General Administration #4

January 2016

STUDY #4: THE IMPACT OF FRAGMENTATION ON CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

The three previous General Administration studies revealed that the St. Louis City and County region spends over $280 million dollars annually on the costs associated with the planning, organizing, directing, and controlling of government operations across St. Louis City, St. Louis County, and the 90 municipalities within St. Louis County. Across the St. Louis region, these functions are carried out by 91 mayors, a county executive, 87 city managers, 571 aldermen, and 684 elected municipal officials, in over 80 city halls.

These numbers are significant because they offer an explanation for why St. Louisans pay $86 more per capita for general administration than comparable regions (such as Louisville, Kentucky, which has an integrated central Louisville Metro government). Should $86 per person seem insignificant, context demonstrates that it is not. If St. Louis were to operate at Louisville's cost of administration, a regional savings in excess of $113 million would have been realized this past year. Simply put: The cost of fragmentation adds up.

Proponents of the current fragmented structure argue that it reflects what citizens want. Data says otherwise. The current structure, cobbled together over more than 200 years, embodies a perfect storm for civic disengagement. In fact, in the most recent municipal elections, only 12.21% of registered voters (or 9.41% of the voting-age population) cast a ballot. To put that number in perspective, a recent University of Wisconsin survey found that about 21% of the voting-age population cast ballots in 2011.[1] Furthermore, the same pool of St. Louis voters turned out at a rate of over 60% across the region in the November 2012 elections. While proponents tout local control and civic engagement as benefits of smaller, localized municipal governance, data across the St. Louis region, including the fact that 29 municipal mayors in St. Louis County were elected with 100 votes (or fewer) cast, shows that that several factors including the extreme fragmentation of the region drastically reduce citizen engagement.

What follows is further investigation into data surrounding the region's exceedingly low voter turnout in municipal elections, examination of the contributing causes, and potential best practices for boosting engagement and empowering citizens.

<u>MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS IN THE ST. LOUIS REGION</u>

While no one factor alone causes low citizen engagement in municipal governments across the St. Louis region, several factors have significant impacts. The positive news is that each issue can be directly addressed.

Election Timing

One such factor, election timing, is not unique to the St. Louis region. Under Missouri statute, the election day for political-subdivision and special-district officers is the first Tuesday after the first Monday in April each year, and is known as the general municipal election day.[2] Across the country, low voter turnout plagues independent municipal elections with only 21% of voting-age population casting municipal election ballots in 2011.[3] In the St. Louis region, the percentage of

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[1] Campaigns, Mobilization, and Turnout in Mayoral Elections by Thomas Holbrook and Aaron Weinschenk available at http://prq.sagepub.com/content/early/2013/07/15/1065912913494018
[2] Mo Rev Stat 115.121.3 available at http://www.moga.mo.gov/mostatutes/stathtml/11500001211.html
[3] Voter Turnout Plummeting in Local Elections, available at http://www.governing.com/topics/politics/gov-voter-turnout-municipal-elections.html

registered voters casting a ballot in the most recent municipal election was 12.21% or 9.41% of the voting-age population. The following table provides information on each of the most recent municipal elections for St. Louis City, St. Louis County, and the 90 municipalities in the County.

MUNICIPALITY	2014 POPULATION ESTIMATE	NUMBER OF REGISTERED VOTERS	2014 TOTAL VOTES CAST	2014 TURNOUT %	ESTIMATE OF VOTING AGE POPULATION	VOTING AGE POP. TURNOUT %
Ballwin	30,478	21,465	1,981	9.23%	23,438	8.45%
Bel-Nor	1,522	1,133	260	22.95%	1,310	19.84%
Bel-Ridge	2,737	1,409	197	13.98%	1,837	10.73%
Bella Villa	729	456	67	14.69%	586	11.43%
Bellefontaine Neighbors	10,823	6,765	638	9.43%	8,052	7.92%
Bellerive Acres	203	175	60	34.29%	172	34.90%
Berkeley	9,120	5,383	950	17.65%	6,740	14.10%
Beverly Hills	440	394	37	9.39%	379	9.77%
Black Jack	6,924	4,708	1,036	22.01%	5,366	19.31%
Breckenridge Hills	4,728	4,597	512	11.14%	3,442	14.88%
Brentwood	8,048	2,066	289	13.99%	6,543	4.42%
Bridgeton	11,654	7,430	687	9.25%	9,102	7.55%
Calverton Park	1,293	779	84	10.78%	1,049	8.01%
Champ	11	9	5	55.56%	11	45.45%
Charlack	1,274	731	152	20.79%	1,017	14.95%
Chesterfield	47,651	33,881	3,551	10.48%	37,120	9.57%
Clarkson Valley	2,638	2,049	211	10.30%	2,013	10.48%
Clayton	15,912	8,914	2,877	32.28%	13,239	21.73%
Cool Valley	1,133	801	132	16.48%	939	14.05%
Country Club Hills	1,415	710	157	22.11%	843	18.62%
Country Life Acres	128	84	2	2.38%	90	2.22%
Crestwood	11,934	9,119	3,272	35.88%	9,380	34.88%
Creve Coeur	17,841	12,458	1,515	12.16%	14,094	10.75%
Crystal Lake Park	582	387	41	10.59%	418	9.81%
Dellwood	5,010	3,171	568	17.91%	3,367	16.87%
Des Peres	8,443	6,884	727	10.56%	6,510	11.17%
Edmundson	951	376	27	7.18%	674	4.00%
Ellisville	9,162	6,780	1,873	27.63%	7,036	26.62%
Eureka	10,375	6,658	1,087	16.33%	7,304	14.88%
Fenton	4,037	3,093	615	19.88%	3,084	19.94%
Ferguson	21,151	12,096	1,484	12.27%	15,292	9.70%
Flordell Hills	839	480	46	9.58%	608	7.56%
Florissant	52,353	14,592	2,414	16.54%	39,841	6.06%
Frontenac	3,512	2,895	211	7.29%	2,743	7.69%
Glen Echo Park	122	112	21	18.75%	89	23.58%
Glendale	5,926	4,472	204	4.56%	4,142	4.92%
Grantwood Village	881	699	281	40.20%	686	40.94%
Green Park	2,626	1,763	281	15.94%	2,119	13.26%
Greendale	725	510	90	17.65%	604	14.90%

