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The Politics of Municipal Reform

A. B. VILLANUEVA Moorhead State College

ABSTRACT — When modernization of city government is proposed in a community in which taxes are going up, administrative authority is fragmented, municipal structure is clumsy, and citizen estimate of the city council is somewhat low, popular attitudes toward municipal reform are favorable. But those persons who have empires to defend and interests to protect in the city hall will defend the status quo and resist the introduction of proposed innovations. Some may even fight back with all the fury irrational men can have at their command, and thus the reform movement produces strange side effects and unfortunate after effects.

"If you want to see how a city government used to be run," remarked a student of local politics, "just come to Winona." For, indeed, the city of Winona still operates under a charter 78 years old – the third oldest in the State of Minnesota. Its powers, which are enumerated in 42 different categories, are as obsolete and old-fashioned as the horse and buggy in the age of the guided missile and the computer. For example, under Section 3 of the charter,¹ the city council is permitted to (a) prohibit the game of faro and roulette, (b) prescribe the location of hitching posts for horses, (c) prevent the rapid driving of horses in the streets, and (d) prohibit the riding of any mule, ox, cow, or other brute animal on the sidewalks of the city.

Winona's Weak-Mayor Plan

In a weak-mayor city there is no central authority for anything whatsoever. No one is responsible for the preparation of the city budget as a whole. The budget that the council approves consists of the individual budgets that have been submitted by the departments and the administrative boards to the City Recorder, who merely presents them to the council. Also, no single city official is responsible for purchasing supplies, equipment, and materials for the city; a committee of three aldermen buy almost all the things needed by the city departments, and the Board of Police and Fire Commissioners, and the Board of Municipal Works act as purchasing agents for their own respective jurisdictions.

Winona has five city governments instead of one, as shown in Figure I. There is a government for health; another for the library; another for municipal works; another for parks and recreation; and another for police and fire. Each small city government is run by lay citizens appointed by the council upon the mayor's recommendation. Neither responsible to nor representative of the people, these independent administrative boards share

A.B. (cum laude), 1953, University of Manila; M.P.A., 1956, University of the Philippines; and Ph.D., 1961 University of Minnesota. Assistant Professor of Political Science, 1961-1962, Northern States Teachers College, Aberdeen, South Dakota; and 1962-1965, Winona State College, Winona, Minnesota. Now, Associate Professor of Political Science, Moorhead State College. In November 1965, Mayor Herschel Lashkowitz of Fargo, North Dakota, appointed him a member of a Task Force of Political Scientists to study the commission plan under which the city of Fargo operates.

¹ The Code of the City of Winona, pp. 24-33.

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decision-making powers with the council. In matters such as the maintenance of the purity of the city's water supply, the council can only make recommendations to the water board and the board decides whether or not to accept the recommendations. In April 6, 1964, for example, the council voted 7-1 for a motion recommending to the water board the fluoridation of the water supply. Not until August 13, 1964, did the board vote 3-2 (with one member not voting because he was on vacation) in favor of authorizing fluoridation immediately. The council's decision not to decide on the matter is the result of a charter provision that gave the water board exclusive jurisdiction in the area.

Community Power Structure

Although Winona's city government looks like one on paper, city officials are not alone in running the affairs of the town. A power structure – locally known as the "establishment" – often participates in running affairs and sometimes suggests to city officials what the affairs should be. A random sample of Winonans was interviewed between March 25 and April 2, 1965, by students of political behavior, and were asked to institutionalize the "establishment." The responses listed the Chamber of Commerce, Watkins Product Inc., Winona Daily News, labor unions, and some absentee rich persons. The percentages of the responses are given in Table 1.

