

METROPOLITAN REORGANIZATION IN ST. LOUIS:  
THE MUNICIPAL NEIGHBORHOOD CONCEPT

Thesis for the Degree of M. U. P.

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JOHN H. M. McCARTHY

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## ABSTRACT

### METROPOLITAN REORGANIZATION IN ST. LOUIS: THE MUNICIPAL NEIGHBORHOOD CONCEPT

By

John H. M. McCarthy

Ever since shortly after their separation in 1876, the City of St. Louis and St. Louis County have been in the awkward position of trying to reconcile their unfortunate state of affairs. The problems preventing rapprochement have been and continue to remain considerable. Not the least of these problems is the necessity of effecting any change through the Missouri Legislature, through a constitutional convention, through the adoption of an amendment to the Missouri State Constitution, or through the use of an existing amendment to the Missouri Constitution, Article VI Section 30. This article was nearly unworkable until it was amended in 1966. It still retains the unnecessary, inhibiting requirement of separate favorable majorities in the city and the county. To date only the fourth option provided under this amendment has ever yielded any success. And this success has come only at the abrogation of power and responsibility for a problem

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to a quasi-independent commission--namely, the St. Louis Metropolitan Sewer District (1954) and the Metropolitan Zoological Park and Museum District (1971).

The long standing separation of city and county coupled with Missouri's liberal incorporation laws have led to a proliferation of no less than ninety-six municipalities in St. Louis County and a host of special purpose districts. This has precipitated problems of coordination and cooperation. The size of the municipalities in terms of population and land area is subject to the grossest variation which, given the existing governmental set-up, means a considerable variation in capacity and willingness to provide services. In addition, much of St. Louis County remains unincorporated relying for its urban services upon the county government at the expense of all St. Louis countians. And, of course, the City of St. Louis is a completely separate service sector. Together these factors have led to inequalities, diseconomies, and dysfunctions in what should be a cohesive social, economic, and political unit.

However, responsibility for this unhappy state of affairs does not lie solely with the Missouri Constitution or the Missouri Legislature. There have been valid and invalid reasons as well as other contributory factors for the voters' rejections of major reorganization proposals--notably the 1959 District Plan and the 1962 Borough Plan.

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Misconceptions on the part of voters regarding these proposals must be expected due to the magnitude of the change involved and the level of uncertainty about the change once effected. But this does not mean that defeat at the polls for such proposals is all that can be expected. Surprisingly, voter analysis at the time of both of these defeated plans has shown a latent desire for some form of reorganization. Just exactly what this reorganization should be could not be pinpointed by individual voters, but collectively their responses gave some indications.

The municipal neighborhood concept of this thesis is a response to those indications and the unique circumstances given in the St. Louis situation. Based on a spatial identity--real, perceived, and potential--the municipal neighborhood concept defines sub-units of a metropolitan area by means of a hierarchy of delimiters--namely, rivers, limited access highways, railroad tracks, major thoroughfares, and lesser artifices. These sub-units, the municipal neighborhoods, are assigned a significant degree of local autonomy in response to the need to keep local government close to the people. Further, these municipal neighborhoods would be federated into one over-unit of government. The purpose of this over-unit of federation government would be to provide the vehicle necessary to insure coordination and cooperation between the municipal neighborhoods; to insure that minimum

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standards with regard to the provision of services are met or to extend the option to contract for these services from the over-unit of government; and to perform those functions and services best accomplished at this higher level of government. Analysis of successful reorganization efforts in other parts of the country and in Canada are used as models in order to suggest the basic elements of this division of power and responsibility.

With further study, a conducive environment, and a concerted campaign, the municipal neighborhood concept extends the possibility of effecting a rapprochement between St. Louis City and St. Louis County--a rapprochement that has a marked degree of voter acceptability and governmental capability to correct existing inequalities and inadequacies. Further, the municipal neighborhood concept offers a model for consideration by other metropolitan areas facing similar problems.

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By

John H. M. McCarthy

A THESIS

Submitted to  
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in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of

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1972

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I would like to express my appreciation to those crusaders of metropolitan reform and governmental reorganization in St. Louis who stimulated my interest in this area. Also, I am indebted to Dr. Carl Goldschmidt, my thesis advisor, for his valued help and suggestions; to Dr. Marz, visiting professor at the Department of Political Science, for his informative course on metropolitan area governmental politics; and to my friend and mentor, Ray, for his insight and understanding throughout this enterprise.

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## INTRODUCTION

There are today in government two directional tendencies--one is a movement towards centralization, the other towards decentralization. Both have their shortcomings and pitfalls; both have their attributes and potential contributions. That form of urban government which comes closest to capturing the best elements of both while at the same time avoiding those elements which are most detrimental offers the greatest hope for successful reconciliation of today's urban governmental dilemmas. This thesis is directed at just such a fortuitous compromise.

Chapter I begins this effort by defining the existing governmental structure in St. Louis and St. Louis County. Of primary importance are the governments of the City of St. Louis and St. Louis County and the municipalities in St. Louis County as well as the fire protection districts and school districts. Also, the major special purpose regional and metropolitan governmental units present in the St. Louis area are discussed. These include the East-West Gateway Coordinating Council, the

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Bi-State Development Agency, and the three St. Louis-St. Louis County special districts.

Chapter II examines the St. Louis situation. The inadequacies and inequalities in the provision of important basic services such as police and fire protection and education are discussed. The irrationality of existing municipal boundaries and what this means in terms of the important property and sales taxes is described. In addition, the limitations of the existing governmental structure with its fragmentation of power and responsibility among special districts and tradition-bound, competing units of local government is delineated. The stage is set for metropolitan reform.

Chapter III analyzes the attempts in St. Louis at major reorganization and why they failed. The important Article VI Section 30 (a) and (b) of the Missouri Constitution is reviewed. The major attempts at reorganization from shortly after the turn of the century up to the present are recounted. Special attention is given to the 1959 District Plan and the 1962 Borough Plan.

Chapter IV reviews successful efforts at metropolitan reorganization in other locales. The Dade County-Miami, the Davidson County-Nashville, and Duval County-Jacksonville consolidations which came about through popular referendum are covered. The Marion County-Indianapolis consolidation which was secured by

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legislative fiat is also reviewed. Then the regional reorganizations that took place in Minneapolis-St. Paul and in the New Jersey Hackensack Meadowlands are recounted. Finally, Chapter IV takes a look at the Canadian experience, notably in Toronto.

Chapter V builds on Chapters III and IV. It attempts to draw out the implications of these chapters and synthesize this information into a set of salient features necessary for metropolitan reorganization in St. Louis. Given the two important criteria of success at the polls and in practice, a proposal representing a compromise between complete consolidation and federation is developed. This proposal is the municipal neighborhood concept. The paradigm of boundary delimiters for municipal neighborhoods and the division of responsibility and power between the municipal neighborhoods and the over-unit of federation government are set forth.

Chapter VI outlines some additional considerations with regard to metropolitan reorganization, for example, public employee pensions and bonded indebtedness. Also, counter-arguments are discussed such as higher taxes and the black minority question.

In addition, Chapter VI discusses the broader perspective and the potential for wider application of the municipal neighborhood concept. Other large metropolitan areas with suburbs of long-standing autonomy as

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well as distinctive identity could tailor the compromise that the municipal neighborhood concept means for St. Louis into a workable set of guidelines for their own efforts at metropolitan reorganization. For this is one of the important benefits expected to accrue from the use of a case study approach.

As a methodology, the case study has been used for many years, particularly in the field of political science. This thesis, in fact, makes use of a number of case studies dealing with the St. Louis experience. However, there is an inherent problem involved in the use of a case study. That is, case studies are well suited to an accurate and in depth exposition of the particular case studied, but far less valid as a predictive model when they are generalized to other situations. Nevertheless, case studies remain one of the best tools for understanding the complexities of reality in order that change in that complexity might be effected. Hence, the use of this approach here.

CHAPTER I

EXISTING GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE

IN SAINT LOUIS

*DATELINE WASHINGTON--The St. Louis metropolitan area was rated highest Friday [November 26, 1971] in the number of separate local government units among 15 urban areas studied by the General Accounting Office. The St. Louis area had 481 independent political units.<sup>1</sup>*

All local government is at the discretion of the state. The needs of the people for local government must be met within the provisions of the state constitution and the state legislature as interpreted by the courts. These provisions spell out the authority, responsibility, and jurisdiction of the various forms of local government available to the people to meet their local governmental needs. It is up to the local people to make these provisions work. In the case of Missouri, the discretion of the state has yielded a variety of provisions over time

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<sup>1</sup>News item in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, "St. Louis Area Broken Into 481 Governments," November 27-28, 1971.

that have resulted in a very complex local governmental structure exemplified in the situation of St. Louis.

The St. Louis Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) encompasses St. Louis, St. Charles, Jefferson, and Franklin counties and the City of St. Louis in Missouri and Madison and St. Clair counties in Illinois. The St. Louis SMSA had a 1970 population of 2,363,745, an increase of 12.3 percent over 1960.<sup>2</sup> Of this total 622,236 resided in the City of St. Louis representing a decline of 17 percent in the city's population from 1960; the St. Louis County population for 1970 was 951,671, an increase of 35.2 percent for the same period.<sup>3</sup> Together the City of St. Louis and St. Louis County account for 1,573,907 persons or approximately two-thirds of the population in the SMSA.

The structure for governing the population of the St. Louis SMSA is highly fragmented--balkanized by 481 independent political units. Regardless of territorial size and responsibility, each of these units has its own set of officials, its own sphere of influence, and its own means of raising public funds.

Among the 481 separate local units of government there are some that are singularly important to the St.

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<sup>2</sup>U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Number of Inhabitants, PC(1)-A27Mo. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, July 1971), p. 43.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

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Louis-St. Louis County area. These include the East-West Gateway Coordinating Council; the Bi-State Development Agency; the Metropolitan Sewer District, the St. Louis-St. Louis County Junior College District, and the Metropolitan Zoological Park and Museum District; the governments of the City of St. Louis and St. Louis County; the municipalities in the county; and the fire protection districts and the school districts.

#### Area-wide Units

The East-West Gateway Coordinating Council is the Council of Governments (COG) for the SMSA covering the four counties plus the City of St. Louis in Missouri and the two counties in Illinois. The Council was established on December 8, 1965 making it the first in the country formed after passage of federal legislation calling for such locally controlled bodies.<sup>4</sup> Made up of elected officials of 110 local governments in the bi-state area its basic function is to formulate plans, policies, and programs to solve regional problems.<sup>5</sup> As a COG, however, membership remains voluntary and consequently any member may refuse to participate by declining to pay its share of the operating assessment placed on it by the Council.

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<sup>4</sup>News item in the St. Louis Commerce, "Gateway Council Marks Birthday," December 1970.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

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The Bi-State Development Agency is a very unusual multi-purpose district in the St. Louis area. It has the same boundaries as the East-West Gateway Coordinating Council (those of the SMSA) except that it includes Monroe County in Illinois but excludes Franklin County in Missouri.<sup>6</sup> It was created by a 1949 interstate compact between Missouri and Illinois that had previously been ratified by Congress and approved by the President.<sup>7</sup> Bi-State is governed by a board of commissioners appointed by the governors of Missouri and Illinois. Patterned after the New York Port Authority, the agency was envisioned as the governmental mechanism necessary to handle problems transcending state lines. Unfortunately, the Agency has been far less aggressive than its New York counterpart, having undertaken only the operation of the area's bus system plus limited wharf development. Part of the problem stems from the Missouri Legislature's foot-dragging and from delaying court litigation, but the net result of the Agency's inaction and feebleness has been to seriously shake the area's confidence in the Agency and cast doubt on its ability to ever live up to its full potential as a vehicle capable of handling the area's regional problems.

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<sup>6</sup>John C. Bollens, ed., Exploring the Metropolitan Community (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961), p. 49.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

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There are three important area-wide special districts in the St. Louis-St. Louis County area--the Metropolitan Sewer District (1954), the St. Louis-St. Louis County Junior College District (1962), and the Metropolitan Zoological Park and Museum District (1971). These districts represent the only successful adjustment in city-county relations over nearly a century. The first and the third of these districts were created under Article VI Section 30 of the Missouri Constitution. The second, the Junior College District, was created following special enabling legislation enacted by the State Legislature.<sup>8</sup> All three are special purpose districts with taxing power created in answer to clearly demonstrated needs and accepted by popular referendums in the city and county. The Junior College District is governed by six elected trustees. The other two are run by appointed governing boards, but once appointed the members of these boards function with considerable formal independence from the appointing authorities.

#### City and County Units

The City of St. Louis, comprising sixty-one square miles, and St. Louis County measuring 499 square miles, are separate political entities with non-overlapping

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<sup>8</sup>Vernon's Annotated Missouri Statutes, 1969, Section 178.770-178.890.

jurisdictions.<sup>9</sup> This came about as the result of an amendment to the 1875 Missouri Constitution which was adopted by a joint vote of the city and county in the following year.<sup>10</sup> The impetus for this separation came at the behest of city residents who felt they paid the bills for county government but that control of this government lied in the hands of what was then a relatively small minority in the rural part of the county.<sup>11</sup>

The City of St. Louis, consequently, operates as both a city and as a county. As a city it has a weak mayor-council form of government.<sup>12</sup> The council consists of a twenty-eight member board of aldermen elected for four-year overlapping terms. The president of the board and the comptroller also are elected. Together with an elected mayor, these three form a board of estimate and apportionment that determines the city's budget appropriations prior to a vote by the board of aldermen.<sup>13</sup> As a

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<sup>9</sup>Bureau of the Census, op. cit., p. 21.

<sup>10</sup>Frank S. Sengstock, Phillip A. Fellin, Lawrence E. Nicholson, and Charles I. Mundale, Consolidation: Building a Bridge Between City and Suburb (St. Louis: Heffernan Press, Inc., 1964), p. 1.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

<sup>12</sup>Iola O. Hessler, 29 Ways to Govern a City (Cincinnati: Hamilton County Research Foundation, 1966), p. 13.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

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county, the City of St. Louis maintains a full complement of county offices as prescribed by general state law. This is due to restrictive court interpretations of its home rule charter which was the first constitutional one to be adopted by any municipality in the United States. In addition to its general taxing powers the City of St. Louis has an earnings tax on all wages and corporate profits earned within its boundaries. First approved at one-half of 1 percent by the State Legislature in 1946, it was subsequently raised to 1 percent in 1959.<sup>14</sup>

St. Louis County also operates on a home rule charter first adopted in 1950.<sup>15</sup> There is a supervisor who is an elected-at-large chief executive and a County Council. However, their power to act lies primarily in the unincorporated areas. Action by the county government in the incorporated areas generally requires charter amendments that have frequently been rejected by the voters.<sup>16</sup>

The incorporated areas of the county encompass a majority of the county population (see Figure 1).

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<sup>14</sup>Henry J. Schmandt, Paul G. Steinbicker, and George D. Wendel, Metropolitan Reform in St. Louis--A Case Study (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961), p. 3.

<sup>15</sup>Bollens, op. cit., p. 39.

<sup>16</sup>News item in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, November 3, 1971.

