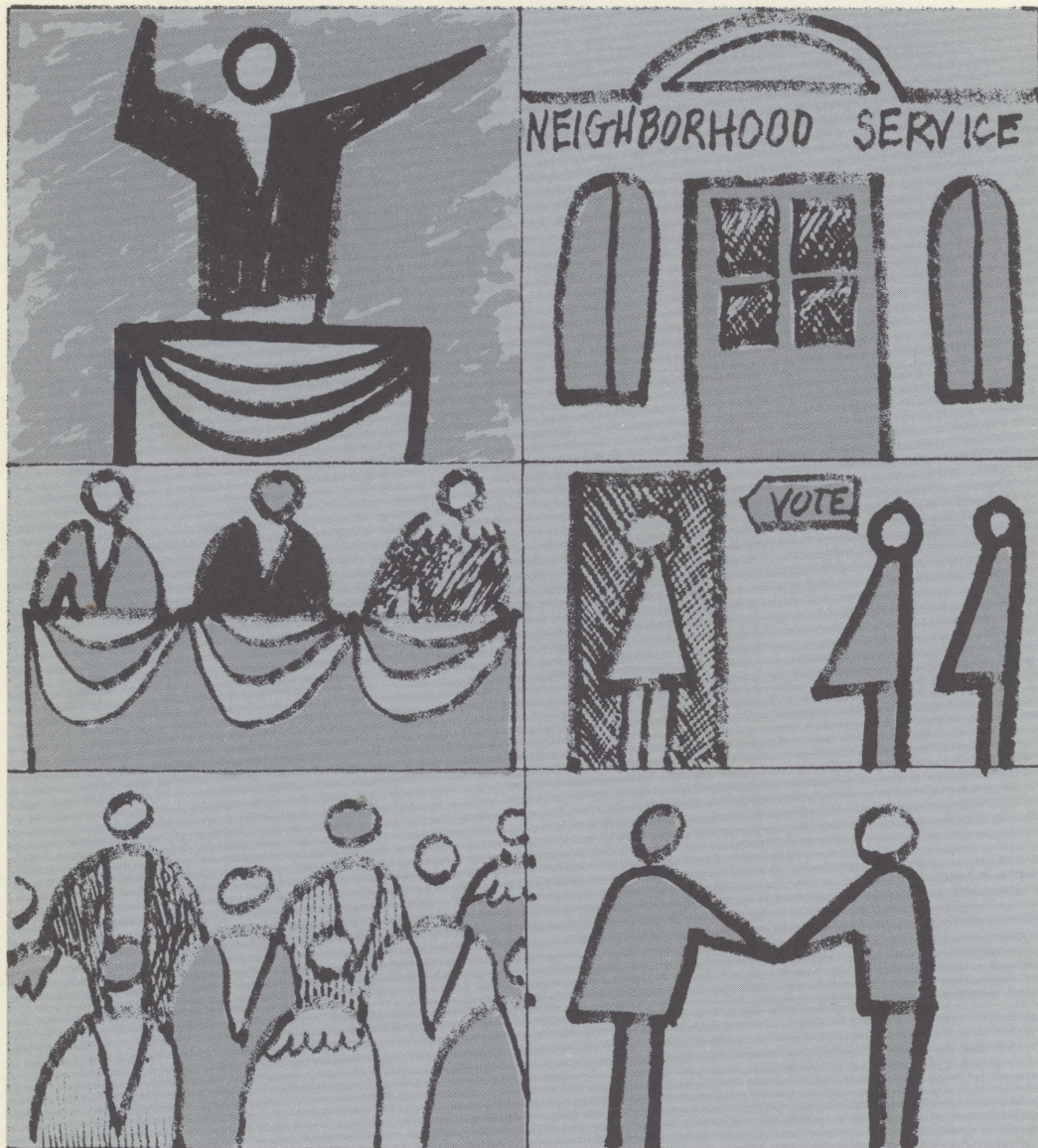


THE NEW GRASS ROOTS GOVERNMENT?



DECENTRALIZATION AND CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN URBAN AREAS

ADVISORY COMMISSION ON INTERGOVERNMENTAL
RELATIONS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20575

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JANUARY, 1972**

M—71

Preface

The 1960's witnessed a widening physical and psychological gap between governments at all levels and the people they serve. As a consequence, decentralization of services and citizen participation in program planning and administration have become critical public policy issues confronting American federalism in the 1970's. Particularly in cities and counties, these approaches are receiving growing attention as means of increasing bureaucratic responsiveness, improving service delivery effectiveness, reducing citizen alienation, and restoring grass roots government.

As part of its responsibility to provide information on emerging issues with implications for our Federal system, the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations presents this report on the nature and extent of efforts by city and county governments to decentralize services and give citizens more access to decision makers and influence in public policy determination. The study analyzes the various types of decentralization and citizen participation approaches, examines the degree to which they have been adopted by jurisdictions with different size, locational, and governmental characteristics, and probes official evaluations of decentralization – citizen participation experience.

This report is offered solely as an informational document. It contains no new policy recommendations, and has not been the subject of action by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.

Robert E. Merriam
Chairman

Acknowledgments

Carl W. Stenberg, Senior Analyst on the Advisory Commission staff, prepared this report.

The New Grass Roots Government? is a slightly expanded version of an article entitled "Decentralization and the City" which will appear in the *1972 Municipal Year Book*, published by the International City Management Association. It is being preprinted with the permission of ICMA.

The author wishes to acknowledge the valuable assistance of Jean Gansel, ICMA staff member, in designing the questionnaire and preparing the manuscript for publication. Professor Joseph F. Zimmerman of the State University of New York at Albany and George J. Washnis of the Center for Governmental Studies reviewed the questionnaire and offered helpful suggestions for its improvement. Library research and reference services were provided by Sandra S. Osbourn. The report was ably typed by Linda M. Parker.

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The New Grass Roots Government?

Decentralization and Citizen Participation in Urban Areas

Although local government is commonly viewed as being “closest to the people,” the physical and psychological distance between city hall and neighborhood is often considerable. During the 1960’s, the inability of many municipalities to respond adequately to demands for more and better public services resulting from the urbanization of our nation, and the growing role of the federal government in dealing with problems that were traditionally local responsibilities, were accompanied by a sense of citizen powerlessness and frustration.

Many citizens, especially the poor and minorities, felt they were unable to gain access to the “system” and to influence decisions affecting their lives either through the bureaucracy or the ballot box. In the wake of declining services and persisting bureaucratic remoteness, they became more and more apathetic and alienated.

To improve the responsiveness and effectiveness of city services and to restore citizen support and confidence in local government, municipal reformers have prescribed decentralization of public service delivery and participation of citizens in the planning and execution of city programs.

The operations of local government, of course, have been decentralized for many years. Police stations, fire houses, schools, libraries, and playgrounds are common examples of local facilities that have been organized on a neighborhood basis. Many cities have been divided into wards or precincts for administrative as well as electoral purposes. And since the late 19th century, settlement houses have provided social services to residents of geographically defined neighborhood areas.