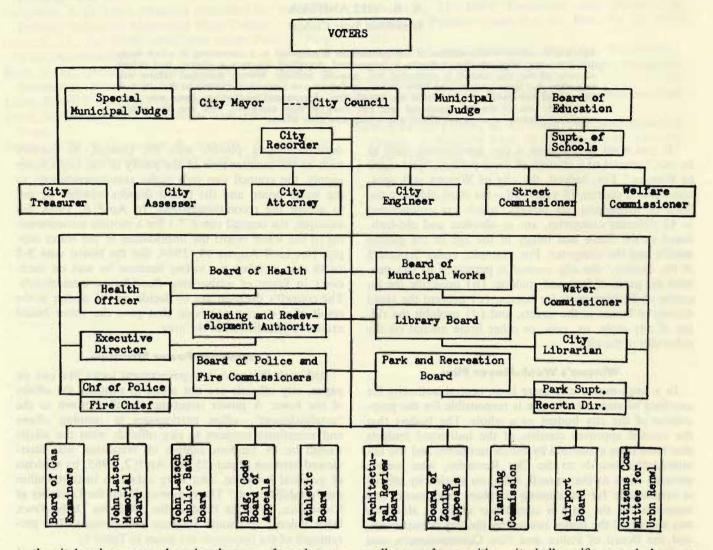
Table 1.	Who do	you think	run the	show	in town?*
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The Establishment	N-136
Chamber of Commerce	31.62%
Aldermen	25.74
Watkins Products Inc.	22.06
City Mayor	17.64
Winona Daily News	11.76
Labor Unions	9.56
Absentee Rich People	2.19

* The total adds up to more than 100 because respondents named more than one.

Home rule was repudiated in Winona in 1941 when a charter commission that was organized that year buried the movement for reform. But in 1965, the issue was revived when the inhabitants of the city realized that the weak-mayor system was no longer responding adequately to the demads of a new era. The voters have been clamoring for the right to vote on the question of federal aid

ORGANIZATION CHART OF THE CITY GOVERNMENT OF WINCHA



to the city's urban renewal project but no referendum on any subject can be authorized by the charter. Not even advisory elections on any issue can be held unless they are held simultaneously with regularly scheduled city elections. Furthermore, taxes have been on the upswing during the last couple of years but no attempt has been made to reduce city expenditures below the minimum level of the taxpayers' tolerance. There has not been any attempt either to provide a program of only essential city services or to run the city government in a businesslike fashion by better utilization of personnel, better method of budgeting, and better techniques of purchasing. In its desire to ease the burden of the city property tax, which reached a record high of 119 mills in 1965, city officials have tried to find new sources of revenue. Their efforts, however, are blocked by a charter that limits the powers of the city only to those enumerated. These considerations, coupled with a mass political protest against "secret meetings" of the city council and against the unbelievable attempt of some city officials to gag a

college professor with a city hall pacifier merely because of his outspoken advocacy for reform – formed a constellation of forces that blew the lid off the coffin in which reform had been buried and set in motion a new reform movement in the Hiawatha Valley. The home-rule speech that the present writer delivered at a luncheon of the Exchange Club at the *sanctus sanctorum* of the service clubs, the Winona Hotel, on January 5, 1965, served to kick off a petition for a new city charter. The leadership of the reform movement in Winona

The leadership of the reform movement in Winona is the reverse of the national trend. In some cities, Chambers of Commerce and Leagues of Women Voters usually initiate movements for charter reform; and in other communities the newspapers endorse and support such movements. But in Winona, no civic group, except the Jaycees, took either a positive or negative stand against municipal reform. The specifics of the proposed home rule are contrasted with the present charter in Table 2. Even city officials turned thumbs down on streamlining the city government. They remained indifferent to char-

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Table 2. Some contrasts between the present legislative chapter of Winona and the proposed Winona home rule charter

	Present Legislative Charter	Proposed Home Rule Charter
Nature and Scope of City Powers	Enumerated, limited, and restricted	Broad, brief, and comprehensive
Independent admin- istrative boards	Five	None
Local bodies exercising legislative powers	Five administrative boards and the city council	City Council only
Form of Government	Weak Mayor-Council	Council-Manager
Initiative	Denied to the people	Reserved to the people
Referendum	Denied to the people	Reserved to the people
Recall	Denied to the people	Reserved to the people

ter reform until a petition, circulated by a West-End businessman and signed by more than 10 per cent of the city's registered voters, brought pressure to bear upon the city council for city charter change, a pressure that led that body to pass a motion recommending a study of the charter "through proper channels." However, the motion, as the President of the city council later explained, did not imply "immediate or direct action by the council."²

Where the "establishment" stands on these issues, one can only speculate. But one thing of which I am positive is that the executive editor of the community newspaper made his feelings clear when he returned a fifth letter from me, which had been submitted on March 31, 1965. His accompanying communication read as follows:

We feel that you and your students have been given sufficient opportunity and more than ample space to expound your views.

