



Public Safety – Municipal Courts

October 2014

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY MUNICIPAL COURTS REPORT

This report is the product of Better Together's study of municipal courts in St. Louis City and County. The data and the qualitative evidence in this report point to a troubling and systemic issue in our region: Many of the municipal courts in St. Louis County have lost the trust of their communities, particularly those in which residents are predominantly African-American and poor. In these municipalities, because of a lack of oversight and an overreliance on court fines and fees, the courts are viewed as punitive revenue centers rather than centers of justice.

The recent turmoil in St. Louis has laid bare many of the challenges that our region faces with regard to public safety. This is the first in a series of reports that Better Together will provide on the provision of public safety services in the region. Subsequent reports will also include an examination of police and fire protection.

As with Better Together's previous studies on public finance, economic development, and public health, this report was conducted with the guidance and insight of practitioners, academic experts, advocates, and stakeholders from across the St. Louis region.

The structure of this report, as with previous Better Together reports, is centered on four key questions:

1. How do municipal courts in St. Louis City and County function individually and as a system?
2. What are considered to be best practices in the field of municipal courts?
3. How does the St. Louis City and St. Louis County region compare to the best-practices?
4. What are scenarios for going forward that could improve the current municipal court system?

By asking these questions, Better Together gathered both quantitative data and qualitative information from those impacted by the system. Our research and conversations revealed a municipal court system with drastically insufficient structural oversight. Because of this systemic issue, the municipal courts in many areas of St. Louis have lost the faith of their communities. Furthermore, data indicates that some municipal courts are nothing more than revenue centers – a blatant system of taxing residents in the poorest communities in the region.

Missouri's framework for municipal-court oversight provides administrative power to a presiding judge in each of the forty-five circuit courts of Missouri. While this mechanism for oversight appears sound, in a highly fragmented region such as St. Louis County, it becomes completely untenable due to the sheer number of courts.

To put this in perspective: A judicial circuit in Missouri contains 8.6 municipal court divisions on average. St. Louis County's circuit contains 81 municipal court divisions. So, the presiding judge of St. Louis County's circuit courts must oversee nearly *ten times* the number of courts and judges as an average presiding judge in Missouri. This significant flaw in the oversight structure manifests itself in a number of problems.

One such problem is the prolific collection of court fines and fees in the St. Louis region. In 2013, the municipal courts of St. Louis City and County collected \$61,152,087 in fines and fees. During that same time, the combined total of court fines and fees collected by Missouri municipal courts was \$132,032,351.63. This means that the municipal courts in the St. Louis region accounted for 46% of all fines and fees collected statewide, despite being home to only 22% of Missourians.

Further analysis revealed that St. Louis City accounts for 5% of Missouri's population and 7% of municipal fines collected statewide, while unincorporated St. Louis County accounts for roughly 5% of Missouri's population and 5% of Missouri's municipal fines and fees revenue. This seems logical. However, while the combined populations of the 90 municipalities in St. Louis County accounts for only 11% of Missouri's population, those municipalities bring in **34%** of all municipal fines and fees statewide (\$45,136,416 in 2013).

Municipal courts are used most frequently as a revenue stream in municipalities north of Olive Boulevard and within the boundary of I-270. In fact, 20 of the 21 municipalities that derive at least 20% of their general budget from fines and fees are located in that geographic area. Furthermore, there are fourteen municipalities in St. Louis County whose largest individual source of revenue is municipal fines and fees. Thirteen of those fourteen are also located north of Olive Boulevard and within the boundary of I-270.

The existence of such a tight geographic cluster raised questions and prompted further research. Financial and demographic data revealed that, on average, these municipalities were bringing in one-third of their general operating revenue from fines and fees. Their populations were on average 62% black, with 22% of their citizens below the poverty line. In comparison, St. Louis County as a whole is 24% black with 11% of its population below the poverty line. When combined with the Attorney General's finding in the "Executive Summary for 2013 Missouri Vehicle Stops" that black drivers were 66 percent more likely than white drivers to be stopped, it becomes all too clear that fines and fees are paid disproportionately by the African-American community. In other words, these municipalities' method of financial survival – bringing in revenue via fines and fees – comes primarily at the expense of black citizens. This practice will be further analyzed in future Better Together reports.

The practice of using fines and fees to impose "hidden taxes" on the poorest populations is evident. The intent is also clear, and is demonstrated by some municipalities that actually *budget* for increases in fines and fees. Additionally, research revealed that fines-and-fees revenue increased at a time when property-tax revenue declined. Desperate to maintain their income stream in the face of dwindling property values, many municipalities turned to the municipal courts for revenue. Financially, this strategy yielded the results needed for the municipal governments to survive. 2013 data shows that of the 81 municipal courts in St. Louis County, 73 brought in more revenue than they require to operate. In fact, on average, a municipal court in St. Louis County costs \$223,149 to operate yet brings in an average of \$711,506 in revenue from fines and fees each year, for an average net revenue of \$488,357.

In actuality, state statute places a 30% cap on the amount of fines and fees that a municipality can collect for general revenue. However, this law is rarely meaningfully enforced at either the court or

circuit level. Both the oversight and the practical implementation of this law must be addressed and reformed.

In addition to financial reforms, there are issues that must also be addressed in individual courts. When members of the public visit one of the many municipal courts in St. Louis County, they see a system that caters to defendants who have lawyers. Lawyers' cases are typically heard first, to accommodate the fact that many lawyers are attending more than one municipal court session in the same evening. Lawyers get "no-points" deals and dismissals for their clients; the unrepresented defendants do not. When the unrepresented citizen goes to court, he or she sees a system that blatantly favors people with money. This is the face of the judiciary as far as the average person is concerned.

With this in mind, additional reforms must be made in order to create a more just region. A recent white paper by the Arch City Defenders, as well as newspaper reports and conversations with experts, reveals that problem areas include:

- Access to open courts
- Methods for collecting court fines and fees
- Notification of rights

Both Constitutional and Missouri law define open and public courts as a fundamental right. However, a recent study revealed that 37% of municipal courts do not allow children in the courtroom. Ten percent of St. Louis County municipal courts allow only the person listed on the docket inside the courtroom. While some of these courts did change these policies at the request of the presiding judge, research in early October 2014 found that not all courts had come into compliance with this basic request.

The sheer number of cases handled leads to some troubling questions about how justice is served in our region. With an average St. Louis County municipality holding only one or two court dates a month, some courts handle over 500 cases in just one night-court session. Because of this, many courts contend that they cannot accommodate individuals beyond those on the docket – even though this issue could be remedied by adding additional court dates or hours.

Additionally, many municipal courts appear to be perpetuating the idea that their tactics amount to little more than a “money grab.” These courts frequently go to extreme measures in order to collect fines and fees. Tactics include locking up citizens without the means to pay their fines, and issuing warrants to those who do not appear (often out of fear that their inability to pay will result in them being locked up). While municipal judges are permitted under Missouri law to pursue other methods of collection including private debt collection, the establishment of payment plans, or even the reduction of a fine, these “softer” methods often go unutilized. What’s more, many courts will detain an individual who is unable to pay without even holding a required hearing of that person’s ability to pay the fine.

The protection of a defendant’s rights would go a long way toward solving problems in the municipal courts. When an individual receives a citation, the process for paying the fee – and the consequences for failing to do so – should be described clearly and uniformly on that citation.

Defendants should be aware that the simple decision to not appear in court can result in a warrant being issued, which can impact an individual's ability to secure housing or get a job. The impact of the proceedings can be life-altering, yet no adequate safeguards are in place to prevent uninformed decisions.

Several best practices and reforms have been offered by subject matter experts, practitioners, academics, and national research. These include:

- Granting greater oversight of the municipal courts by providing additional circuit judges to assist the presiding judge in oversight of the municipal system.
- Implementing a 10% cap on the amount of general revenue that a county or municipality can collect each year and creating a strict framework for annual reporting to the State Auditor for review.
- Pooling municipal court fines and fees among all municipalities or counties within a judicial circuit, to lessen the incentive to utilize fines and fees as a revenue stream.
- Ensuring a court's ability to remain open to the public by establishing a cap on cases per session of municipal court.
- Providing a uniform list of rights and procedural options and consequences on the back of every municipal citation, as well as providing contact numbers to potential legal resources and clinics. These same uniform lists should also appear on every municipal court website and entrance.
- Requiring courts to utilize alternative means to collecting fines and fees outside of jailing.
- Providing for an "ability to pay" hearing before any individual can be detained or otherwise penalized for failure to do so.
- Requiring that municipal judges be selected by a panel in the judicial circuit in which they sit, rather than by the municipality itself.
- Requiring any municipal court to have a paid public defender available to provide basic consultation and to protect the rights of each defendant.

MUNICIPAL COURTS REPORT INTRODUCTION

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An honest discussion about the current municipal court system, and its impacts on the people for whom it is designed to provide justice, is critical to the healing and eventual growth of the St. Louis region. Recent events have highlighted a need for this difficult discussion. It is one that must be had in the pursuit of a stronger region that not only enjoys world-class parks, museums, and universities, but also insists on a basic standard of living and justice for each and every individual that calls the St. Louis region home. It is not the intent of this report to provide the answers to the issues of the municipal courts system. Rather, its goal is to provide the facts and data necessary to foster a community-wide discussion upon which answers and potential reforms can be based.

THE LANDSCAPE OF MUNICIPAL COURTS IN ST. LOUIS CITY AND COUNTY

In St. Louis City and County there are 82 municipal courts. Of these 82 courts, 1 is St. Louis City Municipal Court, and 1 is St. Louis County, while the remaining 80 courts lie in municipalities throughout St. Louis County. Each of these 82 courts are divisions of the state circuit in which they are located. They are established by and derive their authority over municipal ordinances from Article V of the Missouri Constitution¹ and Section 479² of the Missouri Revised Statutes.

Oversight of municipal courts is established by the Missouri Supreme Court Rules, which state that a presiding judge in each Missouri judicial circuit has general administrative authority over the judges and court personnel of all divisions of the circuit court hearing and determining ordinance violations within the circuit.³ Therefore, a judge in each state judicial circuit is responsible for overseeing the municipal courts operating within that circuit as they are a division of that larger state circuit. St. Louis City is located in the 22nd Judicial Circuit of Missouri and comprises the entirety of the 22nd Circuit. Judge Philip Heagney, a Missouri

¹ MO Constitution Article V <http://www.moga.mo.gov/const/t05.htm>

² MO Revised Statutes Section 479 <http://www.moga.mo.gov/statutes/C479.HTM>

³ Missouri Constitution Article V Section 15 <http://www.moga.mo.gov/const/A05015.HTM>

Circuit Court Judge from the 22nd Judicial Circuit, presides over the St. Louis City Municipal Court⁴. St. Louis County is located in the 21st Judicial Circuit of Missouri and comprises the entirety of the 21st Circuit. Presiding Judge Maura McShane from the 21st Judicial Circuit oversees the municipal courts in St. Louis County⁵.

A PROBLEM OF OVERSIGHT

The oversight for municipal courts as established appears sound. For virtually every circuit in the state, it provides a sufficient method of oversight. However, the exception to this seemingly sufficient model lies in St. Louis County. As the oversight structure is determined by the boundaries of a judicial circuit and not by overall workload, the current structure is vulnerable to reflecting the fragmentation present within the circuit. The result is an alarming lack of oversight where it is needed most.

For example, St. Louis City's municipal court is overseen by a presiding judge from the 22nd Judicial Circuit of the State of Missouri, while the presiding judge of 21st Judicial Circuit is responsible for the oversight of 81 municipal courts located in the 21st Judicial Circuit.⁶ To put that number in a larger context, on average there are 8.6 municipal courts in all other Missouri judicial circuits. The presiding judge of the 21st Circuit is charged with oversight of nearly ten times that amount. The average number of courts is not skewed by judicial circuits on opposite sides of the spectrum when it comes to number of courts. The 21st Circuit and St. Louis County is the outlier. The next largest number of municipal courts overseen by one circuit is the 39th Circuit (Barry, Lawrence, Stone Counties), which has twenty municipal courts, sixty-one fewer than the 21st Circuit in St. Louis County.⁷ Analysis of Jackson County's 16th Circuit revealed that while Jackson County is the second-largest county in Missouri with a population of 679,996, it contains only 16 municipal courts, just one-fifth of the municipal courts in St. Louis County⁸.

The problem in the oversight of the municipal courts in St. Louis County cannot be attributed to anything other than the fragmentation of the municipal court system. It is simply not possible for one judge to provide proper oversight to 81 municipal courts. Frank Vatterott, municipal judge for the City of Overland, and the leader of a commission of municipal judges looking at possible court reforms, stated in a recent radio interview that the lone presiding judge in St. Louis County simply "can't control 80 courts."⁹ As the Supreme Court has "superintending power" over all courts in Missouri¹⁰, as well as rulemaking power such as that employed in Supreme Court Rule 37,¹¹ it is within its power to address this overwhelming lack of oversight.

While addressing the issue of oversight offers the possibility of preventing future issues moving forward, it does not provide a remedy for the abuses that have steadily become part of the

⁴ <http://www.courts.mo.gov/page.jsp?id=1909>

⁵ <http://www.stlouisco.com/YourGovernment/CountyDepartments/StLouisCountyCircuitCourt/Judges/Division2>

⁶ MO State Courts Administrator, Table 94 Municipal Division

⁷ MO State Courts Administrator, Table 94 Municipal Division & <http://www.courts.mo.gov/page.jsp?id=1932>

⁸ <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/29/29095.html>

⁹ <http://news.stlpublicradio.org/post/law-professionals-discuss-court-fines-fees> (audio interview)

¹⁰ Missouri Constitution Article V Section 4 - <http://www.moga.mo.gov/const/A05004.HTM>

¹¹ Missouri Supreme Court Rule 37 - <http://www.courts.mo.gov/page.jsp?id=831>

municipal court system and the culture that has been established over the decades such oversight was absent.

ADDRESSING MUNICIPAL COURT FINES & FEES

In 2013, the municipal courts of St. Louis City and County region collected \$61,152,087¹² in municipal court fines and fees. During that same time, the combined total of court fines and fees collected by municipal courts in Missouri was \$132,032,351.63, meaning that the municipal courts in the region accounted for 46% of all fines and fees collected statewide, though only 22% of Missouri residents live in St. Louis City and County.¹³

**TABLE 1
REVENUE COLLECTED FROM MUNICIPAL COURT FINES & FEES (2013)**

State of Missouri	\$132,032,352	% of State Total
St. Louis Region*	\$61,152,087	46%
St. Louis County	\$6,699,384	5%
St. Louis City	\$9,316,287	7%
St. Louis County Municipalities	\$45,136,416	34%

* Consists of St. Louis City, St. Louis County, Municipalities in St. Louis County

The question becomes: why does the St. Louis City and County region account for such a large percentage of the fines and fees collected by municipal courts statewide? A deeper look into the numbers shows that as a region St. Louis City, St. Louis County, and the municipalities located in St. Louis County comprise roughly 22% of Missouri’s population, yet account for over double that amount, 46%, of all municipal fines and fees collected statewide.

Further analysis of the numbers reveals that St. Louis City accounts for roughly 5% of Missouri’s population and 7% of its overall municipal fines and fees¹⁴. Similarly, unincorporated St. Louis County comprises roughly 5% of Missouri’s overall population while accounting for 5% of statewide municipal fines and fees¹⁵. However, the population of the 90 municipalities in St. Louis County is 675,319, 11% of Missouri’s population, but it accounts for 34% of all fines and fees collected by municipal courts in Missouri statewide.¹⁶

The reason for the high levels of revenues from municipal court fines and fees is simple – survival of the municipality. While not all municipalities in St. Louis County are generating a large portion of their revenue from court fines and fees, it is the largest single source of revenue for at least fourteen municipalities including Bella Villa, Bellerive, Beverly Hills, Calverton Park, Charlack, Cool Valley, Edmundson, Moline Acres, Normandy, St. Ann, Pine Lawn, Northwoods, Velda City, and Vinita Terrace.¹⁷ Without revenue from fines and fees it is inconceivable that these communities could afford to operate.¹⁸

¹² MO State Courts Administrator, Table 94 Municipal Division, FY2013 Net Collections/Disbursements. Aggregate of Fines, Clerk/Court Fees, POST Fund Surcharge, CVC Fund Surcharge, LET Fund Surcharge, Dom Violence Shelter Surcharge, and Inmate Security Fund Surcharge Available at: <https://www.courts.mo.gov/file.jsp?id=68844>.

¹³ MO State Courts Administrator.

¹⁴ MO State Courts Administrator; Population figures for United States Census Bureau (<http://www.census.gov/>)

¹⁵ MO State Courts Administrator; Population figures for United States Census Bureau (<http://www.census.gov/>)

¹⁶ MO State Courts Administrator; Population figures for United States Census Bureau (<http://www.census.gov/>)

¹⁷ See Table 4 in Appendix

¹⁸ See Table 5 in Appendix.

While revenue from court fines and fees is not the main source of revenue in every municipality, it is a significant source for many. In 2013, 40 of St. Louis County's 90 municipalities collected over 10% of their general operating revenue from municipal court fines and fees.¹⁹ Twenty-one of these municipalities in St. Louis County collected over 20% of their general operating revenue from court fines and fees.²⁰ As the following table notes, those 21 municipalities collecting 20% or more of their revenue from court fines and fees have populations that are 62% black, and 22% of these populations live below the poverty level. These numbers are more than double the St. Louis County average. According to U.S. Census statistics, St. Louis County as a whole is 24% black and has a poverty rate of just under 11%.²¹ It is also worthy of note that 20 of these 21 municipalities are located north of Olive Boulevard and within the boundary of I-270.

TABLE 2
MUNICIPALITIES COLLECTING OVER
20% OF GENERAL REVENUE FROM
MUNICIPAL COURT FINES & FEES

MUNICIPALITY	% OF GENERAL REVENUE FROM FINES & FEES	% OF POPULATION THAT IS BLACK	% OF POPULATION THAT IS BELOW POVERTY LINE
CALVERTON PARK	66.32%	42.23%	23.60%
BELLA VILLA	57.38%	1.51%	8.60%
VINITA TERRACE	51.83%	72.92%	19.20%
PINE LAWN	48.12%	96.40%	31.80%
NORMANDY	40.61%	69.75%	35.40%
SAINT ANN	37.47%	22.11%	15.10%
EDMUNDSON	34.86%	26.38%	19.00%
MOLINE ACRES	31.06%	92.10%	21.30%
BELLERIVE	29.38%	43.09%	0.90%
COOL VALLEY	29.11%	84.53%	14.00%
CHARLACK	28.88%	35.44%	13.20%
BRECKENRIDGE HILLS	28.82%	32.70%	24.50%
HILLSDALE	26.92%	95.94%	46.60%
BEVERLY HILLS	26.37%	92.68%	17.70%
NORTHWOODS	26.35%	93.94%	25.70%
BEL-RIDGE	24.46%	83.12%	42.30%
SAINT JOHN	24.31%	24.29%	17.00%
UPLANDS PARK	23.50%	96.40%	17.10%
SYCAMORE HILLS	22.95%	12.28%	7.30%
FLORDELL HILLS	22.52%	90.75%	36.00%
VELDA CITY	21.58%	95.42%	18.50%
AVERAGE FOR TOP 21 MUNICIPALITIES	33%	62%	22%
AVERAGE FOR ALL ST. LOUIS COUNTY	13%	24%	11%

¹⁹ See Table 5 in Appendix.

²⁰ See Table 5 in Appendix.

²¹ United States Census Bureau (<http://www.census.gov/>)

Yet another disturbing fact is that research into municipal courts revealed that only eight of the eighty-one municipal courts did not operate at a profit when the cost of operating the municipal court was compared to the revenue collected from court fines and fees. On average a municipal court in St. Louis County costs \$223,149 to operate while bringing in an average of \$711,506 in revenue from fines and fees each year,²² returning an average net revenue of \$488,357 annually.²³

There are even examples of municipalities proposing budgeted increases in revenue from fines and fees, which would indicate plans to increase ordinance enforcement – ticketing – as a means of enhancing municipal budgetary support. Dellwood’s 2012 budget anticipated an \$80,000 increase in revenue from fines and fees between 2011 (\$219,893 actual) and 2012 (\$300,000 budgeted). A similar increase was predicted in the 2013 budget, which anticipated \$400,000 in revenue from fines and fees.²⁴

Yet another example of fines and fees being utilized as a municipal revenue stream can be seen in Florissant’s recent move to increase court fees. Earlier this year, St. Louis County Presiding Judge Maura McShane issued a notice to St. Louis County municipal courts requiring them to comply with the law and a constitutional guarantee to open and public courts. In response, Florissant approved a measure to “collect \$10 for each municipal ordinance violation,” with the money generated “to be used to for land, construction, maintenance and upkeep of a municipal courthouse” that can accommodate its docket.²⁵ It is important to note that Florissant generates over \$1.5 million dollars more than it spends on costs to operate its courts.²⁶ However, the structure and practice of viewing these fines as a revenue stream is so commonplace that the additional fee was approved and implemented.

There is sufficient evidence, both of practice and intent, for the conclusion to be drawn that municipal courts are not being used as instruments of justice and public safety, but rather as revenue generators for municipalities that would otherwise struggle or simply be unable to survive. Furthermore, the fact that the municipalities most reliant on fines and fees for revenue are disproportionately poor lends to the belief that the revenue generated by fines and fees is intended to supplement revenue that would come from property and sales taxes in more affluent areas. However, not all revenue from fines comes from residents of the particular municipality collecting the fines. This is especially true of those municipalities that include parts of I-70, I-170, and I-270. A motorist driving to the airport from Clayton or from downtown St. Louis may encounter three or four patrol cars with radar from three or more separate municipalities. These highways may be the most over-policed roadways in the state.

Current Oversight

Missouri law does provide for a cap and oversight of court fines and fees in Section 302.341 of the Missouri Revised Statutes. Three key elements of this statute are:

²² Does not include St. Louis City’s municipal court or St. Louis County’s municipal court.

²³ See municipality data table on Better Together website, <http://www.bettertogetherstl.com/files/better-together-stl/Dellwood%202013%20Budget.pdf>

²⁴ City of Ferguson Comprehensive Annual Financial Report 2013 p.3

²⁵ <http://www.flovalleynews.com/florissant-to-collect-10-for-each-municipal-ordinance-violation>

²⁶ See Table 6 in Appendix.