Figure 1. Map of Incorporated and Unincorporated Areas--  
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Presently there are ninety-six municipalities in St. Louis County varying greatly in population, area, and tax base. For example, the Village of Champ has nineteen people while the City of Florissant has 65,908; Norwood Court covers less than a quarter of a square mile while Bridgeton covers more than ten square miles.<sup>17</sup> The assessed value of real and personal property, which is the principal tax base for most municipalities, ranges from over one hundred million dollars in Clayton to well less than one million dollars in a village like Margona.<sup>18</sup>

Most of the ninety-six municipal governments operate under either a board of trustees format (which really amounts to a commission system), or under the mayor-council form. There are few significant differences in the powers of the various municipalities regardless of whether they are classified as towns and villages or third class, fourth class, and special charter cities. The manager-council plan is used in some of the larger municipalities. In addition some of these larger cities, i.e., those containing more than 10,000 people, have become home rule cities with more extensive powers relating to finances, functions, and organizational arrangements.

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<sup>17</sup>Bureau of the Census, op. cit., pp. 34-35.

<sup>18</sup>News item in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, "Enrollment and Costs Grow for County Public Schools," December 27, 1971.

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Fire protection districts are still another important layer of government. The twenty-four fire protection districts service more than half of the land area in St. Louis County.<sup>19</sup> The balance of the area is served by twenty-one municipal fire departments.<sup>20</sup> The fire districts vary considerably in both territory and population, in assessed valuation of property protected, and the fire risk class attained. They are run by elected boards of directors and have limited taxing authority.

There are twenty-five school districts in St. Louis County plus the Special School District which provides vocational-technical training as well as programs for mentally and physically handicapped children.<sup>21</sup> The City of St. Louis has one school district. In addition, large primary and secondary parochial school systems in both the city and the county are maintained by the Catholics and the Lutherans. Wide differences exist between the districts with regard to the number of students served, assessed valuations of the districts, amount spent per student, and the tax levied. For example, Valley Park and

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<sup>19</sup>News item in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, "County Fire Protection Rated High--But Lacks County-Wide Structure," June 10, 1971.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

<sup>21</sup>News item in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, "Enrollment and Costs Grow for County Public Schools," December 27, 1971.

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Kinloch each served fewer than 2,000 students while Hazelwood, Ferguson-Florissant, Parkway, and the City of St. Louis each had more than 20,000 students.<sup>22</sup> Taxes levied by the districts range from \$3.69 per \$100 assessed valuation in Clayton to \$5.57 in the Parkway District with a county average of \$4.64 in 1971.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

## CHAPTER II

### THE ST. LOUIS SITUATION PRESENTED WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF REORGANIZATION ARGUMENTS

*. . . the consequence of governmental proliferation at the municipal level has been to aggravate problems of providing public services, determining equity, and planning for the future. Furthermore, the proliferation of municipalities has prevented development of a polity that might face these problems in any systematic or effective way. These considerations are at the roots of what has been called, in a phrase, "the metropolitan problem."*<sup>24</sup>

Major urban concentrations are growing, changing organisms. Structures of government, on the other hand, are relatively fixed in time and often not very pliant to changing needs. Consequently, there is a continuous need to reform the structure of government in major urban concentrations. This is necessary in order to return a degree of equity, administrative rationality and efficiency, and a degree of responsiveness to the governmental structure. This is especially demonstrable in the situation of St. Louis.

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<sup>24</sup>Scott Greer, Metropolitics: A Study of Political Culture (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1963), p. 7.

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### Inadequacies in Service Levels

There exists disparities in the level of services between the City of St. Louis and St. Louis County. Moreover, there exist wide disparities in St. Louis County among the several municipalities. As Bollens noted in 1961 nearly half of the county's municipalities maintained no full-time employees nor had they a city hall or offices other than the residences of their local officials or part-time employees. Furthermore, out of ten basic municipal services--police, fire, garbage and rubbish collection, health and sanitation, street repair, street lighting, street cleaning, library, park or playground facilities and zoning control--nearly half of the municipalities provided fewer than six such services.<sup>25</sup> When one moves beyond these basic services to non-essential services, disparities are still greater with some municipalities providing not a single non-essential service and others providing swimming pools and ice-skating rinks, etc. These disparities in the level of service can be readily seen in the important service areas of police protection, fire protection, and education.

The City of St. Louis has its police matters administered by a five-member board, consisting of four appointees of the governor of the state, one of whom is elected as chairman with the mayor of St. Louis serving

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<sup>25</sup>Bollens, op. cit., p. 41.

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ex officio.<sup>26</sup> This state-controlled police department is not found anywhere else in Missouri except in Kansas City. Nevertheless, this obvious infringement on home rule has met no serious local opposition except for the desire to establish general budgetary controls. This is due primarily to the long-standing nature of this arrangement (since the time of the Civil War), to the presumably reduced chances of corruption, and the fact that police service has generally been above average.

In St. Louis County, police service is another matter. St. Louis County maintains a police force. In addition, many of the municipalities in St. Louis County maintain police forces, although of these, fifteen municipalities did not in 1971 have round-the-clock police patrol service.<sup>27</sup> Except for times when those municipal forces that are part time are off duty, the county force generally does not operate within the incorporated areas. Thus, the county police primarily service the unincorporated areas. This means that residents from the incorporated areas in addition to paying for their own police forces are helping to pay for a police force that provides them with little direct service. Regardless of the fact that they gain some benefit when they themselves are in unincorporated areas, these municipal residents are, in

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<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 37.

<sup>27</sup> Editorial in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, "'Yes' for Charter Amendments," October 23-24, 1971.

effect, subsidizing police service in the unincorporated areas.

Another matter with regard to police service is the quality of service rendered. This varies considerably throughout the area. Some municipalities maintain large, well-trained forces, and others, as has been noted, are only part time. Police service, however, is not something with which municipal residents can be satisfied once they have paid to have a good force in their own municipality. As they travel to work, to visit friends and relatives, and to participate in social and cultural events, the residents of a municipality invariably pass through other municipalities, and consequently, are subject to the level of service in those municipalities. No matter how much a resident has paid for police service in his own municipality, in the event of a crime or an accident in another municipality that has poor service, it will do him little good. He is forced to rely on the service provided within the municipality in which the crime or accident has occurred, no matter how inadequate the service in that municipality may be.

Fire protection in the city-county area has been praised, but inequality in the level of service provided still exists. St. Louis City and twenty-one municipalities in the county maintain fire departments with the

remainder of the area covered by twenty-four fire protection districts.<sup>28</sup>

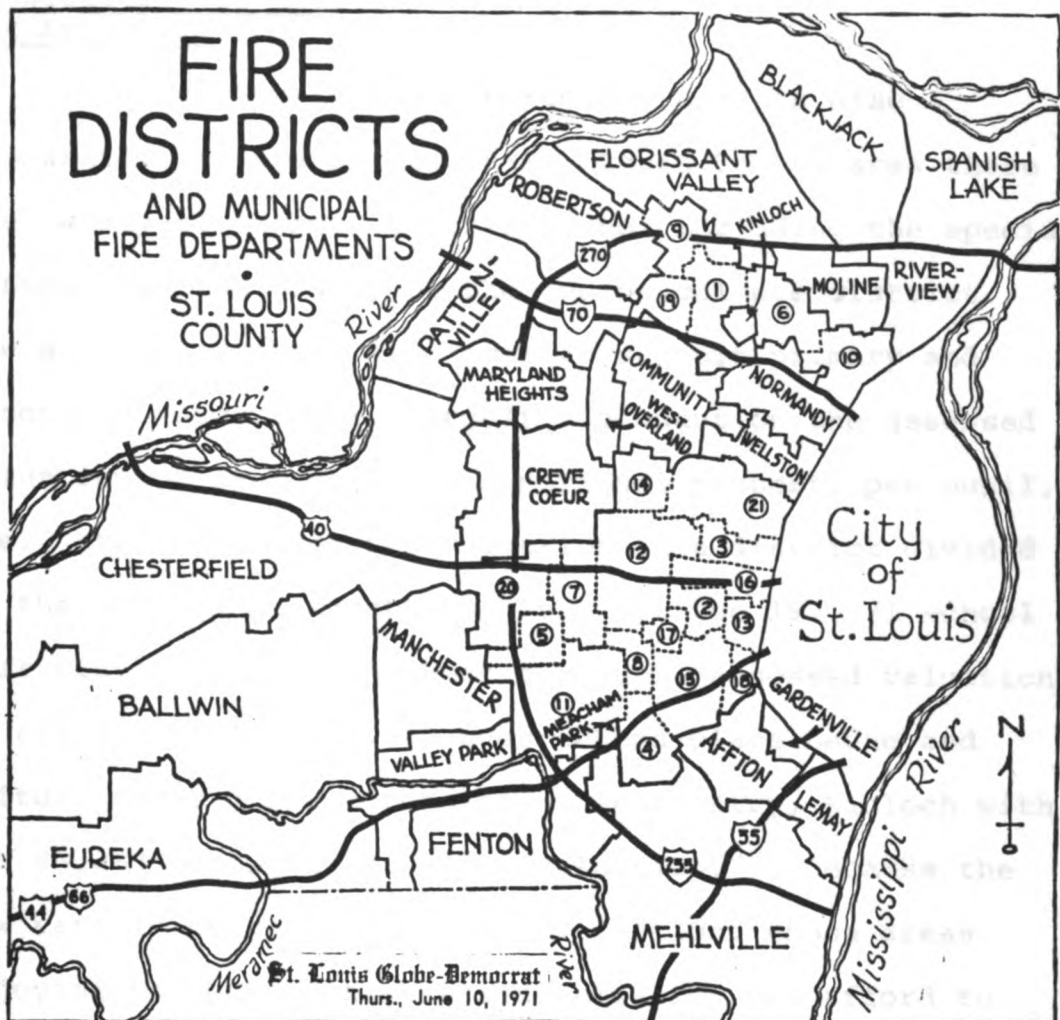
The Missouri Inspection Bureau establishes insurance ratings based on a standard schedule prepared by the National Board of Fire Underwriters which considers such factors as water supply, fire department personnel and equipment, fire inspection and prevention programs and fire alarm systems. Under the schedule which ranges from one to ten (with one being the highest rating possible and ten the poorest), the City of St. Louis in 1971 received ratings of one and two. In the county, the highest rating was four in Kirkwood and in the Community Fire Protection District. Most of the municipal fire departments were rated six, and fire protection districts ranged from the Community District's four up to ten<sup>29</sup> (see Figure 2).

Besides meaning greater insurance costs for homeowners in those areas with the poorest ratings, such ratings are a direct measure of the level of service provided to residents. In some cases it must clearly be deemed substandard.

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<sup>28</sup>News item in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, "County Fire Protection Rated High--But Lacks County-wide Structure," June 10, 1971.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid.



Fire protection in St. Louis County is divided among 24 fire protection districts, each administered by three elected directors, and 21 municipal departments. These, with their insurance ratings, are: (1) Berkeley, Class Six; (2) Brentwood, Class Six; (3) Clayton, Class Six; (4) Crestwood, Class Six; (5) Des Peres, Class Seven; (6) Ferguson, Class Six; (7) Frontenac, Class Seven; (8) Glen-

dale, Class Six; (9) Hazelwood, Class Six; (10) Jennings, Class Six; (11) Kirkwood, Class Four; (12) Ladue, Class Six; (13) Maplewood, Class Six; (14) Olivette, Class Six; (15) Webster Groves, Classes Five and Six; (16) Richmond Heights, Class Six; (17) Rock Hill, Classes Five and Six; (18) Shrewsbury, Class Six; (19) Airport-St. Louis Division 10; (20) Town and Country, Class

Seven; (21) University City, Class Five.

Districts — Affton, Class Six; Ballwin, Classes Seven, Eight, Nine and Ten; Black Jack, Classes Eight and Nine; Chesterfield, Classes Eight, Nine and Ten; Community, Class Four; Creve Coeur, Class Six; Eureka, Classes Eight, Nine and Ten; Fenton, Classes Eight and Nine; Florissant Valley, Class Six; Gardenville, Class Eight; Kinloch, Class Eight; Lemay, Class Six; Manchester, Classes Eight and Nine; Maryland Heights, Classes

Eight and Nine; Meecham Park (protected by Kirkwood) Classes Nine and Ten; Mehlville, Classes Seven and Nine; Moline, Class Six; Normandy, Class Six; Pattonville-Bridgeton Terrace, Classes Eight and Nine; Riverview, Class Six; Robertson, Classes Eight and Nine; Spanish Lake, Classes Eight and Nine; Valley Park, Classes Eight and Nine; Wellston, Classes Five and Six; and West Overland, Classes Eight and Nine. Pacific, not shown on the map, has an all volunteer force.

Figure 2. Map of Fire Protection Areas

Inequalities in the  
Tax Structure

Education in the city-county area is also disparate. In the St. Louis-St. Louis County area there are twenty-six school districts, not including the special district in the county or the junior college district. The ability of these districts to support primary and secondary education is largely dependent on the assessed valuation of real estate and personal property per pupil, i.e., the total assessed valuation in a district divided by the average daily attendance. For the 1970-71 school year Clayton had the highest per pupil assessed valuation of \$49,491, fully \$20,000 over second place Ladue and fifteen times greater than the lowest entry, Kinloch with its \$3,283 per pupil assessed valuation.<sup>30</sup> Because the tax rate is pegged to assessed valuation, those areas enjoying the greatest assessed valuation can afford to offer the lowest tax rate to their residents and still provide superior service compared to other areas that are required to charge a higher rate. Thus, Clayton has the lowest tax rate in St. Louis County, \$3.69, and still ends up spending the most per student, \$1,700. A district like Kinloch spends only \$739.35 per pupil and requires a rate of \$4.97 to do it<sup>31</sup> (see Table 1).