We are therefore returning your most recent letter with the request that you submit no more on this issue.

That this was not the editorial policy of the Winona *Daily News* became known later when the publisher, in response to my request for reconsideration, turned over the controversial letter to the editor. He sent it back to me for the second time with the following note: "If you will cut this to 400 words, we will use it." The letter was rewritten and, to be sure that it stayed within the limits of the injunction, was chopped down to 340 words. However, when it finally came out on April 11, 1965, only 285 words were printed.

The Chamber of Commerce has made no commitment to charter reform. Its manager, in fact, is the *de facto* city consultant of Winona and has his own way of looking at municipal reform: not by charter change, or council-manager plan, or reform itself, but, rather, by way of community development. "The subject of home rule," he noted, "is not to be approached with a crusading or missionary attitude, but rather on a level seeking community-wide cooperation of responsible and reasoning

² Winona Daily News, April 6, 1965, p. 3.

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people." On how such objective could be attained he had the following to say:

Advocates of change [and] promoters of growth and progress for the community would do well to familiarize themselves with a booklet entitled "How To Organize a Community Development Program." One section of this program deals with modernization of city government. The Chamber has formulated a proposal for basic council reform as step 1 toward achieving better representative government. While our approach seems slow, it would appear that problems developed over a period of 78 years have many complications not easily corrected. I doubt that we could achieve immediate reform as widely formulated as best for Winona, and I doubt further that members of the community could understand a new order of governmental practices after so many years acquaintance with the present charter.

A past president of the chamber almost expressed the same view when he said that even if there were benefits in home rule such benefits "would not be great enough to 'rock the boat' at this particular time." He suggested that charter reform take place when the question of federal aid to urban renewal and the school bond issue had been resolved at the polls.

Popular Attitudes Toward Reform

How does the public feel about city charter change? Is it true that the people of Winona don't want change? An attitude survey³ conducted by students of political science at Winona State College from February 1 to 15, 1965, showed that the proportion of voters favoring a new charter outnumbered opponents by 3 to 1. (See Table 3.) We were surprised, however, to find that many voters did not know the difference between home-rule charters and council-manager plans! Although some interviewees had read about these proposals in the public press, many did not seem to have noticed such letters at all, and some never had heard of the two propositions before. This lack of knowledge could be due to cultural lag, political apathy, or political anomie. We were unable to substantiate any cause as it was beyond the scope of this research.

Those respondents who were neither for nor against the proposals wanted to know more about them before they gave an opinion. As one put it, "I'd have to do a little more information seeking into the merits and/or

Table 3. Popular attitudes toward home rule and council-manager government (In percentages)

	Home Rule	Council-Manage	
Favor	50.00	41.79	
Against	13.43	14.93	
Don't Know		37.31	
Don't Care	2.99	5.97	
	100.00	100.00	
	(N = 134)	(N = 134)	

³ I am grateful to Brother Francis, Harry Sieben, Gary Brone, Ronald Dadetta, and William Borth for helping me collect the data tabulated in Table 3. demerits of the present system. As of now I'm pretty ignorant." Another said, "I need more concrete information as to why the present charter is 'bad' and how the proposed change would improve the situation."

Those who favored the proposals answered that home rule "sounds like a good idea," council-manager government "appears to be reasonable," and moreover, that home rule "would speed up the process of government." Most of those who supported both propositions did not, however, give reasons for their answers except for one respondent who stated that he was for anything except "a stupid statue on top of Sugar Loaf!"

The case against a new city charter was expressed by one respondent as "we are getting along O.K. now," while the major argument against the replacement of the present weak-mayor system by a managerial type of local government was stated as, "City Manager – no! It has failed in too many communities this size despite the glowing accounts of the plan in textbooks."

