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This thesis, directed and approved by the candidate's committee, has been accepted by the Graduate Committee of The University of New Mexico in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts in Public Administration

A STRUCTURAL APPROACH TO CITY-COUNTY

Title

CONSOLIDATION IN ALBUQUERQUE-
BERNALILLO COUNTY

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A STRUCTURAL APPROACH TO CITY-COUNTY
CONSOLIDATION IN ALBUQUERQUE-
BERNALILLO COUNTY

BY

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B.A., California State College
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THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts in Public Administration
in the Graduate School of
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A STRUCTURAL APPROACH TO CITY-COUNTY
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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

The growing urban areas of the United States has brought about a number of metropolitan problems. These problems have multiplied over the past few years due to the population explosion and migration. The ability of urban governments to cope and function under these growing trends has been the subject of many urban scholars. Solutions proposed to overcome these problems have invariably revolved around some form of structural reorganization of local government. One of the most popular proposals for governmental reorganization has been the consolidation of city and county governments into a single government for the entire metropolitan area.

Studying six recent city-county consolidations, it was found that certain characteristics of the areas involved were similar. All these mergers had a history of past attempts at consolidation; they were all small to medium-sized cities; and, within the county's boundaries, there were very few incorporated areas. One of the most striking similarities was that all of these consolidations produced a mayor-council form of government.

Like the previous consolidations, Albuquerque-Bernalillo County has had a previous attempt at consolidating. Albuquerque is a medium-sized city and is one of two incor-

porated entities within the boundaries of Bernalillo County. With these favorable comparisons of previous consolidations to Albuquerque-Bernalillo County, it is assumed that consolidation will take place in the study area. With this assumption, it is hypothesized that the most likely structure of government to come out of consolidation in the Albuquerque-Bernalillo area will be a mayor-council form of government.

The methodology employed in this thesis used a comparative analysis of six previous consolidation, coupled with an analysis of past attempts at consolidating by Albuquerque-Bernalillo County. After correlating this, a sample survey was used to reinforce the hypothesis that a mayor-council form of government will be the most likely outcome of consolidation in this area.

In conclusion, it is hoped that with such major structural changes in the local government and the expanding geographical boundaries the normal voter apathy in local elections will not prevail. Only by means of the ballot box can this thesis be validated.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Overview

In the last century, America has gone through two substantial changes in its living patterns. From approximately the 1870's to the late 1920's, Americans shifted from a rural society to an urban one. The second change, which occurred in the last fifty years, has been from an urban society to a metropolitan one.

Before the metropolitan era predominated, cities were centers of industrial and commercial activities. Professor S. Greer, of Northwestern University, typifies the city of that era as "a set of concentric circles, with transportation crossroads at the center, heavy industry nearby, the marketplace and homes of the workers close at hand and, as we move outwards, increasingly wealthy residential neighborhoods."¹ During this period there were no large population concentrations outside the city limits, and the governmental structure outside these boundaries was designed for a basically rural condition. Professor Greer goes on to say that "the metropolis was held together by the great linchpin of the market and factories near the center; here the jobs were, the wealth and the excitement,

the things that held a spatial dispersion together as a single community. This was the city of the railway age, a city which lasted well into the 1920's."²

The metropolitan society is a relatively new phenomenon. Its geographical boundaries are hard to discern because it knows no geographic, political or district boundaries and seems immune to confinement. Irving Kristol defines the new era as inescapable, indefinable and frightening. "For the overwhelming fact of American life today, whether this life be lived in a central city or a suburb or a small city--or even in those rural areas where something like a third of our population still resides--is that it is life in an urban civilization."³ This era is awesome and is testing the very fiber and structure of the American democratic structure. Irving Kristol goes on to say that in terms of the quality of American life, the United States is now one vast metropolis. Cities are nothing new; the problems of cities are nothing new; but an urban civilization is very new indeed, and the problems of an urban civilization are without precedent in human history.⁴

There are two main factors which have produced the new society of the metropolitan era. First, with advancing technology the maximum possible size of a metropolitan area has continuously increased. Twentieth century technology, characterized by electric power, the combustion engine complex, the automobile, truck, highway and telephone, has made possible much larger clumping of people and economic activi-

ties than prior technologies. Second, the central city in the United States is a creature of the state legislature which incorporates it, grants its charter, delimits its powers and defines its boundaries. Although cities have some powers of annexation, the rate of population growth has far exceeded the rate of annexation.⁵ These factors have tended to increase, rather than decrease, the problems of government. As population grows and technology expands, the problems for decision-makers expand and grow also.

Studying the long-term growth of the population in the United States, two dominant trends seem to appear. One is the ever-larger proportion of the American population living in urban areas. The other trend is that the suburban outer fringe of the urban area is growing faster than the urban city limits. Kent Mathewson stipulates:

Historically, a region has grown as the central city has spilled over its boundaries. In that process of population sprawling beyond the city limits, the central city has continued to provide the work location for most regional residents, continued to provide specific services like water, sewage treatment, and such, and to provide the wide range of cultural services and facilities, including art and historical museums, a zoo, the symphony, the night life, the athletic teams. Providing such services and facilities to the regional population costs money, of course. As the overall population rises, the costs rise . . . but, the city's population has historically dwindled. Thus, the city resident winds up subsidizing the suburbanite.⁶

In 1790, 5 per cent of the population in the United States lived in urban areas; and by 1900, the

proportion had risen to 40 per cent. Twenty years later, over half of the population lived in urban areas.⁷

Today, two out of three Americans live in urban areas.⁸ The growth in urban population shows no sign of abating. It is a reflection not only of the shift of population from rural to urban areas, but of the tendency of urban populations to expand by natural increase. Hauser states that, "The increase in urban and metropolitan population is the result of net migration as well as natural increase. For example, between 1950 and 1960, 35 per cent of the total metropolitan growth was the result of net migration (including immigration) and 65 per cent the result of natural increase."⁹ As the population grows, so do the number of metropolitan areas. "In consequence," Hauser says, "by 1960, 70 per cent of the American people, 125 million, resided in over 6,000 urban places; and 63 per cent, or 113 million persons, lived in 212 Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA). In 1965, it is estimated that 65 per cent of the population, or 126 million persons, resided in 222 SMSA's."¹⁰

If metropolitan areas continue to grow, our metropolitan population in 1975 will approximate 140 million persons. Central cities will still hold great concentrations of people, but the balance will be shifted to areas outside the central city boundaries. By the year 2000, the population of this country will exceed 300 million, an increase of over 80 million, and as much as five-sixths of

this will be added to the metropolitan areas.¹¹

One response to the ever-increasing demands and needs caused by the expanding population is a great increase in the number of units of governments. Morton Grodzins states that:

There are something like 18,000 general-purpose municipalities, slightly fewer general-purpose townships, more than 3,000 counties, and so many special-purpose governments that no one can claim even to have counted them accurately. At an educated guess, there are at present some 92,000 tax-levying governments in the country.¹²

With the exception of school districts, the number of governmental units in metropolitan areas is growing. One factor in this mushrooming of governmental units is the unrealistic tax and debt limitations. Unable to secure a desired public service within the fiscal constraints imposed on existing jurisdictions, communities have simply created new ones. Many of the local units of government are too small and fail to secure maximum efficiency in public operations. Area-wide needs in many areas are met only by special-purpose institutions, area-wide or state-wide in scope. And, even with revenue sharing, there is a constant and ever increasing tendency of many urban governments to rely on higher levels of government to provide area-wide services and funding.

But neither the collection of municipalities and small special-service districts, nor the area-wide agencies, nor the State and Federal agencies focused on a single need are able to formulate effective governmental policy for a metropolitan area as a whole. Decisions as to area-wide priorities are made by conflict among these special-purpose,

region-wide and higher-level agencies.

At present, only State and Federal governments can tax the economic resources of the area as a whole for necessary public purposes. This creates an ever-increasing pressure by local communities for State and Federal assistance to deal with problems which the individual municipal government is incapable of managing or financing. This lack of an economic base and proliferation of governmental units has caused a gradual loss of local control.

This overlapping and multitude of governments creates waste by duplication, lack of economy of scale, and the inability to develop a comprehensive view of an area's needs and a system of priorities governing the meeting of needs.

Morton Grodzins feels that:

Many overlapping governments involved in many overlapping functions produce other attributes of the chaotic American system. Areas of government do not often correspond with problems of governments. In order to provide adequate facilities for, and control of, automobile transportation, a given large city will have to deal with literally hundreds of other governments. This lack of congruence between area and function complicates the official's problem; it complicates the citizen's even more so. . . . How does the citizen begin if he wishes to do something about his deteriorating neighborhood? Slum clearance involves three sets of law--local, state, and federal--and perhaps half a dozen separate administrative agencies, each with its own body of regulations. Points of influence and centers of decision are diffuse and obscure. More often than not the citizen cannot name most of the officers he elects, or describe the responsibilities of the governments that serve him. How can he hope to make them responsive to his wishes?¹³

The need for modernizing local governmental structures

in metropolitan areas is self-evident. If the metropolitan society is to function efficiently and effectively, it must have the authority to carry out these responsibilities which are clearly metropolitan in scope.

In this decade, as in the decade of the Sixties, the many complex problems of metropolitan areas will continue to arise out of expanding population and urban sprawl.

A recent government report states:

As the population continues to expand, the ability of local governments to cope alone with the challenges of their communities increasingly diminishes. The problems caused by population growth have their effect far beyond the urban areas. The non-urban, rural areas are increasingly economically depressed as substantial migrations of people and industry go to the urban areas. Consequently, the human and financial resources of the non-urban areas are depleted to the point where the ability of the local governments to meet their needs is seriously weakened. . . . There are other problems, affecting both urban and non-urban areas, which are essentially regional in nature. To be handled logically on the basis of the problem, these must be broached by several local governments together. Such problems are air and water pollution, adequate health and medical facilities, flood control, water supply, sewage and solid waste disposal, economic development and law enforcement. They are not respectors of jurisdictional boundaries.¹⁴

The urban sprawl over wide areas is not only hard to control, but, in many instances, vested interests don't want it to be controlled. Stephen B. Jones, Professor of Geography at Yale University, states, "Many of the problems of a growing city arise from the fact that its circulation expands faster than its 'iconography.' The metropolitan district outgrows the political limits, and vested local interests and loyalties

make political expansion difficult."¹⁵

The expanding demand for services, the need for health control, crime prevention and future planning seem to be correlated with population density and distribution. The increasing complexity of local governments to meet these demands creates duplication of services, overlapping jurisdictions, wasted resources, uncoordinated development, intergovernmental friction and poor planning. A research review prepared at Harvard University states:

The technological changes which have broadened the area of problem definitions and solutions have not yet been reflected in a broader span of governmental control. The coordination required for transportation planning, pollution control, or local economic development is not easily attained when it must be arranged through the joint efforts of numerous agencies and municipalities. Nor is innovation in either social organization or technology likely to flourish in such a situation.¹⁶

To coordinate and face the multiplicity of problems, many metropolitan areas have tried several solutions. Professor Stephen Jones states as follows:

A sort of "metropolitan-idea" may develop, leading usually to functional authorities rather than to political integration. In a few words, the urban problem is to make the political area fit the field. There are a number of choices possible, such as annexation of suburbs, city-county consolidation, metropolitan districts, functional authorities, state assumption of local functions.¹⁷

A more exact breakdown of these alternative forms was done by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. The Commission states that government reorganization in metropolitan areas can take at least ten major alternative

forms:

1. the use of extraterritorial powers
2. intergovernmental agreements
3. voluntary metropolitan councils
4. the urban county
5. transfer of functions to the State Government
6. metropolitan special districts
7. annexation and consolidation
8. city-county separation
9. city-county consolidation
10. federation¹⁸

Of all the approaches mentioned, this thesis will deal with only one--city-county consolidation.