1. ***Cap of 30% on Fines and Court Fees***²⁷ - If any city, town, village or county receives more than thirty percent of its annual general operating revenue from fines and court costs for traffic violations, including amended charges from any traffic violation...all revenues from such violations in excess of thirty percent of the annual general operating revenue shall be sent to the director of revenue and distributed annually to the schools of the county.
2. ***Duty of Municipality or County to Report*** - An accounting of the percent of annual general operating revenue from fines and court costs for traffic violations, including amended charges from any charged traffic violation, occurring within the city, town, village, or county and charged in the municipal court of that city, town village, or county shall be included in the comprehensive annual financial report submitted to the state auditor...under section 105.145.
3. ***Failure to Report Results in Loss of Court Jurisdiction***– Any city, town, village, or county which fails to make an accurate or timely report, or to send excess revenues from such violations to the director of the department of revenue by the date on which the report is due to the state auditor shall suffer an immediate loss of jurisdiction of the municipal court...on all traffic-related charges until all requirements of this section are satisfied.

While the framework of 302.341 appears to provide restrictions and oversight, two issues arise: the real-world application of the 30% cap and weak oversight. If all municipalities collected 30% of their general revenue from fines and fees, the cap for the St. Louis City and County region would be \$374,811,478.²⁸ If looking only at municipalities in St. Louis County, the cap would be \$143,360,177, meaning that under current state law the municipalities as a whole could double the current amount of revenue brought in from fines and fees.²⁹

A suggested potential reform offered during this study was to lower the cap from 30% to 10%. A majority of municipalities in St. Louis County, as well as the City of St. Louis and St. Louis

²⁷ The Missouri Constitution, Article IX, section 7 provides that "the clear proceeds of all penalties, forfeitures and fines collected hereafter for any breach of the penal laws of the state, ... shall be distributed annually to the schools of the several counties according to law." Numerous cases broadly define "penal laws of the state" to suggest that the phrase includes municipal fines; for instance, the Supreme Court in *Missouri Gaming Commission v. Missouri Veterans Commission*, 951 S.W.2d 611 (MO banc 1997) said penal laws include all fines imposed by public authorities as punishment for offenses against the public. Costs of enforcement, such as police, are not to be deducted from such proceeds; see, e.g., *State v. Williams*, 872 S.W.2d 669 (MO App. 1994). There is an exception to Article IX, section 7 in Article V, section 27, subsection 16, which allows municipalities that enforce their ordinances in associate circuit court divisions to keep the fines to which they "may be entitled." That "may be entitled" phrase in subsection 16 would seem to authorize the limit of 30 percent of municipal budget in RS MO 302.341.2. There is no exception to the requirement in Article IX, section 7 for municipalities that enforce their ordinances in their own municipal court divisions. If these Constitutional provisions and case law principles apply to ordinance fines, municipalities that operate their own municipal court divisions would be required to turn over all clear proceeds of their fines to the schools. Article V, section 27(16), however, creates an exception to Article IX, section 7 for municipalities that enforce their ordinances in associate circuit court divisions -- they are entitled to keep their fines revenues up to the limit of 30 percent (RS MO section 302.341.2) of the municipal budget, with the rest distributed to the schools of the county as with all other proceeds of fines.

²⁸ See Table 7 in Appendix.

²⁹ See Table 7 in Appendix.

County, are already in compliance with this potential reform and seemingly in sound financial health. It appears that a municipality gathering a large amount of revenue from fines and fees is problematic in that it loses the faith and trust of constituents (as documented in a recent white paper issued by the Arch City Defenders), as well as masks underlying financial troubles as indicated by the examples below that demonstrate the replacement of declining property tax revenue with fines and fees.³⁰

TABLE 3

ST. JOHN³¹	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Assessed Value – Real Property	\$48,172,540	\$48,112,280	\$44,342,260	\$44,504,180	\$40,103,330	\$39,728,520	\$35,332,530
Assessed Value – Personal Property	\$12,300,400	\$11,794,760	\$12,387,753	\$10,298,187	\$10,393,276	\$9,781,183	\$9,846,369
Fines and Forfeitures	\$803,217	\$860,146	\$949,216	\$941,371	\$1,092,093	\$1,199,022	\$1,126,763
FERGUSON³²	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Assessed Value – Real Property	\$155,931,428	\$197,435,766	\$198,084,849	\$169,478,310	\$169,400,220	\$163,979,466	\$134,734,400
Assessed Value – Personal Property	\$43,042,580	\$43,673,690	\$44,814,332	\$42,468,940	\$35,806,960	\$34,082,970	\$33,379,110
Fines and Forfeitures	\$1,477,985	\$1,447,904	\$1,391,546	\$1,394,729	\$1,520,118	\$2,227,648	\$2,571,190

Additionally, as with the municipal courts themselves, oversight of 302.341 is limited. An inquiry placed with the Missouri Department of Revenue (DOR) revealed that the DOR relies on municipalities to self-report any violations of the 30% threshold provided in 302.341. Additional inquiries to the State yielded no documented instances of municipalities that exceeded the 30% threshold self-reporting and turning over the excess revenue to the state for distribution amongst the schools of St. Louis County. This fact, along with information gathered from municipal reports³³, appears to indicate that several municipalities are in violation of 302.341. A stronger mechanism for oversight must be implemented.

Recently, the Missouri State Auditor’s office announced a new oversight program that will pick “five of the most suspect courts in the state each year” to see if they are in compliance with the

³⁰ <http://03a5010.netsolhost.com/WordPress/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/ArchCity-Defenders-Municipal-Courts-Whitepaper.pdf>

³¹ City of St. John Comprehensive Annual Financial Report 2013

³² City of Ferguson Comprehensive Annual Financial Report 2013

³³ See Table 5 in Appendix

requirements of 302.341.³⁴ While this program will offer needed additional oversight, more is required. With over 450 municipal courts in the state of Missouri, 82 of which are in St. Louis City and County, it may take years to implement reforms system-wide.³⁵ Oversight must consist of annual reviews and audits to ensure compliance, and stiff penalties (like the loss of municipal court jurisdiction) should remain in place for a defined length of time and not simply until a municipality comes back into compliance. Courts must be held to a higher standard than those they impose in order for the faith of the public and the communities they serve to be restored. Reforming this law and assuring proper compliance would provide critical first steps in that process.

Finally, another reform that could be implemented to eliminate the practice of utilizing fines and fees as a major general revenue source would be to follow the sales tax pool model in St. Louis County. Pooling all of the fines and fees by Missouri judicial circuit to be distributed per capita would eliminate the direct incentive to issue fines and fees for reasons other than the interests of justice and public safety. This reform would also take a step toward restoring trust in those communities where there exists a belief that municipal courts are being utilized solely to generate revenue.³⁶

MUNICIPAL COURT PRACTICES & PROCEDURES

In addition to financial reforms, there are issues that must also be addressed in individual courts. When members of the public visit one of the many municipal courts in St. Louis County, they see a system that caters to defendants who have lawyers. Lawyers' cases typically go first, to accommodate the fact that many lawyers are attending more than one municipal court session in the same evening. Lawyers get "no-points" deals and dismissals for their clients; the unrepresented defendants do not. When the unrepresented citizen goes to court, he or she sees a system that blatantly favors people with money. This is the face of the judiciary as far as the average person is concerned. It is not a pretty face.

Recent reports, as well as actions taken by the Legal Clinic at Saint Louis University Law School, by the non-profit Arch City Defenders, and by a group of municipal court officials led by Judge Frank Vatterott, have highlighted several critical municipal court issues that require reform including:

- Access to open courts
- Methods for collecting court fines and fees
- Notification of rights

³⁴ <http://news.stlpublicradio.org/post/schweich-will-check-whether-municipal-courts-are-collecting-too-much-fines> ; Section 302.341 MO Revised Statutes - <http://www.moga.mo.gov/statutes/C300-399/3020000341.HTM>

³⁵ <http://www.courts.mo.gov/page.jsp?id=7418>

³⁶ <http://03a5010.netsolhost.com/WordPress/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/ArchCity-Defenders-Municipal-Courts-Whitepaper.pdf>

Access to Open Courts

Open and public courts are a fundamental principle that is specifically provided in both Constitutional and State law. Article I Section 14 of the Missouri Constitution explicitly states that “the courts of justice shall be open to every person.”³⁷ However, a committee established by 21st Circuit Presiding Judge Maura McShane recently found that 37% of municipal courts do not allow children in the courtroom, and 10% of St. Louis County municipal courts allow only the person listed on the docket inside the courtroom.

After requests from the Saint Louis University Law Clinic and the Arch City Defenders that Judge McShane order these courts to be open to the public, she issued a directive to the municipal courts requiring that they adjust their policies for access to courts. Any court that did not comply would be subject to further action by Judge McShane, as well as to potential lawsuits. Judge McShane’s order, issued in June of 2014, along with the reform efforts of a small group of advocates led by Judge Frank Vatterott, resulted in added courts coming into compliance. However, there was pushback and research revealed that as of October of 2014, some courts are still not in compliance with the order or the Constitution. A basic search conducted on October 8th revealed that Bel-Ridge and Berkeley remain noncompliant with the law and Judge McShane’s directive, with both municipalities still emphasizing that children will not be permitted inside the courtroom.³⁸

While prohibiting children from entering the courtroom may seem like a minor inconvenience to some, it presents yet another scenario for a minor offense to lead to a life-altering event, as it did for one parent attempting to pay a municipal fine in Hazelwood. After being told that he could not bring his children in the court, a father had them wait in the parking lot with a friend who was also at court. While the father was inside paying the fine, a police officer entered and arrested him for child endangerment, since he left them outside to come pay his fine.³⁹

Several courts responded to Judge McShane’s order by stating that they had limited facilities and could not accommodate children and the general public.⁴⁰ This argument would be more compelling if not for several facts. First, Missouri statute states that every “municipality shall provide a suitable courtroom in which to hold court.” Second, every municipal court in St. Louis City and County generates a profit except for eight.⁴¹ Third, on average, a municipal court in the St. Louis region brings in \$488,357 beyond what it cost to operate, which on average is \$223,149.⁴² Additionally, if municipalities are unable to afford the standards for maintaining constitutionally adequate court divisions, they have the option under Article V, Section 27(16) to prosecute their ordinance violations in associate circuit court divisions of the State of Missouri and retain the revenue from fines (up to the 30 percent of the budget limit per Missouri Statute 302.341.2).⁴³

³⁷ MO Constitution Article I Section 14 - <http://www.moga.mo.gov/const/A01014.HTM>

³⁸ See Figures 1 and 2 in Appendix.

³⁹ <http://03a5010.netsolhost.com/WordPress/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/ArchCity-Defenders-Municipal-Courts-Whitepaper.pdf>

⁴⁰ http://www.stltoday.com/news/local/crime-and-courts/municipal-court-judges-in-st-louis-county-are-told-to/article_e965d081-758d-500a-abb7-a054916edad2.html?print=true&cid=print

⁴¹ See Table 6 in Appendix.

⁴² See Table 6 in Appendix.

⁴³ Missouri Revised Statute 302.341.2 - <http://www.moga.mo.gov/statutes/C300-399/3020000341.HTM>

Simple fixes such as adding court sessions or extending hours could be made in order to address the need to make courts open and public. Most municipal courts have 1-2 sessions per month with some averaging over 500 cases per session.⁴⁴ By increasing the number of sessions, courts could be opened as required without raising funds through additional fees as Florissant plans to do.⁴⁵ A requirement that courts limit their docket size per hour of court session would ensure that courts could remain open and prevent public perception that courts with such large dockets are being utilized solely for the revenue they generate.

Methods of Collecting Fines and Fees

The perception that many municipal courts are simply in place to generate revenue has been reinforced by multiple accounts from attorneys⁴⁶, citizens⁴⁷, and reporters⁴⁸ that call into question the manner in which municipal court sessions are conducted and the methods utilized to collect fines. Common complaints include inability to pay and judges ordering individuals be locked up until they can gather the money from friends and family. This process in particular has left individuals with minor traffic offenses “feeling violated” according to one account documented in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*.⁴⁹ However, this is far from an isolated incident. Similar accounts led a group of attorneys at Saint Louis University and the nonprofit Arch City Defenders to advocate for reforms in how fines are imposed and in treatment for failure to pay with regard to those financially unable to do so.⁵⁰

Under Missouri law, it is well established in numerous statutes and the Missouri Supreme Court Rules that municipal judges may alter fines and provide for a payment plan to those unable to pay a fine in full. Rule 37.65 of the Missouri Supreme Court Rules provides a municipal judge with the discretion to provide for payment of the fine in installments and an extension to satisfy the fine. In addition 37.65 provides the judge with the ability to require the defendant show cause for an inability to pay. Missouri statute is clear on these matters, as well, with Section 479.240 stating:

When a fine is assessed for violation of an ordinance, it shall be within the discretion of the judge assessing the fine to provide for the payment of the fine on an installment basis under such terms and conditions as he may deem appropriate.⁵¹

⁴⁴ Cite to Table 5 Showing Court Schedules and Caseloads for Each Municipality as gathered from MO Court Admin Site

⁴⁵ <http://www.flovalleynews.com/florissant-to-collect-10-for-each-municipal-ordinance-violation>

⁴⁶ <http://03a5010.netsolhost.com/WordPress/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/ArchCity-Defenders-Municipal-Courts-Whitepaper.pdf> and <http://www.slu.edu/Documents/law/News/Scanned%20document.pdf>

⁴⁷ http://www.stltoday.com/news/local/crime-and-courts/for-people-living-under-threat-of-arrest-around-st-louis/article_5135fe78-02f4-5ff2-8283-3b7c0b178afc.html

⁴⁸ <http://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-watch/wp/2014/09/03/how-st-louis-county-missouri-profits-from-poverty/>

⁴⁹ http://www.stltoday.com/news/local/crime-and-courts/for-people-living-under-threat-of-arrest-around-st-louis/article_5135fe78-02f4-5ff2-8283-3b7c0b178afc.html

⁵⁰ <http://www.slu.edu/Documents/law/News/Scanned%20document.pdf>

⁵¹ <http://www.moga.mo.gov/statutes/C400-499/4790000240.HTM>

Additionally, Missouri law states that “in determining the amount and method of payment of a fine, the court shall, insofar as practicable, proportion the fine to burden that payment will impose in view of the financial resources of an individual.”⁵²

Finally, while not a popular option, collection agencies could be used rather than placing individuals unable to pay in jail. It would also avail these individuals of certain rights, while not causing them to miss work and possibly lose their job while in jail for failure to pay.⁵³

Given the discretion that municipal judges hold to adjust fines and provide for alternative methods and schedule of payment, it is difficult to understand the use of jailing to collect fines and fees unless utilized as a matter of last resort and after a hearing on a defendant’s ability to pay is held. Those steps are noticeably absent from many accounts provided in both professional and media reports.

A logical reform would be for the Supreme Court of Missouri to follow the suggestions of the Clinical Law Offices at Saint Louis University, whose attorneys in conjunction with attorneys from Arch City Defenders asked that the Court “adopt an amendment to Supreme Court Rule 37.65 (a) and (b),” which would “clarify the obligation of municipal courts to proportion fines to the resources of offenders and the power of the courts to respond in a constitutional manner to non-payment by indigent defendants.”⁵⁴ This reform would be seen as an act of good faith towards the community and also provide a solution to non-payment of fines and fees that does not include a citizen being locked up for a traffic violation.

Such reforms would also deter a common practice among those unable to pay fines in full at their court date, which is simply not appearing in court out of fear of being locked up for inability to pay. While judges and attorneys agree that this is a losing strategy, rumors and misunderstanding make this path not uncommon. Unfortunately, it results in the issuance of warrants for the arrest of those failing to appear and places defendants in a more difficult position. Warrants for failing to appear for a basic traffic fine can prevent individuals from being hired or getting access to housing once background checks turn up the warrant.

Two potential reforms could alleviate the negative personal and economic impacts of these warrants being issued. First, a basic list of rights, procedures, and consequences should be listed on the back of every municipal citation issued. This list should also be prominently displayed at the entrance to every court session. This simple step could prevent individuals from making uninformed or misinformed decisions that could significantly impact their lives and the lives of their family.

Second, public defenders should be available at each municipal court session. Given the large-scale profit that many municipalities gain from operating a municipal court, their expenses should include not only a judge, prosecutor and clerk that they hire and pay, but also an attorney that is available to protect the rights of the citizens. A recent reform has proposed the creation of

⁵² MO Rev Stat 560.026

⁵³ VAMS 67.136

⁵⁴<http://www.courts.mo.gov/courts/ClerkHandbooksP2RulesOnly.nsf/c0c6ffa99df4993f86256ba50057dcb8/7faef21dd98bc5af86256ca60052130d?OpenDocument>

a pro bono organization of attorneys that would volunteer to represent defendants in municipal court. This reform may be a symbolic step in the right direction, but it is unsustainable and impractical. Providing a paid attorney to represent clients offers practical benefits. First, it demonstrates to citizens that their rights are important and that the court does not exist simply to bring in revenue. Second, an attorney could work with a defendant to devise a plan for payment of fines or represent that defendant in challenging the charges. While in Missouri counsel is only required when incarceration is probable as a sentence, providing a public defender would be a true reform with practical implications, such as removing fear that a defendant would be immediately locked up for inability to pay. It would also ensure that all contempt hearings for nonpayment were properly staffed and defendants' rights were preserved.

Several best practices have been offered by subject matter experts, practitioners, academics, and national research. The implementation of proposed reforms and the enforcement of current constitutional and state laws would help revitalize the trust of the community.



Public Safety – Municipal Courts

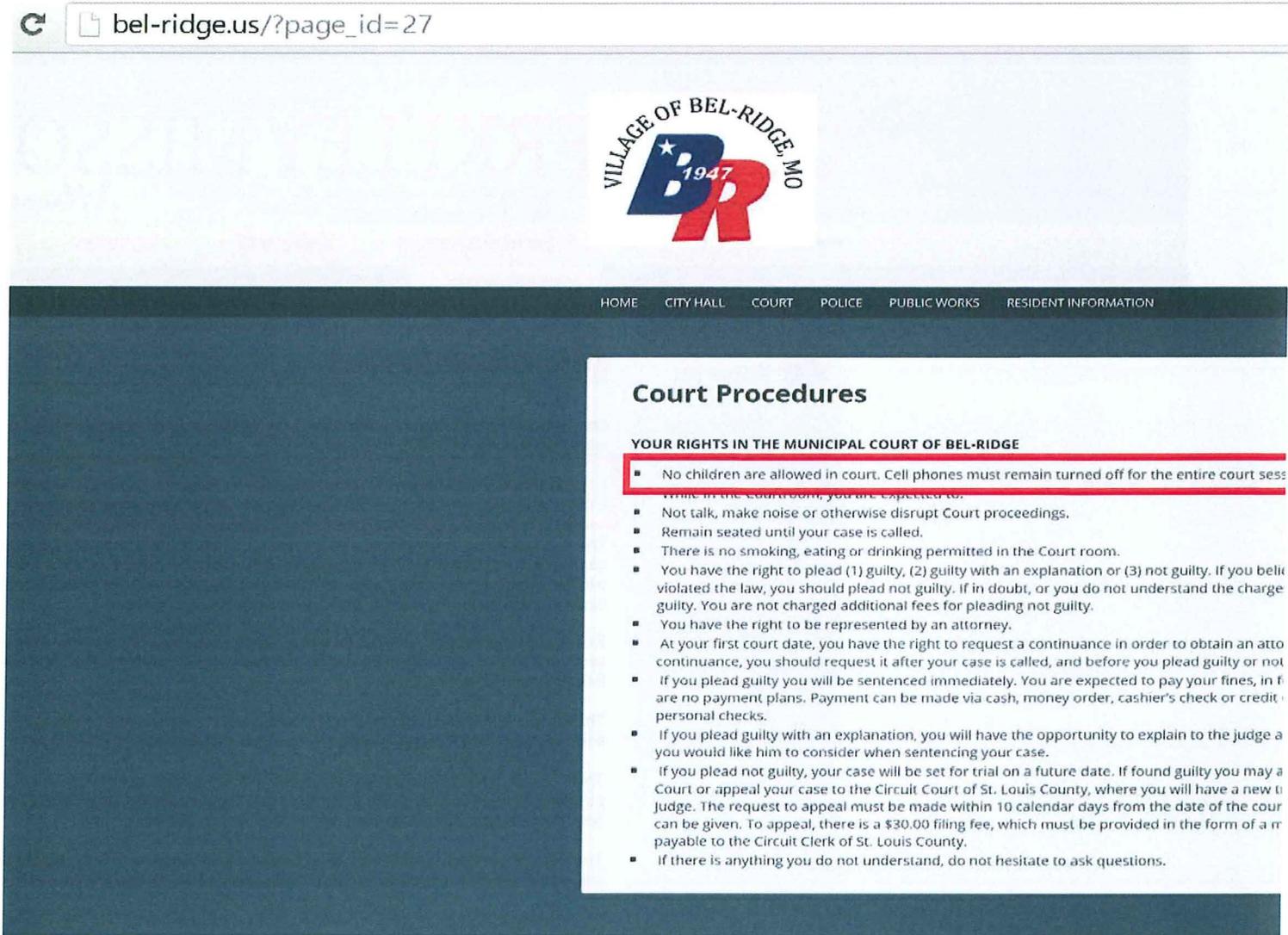
Appendix

October 2014

FIGURE 1

BEL-RIDGE - http://bel-ridge.us/?page_id=27

Accessed October 8, 2014 at 2:05 PM.



bel-ridge.us/?page_id=27

VILLAGE OF BEL-RIDGE, MO
1947

HOME CITY HALL COURT POLICE PUBLIC WORKS RESIDENT INFORMATION

Court Procedures

YOUR RIGHTS IN THE MUNICIPAL COURT OF BEL-RIDGE

- No children are allowed in court. Cell phones must remain turned off for the entire court session. While in the courtroom, you are expected to...
- Not talk, make noise or otherwise disrupt Court proceedings.
- Remain seated until your case is called.
- There is no smoking, eating or drinking permitted in the Court room.
- You have the right to plead (1) guilty, (2) guilty with an explanation or (3) not guilty. If you believe you have violated the law, you should plead not guilty. If in doubt, or you do not understand the charge, you should plead not guilty. You are not charged additional fees for pleading not guilty.
- You have the right to be represented by an attorney.
- At your first court date, you have the right to request a continuance in order to obtain an attorney. If you request a continuance, you should request it after your case is called, and before you plead guilty or not guilty.
- If you plead guilty you will be sentenced immediately. You are expected to pay your fines, in full. There are no payment plans. Payment can be made via cash, money order, cashier's check or credit card.
- If you plead guilty with an explanation, you will have the opportunity to explain to the judge why you would like him to consider when sentencing your case.
- If you plead not guilty, your case will be set for trial on a future date. If found guilty you may appeal your case to the Circuit Court of St. Louis County, where you will have a new trial. The request to appeal must be made within 10 calendar days from the date of the court decision. To appeal, there is a \$30.00 filing fee, which must be provided in the form of a money order payable to the Circuit Clerk of St. Louis County.
- If there is anything you do not understand, do not hesitate to ask questions.