MUNICIPALITY	2014 POPULATION ESTIMATE	NUMBER OF REGISTERED VOTERS	2014 TOTAL VOTES CAST	2014 TURNOUT %	ESTIMATE OF VOTING AGE POPULATION	VOTING AGE POP. TURNOUT %
Hanley Hills	2,109	1,347	132	9.80%	1,660	7.95%
Hazelwood	25,671	16,094	2,642	16.42%	19,767	13.37%
Hillsdale	1,337	834	97	11.63%	943	10.29%
Huntleigh	468	302	15	4.97%	331	4.53%
Jennings	14,730	8,618	654	7.59%	11,048	5.92%
Kinloch	234	176	83	47.16%	182	45.59%
Kirkwood	27,587	21,147	2,679	12.67%	21,518	12.45%
Ladue	8,549	6,963	749	10.76%	6,343	11.81%
Lakeshire	1,690	864	172	19.91%	1,333	12.90%
Mackenzie	122	90	9	10.00%	111	8.11%
Manchester	18,125	12,477	815	6.53%	13,974	5.83%
Maplewood	7,987	4,727	522	11.04%	6,885	7.58%
Marlborough	2,206	893	67	7.50%	2,012	3.33%
Maryland Heights	27,420	15,719	1,633	10.39%	21,689	7.53%
Moline Acres	2,299	1,623	244	15.03%	1,724	14.15%
Normandy	4,990	2,354	279	11.85%	3,862	7.22%
Northwoods	4,213	3,073	561	18.26%	3,324	16.88%
Norwood Court	923	358	34	9.50%	751	4.53%
Oakland	1,377	914	44	4.81%	1,131	3.89%
Olivette	7,809	5,453	678	12.43%	5,888	11.51%
Overland	16,043	9,583	1,015	10.59%	12,417	8.17%
Pacific	6,047	10	6	60.00%	4,517	0.13%
Pagedale	3,313	2,362	338	14.31%	2,405	14.05%
Pasadena Hills	964	732	232	31.69%	849	27.32%
Pasadena Park	527	316	44	13.92%	421	10.45%
Pine Lawn	3,335	2,197	266	12.11%	2,448	10.87%
Richmond Heights	8,526	6,130	548	8.94%	6,940	7.90%
Riverview	2,854	1,318	138	10.47%	1,975	6.99%
Rock Hill	4,635	3,318	408	12.30%	3,685	11.07%
Saint Ann	12,988	7,779	1,292	16.61%	10,351	12.48%
Saint John	6,486	3,679	331	9.00%	5,059	6.54%
Saint Louis City (Municipal Primary)	318,727	181,967	17,306	9.51%	253,069	6.84%
Saint Louis City (Municipal General)	318,727	182,525	18,200	9.97%	253,069	7.19%
Shrewsbury	6,217	4,120	314	7.62%	5,216	6.02%
Sunset Hills	8,523	6,566	2,246	34.21%	6,512	34.49%
Sycamore Hills	566	490	43	8.78%	489	8.79%
Town & Country	10,890	8,125	1,282	15.78%	8,668	14.79%
Twin Oaks	317	279	92	32.97%	256	35.92%
University City	35,226	24,467	4,589	18.76%	28,780	15.95%
Uplands Park	391	302	130	43.05%	326	39.87%
Valley Park	6,980	3,885	1,119	28.80%	5,640	19.84%

MUNICIPALITY	2014 POPULATION ESTIMATE	NUMBER OF REGISTERED VOTERS	2014 TOTAL VOTES CAST	2014 TURNOUT %	ESTIMATE OF VOTING AGE POPULATION	VOTING AGE POP. TURNOUT %
Velda City	1,252	967	111	11.48%	942	11.79%
Velda Village Hills	917	844	157	18.60%	704	22.29%
Vinita Park	1,776	1,098	412	37.52%	1,343	30.69%
Vinita Terrace	230	188	22	11.70%	196	11.23%
Warson Woods	1,865	1,580	249	15.76%	1,386	17.97%
Webster Grooves	23,084	16,748	1,689	10.08%	17,521	9.64%
Wellston	2,010	1,317	338	25.66%	1,146	29.50%
Westwood	327	254	28	11.02%	274	10.22%
Wilbur Park	517	324	45	13.89%	425	10.59%
Wildwood	35,701	24,777	3,233	13.05%	25,205	12.83%
Winchester	1,583	920	60	6.52%	1,262	4.76%
Woodson Terrace	4,070	2,208	148	6.70%	3,228	4.59%
TOTAL	1,320,791	795,885	97,182	12.21%	1,032,478	9.41%
AVERAGE	14,356	8,651	1,056	16.52%	11,223	13.95%
MEDIAN	3,424	2,132	280	12.37%	2,595	10.97%

To put these municipal numbers in general context, voter turnout for the November 2012 elections was 74% of registered voters in the City of St. Louis[4] and 76% of registered voters in St. Louis County.[5] In the mid-term elections of November 2014, turnout for the City was 34%[6] and turnout for the County was 44%[7], more than doubling the regional turnout of the most recent municipal election. These figures reflect a significantly higher level of voter engagement and suggest an opportunity to increase voter turnout in municipal elections.

Kentucky demonstrates the potential for increased turnout and engagement in municipal official elections. In Kentucky, all officers required to be elected in cities, urban counties, and towns are selected as part of the November elections in even numbered years. Kentucky is one of several states with this practice. As a result, turnout for these elections has ranged from 49% to 60% in the past three elections.[8] Other states holding their municipal elections in November of even-

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[4] St. Louis City Election November 2012 Election Results: https://www.stlouis-mo.gov/government/departments/board-election-commissioners/documents/election-results/upload/Nov2012FinalOfficialSummary.pdf

[5] St. Louis County November 2012 Election Results: http://www.stlouisco.com/Portals/8/docs/document%20library/elections/eresults/el121106/el45.html

[6] St. Louis City Election November 2014 Election Results: https://www.stlouis-mo.gov/government/departments/board-election-commissioners/documents/election-results/upload/Nov14-Summary-Totals.pdf

[7] St. Louis County November 2014 Election Results: http://www.stlouisco.com/portals/8/docs/document%20library/elections/eresults/el141104/el45.htm

[8] Kentucky Election Results for 2010, 2012, and 2014 available at http://elect.ky.gov/results/2010-2019/Pages/default.aspx

numbered years such as Arkansas (50%[9]) and Nebraska (48%[10]) experienced similarly high turnout.

These examples are a reflection of a broader trend. Research shows that shifting a municipal election to a presidential election year results in an 18.5-percentage-point jump in turnout, while changing to a November midterm election yields an 8.7-point increase on average.[11] A look at the difference between federal election turnout and municipal election turnout across the St. Louis region in the table below makes a strong argument for combining elections to increase citizen participation.