Citizen participation also is not new to local government. In addition to voting, holding

office, and belonging to educational, religious, business, taxpayers’, and other civic groups, citizens have been involved in various public programs funded partially with federal dollars and administered by city agencies. These include public housing, urban renewal, comprehensive planning assistance, the workable program for community improvement, community action, and model cities.

The role of “local people” usually has been limited to offering information and advice to public officials. In some jurisdictions, however, target area residents have acted as their partners or even adversaries in policy-making, particularly in the community action and model cities programs.

These decentralization and citizen participation mechanisms have been unsuccessful in achieving quality services and opening two-way city hall-neighborhood communications channels in many cities, especially larger jurisdictions. As a result, reformers have called for various innovations in urban administration. Their new approaches reject many of the tenets of the municipal reform movement during the first half of the 20th century – including centralization of authority under the chief executive, professionalism, efficiency, economy, nonpartisanship, and at-large elections – and substitute in their place such values as devolution of power, citizen control, responsiveness, effectiveness, and neighborhood-based political responsibility.

In 1967, for example, the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations recommended that large cities and counties be authorized to establish, on the petition of affected residents, neighborhood subunits of government with elected neighborhood councils. These would be responsible for providing

supplemental public services in neighborhood areas and would have authority to levy taxes — such as a fractional millage on the local property tax or a per capita tax — in order to finance these special services. Neighborhood subunits could be dissolved unilaterally by the city or county governing body if they became nonviable.¹

The following year, the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (Kerner Commission) recommended the establishment of effective grievance-response mechanisms, neighborhood city halls, and multiservice centers as ways to increase the proximity and accountability of local government to the community.² Also in 1968, the National Commission on Urban Problems (Douglas Commission) recommended that municipalities over 250,000 establish neighborhood city halls to administer certain decentralized services — health and welfare, police, recreation, employment, and code inspection.³

In the years following these national commission recommendations, several observers have advocated similar and other reforms designed to narrow the gap between city hall

and neighborhood. The most common proposals deal with complaint handling machinery, little city halls and multiservice centers, neighborhood or community development corporations, and community control of such functions as education and police.⁴

In modifying normal bureaucratic decision-making, personnel, and accountability practices, some of these measures tend to blur distinctions between decentralization as a structural-professional concept and citizen participation as a nonstructural-nonprofessional concept. Moreover, they show that centralization-decentralization and participation-nonparticipation are not to be considered as “either-or” propositions. Instead, at issue are difficult questions concerning the varying devices and degrees of decentralization and participation in diverse communities. Hence, community school boards and consolidated school districts are not necessarily mutually exclusive ideas, nor are neighborhood government and metropolitan government.

In order to determine the extent to which local governments have decentralized services and have given citizens more access to

¹U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *Fiscal Balance in the American Federal System* 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), II: 16-17. See also the Commission's model state legislation providing for “Neighborhood Sub-Units of Government,” in its publication, *1970 Cumulative ACIR State Legislative Program* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969), 31-58-00.

²U.S. National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968), pp. 151-54.

³U.S. National Commission on Urban Problems, *Building the American City* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969), pp. 350-54.

⁴See Alan A. Altshuler, *Community Control: The Black Demand for Participation in Large American Cities* (New York: Pegasus, 1970); Milton Kotler, *Neighborhood Government: The Local Foundations of Political Life* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1969); Hans B.C.

Spiegel and Stephen D. Miententhal, *Neighborhood Power and Control: Implications for Urban Planning* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1968); Center for Governmental Studies, *Public Administration and Neighborhood Control: Conference Proceedings* (Washington, D.C.: The Center, 1970); Howard W. Hallman, *Community Control: A Study of Community Corporations and Neighborhood Boards* (Washington, D.C.: Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies, 1969); Hallman, *Administrative Decentralization and Citizen Control* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Governmental Studies, 1971); Committee for Economic Development, *Reshaping Government in Metropolitan Areas* (New York: The Committee, 1970); Citizens League, *Sub-Urbs in the City: Ways to Expand Participation and Representation in Minneapolis Government* (Minneapolis: The League, 1970); Mario Fantini, Marilyn Gittel, and Richard Magat, *Community Control and the Urban School* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970); Herbert Kaufman, “Administrative Decentralization and Political Power,” *Public Administration Review* 29 (1969): 3-15.

decision-makers and influence in public policy determination, in March, 1971, the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations — in cooperation with the National League of Cities/U.S. Conference of Mayors, National Association of Counties, and the International City Management Association — surveyed all cities and counties over 25,000 population. The questionnaire dealt with a wide range of decentralization-participation devices which can be classified under three progressively greater degrees of decentralization: territorial, administrative, and political.⁵

Territorial decentralization involves steps taken by local officials to bring government physically closer to the people it serves in order to facilitate the expression of resident needs and preferences during the formulation of public policies, and to provide channels through which citizens can indicate poor quality and unresponsive service delivery and obtain remedial action. The pattern and frequency of city hall-neighborhood interaction are determined on a territorial basis, and no delegation of substantive policy-making or discretionary authority is made.

Holding meetings of the chief executive, legislative body, or various public agencies on a regular basis in neighborhood areas, setting up citizen complaint handling machinery, or creating resident advisory committees are examples of this approach. Of course, the dispersal of certain local facilities to geographically defined subareas of a city or county — such as police precincts, fire stations, and branch libraries — is a standard type of territorial decentralization, but since this involves merely the field delivery of services rather than citizen-official interaction, it was not probed in the poll.

Administrative decentralization is devolution of the administration of particular public services to neighborhood areas with delegation of substantial decision-making authority, discre-

tionary power, and program responsibility to subordinate officials. Actions taken here include the establishment of neighborhood councils or boards, appointment of neighborhood managers, and creation of little city halls and multiservice centers.

Political decentralization involves efforts by local chief executives and legislators to redistribute political power and policy-making authority through the creation of new, autonomous subunit governments. These substructures would exercise substantial control over the delivery of certain services, and would possess significant independence regarding fiscal, programmatic, and personnel matters. They would be directly accountable to a neighborhood constituency and secondarily responsible to the central political unit.

This type of decentralization could be achieved through adoption of the ACIR neighborhood subunits of government proposal, establishment of neighborhood corporations, or creation of community-controlled school boards, police districts, and other functions.

THE VIEW FROM CITY HALL

The municipal response to the questionnaire as of June, 1971, was 51% of the 928 jurisdictions over 25,000. The replies were fairly well stratified in terms of population group, geographic region, city type, and form of government.

A number of generalizations may be advanced with respect to the overall patterns of decentralization of city services and citizen participation suggested by the data:

— Over one-third of the municipalities reporting have not made any decentralization effort.

— Decentralization is not just a big-city phenomenon; three-fourths of the responding jurisdictions between 50,000 and 250,000 have adopted one or more of the devices covered in the questionnaire.