FIGURE 2

City of Berkeley - <http://www.cityofberkeley.us/index.aspx?NID=134>

Accessed October 8, 2014 at 2:07 PM.

The screenshot shows the City of Berkeley Missouri website. At the top, there is a navigation bar with links for 'PRINT', 'E MAIL', and 'RSS'. Below this is a large banner with the city logo and the text 'BERKELEY MISSOURI A Planned Pro'. A yellow navigation bar contains links for 'YOUR GOVERNMENT', 'RESIDENTS', 'BUSINESS', and 'DEPA'. Below this is a blue bar with a 'CONTACT US' link. The main content area is divided into two columns. The left column has a 'Services' section and a 'NOTIFY ME' button. The right column has a breadcrumb trail: 'You are here: Home > Departments > Municipal Court > Berkeley Municipal Court'. The main heading is 'Berkeley Municipal Court'. The text describes the court's duties and court dates. A red box highlights the court location and times: 'Court is held at 6120 Madison for arraignment proceedings on Thursdays @ 6:00pm and to 9:00am at the city hall building 6140 N Hanley. No children are allowed in court, and cel'. Below this, there are several paragraphs describing the court's duties and various dockets: 'The Municipal Court Office duties are: processing tickets that are issued to the public for tr... court consists of data entry, processing payments, customer service related issues such as window, answering incoming phone calls, and assisting attorneys and probation officer's w... Court handles minor non-moving, traffic, and misdemeanor violations.', 'Each court date has a specific docket that is heard, for example the first court date for traffi... second court date is the Payment Docket, the third court date is the Failure to Appear Sur... Bond Forfeiture Dockets.', 'The Arraignment Docket, allows the defendant to enter a plea for their traffic violation, if the... fine and court cost if they plead not guilty the case is continued for the trial docket.', 'The Payment Docket, handles payment cases that have been continued by the judge or th... payment. The last court date, the judge has three separate dockets the failure to appear dc... court date for defendant's that have missed their first court date.', 'The General Summons consists of assault, peace disturbance, and other misdemeanor vic... consists of defendants that have missed their previous court date and had to post a cash b...', 'The Housing and Trial Dockets are held on 2nd Tuesday of the month. The Housing Docke... The Berkeley Inspectors notify the home owners when they are in violation of city ordinanc... that have been continued from the arraignment docket in which the defendant pled not guil'.

8425 Airport Rd • Berkeley, MO 83134 • Ph: (314) 524-3313 • Fx: (314) 264-2074

State of Missouri	\$132,032,352	% of State Total
St. Louis Region*	\$61,152,087 [2]	46%
St. Louis County	\$6,699,384 [3]	5%
St. Louis City	\$9,316,287 [4]	7%
St. Louis County Municipalities	\$45,136,416 [5]	34%

* Consists of St. Louis City, St. Louis County, Municipalities in St. Louis County

MUNICIPALITY	POPULATION [6]	% OF GENERAL REVENUE FROM FINES & FEES [7]	% OF POPULATION THAT IS BLACK [8]	% OF POPULATION THAT IS BELOW POVERTY LINE [9]
CALVERTON PARK	1,293	66.32%	42.23%	23.60%
BELLA VILLA	729	57.38%	1.51%	8.60%
VINITA TERRACE	277	51.83%	72.92%	19.20%
PINE LAWN	3,275	48.12%	96.40%	31.80%
NORMANDY	5,008	40.61%	69.75%	35.40%
SAINT ANN	13,020	37.47%	22.11%	15.10%
EDMUNDSON	834	34.86%	26.38%	19.00%
MOLINE ACRES	2,442	31.06%	92.10%	21.30%
BELLERIVE	188	29.38%	43.09%	0.90%
COOL VALLEY	1,196	29.11%	84.53%	14.00%
CHARLACK	1,363	28.88%	35.44%	13.20%
BRECKENRIDGE HILLS	4,746	28.82%	32.70%	24.50%
HILLSDALE	1,478	26.92%	95.94%	46.60%
BEVERLY HILLS	574	26.37%	92.68%	17.70%
NORTHWOODS	4,227	26.35%	93.94%	25.70%
BEL-RIDGE	2,737	24.46%	83.12%	42.30%
SAINT JOHN	6,517	24.31%	24.29%	17.00%
UPLANDS PARK	445	23.50%	96.40%	17.10%
SYCAMORE HILLS	668	22.95%	12.28%	7.30%
FLORDELL HILLS	822	22.52%	90.75%	36.00%
VELDA CITY	1,420	21.58%	95.42%	18.50%
AVERAGE FOR TOP 21 MUNICIPALITIES	2,536	33%	62%	22%
AVERAGE FOR ALL ST. LOUIS COUNTY		13%	24%	11%

ST. JOHN [10]	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Assessed Value – Real Property	\$48,172,540	\$48,112,280	\$44,342,260	\$44,504,180	\$40,103,330	\$39,728,520	\$35,332,530
Assessed Value – Personal Property	\$12,300,400	\$11,794,760	\$12,387,753	\$10,298,187	\$10,393,276	\$9,781,183	\$9,846,369
Fines and Forfeitures	\$803,217	\$860,146	\$949,216	\$941,371	\$1,092,093	\$1,199,022	\$1,126,763
FERGUSON [11]	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Assessed Value – Real Property	\$155,931,428	\$197,435,766	\$198,084,849	\$169,478,310	\$169,400,220	\$163,979,466	\$134,734,400
Assessed Value – Personal Property	\$43,042,580	\$43,673,690	\$44,814,332	\$42,468,940	\$35,806,960	\$34,082,970	\$33,379,110
Fines and Forfeitures	\$1,477,985	\$1,447,904	\$1,391,546	\$1,394,729	\$1,520,118	\$2,227,648	\$2,571,190

MUNICIPALITY	POPULATION [12]	SALES TAX - GENERAL REVENUE	PROPERTY TAX - GENERAL REVENUE	REVENUE FROM FINES & FEES	GENERAL REVENUE TOTAL
BELLA VILLA	729	\$92,524.00 [13]	\$0.00	\$371,393	\$647,243 [14]
BELLERIVE	188	\$49,025.71 [15]	\$30,860.71 [16]	\$71,979	\$245,032 [17]
BEVERLY HILLS	574	\$73,884.00 [18]	\$9,858.00 [19]	\$221,165	\$838,833 [20]
CALVERTON PAR	1,293	\$158,880.00 [21]	\$24,122.00 [22]	\$482,931	\$728,226 [23]
CHARLACK	1,363	\$278,405.00 [24]	\$19,501.00 [25]	\$291,634	\$1,009,747 [26]
COOL VALLEY	1,196	\$169,188.00 [27]	\$39,686.00 [28]	\$366,763	\$1,259,770 [29]
EDMUNDSON	834	\$318,196.00 [30]	\$92,845.00 [31]	\$559,465	\$1,604,815 [32]
MOLINE ACRES	2,442	\$317,551.00	\$0.00	\$503,061	\$1,619,488 [33]
NORMANDY	5,008	\$662,900.00 [34]	\$101,541.00 [35]	\$1,725,753	\$4,249,631 [36]
NORTHWOODS	4,227	\$593,923.00 [37]	\$106,349.00 [38]	\$690,534	\$2,620,992 [39]
PINE LAWN	3,275	\$380,913.00 [40]	\$43,654.00 [41]	\$1,841,985	\$3,827,753 [42]
ST. ANN	13,020	\$1,113,313.00 [43]	\$360,746.00 [44]	\$3,415,671	\$9,115,012 [45]
VELDA CITY	1,420	\$194,213.00	\$115,362.00	\$224,909	\$1,042,254 [46]
VINITA TERRACE	277	\$52,228.00 [47]	\$4,173.13 [48]	\$121,145	\$233,738 [49]

MUNICIPALITY	POPULATION [50]	REVENUE FROM FINES & FEES [51]	GENERAL REVENUE TOTAL	% OF GENERAL REVENUE FROM FINES & FEES
BALLWIN	30,404	\$1,031,778	\$17,620,540 [52]	5.86%
BEL-NOR	1,499	\$84,414	\$755,600 [53]	11.17%
BEL-RIDGE	2,737	\$362,433	\$1,481,633 [54]	24.46%
BELLA VILLA	729	\$371,393	\$647,243 [55]	57.38%
BELLEFONTAINE	10,860	\$685,700	\$4,918,310 [56]	13.94%
BELLERIVE	188	\$71,979	\$245,032 [57]	29.38%
BERKELEY	8,978	\$951,412	\$8,680,716 [58]	10.96%
BEVERLY HILLS	574	\$221,165	\$838,833 [59]	26.37%
BLACK JACK	6,929	\$93,073	\$2,621,186 [60]	3.55%
BRECKENRIDGE HILLS	4,746	\$622,636	\$2,160,734 [61]	28.82%
BRENTWOOD	8,055	\$470,868	\$11,780,199 [62]	4.00%
BRIDGETON	11,550	\$349,145	\$12,887,494 [63]	2.71%
CALVERTON PARK	1,293	\$482,931	\$728,226 [64]	66.32%
CHAMP	13		\$48,757 [65]	0.00%
CHARLACK	1,363	\$291,634	\$1,009,747 [66]	28.88%
CHESTERFIELD	47,484	\$1,340,143	\$21,125,292 [67]	6.34%
CLARKSON VALLEY	2,632	\$161,604	\$881,785 [68]	18.33%
CLAYTON	15,939	\$672,029	\$21,761,741 [69]	3.09%
COOL VALLEY	1,196	\$366,763	\$1,259,770 [70]	29.11%
COUNTRY CLUB HILLS	16,541	\$220,618	\$1,400,359 [71]	15.75%
COUNTRY LIFE ACRES	74		\$84,041 [72]	0.00%
CRESTWOOD	11,912	\$250,272	\$7,800,717 [73]	3.21%
CREVE COEUR	17,833	\$1,966,254	\$16,365,796 [74]	12.01%
CRYSTAL LAKE PARK	470		\$222,147 [75]	0.00%
DELLWOOD	5,025	\$244,694	\$3,434,353 [76]	7.12%
DES PERES	8,373	\$433,576	\$9,782,524 [77]	4.43%
EDMUNDSON	834	\$559,465	\$1,604,815 [78]	34.86%
ELLISVILLE	9,133	\$596,932	\$5,905,836 [79]	10.11%
EUREKA	10,189	\$143,936	\$4,853,232 [80]	2.97%
FENTON	4,022	\$421,832	\$5,607,923 [81]	7.52%
FERGUSON	21,203	\$1,832,519	\$12,746,894 [82]	14.38%
FLORDELL HILLS	822	\$116,351	\$516,749 [83]	22.52%
FLORISSANT	52,158	\$2,421,797	\$23,120,332 [84]	10.47%
FRONTENAC	3,482	\$513,790	\$5,962,282 [85]	8.62%
GLEN ECHO PARK	160		\$41,974 [86]	0.00%
GLENDALE	5,925	\$143,194	\$3,746,924 [87]	3.82%

MUNICIPALITY	POPULATION [50]	REVENUE FROM FINES & FEES [51]	GENERAL REVENUE TOTAL	% OF GENERAL REVENUE FROM FINES & FEES
GRANTWOOD VILLAGE	863	\$7,003	\$387,995 [88]	1.81%
GREEN PARK	2,622		\$1,125,902 [89]	0.00%
GREENDALE	651	\$40,467	\$357,424 [90]	11.32%
HANELY HILLS	2,101	\$67,326	\$635,500 [91]	10.59%
HAZELWOOD	25,703	\$1,307,572	\$23,809,852 [92]	5.49%
HILLSDALE	1,478	\$224,550	\$834,036 [93]	26.92%
HUNTLEIGH	334		\$136,396 [94]	0.00%
JENNINGS	14,712	\$436,219	\$7,737,693 [95]	5.64%
KINLOCH	298	\$9,173	\$900,778 [96]	1.02%
KIRKWOOD	27,540	\$528,690	\$19,297,564 [97]	2.74%
LADUE	8,521	\$457,915	\$11,775,575 [98]	3.89%
LAKESHIRE	1,432	\$18,851	\$554,181 [99]	3.40%
MACKENZIE	134		\$48,462 [100]	0.00%
MANCHESTER	18,094	\$430,901	\$8,202,013 [101]	5.25%
MAPLEWOOD	8,046	\$837,774	\$8,844,064 [102]	9.47%
MARLBOROUGH	729	\$91,461	\$575,062 [103]	15.90%
MARYLAND HEIGHTS	27,472	\$1,745,016	\$22,420,540 [104]	7.78%
MOLINE ACRES	2,442	\$503,061	\$1,619,488 [105]	31.06%
NORMANDY	5,008	\$1,725,753	\$4,249,631 [106]	40.61%
NORTHWOODS	4,227	\$690,534	\$2,620,992 [107]	26.35%
NORWOOD COURT	959		\$182,616 [108]	0.00%
OAKLAND	1,381	\$88,930	\$675,079 [109]	13.17%
OLIVETTE	7,737	\$292,184	\$7,046,302 [110]	4.15%
OVERLAND	16,062	\$475,840	\$8,255,774 [111]	5.76%
PACIFIC	7,002		\$3,767,395 [112]	0.00%
PAGEDALE	3,304	\$356,601	\$2,016,430 [113]	17.68%
PASADENA HILLS	930	\$0	\$384,979 [114]	0.00%
PASADENA PARK	470	\$0	\$146,446 [115]	0.00%
PINE LAWN	3,275	\$1,841,985	\$3,827,753 [116]	48.12%
RICHMOND HEIGHTS	8,603	\$809,252	\$12,109,281 [117]	6.68%
RIVERVIEW	2,856	\$105,384	\$913,332 [118]	11.54%
ROCK HILL	4,635	\$628,510	\$3,370,845 [119]	18.65%
SAINT ANN	13,020	\$3,415,671	\$9,115,012 [120]	37.47%
SAINT JOHN	6,517	\$932,313	\$3,835,573 [121]	24.31%
SAINT LOUIS CITY	319,294	\$8,340,407	\$430,213,000 [122]	1.94%

MUNICIPALITY	POPULATION [50]	REVENUE FROM FINES & FEES [51]	GENERAL REVENUE TOTAL	% OF GENERAL REVENUE FROM FINES & FEES
SHREWSBURY	6,254	\$378,706	\$5,997,095 [123]	6.31%
STL COUNTY	998,954	\$5,846,002	\$341,291,336 [124]	1.71%
SUNSET HILLS	8,496	\$404,953	\$7,253,769 [125]	5.58%
SYCAMORE HILLS	668	\$40,126	\$174,844 [126]	22.95%
TOWN AND COUNTRY	10,815	\$1,504,837	\$10,040,225 [127]	14.99%
TWIN OAKS	392		\$572,292 [128]	0.00%
UNIVERSITY CITY	35,371	\$571,516	\$26,917,526 [129]	2.12%
UPLANDS PARK	445	\$90,935	\$386,887 [130]	23.50%
VALLEY PARK	6,942	\$221,432	\$3,290,258 [131]	6.73%
VELDA CITY	1,420	\$224,909	\$1,042,254 [132]	21.58%
VELDA VILLAGE HILLS	1,055	\$41,497	\$420,343 [133]	9.87%
VINITA PARK	1,880	\$262,231	\$2,156,671 [134]	12.16%
VINITA TERRACE	277	\$121,145	\$233,738 [135]	51.83%
WARSON WOODS	1,962	\$43,911	\$1,518,054 [136]	2.89%
WEBSTER GROVES	22,995	\$1,011,126	\$14,955,343 [137]	6.76%
WELLSTON	2,313	\$342,036	\$2,810,091 [138]	12.17%
WESTWOOD	278		No Information Received	
WILBUR PARK	471		\$131,916 [139]	0.00%
WILDWOOD	35,517	\$615,040	\$9,051,444 [140]	6.79%
WINCHESTER	1,547	\$50,361	\$778,189 [141]	6.47%
WOODSON TERRACE	4,063	\$244,040	\$3,706,617 [142]	6.58%

MUNICIPALITY	POPULATION	COST TO OPERATE COURTS	GROSS REVENUE FROM FINES & FEES [143]	NET REVENUE FROM FINES & FEES
BALLWIN	30,404	\$190,268 [144]	\$1,031,778	\$841,510
BEL-NOR	1,499	\$63,731 [145]	\$84,414	\$20,683
BEL-RIDGE	2,737	\$132,818 [146]	\$362,433	\$229,615
BELLA VILLA	729	\$87,633 [147]	\$371,393	\$283,760
BELLEFONTAINE	10,860	\$110,817 [148]	\$685,700	\$574,883
BELLERIVE	188	\$11,500 [149]	\$71,979	\$60,479
BERKELEY	8,978	\$166,160 [150]	\$951,412	\$785,252
BEVERLY HILLS	574	No Information Received	\$221,165	N/A
BLACK JACK	6,929	\$63,847 [151]	\$93,073	\$29,226
BRECKENRIDGE HILLS	4,746	\$142,792 [152]	\$622,636	\$479,844
BRENTWOOD	8,055	\$189,680 [153]	\$470,868	\$281,188
BRIDGETON	11,550	\$247,636 [154]	\$349,145	\$101,509
CALVERTON PARK	1,293	\$54,816 [155]	\$482,931	\$428,115
CHAMP	13	No Court [156]	N/A	N/A
CHARLACK	1,363	Need clearer information	\$291,634	N/A
CHESTERFIELD	47,484	\$237,707 [157]	\$1,340,143	\$1,102,436
CLARKSON VALLEY	2,632	\$86,307 [158]	\$161,604	\$75,297
CLAYTON	15,939	\$272,155 [159]	\$672,029	\$399,874
COOL VALLEY	1,196	\$112,143 [160]	\$366,763	\$254,620
COUNTRY CLUB HILLS	16,541	\$106,125 [161]	\$220,618	\$114,493
COUNTRY LIFE ACRES	74	None listed [162]	N/A	N/A
CRESTWOOD	11,912	\$101,951 [163]	\$250,272	\$148,321
CREVE COEUR	17,833	\$865,272 [164]	\$1,966,254	\$1,100,982
CRYSTAL LAKE PARK	470	None listed	N/A	N/A
DELLWOOD	5,025	\$153,668 [165]	\$244,694	\$91,026
DES PERES	8,373	\$278,555 [166]	\$433,576	\$155,021
EDMUNDSON	834	\$172,023 [167]	\$559,465	\$387,442
ELLISVILE	9,133	\$360,791 [168]	\$596,932	\$236,141
EUREKA	10,189	\$180,626 [169]	\$143,936	-\$36,691
FENTON	4,022	\$165,790 [170]	\$421,832	\$256,042
FERGUSON	21,203	\$313,192 [171]	\$1,832,519	\$1,519,327
FLORDELL HILLS	822	\$56,271 [172]	\$116,351	\$60,080
FLORISSANT	52,158	\$868,656 [173]	\$2,421,797	\$1,553,141
FRONTENAC	3,482	\$146,083 [174]	\$513,790	\$367,707
GLEN ECHO PARK	160	None listed	N/A	N/A
GLENDALE	5,925	\$45,051 [175]	\$143,194	\$98,143

MUNICIPALITY	POPULATION	COST TO OPERATE COURTS	GROSS REVENUE FROM FINES & FEES [143]	NET REVENUE FROM FINES & FEES
GRANTWOOD VILLAGE	863	\$7,950 [176]	\$7,003	-\$947
GREEN PARK	2,622	No Court [177]	N/A	N/A
GREENDALE	651	\$418 [178]	\$40,467	\$40,049
HANELY HILLS	2,101	\$125,000 [179]	\$67,326	-\$57,674
HAZELWOOD	25,703	None listed	\$1,307,572	N/A
HILLSDALE	1,478	\$8,000 [180]	\$224,550	\$216,550
HUNTLEIGH	334	Contract with Frontenac, Combined with Fire and EMS Services	N/A	N/A
JENNINGS	14,712	\$245,331 [181]	\$436,219	\$190,888
KINLOCH	298	No information received	\$9,173	N/A
KIRKWOOD	27,540	\$252,938 [182]	\$528,690	\$275,752
LADUE	8,521	None listed [183]	\$457,915	N/A
LAKESHIRE	1,432	\$9,421 [184]	\$18,851	\$9,430
MACKENZIE	134	No information received	N/A	N/A
MANCHESTER	18,094	\$333,794 [185]	\$430,901	\$97,107
MAPLEWOOD	8,046	\$255,462 [186]	\$837,774	\$582,312
MARLBOROUGH	729	\$91,957 [187]	\$91,461	-\$496
MARYLAND HEIGHTS	27,472	\$365,548 [188]	\$1,745,016	\$1,379,468
MOLINE ACRES	2,442	\$134,468 [189]	\$503,061	\$368,593
NORMANDY	5,008	\$99,513 [190]	\$1,725,753	\$1,626,240
NORTHWOODS	4,227	\$230,831 [191]	\$690,534	\$459,703
NORWOOD COURT	959	No court [192]	N/A	N/A
OAKLAND	1,381	\$35,689 [193]	\$88,930	\$53,241
OLIVETTE	7,737	\$144,944 [194]	\$292,184	\$147,240
OVERLAND	16,062	\$216,863 [195]	\$475,840	\$258,977
PAGEDALE	3,304	\$90,758 [196]	\$356,601	\$265,843
PASADENA HILLS	930	\$2,300 [197]	\$0	-\$2,300
PASADENA PARK	470	\$7,736 [198]	\$0	-\$7,736
PINE LAWN	3,275	\$453,125 [199]	\$1,841,985	\$1,388,860
RICHMOND HEIGHTS	8,603	\$252,075 [200]	\$809,252	\$557,177
RIVERVIEW	2,856	None listed	\$105,384	N/A
ROCK HILL	4,635	\$144,443 [201]	\$628,510	\$484,067
SAINT ANN	13,020	\$332,313 [202]	\$3,415,671	\$3,083,358
SAINT JOHN	6,517	None listed	\$932,313	N/A
SAINT LOUIS CITY	319,294	\$2,227,000 [203]	\$8,340,407	\$6,113,407