[9] http://results.enr.clarityelections.com/AR/53237/149792/Web01/en/summary.html

[10] http://www.sos.ne.gov/elec/2014/results/2014-General-Canvass-Recount-Final.pdf

[11] Campaigns, Mobilization, and Turnout in Mayoral Elections by Thomas Holbrook and Aaron Weinschenk available at http://prq.sagepub.com/content/early/2013/07/15/1065912913494018

MUNICIPALITY	POPULATION	NUMBER OF REGISTERED VOTERS	TOTAL VOTES CAST	2014 MUNICIPAL ELECTION TURNOUT %	DIFFERENCE FROM COUNTY NOVEMBER 2014 TURNOUT
Ballwin	30,404	21,465	1,981	9.23%	-35.24%
Bel-Nor	1,499	1,133	260	22.95%	-21.52%
Bel-Ridge	2,737	1,409	197	13.98%	-30.49%
Bella Villa	729	456	67	14.69%	-29.78%
Bellefontaine Neighbors	10,860	6,765	638	9.43%	-35.04%
Bellerive Acres	188	175	60	34.29%	-10.18%
Berkeley	8,978	5,383	950	17.65%	-26.82%
Beverly Hills	574	394	37	9.39%	-35.08%
Black Jack	6,929	4,708	1,036	22.01%	-22.46%
Breckenridge Hills	4,746	4,597	512	11.14%	-33.33%
Brentwood	8,055	2,066	289	13.99%	-30.48%
Bridgeton	11,550	7,430	687	9.25%	-35.22%
Calverton Park	1,293	779	84	10.78%	-33.69%
Champ	13	9	5	55.56%	11.09%
Charlack	1,363	731	152	20.79%	-23.68%
Chesterfield	47,484	33,881	3,551	10.48%	-33.99%
Clarkson Valley	2,632	2,049	211	10.30%	-34.17%
Clayton	15,939	8,914	2,877	32.28%	-12.19%
Cool Valley	1,196	801	132	16.48%	-27.99%
Country Club Hills	1,274	710	157	22.11%	-22.36%
Country Life Acres	74	84	2	2.38%	-42.09%
Crestwood	11,912	9,119	3,272	35.88%	-8.59%
Creve Coeur	17,833	12,458	1,515	12.16%	-32.31%
Crystal Lake Park	470	387	41	10.59%	-33.88%
Dellwood	5,025	3,171	568	17.91%	-26.56%
Des Peres	8,373	6,884	727	10.56%	-33.91%
Edmundson	834	376	27	7.18%	-37.29%
Ellisville	9,133	6,780	1,873	27.63%	-16.84%
Eureka	10,189	6,658	1,087	16.33%	-28.14%
Fenton	4,022	3,093	615	19.88%	-24.59%
Ferguson	21,203	12,096	1,484	12.27%	-32.20%
Flordell Hills	822	480	46	9.58%	-34.89%
Florissant	52,158	14,592	2,414	16.54%	-27.93%
Frontenac	3,482	2,895	211	7.29%	-37.18%
Glen Echo Park	160	112	21	18.75%	-25.72%
Glendale	5,925	4,472	204	4.56%	-39.91%
Grantwood Village	863	699	281	40.20%	-4.27%
Green Park	2,622	1,763	281	15.94%	-28.53%

MUNICIPALITY	POPULATION	NUMBER OF REGISTERED VOTERS	TOTAL VOTES CAST	2014 MUNICIPAL ELECTION TURNOUT %	DIFFERENCE FROM COUNTY NOVEMBER 2014 TURNOUT
Greendale	651	510	90	17.65%	-26.82%
Hanley Hills	2,101	1,347	132	9.80%	-34.67%
Hazelwood	25,703	16,094	2,642	16.42%	-28.05%
Hillsdale	1,478	834	97	11.63%	-32.84%
Huntleigh	334	302	15	4.97%	-39.50%
Jennings	14,712	8,618	654	7.59%	-36.88%
Kinloch	298	176	83	47.16%	2.69%
Kirkwood	27,540	21,147	2,679	12.67%	-31.80%
Ladue	8,521	6,963	749	10.76%	-33.71%
Lakeshire	1,432	864	172	19.91%	-24.56%
Mackenzie	134	90	9	10.00%	-34.47%
Manchester	18,094	12,477	815	6.53%	-37.94%
Maplewood	8,046	4,727	522	11.04%	-33.43%
Marlborough	2,179.	893	67	7.50%	-36.97%
Maryland Heights	27,472	15,719	1,633	10.39%	-34.08%
Moline Acres	2,442	1,623	244	15.03%	-29.44%
Normandy	5,008	2,354	279	11.85%	-32.62%
Northwoods	4,227	3,073	561	18.26%	-26.21%
Norwood Court	959	358	34	9.50%	-34.97%
Oakland	1,381	914	44	4.81%	-39.66%
Olivette	7,737	5,453	678	12.43%	-32.04%
Overland	16,062	9,583	1,015	10.59%	-33.88%
Pacific	7,002	10	6	60.00%	15.53%
Pagedale	3,304	2,362	338	14.31%	-30.16%
Pasadena Hills	930	732	232	31.69%	-12.78%
Pasadena Park	470	316	44	13.92%	-30.55%
Pine Lawn	3,275	2,197	266	12.11%	-32.36%
Richmond Heights	8,603	6,130	548	8.94%	-35.53%
Riverview	2,856	1,318	138	10.47%	-34.00%
Rock Hill	4,635	3,318	408	12.30%	-32.17%
Saint Ann	13,020	7,779	1,292	16.61%	-27.86%
Saint John	6,517	3,679	331	9.00%	-35.47%
Saint Louis City (Municipal Primary)	319,294	181,967	17,306	9.51%	-34.96%
Saint Louis City (Municipal General)	319,294	182,525	18,200	9.97%	-34.50%
Shrewsbury	6,254	4,120	314	7.62%	-36.85%
Sunset Hills	8,496	6,566	2,246	34.21%	-10.26%
Sycamore Hills	668	490	43	8.78%	-35.69%
Town & Country	10,815	8,125	1,282	15.78%	-28.69%