— As would be expected, moving from territorial to administrative to political decen-

⁵ For five decentralization models, see Henry J. Schmandt, "Decentralization: A Structural Imperative," in *Politics, Public Administration And Neighborhood Control*, ed. H. George Frederickson (Los Angeles: Chandler Publishing Co., forthcoming).

tralization approaches, the total number of municipalities taking action declines while average jurisdictional size rises.

– City governments in the South seem more inclined to decentralize than those in other regions, even though most recent city-county consolidation activity has taken place in the Southern states.

– Central cities are far more likely to have decentralized services and provided for citizen involvement in decision-making affecting their delivery than suburban and independent jurisdictions.

– Form of government appears not to be significantly associated with tendency to decentralize.

– Almost three-fourths of the replies from top city executive branch officials indicate that their decentralization-citizen participation approaches have been effective in building closer relationships between city hall and neighborhood.

Territorial Decentralization. As shown in Table 1, less than one-fifth of the respondents try to facilitate resident accessibility and influence in the decision-making process by regularly holding meetings of the chief executive, legislative body, or various boards and commissions in neighborhood areas instead of at city hall. The city council appears to be least inclined to take this step in connection with its own activities, although in 110 jurisdictions it is indirectly involved through sponsorship of special neighborhood meetings dealing with the delivery of public services. Civic associations, however, are the sponsors in most (44%) of the 271 cities holding such meetings. Typically, they focus on issues related to the responsibilities of the human relations commission, model cities board, community action agency, planning commission, school board, or redevelopment commission.

In contrast with the governing body, the chief executive officer in one-sixth of the cities reporting holds regular “meet your mayor,” “town hall meeting,” or “question-and-answer” sessions in neighborhoods. A like proportion reported that municipal boards and commissions

hold regular meetings in such areas. Larger, central, and mayor-council cities make the greatest use of these methods of obtaining citizen views regarding service delivery, answering questions and resolving problems, and defending and promoting public policies.

During the 1960's, municipal reformers became increasingly concerned with the inadequacy of existing mechanisms for channeling and resolving citizen complaints regarding public programs. Particularly in big cities, such grievances often were the victims of bureaucratic buck-passing, were trapped in agency jurisdictional, budgetary, and political red tape, or were totally ignored. As a result, remedial action was usually slow and inadequate.

Table 2 reveals the extent to which cities have adopted recommendations for improvement suggested by these reformers. The most rudimentary step, designation of a special telephone number for citizens to use to register complaints, has been taken by 29% of the respondents. Of course, there is no guarantee that once complaints have been phoned in they will be properly expedited and successfully resolved, and doubtless in some jurisdictions this approach has more of a therapeutic than problem-solving value.

For these reasons, some observers advocate the establishment of a special bureau in city hall which would receive complaints from citizens and refer them to appropriate departments for action. One-third of the jurisdictions reporting have set up such a unit. In 49% of these cities, the bureau handles complaints concerning private organizations as well as public agencies. Citizen complaint bureaus in 92% of the jurisdictions are authorized to follow-up on action taken by departments on referrals.

Special telephone numbers and complaint bureaus are found especially in cities over 500,000 and between 100,000 and 250,000. They are most prevalent in central, mayor-council, and Southern jurisdictions.

The most far-reaching proposal for handling citizen grievances is the appointment of special officials to answer inquiries and investigate complaints regarding deficiencies in public services. Reformers have recommended that

Table 1 OFFICIAL MEETINGS IN NEIGHBORHOOD AREAS

Classification	Chief executive officer holds meetings in neighborhood areas on regular basis ¹			Governing body holds regular legislative sessions in neighborhood areas			City boards or commissions hold meetings on a regular basis in neighborhoods		
	No. of cities reporting (A)	Cities holding meetings		No. of cities reporting (B)	Cities holding sessions		No. of cities reporting (C)	Cities holding meetings	
		No.	% of (A)		No.	% of (B)		No.	% of (C)
Total, all cities	470	82	17	469	18	4	464	83	18
Population group									
Over 500,000	16	7	44	16	1	6	16	7	44
250,000-500,000	18	5	28	18	1	6	19	9	47
100,000-250,000	56	8	14	56	2	4	54	16	30
50,000-100,000	149	31	21	150	7	5	150	25	17
25,000- 50,000	231	30	13	229	7	3	225	26	12
Geographic region									
Northeast	96	19	20	97	4	4	96	22	23
North Central	138	24	17	137	6	4	134	22	16
South	119	15	13	117	1	1	116	22	19
West	117	24	21	118	7	6	118	17	14
City type									
Central	160	29	18	158	5	3	157	49	31
Suburban	212	39	18	214	9	4	211	23	11
Independent	98	14	14	97	4	4	96	11	11
Form of government									
Mayor-council	151	35	23	155	4	3	151	33	22
Council-manager	286	39	14	282	11	4	282	38	13
Other	33	8	24	32	3	9	31	12	39

¹ Such as "meet your mayor" or "town hall" meetings or question-and-answer sessions in neighborhood areas.

Table 2 CITY COMPLAINT HANDLING MACHINERY

Classification	Special telephone number for citizen to register complaints			Special bureau to receive citizen complaints			Cities with ombudsmen, neighborman, or community service officer to answer inquiries		
	No. of cities reporting (A)	Cities with special no.		No. of cities reporting (B)	Cities with bureau		No. of cities reporting (C)	Cities with ombudsmen	
		No.	% of (A)		No.	% of (B)		No.	% of (C)
Total, all cities	470	136	29	471	161	34	470	117	25
Population group									
Over 500,000	16	10	63	16	10	63	16	9	56
250,000-500,000	19	7	37	19	9	47	19	8	42
100,000-250,000	54	26	48	55	33	60	55	24	44
50,000-100,000	149	37	25	149	48	32	148	32	22
25,000- 50,000	232	56	24	232	61	26	232	44	19
Geographic region									
Northeast	97	25	26	97	29	30	96	20	21
North Central	138	40	29	138	50	32	139	36	26
South	117	40	34	118	42	36	117	30	26
West	118	31	26	118	40	34	118	31	26
City type									
Central	158	59	37	159	71	45	157	52	33
Suburban	214	55	26	215	72	33	214	49	23
Independent	98	22	22	97	18	19	99	16	16
Form of government									
Mayor-council	154	52	34	154	56	36	153	47	31
Council-manager	283	77	27	284	98	35	285	67	24
Other	33	7	21	33	7	21	32	3	9

American local governments adopt formal procedures outside the regular bureaucracy to ensure equity and impartiality in handling complaints, such as the Scandinavian ombudsman concept.

The ombudsman, or "citizen's defender," receives written complaints, regardless of whether the complainant first contacted the administrative agency, and subsequently requests pertinent information and an explanation from the administrators involved. The ombudsman may initiate investigations or hold hearings, even in the absence of a formal complaint. While he may not direct agency officials to act, the ombudsman is authorized to order prosecutions and issue public reprimands or criticisms.⁶

Cost considerations; resistance from the chief executive, legislative body, and bureaucracy; and the existence of other complaint handling machinery have precluded local governments in this country from implementing the true Scandinavian ombudsman model. Several jurisdictions, however, have adopted variations.