MUNICIPALITY	POPULATION	COST TO OPERATE COURTS	GROSS REVENUE FROM FINES & FEES [143]	NET REVENUE FROM FINES & FEES
SHREWSBURY	6,254	None listed	\$378,706	N/A
STL COUNTY	998,954	\$1,986,994 [204]	\$5,846,002	\$3,859,008
SUNSET HILLS	8,496	\$176,807 [205]	\$404,953	\$228,146
SYCAMORE HILLS	668	\$9,165 [206]	\$40,126	\$30,961
TOWN AND COUNTRY	10,815	\$260,570 [207]	\$1,504,837	\$1,244,267
TWIN OAKS	392	No Court [208]	N/A	N/A
UNIVERSITY CITY	35,371	\$313,511 [209]	\$571,516	\$258,005
UPLANDS PARK	445	\$15,219 [210]	\$90,935	\$75,716
VALLEY PARK	6,942	\$101,619 [211]	\$221,432	\$119,813
VELDA CITY	1,420	\$118,519 [212]	\$224,909	\$106,390
VELDA VILLAGE HILLS	1,055	\$50,647 [213]	\$41,497	-\$9,150
VINITA PARK	1,880	\$118,002 [214]	\$262,231	\$144,229
VINITA TERRACE	277	\$61,676 [215]	\$121,145	\$59,469
WARSON WOODS	1,962	\$84,008 [216]	\$43,911	-\$40,098
WEBSTER GROVES	22,995	\$197,567 [217]	\$1,011,126	\$813,559
WELLSTON	2,313	No information received	\$342,036	N/A
WESTWOOD	278	No Court [218]	N/A	N/A
WILBUR PARK	471	No Court [219]	N/A	N/A
WILDWOOD	35,517	\$231,639 [220]	\$615,040	\$383,401
WINCHESTER	1,547	\$11,879 [221]	\$50,361	\$38,482
WOODSON TERRACE	4,063	\$53,788 [222]	\$244,040	\$190,252
TOTAL	1,318,610	\$15,843,552	\$56,920,470	\$37,031,022
AVERAGE		\$223,149	\$711,506	\$488,357

MUNICIPALITY	POPULATION [223]	GENERAL REVENUE TOTAL	30% OF GENERAL REVENUE
BALLWIN	30,404	\$17,620,540 [224]	\$5,286,162
BEL-NOR	1,499	\$755,600 [225]	\$226,680
BEL-RIDGE	2,737	\$1,481,633 [226]	\$444,490
BELLA VILLA	729	\$647,243 [227]	\$194,173
BELLEFONTAINE	10,860	\$4,918,310 [228]	\$1,475,493
BELLERIVE	188	\$245,032 [229]	\$73,510
BERKELEY	8,978	\$8,680,716 [230]	\$2,604,215
BEVERLY HILLS	574	\$838,833 [231]	\$251,650
BLACK JACK	6,929	\$2,621,186 [232]	\$786,356
BRECKENRIDGE HILLS	4,746	\$2,160,734 [233]	\$648,220
BRENTWOOD	8,055	\$11,780,199 [234]	\$3,534,060
BRIDGETON	11,550	\$12,887,494 [235]	\$3,866,248
CALVERTON PARK	1,293	\$728,226 [236]	\$218,468
CHAMP	13	\$48,757 [237]	\$14,627
CHARLACK	1,363	\$1,009,747 [238]	\$302,924
CHESTERFIELD	47,484	\$21,125,292 [239]	\$6,337,588
CLARKSON VALLEY	2,632	\$881,785 [240]	\$264,536
CLAYTON	15,939	\$21,761,741 [241]	\$6,528,522
COOL VALLEY	1,196	\$1,259,770 [242]	\$377,931
COUNTRY CLUB HILLS	16,541	\$1,400,359 [243]	\$420,108
COUNTRY LIFE ACRES	74	\$84,041 [244]	\$25,212
CRESTWOOD	11,912	\$7,800,717 [245]	\$2,340,215
CREVE COEUR	17,833	\$16,365,796 [246]	\$4,909,739
CRYSTAL LAKE PARK	470	\$222,147 [247]	\$66,644
DELLWOOD	5,025	\$3,434,353 [248]	\$1,030,306
DES PERES	8,373	\$9,782,524 [249]	\$2,934,757
EDMUNDSON	834	\$1,604,815 [250]	\$481,445
ELLISVILLE	9,133	\$5,905,836 [251]	\$1,771,751
EUREKA	10,189	\$4,853,232 [252]	\$1,455,970
FENTON	4,022	\$5,607,923 [253]	\$1,682,377
FERGUSON	21,203	\$12,746,894 [254]	\$3,824,068
FLORDELL HILLS	822	\$516,749 [255]	\$155,025
FLORISSANT	52,158	\$23,120,332 [256]	\$6,936,100
FRONTENAC	3,482	\$5,962,282 [257]	\$1,788,685
GLEN ECHO PARK	160	\$41,974 [258]	\$12,592
GLENDALE	5,925	\$3,746,924 [259]	\$1,124,077

MUNICIPALITY	POPULATION [223]	GENERAL REVENUE TOTAL	30% OF GENERAL REVENUE
GRANTWOOD VILLAGE	863	\$387,995 [260]	\$116,399
GREEN PARK	2,622	\$1,125,902 [261]	\$337,771
GREENDALE	651	\$357,424 [262]	\$107,227
HANELY HILLS	2,101	\$635,500 [263]	\$190,650
HAZELWOOD	25,703	\$23,809,852 [264]	\$7,142,956
HILLSDALE	1,478	\$834,036 [265]	\$250,211
HUNTLEIGH	334	\$136,396 [266]	\$40,919
JENNINGS	14,712	\$7,737,693 [267]	\$2,321,308
KINLOCH	298	\$900,778 [268]	\$270,233
KIRKWOOD	27,540	\$19,297,564 [269]	\$5,789,269
LADUE	8,521	\$11,775,575 [270]	\$3,532,673
LAKESHIRE	1,432	\$554,181 [271]	\$166,254
MACKENZIE	134	\$48,462 [272]	\$14,539
MANCHESTER	18,094	\$8,202,013 [273]	\$2,460,604
MAPLEWOOD	8,046	\$8,844,064 [274]	\$2,653,219
MARLBOROUGH	729	\$575,062 [275]	\$172,519
MARYLAND HEIGHTS	27,472	\$22,420,540 [276]	\$6,726,162
MOLINE ACRES	2,442	\$1,619,488 [277]	\$485,846
NORMANDY	5,008	\$4,249,631 [278]	\$1,274,889
NORTHWOODS	4,227	\$2,620,992 [279]	\$786,298
NORWOOD COURT	959	\$182,616 [280]	\$54,785
OAKLAND	1,381	\$675,079 [281]	\$202,524
OLIVETTE	7,737	\$7,046,302 [282]	\$2,113,891
OVERLAND	16,062	\$8,255,774 [283]	\$2,476,732
PACIFIC	7,002	\$3,767,395 [284]	\$1,130,219
PAGEDALE	3,304	\$2,016,430 [285]	\$604,929
PASADENA HILLS	930	\$384,979 [286]	\$115,494
PASADENA PARK	470	\$146,446 [287]	\$43,934
PINE LAWN	3,275	\$3,827,753 [288]	\$1,148,326
RICHMOND HEIGHTS	8,603	\$12,109,281 [289]	\$3,632,784
RIVERVIEW	2,856	\$913,332 [290]	\$274,000
ROCK HILL	4,635	\$3,370,845 [291]	\$1,011,254
SAINT ANN	13,020	\$9,115,012 [292]	\$2,734,504
SAINT JOHN	6,517	\$3,835,573 [293]	\$1,150,672
SAINT LOUIS CITY	319,294	\$430,213,000 [294]	\$129,063,900
SHREWSBURY	6,254	\$5,997,095 [295]	\$1,799,129

MUNICIPALITY	POPULATION [223]	GENERAL REVENUE TOTAL	30% OF GENERAL REVENUE
STL COUNTY	998,954	\$341,291,336 [296]	\$102,387,401
SUNSET HILLS	8,496	\$7,253,769 [297]	\$2,176,131
SYCAMORE HILLS	668	\$174,844 [298]	\$52,453
TOWN AND COUNTRY	10,815	\$10,040,225 [299]	\$3,012,068
TWIN OAKS	392	\$572,292 [300]	\$171,688
UNIVERSITY CITY	35,371	\$26,917,526 [301]	\$8,075,258
UPLANDS PARK	445	\$386,887 [302]	\$116,066
VALLEY PARK	6,942	\$3,290,258 [303]	\$987,077
VELDA CITY	1,420	\$1,042,254 [304]	\$312,676
VELDA VILLAGE HILLS	1,055	\$420,343 [305]	\$126,103
VINITA PARK	1,880	\$2,156,671 [306]	\$647,001
VINITA TERRACE	277	\$233,738 [307]	\$70,121
WARSON WOODS	1,962	\$1,518,054 [308]	\$455,416
WEBSTER GROVES	22,995	\$14,955,343 [309]	\$4,486,603
WELLSTON	2,313	\$2,810,091 [310]	\$843,027
WESTWOOD	278	No Information Received	No Information Received
WILBUR PARK	471	\$131,916 [311]	\$39,575
WILDWOOD	35,517	\$9,051,444 [312]	\$2,715,433
WINCHESTER	1,547	\$778,189 [313]	\$233,457
WOODSON TERRACE	4,063	\$3,706,617 [314]	\$1,111,985
TOTAL	1,318,610	\$1,249,371,594	\$374,811,478
TOTAL WITHOUT ST. LOUIS CITY AND COUNTY	675,319	\$852,678,736	\$143,360,177

MUNICIPAL COURT	TIME OF DOCKET [315]	NUMBER OF SESSIONS PER MONTH	TOTAL CASES FILED [316]	AVERAGE NUMBER OF CASES PER DOCKET
BALLWIN	Ballwin Court generally holds its sessions two Tuesdays each month at 5:30 p.m. at the Donald "Red" Loehr Police and Court Center, 300 Park Drive (in Vlasik Park)	2	9,006	375
BELLA VILLA	Second Wednesday of every month 7pm	1	7,053	588
BELLEFONTAINE NEIGHBORS	Court starts at 6:30 p.m. on the second and fourth Wednesday of each month in the Courtroom, located at 9641 Bellfontaine Rd. Doors open at 6 p.m.	2	7,981	333
BEL-NOR	First Wednesday of every month, 6 p.m.	1	1,613	134
BEL-RIDGE	Check casenet for court dates		7,937	
BERKELEY	Trial: First Tuesday of each month 9 a.m. Court: Third Thursday of each month 6 p.m.	2	11,767	490
BEVERLY HILLS	Second Wednesday of every month 6pm	1	4,343	362
BLACK JACK	Court is held the first and third Wednesday of each month at 7 p.m.	2	1,063	44
BRECKENRIDGE HILLS	Every other Tuesday at 11 a.m. No continuances	2	6,468	270
BRENTWOOD	Second and Fourth Mondays of the month at 7 p.m. Doors open at 6:30 p.m. Cases are called by the order of sign-in.	2	7,161	298
BRIDGETON	Court is held at the Bridgeton Government Center on the first and third Thursday and second and fourth Tuesday.	2	4,423	184
CALVERTON PARK	First and third Wednesday at 6:30 p.m.	2	7,493	312
CHARLACK	First and third Mondays of the month at 7 p.m.	2	3,751	156
CHESTERFIELD	Held on Tuesday evenings at 7 p.m. approximately three times per month. Days may vary depending on holidays.	3	13,866	385
CLARKSON VALLEY	Third Wednesday of each month at 5:30 p.m.	1	1,500	125
CLAYTON	Court starts at 6 p.m. on the first and third Wednesday of each month at the Clayton Police Department, 10 S. Brentwood Blvd., Clayton, Mo 63105. Doors open at 5:30 p.m.	2	7,884	329
COOL VALLEY	Second Wednesday at 6:30 p.m.	1	9,276	773
COUNTRY CLUB HILLS	Second Friday at noon. Regular docket is the third Wednesday at 6 p.m.	2	9,113	380
CRESTWOOD	First, third and fourth Thursday at 7 p.m.	3	2,297	64
CREVE COEUR	Court has up to four sessions monthly on Wednesday at 7 p.m. and select Thursday morning dockets for housing and photo enforcement trials. Doors open at 5:45 p.m.	4	20,003	417
DELLWOOD	Court is held once a month on the third Thursday. Court starts at 6:00 p.m.	1	4,127	344
DES PERES	Court is held on the first Monday of each month at City Hall in the Council Chamber.	1	4,171	348
EDMUNDSON	Court is held in the evening at City Hall on the second and fourth Tuesday of every month.	2	5,888	245
ELLISVILLE	Third Thursday of each month. Red light camera docket is at 1 p.m. Regular docket is at 2 p.m. Attorney calls are at 2 p.m.	1	6,866	572
EUREKA	Court starts at 7:30 p.m. on the second and fourth Tuesday of each month at City Hall.	2	1,192	50
FENTON	Second Monday 5:30 p.m. trials are quarterly at 5:30 p.m. 4th Monday of the chosen month.	1	4,997	416
FERGUSON	Calendar online. Thursday at 5:30 p.m. Tuesday at 9 a.m. Tuesday 9:30 a.m.	3	23,794	661
FLORDELL HILLS	First Monday at 7 p.m.	1	3,474	290
FLORISSANT	Call in for court dates. [317]			
FRONTENAC	Third Wednesday at 5:30.	1	4,225	352
GLENDALE	Second Monday of each month at 7:00 p.m. in the Municipal Auditorium	1	1,682	140
HANLEY HILLS	First and Third Tuesday at 6 p.m.	2	1,340	56
HAZELWOOD	Court is in session every Tuesday at 6:30 p.m. and is open to the public.	4	17,597	367
HILLSDALE	First and Third Monday at 6 p.m.	2	3,750	156
JENNINGS	Fourth Tuesday at 6 p.m. Housing is at 12 p.m. Trial is at 1 p.m.	1	6,745	562
KINLOCH	Second Tuesday at 6 pm.	1	109	9
KIRKWOOD	First four Tuesdays of each month, unless otherwise noted. The first and third dockets of the month are the ordinances and traffic violations. The second docket of the month is the housing docket. The fourth docket is the trial docket. Court starts at 6:30 p.m.	4	4,503	94
LADUE	Court starts at 6 p.m. on the second Wednesday of each month at City Hall.	1	3,589	299
MANCHESTER	Court is held the first and third Wednesday of each month at 6:30 p.m.	2	4,779	199
MAPLEWOOD	Court is typically held on the second, third, and fourth Monday of each month at 6 p.m.	3	11,915	331
MARLBOROUGH	Second Wednesday of each month at 6 p.m.	1	920	77
MARYLAND HEIGHTS	Traffic Court is the second and fourth Thursday at 6:30 p.m. Code Violation Docket is Thursday at 11 a.m. Trial is the fourth Monday at 6 p.m.	4	16,809	350
MOLINE ACRES	Court is in session the first and third Wednesday evening at 6 p.m. at City Hall.	2	694	29
NORMANDY	Court is held every first and third Wednesday at 6 p.m.	2	10,401	433

MUNICIPAL COURT	TIME OF DOCKET [315]	NUMBER OF SESSIONS PER MONTH	TOTAL CASES FILED [316]	AVERAGE NUMBER OF CASES PER DOCKET
NORTHWOODS	First and Third Wednesday at 7 p.m.	2	5,990	250
OAKLAND	Second Monday of the month at 6 p.m. at Webster Groves Christian Church.	1	583	49
OLIVETTE	Court is in session two Wednesdays at month at 6 p.m.	2	3,597	150
OVERLAND	First Wednesday at 3 p.m. Every other Wednesday at 6 p.m.	3	6,528	181
PAGEDALE	First and third Thursday at 7 p.m.	2	5,781	241
PINE LAWN	First and third Thursday at 6 p.m.	2	23,037	960
RICHMOND HEIGHTS	Second and fourth Monday at 6 p.m. Trial is the third Wednesday at 6 p.m.	2	8,549	356
RIVERVIEW	Court is held the second Thursday of each month.	1	2,972	248
ROCK HILL	Court is held the second and fourth Mondays of the month at City Hall.	2	6,159	257
SHREWSBURY	Traffic Court is the second Wednesday. Other dockets are on third Thursday at 7 p.m.	2	4,572	191
SAINT ANN	Check online for schedule.		28,071	
SAINT JOHN	Check online for schedule.	2	13,663	569
SAINT LOUIS CITY			232,992	
STL COUNTY - NORTH	Monday, Wednesday, Thursday 7 p.m. Trials are at 6:30 p.m. Calendar is online	12		
STL COUNTY - SOUTH	Monday-Thursday 7 p.m.	16		
STL COUNTY- WEST				
SUNSET HILLS	Court is held the first, second, and third Thursday of each month at 7 p.m. at City Hall.	3	3,609	100
TOWN & COUNTRY	Court is held the first and third Thursday of each month.	2	7,941	331
UNIVERSITY CITY	Schedule can be found online.	2	6,200	258
UPLANDS PARK	Court is held the second Tuesday of the Month at 6 p.m.	1	1,991	166
VALLEY PARK	Second Wednesday at 6 p.m.	1	2,375	198
VELDA CITY	First and fourth Wednesday at 5 p.m. Second Wednesday 9 am.	3	5,509	153
VELDA VILLAGE HILLS	Second Monday of each month at 6 p.m.	1	564	47
VINITA PARK	First and third Wednesday at 10 a.m.	2	3,490	145
VINITA TERRACE	Third Thursday at 7 p.m.	1	812	68
WARSON WOODS	First Wednesday at 7 p.m.	1	450	38
WEBSTER GROVES	Court is held the second Wednesday of the month at 5:30 p.m. and the fourth Wednesday of the month at 6 p.m. at City Hall.	2	8,386	349
WELLSTON	Second and fourth Wednesday at 6 p.m. Trial is third Thursday 6 p.m.	3	5,854	163
WILDWOOD	First and third Wednesdays.	2	6,030	251
WINCHESTER	First Wednesday at 7 p.m.	1	622	52
WOODSON TERRACE	First Wednesday at 6:30 p.m.	1	2,920	243

- [1] MO State Courts Administrator, Table 94 Municipal Division, FY2013 Net Collections/Disbursements. Aggregate of Fines, Clerk/Court Fees, POST Fund Surcharge, CVC Fund Surcharge, LET Fund Surcharge, Dom Violence Shelter Surcharge, and Inmate Security Fund Surcharge Available at: <https://www.courts.mo.gov/file.jsp?id=68844>.
- [2] MO State Courts Administrator, Table 94 Municipal Division, FY2013 Net Collections/Disbursements. Aggregate of Fines, Clerk/Court Fees, POST Fund Surcharge, CVC Fund Surcharge, LET Fund Surcharge, Dom Violence Shelter Surcharge, and Inmate Security Fund Surcharge Available at: <https://www.courts.mo.gov/file.jsp?id=68844>.
- [3] MO State Courts Administrator, Table 94 Municipal Division, FY2013 Net Collections/Disbursements. Aggregate of Fines, Clerk/Court Fees, POST Fund Surcharge, CVC Fund Surcharge, LET Fund Surcharge, Dom Violence Shelter Surcharge, and Inmate Security Fund Surcharge Available at: <https://www.courts.mo.gov/file.jsp?id=68844>.
- [4] MO State Courts Administrator, Table 94 Municipal Division, FY2013 Net Collections/Disbursements. Aggregate of Fines, Clerk/Court Fees, POST Fund Surcharge, CVC Fund Surcharge, LET Fund Surcharge, Dom Violence Shelter Surcharge, and Inmate Security Fund Surcharge Available at: <https://www.courts.mo.gov/file.jsp?id=68844>.
- [5] MO State Courts Administrator, Table 94 Municipal Division, FY2013 Net Collections/Disbursements. Aggregate of Fines, Clerk/Court Fees, POST Fund Surcharge, CVC Fund Surcharge, LET Fund Surcharge, Dom Violence Shelter Surcharge, and Inmate Security Fund Surcharge Available at: <https://www.courts.mo.gov/file.jsp?id=68844>.
- [6] Population figures from U.S. Census Bureau.
- [7] SEE TABLE 5 FOR INDIVIDUAL CITATIONS.
- [8] United States Census Bureau (<http://www.census.gov/>).
- [9] Information taken from U.S. Department of Commerce United States Census Bureau .
- [10] City of St. John Comprehensive Annual Financial Report 2013.
- [11] City of Ferguson Comprehensive Annual Financial Report 2013.
- [12] Population figures from U.S. Census Bureau.
- [13] Bella Villa 2013 CAFR, p. 20.
- [14] Bella Villa 2013 Financial Statement pg 11.
- [15] Financial Report to MO Auditor form Bellerive Acres, p. 3.
- [16] Financial Report to MO Auditor form Bellerive Acres, p. 3.
- [17] Bellerive 2013 Auditors Report.
- [18] Beverly Hills 2013 CAFR, p. 5.
- [19] Beverly Hills 2013 CAFR, p. 5.
- [20] Beverly Hills 2013 Financial Report pg 5.
- [21] Calverton Park 2011 CAFR, p. 24.
- [22] Calverton Park 2013 CAFR, p. 24.
- [23] Calverton Park 2011 Financial Statement pg 13.