MUNICIPALITY	POPULATION	NUMBER OF REGISTERED VOTERS	TOTAL VOTES CAST	2014 MUNICIPAL ELECTION TURNOUT %	DIFFERENCE FROM COUNTY NOVEMBER 2014 TURNOUT
Twin Oaks	392	279	92	32.97%	-11.50%
University City	35,371	24,467	4,589	18.76%	-25.71%
Uplands Park	445	302	130	43.05%	-1.42%
Valley Park	6,942	3,885	1,119	28.80%	-15.67%
Velda City	1,420	967	111	11.48%	-32.99%
Velda Village Hills	1,055	844	157	18.60%	-25.87%
Vinita Park	1,880	1,098	412	37.52%	-6.95%
Vinita Terrace	277	188	22	11.70%	-32.77%
Warson Woods	1,962	1,580	249	15.76%	-28.71%
Webster Grooves	22,995	16,748	1,689	10.08%	-34.39%
Wellston	2,313	1,317	338	25.66%	-18.81%
Westwood	278	254	28	11.02%	-33.45%
Wilbur Park	471	324	45	13.89%	-30.58%
Wildwood	35,517	24,777	3,233	13.05%	-31.42%
Winchester	1,547	920	60	6.52%	-37.95%
Woodson Terrace	4,063	2,208	148	6.70%	-37.77%
TOTAL	1,322,415	795,885	97,182	12.21%	-32.26%
AVERAGE	14,374	8,651	1,056	16.52%	-27.95%
MEDIAN	3,393	2,132	280	12.37%	-32.10%

There is also a financial benefit to combining federal, state, and local elections. Maryland's General Assembly voted to delay Baltimore's next local election by one year in order to coincide with the 2016 presidential election, a move that is projected to save an estimated $3.7 million.[12] Under a related plan, the St. Louis region could also realize savings while increasing turnout for municipal elections suffering from single-digit turnout in some areas.

Municipal Courts, Warrants, and Voter Disenfranchisement
As mentioned earlier in this report, low voter turnout in independent municipal elections is a problem across the country. However, St. Louis also has special circumstances that exacerbate these issues and contribute to especially low municipal election turnout in the region.

One such contributing factor is the location of polling places. In municipalities around St. Louis County, 18 polling places are in the same building as the municipal police headquarters. While this is not an illegal nor even uncommon practice, it must be viewed within the context of a region that has over 450,000 outstanding warrants from municipal courts, nearly one-third of which originate in the same 18 municipalities.

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[12] Voter Turnout Plummeting in Local Elections, available at http://www.governing.com/topics/politics/gov-voter-turnout-municipal-elections.html

MUNICPALITY	POPULATION	WARRANTS OUTSTANDING AS OF JUNE 30, 2014	WARRANTS ISSUED DURING FY2014
Bel-Nor	1,499	2,111	711
Bel-Ridge	2,737	4,227	1,504
Beverly Hills	574	N/A	N/A
Black Jack	6,929	1,606	985
Calverton Park	1,293	10,832	4,770
Country Club Hills	1,274	34,745	2,340
Eureka	10,189	857	394
Fenton	4,022	2,698	1,759
Hanley Hills	2,101	1,545	893
Hazelwood	25,703	11,716	12,400
Maplewood	8,046	3,106	1,251
Maryland Heights	27,472	4,046	10,535
Normandy	5,008	12,540	16,888
Pagedale	3,304	22,384	10,318
Pine Lawn	3,275	20,525	708
Riverview	2,856	10,407	3,283
St. John	6,517	4,556	2,606
Vinita Park	1,880	1,419	489
TOTAL	114,679	149,320	71,834
AVERAGE	6,371	8,784	4,226
MEDIAN	3,290	4,227	1,759

It is important to note that while most people conjure up an image of a criminal upon hearing the word "warrant," in the St. Louis region it is just as likely to reflect an individual who was unable to pay a traffic fine, or a citation for code violation and missed a court date. In fact, the issuance of warrants has become so prolific that 27 municipalities in St. Louis County have accrued more outstanding warrants than they have residents. These warrants serve as significant barriers to citizens and, as reports have shown, disproportionately impact municipalities with large populations of African-Americans and the poor.[13]

Over the past two-years, the Department of Justice, the Ferguson Commission, Arch City Defenders, Saint Louis University's Legal Clinic, and the Missouri Legislature have taken steps toward reforming municipal courts throughout the St. Louis region. As a result, significant reforms have been implemented. However, in the wake of the major municipal court reform ushered in by Senate Bill 5 lie roughly a half-million municipal court warrants. These warrants are a product of 52,000 pages of municipal ordinances that span the St. Louis region and are the

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[13] How Municipalities in St. Louis County, MO Profit From Poverty, Radley Balko, available at https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-watch/wp/2014/09/03/how-st-louis-county-missouri-profits-from-poverty/ ; ArchCityDefenders: Municipal Courts Whitepaper available at http://03a5010.netsolhost.com/WordPress/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/ArchCity-Defenders-Municipal-Courts-Whitepaper.pdf

vestige of a broken and unsupervisable system of 81 municipal courts that were readily utilized to generate revenue.[14] Relocation of these polling locations and an order for a thorough review of outstanding warrants will serve to heal a divide between residents and local governments, as well as reengage citizens in local decision-making.

REFORMING THE CURRENT STRUCTURE

As referenced earlier in this report, some proponents of St. Louis' current structure argue that the region's fragmentation reflects what residents want. However, a review of the processes for incorporating and disincorporating cities reveal that it may simply reflect a system that is inherited and resistant to change. In other words, if you would like to incorporate a subdivision with the hopes of attracting the Olympics – as the founder of Champ, Missouri, did – then the St. Louis region is the place for you. However, should you desire to unincorporate a municipality that you feel is no longer able to serve its residents, that will be much more challenging or potentially impossible.

In most of Missouri, the process to incorporate as a municipality is relatively easy, while disincorporating is much more difficult. The municipal incorporation process for most parts of the state is fairly straightforward. In order to incorporate, a petition of "voters equal to fifteen percent of the votes cast in the last gubernatorial election in the area proposed to be incorporated" must be submitted to the county in which the territory is to incorporate.[15] Once reviewed by the appropriate county authority, the issue of incorporation is placed on the ballot. A simple majority of the ballots cast in the election is sufficient to approve the incorporation initiative.