The Community Influentials

What about the community influentials? How did they feel about specific reform proposals? To what degree did they agree or disagree with those at the apex of the power structure? Table 4 shows that the influential persons in the community tended to support strongly, in decreasing strength, the following proposed provisions of the home-rule charter: broad city powers, unification of legislative powers in the city council, elimination of independent administrative boards, adoption of the councilmanager plan, recall, referendum, and initiative. Conversely, the most strongly opposed provisions of the proposed home-rule charter, in decreasing strength, were referendum, initiative, council-manager plan, broad grant of city powers, elimination of independent administrative boards, recall, and unification of legislative powers in the city council.

Complacency with the present form of local government appeared to be the principal consideration underlying strong opposition to change. A well known physician, rightly or wrongly, expressed this view when he wrote the following:

I believe that Winona is well run now. . . This statement can be justified by the fact that the present elected officials have very little general opposition at the polls. The number of people who appear at the polls do not indicate widespread dissatisfaction with the present government. A sense of community pride also accounted for some strong objections to local reform. The president of the City Council stated, "We are practically debt free as far as taxes are concerned; our fire and police departments are the most excellent in the state, and the park and recreation board is considered second to none in the country" Another objector contributed the following:

. . . we have done very well with our form of government during these past many years . . .

We seem to have done very well with keeping our credit in top rating shape; our debt is low; most of what we have is paid for; our street department does an excellent job; our park and recreation department is one of the best (other cities have come to see and have copied our programs); our police force does a good job so that the community is a safe place to live; and our fire department is efficient; our school system is one of the best.

What more do you want?

An industrialist's wife, a high ranking political party functionary at the county level, summed up the sentiment of the "againsters" when she wrote, "I am sure they feel that the present charter has been successful since our state legislature have been very cooperative in passing bills requested by the city. Let them run into a snag and their attitude will change quickly."

As shown in Table 4, the institutions of direct democracy were the least favored proposals. I suggest that this response reflects the distrust of the "have-nots" at the east end of town where every municipal improvement financed by bonds was opposed in three recent referenda. In fact, doubt was expressed that the initiative and referendum would be intelligently used by the voters whose capacity even to govern themselves was questioned. "Would anything get done under such a system?" asked a college professor who agreed with a physician that "lawmaking should be left to the locally elected officials." Some of the influentials even commented that these devices of direct democracy "would be a long step back to the town meeting form of government."

That the voters of Winona as a whole are "too damn conservative" because they always vote "no" against any issue, is belied by voting statistics. Gross election-data analysis of two recent referenda showed that 54.56 per cent of the city's electorate approved the bond issue that could have financed the construction of a new county court house in 1960. It also showed that 53 per cent of

⁴ Winona Daily News, March 10, 1965, p. 9.

Table 4. Attitudes of community influentials toward provisions of propose	d home rule charter
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Home Rule Charter Feature	Agree Strongly	Agree Slightly	Don't Know	Disagree Slightly	Disagree Strongly	Total
Broad City Powers	58.82%	22.06%	2.94%	2.94%	13.24%	100%
All Legislative Powers						
to Council	54.41	23.53	4.41	11.76	5.88	100
No Administrative Boards.	48.53	26.41	5.88	7.35	11.76	100
Council-Manager Plan	45.59	22.06	4.41	11.76	16.18	100
Recall	44.12	26.47	5.88	13.24	10.29	100
Referendum	27.94	20.59	5.88	22.06	25.53	100
Initiative	25.00	27.94	13.24	13.24	20.59	100

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the voters supported the controversial bond issue for a new high-school building in the 1965 city elections.

Since legal procedures are provided through which citizens may use initiative, referendum, and recall, proponents of home rule have shown no fear whatsoever that these devices will be abused. It is felt that their value lies in their presence in the charter rather than in their use. If these devices are in the charter, the city council will be more respectful of the wishes of the people.

