This study does not address in detail the question of how each particular service system can best be internally restructured, precisely how, for example, health or transportation or education or housing can be made more productive in themselves.

In the overall approach to regional productivity, the initial attention should be given to questions of interaction between the systems.

The internal system questions must eventually be addressed. And they will be—by the states and by the regional institutions that are created. In this process, many of the same basic strategies will prove useful. And the above regional arrangements will provide a clear framework within which the individual systems can be internally improved in ways that complement the related systems rather than creating new conflicts.

Thus the first and most fundamental task is to achieve the basic institutions—private and public—that can begin to look at problems from the perspective of the urban region as a whole. This will begin the long, difficult

job of improving performance among the major regional systems—and thus regional productivity as a whole.

B. *Dramatize the importance of these actions and enlist the key participants through a major national conference on regional productivity in the Spring of 1977—to develop a 10-year agenda of specific measures which can be implemented in time for the American Constitutional Bicentennial.*

The regional improvements recommended above require interlocking actions by a wide range of interests—public and private, national and local, and everything in between.

Success in these myriad actions requires a broad sense of urgency (understanding the costs of doing nothing) and of participation (seeing how all these actions fit together, and sharing in the shaping of this program). Normally, a national effort of this magnitude would take several decades and might well founder along the way.

At this historic moment, however, the improvement of regional productivity can be related directly to the Bicentennial. The challenge is similar to that faced 200 years ago, but now in an urban setting.

In this spirit the nation should lay out a 10-year agenda of specific actions which can accomplish the above recommendations, and others to the same end, by the time of the American Constitutional Bicentennial in 1987.

The development of this agenda is a critical step. It requires very careful thought and discussion—involving all of the major parties to the intended 10-year commitment. It can best be accomplished through a major convocation. This crucial decade-launching event could perhaps be a White House Conference. Or it could be jointly sponsored by the Administration and Congress and closely-involved state, regional, civic, industry, labor and media associations.

Washington would be a most appropriate site. Workshops and speakers in a three- to five-day program could include the newly-elected President and Vice President, key members of Congress, governors, state legislators and spokesmen for the social, economic and environmental organizations most closely concerned with regional affairs.

Possible points for conference debate could include:

- Recognizing improved regional productivity as a major objective of national and local foundations;
- Encouraging broad formation of community foundations for this same purpose;
- Amending the Tax Reform Act of 1969 and Internal Revenue Service Regulations to encourage foundation support for regional citizens organizations;
- Creating a National Endowment for Civic Affairs (on the pattern now in use for the Arts and Humanities) for this same purpose;
- Paralleling privately-initiated citizen involvement with expanded citizen-participation programs in regional governmental agencies;

- Modernizing the tax structure in typical regions;
- Improving the coordination among federal programs with regional impacts;
- Amending federal and state revenue-sharing and grant legislation to encourage the creation or strengthening of regional policy bodies; and
- Amending the federal and state constitutions to simplify the interstate compact procedure for this same purpose.

Those points that are approved can be incorporated in the formal 10-year agenda, specifying in each case how they should be implemented. And this agenda can be the overall action program to "put the regional house in order" for the American Constitutional Bicentennial.

Epilogue

Clearly, the broad turn in national policy envisioned in this report is a major undertaking.

It is time, however, to begin, time to move, fundamentally, from the old municipal to the new metropolitan definition of the "city," time to emphasize the crucial role of private philanthropies in achieving broad regional citizens organizations, time to look to the states, with federal incentives, to provide responsive policy bodies which can coordinate the basic regional systems.

This is the most essential and effective strategy if the nation is to improve, in the broadest sense, the productivity of its major urban regions. It is also a strategy that will find support among citizens concerned about the future of our system of government which has traditionally involved a dispersed system of power. With this strategy, the "new city" citizens can make informed, enforceable choices on the futures of their communities and the means by which these futures are attained.

The metropolitan regions are great centers of economic and intellectual resources. At present, they are disorganized, so these resources cannot be easily mobilized for the solution of regional problems.

The nation cannot afford this great institutional lag. With the emerging era of scarcity and higher costs, there must be the means to make more productive use of the world's limited resources—materials, energy, capital, labor.