One-fourth of the survey respondents indicated they have established ombudsman-type systems, with the official responsible for monitoring citizen grievances holding the title of "ombudsman," "neighborman," or "community service officer." In 64% of these municipalities, he is appointed by the chief executive officer, and in only 14% is he named by the governing body. In the remainder, he is appointed by various agencies.

Community service officers, for instance, have been employed by police departments to assist line officers in performing their patrol and

investigative work and to improve departmental communications channels with neighborhoods — particularly high crime-low income areas — by referring complaints, organizing community meetings, and working with police-community relations units.

Neighborhood residents or groups have a voice in the selection of the ombudsman, neighborman, or community service officer in 23% of the jurisdictions. Yet, in 78% he is responsible for performing liaison functions between city hall and neighborhood areas.

The third major type of territorial decentralization surveyed is closely related to more conventional forms of citizen participation in government programs. This involves the selection of resident representatives from neighborhoods to serve on a community-wide committee to advise public officials in various functional areas. Although on the surface this might seem to be more of a centralized than a decentralized approach, usually the residents serve as delegates from geographically defined subareas of the city, and the official intent behind their creation is to obtain information and recommendations as to the neighborhood impact of public programs and particular problems that have arisen in their administration. The representatives' role is purely advisory; no delegation of policy-making authority is customarily made to these committees.

As shown in Table 3, 65% of the reporting municipalities have one or more such resident committees. By a wide margin, these bodies have been established at the initiative of federal, state, or local governments rather than citizens. Neighborhood resident advice is solicited most frequently in connection with recreation, planning and zoning, and housing and urban renewal. These committees are used least for the sanitation, streets, and welfare functions.

Administrative Decentralization. Although on the average about three-tenths of the cities participating in the survey have adopted one or more territorial decentralization devices, only half as many have acted on the administrative decentralization front. Like those that have taken the former approach, municipal governments that have moved in the latter direction by

⁶See Walter Gellhorn, *When Americans Complain: Governmental Grievance Procedures* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966); Stanley V. Anderson, ed., *Ombudsmen for American Government?* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1968); Picot B. Floyd, *Management Information Service*, "The Ombudsman: The Citizen's Advocate" (Washington, D.C.: International City Management Assn., October, 1969, vol. 1, no. L-10); Institute for Governmental Studies, *Buffalo Citizens Administrative Service: An Ombudsman Demonstration Project* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970).

Table 3 COMMUNITY-WIDE RESIDENT ADVISORY COMMITTEES

Function	Citizen initiated		Government initiated	
	No.	% of total	No.	% of total
Total, all cities	311	...	311	...
Police	28	9	96	31
Health and hospital	30	10	84	27
Schools	57	18	86	28
Libraries	43	14	100	32
Streets	21	7	46	15
Welfare	34	11	45	14
Housing and urban renewal	61	20	166	53
Recreation	47	15	182	59
Sanitation	18	6	45	14
Planning and zoning	39	13	188	60
Other	17	5	99	32

devolving substantial policy-making authority and discretion to subordinate units for the most part are large (over 250,000), central, and mayor-council jurisdictions. In the case of cities that have decentralized administratively, however, a somewhat more distinct regional pattern is evident, with Southern and Northeastern jurisdictions the most likely to be involved.

The neighborhood, area, or district council approach to decentralized program administration has been tried by nearly one-third of the respondents, often with the help of community action or model cities funds. Representatives of subarea residents typically serve on these bodies in mixed advisory, ombudsman, and policy-making capacities (see Tables 4 and 5).

With respect to the advisory and ombudsman roles, from half to almost three-fourths of those reporting authorize their neighborhood councils to review program plans and to channel citizen complaints and act as a citizen's advocate. In regard to policy-related matters, however, fewer jurisdictions have devolved substantial decisional and discretionary powers to the councils. In two-thirds of the cities these bodies set goals, nearly half permit them to formulate general policies, and in two-fifths they monitor service adequacy. Yet, only approximately one-third have decentralized responsibility for approving program plans, deciding on multiservice

center locations, and determining specific service levels to neighborhood councils. Merely 16% of the cities allow councils to perform the sensitive function of budgetary review, and 18% authorize them to hire professional staff.

The plan approval, budgetary review, and staffing roles of neighborhood councils are especially critical indicators of the degree to which real administrative decentralization has taken place. Not surprisingly, central and mayor-council cities are more likely to have decentralized these three responsibilities. And, somewhat unexpectedly, so are those under 250,000 population. No clear regional response pattern is evident.

In most of the cities having councils, the citizen representatives are selected by — and in about two-fifths are accountable to — a neighborhood constituency. In 38% of the jurisdictions members are elected, and in 36% they are appointed by neighborhood organizations. Representatives in 24% of the cities are named by the chief executive officer.⁷ The median term of office for members is two years. Councils in 31% of the municipalities are accountable to the governing body, and in 21% to the chief executive officer.

⁷Twenty-five cities reported using a combination of methods for selecting neighborhood council members.

Table 4 NEIGHBORHOOD COUNCILS

Classification	No. of cities reporting (A)	Cities establishing neighborhood, area, or district councils representing residents	
		No.	% of (A)
Total, all cities	439	140	32
Population group			
Over 500,000	13	10	77
250,000-500,000	17	12	71
100,000-250,000	49	29	59
50,000-100,000	141	44	31
25,000-50,000	219	45	21
Geographic region			
Northeast	92	31	34
North Central	127	39	31
South	110	41	37
West	110	29	26
City type			
Central	143	76	53
Suburban	201	41	20
Independent	95	23	24
Form of government			
Mayor-council	142	57	40
Council-manager	270	73	27
Other	27	10	37

In contrast with the relatively high degree of activity on the neighborhood council front, only 5% of the cities responding have appointed one or more neighborhood, area, or district managers. These officials are responsible for overseeing the administration of functions by various public agencies in neighborhoods. They are accountable to the chief executive officer, rather than to area residents. Those few jurisdictions having neighborhood managers may be characterized generally as follows: a central city, under 250,000 population, located in the North Central or Southern regions, and having a council-manager form of government.