Most of the influentials prefer to have all legislative powers exercised by the city council. Toward this end, elimination of administrative boards was thought to be imperative. However, some influentials expressed the notion that retention of the boards would be advantageous to the city if their functions were limited to advise and recommendation only. "If the various boards are necessary," commented a labor leader, "and I believe advisers are, they should be used to advise the council only." To make these boards merely advisory in nature, it was suggested that administrative control of them be given to the council. This could be accomplished by having "five full-time aldermen-one alderman from each [of the four wards] and one alderman-at-large. . . . One of the aldermen should be designated as chairman of a board. so he would be in on the discussion of the matter at hand."

It is clear from the open-end responses that the influentials are generally of the opinion that the boards should not make decisions on the same level of policy as the city council. Although some values in the boards are recognized, there is a consensus that, if retained, the boards should only recommend and advise – not implement and decide. In the words of a college professor, "If boards are retained, whatever decisions they make should be within the framework of broad council policy previously established."

Four respondents who strongly favored the councilmanager plan had their own personal reasons for adopting the plan in Winona. One believed that under it the city manager "would help in coordinating various areas of the city government such as physical planning, spending and many other things." Another described the city business as "too large to be handled on a part-time basis by the council." Besides, it was further pointed out, "many council members are not qualified to pass judgment on major problems." A third proponent, whose level of respect and confidence in the city council was somewhat low, felt that "a capable and responsible city manager would never have saddled the City of Winona with the white elephant [the private housing project on Wincrest Hill] on top of the hill. [And] no capable city manager would have allowed Goodview to become a village and not an integral part of Winona." The fourth promanager respondent, although recognizing that "there are some advantages to having a city manager," honestly believed that such advantages could materialize only if the city manager "doesn't become a political boss."

One of the objections to the plan was the high cost of the manager's salary. Since a manager must be well paid if he is well qualified, one of the Winona gentry in-

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dicated that the city could not afford "to pay what a qualified experienced man would cost." A second objection was related to the first: Even if it turned out that the manager was qualified, experienced, and efficient, he could also be a source of many problems if he had no regard for diplomacy and public relations at all. A third objection concerned the residence qualifications of prospective managers: Fear was expressed that if an "outsider" was hired he might not be interested in the future of the city since manager tenures are very short; they move as fast as there are lucrative offers in other cities. A fourth objection was pure and simple prejudice against the plan. Bragged one respondent who did not even bother to complete the questionnaire, "I would hate to saddle any city manager with the job of trying to please the citizens of this city. I doubt that he would last six months." The final objection was the belief that there was a better plan than that proposed. "Instead of a city manager," suggested a labor leader, "I would prefer a commission form of government such as St. Paul uses with aldermen as full-time commissioners for different departments."

The Outlook For Reform

The claim that Winonans don't want home rule and that they are satisfied with what they have now is more fiction than fact. True, this research found that there was a need for an extensive educational campaign to familiarize the voters with the pros and cons of charter reform, but it also found that a significant portion of the city's electorate already knew the virtues and vices of home rule. In fact, the ratio of "home rulers" to "nonhome rulers" was 3 to 1. Among influentials, the attitudes toward reform varied according to the nature of the proposal.

The politics of Winona is said to be the politics of the "establishment." Thus, proposed community improvements could be accomplished more easily with the support-or better still the endorsement-of the "establishment." Likewise, municipal reform such as home rule and the council-manager plan could get more popular backing and win the war-even if the battle was lost in the fourth ward - if such influential groups as the Chamber of Commerce, local political parties, League of Women Voters, and the powerful labor unions openly supported the reform movement as they did the school bond, fluoridation, urban renewal, and Holiday Inn issues. So, too, are the news media like the Winona Daily News and the two radio stations - KAGE and KWNO - because they all have a role to play in disseminating information to the voters on what council-manager government can and cannot do for the community. Without the positive reinforcement of these media, no amount of letter-writing, public speaking, pamphleteering, and petitioning will bring the reform movement to a successful conclusion.

Municipal reform in Winona was not started at the "wrong time" but it was initiated by the "wrong persons" who do not belong to the power structure. In Winona, every time is a right time as long as the "establishment" says it is. Not until the leadership of the movement is assumed by this "establishment" will municipal reform occur. Only then will the home rule movement win, because that is the style of politics in Winona.