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<sup>30</sup> News item in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, "Enrollment and Costs Grow for County Public Schools," December 27, 1971.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

TABLE 1.--Comparative school district statistics.

| District           | Pupils | Assessed<br>Valuation | Per Pupil<br>Assessed<br>Valuation | Per Pupil<br>Expendi-<br>ture | Tax<br>Rate |
|--------------------|--------|-----------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------|
| Affton             | 4,553  | \$73,173,740          | \$18,279                           | \$970.65                      | \$4.52      |
| Bayless            | 3,078  | \$31,987,470          | \$11,860                           | \$702.39                      | \$3.95      |
| Berkeley           | 5,704  | \$92,718,730          | \$19,668                           | \$893.23                      | \$3.80      |
| Brentwood          | 2,040  | \$40,966,501          | \$25,334                           | \$1,146.71                    | \$4.03      |
| Clayton            | 2,484  | \$108,710,067         | \$49,491                           | \$1,700.00                    | \$3.69      |
| Ferguson R-2       | 20,464 | \$166,790,210         | \$9,819                            | \$780.00                      | \$5.31      |
| Hancock Place      | 2,479  | \$24,389,890          | \$11,938                           | \$783.84                      | \$4.20      |
| Hazelwood          | 23,767 | \$254,082,460         | \$11,861                           | \$747.45                      | \$5.22      |
| Jennings           | 3,342  | \$58,940,120          | \$20,967                           | \$1,020.49                    | \$4.05      |
| Kinloch            | 1,355  | \$3,788,940           | \$3,283                            | \$739.35                      | \$4.97      |
| Kirkwood R-7       | 9,699  | \$127,319,420         | \$15,189                           | \$937.63                      | \$4.99      |
| Ladue              | 6,233  | \$160,274,726         | \$29,035                           | \$1,406.26                    | \$4.25      |
| Lindbergh          | 12,529 | \$155,542,122         | \$14,117                           | \$844.83                      | \$4.35      |
| Maplewood-R. Hgts. | 3,294  | \$52,198,670          | \$19,347                           | \$971.65                      | \$3.70      |
| Mehlville R-9      | 11,834 | \$129,902,583         | \$12,758                           | \$803.85                      | \$4.42      |
| Normandy           | 10,057 | \$104,672,550         | \$12,686                           | \$889.85                      | \$5.19      |
| Parkway            | 21,267 | \$283,411,510         | \$13,047                           | \$784.57                      | \$5.57      |
| Pattonville R-3    | 13,020 | \$164,154,670         | \$15,206                           | \$875.67                      | \$4.43      |
| Ritenour           | 14,377 | \$138,930,320         | \$11,524                           | \$761.68                      | \$4.77      |
| Riverview Gardens  | 10,189 | \$98,824,345          | \$11,329                           | \$763.93                      | \$4.91      |
| Rockwood R-6       | 9,140  | \$100,917,465         | \$13,062                           | \$803.89                      | \$4.89      |
| University City    | 8,171  | \$118,977,100         | \$17,401                           | \$1,106.00                    | \$5.44      |
| Valley Park        | 1,116  | \$9,804,110           | \$11,015                           | \$726.75                      | \$4.65      |
| Webster Groves     | 8,433  | \$102,981,008         | \$14,159                           | \$974.79                      | \$5.31      |
| Wellston           | 2,539  | \$23,868,990          | \$12,736                           | \$941.24                      | \$5.47      |
| Special District   | 5,555  |                       |                                    |                               | \$0.35      |

Note: The tax rate is based on \$100 assessed valuation.

Source: Twentieth Annual Report of the St. Louis County, Missouri Public Schools to the County Board of Education for the School Year 1970-71.

Figures such as these indicate inequality in the access of area pupils to quality education and they also indicate disproportionate burdens on local taxpayers that are not necessarily commensurate with a better education for their children.

Equity is also clearly lacking in the sales tax granted in 1969 to municipalities. In an effort to alleviate the burden of property taxes on homeowners and to better enable municipalities to meet the increasing demand for urban services, the Missouri Legislature granted municipalities the right to levy a 1/2 percent or 1 percent sales tax on the dollar. Collected along with the state sales tax, it is rebated to the municipalities in which it is levied and collected. In the last two years the thirty municipalities which have the tax have reaped \$7.3 million.<sup>32</sup> Municipalities such as Jennings with two large shopping centers and St. Ann which has one of the largest shopping centers in the nation both expect to take in over \$1 million this year. Still another municipality, Des Peres, while it only took in slightly over a quarter of a million dollars in the last eight months of last year, is not complaining. With only 5,333 residents,

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<sup>32</sup> News item in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, "Sales Tax Flows like a River of Gold into County Cities," March 18-19, 1972.

the City of Des Peres' per capita take amounted to over \$55.<sup>33</sup>

This sales tax measure was the idea of the governor who termed it "creative localism" and a far better substitute than some form of revenue sharing. But, in fact, this tax works a serious injustice on the people of the city-county area. Unfortunately, very few of the ninety-six municipalities in the area have large shopping centers from which the tax represents a sizable income. Those municipalities without large shopping centers can expect no such large income. But it is not just the residents living in the municipalities levying the tax who must pay it, it is all the shoppers in the area who must pay it. Thus, the residence of St. Louis city and county who shop in another municipality that has the tax are subsidizing a lower property tax rate in that municipality or the provision of additional services in that municipality--benefits which accrue not to all the citizens of the area who equally pay for those benefits but only to the residents of the municipality that happens to have large shopping facilities.

The same argument can be made with regard to industrial sites and major office centers. Before the costs of government really began to spiral, being a

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<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

primarily residential municipality was a luxury most suburbs preferred. Today, however, few suburban municipalities can meet the rising costs and rising service demands without a very high property tax rate or the assistance of tax-earning facilities such as industrial parks or major office and commercial centers. These facilities are in general money-makers for the municipalities in which they are located because they yield more to the municipality through taxes than they demand in return from the municipality in terms of service requirements. Yet the location of these facilities is hardly if ever the result of any special benefit one municipality can provide that another does not. The particular municipality involved is usually not an important factor in the locational decision made for industrial and major office facilities. Its zoning laws may be.

But citizens often own, manage, or work and in general support, the tax-earning facilities in one municipality and live in another municipality. Thus one municipality may have a large medical or office center conglomeration and another be primarily residential. The residents from the whole area support the medical or office center that is a good tax-earner for its municipality, but the benefits only accrue to one municipality. So in effect residents of primarily residential municipalities are subsidizing those municipalities that happen

to have developed with major office and medical centers or industrial parks. Municipalities can attempt to alleviate this problem by altering the land use of their territory through zoning, but this is limited to the availability of land, and to the fact that not all land is suitable for such prestige development.

What all of this points up is the inadequacy of the arbitrary municipal jurisdictional pattern existing at present in the St. Louis-St. Louis County area. The artificially contrived boundary lines of municipalities as they presently exist in the city-county area have the very real result of handicapping some municipalities and favoring others. The ability to provide a full complement of high-quality urban services is not possible with the present governmental structure except at a disproportionate cost to many residents of the area. This state of affairs, however, is not acceptable under the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. The Fourteenth Amendment provides for equal protection under the law. A differential level of service is in itself a denial of equal protection for people who have equal rights under the laws of the State of Missouri. Increasingly, the courts are applying this clause of equal protection under the law to cases involving differential levels of services, for example, cases involving disproportionate expenditures among school districts. Such action seems warranted, if

not overdue, considering the gross disparities involved.

### City-County Interface

Aside from the differences among the several municipalities in the city-county area including the city as a municipality; there are also differences when one considers the City of St. Louis as a county in comparison to St. Louis County. These differences are real and involve real problems; but these problems, it should be emphasized, are not solely the responsibility of the immediate parties involved.

The fact that the City of St. Louis, more so than St. Louis County, contains the area's indigent and the area's older real estate with these elements' concomitant problems, is no more attributable to any special lack of effort on the part of the city to meet its obligations than to any such effort in the county. The fact that poor people have continued to migrate to the city in search of jobs--jobs especially in the unskilled category which have dwindled in recent years--is the result of national urbanization and migration trends rather than any special welfare policy administered by the City of St. Louis. Similarly, the fact that more of the area's technologically obsolete and socially blighted real estate is located in the city than in the county is primarily a result of the history of development, the

geography of the area, and national policies such as FHA home loan policies. If one accepts a basic tenet of Burgess that physical cities expand outward from their centers as their populations grow, then this implies that the older real estate along with its problems will be located to a large extent in the city rather than in the county.<sup>34</sup> Further, "it implies that in the absence of continued annexation a 'flight to the suburbs' (in the sense of a continually increasing suburban percentage of urban-area population) is inevitable if the population is growing, even if the population is all of one race."<sup>35</sup>

What this suggests then is that these problems in the City of St. Louis are not the fault of the city, and consequently, that they should not be solely the responsibility of the city. But facing the reality of politics, one may ask for what reasons should the county be willing to help shoulder a share of this burden. Aside from equity, the reasons fall into basically two categories--namely, economic and social interdependence and the need for cooperation and a voice in the government.

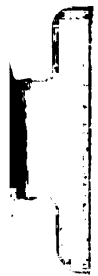
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<sup>34</sup>E. W. Burgess (1925), "The Growth of the City; An Introduction to a Research Project," in Studies in Human Ecology, ed. by G. A. Theodorson (New York: Harper and Row, 1961).

<sup>35</sup>Robert B. Smock, Man and the Urban Environment (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Center for Urban Studies, May, 1970), p. 28.

Economically, the St. Louis-St. Louis County area is a unit. The city-county area represents one local labor market, one housing market, one transport and communication system, one trade area, etc. The St. Louis-St. Louis County area is economically interdependent. Economic interdependence means that if one subunit in the area prospers, then the other subunits in the area will benefit; and similarly if one subunit in the area suffers, then all the subunits in the area will eventually feel the deleterious effects. Therefore, no economic subunit in the area can be ignored or abandoned, least of all one that represents a sizable part of the economic picture like the City of St. Louis.

Socially, the St. Louis-St. Louis County area is a unit. People have friends and relatives, belong to clubs, churches and organizations, and attend social events throughout the area. It is interesting to note that most of the major social events ranging from major league baseball, football, and ice-hockey games to the Fall Festival and Veiled Prophet Ball still transpire within the city limits. But regardless, political boundaries of the various subunits in the area are meaningless to the vast majority of the social ties and events that take place. Consequently, the city-county area is much more of a unit socially than the political boundaries would ever suggest.



Just as the political reality denies the economic and social interdependence of the city-county area, so too it denies the people both an effective mechanism for cooperation and an equal voice in their government. The political reality as evidenced by the governmental structure outlined in Chapter I is very complex. Needless to say, it militates against a smooth, coordinated effort at meeting the peoples' needs. As Nicholson notes in Chapter V of Consolidation: Building a Bridge Between City and Suburb, "the proliferation of self-centered local governments duplicates services and generates unnecessary conflict, obstruction, and frustration in the effort to handle common problems within the standard metropolitan area." The East-West Gateway Coordinating Council is intended to help ameliorate this problem, but since it is only voluntary its ability to do so is limited. Its ability to effect cooperation is even more limited because the Council has no direct power to bring about such cooperation. It can only provide a hearing for cooperation on a particular issue and then perhaps a consensus for action may develop; but it is really not up to the Council to implement it. The Bi-State Development Agency, as noted in Chapter I, has been a very ineffective tool for bringing about cooperation on matters of regional or metropolitan concern.

The Missing Element: A  
Voice in Government

Thus, the people have resorted to the creation of special districts from the fire protection districts to the zoological park and museum district. These single-purpose special districts have usually been quite effective at handling the job given them but they have a number of debilitating features. Because of the composition and method of selection of their governing bodies and because of their methods of financing, the single-purpose special districts are often remote from the voter.<sup>36</sup> He actually has no direct control over the conduct of some of these districts.

In addition, as the number of special districts increase in an area, governmental coordination is further complicated rather than simplified and authority and responsibility for action is further diffused rather than consolidated. Another key consideration is that in the process of attempting to determine the allocation of scarce financial resources among the various governmental functions to be provided, single-purpose districts remain outside this process.<sup>37</sup> The result is that the voter and the

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<sup>36</sup> Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Alternative Approaches to Governmental Reorganization in Metropolitan Areas (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, June, 1962), p. 52.

<sup>37</sup> Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, The Problem of Special Districts in American Government (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, May, 1964), p. 69.

local government official are frustrated in their attempt to control the total amount as well as the mix of public funds to be allocated among the various governmental functions. Thus, special districts have the effect of inhibiting the ability of both the elected local government officials and the electorate to govern effectively.

Besides the factors inhibiting governmental cooperation as well as the complete absence of any single, effective mechanism for bringing about that cooperation, the existing governmental structure fails to provide the people in the city-county area with an equal voice in their government. As different governmental functions are performed by governmental units having different jurisdictions, different electorates through their representatives are making decisions that affect citizens other than just themselves.

A good example is the matter of a second airport for St. Louis. Provision of the major commercial and freight carrier airport is a function traditionally performed by the City of St. Louis even though the facility has always been located in St. Louis County and the ridership has for a long time been made up of more St. Louis County bound passengers than city bound passengers.<sup>38</sup> Currently, the City of St. Louis is negotiating with the

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<sup>38</sup>News item in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, "Illinois Short of Ready Cash to Build Airport, Long Says," February 3, 1972.

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State of Illinois to provide a second major airport within the St. Louis SMSA in Illinois.<sup>39</sup> This, however, has not met with the approval of some in St. Louis County; but these people have no real and direct means of affecting this decision. Regardless of the merits of the Illinois site or any other site, and regardless of the eventual outcome of this matter, the fact remains that the existing governmental structure denies citizens an equal voice with regard to important matters in the governing of their area.

Together, the lack of equity in the provision of services commensurate with taxation and the lack of an equal voice in the government--both of which occur in the face of economic and social interdependence--demonstrate the inadequacies of the present governmental structure in the St. Louis-St. Louis County area. The need for reform has long been called for; the call has been heard; it has yet to be answered.

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<sup>39</sup>News item in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, "U.S. Won't Pick Airport Site, FAA Chief Says," February 12-13, 1972.

### CHAPTER III

#### ANALYSIS OF PREVIOUS ATTEMPTS AT REORGANIZATION IN ST. LOUIS

*The separation [of St. Louis city and county] was authorized by a constitutional amendment in 1875 and subsequently adopted by a joint vote of the city and the county. The history of local government in metropolitan Saint Louis thereafter consists of a series of efforts designed to mitigate the effects of the divorce of the city from the county.<sup>40</sup>*

Reform of the existing governmental structure in the St. Louis-St. Louis County area can be accomplished through the use of Article VI Section 30 (a) and (b) of the Missouri Constitution; through action of the State Legislature; through a constitutional convention; or through an amendment to the Missouri Constitution which may be put on the ballot by the State Legislature or by initiative petition.<sup>41</sup> Article VI Section 30 requires a separate favorable vote in the City of St. Louis and in

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<sup>40</sup>Sengstock, et al., op. cit., pp. 1-2.

<sup>41</sup>Missouri, Constitution, Art. III, Sec. 49-53; Art. VI, Sec. 30; and Art. XII.

St. Louis County. An amendment to the Missouri Constitution requires a favorable statewide vote.

Article VI Section 30

Article VI Section 30 was first adopted November 4, 1924 (as Article IX Section 26), nearly fifty years after the separation of the city and county. This amendment to the Missouri Constitution was the result of a local initiative petition that gained statewide approval at the ballot box. This constitutional amendment as first adopted in 1924 utilized a board of freeholders approach with eighteen members, nine appointed jointly by the mayor and circuit court judges of the city and nine appointed jointly by the governing body and circuit and probate judges of the county.<sup>42</sup> The board of freeholders was to come up with a specific proposal under one of three alternatives: (1) consolidation of the city and county under the municipal government of the City of St. Louis; (2) re-entry of the city into the county after which the city could exercise general law provisions for annexation; and (3) annexation of part of the county by the city.<sup>43</sup> In all three cases a separate majority would be required in

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<sup>42</sup>Missouri, Constitution (1924), Art. IX, Sec. 26.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid.

both the city and in the county for any proposal put forward by the board of freeholders.

Article VI Section 30 was amended when the 1943-44 State Constitutional Convention prepared a new constitution that was subsequently adopted in 1945. The changes in the article involved the addition of a nineteenth member to the board of freeholders to be appointed by the governor plus the addition of a fourth option.<sup>44</sup> The fourth option provides for the creation of one or more districts to undertake the functional administration of services common to the area. Following the provision of this fourth option in 1945, Article VI Section 30 was successfully used for the first time in 1954 with the creation of the Metropolitan Sewer District. The only other time this provision was successfully used was in 1971 with the creation of the Metropolitan Zoological Park and Museum District.