Setting

Since 1949, ten city-counties have been formed through a vote of the people involved: Baton Rouge, Louisiana; Nashville, Tennessee; Jacksonville, Florida; Carson City, Nevada; Juneau and Sitka, Alaska; Columbus, Georgia; and Hampton, Virginia Beach, and Chesapeake, Virginia. Indianapolis and Marion County, Indiana were consolidated by the Indiana State Legislature.

A vast amount of literature has been devoted to reporting the advantages to be gained by instituting metropolitan-wide government. More than 100 surveys have been conducted which have accumulated and explicated the problems of supplying urban services to metropolitan area.¹⁹ A recent report written by Richard Burmeister, Albuquerque City Planner, states:

Prior to the June, 1962 approval of the Nashville-Davidson County Charter, the Nashville Metropolitan Area Governments were burdened with a number of problems which bear a distinct resemblance to the present situation within Bernalillo County. Briefly, there was the inability of the Davidson County Govern-

ment to serve its urban population due to a lack of statutory authority. The city government, on the other hand, was providing community-wide services such as libraries, a municipal auditorium and parks and recreation facilities, just to name a few, without any financial support from the county residents residing outside the City limits. In addition, there was the inevitable and expensive duplication of services.²⁰

Like Nashville, Albuquerque is in the unique position among growing cities of being one of only two municipalities in the one-county Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area. The other municipality is a small village, and since 1961, the New Mexico State Legislature prohibited further incorporation within five miles of a municipal boundary without the municipality's permission.²¹ The lack of other municipalities in the county and the size of Albuquerque (77 per cent of the total county population) have led to several contractual arrangements and joint efforts of the city and county to coordinate and expand their activities. Following is a listing of areas in which the County of Bernalillo and the City of Albuquerque are engaged in joint efforts:

1. Planning (land use; comprehensive planning)
2. Law Enforcement; Public Safety (Metropolitan Crime Commission, Office of Emergency Preparedness, 911, Probation Services, Driver Improvement and DWI Schools, Ambulance Service, Correction/Detention Department, Traffic Safety Commission, Pilot Cities Program, Alcohol Traffic Safety Program, Metro Squad)
3. Parks and Recreation (Recreational services; park development)
4. Environmental Health (Sanitation services; air quality control)
5. Manpower (Manpower Planning Council, manpower services)
6. Public Works (North and South Valley Water

Systems, proposed sewer systems; traffic signal maintenance; street maintenance exchange)

7. County-City Consolidation (County-City Consolidation Study Committee)²²

With the gradual expansion of City services to County residents and the constant use by the County of the City's expertise and facilities, the need for formal consolidation would seem to be but a formality or just a matter of time. As Kenneth Boulding states: "In any medium or structure there is a break boundary at which the system suddenly changes into another or passes some point of no return in its dynamic process."²³ The City of Albuquerque and Bernalillo County may have passed that break boundary already, for in many ways they are no longer two separate governments. The problem arises through the use of what Henry Cohen and others call "incrementalism"--the process by which the needs of the citizens are met by minimal strategies.²⁴ Even though a consolidation measure was defeated by the voters in 1959, the City and County Commissions decided to reconsider the matter.

On April 17, 1972, the County Commissioners of Bernalillo County and the City Commission of Albuquerque appointed fourteen persons to a "Joint County and City Charter Study Committee." By a letter dated May 9, 1972, the City and County Commissioners issued their "charge" or instructions to the Joint County and City Charter Study Committee. This was basically in two phases:

Phase I: "First considering the basic feasibility of consolidation. . ."

Phase II: "If the Committee recommends that consolidation is basically feasible and desirable, THEN . . . proceed with the preparation of an actual charter."²⁵

The Albuquerque-Bernalillo County, New Mexico, metropolitan area exhibits to some degree the same governmental problems found to exist in other metropolitan areas. If consolidation of the City of Albuquerque and Bernalillo County occurs, then a reorganization of the local governments into a metropolitan government will take place. It is the focus of this thesis to discern the type of governmental plan--council-manager, mayor-council or commission--this area will most likely produce.

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CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The 1920's saw the rise of metropolitanization of our urban areas, and the political scientists, including public administrators, began to recognize the problems associated with it.

During this period, urban political scientists focused their attention largely on the matter of structural reorganization of the metropolitan governmental pattern. Within the framework provided by the philosophy and assumptions of administrative management, they sought to document a case, first for total amalgamation of local units, and, when this remedy proved impossible of achievement, for some type of milder solution, such as functional consolidation.¹

Analyzing presumed deficiencies, these studies sought to document uneconomical and inefficient practices within the existing governmental structure. The researcher then would prescribe remedies which would involve changes in local governmental organization.

While political science was in the process of recommending administrative reform, urban sociology was undergoing a vast change. As urban political science had been normative and prescriptive in character, so had urban sociology. "However, with the publication of Robert E. Park's classic paper on the city in 1916, attention was directed to the need for systematic urban research and theory formulation."²

This call for empiricism in urban research resulted in an investigation into the concepts of social change, institutional organizations and functions and social stratification. Studies of this nature became quite common in the 1930's and 1940's.³

During the decade of the 1950's, research orientation tended toward larger-scale surveys in metropolitan areas. This type of research was much broader and systematic than the preceding trends. The collaboration during this period was widened to encompass a variety of disciplines: economists, sociologists and geographers, as well as political scientists. The structural organization of government became secondary to rigorous empirical investigations of leadership patterns, economics, and political and social attitudes and interests of the metropolitan area.

Toward the late 1950's and early 1960's, another research trend appeared. The focus of study shifted from the prescriptive character of policy guidance toward a greater knowledge about how the metropolitan system actually functions. Bollens and Schmandt describe this era as:

The time when many political scientists tended to discard governmental organization as a major dimension of the metropolitan problem. In fact, it appeared in some instances that in their reaction against the earlier bias for reorganizing the local government pattern, they were proceeding as though they were trying to make a case for political fragmentation.⁴

The last period, which extends to the present time, has developed into a multi-disciplined approach to metropolitan problems. A renewed emphasis on applied, or problem-

oriented research, coupled with basic research, has produced a wider scope and orientation to the researcher's perspective.

Daniel R. Grant perceives this era in saying:

To say that governmental structure is relevant is not to say that structure is the whole urban problem, or even 50 per cent of it. Governmental structure per se guarantees nothing. The voters can still elect incompetent mayors and councils, can still refuse to vote necessary tax increases, can still be misled by demagogues, or blocked by conservative community leaders. Such things as financial resources, political leadership, community traditions, and an interested and informed citizenry are also vitally relevant to urban problems.

A more defensible position is that the structure of local government is perhaps ten per cent of the problem, if a figure must be picked, but it is an important ten per cent. To develop a sensible structure is to remove one important obstacle on the road to urban progress. It guarantees nothing, but permits many things that would otherwise be impossible, or a great deal more difficult.⁵

It would appear, therefore, that many scholars perceive government structure as a valid and totally relevant subject for urban research. Using the Albuquerque-Bernalillo County as a case in point, it is the object of this thesis to investigate the structure of government that city-county consolidations tend to produce.

Methodology

The methodology proposed for this thesis will be an extensive literature search of previous accomplished city-county consolidations. This search will encompass the historical aspects of consolidation and the six most recent merges. The Virginia consolidations will not be considered in this thesis due to the unusual laws that exist in that

state. After these consolidations have been summarized, the City of Albuquerque and Bernalillo County will be compared and contrasted with the previous consolidated governments. This comparison will be used on the assumption that consolidation is most likely in the study area.

The city-county consolidation charter study committee will then be reviewed and testimony before the committee used to propose the possibility that:

1. consolidation will occur
2. a mayor-council form of government will most likely appear
3. at large and district councilmen will be the most advantageous form of council for this area.

A sample survey will be used in ascertaining the probability of the three hypotheses. John C. Bollens states that:

The sample survey is a tool of growing importance for the study of the behaviour of large human aggregates. The reason is clear. If all individuals were much alike, one could observe those about him and generalize to "people," and this is, in fact, what "common sense" usually rests upon. But when we must talk about large masses of people who are highly differentiated, then such easy generalizations are of doubtful reliability. The great virtue of the sample survey is the inclusion of all kinds of people in a population within a study group of manageable size.⁶

It is not within the scope of this thesis to take the whole population of Bernalillo County as a sample. Therefore, the sample survey will be limited to ninety-five persons of voting age.

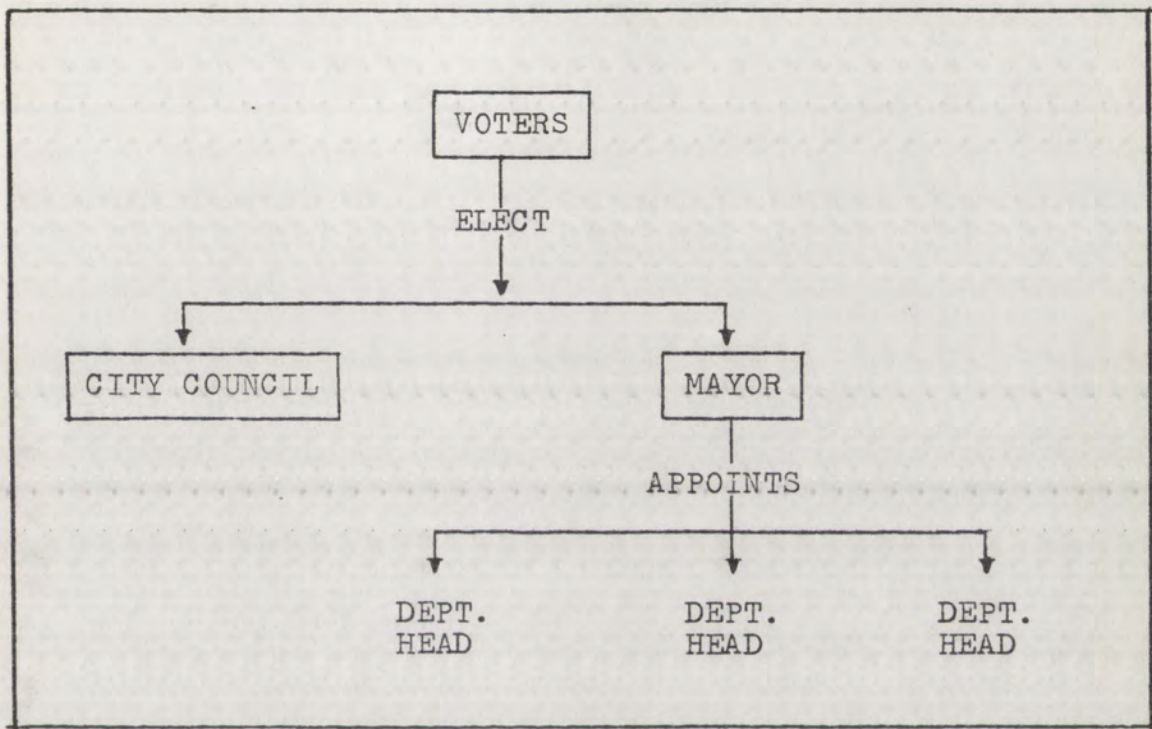
Bollens goes on to say that:

The procedure is to study a sample as an estimator of a much larger aggregate (called, technically, a universe or population). Insofar as the sample is a good one, certain statistical techniques hold for any kind of universe with a fair degree of confidence. On the basis of the sample, we can describe the existing situation (the distribution of household income in a city, the degree of satisfaction with governmental services); we can also move toward certain explanations (if most objectors to present police protection are Negroes and poorer White people, we have localized the dissatisfaction and are nearer explaining it than when we considered it applicable to the metropolitan population). Perhaps most important, we can test the common-sense generalizations as to their explanatory value for the population as a whole. (We can see if people are overwhelmingly dissatisfied with local government.) We can, therefore, correct, discard, and qualify the notions with which we began.⁷

The ninety-five persons who participated in this survey were from two classes of "Urban Government" at the University of Albuquerque and The League of Women Voters of Albuquerque. It was surmised that limiting the survey to these three groups would insure, as Bollen states, "that the questions asked would have the same meaning to all respondents."⁸ It was felt that these three sample groups had a good grasp of the three basic urban structures--mayor-council, commission, and council-manager--that predominate in American cities today.

The classical model is that of an elected mayor and elected council. Table I depicts the typical mayor-council form of government.

TABLE I



Lineberry and Sharkansky state that:

Depending upon the predominant influences at work in the initial design or modification, these structures may reflect emphasis on political accountability or professional management. Offices may be filled through partisan or non-partisan ballots; the personnel of administrative departments may be selected by the chief executive according to professional personnel standards and protected by a merit system; legislatures may be elected at large or from individual wards.⁹

Mayor-council form of government might also differ in formal powers. Commissions or boards selected by the council might appoint the department heads, or the mayor might not have the veto power a strong mayor-council would. This would be a case of weak mayor form of local government.

The second form of urban government came about through a reform movement against the political bossism that prevailed

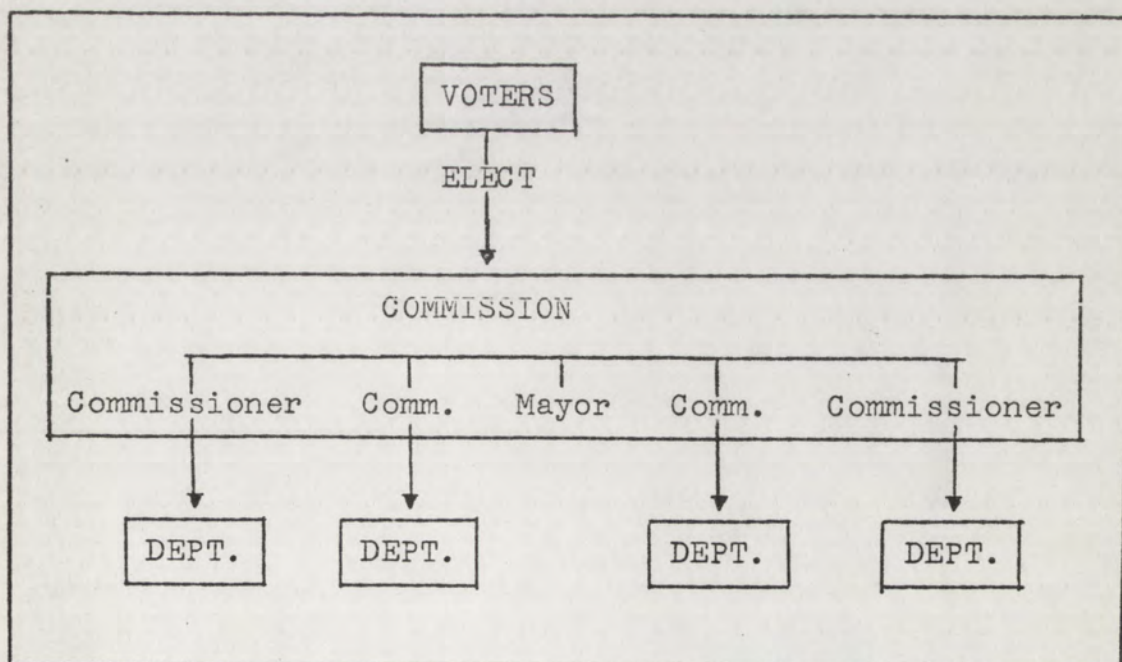
during the last half of the 19th century. The reform movement had its first victory in 1900. Galveston, Texas experimented with a new form of government--the commission plan. All municipal functions were vested in a small, five-man commission.

Kaufman explains:

In 1901 the new plan took effect, and the government of Galveston passed into the hands of a body of five officials, three appointed by the Governor and two elected by the voters. Four of the five were in charge of individual city departments; one served as mayor, but, under the circumstances, he was primarily a presiding and ceremonial officer. Collectively, the commission exercised the legislative powers of the city and jointly made all major appointments and other decisions.¹⁰

By 1914, more than 400 of the smaller cities of the country had tried the plan.¹¹ As Table II shows below, the small commission--usually five--was vested with all municipal functions.

TABLE II



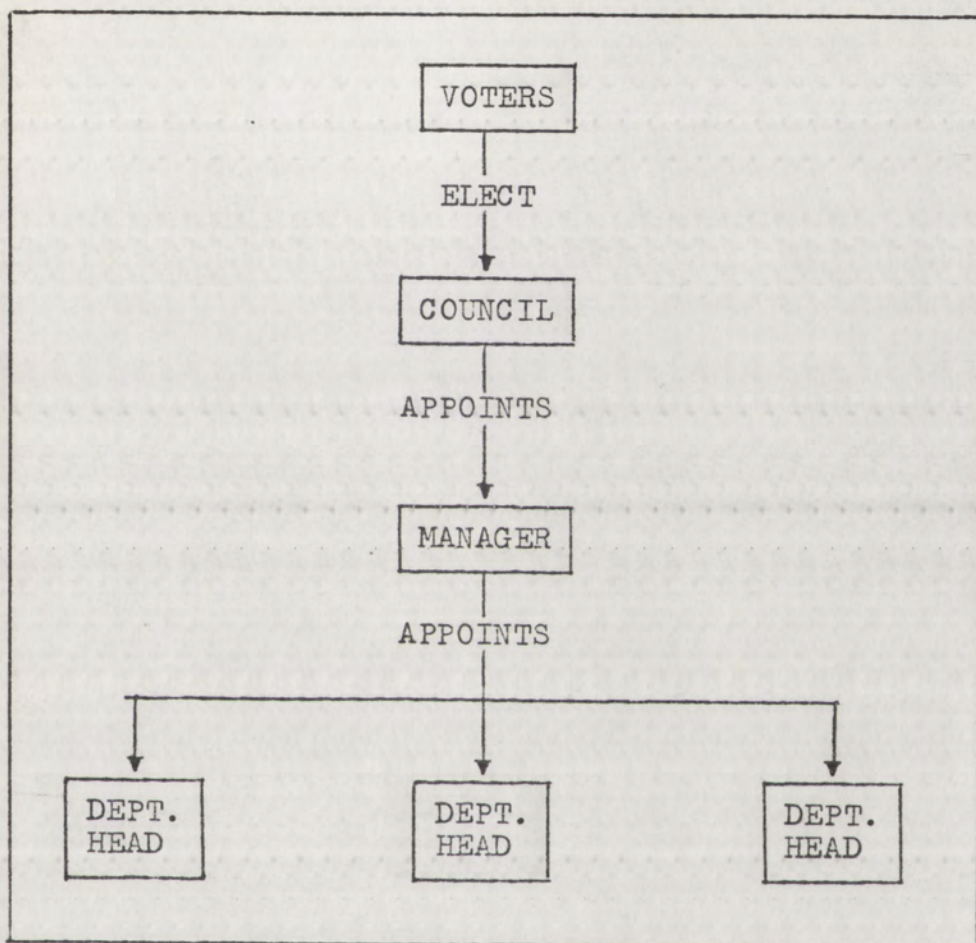
The commission form is now used by only thirty-seven cities with populations over 50,000, plus a smattering of smaller cities, mostly in the South.¹²

The third structure of urban government is the council-manager form. Although the city manager form of government was first proposed in Lockport, New York, it didn't gain publicity until Dayton, Ohio instituted it in 1914.¹³ This form of government combines a council with a professional administrator called a city manager.

It typically combines a small council, elected at large by non-partisan ballot, along with a professional administrator who is selected by (and responsible to) the council. There is often also a mayor, who performs ceremonial functions as head of the local government. He may preside at meetings of the council, represent the city on public occasions, and sign legal documents for the city. He may be elected by the voters or selected by the council from among their own members. The typical manager has the power to appoint (and remove) the heads of administrative departments, to prepare the budget for the council's consideration and to allocate funds after the budget's approval, and to make investigations, reports and policy recommendations to the council on his own initiative or at its request.¹⁴

This form of local government, as depicted by Table III, has been the most popular structure adopted by cities between 10,000 and 500,000 population.¹⁵ "Thus," states Kaufman, "in just a few decades, a new form of city government was designed and introduced, and bids fair in the years ahead to become the principal type of urban government in America."¹⁶

TABLE III



Hypothesis

Assuming consolidation occurs in Albuquerque-Bernalillo County, it is hypothesized that a mayor-council form of government will appear. Also, it is hypothesized that the council will be elected by a combination of districts and at-large candidates.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER II

1. John C. Bollens and Henry J. Schmandt, The Metropolis: Its People, Politics and Economic Life (2nd edition, New York: Harper and Row, 1970), p. 29.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p. 30.
5. Daniel R. Grant, "Urban Needs and State Response: Local Government Reorganization" in The States and the Urban Crises, ed. by Alan R. Campbell (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970), p. 65.
6. John C. Bollens, ed., Exploring the Metropolitan Community (Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1961), p. 419.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid., p. 420.
9. Robert L. Lineberry and Ira Sharkansky, Urban Politics and Public Policy (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), pp. 117-18.
10. Herbert Kaufman, Politics and Policies in State and Local Governments (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1953), p. 47.
11. John A. Kront, United States Since 1865 (14th edition, New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1964), p. 110.
12. Lineberry and Sharkansky, op. cit., p. 120.
13. Kaufman, op. cit., p. 48.
14. Lineberry and Sharkansky, op. cit., p. 119.
15. Kaufman, op. cit., p. 48.
16. Ibid., p. 49.