With interlocking private and public measures addressed specifically to the urban region, a vital portion of these means can be provided.

This broad concept of regional productivity can serve the nation and its people well as our federal system moves into its third century.

The society should now renew, in today's urban setting, the basic discussion about its overall system of governance—private and public, national, state and local. And it should recognize the reality of the modern metropolitan regions. As Thomas Jefferson said:

> I am not an advocate for frequent changes in laws and constitutions, but laws and institutions must be hand in hand with the progress of the human mind. As that becomes more developed, more enlightened, as new discoveries are made, new truths discovered and manners and opinions change, with the change in circumstances, institutions must advance also to keep pace with the times.

C-120

County Government . . . . *Thomas D. Wilson, Editor*

Major Changes Sought in L. A.

County Study Commission Wants Structural Reform

MAJOR organizational changes in the Los Angeles County charter have been recommended by the Public Commission on County Government, appointed last year by the county bar association. The 12-member group was established through a grant of $178,000 from the John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation. In an 84-page report the commission proposed that the executive and legislative powers, now combined in the five-member elected board of supervisors, be divided between an independently-elected county executive and an enlarged legislative body.

The county executive would be selected in a nonpartisan election for a four-year term, with powers similar to those held by most big-city mayors: responsibility for the budget, personnel and collective bargaining, as well as the administration of all departments; veto power; and the authority to appoint a deputy executive and all department heads with the exception of independently-elected officials, members of various commissions and similar bodies.

A nine-member legislature would be elected from newly-drawn districts of equal population. Besides the usual functions, the legislature would be given the authority to hear appeals on zoning, licensing and tax-assessment matters, and the power to confirm appointments of the chief executive. It would also share in collective bargaining procedures.

The commission proposed that the office of the existing chief administrative officer, appointed by the board of supervisors, be abolished and the duties assumed by the executive.

The commission found that the present county structure, consisting of 57 operating departments, commissions and special districts, placed too much responsibility in the hands of the five supervisors. Adding to the supervisors' burden were the steady increases in the operating budgets and staffs.

The result, the commission found, was a system which represented a "disorganized approach to financial management, cost reduction and productivity improvement," with a "limited capacity for self-analysis and correction." Also, no woman or member of a racial minority had ever been elected to the board of supervisors, and there was a minimal amount of citizen involvement in decision making.

Los Angeles County, with a population of more than 7 million and a geographic area of some 4,000 square miles, contains more than 75 cities. It has been operating under its present system of government since 1912, when the charter was adopted. At that time, the county was primarily rural, with a total population of less than a million. Through the years, the county government has been assuming more functions and today has responsibilities over land use, air and water quality, hospital administration, health and welfare programs, a criminal justice system, police and fire services, and road construction. Its annual budget runs around $3 billion and it employs more than 78,000 persons. One of the most well known of Los Angeles County's functions is the Lakewood Plan through which cities contract for services with the county.

Major criticism by the commission centered on the fact that there is no chief executive and that the five supervisors find it difficult to act on policy issues as a cohesive unit. All share responsibility for such important issues as rapid transit, law enforcement and public health, but no machinery exists for assigning issues. The present practice is for the supervisors, on their own initiative, to concentrate on issues of concern to them or their districts. The result, according to the report, is that "increasingly . . . each supervisor's office resembles a separate governmental central command . . . focused on some combination of district-oriented, programmatic, and systematic concerns which reflects the supervisor's personal priorities and interests."

The study was one of several which have been undertaken in recent years. Others were made by the county grand jury, County Economy and Efficiency Commission, League of Women Voters, and various special county charter study groups. In 1970, by a margin of 54 to 46 percent, county voters defeated a proposal to establish the office of an appointed county executive. In 1962 a proposal to expand membership on the board of supervisors was defeated by voters.

The commission needs the support of at least three members of the board of supervisors in order to place its proposals on the ballot. However, the commission could get its recommendations before the voters through petitions.