Article VI Section 30 was again amended on November 8, 1966 by a statewide vote. In St. Louis city and St. Louis County the amendment to Article VI Section 30 was scarcely noticed amid plentiful local bond issues, local charter amendments, and elections to fill state and local offices--all of which were on the same ballot.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>44</sup>Missouri, Constitution (1945), Art. VI, Sec. 30.

<sup>45</sup>News items in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, November 7, 8, and 9, 1966.

Nevertheless, the amendment to Article VI Section 30 was quite significant (see Appendices A and B). The amendment changed the method of selection of the board of freeholders plus it added a fifth option.<sup>46</sup> Giving more direct political control to the process, the city's nine members are appointed by the mayor with the majority approval of the board of aldermen and similarly the county's nine members are appointed by the county supervisor with the majority approval of the county council. The fifth option provides a dramatic contrast to the very constricted alternatives previously available. It provides for the formulation and adoption of any other plan for the partial or complete government of all or any part of the city and the county. It has yet to be used, however, and so to date the only successful adjustment of city-county relations under Article VI Section 30 remain the two districts created under the fourth option.

### Early Attempts

But aside from these successful attempts, there have been numerous unsuccessful attempts. Beginning in 1915 and in each of three legislative sessions following in 1917, 1919, and 1921, bills were introduced to allow the city to annex part of the county.<sup>47</sup> All of these

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<sup>46</sup>Missouri, Constitution, Art. VI, Sec. 30.

<sup>47</sup>Bollens, op. cit., p. 62.

efforts failed to gain legislative approval. They were vigorously opposed by St. Louis County legislators; and the hopelessness of the legislative route soon became apparent to those primarily in the city, who were interested in these efforts.

After extensive debate an enabling amendment for adjustment in city-county relations as well as in rural areas was one of twenty-one amendments proposed by the constitutional convention of 1922-23. This amendment, although passing in St. Louis, St. Louis County, and the Kansas City area lost by approximately 20,000 votes due to the outstate opposition.<sup>48</sup> Following this defeat, in February 1924 leaders in the city and county developed another amendment to be submitted by initiative. This amendment which gained statewide approval is the forerunner of the present Article VI Section 30.

In 1926, a consolidation proposal utilizing the first option available under Article VI Section 30 was submitted to the voters by a divided board of freeholders. Following a violent campaign, the proposal passed in the city by a margin of nearly seven to one in a light vote (22% of the eligible voters) but failed by better than two to one in a heavy St. Louis County vote (67%).<sup>49</sup> Because separate majorities were necessary, the proposal was

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<sup>48</sup>Ibid., p. 64.

<sup>49</sup>Schmandt, et al., op. cit., p. 4.

defeated. But more importantly, animosity had developed in the two jurisdictions over the campaign between the limited interests of the Million Population Club promoters in the city and the countians who resented this group as the heirs to the separationists who had removed the wealthy part of the county fifty years earlier.<sup>50</sup>

In 1930, another effort was made to provide for adjustment of city-county relations. At the behest of the St. Louis city and St. Louis County Chambers of Commerce, a Metropolitan Development Committee was organized. They prepared a federation enabling amendment to the Missouri Constitution to be submitted by initiative. The amendment was detailed and long. "It was, in fact," Bollens has said, "an attempt to legislate in the constitution."<sup>51</sup>

The amendment authorized writing a charter for the transfer of certain functions from the city, county, and other governmental units to a new unit to be known as the City of Greater St. Louis. It was envisioned that the new unit would handle such measures as health, charities, corrections, sewers, through highways, parks and recreation, public utility franchises, water, traffic, policing of highways and rural areas, building regulations and

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<sup>50</sup>Government Affairs Foundation, Inc., Metropolitan Surveys--A Digest (Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1958), p. 127.

<sup>51</sup>Bollens, op. cit., p. 67.

libraries and museums.<sup>52</sup> The functions of the municipalities would entail schools, local police, fire, zoning, local highways, street lighting and cleaning, and refuse collection. The government of the greater city was to have been an eleven-member council, four from the county, six from the city, and a chairman-at-large with an executive director appointed by the council.<sup>53</sup>

Although the campaign had an unusually enthusiastic civic effort behind it, along the way it lost some of the county members of the Metropolitan Development Committee which originally drafted the proposal. In addition, the mayor and the president of the board of aldermen in the city came out in opposition to the proposed amendment on the grounds that it would impose excessive obligations on the taxpayers in the City of St. Louis.<sup>54</sup> After a heated campaign the proposed federation enabling amendment went down to defeat along with six other amendments in the statewide elections in November 1930. It had passed in the city by a close 4,500 votes while all five of the other amendments failed to carry in the city.<sup>55</sup> In the county,

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<sup>52</sup>Government Affairs Foundation, Inc., op. cit., p. 128.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid.

<sup>54</sup>Schmandt, et al., op. cit., p. 4.

<sup>55</sup>Bollens, op. cit., p. 67.

the federation enabling proposal lost by a three to two margin.<sup>56</sup>

### 1959 District Plan

Aside from the unsuccessful attempt to create a metropolitan transit district in 1955 and successful creation of the Metropolitan Sewer District in 1954, no major reorganization proposals were presented to the voters again until 1959.<sup>57</sup> The 1959 District Plan was the result of recommendations from the Metropolitan St. Louis Survey. The Survey, which began in the summer of 1956 and concluded one year later, was financed by a local McDonnell award of \$50,000 and a Ford Foundation grant of \$250,000.<sup>58</sup> The Survey concerned itself with three key factors in the St. Louis city-county area--the government, the people, and the economy--and their effect on metropolitan reform. The implications of the existing setting, political tendencies, and the costs and benefits of services were analyzed.

The result was two published reports, Background for Action and Path of Progress. The first of these contained the factual data the Survey had compiled on the

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<sup>56</sup>Ibid., p. 68.

<sup>57</sup>Sengstock, et al., op. cit., p. 2.

<sup>58</sup>Schmandt, et al., op. cit., p. 7.

government, the people, and the economy; and the second contained the Survey's recommendations for governmental reform. These recommendations covered many areas that could not be accomplished by a single solution. There were recommendations on such matters as school district financing and merger, consolidation of smaller municipalities, and strengthening the hand of the county government.<sup>59</sup>

However, there was one major recommendation that lent itself to action under Article VI Section 30. This was the call for the creation of a metropolitan government for St. Louis city and St. Louis County to be concerned primarily with a metropolitan road system, public transportation, area-wide planning, economic development, sewage and drainage, civil defense and property assessment.<sup>60</sup> Purely local aspects of these seven functions were to remain in the hands of existing municipalities and St. Louis County. This metropolitan government was to be administered by a council composed of fourteen members with a chief executive elected at large. One member each was to be appointed by the mayor and one by the county supervisor; and six members each were to be elected by the

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<sup>59</sup>Government Affairs Foundation, Inc., op. cit., p. 131.

<sup>60</sup>Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Alternative Approaches to Governmental Reorganization in Metropolitan Areas (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, June, 1962), p. 55.

city and the county, half of whom from both jurisdictions would be elected by districts and the other half at large.<sup>61</sup> All elections would be non-partisan and involve four-year terms.

Pursuant to the implementation of the metropolitan government recommendation, a board of freeholders was finally selected following setbacks in the petition process due to the invalidation of some signatures. This delay from August 1957 when the Survey was completed to March 1958 when sufficient signatures were validated had the effect of dissipating public interest as well as discrediting the competence of those backing reorganization.

The membership on the board of freeholders was announced May 1958.<sup>62</sup> They began their work shortly thereafter and completed it in mid-April 1959. The board did not rubber stamp the Survey's recommendations, instead they held long hearings and entertained numerous proposals. As the constitutionally determined expiration date drew near, the factions on the board were forced to come to a vote. By the narrowest of margins possible, 10 to 9, the board adopted a multi-purpose district proposal over a municipal county merger proposal.<sup>63</sup> The

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<sup>61</sup>Government Affairs Foundation, Inc., op. cit., p. 131.

<sup>62</sup>Schmandt, et al., op. cit., p. 12.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., p. 25.

multi-purpose district closely followed the Survey's recommendations. The non-partisan feature, however, was scrapped.

The campaign that followed produced many proponents of the proposal as well as numerous and vocal opponents. The proponents argued that small individual communities were unable to cope with area-wide problems such as traffic and transportation; that the existing governmental structure failed to allow the economy of the area to keep pace with comparable urban centers; and that there was a need for overall planning for the area's future. The opposition was made up of those who argued the District Plan went too far--the status quo faction--and those who argued it did not go far enough--the pro-mergerites. The status quo faction argued that the District Plan meant a loss of local autonomy to a "super-government" and an increase in taxes. The pro-mergerites stressed that the District Plan merely created a new level of government while not eliminating a single existing one. And still another argument that falsely intimated the District Plan would alter school districts aroused dire anxieties in many St. Louis County voters.

The result of the election held in November 1959 was an overwhelming rejection for the District Plan proposal by a margin of two to one against in the city and

three to one against in the county.<sup>64</sup> This result is understandable given the strong opposition that had lined up against the proposal and the slimness of the ranks in favor. The proposal had failed to gain endorsements from either the mayor or the county supervisor or the major political parties. Aside from the two major daily newspapers, the favorable endorsements were either lukewarm or came from community elements of lesser importance. The opposition arguments were forcefully presented by many suburban politicians who had vested interests in the existing arrangements and by suburban community papers that have long championed the autonomy of suburban municipalities at all costs. The arguments these elements made were especially effective with homeowners who predominate in the area.

In analyzing the results of the vote on the District Plan, Schmandt divided the electorate into three groups with their respective views towards reorganization. He said:

The situation might be summarized in this fashion: the localists are prone to resist any change of consequence; the metropolitanites are inclined to be hostile or disinterested in any proposal that does not embrace political merger; the moderates are likely to remain apathetic, confused, and uncertain as to the proper remedy.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>64</sup>Ibid., p. 51.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., p. 66.

### 1962 Borough Plan

Following the demise of the District Plan, the pro-merger element that had arisen on the District Plan's board of freeholders and that fought against the District Plan began an effort to prepare a merger or consolidation proposal for the voters. This proposal, which became known as the Borough Plan, was an amendment to the Missouri Constitution to be secured by initiative petition. The backers of the Plan preferred the amendment route to the limited consolidation alternative provided in Article VI Section 30 for a number of reasons.<sup>66</sup> It allowed them to put their specific plan before the voters eliminating the uncertainty involved in the board of freeholders step. It allowed for a joint vote of the city and county (but a statewide vote as well). Further, it meant consolidation would not have to occur under the charter of the City of St. Louis so the critical charge that the city would be swallowing up the county was obviated. Also, the difficult school district issue could be avoided.

The purpose of the Borough Plan amendment was to create a municipal county comprising the territory of St. Louis city and county that would take over all functions, responsibilities, and powers of all the governmental units within this territory except the school

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<sup>66</sup>Sengstock, et al., op. cit., p. 26.

districts.<sup>67</sup> This municipal county was provided with an initial charter in the amendment as well as the power to amend this charter or adopt another. The initial charter provided for a forty-four-man legislative council, two from each of twenty-two boroughs intended to be roughly equal in population. It was because of this feature that the Plan had been tagged as the Borough Plan.

The twenty-two boroughs were intended to include neighborhoods of like character and preserve historic names and local identities. Sengstock, however, criticized this aspect of the Plan saying that "as a matter of fact, the boroughs split neighborhoods of the same character and combined groups having little in common in the same legislative districts."<sup>68</sup> Each borough had a seven-member Borough Council including the two representatives to the Legislative Council of the Municipal County. Although elected, each member on the Borough Council served without compensation to the Borough Council. Except for the power to introduce bills into the Legislative Council of the Municipal County, the Borough Council's powers were merely advisory.

Because the Borough Plan backers had elected the constitutional amendment process they become involved in a costly initiative petition process to get the amendment

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<sup>67</sup>Ibid., pp. 45-46.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., p. 55.

on the ballot. Such petitions required signatures of 8 percent of the voters in each of two-thirds of the state's congressional districts. But due to redistricting, it was deemed necessary to collect signatures of 10 percent of the voters in all of the districts that could be applied under the old or the new congressional districts. This turned out to be a formidable task. A public relations firm and a market research agency were hired, a speakers' bureau established, and volunteers were solicited.<sup>69</sup> This effort was successful; but it cost over \$125,000.<sup>70</sup> The cost of this petition phase had more than depleted the resources the backers of the Borough Plan were able to muster.

The opposition to the Plan became scared by the success of the petition phase. Since they were unaware of the proponents dire financial position for the campaign, the opponents of the Plan felt it necessary to launch a major campaign against the Borough Plan. They enlisted the support of the monied interests, the politicians, and the St. Louis County municipalities. They hired a different public relations firm, established their own speakers' bureau and set out to undo the work the Plan's backers had accomplished in the petition phase. Even the St. Louis Post-Dispatch joined in opposition to the Plan favoring the previously defeated District Plan

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<sup>69</sup>Ibid., p. 80.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid.

as the only suitable alternative. The proponents were so financially inhibited, they were scarcely able to retaliate.

The opposition attacked the Plan on many fronts.<sup>71</sup> It was charged that the Borough Plan was technically deficient and that its government could not effectively and efficiently operate the large municipal county. The fact that a statewide vote was involved in the amendment process brought charges that the principle of home rule was being violated. Black leadership in the city opposed the Plan fearing diminution of their power which was growing with every census count; and many whites in St. Louis County feared residential encroachment from blacks following consolidation. The accumulative effect of all the arguments and counter-arguments left most voters bewildered.

The results on November 6, 1962 were a statewide defeat of nearly three to one. In St. Louis County it was four to one against the Borough Plan. In the city, 55 percent opposed the Plan and 45 percent favored it. Voter participation in St. Louis-St. Louis County was high. Sixty-eight percent of the registered voters in the county and 41 percent in the city voted. The Borough Plan was defeated because the proponents failed to enlist the support of the civic elite and the important political leaders

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<sup>71</sup>Ibid., pp. 93-95.

of the community. This failure existed from the earliest stages of the efforts in behalf of the Borough Plan. Further, "it can be said that consolidation has never received a fair test at the polls because the campaign in its behalf never quite got off the ground."<sup>72</sup> One final point worth noting is Fellin's comment that "the Borough Plan suggests that governmental reform is unlikely to be achieved when separate majorities from St. Louis city and county are required."<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>72</sup>Ibid., p. 88.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., p. 97.

CHAPTER IV  
SUCCESSFUL REORGANIZATION EFFORTS  
IN OTHER LOCALES

*Governmental reorganization in America's metropolitan communities seems to require a pragmatic approach to the specifics of each area rather than a prescription of "universal principles."*<sup>74</sup>

Despite the continuous mismatch of plans to the desires and needs of the people, the politicians, and the political milieu of the moment in St. Louis, other cities have managed for one reason or another to come up with the right plan at the right moment. Dade County-Miami, Davidson County-Nashville, and Duval County-Jacksonville have managed this feat by a favorable referendum vote of the local electorate. Marion County-Indianapolis also succeeded in reorganization but its efforts were secured by state legislative fiat rather than by popular referendum. Two other interesting developments along these same lines are the Twin Cities Metropolitan Council in Minneapolis-St. Paul and the Hackensack Meadowlands form of regional

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<sup>74</sup>Sengstock, et al., op. cit., (Duane Lockard), p. 132.

government in New Jersey, each of which was created by its respective state legislature. In addition, there is the Canadian experience with local governmental reorganization, a noteworthy example of which is Toronto. All of these efforts are of interest because of the fact that they became law, and for the reasons why they became law, as well as for the fact that they offer cities like St. Louis working metropolitan governmental models to emulate.