During the 1960's, the federal government assumed a major catalytic role in the decentralization of municipal services to field offices set up in neighborhood areas. One innovative approach was Executive Order 11297, issued on August 30, 1966, which provided for the

Table 5 FUNCTIONS OF NEIGHBORHOOD COUNCILS

Functions	Cities reporting function	
	No.	% of total
Total, all cities	140	—
Setting goals	92	66
Formulating general policies	67	48
Determining specific service levels	42	30
Reviewing program plans	101	72
Approving program plans	51	36
Determining multiservice center locations	44	31
Reviewing budget	22	16
Monitoring service adequacy	58	41
Hiring professional staff	25	18
Channeling citizen complaints	71	51
Acting as advocate for citizens	98	70
Other	9	6

Table 6 LITTLE CITY HALLS AND MULTISERVICE CENTERS

Classification	Little city halls			Multiservice centers		
	No. of cities reporting (A)	Cities with little city halls		No. of cities reporting (B)	Cities with multiservice centers	
		No.	% of (A)		No.	% of (B)
Total, all cities	460	19	4	454	86	19
Population group						
Over 500,000	15	6	40	15	9	60
250,000-500,000	18	4	22	18	13	72
100,000-250,000	53	3	6	54	18	33
50,000-100,000	149	6	4	145	28	19
25,000- 50,000	225	0	0	222	18	8
Geographic region						
Northeast	94	4	4	90	21	23
North Central	137	9	7	136	20	15
South	114	4	4	114	30	26
West	115	2	2	114	15	13
City type						
Central	154	15	10	152	58	38
Suburban	210	4	2	205	17	8
Independent	96	0	0	97	11	11
Form of government						
Mayor-council	152	9	6	148	42	28
Council-manager	278	9	3	276	39	14
Other	30	1	3	30	5	17

establishment of 14 pilot centers funded by HEW, OEO, Labor, and HUD. These centers were designed to provide outreach services to neighborhood residents and to serve as the focal point for the coordination and one-stop delivery of federal, state, and local services impacting on the area.⁸

A second effort — not restricted to demonstration proportions — was OEO's funding of neighborhood service centers, which are extensions of the settlement house concept. More than 700 of these offices had been established by 1968, and many had resident advisory boards. Usually, however, they did not

offer a comprehensive package of federal services, nor did they include regular municipal and state programs.⁹

A third type of federally inspired local action during this period was the creation of little city halls and multiservice centers, often in minority and economically depressed neighborhoods. The operations of these neighborhood units have been financed by a combination of model cities or community action and municipal funds. Although some authorities choose not to distinguish between them, administrative and accountability considerations give some justification for doing so. A little city hall may be

⁸National Commission on Urban Problems, *op. cit.*, pp. 350-51.

⁹National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-54.

Table 7 FUNCTIONS OF LITTLE CITY HALLS AND MULTISERVICE CENTERS

Function	Little city halls		Multiservice centers	
	No.	% of total	No.	% of total
Total, all cities	19	—	86	—
Housing code inspection	7	37	16	17
Public housing	3	16	24	28
Urban renewal	6	31	28	33
Welfare	1	5	43	50
Police	9	47	28	29
Recreation	7	37	57	33
Employment service	2	11	46	53
Community action	4	21	58	67
Model cities	5	26	33	36
Health and hospitals	4	21	43	50
Sanitation	7	37	13	14
Streets	8	42	6	7
Legal services	6	32	38	44
Planning	6	31	18	21
Housing rehabilitation	6	31	26	30
Probation and parole	1	5	12	14
Vocational education	1	5	34	40
Library services	1	5	15	17
Chief executive officer's complaint and info desk	8	42	13	15
Senior citizens' activities	5	26	50	58
Social security assistance	3	16	22	26
Clerk and records office	6	32	6	7
Other	4	21	9	10

defined as a neighborhood branch office for the chief executive officer that provides services similar to those available at the main city hall. On the other hand, a multiservice center serves mainly as a branch office for various public or private agencies to use in furnishing two or more government-type services.¹⁰

Table 6 shows that cities are much more likely to decentralize through multiservice centers than through little city halls. 19% of the respondents indicated taking the former ap-

proach, while merely 4% reported the latter. With respect to the types of jurisdictions involved, with one exception the extent of usage declines steadily with population size. Regionally, almost half of the 19 little city halls are found in the North Central section of the country, while the 86 multiservice centers tend to predominate in the South. Both approaches are strongly associated with central cities and mayor-council jurisdictions.

Turning to the functions of these neighborhood offices, Table 7 reveals that little city halls offer a wide range of programs to residents. The maintenance of quality and responsive service levels in some of these traditional municipal functions — particularly police, streets, and sanitation — is usually of major political importance to the chief executive officer. Similarly, having a neighborhood based

¹⁰ See George J. Washnis, *Neighborhood Facilities and Municipal Decentralization* 2 vols. (Washington D.C.: Center for Governmental Studies, 1971); Judith E. Grollman, Urban Data Service, *The Decentralization of Municipal Services* (Washington, D.C.: International City Management Association, February, 1971, vol. 3, no. 2).

Table 8 RESIDENT ADVISORY BOARDS TO LITTLE CITY HALLS AND MULTISERVICE CENTERS

Classification	Little city halls			Multiservice centers		
	No. of cities reporting ¹ (A)	Cities with resident advisory board		No. of cities reporting ¹ (B)	Cities with resident advisory board	
		No.	% of (A)		No.	% of (B)
Total, all cities	17	5	29	84	59	70
Population group						
Over 500,000	5	2	40	8	5	63
250,000-500,000	4	1	25	13	10	77
100,000-250,000	3	1	33	18	10	56
50,000-100,000	5	1	20	29	20	69
25,000- 50,000	0	0	0	16	12	75
Geographic region						
Northeast	2	2	100	19	13	68
North Central	9	3	33	20	18	90
South	4	0	0	28	16	57
West	2	0	0	17	12	71
City type						
Central	14	4	29	56	40	71
Suburban	3	1	33	18	13	72
Independent	0	0	0	10	6	60
Form of government						
Mayor-council	7	3	43	39	27	69
Council-manager	9	2	22	37	25	68
Other	1	0	0	8	7	88

¹ Only cities reporting "yes" or "no" to this question.

complaint and information office can help the mayor and manager keep an ear to the ground to detect the public's service needs and preferences and its general opinions regarding the performance of the city administration. This function, as well as the branch clerk and recorder's office, serves to create the image – if not the fact – of bringing city hall closer to the people.

Multiservice centers tend to be oriented more to on-going programs, and to be less directly linked to the political status of the chief executive officer. Functions most often found in such centers include community action, recreation, senior citizens' activities, employment service, welfare, health and hospitals, legal aid,

and vocational education. Both little city halls and multiservice centers are used for model cities, urban renewal, and housing rehabilitation related services.

The use of resident advisory boards by little city halls and multiservice centers highlights some of the hierarchical and professional distinctions between decentralization and citizen participation. Only five of the jurisdictions with little city halls have resident boards to advise the branch office administrator and his staff. At the same time, 59 of the municipalities with multiservice centers have such boards (see Table 8). Hence, greater decentralization of services does not necessarily mean that there will be increased

Table 9 FUNCTIONS OF RESIDENT ADVISORY BOARDS

Functions	Little city halls		Multiservice centers	
	No.	% of total	No.	% of total
Total, all cities	5	—	59	—
Setting goals	4	80	35	59
Formulating general policies	4	80	31	53
Determining specific service levels	3	60	29	49
Reviewing program plans	5	100	37	63
Approving program plans	3	16	25	42
Reviewing the budget	2	40	20	34
Monitoring service adequacy	4	21	27	46
Channeling citizen complaints	4	80	28	47
Hiring and firing staff	1	20	8	14
Acting as advocate for citizens	3	60	33	56
Other	0	0	0	0

citizen involvement relative to the delivery of such services.