CHAPTER III

FOCUS

Metropolitan Government

Metropolitan Federalism,¹ or as Bollen and Schmandt call it "the two-level approach,"² to metropolitan problems has been associated with the city-county consolidation approach.

Metropolitan Federalism, like national federalism, is an attempt to devise a system that includes both a general government covering the entire area concerned and providing services of an area-wide nature and some type of sub-unit of government which has a more narrow geographic base and provides essentially local services. Bollen and Schmandt state "that under this plan, area-wide functions--one or many--are allotted to area-wide governments while local functions remain with local units, thus creating a metropolitan-local, two-tier system."³

By leaving local communities intact, it overcomes one of the major objections to city-county consolidations. Plans based on this principle have been proposed in St. Louis, Boston, and Pittsburgh, among other cities, only to be rejected.⁴ Two areas where federation governments are in operation are Toronto, Canada, and Miami, Florida. This form of government applies to large cities and counties that have a multitude of unincorporated small and large municipalities.

But this plan of metropolitan government is in great contrast to city-county consolidation, because one is a functional consolidation of various units at different levels, while the other (city-county consolidation) is a structural approach, or a one-government⁵ approach to area-wide problems.

City-Consolidation

City-county consolidation, as the term implies, consists of a partial or complete merger of the area and government of a county with that of the city or cities lying within it.⁶ Arthur Bromage states that "the theory of city-county consolidation is simple. Municipal boundaries are extended to coincide with those of the county, and the affairs of both are managed by one corporation: that is, by one legislative group and by one set of officers."⁷ Another authority, Harold F. Alderfer defines consolidation of city-county simply as, "One government performs the functions of both city and county within the boundaries of that local unit."⁸

There is another type of city-county consolidation in which the city attains separate status from the county in which it is located. The county then has no more control over the city than it does over another county. Each city, in addition to its normal city functions, performs for the city the other types of services that are usually performed by a county. This then, is a case of consolidation of city-county functions within the city limits. But some urban observers define this process differently, such as the following definition by Bollens and Schmandt:

Distinct from, but often confused with, city-county consolidation is another process of area adjustment, city-county separation. The latter features the detachment of a municipality, sometimes after its territorial enlargement, from the remainder of the county. The separated government then performs both municipal and county functions, although not necessarily all of the latter. Adding to public confusion over the two processes is the legal identification of some separated cities, Denver and San Francisco, for example, as city-counties. City-county separation is an act of withdrawal and is therefore not a metropolitan approach. Except in Virginia, where separation applies to every city, all other separations occurred many years ago: Baltimore (1851), San Francisco (1856), St. Louis (1876), and Denver (1902).⁹

In reality, city-county consolidation and city-county separation are not the same thing. In consolidation, the whole county with its rural areas and small municipalities becomes a city. Although separation would probably be easier to achieve, it does not solve the metropolitan problems and the need for unified administration of urban services within the entire community. One authority observes that separation is pretty much a dead issue today. The only exception to this would be in Virginia, where cities may separate from the county when they reach a population of 10,000. Upon separation, the city becomes completely independent, with the county giving up all jurisdiction, including taxation. There are currently over thirty independent cities in Virginia.¹⁰

City-county consolidation has been considered as one of many solutions for better local government, but there are few examples of this type of government. Bollens and

Schmandt state that "often proposed, never adopted" seems to apply aptly for the first half of the twentieth century.¹¹ There were five consolidations prior to 1912. These were: City and Parish of New Orleans (1805), Boston and Suffolk County (1821), City and County of Philadelphia (1854), City and County of Honolulu (1907) and, through a series of consolidations, New York City was extended to encompass the five counties of New York, Kings, Richmond, Queens and Bronx. These consolidations occurred between 1730 and 1912, with the 1898 consolidation the best known and the one involving the largest amount of territory.¹²

There was a common pattern that all of these pre-1912 consolidations followed. First, all of these earlier city-county consolidations were legalized and accomplished by state legislative acts without the local voters having to go to the ballot box. Second, they still maintained remnant county governments that functioned separately from the consolidated governments. Goodall observes:

The consolidations of New Orleans, Boston and Honolulu involved only one county and one city. The other two early consolidation, Philadelphia and New York, merged many local governmental units, including the public education systems. Philadelphia merged twenty-eight local governments in the county, and New York City, through its series of four consolidations, consumed five counties and numerous smaller units of government. The New York arrangement is unique in that areas kept their individual identity in the form of boroughs, and the boroughs also retained certain administrative powers as well as representation on the city council.¹³

All of these earlier consolidations were highly significant because at the time of their consolidation they were impor-

tant metropolitan centers, especially New York.

The period from 1912 to 1947 was a black era for city-county consolidation advocates. There were two main problems that advocates of consolidation had to overcome. First, passage of a state constitutional amendment or legislative enabling act authorizing metropolitan areas to adopt city-county consolidation. Secondly, approval of the proposal by local voters usually by two separate majorities, the central city and the rest of the county, was required.¹⁴ Attempts to consolidate that were blocked by their respective legislatures were: Birmingham, Cleveland, Kansas City (Missouri), Louisville, Milwaukee, Portland (Oregon) and Seattle. The cities that did manage to get the consolidation issue on the ballot but were defeated during this period were: St. Louis--St. Louis County; Macon-Bibb County, Georgia and Jacksonville--Duval County.¹⁵

City-county consolidation seemed an approach of the past until 1947, when a consolidation charter was adopted by the voters of the City of Baton Rouge and East Baton Rouge Parish. This consolidation was in many ways like the pre-1912 consolidations. In effect, it was only a partial consolidation because it provided for retention of both the city and parish governments. The legal identities of the two units were retained, but their governments were interlocked in several ways. The City councilmen of Baton Rouge constitute a majority of the members of the parish council. A mayor-president, elected on a parish-wide basis, presides over both coun-

cils and serves as the chief administrator of both governments. He appoints a member of administrative officials who serve both city and parish. Bollens and Schmandt break it down further:

A prominent innovation of the plan was the interlocking of the city and parish governments. The seven members of the city council and two other persons elected from the rural area constitute the parish council. The mayor-president, who serves as the chief administrator of both governments, presides over both councils, but has no vote, and is elected on a parish-wide basis. He appoints the finance director, personnel administrator, public works director, and purchasing agent, all of who serve both the city and the parish. He also selects the police and fire chiefs, who function only in the city. The parish council appoints the attorney, clerk, and treasurer, who are both city and parish officials. The city and the parish share equally in the cost of operating the finance department. Thus, the two governments are integrated at many key points, although there are separate government bodies and separate budgets and accounting for city and parish funds and a number of officials and boards continue to have independent status.¹⁶

In 1956, in order to further strengthen the plan of government, the people of East Baton Rouge Parish approved several other amendments to the City-Parish Charter. The most significant amendment was to authorize a limited veto power to the mayor-president. Prior to that time, the mayor-president presided over the councils but had no vote. However, the new amendment empowered the city-parish councils to override a veto by a two-thirds majority. At this time, the voters also authorized the creation of a new post of Administrative Assistant to the Mayor-President, since the

duties of this high office had become so complex. The assistant relieves the mayor-president of many routine duties. In 1972, the parish council was increased from nine members to eleven due to the increase in population calculated by the 1970 census.¹⁷

Another unique aspect of the Baton Rouge consolidation, that was later imitated extensively by other consolidation efforts, was the establishment of taxing and service zones throughout the consolidated area. Under the charter, the parish was to be divided into three sections--urban, rural and industrial. The City of Baton Rouge and surrounding densely populated territory would constitute the urban district, and district residents would pay a higher tax rate than the rest of the parish in return for which they would receive the usual municipal services--street lighting, sewers, refuse collection, etc.--in addition to the services provided for the entire parish. Residents of the rural area would pay a lower tax rate and would receive only general parish services in return. The industrial area was taxed at the general parish rate, received parish services and occupants were expected to provide their own municipal services.

Under the charter, the boundaries of Baton Rouge were extended to the limits of the urban area, thus increasing the territory of the city from about six square miles to thirty square miles and its population from about 35,000 to more than 100,000. The city government provides police and fire protection, garbage and refuse collection and disposal, street lighting, traffic regulation, sewerage and inspectional services in the urban area, which is subject to both city and parish taxes.

Bridges, highways, streets, sidewalks and airports are provided on a parish-wide basis by the public works department, which serves the city and the parish, and are financed by parish taxes. City-type services needed in the industrial areas are provided by the industries at their own expense. The rural zone cannot receive city-type services (except the services of the sheriff's department) unless special taxing districts are established there by the parish council to pay for them. Built-up, adjacent portions of the rural zone can be annexed to the urban area with the consent of a majority of the owners of the affected property and the city council. No further incorporations can take place in the parish.¹⁸

Consolidating efforts continued to grow in the late 1950's and on into the early 1960's, but without much success. Except for the two consolidations in Virginia in 1952, brought about by its unique State law, there were no consolidations until 1962. In spite of extensive interest in reform, however, few major structural changes have occurred when a vote was required. From 1950 to 1961, for example, there were six failures in seven attempts that contemplated the consolidation of two previously independent governments.¹⁹ All the attempts, except in the St. Louis Area, involved medium and small-sized metropolitan areas, as Table IV shows, predominately in the South. All required a majority vote by both the city and county residents, and all merging proposals provided some sort of taxing and service zones in the consolidated city-county.

Not until 1962 did another consolidation of city and county pass the voters. The merge of Nashville-Davidson County was only accomplished after both city and county residents affirmed the measure with a majority of the votes.