#### City-County Consolidation

The Dade County-Miami metropolitan government known as Metro was approved by the voters on July 21, 1957.<sup>75</sup> The home rule charter approved by voters gave Metro extensive area-wide powers, made it the sole government for the unincorporated areas, and created a federal-type governmental system in which the county and its twenty-seven municipalities share power and responsibility.<sup>76</sup> Metro was given the power to carry on a central metropolitan government both in the unincorporated and incorporated areas; to set minimum standards for incorporated area services which if not met, the services can be assumed

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<sup>75</sup> Joseph F. Zimmerman, ed., Government of the Metropolis (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968), p. 201.

<sup>76</sup> Edward Sofen, The Miami Metropolitan Experiment (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1966), p. 59.

by Metro; and to exercise all necessary general and attendant powers.<sup>77</sup>

The Metro charter specifically prevented the abolition of any existing municipality, a change in its boundaries, or an impairment of its revenue from utilities or franchises by the county.<sup>78</sup> Yet the division of power between the municipalities and the county has been one of Metro's biggest stumbling blocks, bringing numerous charter amendment proposals and necessitating court interpretations. One of these charter amendments that was approved by the voters in 1963 changed Metro's legislative body. The amendment provided for a nine-member Metro Commission elected at large in place of the previous district approach; but this still left intact the manager-council form of government used by Metro. Despite its ability to withstand numerous attempts to saddle it with debilitating amendments, Metro has remained plagued by under-financing and a lack of leadership. According to Sofen, "despite some significant progress" the Metro government "has yet [to] come of age."<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>77</sup>Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Alternative Approaches to Governmental Reorganization in Metropolitan Areas (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, June, 1962), p. 43.

<sup>78</sup>Sofen, op. cit., p. 58.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., p. 265.

Metro was created due to a number of factors which for the most part do not exist in St. Louis.

Among the more important factors were the mobility of the population, the tourist atmosphere, the no-party system, the weak position of labor and minority groups, the vulnerable past of the central city, and the strong dependency of the population on the area-wide newspapers for political leadership.<sup>80</sup>

But there are still a number of important lessons to be learned from the Miami experience.<sup>81</sup> Miami effectively brought together the fervent opponents of consolidation and the moderate proponents on a single board to discuss the matter. Miami evolved a federal-type of government as a compromise between localists and consolidationists. Further, a charter board of civic elite that avoided any tinge of representing special interest groups was appointed. Finally, following adequate preparation by these boards, the campaign for Metro was effectively sold to the electorate.

The Davidson County-Nashville consolidation came on June 28, 1962.<sup>82</sup> It merged the Nashville city and Davidson County governments into a new metropolitan unit. Six small suburbs retain their incorporated status until a majority of their population decide otherwise. Legislative authority is vested in a forty-man council with

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<sup>80</sup>Ibid., p. 257.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., p. 259.

<sup>82</sup>Zimmerman, Government of the Metropolis, p. 103.

thirty-five members chosen from districts and five elected at large.<sup>83</sup> The metropolitan mayor and a vice mayor for the Nashville Metro are popularly elected. The jurisdiction of the government is broken down into two districts each of which has a separate tax rate.<sup>84</sup> A general services district covers the entire county, where residents receive and pay for services that are designated as area-wide. The urban services district which initially covered only the city portion of the county, but which can be expanded, charges and provides affected residents with essentially urban-type services.

The successful 1962 vote in Nashville was preceded by a vote in 1958 which defeated a proposal that was essentially the same.<sup>85</sup> The first attempt was endorsed by all of the politicians; but it seriously lacked strong grass roots support. In addition, there was a general lack of any issue crucial enough to arouse citizen interest. By the time of the second vote in 1962, conditions had changed. The city had made vigorous and successful annexation efforts in the county. This caused problems in both the city and the county for which Metro was seen as the solution. Fear of annexation without a guarantee

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<sup>83</sup>David A. Booth, Metropolitics: The Nashville Consolidation (East Lansing: Institute for Community Development and Services, Michigan State University, 1963), p. 83.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid., p. 82.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid., p. 20.

of improved services put many county residents in favor of Metro with its guarantees. By this time, too, the mayor's position had deteriorated and he was forced to defeat Metro or face political extinction. A vote for Metro, in effect, became a vote against the mayor who had broken a pledge to give the people a vote on annexation. The Tennessean, one of two major papers in Nashville, waged an all out effort to defeat the mayor and to achieve a Metro victory.<sup>86</sup>

The extensive educational efforts of various civic oriented groups and the fear of annexation, plus the vote against the mayor made for a victory at the polls. The key factor had been arousing the voters with issues they could grapple with. There were, of course, other necessary corollaries. In his analysis of interview data gathered after the vote, Bret Hawkins found support for reorganization to be associated with: "(1) voter dissatisfaction with services, (2) the nonanticipation by voters of higher taxes stemming from reorganization, (3) voter education levels higher than grade school, and (4) voter understanding of 'metropolitan problems.'"<sup>87</sup>

Duval County and Jacksonville were consolidated by a vote with a favorable margin of almost two to one on

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<sup>86</sup>Ibid., p. 87.

<sup>87</sup>Zimmerman, Government of the Metropolis, p. 113.

August 8, 1967.<sup>88</sup> It merged the City of Jacksonville and the County of Duval with the exception of four suburban communities, Jacksonville Beach, Neptune Beach, Atlantic Beach, and Baldwin. The Duval County-Jacksonville consolidation was precipitated by efforts of local business and civic leaders who secured state legislative approval for the establishment of a "Local Government Study Commission of Duval County."<sup>89</sup> The Study Commission, which actively involved area citizens, came up with a report titled "Blueprint for Improvement." It called for the creation of a single county-wide business-like government. The Study Commission proposal was modified and adopted by the state legislature before it was put to a vote of the people. The resulting government the people approved is a strong mayor form with a nineteen-man city council, fourteen of whom are elected from districts and five at large.<sup>90</sup> There is a specific limit on ad valorem taxes set at thirty-six mils in the consolidated city's charter. In addition, pension protection for city and county employees is written into the charter.

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<sup>88</sup>Urban Action Clearinghouse, "Jacksonville, Florida, Merges City and County Governments," Case Study No. 4 (Washington, D.C.: Chamber of Commerce of the United States, October, 1968), p. 3.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>90</sup>Ed Young, "Nashville, Jacksonville and Indianapolis Examined for Possible Lessons for Future," Nation's Cities, VII, No. 11 (November, 1969), 38.

Success in the Jacksonville case came because the new consolidated government offered a solution to plainly felt problems. High taxes, loss of accreditation for all high schools in the City of Jacksonville, and grand jury indictments against local officials in the wake of political corruption gave the voters something to change.<sup>91</sup> Local leadership pressed hard for the consolidation. Broad representation from the whole community was involved in the Study Commission's work. Every registered voter was contacted by phone or a door-to-door call and this was followed up by mailings as well.<sup>92</sup> Combined, these factors were potent enough to overcome the vested interests of the opposition.

Unlike its Southern counterparts, the Marion County-Indianapolis consolidation did not require a referendum. Indianapolis, the capital city of Indiana, was consolidated with surrounding Marion County by act of the Indiana State Legislature. The bill effecting the consolidation was signed by the governor on March 13, 1969 and took effect January 1, 1970.<sup>93</sup> Unigov, as it is popularly known, actually consolidated only partially

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<sup>91</sup>Urban Action Clearinghouse, op. cit., p. 4.

<sup>92</sup>L. M. Wright, Jr., "A Summary of Consolidation: Jacksonville-Duval County by Richard Martin" (September 9, 1969), p. 16.

<sup>93</sup>Joseph F. Zimmerman, "Indianapolis Consolidates," The American City, LXXXV, No. 1 (January, 1970), 76.

the fifty-eight units of government in Marion County. Three suburban communities, Speedway, Beach Grove, and Lawrence were left out entirely, although they may join if a majority of their citizens so choose. But in addition, the school corporations and the sixteen townships were not included nor were the city and county police and fire departments merged.<sup>94</sup> Two special authorities, Marion County Health and Hospital Corporation and the Indianapolis Airport Authority, were also exempted although their budgets are subject to review by the city-county council. Furthermore, the twenty-two towns existing in Marion County retain their identity and some of their autonomy. Although their tax rate will be the same as in Indianapolis, they retain their power with respect to, but not limited to, streets, roads, sidewalks, and sewers "except that no such town or district shall have the right to issue general obligation bonds or enforce a regulation or ordinance within the county which is in conflict with or permits a lesser standard than any ordinance of the consolidated city which is also applicable."<sup>95</sup>

Unigov's legislative body consists of a twenty-nine member city-county council with twenty-five members

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<sup>94</sup>Young, op. cit., p. 38.

<sup>95</sup>Indiana Acts of 1969, Sec. 406, Ch. 173.

elected from single member districts and four elected at large.<sup>96</sup> The chief executive of the consolidated city is a mayor who has a four-year term. He is authorized to appoint a deputy mayor and the city-county council may authorize him to appoint additional ones. The mayor appoints the director and a four-member advisory board for each of the six city departments: administration, metropolitan development, public works, transportation, public safety, and parks and recreation.

The Marion County-Indianapolis consolidation came about by state legislative action, but even this method required a concerted effort by proponents of governmental reorganization. Republican Mayor Richard Lugar and the Marion County Republican Party along with a very large task force of citizens and businessmen nurtured the effort from inception to the governor's signing. This consortium personally contacted 91 of the 127 state legislators. They had the solid backing of the Marion County delegation to the legislature except for one member in the House and one in the Senate. After numerous hearings, they finally got the measure out of committee and it passed. Strong leadership and a fortuitous political situation accounted for Indianapolis' success, the first major city-county consolidation to occur without a popular referendum since the turn of the century.

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<sup>96</sup> Zimmerman, "Indianapolis Consolidates," p. 76.

### Regional Reorganization

For the Minneapolis-St. Paul area, the Twin Cities Metropolitan Council was created in August 1967 by the Minnesota State Legislature.<sup>97</sup> The Metropolitan Council is a government hybrid--a cross between metropolitan government and a state agency. Like any metropolitan government it is concerned primarily with the area it serves; its government representatives come from the local area; and it has ad valorem taxing authority to finance its operation.<sup>98</sup> Moreover, it is like a state agency because the governor appoints all council representatives and the state legislature controls its budget and determines its specific powers and continued existence requiring it to make regular reports to the legislature.<sup>99</sup> But the local interests are always considered and local officials consulted beforehand by the governor when he makes his appointments and by the legislature when they assign new powers to the council.

The Metropolitan Council consists of fifteen members, fourteen of whom are appointed from equal population districts which are based on state senatorial

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<sup>97</sup> Stanley Baldinger, "Governing the Metropolis: The Twin Cities Experience," The American County, XXXVI, No. 3 (March, 1971), 17.

<sup>98</sup> Minnesota, State Statutes, Ch. 896.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

districts rather than local units of government.<sup>100</sup> The fifteenth member, a chairman is appointed at large. All of the appointments must be confirmed by the state senate. The Metropolitan Council has been charged with various regional concerns but rather than engage directly in the administration of the growing list of functions assigned to it by the legislature, the Council has appointed dependent administrative boards to carry out such services as regional parks and open space, solid waste disposal, and sewage treatment and disposal.<sup>101</sup> But the Council maintains tight control over these boards establishing all policies and approving or vetoing unsatisfactory board plans and budgets.

The Council covers a seven-county area that includes two large central cities, over three hundred units of local government and a score of special purpose districts. Unlike the typical council of governments that can only call for cooperation between all the units but has no actual power to secure such cooperation, the Twin Cities Metropolitan Council has the necessary power.<sup>102</sup> It can closely correlate the planning and policy-making

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<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> Baldinger, op. cit., p. 17.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., p. 16.

function of government with the decision-making function because it is directly responsible for both.

One of the most important lessons to be learned from the Twin Cities experiment is the fact that the Metropolitan Council was and continues to be an evolutionary process. The Metropolitan Council was preceded by a Metropolitan Planning Commission that started in 1957.<sup>103</sup> The Metropolitan Planning Commission had limited taxing authority; but its primary function was to do research and planning on area-wide problems as a supplementary, coordinative, and advisory service for local governmental units.<sup>104</sup> It began by educating the community through reports and studies detailing the problems in the metropolitan area. Then the Commission moved into a second phase during which a metropolitan development policy plan was arrived at. It was at this point that a sewage controversy developed which precipitated a movement towards a metropolitan approach for a whole range of area-wide concerns. This movement lead to the creation of the Metropolitan Council; but not without a long struggle in the state legislature. The rural-dominated legislature had to first be reapportioned and the issue of home rule with regard to the Minnesota Constitution resolved.

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<sup>103</sup>Minnesota, State Statutes (1957), Sec. 473.

<sup>104</sup>Ibid.

But perhaps the most striking feature of the effort to get metropolitan government for the area is the minimal number of recalcitrant elements encountered on the local level. Some county officials feared eventual elimination of their governmental units and typical suburban parochialism also emerged. Yet the proponents were numerous and singularly behind metropolitan government for the Twin Cities. As Mayor Illies of suburban Minnetonka put it, "we look on metropolitan government as local government."<sup>105</sup> This important concept was a significant factor in the realization of metropolitan government in the Twin Cities. Stanley Baldinger explains it this way:

Illies and his colleagues throughout the area recognized that the Metropolitan Council would share its powers and programs with them rather than become a new level of government over them. It would be a "completing" component of powers which were essentially local but cover a larger geographic area.<sup>106</sup>

In New Jersey, a regional government was established for the Hackensack Meadowlands in 1968 by the state legislature. This regional government is two tiered. There is the Hackensack Meadowlands Committee which is a council of governments composed of representatives from the local units of government in the multi-county area; and there is the Hackensack Meadowlands

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<sup>105</sup>Baldinger, op. cit., p. 20.

<sup>106</sup>Ibid., p. 32.

Commission which is a seven-man quasi-independent agency of the New Jersey Department of Community Affairs.<sup>107</sup>

The Hackensack Meadowlands regional government was set up to solve local problems in the Meadowlands, an area that is in close proximity to Manhattan Island but that has not developed in a fashion in any way similar to Manhattan. This is because the Meadowlands has been held back by physiographic problems that inhibit development--namely, low flat land subject to flooding.<sup>108</sup> These problems have been complicated by poor land development practices and serious environmental pollution. Add to this the inability of the fourteen municipalities in the area to do anything more than squabble over who should get the "ratables," i.e., the good tax-earning land uses, and an unsettled question of the state's riparian rights in this coastal area and it is easy to see why development in the Meadowlands has been less than the area's close proximity to Manhattan would seem to warrant.<sup>109</sup>

What the area needed was a vehicle capable of producing, financing, and implementing a comprehensive development plan for the region. This is exactly what the legislature created with the Hackensack Meadowlands

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<sup>107</sup>The Hackensack Meadowlands Reclamation and Development Act, State of New Jersey.