- [24] Financial Report to MO Auditor from Charlack .
- [25] Financial Report to MO Auditor from Charlack .
- [26] Charlack 2013 Auditor Report pg 8.
- [27] Cool Valley 2013 CAFR, p. 30.
- [28] Cool Valley 2013 CAFR, p. 30.
- [29] Cool Valley 2013 Financial Report pg 14.
- [30] Cool Valley 2013 CAFR, p. 23.
- [31] Total Property Tax less Special Assessment. Edmundson 2013 CAFR, p. 23.
- [32] Edmundson 2013 Financial Statements pg 12.
- [33] Moline Acres 2013 Financial Statements pg 11.
- [34] Normandy 2013 CAFR, p. 3.
- [35] Normandy 2013 CAFR, p. 3.
- [36] Normandy 2013 Financial Statements pg 3.
- [37] Northwoods 2013 CAFR, p. 32.
- [38] Northwoods 2013 CAFR, p. 32.
- [39] Northwoods 2013 Financial Statements pg 14.
- [40] Financial Report to MO Auditor from Pine Lawn 2013, p. 2.
- [41] Financial Report to MO Auditor from Pine Lawn 2013, p. 2.
- [42] MO Auditor Pine Lawn 2013, p. 3.
- [43] St. Ann 2013 CAFR, p. 34.
- [44] St. Ann 2013 CAFR, p. 34.
- [45] MO Auditor St. Ann 2013, p. 13.
- [46] MO Auditor Velda City 2011, p. 2.
- [47] Financial Document filed with MO Auditor 2011, p. 2.
- [48] Financial Document filed with MO Auditor 2011, p. 2.
- [49] MO Auditor Vinita Terrace 2013, p. 1 (General and Court Funds).
- [50] Population figures from U.S. Census Bureau.
- [51] MO State Courts Administrator, Table 94 Municipal Division, FY2013 Net Collections/Disbursements. Aggregate of Fines, Clerk/Court Fees, POST Fund Surcharge, CVC Fund Surcharge, LET Fund Surcharge, Dom Violence Shelter Surcharge, and Inmate Security Fund Surcharge Available at: <https://www.courts.mo.gov/file.jsp?id=68844>.
- [52] Ballwin 2013 Financial Report pg 17.
- [53] 2007 Financial Report to Auditor pg 2.
- [54] Bel-Ridge 2012 Financial Report pg 7.
- [55] Bella Villa 2013 Financial Statement pg 11.
- [56] Bellefontaine Neighbors 2013 Financial Report pg 13.
- [57] Bellerive 2013 Auditors Report.

- [58] Berkeley 2013 CAFR pg 16.
- [59] Beverly Hills 2013 Financial Report pg 5.
- [60] Black Jack 2013 Financial Report pg 14.
- [61] Breckenridge Hills 2013 Financial Report pg 14.
- [62] Brentwood 2013 CAFR pg 17.
- [63] Bridgeton 2013 CAFR pg 18.
- [64] Calverton Park 2011 Financial Statement pg 13.
- [65] Champ State Auditor Report pg 3.
- [66] Charlack 2013 Auditor Report pg 8.
- [67] Chesterfield 2013 CAFR pg 27.
- [68] Clarkson Valley 2013 Financial Statement pg 9.
- [69] Clayton 2013 CAFR pg 18.
- [70] Cool Valley 2013 Financial Report pg 14.
- [71] Country Club Hills Financial Statements pg 7.
- [72] Country Life Acres 2013 State Auditor Report pg 3.
- [73] Crestwood 2011 Financial Report pg 13.
- [74] Creve Coeur 2013 CAFR pg 18.
- [75] Crystal Lake Park 2013 Financial Report pg 13.
- [76] Dellwood 2013 Financial Statement to Auditor.
- [77] Des Peres 2013 CAFR pg 19.
- [78] Edmundson 2013 Financial Statements pg 12.
- [79] Ellisville 2013 CAFR pg 13.
- [80] Eureka 2013 Financial Statement pg 14.
- [81] Fenton 2013 Financial Statements pg 18.
- [82] Ferguson 2013 CAFR pg 16.
- [83] Flordell Hills 2013 Profit and Loss pg 1.
- [84] Florissant 2013 Financial Report pg 18.
- [85] Frontenac 2013 Financial Report pg 15.
- [86] Glen Echo 2013 Report to State Auditor (2012 Actuals)
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- [87] Glendale 2013 Financial Statements pg 17.
- [88] Grantwood Village 2013 Report to State Auditor pg 3.
- [89] Green Park 2012 Financial Statements pg 13.
- [90] Greendale 2013 Financial Statements pg 14.
- [91] Hanley Hills 2010 Financial Report to State Auditor pg 3.
- [92] Hazelwood 2013 CAFR pg 16.
- [93] Hillsdale 2013-2014 Report to State Auditor pg 1.

- [94] Huntleigh 2012 Receipts and Disbursements pg 1.
- [95] Jennings 2013 Financial Statements pg 16.
- [96] Kinloch 2011 Statement to State Auditor.
- [97] Kirkwood 2013 CAFR pg 22.
- [98] Ladue 2013 Financial Statement pg 15.
- [99] Lakeshire 2013 Financial Statements pg 16.
- [100] Mackenzie 2013 Statement of Fund Balance pg 1.
- [101] Manchester 2013 Financial Statements pg 16.
- [102] Maplewood 2012 CAFR pg 20.
- [103] Marlborough 2013 Report to State Auditor pg 3.
- [104] Maryland Heights 2013 CAFR pg 22.
- [105] Moline Acres 2013 Financial Statements pg 11.
- [106] Normandy 2013 Financial Statements pg 3.
- [107] Northwoods 2013 Financial Statements pg 14.
- [108] Norwood Court 2013 Financial Report pg 9.
- [109] Oakland 20112 Financial Statements pg 11.
- [110] Olivette 2013 Financial Statements pg 8.
- [111] Overland 2012 Financial Statements pg 8 .
- [112] Pacific 2013 Financial Statements pg 18.
- [113] Pagedale 2012 Report to State Auditor pg 8.
- [114] MO Auditor Pasadena Hills 2013, p. 3.
- [115] MO Auditor Pasadena Park 2011, p. 2.
- [116] MO Auditor Pine Lawn 2013, p. 3.
- [117] MO Auditor Richmond Heights 2013, p. 19.
- [118] MO Auditor Riverview 2012, p. 12.
- [119] MO Auditor Rock Hill 2013, p. 17.
- [120] MO Auditor St. Ann 2013, p. 13.
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- [122] MO Auditor St. Louis City 2012, p. 23.
- [123] MO Auditor Shrewsbury 2013, p. 15.
- [124] St. Louis County 2013 CAFR pg 26.
- [125] MO Auditor Sunset Hills 2013, p. 13.
- [126] Sycamore Hills 2013-2014 Budget, p. 1 .
- [127] MO Auditor Town and Country 2013, p. 24.
- [128] MO Auditor Twin Oaks 2013, p. 16.
- [129] MO Auditor University City 2013, p. 20.
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- [135] MO Auditor Vinita Terrace 2013, p. 1 (General and Court Funds).
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- [137] MO Auditor Webster Groves 2013, p. 18.
- [138] MO Auditor Wellston 2012, p. 1.
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- [140] MO Auditor Wildwood 2013, p. 20.
- [141] MO Auditor Winchester 2013, p. 11.
- [142] MO Auditor Woodson Terrace 2013, p. 16.
- [143] MO State Courts Administrator, Table 94 Municipal Division, FY2013 Net Collections/Disbursements. Aggregate of Fines, Clerk/Court Fees, POST Fund Surcharge, CVC Fund Surcharge, LET Fund Surcharge, Dom Violence Shelter Surcharge, and Inmate Security Fund Surcharge Available at: <https://www.courts.mo.gov/file.jsp?id=68844>.
- [144] Ballwin 2013 CAFR pg 39.
- [145] Bel-Nor 2011 Financial Report pg 24.
- [146] Bel-Ridge 2012 Financial Report pg 7.
- [147] Bella Villa Audited Financials 2013 pg 5.
- [148] Bellefontaine Neighbors 2013 CAFR pg. 7.
- [149] Bellerive 2013 Budget (Court costs, statutory court cost disbursement, and legal fees).
- [150] Berkely 2013 CAFR pg. 44.
- [151] Blackjack 2013 CAFR pg 7.
- [152] Breckenridge Hills 2013 pg. 4.
- [153] Brentwood 2013 CAFR pg 9.
- [154] Bridgeton 2013 CAFR pg 48.
- [155] Calverton Park 2011 Financial Statement pg 6.
- [156] Champ 2013 Budget.
- [157] Chesterfield 2013 CAFR pg 27.
- [158] Clarkson Valley 2013 Financial Statement pg 9.
- [159] Clayton 2013 CAFR pg. 52.
- [160] Cool Valley 2013 Financial Report pg 7.
- [161] Country Club Hills 2012 pg 7.
- [162] Country Life Acres 2013 Budget.
- [163] Crestwood 2012 CAFR pg 5.
- [164] Creve Coeur 2013 CAFR pg 54.

- [165] Dellwood 2013 Financial Statement to Auditor.
- [166] Des Peres 2014 Budget pg 11.
- [167] Edmundson 2013 Financial Statements pg 6.
- [168] Ellisville 2013 CAFR pg 5.
- [169] Eureka 2013 CAFR pg 38 (Legal and Professional fees + Jail costs).
- [170] Fenton 2014 Budget pg 20.
- [171] Ferguson 2013 CAFR pg 48.
- [172] Flordell Hills 2013 Profit & Loss Budget pg 2.
- [173] Florissant 2013 CAFR pg 45.
- [174] Frontenac 2013 Financial Report pg 7.
- [175] Glendale 2013 Financial Statements pg 7.
- [176] Grantwood Village 2013 Report to State Auditor pg 4.
- [177] Green Park 2013 Budget Schedule pg 2.
- [178] Greendale 2012 CAFR pg 13.
- [179] Hanley Hills 2012-2013 Budget pg 3.
- [180] Hillsdale 2013-2014 Budget pg 2 (Jail costs).
- [181] Jennings 2013 CAFR pg 43.
- [182] Kirkwood 2012-2013 General Budget Summary pg 2.
- [183] Ladue 2012 CAFR pg 15.
- [184] Lakeshire 2014 Budget Worksheet.
- [185] Manchester 2013 CAFR pg 6.
- [186] Maplewood 2014 Budget ppg 30-31 (legal fees less City Attorney fees).
- [187] Marlborough 2013 Budget pg 2.
- [188] Maryland Heights 2013 CAFR pg 9.
- [189] Moline Acres 2013 Financial Statements pg 6.
- [190] Normandy 2012-2013 Budget pg 27 (Legal fees minus City Attorney Salary).
- [191] Northwoods 2013 Financial Statements pg 7.
- [192] Norwood Court 2012-2013 Budget pg 8.
- [193] Oakland 20112 Financial Statements pg 5.
- [194] Olivette Table and Org Summary pg 22 (Legal Services).
- [195] Overland 2012 CAFR pg 8.
- [196] Pagedale 2011-2012 Audited Financial Report pg 8.
- [197] Pasadena Hills 2013 Budget pg 2.
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- [199] MO Auditor Pine Lawn 2013, p. 4.
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- [203] St. Louis City 2012 CAFR pg 125.
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- [205] Sunset Hills 2013 Audited Financials pg 13.
- [206] Sycamore Hills 2012-2013 MO Local Governments Financial Statement pg 4.
- [207] Town and Country 2013 Financial Report pg 42.
- [208] Twin Oaks 2012 CAFR pg 8.
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- [211] MO Auditor Valley Park 2013, p. 11.
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- [214] Vinita Park 2013 Audited Financial pg 6.
- [215] MO Auditor Vinita Terrace 2013, p. 3.
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- [217] Webster Groves 2013 CAFR pg 46.
- [218] Frontenac Intergovernmental Agreements PDF pg 12, contract pg 3.
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- [223] Population figures from U.S. Census Bureau.
- [224] Ballwin 2013 Financial Report pg 17.
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- [273] Manchester 2013 Financial Statements pg 16.

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[313] MO Auditor Winchester 2013, p. 11.

[314] MO Auditor Woodson Terrace 2013, p. 16.

[315] Information obtained from municipal websites and phone conversations..

[316] <http://www.courts.mo.gov/file.jsp?id=68842>.

[317] The woman on the phone would not answer and then transferred me to a full voicemail box .



Public Safety – Municipal Courts Judges and Prosecutors Addendum

October 2014

MUNICIPAL JUDGES & PROSECUTORS

Compensation and Impartiality

According to Missouri state statute, any city, town, or village can make decisions regarding the judge who presides over the municipality and makes decisions regarding all violations.¹ This statute is also explicit in stating that a judge in one municipality is not restricted from being a judge in another municipality.² The salaries of all municipal judges are to be paid by the municipality.³ Similarly, prosecutors are selected, hired, and directly paid by each municipality.⁴

There is a provision in state law prohibiting a municipal judge's or prosecutor's compensation from being dependent in any way on caseload or fines. The current structure for hiring and paying municipal court judges and prosecutors leaves itself open to criticism. At the very least, it's an unsettling idea that a part-time municipal judge and prosecutor would be hired and paid more than \$50,000 each in a municipality that is reliant on revenue from fines and fees for a significant portion of its general revenue.⁵ This practice contributes to distrust in a system that already draws questions from residents. Further, it perpetuates some citizens' perception that certain courts exist not to ensure justice and safety, but rather as revenue generators for struggling municipalities. Ultimately, it calls into question the overall integrity of these courts and unduly strains the trust of citizens in their local governments.

Citizens' faith could be strengthened by distancing the judges and prosecutors from any direct incentives, perceived or actual, to bring in as much revenue as possible. One practice would be to have the presiding judge of the circuit play a role in appointing judges for each municipality. This would place distance between the municipality paying the municipal judge and the person responsible for the judge's hiring, review, and retention. Another option would be to remove the direct financial incentive by pooling all municipal fines for a judicial circuit, with each municipality receiving a share of the circuit pool.

Yet another benefit of appointing municipal judges at the circuit level would be a larger-scale, circuit-wide vetting and hiring process that could improve diversity among municipal judges via access to a larger pool of candidates. The most current data available for municipal judges revealed that 55 individuals filled 80 municipal judge positions. Of these 55 individuals, only 5 are black, and only 6 are female.⁶ As Table 9 below demonstrates, the judiciary in many municipalities does not reflect the demographics of the community.

The lack of diversity is not unique to the judiciary in the municipal court. It is present in the prosecutorial pool, as well. Of the 80 prosecutor positions in St. Louis County municipalities, only 7 prosecutors are black, and only 9 are female.⁷ As with the judiciary, this can lead to a

¹ RSMO 479.020.1

² RSMO 479.020.2

³ RSMO 479.060.1

⁴ RSMO 479.120

⁵ City of Florissant, Missouri Adopted Budget 2014

⁶ See Table 9 in Appendix

⁷ See Table 10 in Appendix

problem of perception, at the very least. Many prosecutors do not reflect the demographics of their community and the citizens with whom they interact.

This study does not contend that the attorneys serving as judges and prosecutors in these municipalities are biased or unprofessional. However, perception matters greatly in the justice system. The fact that at least 14 municipalities with a majority black population have both a white municipal judge and a white prosecutor, hired by the municipality that stands to gain revenue from the fines, leaves the municipal court system open to criticism.⁸ Having a circuit-wide hiring process and pool would allow for an emphasis on diversity and allow the municipal court system to better reflect the community it is designed to serve.

A larger-scale effort to recruit and hire diverse candidates from around the region would also go a long way in addressing the overlap that occurs throughout the municipal court system. As Tables 12 and 13 below demonstrate, there are several types of overlap in the current system, including⁹:

- Attorneys serving as a prosecutor in a municipality and a judge in a neighboring municipality
- Attorneys serving as a judge in multiple municipalities
- Attorneys serving as a prosecutor in multiple municipalities
- A firm that serves as prosecutor or judge in 10 different municipalities

This crossover creates a system that can result in favor-trading among attorneys, as they appear in front of each other or work in close proximity. Whether this is true in practice, the current structure leaves itself open to criticism and needs to be addressed.

In addition to serving as a municipal prosecutor and/or judge, some attorneys also work as defense lawyers.¹⁰ It is understandable that citizens would be skeptical about attorneys pulling this sort of “double duty” within the system.

Given the overwhelming oversight issues in the municipal courts, as well as the relatively insular community that appears to be operating the municipal courts in our region, reforms should be adopted.

One possible best practice, utilized in New York, prohibits a part-time judge from practicing law in the county in which his or her court is located.¹¹ The law further prohibits the partners or associates of the part-time judge from practicing law in a court in which he or she is a judge.¹² New York is not unique in establishing protections against perceived or actual bias. Colorado prohibits a part-time judge from practicing law in “any comparable level courts in the same judicial district as the judge serves.”¹³ Thus, a judge can only serve as a part-time judge in one

⁸ See Table 11 in Appendix

⁹ See Tables 12 and 13 in Appendix

¹⁰ See Figures 3 – 5 in Appendix

¹¹ 22 NYCRR 100.6(B)(2)

¹² 22 NYCRR 100.6(B)(3)

¹³ Colorado Code of Judicial Conduct Chapter 24 III

court in a judicial district. Ohio goes even further and bars a part-time judge from practicing law in any court subject to the appellate jurisdiction of the court in which the judge serves.¹⁴ Nevada also follows this rule.¹⁵ Finally, the National District Attorneys Association provides in its model rules that “part-time prosecutors should not represent persons in criminal matters in other jurisdictions. This is because of the potential for conflicts with his or her duties as a prosecutor and because of the perception that such representation would decrease his or her dedication to the performance of prosecutorial functions.”¹⁶

In essence, these rules would bar municipal judges from practicing in the same Missouri judicial circuit in which they serve and also discourage prosecutors from operating on the other side of the aisle. These reforms would provide necessary safeguards in a municipal court system that is insulated and lacks the appropriate staffing for proper oversight.¹⁷

The current municipal court system should analyze and implement reforms that would address the need to cap the fines and fees collected, protect the rights of the citizens, preserve the integrity of the courts, and restore public confidence in them. It is the goal of this report to foster discussion around potential municipal-court best practices and reforms moving forward.

To read the initial Better Together report on municipal courts, visit: <http://www.bettertogetherstl.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/BT-Municipal-Courts-Report-Full-Report1.pdf>.

¹⁴ Ohio Code of Judicial Conduct 2009 III(B)

¹⁵ NV ST S CT Code of Judicial Conduct Part VI Application (III)(c)

¹⁶ National District Attorneys Association -National Prosecution Standards, Third Edition. Part I: General Standards: <http://www.ndaa.org/pdf/NDAA%20NPS%203rd%20Ed.%20w%20Revised%20Commentary.pdf>

¹⁷ For more information on municipal court oversight, see the Better Together initial report on Municipal Courts. Available at: <http://www.bettertogetherstl.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/BT-Municipal-Courts-Report-Full-Report1.pdf>

Figure 3

MUNICIPAL JUDGE

City of Ladue, Missouri (2006 – present)

PROSECUTING ATTORNEY

City of Town and Country, Missouri (1994 – 2011)

City of St. Ann, Missouri (1999 – present)

City of Frontenac, Missouri (2005 – present)

City of Hazelwood, Missouri (1999 – 2005)

City of Normandy, Missouri (2012 - present)

PRACTICE AREAS

Civil Litigation and Appeals

Criminal and Traffic Matters

Local Government Law

Personal Injury, Malpractice and Workers' Compensation

Figure 4

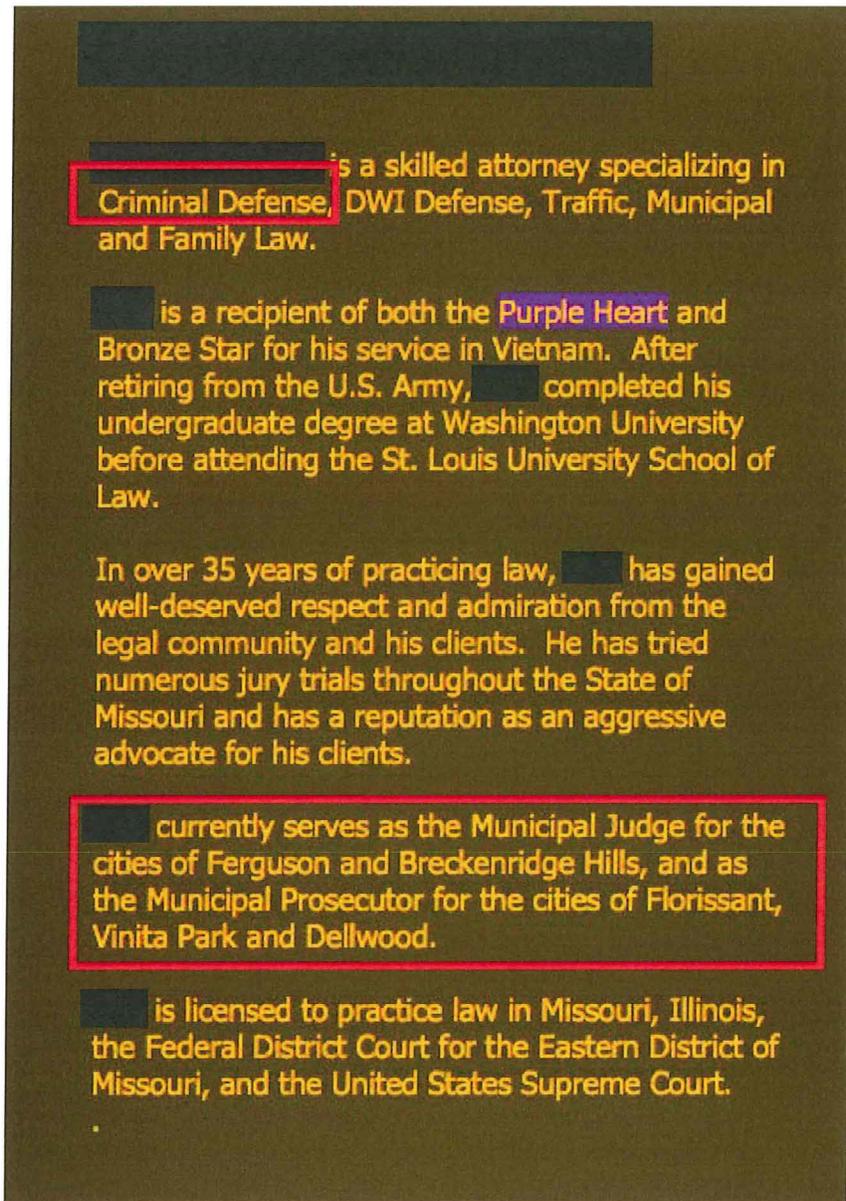
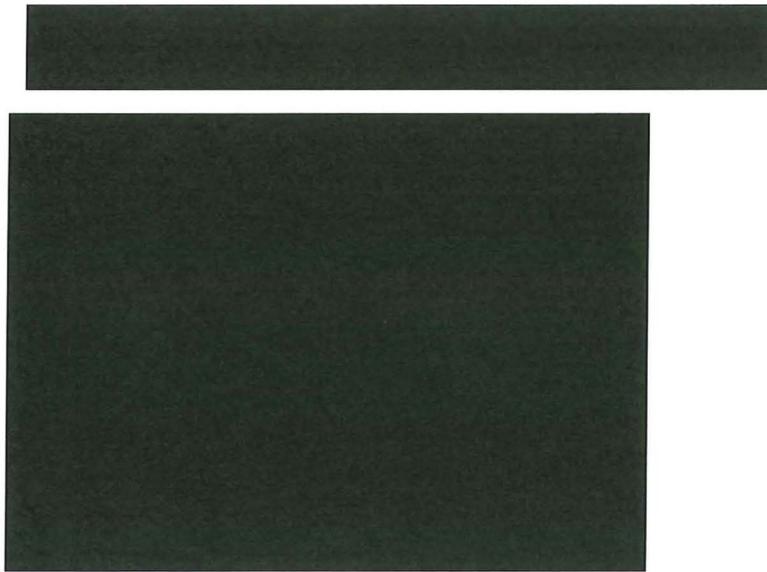


Figure 5



A life-long resident of St. Louis, [REDACTED] is licensed to practice law in both Missouri and Illinois. He received his law degree from Southwest Missouri State University and his law degree from St. Louis University in 1992. For the past 20 years, he has represented clients in a variety of areas including medical malpractice, products liability, workers' compensation, personal injury accidents, and employment discrimination. He has also handled numerous criminal and traffic cases in the St. Louis metropolitan area. [REDACTED] serves as the Prosecuting Attorney for the cities of Chesterfield, Des Peres and as the prosecutor for the City of Wildwood and the Municipal Judge for the Town of Augusta.