The process for incorporation in St. Louis County is slightly different. The statutes lay out a separate process for any "county with a charter form of government where fifty or more cities, towns and villages have been incorporated."[16] With its 90 municipalities and charter form of county government, St. Louis County must adhere to this separate process for incorporating municipalities. For qualifying counties (St. Louis County is the only one), the statutes establish a special Boundary Commission to help regulate the incorporation, annexations, and merging of municipal boundary.[17] The commission is an eleven-member body appointed by a variety of different interests – from the county executive, to mayors of varying city sizes, to the Municipal League – that reviews and makes recommendations about proposed boundary changes or incorporation proposals. The fifteen-percent threshold for petition to incorporate a municipality is still the same but must be then approved through the Boundary Commission's procedures. These procedures include publishing notification and a public hearing. If the Boundary Commission approves the proposed annexation, merger, or incorporation, all affected areas must then approve of the proposal by a simple majority vote. For an area seeking annexation or

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[14] News 4 Investigations lead to change for Bellefontaine Neighbors Police Department, KMOV Channel 4, available at http://www.kmov.com/story/29232921/news-4-investigations-lead-to-change-for-bellefontaine-neighbors-police-department Mayor: Write More Tickets, KSDK Channel 5, available at http://www.ksdk.com/story/news/local/2014/04/24/edmundson-write-more-tickets-memo/8115569/
[15] RSMo § 72.080.1
[16] RSMo § 72.080.3
[17] RSMo § 72.400 to 72.423

merger, all municipalities or areas to be annexed or merged must independently have a majority of the voters approving for the proposal to pass. In the case of a new incorporation, a majority of the residents in the proposed area must approve.

While the process for incorporating a new municipality in St. Louis County now involves a Boundary Commission, that was not always the case. Until the late 1980s, when the commission was established, St. Louis County followed the same procedure as other counties in the state. This led to a proliferation of municipalities, easily established for a variety of purposes. The extreme example is Champ, which was founded in 1959 upon one man's vision to build an Olympic-quality stadium and an industrial park.[18] Those plans never panned out; no stadium or industrial park was ever realized. However, 57 years later, the Village of Champ still exists with a population of thirteen, according to 2010 U.S. census figures.[19] Champ and other municipalities continue to exist, in part, due to the relatively high threshold for municipal disincorporation in Missouri.

Charter cities can specify a process for disincorporation in their charter. In order to disincorporate a village or fourth-class city in Missouri, a petition of one-half of the voters in the city must be submitted.[20] Once certified, notice is given in a local paper for four successive weeks, and then the issue is placed on the ballot. A disincorporation proposal must garner 60% of the vote in order to pass. In practice this can lead to situations like residents of Uplands Park experienced in 2013. More than 170 voters in Uplands Park signed the petition to put the question of disincorporation on the ballot, and 51% of voters approved the measure.[21] However, because of the high threshold for disincorporation set out by state statute, the will of the majority did not win out and Uplands Park remains an incorporated village.

Perhaps even more remarkable is the fact that there is currently *no* process for disincorporation of a third-class city in Missouri statutes. While there is a high threshold for fourth-class cities and villages, the lack of a process at all for third-class cities means that voters in eight municipalities of St. Louis County do not have the option to dissolve their local government structure. One of those third-class cities is Wellston. Over the past several years, Wellston has been plagued with a variety of issues, ranging from the mayor stealing city employee paychecks[22] to physical altercations between police officials.[23] Yet, even if the citizen of Wellston organized to meet the high threshold of 50% of voters needed in other towns, they would not be able to vote on dissolving their own city government.

CONCLUSION AND POTENTIAL REFORMS

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[18] Riverfront Times: http://www.riverfronttimes.com/stlouis/the-champ/Content?oid=2483294

[19] http://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?src=bkmk

[20] RSMO § 79.490 & RSMO § 80.570

[21] St. Louis Post-Dispatch: http://www.stltoday.com/news/local/govt-and-politics/voters-keep-uplands-park-intact-approve-tax-hike-for-pattonville/article_9c1fe5a9-57e0-5de6-afb4-0f73d89c1af3.html

[22] KSDK: http://www.ksdk.com/story/news/local/2014/05/31/impeached-wellston-mayor-accused-of-taking-paychecks/9801191/

[23] St. Louis American: http://www.stlamerican.com/news/local_news/article_8a6f4dcb-a2c2-5553-a7ca-3992a01c6d0d.html

This report highlights the civic costs of fragmentation. While no one best practice or reform can remedy low citizen engagement in the political processes, there are several steps that can be taken, which together can reengage voters and empower residents of the St. Louis region.

First, municipal elections should be moved to the November ballot. The elections will benefit from greater turnout and taxpayer savings. Furthermore, the 18 polling places co-located in police stations should be moved, and the 21st Circuit should call for a review of all outstanding municipal warrants. Municipal courts throughout the St. Louis County circuit account for nearly half of all municipal warrants statewide. While Senate Bill 5 and other reforms have altered the system moving forward, additional steps must be taken to reengage citizens marginalized by previous practices.

Finally, citizens must be truly empowered to have their government and their region reflect what they want, as proponents contend. When it is easier to incorporate a city than it is for a majority of citizens to disincorporate a city, the system should change. Similarly, a clear pathway should be established for third-class cities to disincorporate. Overall, balance must be restored to a system that is currently geared towards incorporation. Only then can the argument be credibly made that the current structure reflects the desires of the citizenry.