<sup>108</sup>Hackensack Meadowlands Commission, Master Plan First Stage, November, 1969, p. 4.

<sup>109</sup>Atlantic Reporter 270 A 2nd No. 3 (December 12, 1970), pp. 418-43.

Reclamation and Development Act Commission and Committee. The Commission is to do planning for the development of the region. Further, it has the necessary legal and financing capability to implement its plans including bonding capacity, power to make special assessments, and the power of eminent domain. The committee may veto Commission plans but such vetoes can be overridden by a favorable vote of five of the seven Commission members. Commission hearings held prior to adoption of major plans should make possible significant local input in all cases.

One of the most important features of the Hackensack Meadowlands Act is Article 9. This article creates an intermunicipal tax-sharing pool by which the constituent municipalities share the tax benefits and burdens resulting from the development and redevelopment activities of the Commission. This eliminates local squabbling over "ratables." It no longer matters which municipality in the Meadowlands gets the good tax-earners since all the land taxes are pooled. Each municipality's share is computed annually based on its land area. Credits are given for new municipal service (e.g., added police protection) and projects (e.g., new park or building) which the Meadowlands Commission deems beneficial to the district as a whole and which are consistent with the region's master plan.

The Hackensack Meadowlands Act had to undergo discussion and compromise in the political arena. It also had to withstand a major test case in the New Jersey Superior Court brought by numerous litigants. But the outcome is a unique form of regional government. The combination and sharing of power and responsibility between the Hackensack Meadowlands Commission and Committee for planning, zoning, and most especially for the tax pool arrangement is a genuinely novel approach to regional problems. It is an approach which offers strong potential for selective application in other locales.

#### The Canadian Experience

In Canada, the experience with local governmental reform has been different. Whereas in the United States, the federal level and the local level are politically dominant compared to the states; in Canada, the provinces are politically dominant with the Parliamentary level and the local level being less influential by comparison.<sup>110</sup> The result is that the notion of home rule as it is known in the United States is not present in Canada; and consequently, all reorganization of local government in Canada occurs by action of the provinces. This action is

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<sup>110</sup>Harold Kaplan, Urban Political Systems--A Functional Analysis of Metro Toronto (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), p. 48.

typically swift and effective. This is demonstrated in the following case of Toronto.

Subsequent to a request from the town of Mimico to create an area for the joint administration of major municipal services, the Ontario Municipal Board announced that preliminary hearings would be held; but they were delayed by ensuing events.<sup>111</sup> The town of Long Branch filed an application for the amalgamation of four Toronto suburbs. Then in February, the City of Toronto sought from the same board an order amalgamating the City of Toronto with all the surrounding municipalities with minor rural exceptions. In May, Toronto revised its request to include all of the twelve surrounding municipalities. The Ontario Municipal Board commenced joint hearings on the applications from Mimico and Toronto (setting aside the Long Branch request) in June 1950 and terminated them one year later. On January 20, 1953, the Ontario Municipal Board issued the Cummings Report which called for the creation of the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto.<sup>112</sup> The Cummings Report rejected the joint service proposal of Mimico and the annexation application of Toronto. Instead, it proposed a metropolitan federation of the thirteen municipalities of Toronto. Six

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<sup>111</sup>Zimmerman, Government of the Metropolis, pp. 228-28.

<sup>112</sup>Kaplan, op. cit., p. 47.

weeks after this report was issued, the government of Ontario approved Bill 80, "The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Act."

The Metro Act provided for a division of power between the municipalities and the Metropolitan Corporation along the lines suggested by the Cummings Report.<sup>113</sup> In general, area-wide concerns are exclusively the province of Metro and quasi-independent metropolitan boards. Local matters are exclusively the province of the municipalities. However, some functions such as water supply, sewage disposal, and roads are shared by the municipalities and Metro with the former concentrating on the local aspects of such functions and the latter concentrating on their metropolitan aspects. Also, Metro and the municipalities share equally with regard to power and responsibility in the area of housing and redevelopment.

In 1966, the Metro Act was amended.<sup>114</sup> The federal format, the recruitment of Metro Council members from municipal councils, and the appointment by the Metro Council of a chairman were retained. But the number of municipalities was reduced from thirteen to six, the size of the Council was enlarged, and the representation pattern altered. Instead of twelve members coming from

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<sup>113</sup> Zimmerman, Government of the Metropolis, p. 232.

<sup>114</sup> Kaplan, op. cit., p. 261.

Toronto and one member coming from each of the twelve suburban municipalities, now twelve members come from an enlarged City of Toronto and twenty members are spread according to population among the resulting five suburban municipalities. The federal structure of the school boards was retained; but the Metro School Board was given the power to levy one school tax rate for the entire area and to assume almost complete control over the fiscal decisions of the local boards.<sup>115</sup> Local boards retain control over policy.

When Metro Toronto was created by the Ontario Provincial Government, it was done in order to free the province for a while from the time-consuming requests continually made by the Toronto area for governmental reform. For this reason, the Ontario Province wanted the Metro government to have enough power to be able to meet regional problems and to be able to eliminate glaring financial inequality in the area.<sup>116</sup> It was for this same reason the province chose the federation format, so that the Metro government would be as acceptable to the municipalities as possible.<sup>117</sup> Similarly, features such as having municipal officials made up the Metro Council were included to make Metro acceptable to the municipalities

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<sup>115</sup>Ibid., p. 262.

<sup>116</sup>Ibid., p. 50.

<sup>117</sup>Ibid.



and to eliminate the possibility of Metro-municipal conflict.<sup>118</sup>

This particular feature--having municipal officials make up the Metro Council--is a key element in the Toronto experiment, one that is both a strength and a weakness. Unlike the Winnipeg, Manitoba Metropolitan government, for example, that is quite similar to Toronto's--with the exception that its members are elected from districts--Toronto has not been immobilized at times by conflict between Metro and the municipalities as has its western counterpart. On the other hand, Toronto's method has had the initially inherent weakness that support for action in its Council must come from officials who remain largely committed to their municipalities and indifferent to the future of the Metro system.<sup>119</sup> This weakness, however, has been mitigated by the presence of the provincial government which acts as a force to insure at least some action from these municipal officials who can be assured of further provincial intervention such as amalgamation if they do not act. Such a compelling force as provincial intervention does not present itself in the United States; and consequently, the chances are greatly diminished that a United States metropolitan government made up of municipal officials could effectively accomplish its job.

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<sup>118</sup>Ibid., p. 52.

<sup>119</sup>Ibid., p. 81.

## CHAPTER V

### A PROPOSAL: THE MUNICIPAL NEIGHBORHOOD CONCEPT

*It is well to remember that the word [boundary] means that which binds together; a boundary is what makes it possible for a society to have its own individuality. And this is true of the individual holding also.<sup>120</sup>*

*Do we not sometimes pay our respects to the idea of a landscape without boundaries in the restrictive sense, but in practice want them? We want zoning, national parks, electoral districts that are just; we want privacy. If any difference can be discerned, it is that the boundaries in the past were intended to insure self-sufficiency whereas now we think of interdependence.<sup>121</sup>*

Chapter III has analyzed the previous attempts at metropolitan reorganization in St. Louis and the reasons for their failures. There are, however, two interesting features related to Chapter III which suggest that such failures need not be accepted as preordained. The first is the November 8, 1966 amendment to Article VI Section 30

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<sup>120</sup>Erwin H. Zube, ed., Landscapes--Selected Writings of J. B. Jackson (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 1970), p. 154.

<sup>121</sup>Ibid., p. 155.

of the Missouri Constitution. This amendment allows for any plan for governmental reorganization of all or part of St. Louis and St. Louis County to be presented to the voters. Such a provision, were it in effect prior to the 1959 District Plan and the 1962 Borough Plan, would have substantially altered both of these plans. Similarly, this provision can be expected profoundly to affect all future plans presented to St. Louis voters.

The second interesting feature related to Chapter III is that despite the defeat of the specific proposals presented to the voters, large segments of the electorate seem to favor some form of metropolitan reorganization. They are unable to say exactly what form metropolitan reorganization should take; the only thing for sure is that the specifics of the proposals thus far presented have not measured up. The St. Louis Metropolitan Survey conducted for the District Plan showed that more than 50 percent in general population samples in both the city and county appeared ready to support some kind of governmental reorganization.<sup>122</sup> Similarly, following the Borough Plan, "sentiment in favor of doing something" with regard to metropolitan reorganization was clearly present among test and control groups surveyed in conjunction with the Metroplex Assembly.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>122</sup>Bollens, op. cit., pp. 212-18.

<sup>123</sup>Sengstock, et al., op. cit., p. 130.

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That such should be the case among people who had just voted conclusively against the Borough Plan seems to suggest rather strongly that the Plan's proponents somehow failed to please or to tap the sentiments of a large number of potential supporters.<sup>124</sup>

Chapter IV has analyzed previous successful efforts at governmental reorganization in other locales. The results show that it can be done, given the right proposal and the right set of circumstances. No one of the reorganization efforts in these other cities exactly conforms to the set of circumstances present in St. Louis nor can any of these proposals be imposed directly on the St. Louis situation. However, each of them offers an important lesson to be evaluated in light of the needs and demands of the St. Louis situation.

The task then for Chapter V is to draw out the implications of Chapters III and IV and synthesize this information. Such a synthesis combined with innovative thinking, when carried to its logical conclusion, could lead to the development of a specific plan for metropolitan reorganization in St. Louis. However, a full-fledged plan for metropolitan reorganization should come from a broadly based cross-section of the community rather than a single individual; and such an effort is beyond the scope of this work. Yet it is entirely in keeping to offer suggestions for salient features of such a plan.

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<sup>124</sup>Ibid.

Accordingly, a number of features considered important to the effectuation of metropolitan reorganization in St. Louis are offered in this chapter.

#### Size of the Reorganized Area

The first matter to be considered in governmental reorganization is the size of the area to be reorganized. In Minneapolis-St. Paul, the region, that is an area comparable in size to the St. Louis SMSA, was reorganized. Currently, efforts are being directed at regional reorganization in St. Louis. A proposal has been put forward to place the Bi-State Development Agency under the control of the board of directors of the East-West Gateway Coordinating Council.<sup>125</sup> The result would be a new Bi-State agency called East-West Gateway Planning and Development Agency which would both plan and operate airports, rapid transit, and the area's bus system. Like the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, this new agency would be governed by the area's elected municipal officials. Like the Twin Cities Metropolitan Council, this new agency would place both the planning and policy function as well as the decision-making function for these regional concerns in one body. Thus, under this proposal the St. Louis COG would have both the forum and the power necessary to arrive

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<sup>125</sup>News item in the St. Louis-Globe Democrat, "Super Transportation Agency is Proposed for Metro Area," March 9, 1972.

at and implement community consensus on selected matters of regional concern.

However, this proposal has its limitations. First, unlike the Minneapolis-St. Paul region which is entirely within one state or Metro Toronto which has the single force of the province to direct it, the St. Louis SMSA spreads into two states. This means that in order to create such a body as the East-West Gateway Planning and Development Agency an inter-state compact between Missouri and Illinois is necessary. Such a compact also requires Congressional approval. In the case of the creation of the Bi-State Development Agency, this process proved long and difficult. But aside from the problems of implementing such a proposal, the fact remains that it would not solve many of the problems of inequality extant in the St. Louis-St. Louis County situation.

Whether or not such a regional proposal is implemented, there is still a need for a metropolitan reorganization covering the City of St. Louis and St. Louis County. Considering the city and the county as a unit for reorganization is logical for a number of reasons. The city and the county were once a unit and the machinery in the form of state enabling legislation to bring about reorganization for this area is available. The area functions both economically and socially as a unit. Further, the area is surprisingly geographically distinct. It is

bordered on the east by the Mississippi River which is both a physical barrier and a state boundary line. On the north and most of the west the area is bordered by the Missouri River, an equally important physical barrier. To the south the area is bound by the smaller Meramec River and the rough topography of the foothills of the Ozarks in Jefferson County. In the far west section large public tracts and hilly topography define the boundary at the Franklin County line. Although development has spilled over into Illinois and into St. Charles and Jefferson counties in Missouri, such development has remained fairly distinct. Thus, St. Louis-St. Louis County represents a relatively distinct urban geographic entity surrounded not by a greebelt; but rather by a natural river system that creates, in effect, an island not unlike Manhattan Island, only at a different scale. Accordingly, St. Louis-St. Louis County conceivably warrants a political entity to match.

#### Form of Government

The second step to be considered in governmental reorganization is the form of government to be used. There are essentially two basic forms of reorganization that could be used in St. Louis and have the desired effect of removing inequity. These two are some type of consolidation, or some type of federation of the existing geographic jurisdictions of local government with a

reallocation of the powers and functions among the existing and new units of government.

City-county consolidation is the pure solution. It is sweeping in effect bringing all or nearly all services and functions under a single body. This was the method employed in Nashville, Jacksonville, and Indianapolis. In Indianapolis it was done by fiat, an event unlikely to occur in the Missouri Legislature or with the support of home rule oriented St. Louis. In Nashville and Jacksonville, it occurred because critical problems overshadowed the problem of a "super-government" image inherent in complete city-county consolidation. But in all three cases, there was the problem of neighborhood or community identity that residents enjoyed and felt afraid they would lose in a bigger government operation. This was answered in different ways in each of the three cities with the solution, in general, taking the form of allowing small existing suburban communities to opt out. However, to allow all ninety-six of the suburban municipalities in St. Louis County to opt out could create an extremely anomalous situation. Thus, it would seem if city-county consolidation in St. Louis is to work it could not offer such a provision. Yet fear of loss of local autonomy is very strong in St. Louis County and would appear to preclude complete consolidation.

The next alternative then is to consider some form of federation. However, federation under the District Plan of St. Louis in 1959 was widely criticized because it failed to eliminate a single unit of government and instead added an additional layer of government. Therefore, it would seem that some type of compromise between the two forms of government is necessary in St. Louis if such a government is to gain the voters' approval and be an effective form of government as well.

Recognizing that a number of the municipalities in St. Louis County are ghost governments (i.e., they contract for services but provide few if any services directly to their residents), and that many are too small to solve the problems involved in providing urban services, the logical step is to provide for the consolidation of some of these smaller municipalities.<sup>126</sup> The resulting larger municipalities could then be federated into a single unit. This process, however, should not be left up to chance, as this could lead to still greater disparities between the municipalities.

The ideal way to handle this process is to apply a series of impartial criteria to the situation and temper this by a feel for the history and the social and political reality of each area. The result would be municipalities

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<sup>126</sup>Bollens, op. cit., p. 41.

that have logical boundaries in the sense that their boundaries define areas representing or having the potential to evolve into somewhat homogeneous, cohesive, and identifiable subunits of the metropolitan area. These new municipalities are termed municipal neighborhoods. They are called such because they exhibit characteristics of both municipalities and neighborhoods. Like municipalities, they exercise governmental power and responsibility (although more limited than that exercised by present municipalities); and they exercise this authority for a territory that is comparable in size to existing municipalities such as Kirkwood and Florissant. Like neighborhoods, they represent a district or section of the city (although physically larger than traditionally conceived) that is a somewhat homogeneous, cohesive, and identifiable subunit of the larger area.