TABLE IV

RATE OF VOTER SUPPORT FOR CITY-COUNTY
CONSOLIDATION IN TWENTY-EIGHT REFERENDA, 1945-1971

YEAR	CONSOLIDATION REFERENDUM	CONSOLIDATION SUPPORT (%)	
		Success	Defeat
1949	Baton Rouge-East Baton Rouge Parish, La.	51.1	
1952	Hampton-Elizabeth County, Va.	88.7	
1958	Newport News-Warwick, Va.	66.9	
	Nashville-Davidson County, Tenn.		47.3
1959	Albuquerque-Bernalillo County, N.M.		30.0
	Knoxville-Knox County, Tenn.		16.7
1960	Macon-Bibb County, Ga.		35.8
1961	Durham-Durham County, N.C.		22.3
	Richmond-Henrico County, Va.		54.0
1962	Columbus-Muscogee County, Ga.		42.1
	Memphis-Shelby County, Tenn.		36.8
	Nashville-Davidson County, Tenn.	56.8	
	South Norfolk-Norfolk County, Va.	66.0	
	Virginia Beach-Princess Anne County, Va.	81.9	
1964	Chattanooga-Hamilton County, Tenn.		19.2
1967	Jacksonville-Duval County, Fla.	64.7	
	Tampa-Hillsborough County, Fla.		28.4
1969	Athens-Clarks County, Ga.		48.0
	Brunswick-Glynn County, Ga.		29.6
	Carson City-Ormsby County, Nev.	65.1	
	Roanoke-Roanoke County, Va.		66.4
1970	Charlottesville-Albemarle County, Va.		28.1
	Columbus-Muscogee County, Ga.	80.7	
	Chattanooga-Hamilton County, Tenn.		48.9
	Tampa-Hillsborough County, Fla.		30.7
1971	Augusta-Richmond County, Ga.		41.5
	Charlotte-Mecklenburg County, N.C.		30.5
Total Outcome		9	19
City-County Consolidations Attempted:			28

This merge came about on the second try. A civic leader states:

The merge attempt in 1958 had carried in Nashville, but the vote by county residents defeated the issue by a three-to-two margin. What happened between 1958 and 1962 to change the county residents' minds? One was the city's ten-dollar "green sticker" fee. This fee was imposed on all automobiles using the city streets, including those of city residents. Secondly, the city started mass annexation of surrounding unincorporated areas, thus angering citizens in outlying areas. Finally, the mayor, who supported the merge in 1958, changed his mind and opposed the 1962 consolidation effort, whereupon his opposition hopped over to the other side of the fence and supported the merge.²⁰

The first year after the consolidation charter passed was devoted to extensive studies and surveys, seventeen in all,²¹ to establish a starting point and provide the base for building the new government. Since that first year, there have been many accomplishments due to the merge. Some of these accomplishments are: the only city in Tennessee to have a stable property tax; consolidation of several sewage districts and completion of an area-wide service system; expansion of the city park system to the county and with 590 acres of new parks acquired and approximately 450 acres being obtained. The new government has extended health, hospital and welfare services, and branch libraries to the old county area. Also, street lighting has been extended to the county line on all major arteries. Nashville also has the largest urban renewal program in the Southeast, and the merged school system of the area has saved over a million tax dollars.²²

Some of the main complaints are the higher tax levy paid by residents of the old county.

The general services levy, which applies to the entire county area and would be the only tax paid in the general services district outside the old city limits, has gone up. Between 1960 and 1968, the rate increased 26 per cent in Davidson County, compared to 23 per cent in Hamilton County, 20 per cent in Shelby County and 19 per cent in Knox County. The metropolitan government is responsible for some of this higher tax burden outside the old city, because it forces those taxpayers to pay a part of county-wide services like the auditorium, the airport and parks which were formerly paid for entirely by city taxpayers. Many taxpayers outside Nashville, therefore, complain that they are now paying more taxes and receiving no new services. Actually, they are now paying for services which they formerly received free.²³

Consolidation occurred on June 28, 1962, and provided for one service district in the county area and one service district for the urban area. The urban services district would receive all those services usually provided by city and county governments. The remainder of the county would comprise the general services district, and only county services would be provided here. Separate tax rates would apply in the two districts, with the residents of the urban services district paying the higher rate in return for the additional services. Several smaller municipalities in the county were allowed to retain their identity in order to minimize opposition, but they have virtually no services to perform, and their existence is mostly in name only.

These suburban municipalities, which in total

contained only 16,000 residents at the time of the consolidation,²⁴ remain outside the urban services district but are included in the general services district and are, therefore, subject to the jurisdiction of the metropolitan government for area-wide functions and control. The urban service district provides services which include fire protection, intensified police protection, sewage disposal, water supply, street lighting and street cleaning; these services are paid by urban residents only. Functions performed by the metropolitan government and financed on an area-wide basis, that is, in the general services district, include schools, public health, police, courts, public welfare, public housing, urban renewal, streets and roads, traffic, transit, library, refuse disposal, and electrical, building, plumbing and housing codes.²⁵ An elective metropolitan county mayor and an elected forty-one member metropolitan county council, six chosen at large (including the council's presiding officer, the vice-mayor, who appoints all council committees but votes only to break a tie) and thirty-five forming single-member districts, are major organizational features. The mayor, who is full-time, has considerable authority. He appoints the heads of all departments, except the assessor and two minor officials who are separately elected, and he selects, with council confirmation, the members of practically all boards, including the school board.²⁶

Consolidation efforts gained momentum in the later half of the 1960's. Although the consolidation effort of

the city of Tampa and the County of Hillsborough, Florida failed to pass during the election of 1967, another one did. Jacksonville-Duval County, Florida residents voted in August of 1967 to abolish their old city and county governments and establish a single consolidated government to serve some 530,000 citizens in an 840 square mile area.²⁷ Like Nashville's consolidation, Jacksonville had several small municipalities that preferred to remain independent of the consolidation effort but still receive the services that the old county government provided.

The merged area is divided into a general services district and an urban services district. In the former, which contains the total territory, the new government supplies such services as airports, electricity, fire protection, health, hospitals, police protection, recreation and parks, schools, streets and highways, and welfare, all financed by area-wide funds. In the latter, which consists initially of the former city of Jacksonville, the new unit furnishes water, sewerage, street lighting and cleaning, and garbage and refuse collection, for which an additional charge is made. This district may be enlarged by action of the new government council as the need for these peculiarly urban-type services spreads to other sections of the area.²⁸

The consolidated government is a mayor-council system characterized by a fair degree of administrative

integration. The independently elected mayor, who may not serve more than two consecutive four-year terms and receives a full-time salary, appoints many of the department heads, subject to council confirmation, and selects a chief administrative officer. The council is composed of five members elected at large and fourteen chosen from single-member districts. The sheriff, tax assessor, tax collector and supervisor of elections are separately elected, as are the members of the civil service and school boards. Some of these officials not only retained their elective status, but also gained increased powers under the consolidation. The sheriff, for instance, has become the chief law enforcement officer throughout the area.²⁹

The first city-county consolidation in a Northern metropolitan area in over fifty years occurred in Indiana. The consolidation of the City of Indianapolis and County of Marion occurred in January, 1970. The consolidation of this city and county was unique because it was not done by the residents of the two areas, but by the Indiana General Assembly. The bill, nick-named "Unigov," was designed to provide a basis for a more efficient and economical system by unifying the executive functions of city and county governments.³⁰ A local official states:

The merging law eliminates most of the traditional powers of the three elected county commissioners and provides for a mayor, a twenty-nine-member council elected for a four-year term, six new city administrative departments (administration, development and planning, public works, transportation, public safety and parks and recrea-

tion) and special taxing and service districts. These districts will permit established legal units to request extension of city-county services to their residents. Future annexation of existing cities and towns is limited. Schools and police and fire departments are excluded from the consolidation. In Indiana, the State specifically separates school government in every city and county. The exclusion of police and fire departments in the consolidation were made in order to quell opposition. The courts and assessor office were conceded on the same grounds. ³¹

The mayor, limited to two consecutive four-year terms, is elected by the voters of the consolidated city-county. Four members of the council are elected at large, and the remaining twenty-five represent single-member districts of approximately equal population. The county treasurer, auditor and recorder serve as ex-officio members.

Even though Unigov has only been in force for a little over two years, it has been responsible for greater savings and efficiency. It has saved the local taxpayer money by streamlining city-county insurance contracts, bulk-purchasing, pooling of legal aid, reduction of employees, and in the process, the lowering of property taxes.

A noted authority of the merge contends:

There is general agreement, moreover, that various services have been improved. More than sixty-five new supervised recreation facilities have been set up. Road improvement has been dramatic, although the highway department was reduced from 750 to 600 persons. Chuckholes that hadn't been filled in a decade were rapidly taken care of. During Unigov's first two years, 408 miles of city and county streets were paved, compared with 65 during the previous four years. ³²

Indianapolis grew from twenty-sixth to twelfth place

in the population ranking of United States cities due to the extension of its boundaries to the county line.³³

Back in the South, city-county consolidation was being pushed in many areas. In Columbus, Georgia, consolidation was achieved on May 27, 1970, when the voters approved the merge by a four-to-one vote.³⁴ The County of Muskogee and the City of Columbus were merged and called Columbus. The new Columbus has a mayor-council-city manager government.

The mayor is the official spokesman for the government and its chief advocate of policy. He recommends the annual operations and capital budget and capital improvements program and may appoint, for his own information and assistance, advisory boards, commissions and committees which are to be answerable to him but are to serve only in an advisory capacity. He has no vote in council, except in the case of a tie.

The charter strengthened the mayor's hand by naming him the official spokesman for the government and its chief policy advocate and by giving him authority to select the city manager, director of public safety and city attorney with the approval of council. These three are accountable to the council as well as the mayor, but in practice, they work more closely with the mayor as an executive committee of government.

The city manager is responsible for professional day-to-day administration and supervision over governmental affairs and has appointive and removal powers over depart-

ment heads, with the advice and consent of the council.

The ten-member council makes policy, has broad investigatory powers, including the power to reorganize the government through the creation and alteration of departments, etc.³⁵

Since the City and County of Honolulu consolidated in 1907, the only other accomplished consolidation outside the continental United States was in Juneau, Alaska. The possibilities of unification were first considered in the mid-1960's and took root with the charter commission election in 1967. The first charter called for amalgamation of the cities of Juneau and Douglas and the Greater Juneau Borough, but was defeated by the voters in April, 1969.³⁶ The second charter passed in February, 1970, and although the city of Douglas took it to the State Supreme Court, the voters and the Court solidified the merge.³⁷

The final charter that was accepted provides for a nine-man assembly with members (other than the mayor) representing districts, but all elected at large. The former cities of Juneau and Douglas became service areas, as did the remaining "rural" area, with additional service areas created for specific purposes, such as fire protection.³⁸ While these designations have tax rate significance, all service areas are governed by the assembly, and the operations are all integrated into the city-borough organization.

The unification of three governments wasn't easy,

but has resulted in better centralized management. A centralized personnel system, based on merit principles, has been installed. All jobs have been classified parallel to state government classifications, with appropriate pay relationships. The codification of ordinances and centralization of the purchasing system, plus a uniform accounting system, are also the product of this merge.

The consolidation of these units of governments has produced something for Guinness's book of trivia.

My unimpeachable, reliable source informs me that rumor has it that Juneau is the second-largest city in the world. Upon unification in July of 1970, our town expanded to embrace 3,108 square miles of land, water and ice cap; second only to Kiruna, Sweden, which, for reasons we have yet been unable to understand, encompasses an area of 5,458 square miles.³⁹

The six most recent city-county consolidations-- Baton Rouge, Nashville, Jacksonville, Indianapolis, Columbus and Juneau are all similar in a number of ways. Each, with the exception of Juneau, included a single county and a single city. The majority of them occurred in the South in a growing, but still not heavily populated area, that had few local governments. Each excluded small municipalities. All six have service and tax differential zones. All have an independently elected chief executive invested with considerable authority. All render a number of major services on an area-wide basis.

Except for Baton Rouge, all the consolidations resemble each other in other respects. Each constitutes a complete mer-

ger, the full unification of city and county governments, whereas in Baton Rouge, the city and parish governments remain separate legal entities, although interlaced. Each was realized after an earlier rejection of the same type of reform, and at its installation, all had populations of under a million.

Comparing these previous city-county consolidations, it seems apparent that one form of local government predominates--that of mayor-council. As Table 2 below shows, all of the city-county consolidations produced the mayor-council form of government.