General Administration #4 – Appendix

January 2016

TABLE 1

MUNICIPALITY	2014 POPULATION ESTIMATE [1]	NUMBER OF REGISTERED VOTERS [2]	2014 TOTAL VOTES CAST	2014 TURNOUT %	ESTIMATE OF VOTING AGE POPULATION [3]	VOTING AGE POP. TURNOUT %
Ballwin	30,478	21,465	1,981	9.23%	23,438	8.45%
Bel-Nor	1,522	1,133	260	22.95%	1,310	19.84%
Bel-Ridge	2,737	1,409	197	13.98%	1,837	10.73%
Bella Villa	729	456	67	14.69%	586	11.43%
Bellefontaine Neighbors	10,823	6,765	638	9.43%	8,052	7.92%
Bellerive Acres	203	175	60	34.29%	172	34.90%
Berkeley	9,120	5,383	950	17.65%	6,740	14.10%
Beverly Hills	440	394	37	9.39%	379	9.77%
Black Jack	6,924	4,708 [4]	1,036 [5]	22.01%	5,366	19.31%
Breckenridge Hills	4,728	4,597	512	11.14%	3,442	14.88%
Brentwood	8,048	2,066	289	13.99%	6,543	4.42%
Bridgeton	11,654	7,430	687	9.25%	9,102	7.55%
Calverton Park	1,293	779	84	10.78%	1,049	8.01%
Champ	11	9 [6]	5 [7]	55.56%	11	45.45%
Charlack	1,274	731	152	20.79%	1,017	14.95%
Chesterfield	47,651	33,881	3,551	10.48%	37,120	9.57%
Clarkson Valley	2,638	2,049	211	10.30%	2,013	10.48%
Clayton	15,912	8,914	2,877	32.28%	13,239	21.73%
Cool Valley	1,133	801 [8]	132 [9]	16.48%	939	14.05%
Country Club Hills	1,415	710 [10]	157 [11]	22.11%	843	18.62%
Country Life Acres	128	84	2	2.38%	90	2.22%
Crestwood	11,934	9,119	3,272	35.88%	9,380	34.88%
Creve Coeur	17,841	12,458	1,515	12.16%	14,094	10.75%
Crystal Lake Park	582	387	41	10.59%	418	9.81%
Dellwood	5,010	3,171	568	17.91%	3,367	16.87%
Des Peres	8,443	6,884	727	10.56%	6,510	11.17%
Edmundson	951	376	27	7.18%	674	4.00%
Ellisville	9,162	6,780 [12]	1,873 [13]	27.63%	7,036	26.62%
Eureka	10,375	6,658	1,087	16.33%	7,304	14.88%
Fenton	4,037	3,093	615	19.88%	3,084	19.94%
Ferguson	21,151	12,096	1,484	12.27%	15,292	9.70%
Flordell Hills	839	480	46	9.58%	608	7.56%
Florissant	52,353	14,592	2,414	16.54%	39,841	6.06%
Frontenac	3,512	2,895	211	7.29%	2,743	7.69%
Glen Echo Park	122	112	21	18.75%	89	23.58%
Glendale	5,926	4,472	204	4.56%	4,142	4.92%
Grantwood Village	881	699	281	40.20%	686	40.94%
Green Park	2,626	1,763	281	15.94%	2,119	13.26%
Greendale	725	510	90	17.65%	604	14.90%
Hanley Hills	2,109	1,347	132	9.80%	1,660	7.95%
Hazelwood	25,671	16,094 [14]	2,642 [15]	16.42%	19,767	13.37%

TABLE 1

MUNICIPALITY	2014 POPULATION ESTIMATE [1]	NUMBER OF REGISTERED VOTERS [2]	2014 TOTAL VOTES CAST	2014 TURNOUT %	ESTIMATE OF VOTING AGE POPULATION [3]	VOTING AGE POP. TURNOUT %
Hillsdale	1,337	834	97	11.63%	943	10.29%
Huntleigh	468	302	15	4.97%	331	4.53%
Jennings	14,730	8,618	654	7.59%	11,048	5.92%
Kinloch	234	176 [16]	83 [17]	47.16%	182	45.59%
Kirkwood	27,587	21,147	2,679	12.67%	21,518	12.45%
Ladue	8,549	6,963	749	10.76%	6,343	11.81%
Lakeshire	1,690	864	172	19.91%	1,333	12.90%
Mackenzie	122	90	9	10.00%	111	8.11%
Manchester	18,125	12,477	815	6.53%	13,974	5.83%
Maplewood	7,987	4,727	522	11.04%	6,885	7.58%
Marlborough	2,206	893	67	7.50%	2,012	3.33%
Maryland Heights	27,420	15,719	1,633	10.39%	21,689	7.53%
Moline Acres	2,299	1,623	244	15.03%	1,724	14.15%
Normandy	4,990	2,354	279	11.85%	3,862	7.22%
Northwoods	4,213	3,073	561	18.26%	3,324	16.88%
Norwood Court	923	358	34	9.50%	751	4.53%
Oakland	1,377	914	44	4.81%	1,131	3.89%
Olivette	7,809	5,453	678	12.43%	5,888	11.51%
Overland	16,043	9,583	1,015	10.59%	12,417	8.17%
Pacific	6,047	10	6	60.00%	4,517	0.13%
Pagedale	3,313	2,362 [18]	338 [19]	14.31%	2,405	14.05%
Pasadena Hills	964	732	232	31.69%	849	27.32%
Pasadena Park	527	316	44	13.92%	421	10.45%
Pine Lawn	3,335	2,197	266	12.11%	2,448	10.87%
Richmond Heights	8,526	6,130	548	8.94%	6,940	7.90%
Riverview	2,854	1,318	138	10.47%	1,975	6.99%
Rock Hill	4,635	3,318	408	12.30%	3,685	11.07%
Saint Ann	12,988	7,779	1,292	16.61%	10,351	12.48%
Saint John	6,486	3,679	331	9.00%	5,059	6.54%
Saint Louis City (Municipal Primary)	318,727	181,967 [20]	17,306 [21]	9.51%	253,069	6.84%
Saint Louis City (Municipal General)	318,727	182,525 [22]	18,200 [23]	9.97%	253,069	7.19%
Shrewsbury	6,217	4,120	314	7.62%	5,216	6.02%
Sunset Hills	8,523	6,566	2,246	34.21%	6,512	34.49%
Sycamore Hills	566	490	43	8.78%	489	8.79%
Town & Country	10,890	8,125	1,282	15.78%	8,668	14.79%
Twin Oaks	317	279	92	32.97%	256	35.92%
University City	35,226	24,467	4,589	18.76%	28,780	15.95%
Uplands Park	391	302	130	43.05%	326	39.87%
Valley Park	6,980	3,885	1,119	28.80%	5,640	19.84%

TABLE 1

MUNICIPALITY	2014 POPULATION ESTIMATE [1]	NUMBER OF REGISTERED VOTERS [2]	2014 TOTAL VOTES CAST	2014 TURNOUT %	ESTIMATE OF VOTING AGE POPULATION [3]	VOTING AGE POP. TURNOUT %
Velda City	1,252	967	111	11.48%	942	11.79%
Velda Village Hills	917	844	157	18.60%	704	22.29%
Vinita Park	1,776	1,098	412	37.52%	1,343	30.69%
Vinita Terrace	230	188	22	11.70%	196	11.23%
Warson Woods	1,865	1,580	249	15.76%	1,386	17.97%
Webster Grooves	23,084	16,748	1,689	10.08%	17,521	9.64%
Wellston	2,010	1,317	338	25.66%	1,146	29.50%
Westwood	327	254	28	11.02%	274	10.22%
Wilbur Park	517	324	45	13.89%	425	10.59%
Wildwood	35,701	24,777	3,233	13.05%	25,205	12.83%
Winchester	1,583	920	60	6.52%	1,262	4.76%
Woodson Terrace	4,070	2,208	148	6.70%	3,228	4.59%
TOTAL	1,320,791	795,885	97,182	12.21%	1,032,478	9.41%
AVERAGE	14,356	8,651	1,056	16.52%	11,223	13.95%
MEDIAN	3,424	2,132	280	12.37%	2,595	10.97%