In order to provide area residents with a desirable living environment and a sense of identity--a feeling of belonging--it is necessary that municipal neighborhoods be developed and identified by delineation of functional boundaries to outline natural neighborhoods. Thus, areas that have a degree of similarity in their development and land-use pattern and population should be identified. Likewise, elements such as internal functioning, the psychological perspective of local residents with regard to this question, and the history of an area need to be

taken into consideration. Also, individual subunits identified need to be of a sufficient size in order to provide a population and resource base that can be efficiently served.

To achieve this identity, it is necessary for the distinctiveness of individual subunits to be perceived, and equally important is the desirability of having clearly perceived boundary lines to set off the individual subunits of the metropolitan area. Consequently, boundary lines should not run down back yard property lines through the middle of subdivisions, nor should they arbitrarily cut through homes and commercial property. Rather, boundary lines should be readily identifiable to residents and visitors. This dictates a preference for natural boundaries.

The following boundary delimiters are listed in rank order of their effectiveness at defining communities: rivers, limited access highways, railroads, major thoroughfares, and lesser artifices. In each case their effectiveness is enhanced or diminished by the number of penetrations they allow. In the case of a river, it is the number of times that it is bridged; in the case of limited access highways, it is the number of interchanges as well as non-access penetrations; in the case of railroad tracks, it is the number of crossings, etc.

Applying these delimiters around areas of local identity--real, perceived, and potential--to the City of St. Louis and St. Louis County has yielded thirty-six municipal neighborhoods. Figure 3 is a map of these thirty-six municipal neighborhoods. Appendix C lists the municipal neighborhoods by name and boundary delimiters.

It should be noted that this is not a simple process to apply nor will it always yield exactly the same results when it is applied by different persons. This is because the process of identifying municipal neighborhoods is dependent upon a number of subjective elements, such as attempting to measure local residents' perception of sub-unit identity. In addition, some communities have inherent problems which cannot be solved by this process. For example, the community of Webster Groves is split by railroad tracks and Interstate 44. Another community with a somewhat similar problem is Ladue, which is cut by Highway 40--with the result that the municipal neighborhood of Ladue is less homogeneous than might be desirable, although the lack of homogeneity in this case should be surmountable. Another feature of the resulting municipal neighborhoods is that some, like Kirkwood, have a single strong focus--although not always centrally located; others appear to lack any strong focus, such as developing Bonhomme; and still others are multi-nucleated, such as Webster. (A helpful corollary to the establishment of



Figure 3. Map of Municipal Neighborhoods.

these municipal neighborhoods would be eventually to change zip codes in the area to reflect the changes made in municipality boundaries, thus further securing the identity of the municipal neighborhoods.)

Table 2 lists the 1970 population for each of the thirty-six municipal neighborhoods with subtotals for contiguous and somewhat related municipal neighborhoods. (These subtotals are listed for the purpose of determining representation on the federation level of government which will be discussed subsequently.) It should be noted that these population figures will change over time. Municipal neighborhoods that have the lowest 1970 populations such as Eureka, Chesterfield, and Champ can expect substantial population increases in the future, while other municipal neighborhoods such as those in the City of St. Louis that presently have the largest populations can expect population declines in the future. Thus, it can be expected that the municipal neighborhoods will become more regular with regard to population.

It may be observed from Table 2 and Figure 3 that the municipal neighborhoods are not uniform in population or physical size. Ideally, it would be desirable if the municipal neighborhoods could be uniform in population size and territory or both. However, it is unrealistic to expect this. For given the goal of preserving and maximizing local identity, municipal neighborhoods have

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TABLE 2.--List of municipal neighborhoods with 1970 populations.

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|                   |                |                      |               |
|-------------------|----------------|----------------------|---------------|
| 1. Downtown       | 79,042         | 19. Webster          | 47,218        |
| 2. North Side     | 221,038        | 20. Kirkwood         | 43,244        |
| 3. West End       | 85,368         | 21. Frontenac        | 18,210        |
| 4. South Side     | <u>218,112</u> | 22. Clayton          | 77,568        |
|                   | (603,560)      | 23. Ladue            | 18,600        |
| 5. Lemay          | 42,298         | 24. Creve Coeur      | 21,729        |
| 6. Affton         | 62,844         | 25. Normandy         | 55,384        |
| 7. Crestwood      | 21,718         | 26. Northwest        | 77,466        |
| 8. Concord        | 14,749         | 27. Maryland Heights | <u>16,706</u> |
| 9. Tesson         | 21,610         |                      | (376,125)     |
| 10. Mehlville     | <u>18,471</u>  | 28. Champ            | 7,983         |
|                   | (181,690)      | 29. Bellerive        | 26,017        |
| 11. Bellefontaine | 46,213         | 30. Bonhomme         | 7,623         |
| 12. Jennings      | 49,699         | 31. Meramec          | 6,923         |
| 13. Ferguson      | 60,127         | 32. Fenton           | 6,267         |
| 14. Hazelwood     | 12,190         | 33. Manchester       | 15,781        |
| 15. Bridgeton     | 10,830         | 34. Ballwin          | 21,853        |
| 16. Florissant    | 89,159         | 35. Chesterfield     | 5,347         |
| 17. Black Jack    | 24,682         | 36. Eureka           | <u>5,208</u>  |
| 18. Spanish Lake  | <u>16,202</u>  |                      | (103,002)     |
|                   | (309,102)      |                      |               |

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Adapted from: Selected Characteristics, City of St. Louis Census Tracts: 1970, Center for Urban Program, St. Louis University, 1971 and Selected Characteristics, St. Louis County Census Tracts: 1970, Center for Urban Programs, St. Louis University, April 4, 1971.

been based on the fixed element of land rather than an approach by which the population factor is fixed. Further, the factors of topography, development patterns, and local identity based on historical development, dictate that the geographic area encompassed by the municipal neighborhoods will vary. However, these differences should not be considered an enfeeblement to the functioning of metropolitan government, since they can be compensated for in the representation format and tax formula used at the federated level.

Once municipal neighborhoods have been identified to the satisfaction of the community in general and a board of freeholders in particular, then the elements of federation can be considered. Federation should involve the establishment of an over-unit of government responsible for and capable of securing cooperation between the municipal neighborhoods. In addition, it should provide those governmental services which can best be performed at the metropolitan level, leaving the balance of functions with the municipal neighborhoods.<sup>127</sup> This division of power is sometimes difficult to make as the Miami experience indicates. There are others more qualified than this author to spell out the exact division of power between the municipal neighborhoods and the federated over-unit

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<sup>127</sup>Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Alternative Approaches to Governmental Reorganization in Metropolitan Areas (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, June, 1962), p. 79.

of government. However, review of Chapter IV does suggest certain key elements with regard to this division of power. In addition, this author feels qualified to suggest a division of power and responsibility with regard to the matter of planning and zoning.

First, the key to making the division of power work is a gradual evolution with regard to the assumption of powers, as has been the case with the Twin Cities Metropolitan Council. As the over-unit of federation government successfully handles such things as inter-municipal neighborhood cooperation and the provision of metropolitan services, it can move into other areas. It can provide contractual arrangements with the municipal neighborhoods for the provision of additional urban services and it can establish minimum standards for the provision of adequate levels of municipal neighborhood services.

One most important function the new federation government should assume is that of taxing. The federation government should be responsible for uniform assessing practices and for setting and collecting a uniform tax. (This does not preclude the possibility of establishing an urban services district as was done in Nashville if this is necessary.) The federation government could then rebate to the municipal neighborhoods an amount necessary to provide municipal neighborhood

functions based on a land area/population formula. In addition, it should be possible for individual municipal neighborhoods to have levied an additional incremental amount on the residential property in their territory, if they so desire, for the purpose of providing a higher level of service or more services than the norm within their municipal neighborhood. It is the provision of the tax pool, however, as in the Hackensack Meadowlands, that is essential if intermunicipal squabbling is to be eliminated and a balance of equity restored to the people and their municipal corporations.

With regard to the functions of planning and zoning, power and responsibility should be shared between the municipal neighborhoods and the federation government. Both levels should do planning. The municipal neighborhood should plan for its territory; the federation government should do area-wide planning. (Individual municipal neighborhoods may choose to contract with the federation government to do their planning in the same way as they would select a private planning consultant.) Zoning could be determined and administered at the municipal neighborhood level. However, to avoid conflict, both municipal neighborhood zoning and planning would have to conform substantially to federation level goals and guidelines as well as secure formal approval from the federation government prior to adoption.

The federation government also should have control over the major special districts in St. Louis-St. Louis County. Since the units of government previously responsible for appointing the members of the governing boards of the Metropolitan Sewer District and the Metropolitan Zoological Park and Museum District would no longer exist, the new federation government should assume such authority.

As a pragmatic point, it would seem that the issue of inequality in schools is too hot for this government to handle, at least initially. As Schmandt observed, "the integrity of local school districts is a matter close to the hearts of many St. Louis Countians,"<sup>128</sup> and as Mayor Lugar of Indianapolis commented on this question, "civil reform itself [is] a mighty weight to carry."<sup>129</sup>

The governing body of the federation government ideally should be small enough to work effectively. "The awkwardness of the Chicago fifty-man council as compared to that of Detroit and Los Angeles with approximately nine to twelve members" should be considered.<sup>130</sup> It is necessary to arrive at a compromise between the desire to give close representation to the people and the need to create a governing body of a manageable size so that it can

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<sup>128</sup>Schmandt, et al., op. cit., p. 50.

<sup>129</sup>Patrick Healy and Raymond L. Bancroft, "Three Mayors Review Their Governments," Nation's Cities, VII, No. 11 (November, 1969), p. 29.

<sup>130</sup>Sengstock, et al., op. cit., p. 57.

function efficiently. Perhaps a body ranging in size from fifteen as in Minneapolis-St. Paul to nineteen as in Jacksonville or slightly larger would work best.

Representation on the governing body of the federation government could be by districts with some members elected at large. It is best if the districts are as nearly equal in population as possible if each district is to send the same number of representatives to the federation government. This is the case, for example, in Indianapolis. Otherwise, if districts are unequal in population, then the differences should be recognized by having a different number of representatives represent each district as was done in Toronto.

Districts might be unequal in population in St. Louis, if it were deemed beneficial to have districts represent multiples of contiguous and somewhat related municipal neighborhoods. For example, the four municipal neighborhoods (M.N.) covering roughly the present City of St. Louis might comprise a district sending six representatives to the federation government; the eight M.N. north of Interstate 70 could comprise a district sending three representatives; the six M.N. south of Interstate 44 another district sending two reps; the nine M.N. west of Interstate 244 another district sending one rep; and the middle nine M.N. encompassed by Interstate 70, 244, and 44 and the present St. Louis city limits, another district

sending four reps. (The number of representatives in each case has been based on one per each 100,000 persons and one for any remainder amounting to 75 percent of 100,000.)

An additional number of representatives could be elected at large from all of the St. Louis-St. Louis County area.

With regard to the implementation of this federation government as well as the municipal neighborhoods, it is very important that it be done gradually, i.e., in a staged development. The transition from the existing governmental set-up to the new one should be smooth and orderly. It almost goes without saying that such a transition should be well planned in advance of its occurrence. Perhaps, within a year or two the federation government could be in a position to eliminate the St. Louis County unit and be in a position to perform its functions.

Fully five to ten years, however, may be necessary for the municipal neighborhoods to evolve. Some such as Kirkwood and Florissant would merely involve the addition to and deletion of a small portion of their present territory. Such a municipal neighborhood could be expected to evolve rather quickly, whereas, municipal neighborhoods such as Mehlville or Tesson, where there is presently little or no municipal structure, could be expected to take some time to evolve. Similarly, in a municipal neighborhood such as Normandy or Northwest where there

are presently many municipal corporations of varying sizes, the process of arriving at a single municipal neighborhood for the area may take some time.

In the case of the City of St. Louis, it may be that the people would wish to retain their existing unit of government rather than establishing four separate municipal neighborhoods. They may prefer to retain the existing unit for some functions and use the municipal neighborhoods for other functions. Such options especially for inter-municipal neighborhood cooperation should be available. In addition, some municipal neighborhoods may wish to establish similar agreements with regard to fire protection districts and police protection. These options should be available, provided adequate standards are met.

It should be noted that under this federation proposal, the potential for political diversity and experiment is maximized. Some municipal neighborhoods may choose a manager-council form, others a mayor-council, and still others a commission or board form, etc. Although the federation format may be less efficient than the completely consolidated government, it is a luxury that seems to be demanded by the people. The fear of loss of local autonomy is strong. The federation format reduces this fear and at the same time provides for greater citizen participation in a government that has the power and

ability to function effectively.<sup>131</sup> Most importantly, the federation format allows for the retention of local identity keeping the government close to the people and preserving the focus of local civic pride, interest and participation. The municipal neighborhoods are the key. According to a recent Intergov Bulletin, "Neighborhood subunits might be seen as the best device available to engender a sense of community and to stimulate active citizen participation--qualities now lacking in most urban centers."<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>131</sup>Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Alternative Approaches to Governmental Reorganization in Metropolitan Areas (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, June, 1962), p. 79.

<sup>132</sup>Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, "Neighborhood Subunits: Toward Government by More of the People," Intergov Information Bulletin, No. 71-3, December, 1971, p. 4.

## CHAPTER VI

### ADDITIONAL CONSIDERATIONS

*It is not enough for the people to desire that problems be solved. Government must be able to translate their wishes into action . . . the key objective in meeting urban problems: a local government equipped to do the things required and expected of it.<sup>133</sup>*

If metropolitan reorganization is to succeed, there are a number of additional considerations that must be broached and resolved. Two of these are the assumption of bonded indebtedness and the pensions of civil servants. Different communities have different levels of bonded indebtedness which in turn have provided these communities with some different facilities and services. These differences will have to be worked out individually and in a pragmatic way. Similarly, any differences in the pension programs of civil servants whose jobs are changed must be resolved. In most cases, this will mean leveling up the various provisions of such pensions to the best features of each plan. This is necessary to reduce public

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<sup>133</sup>Urban Action Clearinghouse, op. cit., p. 1.

employees' fears over loss of their job stability and predictability and to satisfy the courts.

Another question to resolve is the level of services to be provided and required minimums for the municipal neighborhoods. This may prove very difficult to resolve especially in the beginning. In general, however, urban governmental services will have to be leveled up just like public employee pensions.

If metropolitan reorganization is to succeed at the polls in St. Louis, there are some other important factors that must be realized. First of all as Schmandt remarked, "no metropolitan plan can pass over the active opposition of the political parties. No such plan is likely to pass without active partisan support."<sup>134</sup> Securing such support in St. Louis, however, is complicated by the fact that the political party organizations are separate in the city and county. In addition to political support from the party organizations and the major politicians in both city and county, it is necessary to secure strong support from the civic and business leaders of the community. In a word, for any plan to succeed it is going to take leadership. Strong leadership from a broad base of support in the community was a key element in the success of all the reorganizations discussed in Chapter IV.

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<sup>134</sup>Schmandt, et al., op. cit., p. 59.

Voter approval also requires an effective educational sales campaign. Despite Scott Greer's findings that "whether metropolitan government fails or succeeds does not appear to depend on the awareness and competence of the citizens developed through the campaign," it is still necessary to make this effort.<sup>135</sup> It can be done by giving the voters issues which they can grapple with such as occurred in Jacksonville and Nashville. However, when such clear-cut issues fail to emerge, proponents of metropolitan reorganization have a different problem.