MUNICIPALITY	TOTAL POPULATION [1]	% POP. BLACK	JUDGE NAME	JUDGE GENDER	JUDGE RACE
BALLWIN	30,404	2.46%	Virginia Nye	Female	N/A
BEL-NOR	1,499	46.43%	Sean O'Hagan	Male [2]	White [3]
BEL-RIDGE	2,737	83.12%	Thomas Flach	Male	White [4]
BELLA VILLA	729	1.51%	William Buchholz	Male [5]	White [6]
BELLEFONTAINE	10,860	72.67%	Mark Haywood	Male [7]	White [8]
BELLERIVE	188	43.09%	Charles Kirksey	Male [9]	Black [10]
BERKELEY	8,978	81.82%	Jennifer Fisher	Female	Black [11]
BEVERLY HILLS	574	92.68%	Brian Dunlop	Male [12]	White [13]
BLACK JACK	6,929	81.21%	John Duepner	Male [14]	White [15]
BRECKENRIDGE HILLS	4,746	32.70%	Ronald Brockmeyer	Male [16]	White [17]
BRENTWOOD	8,055	3.10%	Ernest Hill	Male [18]	White [19]
BRIDGETON	11,550	18.72%	Joseph Larrew	Male	White [20]
CALVERTON PARK	1,293	42.23%	Phillip Ayers	Male [21]	White [22]
CHAMP	13	0.00%	No Municipal Court	N/A	N/A
CHARLACK	1,363	35.44%	William Buchholz	Male [23]	White [24]
CHESTERFIELD	47,484	2.65%	Richard Brunk	Male [25]	White [26]
CLARKSON VALLEY	2,632	1.48%	April Porter	Female	N/A
CLAYTON	15,939	8.19%	Peter J. Krane	Male	White [27]
COOL VALLEY	1,196	84.53%	Kevin Kelly	Male	White [28]
COUNTRY CLUB HILLS	16,541	87.13%	William Buchholz	Male [29]	White [30]
COUNTRY LIFE ACRES	74	0.00%	William Buchholz	Male [31]	White [32]
CRESTWOOD	11,912	1.60%	John Newsham	Male [33]	White [34]
CREVE COEUR	17,833	7.17%	Tim Engelmeyer	Male	White [35]
CRYSTAL LAKE PARK	470	2.77%	No Municipal Court	-----	-----
DELLWOOD	5,025	79.16%	Anthony Gray	Male	Black [36]
DES PERES	8,373	0.94%	Charles Billings	Male	White [37]
EDMUNDSON	834	26.38%	Sam J. Alton	Male	White [38]
ELLISVILLE	9,133	1.89%	Donald Anderson	Male [39]	White [40]
EUREKA	10,189	0.81%	Rick Berry	Male	White [41]
FENTON	4,022	0.37%	Charles Billings	Male	White [42]
FERGUSON	21,203	67.43%	Ronald Brockmeyer	Male [43]	White [44]
FLORDELL HILLS	822	90.75%	Marc Burstein	Male	N/A
FLORISSANT	52,158	26.76%	Dan Boyle	Male [45]	White [46]
FRONTENAC	3,482	2.64%	Andrea Niehoff	Female	White [47]
GLEN ECHO PARK	160	91.88%	Brian Dunlop	Male [48]	White [49]
GLENDALE	5,925	0.74%	William Burnet	Male [50]	White [51]
GRANTWOOD VILLAGE	863	0.58%	Timothy Devereaux	Male [52]	White [53]
GREEN PARK	2,622	1.37%	No Municipal Court	-----	-----
GREENDALE	651	68.51%	Donnell Smith	Male [54]	Black [55]
HANELY HILLS	2,101	85.29%	Steve Clark	Male	White [56]
HAZELWOOD	25,703	30.48%	Kevin Kelly	Male	White [57]
HILLSDALE	1,478	95.94%	Phillip Dennis	Male [58]	White [59]
HUNTLEIGH	334	0.90%	No Municipal Court	-----	-----
JENNINGS	14,712	89.79%	John Duepner	Male [60]	White [61]
KINLOCH	298	94.63%	Charles Kirksey	Male [62]	Black [63]
KIRKWOOD	27,540	7.00%	Stephen O'Brien	Male [64]	White [65]
LADUE	8,521	0.99%	Keith Cheung	Male	Asian [66]

MUNICIPALITY	TOTAL POPULATION [1]	% POP. BLACK	JUDGE NAME	JUDGE GENDER	JUDGE RACE
LAKESHIRE	1,432	2.86%	Neil Bruntrager	Male	White [67]
MACKENZIE	134	0.00%	Richard Bumb	Male [68]	White [69]
MANCHESTER	18,094	3.12%	Michael Gunn	Male	White [70]
MAPLEWOOD	8,046	17.20%	Brian Dunlop	Male [71]	White [72]
MARLBOROUGH	729	1.51%	No Municipal Court	-----	-----
MARYLAND HEIGHTS	27,472	11.87%	Kevin Kelly	Male	White [73]
MOLINE ACRES	2,442	92.10%	Jennifer Fisher	Female	Black [74]
NORMANDY	5,008	69.75%	Charles Kirksey	Male [75]	Black [76]
NORTHWOODS	4,227	93.94%	Raphael Morris	Male	Black [77]
NORWOOD COURT	959	94.16%	No Municipal Court	-----	-----
OAKLAND	1,381	2.17%	Paul Hunker	Male	N/A
OLIVETTE	7,737	23.89%	Paul D'Argrosa	Male	White [78]
OVERLAND	16,062	16.36%	Charles Billings	Male [79]	White [80]
PACIFIC	7,002	8.43%	Ronald Reed	Male	N/A
PAGEDALE	3,304	93.43%	Mark Kruger	Male [81]	White [82]
PASADENA HILLS	930	68.28%	Daniel Hayes	Male	N/A
PASADENA PARK	470	60.64%	Daniel Chartrand	Male [83]	White [84]
PINE LAWN	3,275	96.40%	Dean Plocher	Male	White [85]
RICHMOND HEIGHTS	8,603	11.65%	Stephen O'Brien	Male [86]	White [87]
RIVERVIEW	2,856	69.89%	Christopher McDonough	Male	N/A
ROCK HILL	4,635	22.96%	Mark Levitt	Male [88]	White [89]
SAINT ANN	13,020	22.11%	Neil Bruntrager	Male [90]	White [91]
SAINT JOHN	6,517	24.29%	William Buchholz	Male [92]	White [93]
SAINT LOUIS	319,294	49.22%	Multiple Judges	N/A	N/A
SHREWSBURY	6,254	3.61%	Dennis Beckley	Male [94]	White [95]
STL COUNTY (INCLUDING ALL MUNIS)	998,954	23.33%	Multiple Judges	-----	-----
SUNSET HILLS	8,496	1.52%	Laird Hetlage	Male [96]	White [97]
SYCAMORE HILLS	668	12.28%	Dennis Beckley	Male [98]	White [99]
TOWN AND COUNTRY	10,815	2.59%	Dean Waldermer	Male [100]	White [101]
TWIN OAKS	392	0.77%	No Municipal Court	-----	-----
UNIVERSITY CITY	35,371	41.09%	Lynn Ricci	Female [102]	White [103]
UPLANDS PARK	445	96.40%	Phillip Ayers	Male [104]	White [105]
VALLEY PARK	6,942	3.96%	Steve Clark	Male	White [106]
VELDA CITY	1,420	95.42%	Raphael Morris	Male	Black [107]
VELDA VILLAGE HILLS	1,055	98.48%	Thomas Flach	Male	White [108]
VINITA PARK	1,880	64.89%	Ronald Brockmeyer and Daniel Chartrand	Male/Male [109]	White [110]
VINITA TERRACE	277	72.92%	Daniel Chartrand	Male [111]	White [112]
WARSON WOODS	1,962	0.46%	John P. Lord III	Male [113]	White [114]
WEBSTER GROVES	22,995	6.62%	James Whitney	Male [115]	White [116]
WELLSTON	2,313	95.42%	Anthony Gray	Male	Black [117]
WESTWOOD	278	2.16%	No Municipal Court	-----	-----
WILBUR PARK	471	0.21%	No Municipal Court	-----	-----
WILDWOOD	35,517	1.66%	Richard Brunk	Male [118]	White [119]
WINCHESTER	1,547	1.23%	Daniel Bruntrager	Male	White [120]
WOODSON TERRACE	4,063	20.77%	Kelly Clarkin	Female [121]	White [122]

MUNICIPALITY	TOTAL POPULATION [123]	% POP. BLACK	PROSECUTOR NAME	PROSECUTOR GENDER	PROSECUTOR RACE
BALLWIN	30,404	2.46%	Christopher Graville	Male [124]	White [125]
BEL-NOR	1,499	46.43%	Stephanie Karr	Female [126]	White [127]
BEL-RIDGE	2,737	83.12%	Michael McAvoy	Male [128]	White [129]
BELLA VILLA	729	1.51%	Doug Sidel	Male [130]	White [131]
BELLEFONTAINE	10,860	72.67%	Wiliam J. Clark	Male [132]	Black [133]
BELLERIVE	188	43.09%	Keith Cheung	Male [134]	Asian - Other
BERKELEY	8,978	81.82%	Donnell Smith	Male [136]	Black [137]
BEVERLY HILLS	574	92.68%	Stuart L. O'Brien	Male [138]	White [139]
BLACK JACK	6,929	81.21%	Dan Gardner	Male	N/A
BRECKENRIDGE HILLS	4,746	32.70%	Thomas Spoon	Male [140]	White [141]
BRENTWOOD	8,055	3.10%	Michael Shelton	Male [142]	White [143]
BRIDGETON	11,550	18.72%	Rob Schultz	Male [144]	White [145]
CALVERTON PARK	1,293	42.23%	Carl Kohnen	Male [146]	White [147]
CHAMP	13	0.00%	No Municipal Court	-----	-----
CHARLACK	1,363	35.44%	Stephen Cantonwine	Male [148]	White [149]
CHESTERFIELD	47,484	2.65%	Timothy Engelmeyer	Male [150]	White [151]
CLARKSON VALLEY	2,632	1.48%	Christopher Graville	Male [152]	White [153]
CLAYTON	15,939	8.19%	David Crotzer	Male [154]	White [155]
COOL VALLEY	1,196	84.53%	Scott Pollard [156]	Male [157]	White [158]
COUNTRY CLUB HILLS	16,541	87.13%	Steven Clark	Male [159]	White [160]
COUNTRY LIFE ACRES	74	0.00%	No Municipal Court	-----	-----
CRESTWOOD	11,912	1.60%	Sheena Hamilton	Female [161]	Black [162]
CREVE COEUR	17,833	7.17%	Dennis Beckley	Male [163]	White [164]
CRYSTAL LAKE PARK	470	2.77%	Contracts w/Frontenac	-----	-----
DELLWOOD	5,025	79.16%	Ronald Brockmeyer	Male [165]	White [166]
DES PERES	8,373	0.94%	Timothy Engelmeyer	Male [167]	White [168]
EDMUNDSON	834	26.38%	John Miller	Male [169]	White [170]
ELLISVILLE	9,133	1.89%	George Restovich	Male [171]	White [172]
EUREKA	10,189	0.81%	Katherine Butler	Female [173]	White [174]
FENTON	4,022	0.37%	Christopher Graville	Male [175]	White [176]
FERGUSON	21,203	67.43%	Stephanie Karr	Female [177]	White [178]
FLORELL HILLS	822	90.75%	Jeffrey Duke	Male [179]	White [180]
FLORISSANT	52,158	26.76%	Ronald Brockmeyer	Male [181]	White [182]
FRONTENAC	3,482	2.64%	Keith Cheung	Male [183]	Asian-Other [184]
GLEN ECHO PARK	160	91.88%	Stuart O'Brien	Male [185]	White [186]
GLENDALE	5,925	0.74%	Edward McSweeney	Male [187]	White [188]
GRANTWOOD VILLAGE	863	0.58%	Jeffrey Duke	Male [189]	White [190]
GREEN PARK	2,622	1.37%	No Muncipal Court	-----	-----
GREENDALE	651	68.51%	Phillip Ayers	Male	White
HANELY HILLS	2,101	85.29%	Steven Fluhr	Male [191]	White [192]
HAZELWOOD	25,703	30.48%	Stephanie Karr	Female [193]	White [194]
HILLSDALE	1,478	95.94%	Alan Baker	Male [195]	White [196]

MUNICIPALITY	TOTAL POPULATION [123]	% POP. BLACK	PROSECUTOR NAME	PROSECUTOR GENDER	PROSECUTOR RACE
HUNTLEIGH	334	0.90%	No Municipal Court	-----	-----
JENNINGS	14,712	89.79%	Ethan Corlija	Male [197]	White [198]
KINLOCH	298	94.63%	Lee Goodman	Male [199]	Black [200]
KIRKWOOD	27,540	7.00%	Jacqueline Graves	Female [201]	White [202]
LADUE	8,521	0.99%	James Towey (also Ge Missouri Fraternal Or	Male [204]	White [205]
LAKESHIRE	1,432	2.86%	Jennifer Deschamp	Female [206]	White [207]
MACKENZIE	134	0.00%	Contracts out to Shrew	-----	-----
MANCHESTER	18,094	3.12%	Mark Levitt	Male [208]	White [209]
MAPLEWOOD	8,046	17.20%	Doug Sidel	Male [210]	White [211]
MARLBOROUGH	729	1.51%	Michael Shelton	Male [212]	White [213]
MARYLAND HEIGHTS	27,472	11.87%	Deann Outlaw	Female [214]	White [215]
MOLINE ACRES	2,442	92.10%	Ed Sluys	Male [216]	White [217]
NORMANDY	5,008	69.75%	Keith Cheung	Male [218]	Asian-Other [219]
NORTHWOODS	4,227	93.94%	Lee Goodman	Male [220]	Black [221]
NORWOOD COURT	959	94.16%	No Municipal Court	-----	-----
OAKLAND	1,381	2.17%	Deborah LeMoine	Female [222]	White [223]
OLIVETTE	7,737	23.89%	Steven Fluhr	Male [224]	White [225]
OVERLAND	16,062	16.36%	Christopher Graville	Male [226]	White [227]
PACIFIC	7,002	8.43%	Dan Vogel [228]	Male [229]	White [230]
PAGEDALE	3,304	93.43%	Greg Allsberry	Male [231]	White [232]
PASADENA HILLS	930	68.28%	Thomas Gilliam	Male	N/A
PASADENA PARK	470	60.64%	Mark Haywood	Male [233]	White [234]
PINE LAWN	3,275	96.40%	Rufus Tate	Male [235]	Black [236]
RICHMOND HEIGHTS	8,603	11.65%	John Lally	Male [237]	White [238]
RIVERVIEW	2,856	69.89%	Wesley Bell	Male [239]	Black [240]
ROCK HILL	4,635	22.96%	Stephan Jianakoplos	Male [241]	White [242]
SAINT ANN	13,020	22.11%	Joseph Westhus	Male [243]	White [244]
SAINT JOHN	6,517	24.29%	Steven Garrett and Keith Cheung	Male/Male [245]	White/Asian-Other [246]
SAINT LOUIS	319,294	49.22%	Multiple Prosecutors	-----	-----
SHREWSBURY	6,254	3.61%	Joseph Westhus	Male [247]	White [248]
STL COUNTY (INCLUDING ALL MUNIS)	998,954	23.33%	Multiple Prosecutors	-----	-----
SUNSET HILLS	8,496	1.52%	Robert Jones	Male [249]	White [250]
SYCAMORE HILLS	668	12.28%	Contract out to St. Joh	-----	-----
TOWN AND COUNTRY	10,815	2.59%	Brian Malone	Male [251]	White [252]
TWIN OAKS	392	0.77%	No Municipal Court	-----	-----
UNIVERSITY CITY	35,371	41.09%	Cindy Ormsby	Female [253]	White [254]
UPLANDS PARK	445	96.40%	Sharhonda Shahid	Female [255]	Black [256]
VALLEY PARK	6,942	3.96%	Timothy Engelmeier	Male [257]	White [258]
VELDA CITY	1,420	95.42%	J. Patrick Chassaing	Male [259]	White [260]
VELDA VILLAGE HILLS	1,055	98.48%	Steven Clark	Male [261]	White [262]
VINITA PARK	1,880	64.89%	Ronald Brockmeyer	Male [263]	White [264]

MUNICIPALITY	TOTAL POPULATION [123]	% POP. BLACK	PROSECUTOR NAME	PROSECUTOR GENDER	PROSECUTOR RACE
VINITA TERRACE	277	72.92%	Marc Kramer	Male [265]	White [266]
WARSON WOODS	1,962	0.46%	David L. Pentland	Male	
WEBSTER GROVES	22,995	6.62%	Deborah LeMoine	Female [267]	N/A
WELLSTON	2,313	95.42%	Thomas Gilliam	Male	N/A
WESTWOOD	278	2.16%	No Municipal Court	-----	-----
WILBUR PARK	471	0.21%	No Municipal Court	-----	-----
WILDWOOD	35,517	1.66%	Bart Calhoun [268]	Male [269]	White [270]
WINCHESTER	1,547	1.23%	Howard Papener	Male	N/A
WOODSON TERRACE	4,063	20.77%	Brian Howe	Male [271]	White [272]

MUNICIPALITY	TOTAL POPULATION [273]	% POP. BLACK	JUDGE RACE	PROSECUTOR RACE
VELDA VILLAGE HILLS	1,055	98.48%	White [274]	White [275]
UPLANDS PARK	445	96.40%	White [276]	Black [277]
PINE LAWN	3,275	96.40%	Black [278]	Black [279]
HILLSDALE	1,478	95.94%	White [280]	White [281]
VELDA CITY	1,420	95.42%	Black [282]	White [283]
WELLSTON	2,313	95.42%	Black [284]	N/A
KINLOCH	298	94.63%	Black [285]	Black [286]
NORWOOD COURT	959	94.16%	-----	-----
NORTHWOODS	4,227	93.94%	Black [287]	Black [288]
PAGEDALE	3,304	93.43%	White [289]	White [290]
BEVERLY HILLS	574	92.68%	White [291]	White [292]
MOLINE ACRES	2,442	92.10%	Black [293]	White [294]
GLEN ECHO PARK	160	91.88%	White [295]	White [296]
FLORDELL HILLS	822	90.75%	N/A	White [297]
JENNINGS	14,712	89.79%	White [298]	White [299]
COUNTRY CLUB HILLS	16,541	87.13%	White [300]	White [301]
HANELY HILLS	2,101	85.29%	White [302]	White [303]
COOL VALLEY	1,196	84.53%	White [304]	White [305]
BEL-RIDGE	2,737	83.12%	White [306]	White [307]
BERKELEY	8,978	81.82%	Black [308]	Black [309]
BLACK JACK	6,929	81.21%	White [310]	N/A
DELLWOOD	5,025	79.16%	Black [311]	White [312]
VINITA TERRACE	277	72.92%	White [313]	White [314]
BELLEFONTAINE	10,860	72.67%	White [315]	Black [316]
RIVERVIEW	2,856	69.89%	N/A	Black [317]
NORMANDY	5,008	69.75%	Black [318]	Asian-Other [319]
GREENDALE	651	68.51%	Black [320]	White
PASADENA HILLS	930	68.28%	N/A	N/A
FERGUSON	21,203	67.43%	White [321]	White [322]
VINITA PARK	1,880	64.89%	White [323]	White [324]
PASADENA PARK	470	60.64%	White [325]	White [326]
SAINT LOUIS	319,294	49.22%	N/A	-----
BEL-NOR	1,499	46.43%	White [327]	White [328]
BELLERIVE	188	43.09%	Black [329]	Asian - Other
CALVERTON PARK	1,293	42.23%	White [331]	White [332]
UNIVERSITY CITY	35,371	41.09%	White [333]	White [334]