A Note on Methodology

The data for this study were collected by two different methods, (1) personal interview and (2) a mailed questionnaire.

Between February 1 and 15, 1965, a group of students from Winona State College interviewed a random sample of 134 voters from each of the city's four wards. The respondents were simply asked how they felt about the proposals for a home-rule charter and a councilmanager plan.

At that time, a structured questionnaire was being prepared using as a model Stuart S. Nagel's study of "Off The Bench Judicial Attitudes." 5 This questionnaire, shown in Appendix B, consisted of seven opinion statements with which respondents were to express agreement or disagreement. The statements were taken from various letters on home rule that had been published in the community newspaper, from recently adopted home-rule charters in Minnesota, and from some reference materials from the League of Minnesota Municipalities. A letter was then attached to the questionnaire and mailed to 120 influential persons in the city in an unsealed envelope. Following Longworth's ⁶ advice, I used stamps of different colors amounting to four cents on each envelope to increase the number of returns. Similarly, each self-addressed envelope was pasted with stamps of different colors amounting to five cents.

Of the 120 influentials to whom questionnaires were sent between February 15 and March 15, 1965, only 71 cooperated. Three questionnaires could not be used because two were not completed and one was returned with a typewritten comment on the back of the letter attached.

Since there was no social register in Winona that could be used to select a random sample, I prepared a list of persons whom I considered to be influential in party politics, education, labor, business, the professions, and civic affairs. The names on the list were taken from several sources, such as the society pages of the Winona *Daily News*, the yellow pages of the 1964 telephone directory, the pink card distributed by the City Recorder's Office containing the names of all citizens serving on various boards in the city government, the roster of delegates to the 1964 conventions of the DFL and the GOP of Winona County, and the catalogues of the three colleges in the community.

Despite instructions not to identify themselves, 18 respondents signed their names. Twenty-two voluntarily wrote comments on the back of the questionnaire describing how they felt about the proposals. Four respondents used strong language to emphasize their opposition to the reform proposals, and one criticized the timing of this research project as "10 months premature." Another respondent described the questionnaire as biased because most of the points in it were covered by state and local laws and thus "its results would be therefore without merit." Still another respondent felt that "the answers 'agree slightly' and 'agree strongly' introduced a degree of emotionalism" that he thought should not have been included. The most hostile comment of all was expressed in the following "note," typewritten on the back of an unmarked questionnaire:

For one who is not a citizen and not a registered voter in this community, it is well to ask what are your motives, and for whom are you "fronting"?

Such remarks were by no means universal among the people of Winona. The climate of public opinion, despite the nasty remarks above, is conducive to reform. As a matter of record, a number of Winonans have shown their interest in reform. For example, one respondent wrote, "Many of us Winonans feel fortunate that this effort is being made to help us improve our city government." Another said, "College participation is long overdue. However, I think you are depending too much on pure logic! Keep up the good work." Added to these were unsolicited letters of support and encouragement from a number of residents. On February 13, 1965 a colleague asked if he could help to recruit able students "to fight against Cultural lag, neolithicism, dark ignorance, county seatism, etc. as you have been fighting with such admirable courage and ability" in the community.

Then, in March 1, 1965, a local industrialist and his wife wrote to Vice-President Hubert Humphrey asking him to ignore the request of some city officials that the date of my departure from the United States not be prolonged (it was through the good office of the then Senator Humphrey that the date of my return to my native Philippines had been postponed indefinitely). Finally, in March 31, 1965, a retired Ford Motor Company employee sent me the following note:

We wish to thank you for your interest in the set-up of our city government, as no one else seems to be taking the initiative in doing something about our high taxes . . . Please keep up the good work of enlightening the people, and maybe we can get some action.

Besides these letters were assurances and pledges of support from many citizens, sufficient in number to support the conclusion stated earlier in this report that, despite the adamant attitude of the "establishment" to the contrary, public opinion appeared to be favorable to reform.