ROSALINE LEVENSON
California State University, Chico

Schenectady Co. Studies Local Government Services

A cooperative governmental study committee has been organized by the nine general-purpose local governments in Schenectady County, New York, to examine the governmental system and service delivery. Four non-governmental organizations also are involved in the project—Central Labor Council of the AFL-CIO, Schenectady County League of Women Voters, Schenectady County Chamber of Commerce and the Senior Citizens of Schenectady County.

Technical assistance in organization and coordination is being provided by the bureau of management services of the New York State Department of State. A 13-member steering committee, composed of representatives from each participating local government and organization, is providing general direction. Volunteer community task forces will conduct the work which will last for more than a year.

J.F.Z.

Pinellas County Unit Ends 'Double Taxation'

As county governments provide more urban services, the question of equitable taxation between cities and counties becomes more critical. Since city residents pay municipal and county property taxes, they claim there is "double taxation" when residents of unincorporated areas receive county services which substantially duplicate city services.

In the August 1976 issue of *Florida Environmental and Urban Issues*, Alvin Burgess and Roger Carlton write about "Inequity in County Taxation: How Pinellas Solved It." Pinellas County currently has a population of 744,000 and an area of 280 square miles, making it the most densely populated county in the state.

The Florida statutes provide the legal authorization to establish a municipal services taxing unit (MSTU) for any part or all the unincorporated area of a county. No referendum is required for the levy by a county of ad valorem taxes for county purposes and for providing muncipal services within any municipal services taxing unit.

The state constitution, as revised in 1968, provides a mandate to correct taxing inequity. Article VII, Section 1 (h) states, "Property situated within municipalities shall not be subject to taxation for services rendered by the county exclusively for the benefit of the property or residents in the unincorporated areas." The MSTU in Pinellas County survived a court test in which the term "exclusively" was interpreted to mean "direct and substantial." Thus, in establishing an MSTU, the county is not required to show that city residents receive absolutely no benefits, even indirect, from county services provided by the MSTU.

The Pinellas County resolution establishing the unit gives it the authority to provide municipal services in the unincorporated areas of the county. Services include fire protection, law enforcement, beach erosion control, recreation service and facilities, water, streets, sidewalks, street lighting, garbage and trash collection, and other services normally provided by a municipality. It provides that the MSTU will be composed of the entire unincorporated area of the county and that the county commissioners will be the governing body.

To pay for the services the MSTU is authorized to levy a property tax without a referendum. Additionally, it can borrow money, and issue bonds and other obligations of indebtedness. Additional revenue comes from charges for services and through special assessments.

Burgess and Carlton state that it is one thing to determine that some tax inequity exists and to create a municipal services taxing unit to correct the problem. It is quite another matter to determine to what degree inequality exists and to decide on a fair allocation of taxes. This is especially true in those cases where a county department provides services, some of which benefit only a segment of the population or property within the county. The difficult decisions for Pinellas officials were aided in part by judgments of the county administrator and his staff based on detailed surveys.

Two funds, the general fund and the road fund, were involved in the MSTU. These funds included eight expense categories. The general fund included the budget for the sheriff, building inspection, lot clearing, department of environmental management, planning and zoning. The road fund included subdivision street maintenance, road resurfacing and traffic control. In addition, three offsets of costs to the MSTU were involved.

The offsets are designed to cover the cost of services that the county provides directly to the cities, and they have the effect of lessening the tax for the MSTU in the unincorporated areas. For example, a portion of the property appraiser's budget was taken as an offset to the MSTU because the appraiser serves the municipalities in addition to his county function. The feeling was that the municipalities should bear a share of the expenditure for this service. The amount of the offset was determined by the ratio of municipal taxes to all taxes collected in the county.

The authors conclude that the tax inequity problem is not one which can be solved merely by the determination to eliminate it. It may be difficult to determine which county services in fact duplicate municipal services and to what extent the duplication occurs. They assert that the municipal services taxing unit is a logical solution.

New County Series Issued by Census Bureau

The first of the most recent series of *County Business Patterns* reports—for New Mexico—has been published by the United States Bureau of the Census (apply Superintendent of Documents, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 20402, CBP-74-P33, $1.45).