MUNICIPALITY	TOTAL POPULATION [273]	% POP. BLACK	JUDGE RACE	PROSECUTOR RACE
CHARLACK	1,363	35.44%	White [335]	White [336]
BRECKENRIDGE HILLS	4,746	32.70%	White [337]	White [338]
HAZELWOOD	25,703	30.48%	White [339]	White [340]
FLORISSANT	52,158	26.76%	White [341]	White [342]
EDMUNDSON	834	26.38%	White [343]	White [344]
SAINT JOHN	6,517	24.29%	White [345]	White/Asian-Other
OLIVETTE	7,737	23.89%	White [347]	White [348]
STL COUNTY (INCLUDING ALL MUNIS)	998,954	23.33%	-----	-----
ROCK HILL	4,635	22.96%	White [349]	White [350]
SAINT ANN	13,020	22.11%	White [351]	White [352]
WOODSON TERRACE	4,063	20.77%	White [353]	White [354]
BRIDGETON	11,550	18.72%	White [355]	White [356]
MAPLEWOOD	8,046	17.20%	White [357]	White [358]
OVERLAND	16,062	16.36%	White [359]	White [360]
SYCAMORE HILLS	668	12.28%	White [361]	-----
MARYLAND HEIGHTS	27,472	11.87%	White [362]	White [363]
RICHMOND HEIGHTS	8,603	11.65%	White [364]	White [365]
PACIFIC	7,002	8.43%	N/A	White [366]
CLAYTON	15,939	8.19%	White [367]	White [368]
CREVE COEUR	17,833	7.17%	White [369]	White [370]
KIRKWOOD	27,540	7.00%	White [371]	White [372]
WEBSTER GROVES	22,995	6.62%	White [373]	N/A
VALLEY PARK	6,942	3.96%	White [374]	White [375]
SHREWSBURY	6,254	3.61%	White [376]	White [377]
MANCHESTER	18,094	3.12%	White [378]	White [379]
BRENTWOOD	8,055	3.10%	White [380]	White [381]
LAKESHIRE	1,432	2.86%	White [382]	White [383]
CRYSTAL LAKE PARK	470	2.77%	-----	-----
CHESTERFIELD	47,484	2.65%	White [384]	White [385]
FRONTENAC	3,482	2.64%	White [386]	Asian-Other [387]
TOWN AND COUNTRY	10,815	2.59%	White [388]	White [389]
BALLWIN	30,404	2.46%	N/A	White [390]
OAKLAND	1,381	2.17%	N/A	White [391]
WESTWOOD	278	2.16%	-----	-----
ELLISVILLE	9,133	1.89%	White [392]	White [393]
WILDWOOD	35,517	1.66%	White [394]	White [395]

MUNICIPALITY	TOTAL POPULATION [273]	% POP. BLACK	JUDGE RACE	PROSECUTOR RACE
CRESTWOOD	11,912	1.60%	White [396]	Black [397]
SUNSET HILLS	8,496	1.52%	White [398]	White [399]
BELLA VILLA	729	1.51%	White [400]	White [401]
MARLBOROUGH	729	1.51%	-----	White [402]
CLARKSON VALLEY	2,632	1.48%	N/A	White [403]
GREEN PARK	2,622	1.37%	-----	-----
WINCHESTER	1,547	1.23%	White [404]	N/A
LADUE	8,521	0.99%	Asian [405]	White [406]
DES PERES	8,373	0.94%	White [407]	White [408]
HUNTLEIGH	334	0.90%	-----	-----
EUREKA	10,189	0.81%	White [409]	White [410]
TWIN OAKS	392	0.77%	-----	-----
GLENDALE	5,925	0.74%	White [411]	White [412]
GRANTWOOD VILLAGE	863	0.58%	White [413]	White [414]
WARSON WOODS	1,962	0.46%	White [415]	
FENTON	4,022	0.37%	White [416]	White [417]
WILBUR PARK	471	0.21%	-----	-----
CHAMP	13	0.00%	N/A	-----
COUNTRY LIFE ACRES	74	0.00%	White [418]	-----
MACKENZIE	134	0.00%	White [419]	-----

MUNICIPALITY	JUDGE NAME	JUDGE FIRM
STL COUNTY (INCLUDING ALL MUNIS)	Multiple Judges	-----
CRYSTAL LAKE PARK	No Municipal Court	-----
GREEN PARK	No Municipal Court	-----
HUNTLEIGH	No Municipal Court	-----
MARLBOROUGH	No Municipal Court	-----
NORWOOD COURT	No Municipal Court	-----
TWIN OAKS	No Municipal Court	-----
WESTWOOD	No Municipal Court	-----
WILBUR PARK	No Municipal Court	-----
BELLERIVE	Charles Kirksey	Bell, Kirksey, & Associates [420]
KINLOCH	Charles Kirksey	Bell, Kirksey, & Associates [421]
NORMANDY	Charles Kirksey	Bell, Kirksey, & Associates [422]
FENTON	Charles Billings	Bruntrager & Billings, P.C.
OVERLAND	Charles Billings	Bruntrager & Billings, P.C.
WINCHESTER	Daniel Bruntrager	Bruntrager & Billings, P.C.
LAKESHIRE	Neil Bruntrager	Bruntrager & Billings, P.C.
SAINT ANN	Neil Bruntrager	Bruntrager & Billings, P.C.
DES PERES	Charles Billings	Bruntrager & Billings, P.C. [423]
BEL-RIDGE	Thomas Flach	Burke, Wulff, Flach, Lubert, & Briscoe [424]
VELDA VILLAGE HILLS	Thomas Flach	Burke, Wulff, Flach, Lubert, & Briscoe [425]
LADUE	Keith Cheung	Curtis, Heinz, Garrett & O'Keefe, P.C. [426]
KIRKWOOD	Stephen O'Brien	Dentons [427]
RICHMOND HEIGHTS	Stephen O'Brien	Dentons [428]
BEVERLY HILLS	Brian Dunlop	Dunlop & McCarter [429]
GLEN ECHO PARK	Brian Dunlop	Dunlop & McCarter [430]
MAPLEWOOD	Brian Dunlop	Dunlop & McCarter [431]
FRONTENAC	Andrea Niehoff	EEOC Administrative Judge [432]
CREVE COEUR	Tim Engelmeyer	Engelmeyer & Pezzani, LLC [433]
SUNSET HILLS	Laird Hetlage	Gillespie, Hetlage, & Coughlin, LLC [434]
BRIDGETON	Joseph Larrew	Hammon & Shinnars, P.C. [435]
CRESTWOOD	John Newsham	John Newsham, Attorney at Law

MUNICIPALITY	JUDGE NAME	JUDGE FIRM
DELLWOOD	Anthony Gray	Johnson Gray, LLC [436]
PINE LAWN	Anthony Gray	Johnson Gray, LLC [437]
WELLSTON	Anthony Gray	Johnson Gray, LLC [438]
SHREWSBURY	Dennis Beckley	Law Offices of Dennis Beckley [439]
SYCAMORE HILLS	Dennis Beckley	Law Offices of Dennis Beckley [440]
EUREKA	Rick Berry	Law Offices of Rick Barry, P.C. [441]
BRECKENRIDGE HILLS	Ronald Brockmeyer	Law Offices of Ronald J. Brockmeyer [442]
FERGUSON	Ronald Brockmeyer	Law Offices of Ronald J. Brockmeyer
VINITA PARK	Ronald Brockmeyer and Daniel Chartrand	Law Offices of Ronald J. Brockmeyer [443]
BERKELEY	Jennifer Fisher	MacArthur Moten P.C. [444]
MOLINE ACRES	Jennifer Fisher	MacArthur Moten P.C. [445]
BELLEFONTAINE	Mark Haywood	Mark F. Haywood, LLC [446]
WEBSTER GROVES	James Whitney	Menees, Whitney, Burnet, & Trog [447]
CLARKSON VALLEY	April Porter	N/A
RIVERVIEW	Christopher McDonough	N/A
FLORISSANT	Dan Boyle	N/A
PASADENA HILLS	Daniel Hayes	N/A
TOWN AND COUNTRY	Dean Waldermer	N/A
ELLISVILLE	Donald Anderson	N/A
BRENTWOOD	Ernest Hill	N/A
BLACK JACK	John Duepner	N/A
JENNINGS	John Duepner	N/A
WOODSON TERRACE	Kelly Clarkin	N/A
COOL VALLEY	Kevin Kelly	N/A
HAZELWOOD	Kevin Kelly	N/A
MARYLAND HEIGHTS	Kevin Kelly	N/A
FLORDELL HILLS	Marc Burstein	N/A
PAGEDALE	Mark Kruger	N/A
ROCK HILL	Mark Levitt	N/A
SAINT LOUIS	Multiple Judges	N/A
CHAMP	No Court	N/A
OAKLAND	Paul Hunker	N/A
CLAYTON	Peter J. Krane	N/A
CALVERTON PARK	Phillip Ayers	N/A

MUNICIPALITY	JUDGE NAME	JUDGE FIRM
UPLANDS PARK	Phillip Ayers	N/A
HILLSDALE	Phillip Dennis	N/A
CHESTERFIELD	Richard Brunk	N/A
WILDWOOD	Richard Brunk	N/A
MACKENZIE	Richard Bumb	N/A
PACIFIC	Ronald Reed	N/A
VALLEY PARK	Steve Clark	N/A
HANELY HILLS	Steve Clark	N/A
GRANTWOOD VILLAGE	Timothy Devereaux	N/A
BALLWIN	Virginia Nye	N/A
GLENDALE	William Burnet	N/A
UNIVERSITY CITY	Lynn Ricci	Ricci Law Group [448]
GREENDALE	Donnell Smith	Smith & Associates, LLC [449]
BEL-NOR	Sean O'Hagan	St. Louis Circuit Attorney's Office [450]
EDMUNDSON	Sam J. Alton	Stone, Leyton & Gershman, P.C. [451]
MANCHESTER	Michael Gunn	The Gunn Law Firm, P.C. [452]
VINITA TERRACE	Daniel Chartrand	The Law Office of Daniel Chartrand [453]
PASADENA PARK	Daniel Chartrand	The Law Office of Daniel Chartrand [454]
VELDA CITY	Raphael Morris	The Morris Law Firm [455]
NORTHWOODS	Raphael Morris	The Morris Law Firm [456]
BELLA VILLA	William Buchholz	William G. Buchholz II, P.C. [457]
SAINT JOHN	William Buchholz	William G. Buchholz II, P.C. [458]
CHARLACK	William Buchholz	William G. Buchholz II, P.C.
COUNTRY LIFE ACRES	William Buchholz	William G. Buchholz, P.C.
COUNTRY CLUB HILLS	William Buchholz	William G. Buchholz, P.C.
WARSON WOODS	John P. Lord III	Williams, Venker, & Sanders, LLC [459]
OLIVETTE	Paul D'Argrosa	Wolff & D'Argrosa [460]

MUNICIPALITY	PROSECUTOR NAME	PROSECUTOR FIRM
SYCAMORE HILLS	Contract out to St. John	-----
MACKENZIE	Contracts out to Shrewsbury	-----
CRYSTAL LAKE PARK	Contracts w/Frontenac	-----
SAINT LOUIS	Multiple Prosecutors	-----
STL COUNTY (INCLUDING ALL MUNIS)	Multiple Prosecutors	-----
GREEN PARK	No Municipal Court	-----
COUNTRY LIFE ACRES	No Municipal Court	-----
HUNTLEIGH	No Municipal Court	-----
NORWOOD COURT	No Municipal Court	-----
TWIN OAKS	No Municipal Court	-----
WESTWOOD	No Municipal Court	-----
WILBUR PARK	No Municipal Court	-----
CRESTWOOD	Sheena Hamilton	Armstrong Teasdale [461]
EUREKA	Katherine Butler	Butler & Associates [462]
CALVERTON PARK	Carl Kohnen	Carl F Kohnen Attorney at Law [463]
BELLEFONTAINE	William J. Clark	Clark Law Offices, LLC [464]
VELDA VILLAGE HILLS	Steven Clark	Clark, Pisarkiewicz, Tolin & Wines L.L.C [465]
COUNTRY CLUB HILLS	Steven Clark	Clark, Pisarkiewicz, Tolin & Wines LLC
UNIVERSITY CITY	Cindy Ormsby	Crotzer & Ormsby [466]
CLAYTON	David Crotzer	Crotzer & Ormsby [467]
PACIFIC	Dan Vogel [468]	Cunningham, Vogel & Rost, P.C. [469]
TOWN AND COUNTRY	Brian Malone	Curtis, Heinz, Garrett & O'Keefe P.C. [470]
MOLINE ACRES	Ed Sluys	Curtis, Heinz, Garrett & O'Keefe P.C. [471]
VELDA CITY	J. Patrick Chassaing	Curtis, Heinz, Garrett & O'Keefe P.C. [472]
BELLERIVE	Keith Cheung	Curtis, Heinz, Garrett & O'Keefe P.C. [473]
FRONTENAC	Keith Cheung	Curtis, Heinz, Garrett & O'Keefe P.C. [474]
NORMANDY	Keith Cheung	Curtis, Heinz, Garrett & O'Keefe P.C. [475]
SUNSET HILLS	Robert Jones	Curtis, Heinz, Garrett & O'Keefe P.C. [476]
BEL-NOR	Stephanie Karr	Curtis, Heinz, Garrett & O'Keefe P.C. [477]
FERGUSON	Stephanie Karr	Curtis, Heinz, Garrett & O'Keefe P.C. [478]
HAZELWOOD	Stephanie Karr	Curtis, Heinz, Garrett & O'Keefe P.C. [479]

MUNICIPALITY	PROSECUTOR NAME	PROSECUTOR FIRM
SAINT JOHN	Steven Garrett and Keith Cheun	Curtis, Heinz, Garrett & O'Keefe P.C. [480]
WARSON WOODS	David L. Pentland	David L. Pentland, inc. [481]
FLORDELL HILLS	Jeffrey Duke	Duke Legal LLC (Owner and Operator) Crotzer & Ormsby (Attorney) [482]
GRANTWOOD VILLAGE	Jeffrey Duke	Duke Legal LLC (Owner and Operator) Crotzer & Ormsby (Attorney) [483]
BEVERLY HILLS	Stuart L. O'Brien	Dunlop & McCarter [484]
GLEN ECHO PARK	Stuart O'Brien	Dunlop & McCarter [485]
EDMUNDSON	John Miller	Dunn & Miller, PC [486]
CHESTERFIELD	Timothy Engelmeyer	EngelMeyer & Pezzani, LLC [487]
DES PERES	Timothy Engelmeyer	EngelMeyer & Pezzani, LLC [488]
VALLEY PARK	Timothy Engelmeyer	Engelmeyer & Pezzani, LLC [489]
HANELY HILLS	Steven Fluhr	Fluhr & Moore, LLC [490]
OLIVETTE	Steven Fluhr	Fluhr & Moore, LLC [491]
PAGEDALE	Greg Allsberry	Gregory K. Allsberry, L.C.
WINCHESTER	Howard Papener	Howard Paperner, P.C. [492]
JENNINGS	Ethan Corlija	Law Office of Ethan B. Corlija [493]
CREVE COEUR	Dennis Beckley	Law Offices of Dennis Beckley [494]
VINITA PARK	Ronald Brockmeyer	Law Offices of Ronald J. Brockmeyer [495]
DELLWOOD	Ronald Brockmeyer	Law Offices of Ronald J. Brockmeyer [496]
FLORISSANT	Ronald Brockmeyer	Law Offices of Ronald J. Brockmeyer [497]
KIRKWOOD	Jacqueline Graves	Lewis Rice [498]
PASADENA PARK	Mark Haywood	Mark F. Haywood, LLC [499]
BEL-RIDGE	Michael McAvoy	McAvoy & Bahn Law Offices [500]
LADUE	James Towey [501]	McCarthy, Leonard & Kaemmerer, L.C. [502]
HILLSDALE	Alan Baker	N/A
WILDWOOD	Bart Calhoun [503]	N/A
WOODSON TERRACE	Brian Howe	N/A
BLACK JACK	Dan Gardner	N/A
MARYLAND HEIGHTS	Deann Outlaw	N/A
BELLA VILLA	Doug Sidel	N/A
MAPLEWOOD	Doug Sidel	N/A
KINLOCH	Lee Goodman	N/A
NORTHWOODS	Lee Goodman	N/A
VINITA TERRACE	Marc Kramer	N/A
MANCHESTER	Mark Levitt	N/A

MUNICIPALITY	PROSECUTOR NAME	PROSECUTOR FIRM
CHAMP	No Municipal Court	N/A
GREENDALE	Phillip Ayers	N/A
COOL VALLEY	Scott Pollard [504]	N/A
UPLANDS PARK	Sharhonda Shahid	N/A
CHARLACK	Stephen Cantonwine	N/A
PASADENA HILLS	Thomas Gilliam	N/A
WELLSTON	Thomas Gilliam	N/A
RIVERVIEW	Wesley Bell	N/A
BRENTWOOD	Michael Shelton	Onder, Shelton, O'Leary & Peterson, LLC [505]
MARLBOROUGH	Michael Shelton	Onder, Shelton, O'Leary & Peterson, LLC [506]
OAKLAND	Deborah LeMoine	Polsinelli [507]
WEBSTER GROVES	Deborah LeMoine	Polsinelli [508]
ROCK HILL	Stephan Jianakoplos	Pulos, Blankenship & Jianakoplos [509]
BRECKENRIDGE HILLS	Thomas Spoon	Pulos, Blankenship & Jianakoplos, PC [510]
ELLISVILLE	George Restovich	Restovich Allen, LLC [511]
RICHMOND HEIGHTS	John Lally	Rhodes & Lally Attorneys at Law [512]
BRIDGETON	Rob Schultz	Schultz & Associates LLP [513]
BERKELEY	Donnell Smith	Smith & Associates, LLC [514]
PINE LAWN	Donnell Smith	Smith & Associates, LLC [515]
GLENDALE	Edward McSweeney	St. Louis County Prosecutor's Office [516]
BALLWIN	Christopher Graville	The Graville Law Firm, LLC [517]
FENTON	Christopher Graville	The Graville Law Firm, LLC [518]
OVERLAND	Christopher Graville	The Graville Law Firm, LLC [519]
CLARKSON VALLEY	Christopher Graville	The Graville Law Firm. LLC [520]
SAINT ANN	Joseph Westhus	The Spalding Partnership, LLP [521]
SHREWSBURY	Joseph Westhus	The Spalding Partnership, LLP [522]
LAKESHIRE	Jennifer Deschamp	Voytas and Company Attorneys at Law [523]

- [1] All populations and percentages are based on U.S. Census American Fact Finder data for the 2010 census..
- [2] Confirmed through attorneys/colleagues.
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- [108] Picture on law firms website. Burke, Wolff. Flach, Luber & Briscoe .
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- [122] Confirmed through attorneys/colleagues.
- [123] All populations and percentages are based on U.S. Census American Fact Finder data for the 2010 census..
- [124] Confirmed through other attorneys.
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and Confirmed through attorneys/colleagues.

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- [135] <http://chgolaw.net/attorneys/keith-k-cheung>.
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- [150] <http://www.epfirm.com/our-firm/timothy-a-engelmeyer/>.
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**Overcoming the Challenges and
Creating a Regional Approach to Policing
in St. Louis City and County**

A report by the Police Executive Research Forum

April 30, 2015



**POLICE EXECUTIVE
RESEARCH FORUM**

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

PURPOSE AND METHODOLOGY

In the summer of 2014, Better Together¹ initiated discussions with the Police Executive Research Forum (PERF) to conduct a study of the state of policing in the City and County of St. Louis. The August 9, 2014, fatal shooting of Michael Brown by Ferguson Police Officer Darren Wilson, and the civil unrest that ensued, gave new urgency to this initiative. In September 2014, Better Together and PERF entered into an agreement to conduct this examination and issue a report with recommendations.

PERF is an independent research organization, based in Washington, DC, that focuses on critical issues in policing. PERF identifies best policies and practices on fundamental issues, such as strategies to minimize police use of force; developing community policing and increasing public perceptions of legitimacy and procedural justice in policing; new technologies for improving police accountability, such as body-worn cameras; and civil rights and racial issues in policing.²

The purpose of the study is two-fold:

1. To examine how policing services are currently being delivered in St. Louis County/City, assess the state of police-community relations, and compare the status quo with best practices in the policing profession.
2. To provide recommendations for moving forward, including identifying policing models and operational options to improve policing in the region.

RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

For this study, PERF carried out a variety of research activities:

- **Town Hall Meetings:** Better Together sponsored a series of Town Hall Meetings in various parts of region, including St. Louis City, Bridgeton, Des Peres, University City, unincorporated North County, and unincorporated South County. We heard from hundreds of residents, community leaders, elected representatives, and others who participated in these town halls.

¹ Better Together describes itself as “a grassroots project born in response to growing public interest in the fragmented nature of local government throughout St. Louis City and County, which dates back to 1876, when St. Louis City broke away from St. Louis County.” It is sponsored by the Missouri Council for a Better Economy. <http://www.bettertogetherstl.com/about>

² See www.policeforum.org. Many of PERF’s reports on these issues are available online at <http://www.policeforum.org/free-online-documents>.

- **Focus groups:** We convened targeted focus group meetings, to probe in greater detail the perspectives of different sectors of the community, including municipal government representatives, community leaders, police officials, school administrators, youths, and others.
- **Interviews:** We held individual meetings with key stakeholders, including community leaders, elected representatives, law enforcement officers and executives, police union leaders, legal experts, members of the clergy, news media, and others.
- **Data collection and analysis:** We conducted a wide-ranging data collection and analysis effort that examined population and demographic trends; police department organization, staffing, and costs; and reported crimes and calls for service, where available.
- **Literature review:** We completed an extensive review of prior research, including studies of the municipal courts, the U.S. Department of Justice Investigation of the Ferguson Police Department, other research reports, Missouri State statutes and regulations, and articles by the St. Louis and national news media.