In such a case, it seems the only stance to take is that a specific metropolitan reorganization plan is best for the community and then try to eliminate as many potential arguments against reorganization as possible. Although it did not go to the voters, this in effect was the case in Indianapolis.<sup>136</sup> There was no particular crisis in Indianapolis; instead Indianapolis was enjoying an especially strong prosperity. Under such circumstances, the local people studied the best of all possible political worlds in order to determine what form of government they could have ideally. The result they subjected to the pragmatics of reality and proceeded to implement it.

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<sup>135</sup>Greer, op. cit., p. 190.

<sup>136</sup>Healy and Bancroft, op. cit., p. 28.

### Some Counter Arguments

In St. Louis such an approach might also be possible if the arguments of inequality cannot be made concrete for the voters. However, it is necessary to eliminate in advance as many potential arguments against reorganization as possible. Fear of loss of local autonomy is one such major argument necessary to forestall. This might be done by a federation proposal as suggested by the municipal neighborhood concept developed in Chapter V. A second major argument to be eliminated is the fear of increased taxes. The only way to effectively get around this problem is to peg a tax rate, show what it would mean in dollars and cents to an average homeowner, and then be able to compare that favorably with the taxes paid by municipal residents receiving adequate urban services.

A third argument that may be encountered centers around the question of black minority presence and power. Fear that large numbers of blacks might move into the county following consolidation was given as one of the reasons for the defeat of the 1962 Borough Plan.<sup>137</sup> Regardless of the defeated plan, large numbers of blacks have moved into the county in places like University City, Normandy area suburbs, and still other areas such as Rock

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<sup>137</sup>Sengstock, et al., op. cit., p. 135.

Hill and Richmond Heights. The housing migration pattern of blacks would seem to be a factor largely unrelated to governmental reorganization. The other part of the minority question is the black's fear of a diminution in his political power. As the black population in the City of St. Louis increases, many black leaders see their political power increasing. However, there is another aspect to this question that must be evaluated. Royce Hanson, president of the Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies put it well when he said:

What we're talking about is political power. And I'm afraid that control over the central city by the poor and the blacks is unfortunately power over very little. If the central city wants to have control over options for housing and employment, they will have to be a part of a regional system--although not necessarily limited to just that level--in order to attack the basic problems.<sup>138</sup>

One final consideration with regard to voter approval of a metropolitan reorganization proposal in St. Louis is defined by Article VI Section 30 of the Missouri Constitution. The 1966 amendment to this section of the Constitution substantially liberalized and improved it; however, it left one major weakness of the amendment unchanged. The weakness is the provision requiring separate majorities of the electorate in the city and the county. The point is that reorganization no longer involves just a rapprochement between the city and the county but today

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<sup>138</sup>Young, op. cit., p. 31.

it requires a reordering among the several municipalities in the county as well. This provision gives, in effect, an unnecessary veto power to either the city or the county to stymie such necessary changes. The irony is that such a veto never existed in 1876 when a joint vote of the city and county secured their separation.

### The Broader Perspective

Our political system is based on the principle of compromise between conflicting viewpoints. The municipal neighborhood concept of metropolitan reorganization presented in this thesis represents such a compromise. It is a community decision whether the benefits entailed in this compromise outweigh its shortcomings. If the community is in agreement, then this compromise can be further modified and refined by community interests in St. Louis to meet the area's needs. Moreover, the municipal neighborhood concept can be altered by other large urban areas with numerous suburbs of long standing and strong local identity similar to the situation in St. Louis. This process of tailoring the specifics of a particular case to other areas is potentially one of the prime benefits of the case study approach.

Further, it is beneficial to discuss a subject like metropolitan reorganization in terms of specific locales. Many of the details of the political reality are different in each case; however, these details are

often critical to metropolitan reorganization. The transferability from case to case comes not so much from common denominators, although there are a few of these, but rather from the general statement that can be made about the problems involved in metropolitan reorganization and from the understanding that can be given to the problems.

It should be noted that metropolitan reorganization is not an end in itself. It does not eliminate urban metropolitan problems. It merely provides, at best, a better framework in which to attempt to solve metropolitan problems. It changes some of the decision-makers. It may, consequently, change some of the decisions.

But as Schmandt notes, "reshaping the governmental pattern of the metropolis is a complex task that impinges upon a variety of change resistant interests and clusters of power."<sup>139</sup> Scott Greer almost blithely calls this "resistance to change, on the part of a system, . . . one indication that it is a system."<sup>140</sup>

But unless this system is reshaped, we are unnecessarily perpetuating inequality. We are failing to realize the simple truth that we can work together better

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<sup>139</sup>Schmandt, et al., op. cit., p. 60.

<sup>140</sup>Greer, op. cit., p. 33.

than we can separately or in opposition to each other. Through the fifth option to Article VI Section 30 of the Missouri Constitution, the people of St. Louis and St. Louis County are enabled to formulate and adopt any plan for the partial or complete government of all or any part of the city and the county. This option has been available since 1966. The inequalities, inadequacies, and dysfunctions among the several municipalities as well as between the city and the county have continued to mount since then. Only a few partial and incomplete efforts have succeeded to offset this trend. What is needed is a major, concerted effort. The time has come for the leaders of the community to take up again the challenge of metropolitan reform, for the experts to redefine the problems and the potentials of metropolitan reorganization, and for the public to be re-educated to their metropolitan citizenship. This thesis, specifically the municipal neighborhood concept, is designed as a springboard for this needed and important course of action.

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## APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

ARTICLE VI SECTION 30 (a)

MISSOURI CONSTITUTION

## APPENDIX A

### ARTICLE VI SECTION 30 (a)

#### MISSOURI CONSTITUTION

Section 30(a). Powers conferred with respect to inter-governmental relations--procedure for selection of board of freeholders. The people of the city of St. Louis and the people of the county of St. Louis shall have power (1) to consolidate the territories and governments of the city and county into one political subdivision under the municipal government of the city of St. Louis; or, (2) to extend the territorial boundaries of the county so as to embrace the territory within the city and to reorganize and consolidate the county governments of the city and county, and adjust their relations as thus united, and thereafter the city may extend its limits in the manner provided by law for other cities; or, (3) to enlarge the present or future limits of the city by annexing thereto part of the territory of the county, and to confer upon the city exclusive jurisdiction of the territory so annexed to the city; or, (4) to establish a metropolitan district or districts for the functional administration of services common to the area included therein; or, (5) to formulate and adopt any other plan for the partial or complete government of all or any part of the city and the county. The power so given shall be exercised by the vote of the people of the city and county upon a plan prepared by a board of freeholders consisting of nineteen members, nine of whom shall be electors of the city and nine electors of the county and one an elector of some other county. Upon the filing with the officials in general charge of elections in the city of a petition proposing the exercise of the powers hereby granted, signed by registered voters of the city in such number as shall equal three percent of the total vote cast in the city at the last general election for governor, and the certification the mayor shall, with the approval of a majority of the board of aldermen, appoint the city's nine members of the board, not more than five of whom shall be members of or affiliated with the same political party. Each member so appointed shall

be given a certificate certifying his appointment signed by the mayor and attested by the seal of the city. Upon the filing with the officials in general charge of elections in the county of a similar petition signed by registered voters of the county, in such number as shall equal three percent of the total vote cast in the county at the last general election for governor, and the certification thereof by the county election officials to the county supervisor of the county and to the governor, within ten days after the certification, the county supervisor shall, with the approval of a majority of the county council, appoint the county's nine members of the board, not more than five of whom shall be members of or affiliated with the same political party. Each member so appointed shall be given a certificate of his appointment signed by the county supervisor and attested by the seal of the county.

APPENDIX B

ARTICLE VI SECTION 30 (b)

MISSOURI CONSTITUTION

## APPENDIX B

### ARTICLE VI SECTION 30 (b)

#### MISSOURI CONSTITUTION

Section 30(b). Appointment of member by governor--meetings of board--vacancies--compensation and reimbursement of members--preparation of plan--taxation of real estate affected--submission at special elections--effect of adoption--certification and recordation--judicial notice. Upon certification of the filing of such similar petitions by the officials in general charge of elections of the city and the county, the governor shall appoint one member of the board who shall be a resident of the state, but shall not reside in either the city or the county, who shall be given a certificate of his appointment signed by the governor and attested by the seal of the state. The freeholders of the city and county shall fix reasonable compensation and expenses for the freeholder appointed by the governor and the cost shall be paid equally by the city and the county. The appointment of the board shall be completed within thirty days after the certification of the filing of the petition, and at ten o'clock on the second Monday after their appointment the members of the board shall meet in the chamber of the board of aldermen in the city hall of the city and shall proceed with the discharge of their duties, and shall meet at such other times and places as shall be agreed upon. On the death, resignation or inability of any member of the board to serve, the appointing authority shall select the successor. The board shall prepare and propose a plan for the execution of the powers herein granted and for the adjustment of all matters and issues arising thereunder. The members of the board shall receive no compensation for their services as members, but the necessary expenses of the board shall be paid one-half by the county and one-half by the city on vouchers signed by the chairman of the board. The plan shall be signed in duplicate by the board or a majority thereof, and one copy shall be returned to the officials having general charge of elections in the city, and the other to such officials in the county, within one year

after the appointment of the board. Said election officials shall cause separate elections to be held in the city and county, on the day fixed by the freeholders, at which the plan shall be submitted to the qualified voters of the city and county separately. The elections shall not be less than ninety days after the filing of the plan with said officials, and not on or within seventy days of any state or county primary or general election day in the city or county. The plan shall provide for the assessment and taxation of real estate in accordance with the use to which it is being put at the time of the assessment, whether agricultural, industrial or other use, giving due regard to the other provisions of this constitution. If a majority of the qualified electors of the city voting thereon, and a majority of the qualified electors of the county voting thereon at the separate elections shall vote for the plan, then, at such time as shall be prescribed therein, the same shall become the organic law of the territory therein defined, and shall take the place of and supersede all laws, charter provisions and ordinances inconsistent therewith relating to said territory. If the plan be adopted, copies thereof, certified to by said election officials of the city and county, shall be deposited in the office of the secretary of state and recorded in the office of the recorder of deeds for the city, and in the office of the recorder of deeds of the present county, and the courts of this state shall take judicial notice thereof.

APPENDIX C

LIST OF MUNICIPAL NEIGHBORHOODS  
BY BOUNDARY DELIMITERS

## APPENDIX C

### LIST OF MUNICIPAL NEIGHBORHOODS

#### BY BOUNDARY DELIMITERS

1. Downtown: Salisbury Street; Mississippi River; Jefferson Avenue.
2. North Side: Norfolk and Western Railway; Mississippi River; Salisbury Street; Jefferson Avenue; Delmar Boulevard; Skinker Boulevard; Skinker Parkway; Terminal Railroad Association; Goodfellow Boulevard; Riverview Boulevard.
3. West End: Delmar Boulevard; Jefferson Avenue; Interstate 44; McCausland Avenue; Skinker Boulevard.
4. South Side: Interstate 44; Jefferson Avenue; Mississippi River; River Des Peres Drainage Channel.
5. Lemay: River Des Peres Drainage Channel; Mississippi River; Interstate 255; Interstate 55.
6. Affton: River Des Peres Drainage Channel; Interstate 55; Missouri Pacific Railroad; Interstate 44.
7. Crestwood: Interstate 44; Missouri Pacific Railroad; Gravois Road; Meramec River.
8. Concord: Gravois Road; Missouri Pacific Railroad; Interstate 55; Interstate 244.
9. Tesson: Interstate 244; Interstate 55; Meramec River; Gravois Road.
10. Mehlville: Interstate 255; Mississippi River; Meramec River; Interstate 55.

11. Bellefontaine: Interstate 270; Mississippi River; Norfolk and Western Railway; Riverview Boulevard; Halls Ferry Road.
12. Jennings: Terminal Railroad Association (abandoned); Halls Ferry Road; Riverview Boulevard; Interstate 70.
13. Ferguson: Interstate 270; Halls Ferry Road; Terminal Railroad Association (abandoned); Inner Belt Expressway.
14. Hazelwood: Interstate 270; Inner Belt Expressway; Interstate 70.
15. Bridgeton: Brown Road (proposed extension); Interstate 270; Interstate 70; Missouri River.
16. Florissant: Missouri River; New Halls Ferry Road; Interstate 270; Brown Road (proposed extension).
17. Black Jack: Missouri River; Lewis and Clark Boulevard; Interstate 270; New Halls Ferry Road.
18. Spanish Lake: Missouri River; Mississippi River; Interstate 270; Lewis and Clark Boulevard.
19. Webster: Daniel Boone Expressway; McCausland Avenue; Interstate 44; Berry Road; Missouri Pacific Railroad; Rock Hill Road; McKnight Road.
20. Kirkwood: Manchester Road; Rock Hill Road; Interstate 44; Interstate 244.
21. Frontenac: Daniel Boone Expressway; McKnight Road; Manchester Road; Interstate 244.
22. Clayton: Chicago Rock Island and Pacific Railroad; Norfolk and Western Railroad; Page Avenue; Skinker Parkway; Skinker Boulevard; Daniel Boone Expressway; Black Creek Storm Channel; Inner Belt Expressway.
23. Ladue: Chicago Rock Island and Pacific Railroad; Inner Belt Expressway; Black Creek Storm Channel; Daniel Boone Expressway; Lindbergh Boulevard.
24. Creve Coeur: Page Avenue; Lindbergh Boulevard; Daniel Boone Expressway; Interstate 244.

25. Normandy: Interstate 70; Goodfellow Boulevard; Terminal Railroad Association; Skinker Parkway (alignment); Page Avenue; Norfolk and Western Railway; Chicago Rock Island and Pacific Railroad; Inner Belt Expressway.
26. Northwest: Interstate 70; Inner Belt Expressway; Chicago Rock Island and Pacific Railroad; Lindbergh Boulevard.
27. Maryland Heights: Interstate 70; Lindbergh Boulevard; Page Avenue; Interstate 244.
28. Champ: Interstate 70; Interstate 244; Page Avenue (proposed extension); Missouri River.
29. Bellerive: Page Avenue (proposed extension); Interstate 244; Daniel Boone Expressway; Bonhomme-Caulks Creek; Missouri River.
30. Bonhomme: Daniel Boone Expressway; Interstate 244; Manchester Road; Woods Mills Road Mo. 141 right of way.
31. Meramec: Manchester Road; Interstate 244; Meramec River; Hanna Road; Meramec Station Road Mo. 141 right of way.
32. Fenton: Meramec River; Jefferson County line.
33. Manchester: Manchester Road; Meramec Station Road Mo. 141 right of way; Hanna Road; Meramec River; Carr Creek; Woods Avenue Mo. 109.
34. Ballwin: Daniel Boone Expressway; Woods Mill Road Mo. 141 right of way; Manchester Road; Clarkson Road Mo. 340.
35. Chesterfield: Missouri River; Bonhomme-Caulks Creek; Daniel Boone Expressway; Clarkson Road Mo. 340; Manchester Road Mo. 100; Franklin County line.
36. Eureka: Manchester Road Mo. 340; Woods Avenue Mo. 109; Carr Creek; Meramec River, Franklin County line.



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