With respect to the characteristics of cities having resident advisory boards, several sharp contrasts between the two approaches are apparent. Little city halls in central cities over 100,000 and located in the North Central and Northeast regions have resident boards. The response pattern of multiservice center municipalities is not so clear. Boards here are most common in North Central jurisdictions, and in those from 250,000 to 500,000 and less than 100,000 population. At the same time, the replies are fairly evenly dispersed between central and suburban and between mayor-council and council-manager cities.

The methods of selecting resident advisory boards reflect some of the basic functional differences between little city halls and multiservice centers. In 22 of the latter municipalities board members are elected and in 21 they are appointed by neighborhood organizations, while in only 11 are they appointed by the chief executive¹¹. Responses from little city hall jurisdictions, however, are equally divided among the three approaches.

¹¹ Eleven multiservice center cities reported using a combination of methods for selecting resident advisory board members.

Resident boards vary widely in terms of their authority and discretion vis-a-vis branch office administrators. Table 9 shows that in all little city hall and almost two-thirds of the multiservice center jurisdictions they have been assigned the essentially advisory function of program plan review. Roughly half of the boards in the latter cities monitor service adequacy and play an ombudsman role in acting as an advocate for citizens and channeling their complaints. Several of these bodies also have policy-related responsibilities, with from half to three-fifths setting goals, formulating general policies, and determining specific service levels. From three-fifths to four-fifths of the little city hall boards perform these six duties.

The foregoing functions clearly indicate that resident boards are more than merely “advisory.” Some even exercise power beyond normal policy-making. In one jurisdiction, boards hire and fire the staff of little city halls, in two they review the budget, and in three they approve program plans.

Multiservice center resident bodies also have clout; in two-fifths of the cities they approve program plans, in one-third they review the budget, and in one-eighth they hire and fire staff.

Political Decentralization. The survey results suggest that, despite increasing rhetoric calling for “community control,” most municipi-

Table 10 COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT CORPORATIONS

Classification	No. of cities reporting (A)	Cities taking initiative in assisting in establishment of development corporations	
		No.	% of (A)
Total, all cities	444	72	16
Population group			
Over 500,000	14	5	36
250,000-500,000	17	6	35
100,000-250,000	53	16	30
50,000-100,000	145	27	19
25,000-50,000	215	18	8
Geographic region			
Northeast	90	25	28
North Central	132	24	18
South	110	12	11
West	112	11	10
City type			
Central	150	39	26
Suburban	202	25	13
Independent	92	8	9
Form of government			
Mayor-council	149	41	28
Council-manager	268	24	10
Other	27	7	26

pal governments are still unwilling to devolve substantial amounts of political power, policy-making and discretionary authority, and program, fiscal, and personnel autonomy to neighborhoods. No city, for example, has adopted the ACIR's 4-year old recommendation that large local jurisdictions establish subunits of government with elected neighborhood councils, responsible for providing supplemental public services in neighborhood areas and having authority to levy a uniform tax in order to finance these special services. It should be noted, however, that similar proposals were considered last year by the Indiana Legislature (the Indianapolis MINI-GOV legislation), New York City, Boston, the District of Columbia, Milwaukee, and Minneapolis. In 1970, the Los Angeles City Council rejected a proposed charter revision embodying the neighborhood subunit concept.

Besides the subunit approach, some authori-

ties have urged the establishment of neighborhood or community development corporations as a major first step toward neighborhood government. These corporations are chartered as private nonprofit organizations under state law and are controlled by a resident board. Usually supported mainly by community action or model cities dollars, they are responsible for the provision of certain government-type functions within a specific geographic area.

Although it has been estimated that more than 1,000 neighborhood corporations currently exist in the United States, only 16% of the municipalities participating in the survey reported that they had taken the initiative in assisting in the establishment of one or more of these organizations. Most of these jurisdictions are central cities over 100,000, located in the Northeast, and operate under the mayor-council form of government (see Table 10).

Table 11 COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Function	School district with community control of one or more schools (N)	School district with community advisory role in one or more schools (N)
After-school program for children	25	256
Other community uses of school facilities	20	251
Adoption of curriculum	5	225
Preparation of budget	5	131
Discipline	4	143
Site selection	4	147
Building design	4	168
Selection of aides	4	97
Selection of principal	0	66
Selection of teachers	0	47

Source: Adapted from Center for Governmental Studies, "Community Participation in Public Elementary Schools: A Survey Report" (Washington, D.C. The Center, 1970), pp. 2, 4.

N = 413.

Neighborhood corporations in these municipalities are responsible for directly performing a number of functions. These include: low-income housing construction (35 cities), planning (29 cities), rehabilitation projects (28 cities), and ownership and management of credit unions and consumer cooperatives (15 cities). Community development corporations also administer various public functions, such as: day care nurseries (23 cities), youth services (22 cities), recreation (21 cities), legal services (18 cities), health centers (14 cities), and vocational education programs (12 cities). In a few jurisdictions, these services – particularly day care, health, and youth – are performed by other neighborhood agencies under contract with the corporation.

The questionnaire did not probe the community control issue due to the availability of the results of a recent survey of the 545 largest public school districts in the United States conducted by the Center for Governmental Studies.¹² Schools, after all, are the focal point of much of the community control

debate, and hence examination of this area provides a reasonably firm basis for assessing the likelihood of this type of political decentralization being extended to other municipal functions, notably police, sanitation, health, and welfare.¹³

The September, 1970, replies from superintendents of 76% of the school districts surveyed confirm some of the findings from our poll in connection with the reluctance of local governments to decentralize politically. As shown in Table 11, community control generally is quite limited in terms of both the overall number of school districts involved and the significance of the elementary school functions actually controlled. Only 11% of the respondents indicated that parents or community representatives exercise "control" – defined by the Center as "having an affirmative or negative (veto) role in decision-making" – over at least one of 10 listed functions in one or more elementary schools. After-school programs for children (25 districts) and other community uses of school facilities (20 districts) are the areas

¹²Center for Governmental Studies, *Community Participation in Public Elementary Schools: A Survey Report* (Washington, D.C.: The Center, 1970).

¹³See Center for Governmental Studies, *Public Administration and Neighborhood Control*, p. 54.

most often controlled. On the other hand, no school district reported community control of teacher or principal selection.

At the same time, five-sixths of the superintendents indicated that parents and community representatives played an "advisory" role — defined as "making recommendations but not deciding" — in at least one of these functions. Like the community control results, citizen advice is solicited most often in connection with the after-school program for children and other community uses of school facilities areas, and least often in teacher and principal selection.