Summary and Conclusions

Although the home-rule movement in Winona aroused intensified citizen interest in local government, it also produced unfortunate side-effects. It generated an antiintellectual attitude in the city hall. Some city officials, such as the city mayor and the council president, questioned the teaching of home rule in a course in state and local government at the college as a form of "indoctrination." The council president raised the issue of whether

⁵See Glendon Schubert (ed.) *Judicial Decision-Making* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963) pp. 52-53.

⁶ Donald S. Longworth, "Use of a Mail Questionnaire," American Sociological Review, 18:310-313 (June 1953).

one who is not a U.S. citizen has a right to write letters to the editor and to speak before service clubs in town. In response to local political pressure, promoters of college public relations suggested that I, an instructor, cease writing letters to the editor and speak before community groups only if officially invited in writing.

Whether these side-effects characterized other reform movements in different community political systems is hard to say. There are, however, some similarities between the Winona charter-reform movement and the home-rule movement in Salt Lake City⁷ (such as the role of political-science professors and the reluctance of the establishment to take the leadership), but more studies are needed before any theory of municipal reform can be formulated.

Appendix A

15 February 1965

WINONA STATE COLLEGE

Winona, Minnesota Mr. John Doe

1121 Kennedy Drive Winona, Minnesota

Dear Mr. Doe:

A number of letters have been submitted recently to the Winona Daily News proposing that the City of Winona should adapt a home rule charter. This charter will replace the special law passed by the legislature in 1887 under which the city government of Winona operates today. The home rule charter will be made and framed by a charter commission composed of 15 freeholders appointed by the District Judge. The voters of Winona will approve or disapprove the proposed charter in a special election.

The enclosed questionnaire is designed to measure your attitudes toward some features of the proposed home rule charter. The result of this study will be of great value to those who are interested in municipal reform.

I shall greatly appreciate it if you could fill up the questionnaires. If you have any comments to make you may write them at the back of the page. You don't have to identify yourself. When you are through please use the enclosed stamped self-addressed envelope and mail it back to me on or before March 15, 1965.

I shall be looking forward to receiving your questionnaires.

Sincerely yours,

A. B. Villanueva, Ph.D.

Assistant Professor of Political Science

Appendix B

Below are 7 opinion statements selected from various letters on home rule to the Winona Daily News, several home rule charters in Minnesota, and a number of reference materials from the League of Minnesota Municipalities. After each of these statements will you please record your frank personal opinion using the following system of marking:

++= if you agree strongly with the statement.

⁷ J. D. Williams, The Defeat of Home Rule in Salt Lake City. Case 2, Eagleton Institute Cases in Practical Politics. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1965.

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+ = if you agree slightly with the statement.

- O = if you don't know or if you think the statement is not clear.
- = if you disagree slightly with the statement.
- -- = if you disagree strongly with the statement.

OPINION STATEMENTS ON HOME RULE

OPINION

- 1. The present Winona city charter YOUR FRANK passed by the Legislature in 1887 which limits the powers of the City Council only to those which are enumerated in the charter should be replaced with a home rule charter providing for brief, broad, general, and comprehensive statements granting all local powers to the city.
- 2. There shall be no separate administrative boards sharing policy-making powers with the City Council. The powers of these boards should be unified in and exercised by the City Council.
- 3. The form of government for the City of Winona should be similar to a business corporation where the voters are the stockholders who elect a City Council which functions as a board of directors which, in turn, shall exercise all legislative powers of the city and determine all matters of policy.
- 4. The city charter should provide for the employment of a professional city manager who shall be the head of the administrative branch of the city government and shall be responsible to the City Council for the proper administration of all affairs relating to the city. The manager shall be hired by the council on the basis of his qualifications and training.
- 5. The voters of Winona should reserve to themselves the power to propose any ordinance, except an ordinance appropriating money or authorizing the levying of a tax, and to adopt or reject the same at the polls.
- 6. The voters of Winona should reserve to themselves the power to approve or reject at the polls any ordinance passed by the City Council or submitted by the City Council to a vote of the electors.
- 7. The voters of Winona should reserve to themselves the power to call for the removal of any elective local official.