TABLE V

CITY-COUNTY	FORM OF GOVERNMENT	NO. OF COUNCILMEN		
		At Large	By Districts	Total
City of Baton Rouge Parish of East Baton Rouge	Mayor-President Parish Council	7	4	11
Nashville Davidson County	Mayor Metropolitan Council	6	35	41
Jacksonville Duval County	Mayor Council	5	14	19
Indianapolis Marion County	Mayor Council	4	25	29
Columbus Muskogee County	Mayor, City Manager Council	10		10
Cities of Juneau and Douglas Borough of Juneau	Mayor Council	9*		9

*Nine-man assembly that is selected by districts, then elected at large.

This trend of reorganization of local government seems contrary to national trends which lean toward the council-manager form. Mr. Mulrooney, City Manager of Claremont, California states:

By September, 1970, the council-manager plan covered the majority of all United States cities over 10,000 in population; in addition, 106 Canadian municipalities and approximately 1,800 European cities use the plan. There were only 388 managers in the nation in 1939; by January 1, 1970, there were 2,132. In 1970, among the 3,192 United States cities over 5,000 population, 47 per cent had the council-manager plan as compared with only 17 per cent under this form in 1940. During the same period, the mayor-council plan declined from 62 per cent in the same population bracket to less than 51 per cent, the minor forms making up the difference. The council-manager plan is now found in all states but Hawaii and Indiana.⁴⁰

If this statement is valid, then city-county consolidation should have produced at least one council-manager plan of government, but it didn't. It is the hypothesis of this thesis that, assuming consolidation of the City of Albuquerque and Bernalillo County occurs, that consolidation will produce a mayor-council plan of government.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER III

1. Leonard E. Goodall, The American Metropolis (Chicago: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1968), p. 106.
2. John C. Bollens and Henry J. Schmandt, The Metropolis: Its People, Politics, and Economic Life (2nd ed.; New York: Harper and Row, 1970), p. 312.
3. Ibid., p. 313
4. Goodall, op. cit., p. 106.
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CHAPTER IV

ALBUQUERQUE-BERNALILLO COUNTY

City-County Consolidation 1959

Albuquerque-Bernalillo County compares favorably to the previous six consolidated areas. Governmental fragmentation, while not approaching that of larger metropolitan areas, is present in Albuquerque. The U. S. Department of Commerce, in a 1967 report, counted eight units of local government in Bernalillo County.¹ The number of elected officials in this area numbered eighty-one.² The single-county criterion of the previous consolidations has been met in Bernalillo. The population of Bernalillo County was surveyed at 313,865 by the 1970 Decennial Census, a growth rate of 20 per cent since 1960.³ The population within the city limits of Albuquerque was 242,447, with the remaining 71,418 outside Albuquerque.⁴

City-county consolidation was first considered on January 6, 1946. Harry Cornelius, County Commissioner, proposed "that all of Bernalillo County be incorporated into a single governmental subdivision to form a Greater Albuquerque with a population of 100,000."⁵ Cornelius went on to say that the plan would:

. . .weld the entire county into one large

city, provide a single metropolitan police force, provide a county-wide system of sewers, establish a single tax rate to replace the present system of setting rates for each district, provide for a metropolitan fire-fighting force and place the entire county government under a single manager, or other chief executive.⁶

The manner in which cities and counties may combine into a single local government organization has been determined by the State of New Mexico Legislature. Quoting from the New Mexico Municipal Code:

14-15-2. Combined organization--Charter committee--Proposed charter--Election--Ballots.

When the total population of any combined municipal organization shall be at least fifty thousand (50,000) inhabitants, a city-county government may be organized as hereinafter provided. The legislative authority of any city within a combined municipal organization by ordinance, and the county commissioners of a county within the same combined municipal organization, by resolution, may express their desire that the question of the formation of a combined city and county municipal corporation shall be submitted to the voters of the city and the county outside the city, in accordance with article 10, section 4 of the Constitution of New Mexico, at a special election called and held as hereinafter provided. In the event approval is obtained by ordinance in the city and by resolution of the county commissioners, then the governing body of any city may appoint seven (7) members who are residents of the city, and the county commissioners may appoint seven (7) members who are residents of the county, making a total of fourteen (14) members, which will form a city and county charter committee. Said charter committee shall meet to draft a charter not inconsistent with the constitution and laws of New Mexico pertaining to city charters. The proposed charter must be approved by a majority of the fourteen (14) appointed members of the charter committee. In the event said proposed charter is approved by the committee, it shall be submitted separately to the county commissioners and governing body of the city, and must be approved by a majority vote of each of these bodies. In the event said bodies approve the proposed charter, then, within sixty (60) days,

the county commissioners shall call a special election to be held in the combined municipal organization for the purpose of voting upon the question of city-county consolidation and upon the proposed charter therefor. The special election shall be called, conducted and canvassed in the same manner as general elections for the election of county officers are called, conducted and canvassed; Provided, that the vote of electors in voting divisions in each election unit upon each proposition shall be separately counted, canvassed and kept.] The ballot for such special election shall be substantially as follows:

"City and County Consolidation: Shall the city of _____ (here insert name of city) be consolidated with the remainder of the county of _____ (here insert name of county in which the city is located) as a political subdivision and become a combined city and county government? YES _____ NO _____

Shall the City and County of _____ (here insert name of city and county) adopt the proposed city and county charter? YES _____ NO _____"

A copy of the proposed charter shall be posted at or near the front entrance of each voting division in plain view of the electors desiring to vote thereon. Each registered voter of the city and county shall be entitled to vote in the precinct or election district in which he is registered, and the propositions shall be submitted in such manner that the voters may vote for or against them. If a majority of the voters voting on the propositions in the county outside the city vote in favor of the propositions submitted, a city and county government for the combined municipal organization shall be established in accordance with sections 14-15-1 through 14-15-18, New Mexico Statutes Annotated, 1953 Compilation. If a majority vote of either election unit is against the proposition of consolidation, the proposition shall not again be submitted to the voters of the combined municipal organization within two (2) years of the date of such election. The cost of the election and preparing the proposed city and county charter shall be apportioned between, and paid by, the city and county in proportion to the number of votes cast on the proposition inside the city and the number of votes cast in the county outside the city.⁷

With this initial legislation, the City of Albuquerque and Bernalillo County appointed seven members each to a city-county charter study committee. Established in 1952, it took them six years to complete their work, and it wasn't until the October 6, 1959⁸ election that they could get their consolidation charter on the ballot.

The original draft of the proposed charter, completed in December, 1956, was 121 pages in length and included civil service, as well as many other detailed provisions of a statutory, rather than a constitutional, nature.⁹

Early in 1957, the charter study committee appointed a sub-committee to prepare a shorter, simplified document. The revised draft was submitted to the City and County Commissions in January, 1958, for the establishment of a referendum date. On September 1st and 2nd, 1959, the City and County Commissions unexpectedly decided to schedule the referendum at the October 6th municipal election.¹⁰

The enabling legislation required approval of a majority of voters in both the municipality and the county. (There were no other incorporated places in Bernalillo County at the time.) Two separate questions were voted upon: the concept of city-county consolidation per se and the specifically proposed charter for a consolidated government. Approximately 22 per cent of the total voter registration of 88,026 voted on this issue.¹¹ The results of the referendum are summarized in Table VI.

TABLE VI

CONSOLIDATION			
	<u>For</u>	<u>Against</u>	<u>Total</u>
CITY	5,626	10,212	15,838
COUNTY	<u>154</u>	<u>3,229</u>	<u>3,383</u>
TOTAL	5,780	13,441	19,221

CHARTER			
	<u>For</u>	<u>Against</u>	<u>Total</u>
CITY	5,122	10,265	15,387
COUNTY	<u>150</u>	<u>3,368</u>	<u>3,518</u>
TOTAL	5,272	13,633	18,905

The proposed charter provided for the incorporation of the City-County of Albuquerque, New Mexico, which had the limits of Bernalillo County. Its powers were those granted to municipal corporations, cities and counties by the constitution and statutes of the state.

The governing body combined legislative and collective executive powers. A seven-member city-county commission was to be elected at large, with two members to be elected at large from the rural portion of the new governmental unit. Rural was defined as the portion of Bernalillo County not within the municipal limits of the City of Albuquerque at the time of the charter's adoption.

Initially, legislative authority was to be rested in the present City and County Commissions, which would

serve jointly until the expiration of their terms. City-County Commissioners would then have been elected for staggered four-year terms, three being elected at one election, and four the next; one commissioner from the rural area was to be elected at each election.

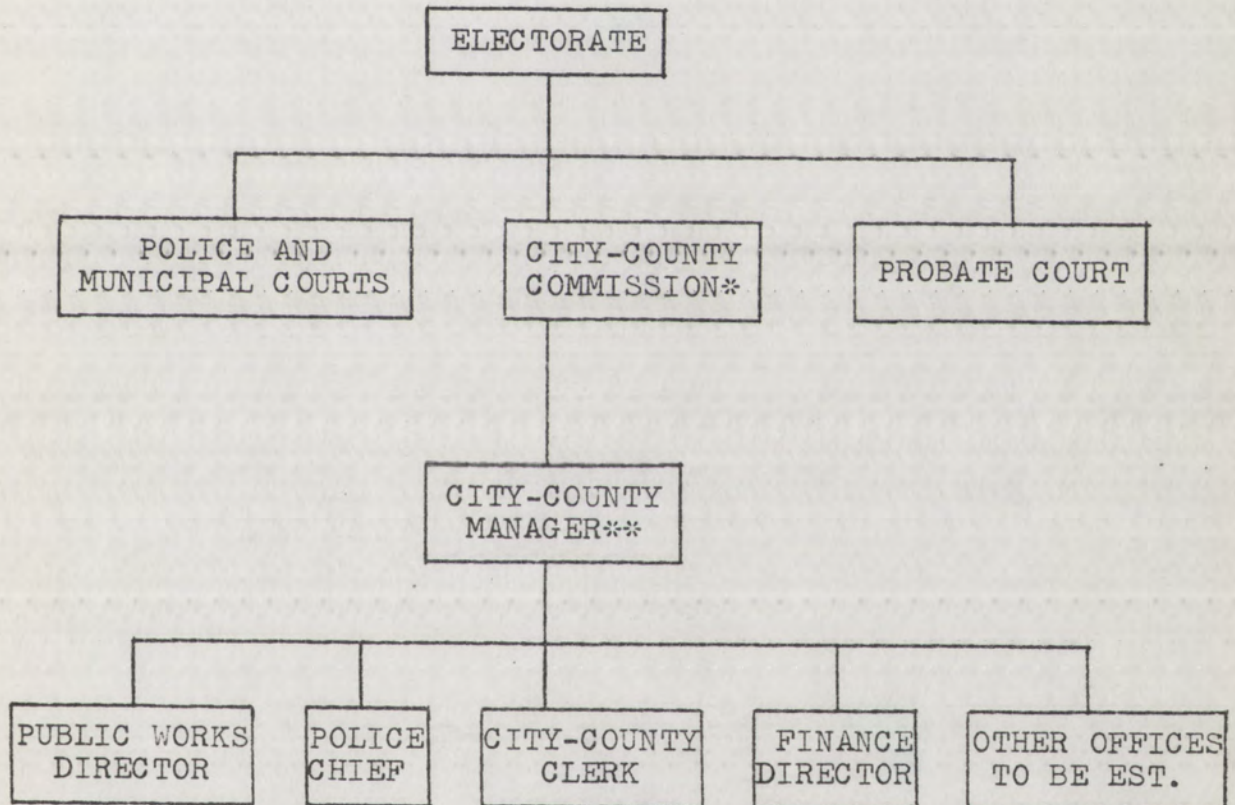
The City-County Commission would have a city-county manager to serve as the chief executive and administrative officer. Directors of all administrative departments were to be appointed by the city-county manager.