Financing Decentralization. To this point, little attention has been given to the fiscal dimension of decentralization. In some cities, of course, federal community action and model cities dollars have covered a large part of the operating costs of multiservice centers, neighborhood councils, community development corporations, and other decentralized units. Table 12 gives a broader financial picture by showing the median 1970 budgets — including funds from federal, municipal, and other sources — of resident advisory committees, neighborhood councils, little city halls, multiservice centers, and neighborhood corporations.

The relatively small number of jurisdictions reporting financial data precludes meaningful analysis of their characteristics. The overall response pattern, however, does suggest that the total median budget tends to increase in accordance with the extent of devolved authority — that is, as branch offices or resident bodies exercise greater policy and administrative control over service delivery in neighborhood areas, their budgets will expand.

Table 12 does not show the large proportion of cities — 51% — reporting a zero 1970 total budget for the various decentralized units. In general, these 157 jurisdictions have the following characteristics: under 50,000, suburban, and operating under the council-manager system.

Official Evaluation. A solid majority — 72% — of the 323 replies that could be classified from 226 municipal chief executive or administrative officers agreed with the statement that

their decentralization of services-citizen participation effort has been, "a difficult but very worthwhile experience resulting in increased trust and understanding between citizens, city hall officials, and public administrators." Yet, 23% of the responses indicated that it has resulted in very little change in citizen-city hall official-public administrator relationships. Only 5% reported that it has led to a deterioration in these relationships (see Table 13).

A GLIMPSE FROM THE COUNTY COURTHOUSE

Shortly after the municipal survey commenced, identical questionnaires were sent to the chairmen of the boards of supervisors of all counties over 25,000 population. Replies were received from 21% of these 1,204 jurisdictions. Although the rate of return was fairly low, an examination of the aggregate responses to each question provides some important indications of the status of decentralization of services and citizen participation in county government.

Compared with the results of the city survey, relatively little decentralization activity is occurring in counties. Overall, 33% of the respondents have not established any of the decentralization-citizen participation devices covered in the questionnaire. As will be seen, most of those counties taking action have followed the more limited decentralization approaches.

Territorial Decentralization. An average of about one-fifth of the respondents have attempted to bring county government physically closer to citizens through territorial decentralization. With respect to official meetings in neighborhood areas, in 22% of the jurisdictions county boards and commissions have such meetings, in 13% the county executive regularly holds "town hall" or "question-and-answer sessions" in neighborhoods, and in 10% regular legislative sessions of the governing body are convened in these areas. As in the cities, special neighborhood meetings dealing with the delivery of public services are most often

Table 12 MEDIAN 1970 BUDGETS OF DECENTRALIZED UNITS

Classification	Little city halls		Multiservice center		Neighborhood council		Resident advisory committee		Neighborhood corporation	
	No. of cities reporting	Median budget	No. of cities reporting	Median budget	No. of cities reporting	Median budget	No. of cities reporting	Median budget	No. of cities reporting	Median budget
Total, all cities	12	31,250	40	80,000	14	45,000	25	5,000	15	200,000
Population group										
Over 500,000	4	606,601	5	680,145	2	100,000	3	250,000	3	1,000,000
250,000-500,000	4	119,650	3	3,836	1	80,000	—	—	2	289,000
100,000-250,000	1	500	6	68,493	2	1,000	4	32,500	3	200,000
50,000-100,000	3	16,000	18	34,499	7	13,500	7	5,000	4	20,000
25,000-50,000	—	—	8	39,773	2	12,000	11	3,000	3	10,000
Geographic region										
Northeast	2	608,000	10	150,000	4	72,730	5	5,000	4	134,963
North Central	7	25,000	7	700,000	2	1,000	12	15,566	5	587,552
South	2	119,650	12	81,100	5	18,000	3	18,500	3	200,000
West	1	13,201	11	65,000	3	13,500	5	2,500	3	10,000
City type										
Central	11	50,000	25	104,000	6	90,000	7	40,000	10	289,000
Suburban	1	16,000	12	75,000	8	73,500	11	5,000	5	10,000
Independent	—	—	3	80,000	—	—	7	5,000	—	—
Form of government										
Mayor-council	6	42,000	14	145,000	6	45,000	12	20,000	7	200,000
Council-manager	5	50,000	21	92,000	7	13,500	12	5,000	6	42,500
Other	1	25,000	8	30,000	1	73,560	1	2,500	2	115,000

Table 13 EVALUATION OF DECENTRALIZATION OF SERVICES – CITIZEN PARTICIPATION EXPERIENCE FOR CITIES¹ AND COUNTIES²

Classification	Total, all responses	Difficult but worthwhile experience ³	Difficult experience but resulting in very little change ⁴	Experience which led to deterioration in relationship ⁵	Other
Cities reporting – total					
No.	362	232	75	16	39
%		64	21	4	11
Counties reporting – total					
No.	101	75	15	6	5
%		74	15	6	5
Resident advisory committee – cities					
No.	132	94	25	3	10
% of total		71	19	2	8
Resident advisory committee – counties					
No.	37	30	5	0	2
% of total		81	14	0	5
Resident advisory boards to little city halls					
No.	21	12	4	1	4
% of total		57	19	5	19
Resident advisory boards to little county courthouses					
No.	4	4	0	0	0
% of total		100	0	0	0
Resident advisory boards to multiservice centers – cities					
No.	58	35	12	3	8
% of total		60	21	5	14
Resident advisory boards to multiservice centers – counties					
No.	21	16	3	1	1
% of total		76	14	5	5
Neighborhood councils – cities					
No.	81	49	19	3	10
% of total		60	23	4	12
Neighborhood councils – counties					
No.	20	11	4	4	1
% of total		55	20	20	5
Neighborhood corporations – cities					
No.	41	23	9	4	5
% of total		56	22	10	12
Neighborhood corporations – counties					
No.	14	11	2	1	0
% of total		79	14	7	0
Other – cities					
No.	29	19	6	2	2
% of total		66	21	7	7
Other – counties					
No.	5	3	1	0	1
% of total		60	20	0	20

¹ 226 cities reported.

² 58 counties reported.

³ A difficult but very worthwhile experience resulting in increased trust and understanding between citizens, city hall or county courthouse officials, and public administrators.

⁴ A difficult experience which resulted in very little change in the relationship between citizens, city hall or county courthouse officials, and public administrators.

⁵ An experience which led to a deterioration in the relationship between citizens, city hall or county courthouse officials, and public administrators.

sponsored by the county governing body or civic associations.

For the most part, counties have been hesitant to establish complaint handling machinery. Only 14% have designated a special telephone number for citizens to use to register complaints, compared with 29% of the municipalities. A special bureau which receives resident complaints concerning public service delivery and refers them to the appropriate departments for action has been set up in 15% of the counties and 34% of the cities reporting. Half of the county bureaus are authorized to handle grievances regarding both public agencies and private organizations, and 89% may follow-up on action taken by departments on referrals.