The series, which will include a summary volume for the United States, reflects business activities in 1974 and is the only source of data for economic enterprises for all counties in the years between economic censuses. The reports also reflect the results of an extensive program to enlarge the scope of the data.

A major innovation is the collection and tabulation of data on an establishment, rather than on a reporting unit basis as in the past. This means that each physical location of a multi-establishment firm is counted separately. Not only will this provide a more accurate picture of the economic activity of each county, but it also will make county business patterns largely compatible with data gathered in the bureau's five-year economic censuses.

Two other important changes have been made. The latest reports use 1972 Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) codes, as opposed to previous tabulations which were based on 1967 codes. And the new reports show total first quarter payroll and total annual payroll data in order to present more meaningful information concerning those industries for which first quarter data are not indicative of their annual operations.

Data in the new reports cover most of the economic divisions of the 1972 SIC code, including agricultural services, mining, construction, manufacturing, transportation, public utilities, wholesale trade, retail trade, finance, insurance, real estate and selected services. Separate tables by major industry group provide 1974 data and size details on firms employing more than 1,000 persons.

J.F.Z.

Volume One, Number One

A new bimonthly publication, *The County Administrator*, is being issued by the National Association of County Administrators in cooperation with the National Association of Counties (1735 New York Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20006). The first issue contains an article on "Long-Range Goal Planning" by George A. Grier, county administrator of Carroll County, Maryland. Information is also provided on publications and meetings of interest to administrators.

APPENDIX 1

National Academy of Public Administration

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FOR RELEASE
September 30, 1975

Denver, Colorado, and Portland, Oregon, have won a nation-wide competition to become the test centers for a new strategy of local reorganization known as two-tier government. The National Academy of Public Administration selected the two cities from among 15 metropolitan areas which submitted proposals.

The two-tier concept involves intensive examination of urban services to determine which functions are best administered on a centralized basis and which are best performed by local jurisdictions. Other metropolitan regions around the country are expected to make use of the model by adapting it to their own situations. The Academy program is funded under a contract by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Denver and Portland were chosen by a panel of distinguished public administration scholars and practitioners. In addition to the two winning communities, other finalists considered for the project included Memphis, Shelby County, Tennessee; Trenton, Mercer County, New Jersey; and Seattle, King County, Washington. The Academy panel based its decision on site visits to each community. Criteria for selection included the extent of support of local elected officials and interest of the community leadership, research capacity, serious interest in two-tiered government reorganization, and the practical prospects for

adopting a modernization plan.

Dr. York Willbern, Chairman of the Academy panel, noted that the selection decision was difficult, since each of the finalists was judged to be an outstanding site for the research and demonstration effort. While Memphis, Trenton, and Seattle demonstrated strong support and interest in reorganization, Denver and Portland ranked highest in fulfillment of the selection criteria.

The purpose of the two-tiered government project is to help governments in metropolitan areas deal more effectively with their common and interrelated problems. Denver and Portland will receive up to $100,000 in direct support for local study costs and will be provided technical assistance from the National Academy, a non-profit research and advisory body in Washington, D. C. Local panels of citizens and officials will analyze local government services, finances, and organizations to develop actionable recommendations which can lead to increased citizen involvement and bring the costs and benefits of public services into better balance. It is hoped the study will produce new and innovative ways to deliver and finance public services in urban areas.

According to Roy Crawley, President of the Academy Foundation, local committees will be formed in each area and work programs developed during October and November, 1975. The study process in Denver and Portland will get underway in early December and is expected to be completed no later than May, 1977. Crawley stated that the local analysis must focus on both centralization and decentralization and should be carried out with full involvement of community organizations and citizens.

The two-tiered government approach was developed earlier with HUD assistance in two metropolitan areas, Rochester, Monroe County,

New York, and Tampa, St. Petersburg, Florida. Efforts are underway in those sites to implement the locally developed reorganization proposals. By the time of project completion in 1977, four metropolitan areas will have made practical studies of the two-tier approach and provided models that can be followed in other urban centers across the nation.