The charter also provided for differential taxation levels based upon levels of service. It also provided for a period of transition from the separately governed city and county to the new governmental unit. Table VII, on the following page, depicts the proposed organizational chart.

Ed Balcomb, Chairman of the County Commission, forecasted a negative vote on the new charter. The results confirmed his feeling; the 1959 election resulted in a sound defeat for city-county consolidation by approximately 13,500 to 5,800.¹²

The reasons for defeat stem largely from the committee's lengthy study. The study took six years, and during this time, twenty-eight people had been committee members. When the charter went up for a vote, half of the charter committee actively campaigned against it. The County Commissioners vocally stated they were against the merge. Another problem was that the county residents equated consolidation with annexation and, therefore, saw no benefit for

TABLE VII



* Seven-member Commission, five from urban areas elected at large; two from rural areas elected at large.

Rural area defined as that portion of Bernalillo County not within the municipal limits of the City of Albuquerque at the time of the charter's adoption.

** Hire City-County Manager who can only be removed by showing cause.

themselves. One member of the charter committee even went as far as to threaten the valley residents with annexation unless they voted for the new charter.¹³ The newspaper coverage was badly done. Very little interest by the newspapers and lack of united support of the committee and governments involved helped to defeat the measure.

The Changing Structure

The community that was later to be called the City of Albuquerque was established in 1706, with the founding of old town by the Spanish. Albuquerque was chartered as a town in 1885, while New Mexico was still a territory of the United States, and in 1891, the town was incorporated under territorial law and became a city.¹⁴

The form of government the city adopted was aldermanic--mayor-council--which consisted of a mayor and eight aldermen elected from four wards. This governmental structure lasted until 1917, when the city adopted a new charter calling for a council-manager form of government. This new government consisted of three councilmen elected at large and a city manager appointed by the council. In 1919, the charter was changed again to expand the council from three members to five. It was during this time that the state legislature tried to impose requirements that the councilmen be nominated by wards, or districts, and then elected at large, but this plan was rejected by the voters because they felt the old political "hacks" would take over. The

1919 amendment to the charter also abolished the five-dollar payments which councilmen received for attending meetings.¹⁵

On February 15, 1966, a special election was held, and eight amendments were adopted, adding some new sections and repealing some other sections. These amendments were submitted to the electors of the City of Albuquerque upon recommendations made by a city charter study committee appointed by the City Commission on July 6, 1965.¹⁶ Of the nine proposals approved by the committee, one was rejected by the electorate. The rejected proposal would have increased the number of City Commissioners from five to seven and changed the general election date to the first Tuesday of March in even-numbered years.

On November 3, 1970, the New Mexico electorate approved an amendment to the state constitution providing for municipal home rule. The City Commission of Albuquerque proposed a revision committee to study the matter. Members of the study committee included representatives of the League of Women Voters, which agreed to jointly sponsor the resolution. The resolution was presented on November 29th to the City Commission and stated in part:

The Charter for Albuquerque, New Mexico, adopted in 1917 and amended in 1919 and 1966, provides inadequate means and mechanisms for the efficient and effective governmental operations of the city. . . The Charter Revision Committee should include consideration of at least the following issues:

- a. Modifications in the current form of government. . . including consideration of a mayor-council-manager form of government.

- b. Compensation of elected governmental officials commensurate with the duties and responsibilities of their respective offices. . .
- c. Districting of the City for elections in a manner which will combine districting and at-large representation on the council or commission. . .
- d. Provisions for the City of Albuquerque . . .to levy taxes on its citizens.¹⁷

On December 7, 1970, the City Commission appointed a charter study committee, which made its final report on May 10, 1971. Its recommendations, consisting of five proposals, was submitted to the voters on June 29, 1971. Three of the five proposals were adopted. These were:

Charter Amendment 1: A proposal to amend the preamble and Article I of the City Charter, providing for "home rule" for the people of Albuquerque.

Charter Amendment 3: A proposal to amend Article V of the City Charter, providing for prohibition of discrimination and preservation, protection and promotion of human rights and directing the City Council to take certain action to achieve these goals.

Charter Amendment 4: A proposal to amend Article V of the City Charter, providing for preservation and protection of the environment and directing the City Council to take certain action to achieve these goals.

The two proposals that were not adopted:

Charter Amendment 2: A proposal to provide a change in City governmental structure by amending Articles II, III, IV, V, VI and VII of the City Charter, providing for a compensated mayor, defining the mayor's powers and duties, providing for councilmen to be elected from districts, defining what council is and providing for a six-member compensated

council, defining the council's powers and duties, defining who may vote in City elections, providing for petitions and filing fees for mayor and council candidates, and providing for a city manager.

Charter Amendment 5: A proposal to amend Article IV of the City Charter, providing for allowing the City Council to establish elective citizen district councils and give them certain powers.¹⁸

Out of the 104,000 registered voters in the City, only 22,602, or 22 per cent, turned out. The final vote on these amendments is indicated on Table VIII.¹⁹

Of the two propositions that failed, the one on district councils, No. 5, failed completely. Proposition No. 2 could have passed if the Democratic party felt the new charter to be in the interest of Albuquerque. Of the 104,000 registered voters, 57,500 are Democrats and 40,000 Republicans, with another 6,500 Independents. Only six polling places out of sixty are Republican-dominated.²⁰

Like the city-county charter issue of 1959, the charter revision for mayor-council lacked organized support. Also, the daily afternoon newspaper, The Tribune, didn't support the plan. Again like the previous attempt at charter revision, there was an obvious lack of unity among civic leaders and confusion around the content, rationale and presentation of issues.

Another problem arose also where the citizens had difficulty in distinguishing between the mayor and the manager. The proposition called the new government a mayor-council-manager form of government. Like their confusion

TABLE VIII

VOTE SUMMARY

Proposition 1: Home Rule

For	16,066
Against	6,536
Total	22,602
Margin	9,530
For: 71%	Against: 29%

Proposition 2: Compensated Mayor; Districted Council

For	10,141
Against	12,446
Total	22,587
Margin	2,305
For: 44%	Against: 56%

Proposition 3: Human Rights

For	14,767
Against	7,672
Total	22,439
Margin	7,095
For: 66%	Against: 34%

Proposition 4: Environmental Protection

For	15,500
Against	6,915
Total	22,415
Margin	8,585
For: 69%	Against: 31%

Proposition 5: District Councils

For	8,324
Against	14,091
Total	22,415
Margin	5,767
For: 37%	Against: 63%

between annexation and consolidation, the citizens couldn't see paying salaries for a mayor plus a manager; the roles were never sharply defined.

Joseph Crumlisk, in his study of the 1950 Philadelphia Home Rule Charter Movement, commented that, "The powerful hammering of The Inquirer and The Bulletin, each having a circulation of over 600,000 daily, was perhaps the most important single factor in the campaign."²¹ This highlights the importance of the news media's active role in publicizing the various issues and promoting public participation in the charter committee's meetings.

A recent study on government reorganizations included some "do's and don't's" as a guide to cities contemplating changes. These included three areas where failure might be noted:

1. In all stages of the study, from initiation to report, keep the public fully informed in order to dispel suspicion and opposition.
2. Engage the active support of business and civic groups and the news media.
3. Don't put too many changes on the ballot at one time.²²

All three of these elements seemed to be lacking in the committee's attempt to push the new structural form of government. The mayor-council-manager form of government wasn't fully explained, coupled with the districting concept for electing councilmen, creating the fear of city residents

of big, powerful, political, boss-ridden, ward-dealing city government. This was the impression created by The Tribune of the likely result of a compensated mayor-districted council government.

In conclusion, these previous charter revisions failed because, first of all, the public didn't understand the basic issues involved and/or were confused by the terminology used. Secondly, lack of a unified effort on the part of the civic leaders and bad publicity of the new charter brought about fragmented and uncoordinated efforts that produced their defeat. Voter apathy and lack of interest was still another element that was instrumental in their defeat. Any future efforts toward reorganization of the local government will have to pacify and motivate these various elements to promote a new charter.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER IV

1. U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Governments, 1967, Vol. 7: State Reports, No. 31: New Mexico (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1970), p. 36.
(The types of local government units were: four special districts, two municipalities, one school district and one county.)
2. Ibid.
3. City-County Consolidation Fact Sheet Albuquerque-Bernalillo County, p. 1.
4. Ibid.
5. The Albuquerque (New Mexico) Journal, June 27, 1972, p. A-5.
6. New Mexico Municipal League, New Mexico Municipal Code (Indianapolis: The Allen Smith Company, 1968), pp. 71-72.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. "Albuquerque Votes Against Merge," National Civic Review, November, 1959, p. 18.
10. Ibid., p. 17.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Interview with Mr. James Coleman, County-City Charter Study Committee Executive Director, April 4, 1973.
14. Dorothy Cline, Albuquerque and The City Manager Plan 1917-1948 (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Printing Plant, 1951), p. 6.
15. City Charter, City of Albuquerque, Postscript, June 29, 1971.

16. Ibid.
17. Albuquerque Urban Observatory, "Charter Revision in Albuquerque: Establishment of Home Rule," October 8, 1971, p. 2.
18. Ibid., pp. 31-32.
19. Ibid., p. 40.
20. Ibid., p. 48.
21. Joseph D. Crumlisk, A City Finds Itself (Wayne State University Press, 1959), p. 37.
22. Edward Young, "Reorganizing City Government," Nation's Cities (Washington: National League of Cities, November, 1970), pp. 8-11.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Summary of Findings

The previous attempt to consolidate failed due to a number of factors: lack of active support by the city's two leading newspapers, The Albuquerque Journal and The Albuquerque Tribune; the lack of a unified approach to the issue by the Consolidation Committee, City Commission and County Commission; the lack of understanding by the citizens of the issues involved and the misunderstanding by rural voters of the concept of city-county consolidation.

The new County-City Charter Study Committee, which was organized April 17, 1972, took the previous failure to heart and actively pursued to dispel the misunderstanding that the past consolidation created.

On November 12, 1972, an editorial in the Sunday issue of The Albuquerque Journal favored consolidation. The editorial stated that, "We reiterate that support in endorsing an affirmative recommendation for consolidation presented to both county and municipal governments."¹ The Albuquerque Tribune, although not actively against consolidation as it was in the 1959 attempt, so far has remained neutral.