Unlike municipalities, only a few of the county respondents have appointed ombudsmen, neighborhood, or community service officers to answer inquiries and investigate complaints regarding public service deficiencies. The comparative figures here are 9% of the counties and 25% of the cities. In 67% of the former jurisdictions, they are appointed by the chief executive officer, and in 38% neighborhood residents or groups have a voice in their selection. Yet, 90% of the counties reported that these officials are responsible for performing liaison functions between the courthouse and neighborhoods.

Half of the respondents have established county-wide resident advisory committees. As with the cities, most of these bodies have been federally, state, or locally initiated rather than citizen inspired. Residents advise public officials through this means most frequently in the planning and zoning, welfare, and health and hospitals functions, and least often in street, police, and school matters. The median 1970 total budget for these committees in four counties was \$1,725, compared with \$5,000 for those in 25 municipalities.

Administrative Decentralization. Turning to county efforts to devolve substantial policy-making and discretionary authority to subordinate units, 21% of the respondents have established neighborhood, area, or district councils representing county residents. The majority (28 counties) of these bodies serve in

an advisory capacity in reviewing program plans, although several perform various policy-related functions including: setting goals (23 counties), formulating general policies (17 counties), and determining specific service levels (15 counties). Less than half of the councils play an ombudsman role in acting as an advocate for citizens (19 counties) and channeling resident complaints (15 counties).

Relatively few have been assigned significant administrative, fiscal, and personnel powers, such as: reviewing the budget (14 counties), approving program plans (13 counties), monitoring service adequacy (12 counties), determining multiservice center locations (10 counties), and hiring professional staff (3 counties).

The methods of selecting council members are fairly evenly divided among election (17 counties), appointment by neighborhood organizations (16 counties), and appointment by the chief executive officer (16 counties).¹⁴ Yet 74% of these organizations are accountable to the governing body. The members' median term of office is 3 years. The median 1970 budget of councils in 3 counties was \$1,500, in contrast with \$45,000 from those in 14 municipalities.

Like the cities, only a handful (6) of the counties have appointed one or more neighborhood, area, or district managers, accountable to the chief executive officer, responsible for overseeing the administration of functions by various public agencies in neighborhood areas.

With respect to action taken by county governments on the branch office front, 16 reported having established little county courthouses to serve as an arm of the county executive, while 35 have set up multiservice centers for public or private agencies to use in dispensing government-type services. Little county courthouses tend to be found in jurisdictions from 100,000-250,000 and those located in the West. They are commonly responsible for welfare, health and hospitals, police, clerk and recorder's services, and sanitation. In addition to the first three of these functions, county multiservice

¹⁴ Five counties reported using a combination of methods for selecting resident advisory board members.

centers usually provide community action, recreation, library and employment services, and senior citizens' activities. They are associated with counties from 50,000-250,000 and over 500,000 in the West and Northeast. The median 1970 budget for the former in 9 counties was \$50,000, and for the latter in 11 counties it was \$114,407. These figures compare with medians of \$31,250 (12 cities) and \$80,000 (40 cities), respectively.

As suggested by the results of the municipal survey, citizen participation in these decentralized county units also tends to be minimal. Only 5 jurisdictions have resident advisory boards to the administrators of little county courthouses, and 15 have them for multiservice centers. For the most part, these resident bodies are responsible for channeling citizen complaints, reviewing program plans, and formulating general policies. No little county courthouse has a resident advisory board that reviews the budget or hires and fires staff. In only one jurisdiction does this citizen body monitor service adequacy, approve program plans, set goals, determine service levels, or act as an advocate for citizens. At the same time, in 3 counties multiservice center boards review the budget, in 4 they hire and fire staff, in 7 they monitor service adequacy, and in 8 they approve plans. Members of resident boards to little county courthouses are usually named by the chief executive officer, while in the case of multiservice centers they are appointed by either this official or neighborhood organizations.

Political Decentralization. Counties show considerable reluctance to redistribute political power and policy-making authority to autonomous resident organizations. Just one county has established a modified neighborhood subunit of government. In July, 1967, the San Mateo County Board of Supervisors created and provided funds for East Palo Alto Municipal Council to serve as the defacto "city government" for the 18,000 residents of that predominately black, suburban, unincorporated section of the County. In November, 1967, members of the first Municipal Council were elected for a two-year term.

The Council's advisory committees and full-time staff work with the County in design-

ing special programs to meet the needs of East Palo Alto residents in such areas as planning, police, streets, and sanitation. County departments furnishing services directly affecting the community regularly refer proposals to the Municipal Council for review and comment prior to submission to the Board of Supervisors. The Council conducts hearings on zone changes and high-rise permits and, with two community residents, serves as the San Mateo County Redevelopment Commission. It has initiated four community improvement projects — a storm drain, a Community Youth Responsibility Program to establish a juvenile justice system, a "701" planning grant, and a Neighborhood Development Program to rehabilitate housing — totaling \$2.6 million in federal funds.¹⁵ Recently, Governor Ronald Reagan signed a bill giving legal status to municipal advisory councils such as that in East Palo Alto.

Only 19% of the jurisdictions have taken the initiative in assisting in the establishment of community development corporations. In several counties these organizations are responsible for low-income housing construction (21 counties), planning (19 counties), and the administration of such functions as health centers (16 counties), recreation (16 counties), day care nurseries (14 counties), youth services (13 counties), libraries (11 counties), and vocational education programs (10 counties). The total median 1970 budget of neighborhood corporations in 8 counties was \$80,500, in contrast with \$200,000 for those in 15 cities.

Official Evaluation. Top county officials are even more satisfied than their municipal counterparts with the results of decentralization and citizen participation. With 56 counties reporting, 78% of the 96 classifiable official replies indicated that it has been "a difficult but very worthwhile experience resulting in increased trust and understanding between citizens, county courthouse officials, and public

¹⁵ See East Palo Alto Municipal Council, "Horizons 1970: First Annual Report to the Community," 1970; and "Horizons 1971: Second Annual Report to the Community," 1971.

administrators.” The municipal response here was 72%.

With regard to more unfavorable reactions, 16% of the replies from county officials – compared with 23% of those from city officials – pointed out that decentralization of services and citizen participation have produced very little change in citizen-courthouse official-public administrator relations, while 6% contended it has led to a deterioration in these relationships.

CONCLUSION

To sum up, several cities and a few counties are making progress in decentralizing services and

involving citizens in decision-making concerning their delivery. Yet most of the activity to date can be classified as territorial or administrative decentralization, with citizens playing an advisory and, to a lesser extent, a policy-making role. The degree of authority, responsibility, and discretion devolved to subordinate organizational levels or citizen groups varies widely in accordance with jurisdictional size, location, type, form of government, and other factors, such as the availability of federal community action or model cities funds. With respect to political decentralization or community control, the survey results suggest that it will take quite a while for reality to catch up with rhetoric.

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ON INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS¹

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