Founded by the American Society for Public Administration

DENVER METROPOLITAN STUDY

UPDATE

IT ISN'T EASY. Nearly 1.5 million people living, working, playing, together. We are changing. Our families are changing. And the Metropolitan Region is changing. Almost everything in the Metropolitan Region (Denver, Adams, Arapahoe, and Jefferson counties) has doubled since 1950. Experts say our population will double again in the next 30 years. That means by the year 2000 we will need more streets, houses, trees, schools, churches, offices, parks, and dollars . . . or else lower our standard of living. What can we do to create a responsive, economical governmental structure that will meet all these needs and problems of today and tomorrow?

Should we have some regional government services? We already have a regional transportation district and an urban drainage and flood control program. Should we have smaller governments? Public schools, parks, ball diamonds, golf courses, art museums, police and fire protection are things we need . . . but which many of us like to keep local.

More than 230 governmental jurisdictions serve this Metro Region! Think about your home. It is in a water district, fire district, school district, recreation district, county, city . . . and you list the rest. What do your services cost? Who pays for them? What do the citizens really want from local and regional government? What can be done legally to restructure or change government in the Denver region? These are

just some of the tough questions the community panel for the Denver Metropolitan Study will try to answer. As a growing metropolitan family, we've got to work harder at working together. We need updating. That is what the Denver Metropolitan Study is all about.

WHO NEEDS IT? Metropolitan cooperation, that is. It is kind of scary to some people; they think it means greater centralization and big government. But many of our governmental structures are not big enough to solve regional problems, yet some are too big to allow meaningful participation. Multi-tier government is one way to organize our public services. It sounds complex, but the concept is simple and direct: some governmental services need to be centralized on a region-wide basis; others work better at the neighborhood level. Still others can be split between large and small units. Just as family members share in daily decisionmaking, this kind of government is a sharing of responsiblility. Would multi-tier government work for Denver? Would the people want it? What other alternatives exist? These are things the Denver Metropolitan Study Panel is examining.

ANOTHER STUDY? No. The Denver Metro Study is not just another study. It's a program not only to study but to act. Denver was chosen by the National Academy of Public Administration for this 18-month program because our community looked as if it were ready to tackle these tough problems. And Denver has the research capabilities to do the study. Denver and Portland, Oregon were the two cities selected in competition with other metropolitan areas throughout the nation.

The Denver Metro Study Panel will look at past efforts, present regional services, local governmental functions, state constitutional

provisions and present legislation. Citizens who live in the four counties will be asked what they think. In fact, you might be asked to give your opinions about the quality of current services, about your community, about government costs and taxation.

A panel of 41 community representatives is guiding the program. Professional research and staff assistance is being provided by local colleges and universities, local government units, and citizen groups. Chairman of the Panel is Dr. Harold H. Haak, Chancellor of the University of Colorado at Denver. Study Director is Dr. F. William Heiss. Community representatives were selected on the basis of community knowledge and participation. They include elected state, municipal and county officials, businesspeople, housewives, professional people, leaders of civic and community organizations.

WHO'S PAYING THE BILL? A $100,000 grant came from the National Academy of Public Administration under contract with the Department of Housing and Urban Development. This money will be matched by local contributions from the State, the Denver Chamber of Commerce, participating counties and municipalities, and others.

HOW WILL ALL OF THIS HELP ME? We're talking about where you live. Your town. Your neighborhood. Your job. Your school. Your leisure activities. What problems need to be tackled now and in the future to make metro living better and less costly?

No one knows what the outcome of the program will be, but the Study Panel will listen--to you and to your neighbors and to community leaders.

The Panel will examine the successes and failures of Denver's past--the Regional Service Authority proposals, the Governor's Local

Affairs Study Commission, the Shoemaker Borough Plan. They will look at examples of metro cooperation in other parts of the country. Before 1977, the Panel will make some recommendations to update the way we work and play together in the four-county metropolitan area. We won't find all the answers to all of our problems, but with your participation we will find some of them. The Panel will study and listen and present a plan for community cooperation, preserving neighborhoods, and effective and efficient governmental services. It will be a program you have helped design. If we are going to live together in this urban community, let's dream and plan together.

METRO UPDATE. It won't be easy, but together we can make it happen.