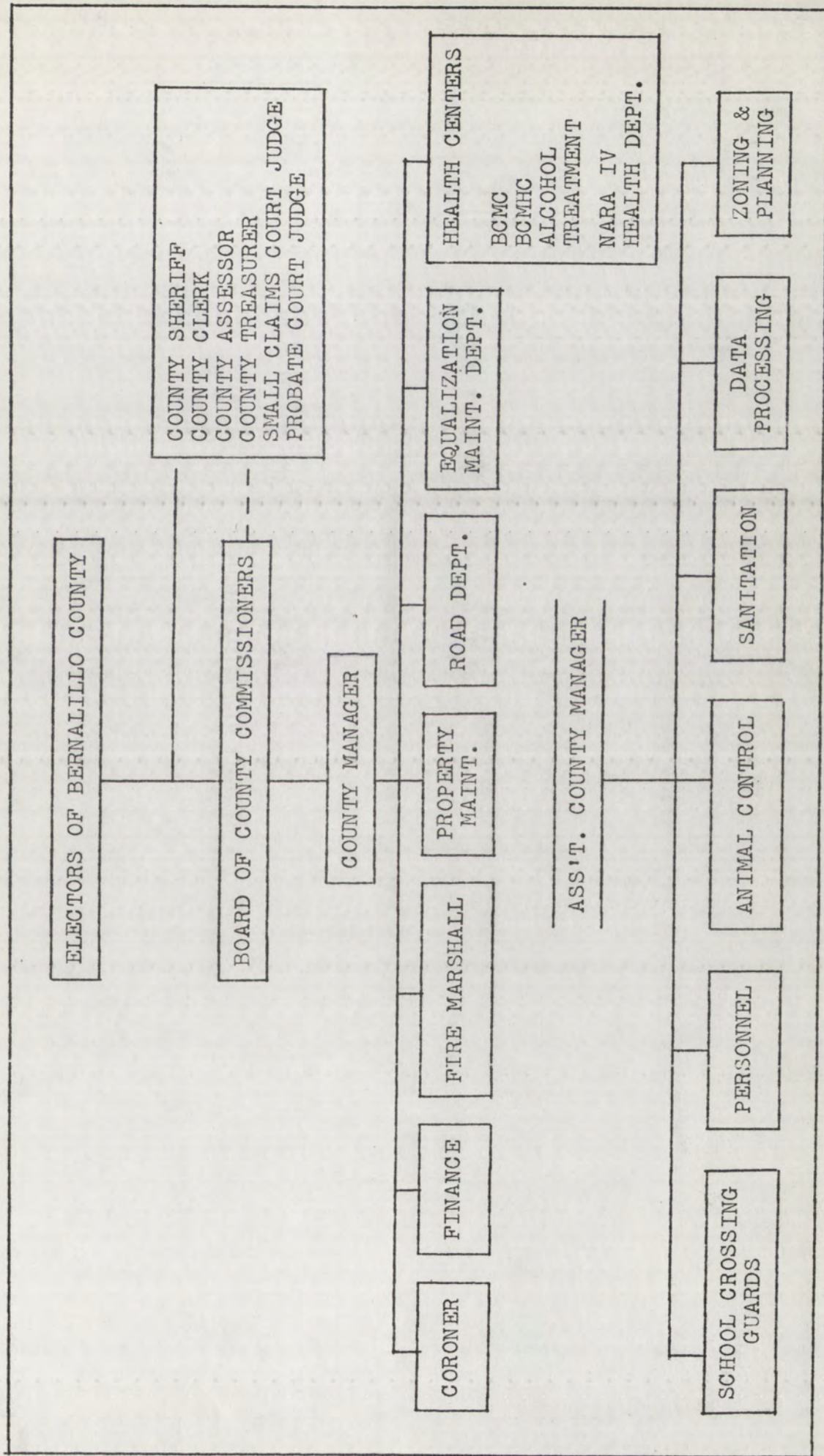
The new County-City Charter Study Committee is firmly united in the belief that city-county consolidation is not only feasible, but a must for the future of the area. The November 10th, 1972 issue of The Albuquerque Journal stated that, "The County-City Charter Study Committee Thursday unanimously recommended consolidation of the city and county governments--endorsing a strong mayor-council form of government."²

Many of the reasons for consolidation center around the economic aspects of the proposal. But G. P. Reyes, Charter Committee Member and former City Commissioner, stated that, "The current city government was established in 1917, in which only 950 persons voted for the current City Charter. Now that the population exceeds 300,000 persons, can our present form of government, established in 1917, serve effectively today? I say it can't and has not been able to do so for some time."³

Looking at the county government, Reyes said, "County government was established in 1876 by the 22nd Legislative Assembly, which gave people outside the city limits--with a population totaling 80,000 persons--no representation at all."⁴ Another committee member, Mrs. Hester Eastham, referring to representation, stipulated that, "Currently, all three county commissioners are city dwellers--none living in the county area,"⁵ thus verifying the lack of representation county residents have who live beyond the city limits.

The structure of county government, Table IX, centers around the three county commissioners, and even though there

TABLE IX



is a county manager, instituted in 1945, there is a definite lack of professionalism. County Commissioner James P. Morris stated that consolidation of city and county government was a good thing and asked "for public support in seeing that county government moves ahead rather than maintaining the stigma of a political spoils system."⁶

So, unlike the 1959 attempt at consolidation, the County-City Charter Study Committee is united in their attempt at consolidation, and both city and county governments have given their approval for the formulation of a new consolidation charter.

A recent survey conducted by the Albuquerque Urban Observatory found that those citizens within the City of Albuquerque tend to favor consolidation.⁷ Those outside the city limits seem to favor consolidation, too, according to a recent article in The Journal. It stated that:

Consolidation of city and county governments may be gaining ground as less and less resistance appears evident each passing week. Those numerous committees--mostly from the mountain areas--formed last fall intent on killing any consolidation move, are less vocal after months of hearings and meetings. The questions now heard are: "What form is this new government going to take, and am I going to get representation?"⁸

Consolidation the second time around seems to be in a much more favorable light than it was in 1959. Assuming that consolidation occurs, what plan of government would the new charter contain? It has been hypothesized that, like the six consolidations previously cited, the new government would

have a mayor-council plan.

The three plans considered in the study area are strong mayor-council, weak mayor-council and the current plan, that of council-manager. Table X, on the following page, gives the various characteristics of these three forms.⁹

Sample Survey

Both The Albuquerque Journal and the charter study committee favor the idea of a strong-mayor plan of government. To support the likelihood of a strong-mayor plan of government occurring in this area, a sample survey was taken.

The survey consisted of two classes of "Urban Government" at the University of Albuquerque and a meeting of the League of Women Voters, held January 31, 1973. The survey was limited to these three groups, because it was surmised that they had a good grasp of the different forms of local government and thus could give an informed answer to the questionnaire. The sample group consisted of ninety-five eligible voters.

The questionnaire consisted of three parts. The first part asked what form of government the respondent felt was best for the consolidated area:

1. Strong Mayor-Council
2. Weak Mayor-Council
3. Council-Manager

The second part asked the respondent what type of represen-

TABLE X

AUTHORITY OF CHIEF EXECUTIVE

	Broad Executive Powers (Mayor-Council Form)	Limited Executive Powers (Mayor-Council Form)	Limited Executive Powers (Council-Manager Form)
Selection Process	All voters--at large election.	1. All voters--at large election. 2. By vote of the council.	Manager appointed by the council.
Administrative authority over staff	Yes--department heads serve at the pleasure of the mayor. Depending upon specific charter language, department heads hiring and firing might be subject to council ratification.	No--key department heads are usually appointed by the council or, as in some instances, they are elective positions. Hearings on department head removal may be specified.	The manager usually has full authority for administrative appointments.
Authority over chief administrative officer	Although a mayor with broad executive authority is, in most cases, the chief administrative officer, he has the authority to delegate this responsibility. If this occurs, the appointee serves at the pleasure of the mayor, but the appointment may require council ratification.	No--if there is a chief administrative officer, in almost every instance, he will be appointed by and be responsible to the council.	The manager is the chief administrative officer.
Budget Formulation	The mayor may formulate the budget, although council approval is generally required.	No--this activity is normally handled either by the council or by the council-appointed chief executive officer.	The manager prepares the budget; the council approves it.
Expenditure authority	Yes--subject to prior approval (by the council) of the executive budget.	No--the council will usually retain this authority, or delegate it to their appointed chief administrative officer.	The council usually approves expenditures.
Voting power in council	Not usually granted (a violation of the separation of powers principle.)	Usually--depends upon the method of selection. If elected at large, no. If selected from council, yes.	Authority not given to manager.

tation would best benefit the area:

1. At large
2. Districted
3. Combination of both

The third section was left for comments. The results from the ninety-five respondents were as follows:

<u>Question #1:</u>	Strong Mayor	78
	Weak Mayor	6
	Council-Manager	<u>11</u>
		95

<u>Question #2:</u>	At-large Council	3
	Districted Council	38
	Combination of the two	<u>54</u>
		95

General Conclusions

The findings seem to follow the trend set by previous consolidations. A strong mayor-council form of government was preferred by over 82 per cent of the respondents. The combination of district and at-large councilmen was also favored by a majority, 58 per cent, of the respondents. These findings seem to confirm the hypothesis that the consolidated governments will have a strong mayor-council form of government and a council elected at large and by districts.

The validity of the survey is questionable, but it does affirm the trend that exists in the city-county consolidation movement. The previous charter revision attempts seem also to verify the concept that a mayor-council form of gov-

ernment is not a new movement.¹⁰

Comments by the respondents centered around the need for a strong mayor for policy formulation and leadership and the need for an executive administrator for professionalism. Many of the respondents commented on the need to keep the election non-partisan and the council relatively small, eight to fifteen members.

The form of government the consolidated government of Albuquerque-Bernalillo County will use is largely dependent on the voter attitude at the time of elections. The previous attempt at creating a mayor-council form of government was largely defeated by voter apathy. With the issue of consolidation, coupled with the mayor-council plan of government, the likelihood of apathy seems dim. With such a major change in the form and area covered, it is hoped that the issue will be well responded to by the citizens of Albuquerque-Bernalillo County.

THE END

NOTES FOR CHAPTER V

1. The Albuquerque (New Mexico) Journal, November 12, 1972, p. A-4.
2. The Albuquerque (New Mexico) Journal, November 10, 1972, p. A-1.
3. The Albuquerque (New Mexico) Journal, February 11, 1973, p. A-8.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. The Albuquerque (New Mexico) Journal, January 5, 1973, p. A-1.
7. Albuquerque Urban Observatory, "Citizen Attitude Survey," (Albuquerque: Albuquerque Urban Observatory, 1970).
8. The Albuquerque (New Mexico) Journal, April 8, 1973, p. C-10.
9. Municipal Year Book--1972, Table 3/13, p. 24.
10. Albuquerque Urban Observatory, "Charter Revision in Albuquerque, Establishment of Home Rule," October 8, 1971, p. 32.

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