TABLE 2

MUNICIPALITY	POPULATION [24]	NUMBER OF REGISTERED VOTERS [25]	TOTAL VOTES CAST [26]	2014 MUNICIPAL ELECTION TURNOUT %	DIFFERENCE FROM COUNTY NOVEMBER 2014 TURNOUT [27]
Ballwin	30,404	21,465	1,981	9.23%	-35.24%
Bel-Nor	1,499	1,133	260	22.95%	-21.52%
Bel-Ridge	2,737	1,409	197	13.98%	-30.49%
Bella Villa	729	456	67	14.69%	-29.78%
Bellefontaine Neighbors	10,860	6,765	638	9.43%	-35.04%
Bellerive Acres	188	175	60	34.29%	-10.18%
Berkeley	8,978	5,383	950	17.65%	-26.82%
Beverly Hills	574	394	37	9.39%	-35.08%
Black Jack	6,929	4,708 [28]	1,036 [29]	22.01%	-22.46%
Breckenridge Hills	4,746	4,597	512	11.14%	-33.33%
Brentwood	8,055	2,066	289	13.99%	-30.48%
Bridgeton	11,550	7,430	687	9.25%	-35.22%
Calverton Park	1,293	779	84	10.78%	-33.69%
Champ	13	9 [30]	5 [31]	55.56%	11.09%
Charlack	1,363	731	152	20.79%	-23.68%
Chesterfield	47,484	33,881	3,551	10.48%	-33.99%
Clarkson Valley	2,632	2,049	211	10.30%	-34.17%
Clayton	15,939	8,914	2,877	32.28%	-12.19%
Cool Valley	1,196	801 [32]	132 [33]	16.48%	-27.99%
Country Club Hills	1,274	710 [34]	157 [35]	22.11%	-22.36%
Country Life Acres	74	84	2	2.38%	-42.09%
Crestwood	11,912	9,119	3,272	35.88%	-8.59%
Creve Coeur	17,833	12,458	1,515	12.16%	-32.31%
Crystal Lake Park	470	387	41	10.59%	-33.88%
Dellwood	5,025	3,171	568	17.91%	-26.56%
Des Peres	8,373	6,884	727	10.56%	-33.91%
Edmundson	834	376	27	7.18%	-37.29%
Ellisville	9,133	6,780 [36]	1,873 [37]	27.63%	-16.84%
Eureka	10,189	6,658	1,087	16.33%	-28.14%
Fenton	4,022	3,093	615	19.88%	-24.59%
Ferguson	21,203	12,096	1,484	12.27%	-32.20%
Flordell Hills	822	480	46	9.58%	-34.89%
Florissant	52,158	14,592	2,414	16.54%	-27.93%
Frontenac	3,482	2,895	211	7.29%	-37.18%
Glen Echo Park	160	112	21	18.75%	-25.72%
Glendale	5,925	4,472	204	4.56%	-39.91%
Grantwood Village	863	699	281	40.20%	-4.27%
Green Park	2,622	1,763	281	15.94%	-28.53%

TABLE 2

MUNICIPALITY	POPULATION [24]	NUMBER OF REGISTERED VOTERS [25]	TOTAL VOTES CAST [26]	2014 MUNICIPAL ELECTION TURNOUT %	DIFFERENCE FROM COUNTY NOVEMBER 2014 TURNOUT [27]
Greendale	651	510	90	17.65%	-26.82%
Hanley Hills	2,101	1,347	132	9.80%	-34.67%
Hazelwood	25,703	16,094 [38]	2,642 [39]	16.42%	-28.05%
Hillsdale	1,478	834	97	11.63%	-32.84%
Huntleigh	334	302	15	4.97%	-39.50%
Jennings	14,712	8,618	654	7.59%	-36.88%
Kinloch	298	176 [40]	83 [41]	47.16%	2.69%
Kirkwood	27,540	21,147	2,679	12.67%	-31.80%
Ladue	8,521	6,963	749	10.76%	-33.71%
Lakeshire	1,432	864	172	19.91%	-24.56%
Mackenzie	134	90	9	10.00%	-34.47%
Manchester	18,094	12,477	815	6.53%	-37.94%
Maplewood	8,046	4,727	522	11.04%	-33.43%
Marlborough	2,179	893	67	7.50%	-36.97%
Maryland Heights	27,472	15,719	1,633	10.39%	-34.08%
Moline Acres	2,442	1,623	244	15.03%	-29.44%
Normandy	5,008	2,354	279	11.85%	-32.62%
Northwoods	4,227	3,073	561	18.26%	-26.21%
Norwood Court	959	358	34	9.50%	-34.97%
Oakland	1,381	914	44	4.81%	-39.66%
Olivette	7,737	5,453	678	12.43%	-32.04%
Overland	16,062	9,583	1,015	10.59%	-33.88%
Pacific	7,002	10	6	60.00%	15.53%
Pagedale	3,304	2,362 [42]	338 [43]	14.31%	-30.16%
Pasadena Hills	930	732	232	31.69%	-12.78%
Pasadena Park	470	316	44	13.92%	-30.55%
Pine Lawn	3,275	2,197	266	12.11%	-32.36%
Richmond Heights	8,603	6,130	548	8.94%	-35.53%
Riverview	2,856	1,318	138	10.47%	-34.00%
Rock Hill	4,635	3,318	408	12.30%	-32.17%
Saint Ann	13,020	7,779	1,292	16.61%	-27.86%
Saint John	6,517	3,679	331	9.00%	-35.47%
Saint Louis City (Municipal Primary)	319,294	181,967 [44]	17,306 [45]	9.51%	-34.96%
Saint Louis City (Municipal General)	319,294	182,525 [46]	18,200 [47]	9.97%	-34.50%
Shrewsbury	6,254	4,120	314	7.62%	-36.85%
Sunset Hills	8,496	6,566	2,246	34.21%	-10.26%

TABLE 2

MUNICIPALITY	POPULATION [24]	NUMBER OF REGISTERED VOTERS [25]	TOTAL VOTES CAST [26]	2014 MUNICIPAL ELECTION TURNOUT %	DIFFERENCE FROM COUNTY NOVEMBER 2014 TURNOUT [27]
Sycamore Hills	668	490	43	8.78%	-35.69%
Town & Country	10,815	8,125	1,282	15.78%	-28.69%
Twin Oaks	392	279	92	32.97%	-11.50%
University City	35,371	24,467	4,589	18.76%	-25.71%
Uplands Park	445	302	130	43.05%	-1.42%
Valley Park	6,942	3,885	1,119	28.80%	-15.67%
Velda City	1,420	967	111	11.48%	-32.99%
Velda Village Hills	1,055	844	157	18.60%	-25.87%
Vinita Park	1,880	1,098	412	37.52%	-6.95%
Vinita Terrace	277	188	22	11.70%	-32.77%
Warson Woods	1,962	1,580	249	15.76%	-28.71%
Webster Grooves	22,995	16,748	1,689	10.08%	-34.39%
Wellston	2,313	1,317	338	25.66%	-18.81%
Westwood	278	254	28	11.02%	-33.45%
Wilbur Park	471	324	45	13.89%	-30.58%
Wildwood	35,517	24,777	3,233	13.05%	-31.42%
Winchester	1,547	920	60	6.52%	-37.95%
Woodson Terrace	4,063	2,208	148	6.70%	-37.77%
TOTAL	1,322,415	795,885	97,182	12.21%	-32.26%
AVERAGE	14,374	8,651	1,056	16.52%	-27.95%
MEDIAN	3,393	2,132	280	12.37%	-32.10%

TABLE 3

MUNICPALITY	POPULATION [48]	WARRANTS OUTSTANDING AS OF JUNE 30, 2014 [49]	WARRANTS ISSUED DURING FY2014 [50]
Bel-Nor	1,499	2,111	711
Bel-Ridge	2,737	4,227	1,504
Beverly Hills	574	N/A	N/A
Black Jack	6,929	1,606	985
Calverton Park	1,293	10,832	4,770
Country Club Hills	1,274	34,745	2,340
Eureka	10,189	857	394
Fenton	4,022	2,698	1,759
Hanley Hills	2,101	1,545	893
Hazelwood	25,703	11,716	12,400
Maplewood	8,046	3,106	1,251
Maryland Heights	27,472	4,046	10,535
Normandy	5,008	12,540	16,888
Pagedale	3,304	22,384	10,318
Pine Lawn	3,275	20,525	708
Riverview	2,856	10,407	3,283
St. John	6,517	4,556	2,606
Vinita Park	1,880	1,419	489
TOTAL	114,679	149,320	71,834
AVERAGE	6,371	8,784	4,226
MEDIAN	3,290	4,227	1,759

[1] 2014 population estimates obtained from the American Community Service of the U.S. Census Bureau. Available at factfinder.census.gov

[2] St. Louis County Election Results History:
http://www.stlouisco.com/YourGovernment/Elections/ElectionResultsHistory

[3] Estimate of voting age population calculated by taking the percentage of voters 18 and over multiplied by the 2014 population estimate. All figures obtained from American Community Survey at factfinder.census.gov

[4] No 2014 municipal elections held. 2015 figures used instead.

[5] No 2014 municipal elections held. 2015 figures used instead.

[6] No 2014 municipal elections held. 2015 figures used instead.

[7] No 2014 municipal elections held. 2015 figures used instead.

[8] No 2014 municipal elections held. 2015 figures used instead.

[9] No 2014 municipal elections held. 2015 figures used instead.

[10] No 2014 municipal elections held. 2015 figures used instead.

[11] No 2014 municipal elections held. 2015 figures used instead.

[12] No 2014 municipal elections held. 2015 figures used instead.

[13] No 2014 municipal elections held. 2015 figures used instead.

[14] 2015 Figures Used

[15] 2015 Figures Used

[16] No 2014 municipal elections held. 2015 figures used instead.

[17] No 2014 municipal elections held. 2015 figures used instead.

[18] No 2014 OR 2015 municipal elections held. 2013 figures used instead.

[19] No 2014 OR 2015 municipal elections held. 2013 figures used instead.

[20] No 2014 municipal elections held. 2015 figures used instead.

[21] No 2014 municipal elections held. 2015 figures used instead.

[22] No 2014 municipal elections held. 2015 figures used instead.

[23] No 2014 municipal elections held. 2015 figures used instead.

[24] Population figures from 2010 U.S. Census Bureau figures

[25] St. Louis County Election Results History:
http://www.stlouisco.com/YourGovernment/Elections/ElectionResultsHistory

[26] St. Louis County Election Results History:
http://www.stlouisco.com/YourGovernment/Elections/ElectionResultsHistory

[27] November 2014 County turnout of 44.47% obtained from St. Louis County election results history
(http://www.stlouisco.com/portals/8/docs/document%20library/elections/eresults/el141104/el45.htm)

[28] No 2014 municipal elections held. 2015 figures used instead.

[29] No 2014 municipal elections held. 2015 figures used instead.

[30] No 2014 municipal elections held. 2015 figures used instead.

[31] No 2014 municipal elections held. 2015 figures used instead.

[32] No 2014 municipal elections held. 2015 figures used instead.

[33] No 2014 municipal elections held. 2015 figures used instead.

[34] No 2014 municipal elections held. 2015 figures used instead.

[35] No 2014 municipal elections held. 2015 figures used instead.

[36] No 2014 municipal elections held. 2015 figures used instead.

[37] No 2014 municipal elections held. 2015 figures used instead.

[38] No city-wide election held in 2014. 2015 figures used instead.

[39] No city-wide election held in 2014. 2015 figures used instead.

[40] No 2014 municipal elections held. 2015 figures used instead.

[41] No 2014 municipal elections held. 2015 figures used instead.

[42] No 2014 OR 2015 municipal elections held. 2013 figures used instead.

[43] No 2014 OR 2015 municipal elections held. 2013 figures used instead.

[44] No 2014 municipal elections held. 2015 figures used instead.

[45] No 2014 municipal elections held. 2015 figures used instead.

[46] No 2014 municipal elections held. 2015 figures used instead.

[47] No 2014 municipal elections held. 2015 figures used instead.

[48] Population figures from 2010 U.S. Census Bureau figures

[49] Figures obtained from MO State Courts Administrator Table 95. Available at: https://www.courts.mo.gov/file.jsp?id=83263

[50] Figures obtained from MO State Courts Administrator Table 95. Available at: https://www.courts.mo.gov/file.jsp?id=83263