KEY FINDINGS

- **There are high rates of crime in St. Louis City and many cities in St. Louis County.**
- **High crime rates are costly:** The total cost of Part I crime in St. Louis City and County combined—including victim, criminal justice, and community costs—was estimated to exceed \$1.5 billion in 2013, or \$1,187 for every resident of the city and county.
- **Costs of police services:** The cost of police services in the St. Louis region is \$355 per person.
- **Policing is extremely fragmented:** St. Louis County contains a patchwork of police departments, many of which have jurisdiction over very small areas. About one-third of the municipalities in the County that have a police department occupy less than one square mile. This has led to confusion and distrust among residents, who often feel targeted and harassed by police officers and the municipal court system.
- **Fragmentation undermines effective policing:** The fragmentation of policing is inefficient, undermines police operations, and makes it difficult to form effective law enforcement partnerships to combat crime locally and regionally.
- **Many police departments have inappropriate goals:** In many municipalities, policing priorities are driven not by the public safety needs of the community, but rather by the goal of generating large portions of the operating revenue for the local government. This is a grossly inappropriate mission for the police, often carried out at the direction of local elected officials.
- **Community policing is lacking in many cities where it is needed most:** Even though residents consistently say they want their police departments to engage in more community-oriented policing, this approach is de-emphasized or non-existent in many jurisdictions, especially in communities with high levels of crime and deep distrust between residents and police.

- **The “muni shuffle” is unprofessional:** Police standards, training, pay, and professionalism vary dramatically throughout the region. Of particular concern is the so-called “muni shuffle,” in which police officers who are fired or allowed to resign because of disciplinary or performance issues in one department are quickly hired by another department, because it can be less expensive to hire an experienced (albeit compromised) officer than to recruit and train a new officer.
- **Police standards vary dramatically from agency to agency:** Throughout our study, we heard concerns about the lack of standards and consistency from agency to agency in terms of policies, practices, training, and pay. This issue was raised by police professionals, municipal leaders, members of the news media, community leaders, and individual residents. Just one-quarter of the police departments in St. Louis City and County are accredited by the Commission on Accreditation for Law Enforcement Agencies (CALEA) or certified by the Missouri Police Chiefs Charitable Foundation.
- **Concerns about race permeate the justice system:** Race is an issue that permeates almost every aspect of policing and justice in St. Louis City and County. Concerns over racial tensions and racial bias were raised throughout the course of this study, especially by African-Americans and young people. The failure to address the racial issues in policing is holding back progress.
- **These issues are hurting St. Louis:** All of these issues together are undermining the quality of policing services and harming the reputation of St. Louis City and County. The future safety, economic health, and vitality of the region will require not only addressing the immediate problems today, but also creating new approaches and better systems that are recognized as national “best practices.”

RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendation #1: Create a regional police training center and conduct joint City-County training exercises.

We recommend that St. Louis City and County combine their resources to create a single state-of-the-art police training center that would offer basic, in-service, and advanced training for all police officers in the City and County. A combined academy would provide an advanced and forward-looking approach to training and education, tailored to the needs of police officers throughout St. Louis City and County.

Recommendation #2: Establish a set of regional standards covering critical policies, practices, and operations that will enhance quality and professionalism.

We recommend reforms in several areas, including the following:

Hiring standards. All officers hired by a municipal or County police department should undergo a full psychological screening by a County-approved psychiatrist or psychologist. New hires

should also receive a full background investigation. In addition, departments should use a polygraph (or other comparable test) to detect deception. Finally, all police departments should contact Missouri POST to review the license status and any known disciplinary history of potential hires before making an offer of employment.

Training standards. The current state requirement of 48 hours of continuing education over a three-year reporting period is insufficient to maintain and enhance the skills needed for policing excellence. Instead, officers in St. Louis City and County should be required to complete a minimum of 40 hours of in-service training each year.

Use-of-force policies. Departments should re-engineer their use-of-force training and adopt model policies that include de-escalation of force whenever possible; requiring officers to intervene if they witness another officer using excessive force; requiring that all use-of-force incidents be recorded on a standard form that will support data collection and analysis; and requiring thorough investigation of all officer-involved shootings, whether or not the subject was hit, seriously injured, or died as a result.

Recommendation #3: Create a multi-agency Compstat program to identify and analyze cross-border crime problems, and a regional Major Case Squad to combat these problems.

Compstat is a data-driven performance management system that is used by police departments to reduce crime and achieve other public safety goals. A regional Compstat program would help the police agencies in St. Louis City and County to work together in a proactive way to address these issues of fragmented responses to crime.

We also recommend creation of a regional Major Case Squad to address the crime patterns and repeat offenders uncovered through Compstat. The Major Case Squad would include investigators from multiple jurisdictions.

Recommendation #4: Provide for cross-deputizing St. Louis City and County police officers, to enhance flexibility and effectiveness in fighting crime.

Currently, officers in the St. Louis Metropolitan Police Department and the St. Louis County Police Department have authority to make arrests in either jurisdiction, but only for violations of *state law*. City police officers cannot cite or make arrests under County ordinances, and County officers cannot enforce St. Louis City ordinances. This restriction can reduce police effectiveness in combating lower-level crime that would typically be handled at the municipal court level.

Recommendation #5: Reduce the number of dispatch centers in the County to reduce confusion among residents and promote efficiency.

The current emergency dispatch system in St. Louis County is fragmented, inefficient, and at times causes confusion among residents. Right now, there are approximately 20 separate public safety answering points (PSAPs) in St. Louis City and County. Two-thirds of these serve only one community. The number of dispatch centers could be reduced through consolidation or contracting of services.

Recommendation #6: Provide additional resources to support the Peace Officers Standards and Training (POST) program in its monitoring and oversight roles.

Given widespread concerns over police hiring practices in some communities in St. Louis County—the so-called “muni shuffle”—it is essential that the POST program be adequately funded and staffed to carry out its monitoring, oversight, and investigative roles.

Recommendation #7: The Macks Creek law should be strengthened and enforced more vigorously.

While well-intentioned, the Macks Creek law has not been meaningfully enforced on a consistent basis. Six agencies were in violation of the law in 2013; 26 municipalities exceeded 15% of general revenue; and 40 exceeded 10%. As this report was being finalized, the Missouri House and Senate were considering separate bills to strengthen Macks Creek law, including significantly reducing the current 30% cap on court revenue. These efforts are worthy and important, and the bills should be reconciled and enacted into law.

Recommendation #8: Create a Central Data Warehouse about policing in St. Louis City and County that is accessible to police officials and members of the public.

A Central Data Warehouse about policing should be created for St. Louis City and County. The data warehouse would be operated as a joint venture between the governments of the City and County, as the data availability would benefit the region as a whole. Among the data that would be reported and readily available for analysis would be the following:

- Police departments’ operating budgets.
- Organizational information, including staffing levels by rank, gender, and race/ethnicity.
- UCR crime data for Part I and Part II offenses, and UCR arrest data.
- Standardized calls-for-service information, include call type, self-initiated vs. citizen-generated activity, date/time/location, and call disposition.
- Information on all officer-involved shootings. The collection of data on police-involved shootings would give St. Louis City and County a unique opportunity to lead the way nationally on an issue of critical importance at this time.

Recommendation #9: Survey the community on an ongoing basis to measure citizen satisfaction with policing services and to assess progress over time.

We recommend creating a police satisfaction survey that would be available to the public through an online portal. Any citizen who interacts with the police in St. Louis City and County would be able to provide feedback on the services they received and offer suggestions. A number of police agencies nationwide have implemented this type of tool.

Strategic Consolidations of Police Agencies

In an ideal world, consolidating all police agencies would have advantages in terms of ending wasteful duplications of effort, establishing agency-wide standards and best practices, and producing

cost savings. However, the St. Louis region is large and diverse, with different crime problems and priorities, and a number of residents and community leaders we spoke with are satisfied with their police departments and work well with them. Attempting to dismantle current policing structures in these areas would be met with community opposition and undermine productive partnerships that currently exist.

While wholesale mergers of agencies are not recommended, targeted and strategic consolidations could improve the quality of policing in some areas. Therefore, we are recommending that three consolidation clusters be established in St. Louis County.

The communities in each cluster typically have several factors in common: relatively high crime rates, high numbers of low-level arrests and traffic citations, high ratios of officers to resident populations, high numbers of officers per square mile, and high population density. In addition, they are geographically contiguous.

Recommendation #10: Create a consolidation cluster encompassing nine contiguous jurisdictions in the vicinity of University City: Beverly Hills, Hillside, Northwoods, Pagedale, Pine Lawn, Uplands Park, Velda City, Velda Village Hills, and Wellston. These jurisdictions would be consolidated into a single police district and merged via contracts with either the St. Louis County Police Department or the highly regarded University City Police Department.

Recommendation #11: Create a consolidation cluster encompassing four contiguous jurisdictions—Berkeley, Calverton Park, Ferguson and Kinloch—that would be consolidated into a single police district and merged via contract with the St. Louis County Police Department.

Recommendation #12: Merge five contiguous municipalities—Bellefontaine Neighbors, Country Club Hills, Flordell Hills, Moline Acres, and Riverview—via contracts into the Jennings Precinct of the St. Louis County Police Department.

Recommendation #13: Non-cluster agencies should implement the recommendations in this report and consider changes to meet community expectations, the Macks Creek Law, and national best practices in policing.

While we recommend three strategic clusters in Recommendations 10-12, problematic departments in St. Louis County are not limited to the areas that would be affected by those recommendations. Numerous municipal police agencies have serious problems that are not included in the cluster models. One area of particular concern is to the west of Lambert International Airport.

Recommendation #14: Focus on breaking down walls and building bridges between the police and communities in the St. Louis region.

Police, with support from elected officials, must take significant steps to build trust and restore relationships with the communities that they serve. This is especially important in the communities that

historically have had a contentious relationship with the police. Police officials must embrace and commit to this new way of policing as a partnership with the community.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to identify best systems for policing across the entire St. Louis City and St. Louis County area, and we studied the entire region. But inevitably we were drawn to the parts of the region that have the highest rates of serious crime, the highest costs of crime, and the most serious disconnects between high crime rates and police priorities.

Our study revealed a complex policing and justice environment that cannot be “fixed” by any one measure, such as consolidating all of the police agencies in the City and County. Our report recommends targeted and strategic consolidations of three clusters of police departments in St. Louis County, as well as broader, region-wide reforms to improve the quality of policing throughout the City and County.

The challenges ahead are daunting. The region as a whole has significant levels of serious and violent crime, and St. Louis City and a number of municipalities in St. Louis County have very high crime rates. The costs of crime in St. Louis City and County are high—in terms of personal hardship for victims as well as financial costs. It is estimated that crime cost each resident of St. Louis City and County \$1,187 per year in 2013, for a total exceeding \$1.5 billion a year.

The overall response to crime by police is hindered by a number of factors:

- **Fragmentation:** The fragmentation of policing among 60 separate police agencies, many of which are extremely small, causes inefficiencies and uneven delivery of police services to area residents. Small police departments are found in other parts of the United States, and those departments work together in many cases. But the fragmentation in the St. Louis region is extreme. As St. Louis County Police Chief Jon Belmar told us, “It is not realistic for my agency to have close relationships with five dozen different departments.”
- **Weaknesses in policies, training, hiring, and pay levels:** The lack of standards and commonality in policies, training, hiring, and pay levels weakens the professionalism and quality of individual agencies, and undermines public confidence in the police in general.
- **Inappropriate goals:** An inappropriate and misguided mission has been thrust upon the police in many communities: the need to generate large sums of revenue for their city governments. This is not the way that policing is done in the United States. PERF has never before encountered what we have seen in parts of St. Louis County. The role of police is to protect the public and to work with local communities to solve problems of crime and disorder—not to harass residents with absurd systems of fines and penalties, mostly for extremely minor offenses.
- **Racial bias:** Issues of race and racial bias lie at the heart of many of these problems. As revealed in both the statistical data we analyzed and the hundreds of people we spoke with in

Town Hall Meetings, focus groups, and one-on-one interviews, it is predominantly African Americans who are getting caught up in these unfair, improper revenue-driven practices.

These and other issues documented in this report are driving a wedge between police and residents in many communities. They are undermining the legitimacy of the police in the eyes of many residents, community leaders, business leaders, and the news media. And they are preventing the police and residents from working together and cooperatively to prevent crime and respond effectively when residents are victimized by crime.

We also heard that the type of policing being conducted in some parts of the St. Louis region is not what officers want to be doing. Young men and women become police officers because they want to serve their communities and protect them, not because they want to harass the people they are charged with serving. In many communities, good police officers are caught up in a bad system.

Finally, this system is causing severe damage to the reputation of the entire St. Louis region. The failures of the justice system are making it less likely that people nationwide will see the St. Louis area as a healthy, vital, happy place to work and live.

Despite these challenges—and there are many—there is a positive, hopeful way of looking at this situation.

St. Louis City and County have endured a continuing crisis of confidence for almost a year now. As difficult and challenging as this year has been, the crisis provides an opportunity to come together and galvanize the will to make reforms.

People generally understand that the status quo is not an option. Most of the people we encountered during this project were frustrated and concerned, and in some cases, angry. But most were not despairing; they had hope for the future. The leaders of St. Louis City and County should share in their hope and seize this opportunity to fix the problems, and make the region's policing and justice system a national model for reform.

An opportunity exists to create a new, more integrated, regional approach to policing that is modeled on best policies, best practices, and best training and development of officers. Not all of the police agencies in the City and County need to be combined, but there is a great need for police departments to share information, to work together, and to stop functioning as separate agencies unto themselves.

There is also a need and opportunity for private-sector leaders to become more engaged. Business and community leaders have everything at stake in the future of the St. Louis region, so police leaders should think about how they can tap into private-sector assistance, resources, and expertise in such areas as new technologies, human resources, and budgeting.

The future of policing in St. Louis City and County is not just about the police; it is also about the community. Police leaders and community leaders must work together on devising reforms.

Police agencies in St. Louis City and County should aim higher than merely responding to the current crisis. They should aim for developing an unprecedented new state-of-the-art approach to regional policing, in which all agencies work together and work with their communities to address the crime problems and quality of life issues that really matter to the people who live in St. Louis City and St. Louis County.

--End Executive Summary--

Overcoming the Challenges and Creating a Regional Approach to Policing In St. Louis City and County

Introduction

Policing in St. Louis City and County defies easy labels or simple categorizations.

Some communities enjoy strong, community-oriented policing that is characterized by progressive leadership, high standards, open communication and cooperation between officers and residents, and mutual respect. Residents, community leaders, and local officials in these communities are not only satisfied with, but in many cases proud and supportive of their local police departments, and skeptical of any discussion of changing the way things are.

In other communities, however, policing is in crisis.

It is a crisis whose roots began to take hold long before Ferguson Police Officer Darren Wilson's fatal encounter with Michael Brown on West Florissant Avenue in August 2014, although that incident has brought new attention and urgency to the issue of policing practices in the region.

It is a crisis that involves much more than how police officers use force, although police use of force is a major concern in many communities, especially communities of color.

It is a crisis that extends beyond the City of Ferguson. Many of the problems documented in detail in the recent U.S. Department of Justice report on the Ferguson Police Department can be found in other communities as well. In fact, during Town Hall Meetings convened as part of this project, we heard residents and police officials say on a number of occasions that Ferguson was not considered among the worst police departments in the region.

The crisis in many St. Louis County departments is driven by the need to generate more and more revenue to fund the patchwork of dozens of local governments that exist in the county. Especially in small, impoverished municipalities where traditional sources of revenue such as taxes have stagnated or declined, police departments are being pushed into the role of revenue generators for their cities and towns. They are being diverted away from their traditional roles of community guardians and protectors.

This situation is driving a wedge between police and citizens in far too many communities. It is undermining the legitimacy of the police in the eyes of residents, community leaders, and business owners—not just in the communities where policing is in crisis, but in the region as a whole, whose reputation continues to suffer. Ultimately, this dynamic is making communities and their police officers less safe by undermining trust and cooperation between officers and residents. It is a dysfunctional and dangerous situation that cannot be sustained.

Purpose and Methodology

As part of its mission to help organizations in the St. Louis area envision and create a better future, Better Together has long been concerned with the state of public safety and justice. Recently, Better Together conducted a study of the municipal court systems in the St. Louis area, concluding that many municipal courts had lost of the trust of their communities, in particular African-Americans residents and the poor. “In these municipalities, because of a lack of oversight and an overreliance on court fines and fees, the courts are viewed as punitive revenue centers rather than centers of justice,” the report concluded.³

Recognizing the important role that local police agencies play in the court system, Better Together⁴ in the summer of 2014 initiated discussions with the Police Executive Research Forum (PERF) to conduct a study of the state of policing in the City and County of St. Louis. The August 9, 2014, fatal shooting of Michael Brown by Ferguson Police Officer Darren Wilson, and the large-scale and sometimes violent civil unrest that ensued, gave new urgency to this initiative. In September 2014, Better Together and PERF entered into an agreement to conduct this examination and issue a report with recommendations.

PERF is an independent research organization, based in Washington, DC, that focuses on critical issues in policing. Since its founding in 1976, PERF has identified best policies and practices on fundamental issues, such as strategies to minimize police use of force; developing community policing and increasing public perceptions of legitimacy and procedural justice in policing; new technologies for improving police accountability, such as body-worn cameras; and civil rights and racial issues in policing.⁵ In addition to developing best practices, PERF has conducted hundreds of reviews of individual police agencies, on issues such as resource allocation, productivity analysis, training practices, strategic planning, and organizational “climate.”⁶

The purpose of the study is two-fold:

³ “Municipal Courts Report, Executive Summary.” Better Together, p. 1.
<http://www.bettertogetherstl.com/studies/public-safety/municipal-courts-report>

⁴ Better Together describes itself as “a grassroots project born in response to growing public interest in the fragmented nature of local government throughout St. Louis City and County, which dates back to 1876, when St. Louis City broke away from St. Louis County.” It is sponsored by the Missouri Council for a Better Economy.
<http://www.bettertogetherstl.com/about>

⁵ See www.policeforum.org. Many of PERF’s reports on these issues are available online at <http://www.policeforum.org/free-online-documents>.

⁶ See <http://www.policeforum.org/management-services>

1. To examine how policing services are currently being delivered in St. Louis County/City, assess the state of police-community relations, and compare the status quo with best practices in the policing profession.
2. To provide recommendations for moving forward, including identifying policing models and operational options to improve policing in the region.

Research Activities

For this study, PERF carried out a variety of research activities:

- **Town Hall Meetings:** Better Together sponsored a series of Town Hall Meetings in various parts of region, including St. Louis City, Bridgeton, Des Peres, University City, unincorporated North County, and unincorporated South County. We heard from hundreds of residents, community leaders, elected representatives, and others who participated in these town halls.
- **Focus groups:** We convened targeted focus group meetings, to probe in greater detail the perspectives of different sectors of the community, including municipal government representatives, community leaders, police officials, school administrators, youths, and others. These focus groups included individuals and groups who often feel underrepresented and disenfranchised.
- **Interviews:** We held individual meetings with key stakeholders, including community leaders, elected representatives, law enforcement officers and executives, police union leaders, legal experts, members of the clergy, news media, and others.
- **Data collection and analysis:** We conducted a wide-ranging data collection and analysis effort that examined population and demographic trends; police department organization, staffing, and costs; and reported crimes and calls for service, where available (see below).
- **Literature review:** We completed an extensive review of prior research, including studies of the municipal courts, the U.S. Department of Justice Investigation of the Ferguson Police Department, other research reports, Missouri State statutes and regulations, and articles by the St. Louis and national news media.

Data Challenges

Obtaining data on policing in St. Louis City and County proved to be a significant, and at times difficult, undertaking. In November 2014, Better Together sent a request under the Missouri Sunshine Law for public records from 58 municipal police departments. There was a wide variance in how departments responded to this Sunshine Request. Some agencies provided materials within two weeks and free of charge; other agencies took months to reply or charged for material that other agencies provided without charge. Additionally, agencies that replied did not necessarily provide all the information

requested. The total cost to simply collect these records has approached \$17,000. As noted in Better Together's March 2015 Transparency Report:⁷

On average, it would cost a citizen in the St. Louis region \$113.64 [as of March 2015] to obtain basic information on how his or her tax dollars are being utilized at a municipal level.... The cost and time required for this information is prohibitive to an average citizen. This is contrary to the principle of open and transparent government.

Our attempts to collect additional information, as well as to leverage the data collected through Better Together's Sunshine Request, highlighted numerous challenges:

- **Given that each municipality maintains individual records, the sheer count of data sources to contact is prohibitive.** In St. Louis City and County, it is possible that a citizen or researcher would have to seek data across a large number of municipalities, even if the citizen is interested in only a few square miles of local geography. The high number and small size of municipalities contribute to the highly fragmented data, which makes analysis of the region a considerable challenge.
- **PERF encountered challenges in obtaining calls-for-service (CFS) data from multiple computer-aided dispatch (CAD) centers.** Calls-for-service data is an essential element of analyzing a police department, because it provides strong evidence of how officers spend their time. CFS data not only describes the nature of each call, but also how much time it took the officer to handle each incident. For example, CFS data may show that officers are overwhelmed by high levels of crime, and spend almost all their workday running from one call to the next, taking reports from crime victims. In another police department, or perhaps in a different precinct of the same department, officers may have fewer calls per hour, and thus may have more free time to engage in proactive community policing initiatives, such as meeting with residents to discuss local crime and quality-of-life issues and devise longer-term solutions. CFS data also can differentiate calls that officers respond to (such as 911 calls) from self-initiated activities (such as traffic stops). Thus, CFS data can help identify agencies in which officers spend large portions of their time on traffic enforcement, rather than crime prevention and community policing.

Well-run police departments use a Computer Aided Dispatch (CAD) system that captures all call-for-service information, where input of data is handled by a call-taker or dispatcher. Follow-up information on calls can be added by the dispatcher or the officers themselves from their mobile data terminals. CAD systems almost always include capabilities for designing and running reports about CFS data.

For this study, PERF made a request to police agencies and dispatch centers for CFS data. The St. Louis Metropolitan and St. Louis County Police Departments and a number of

⁷ "Transparency Report, Executive Summary" Better Together, March 2015, http://www.bettertogetherstl.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/Transparency_ExecutiveSummary.pdf.

other departments, which together cover 62% of the area's population, provided the information promptly. However, the majority of municipalities and dispatch centers did not respond to our request. Our inability to secure more comprehensive CFS data limited our ability to analyze workloads.

- **The lack of records standardization across departments meant that it is difficult and time-consuming to obtain even the most basic information about police departments, such as budget figures, salary scales, and even the number of officers who are employed by an agency.**
- The contracting of policing services throughout the region further complicated data collection and analysis. While contracting can provide benefits of efficiency and standardization, it can add another layer of bureaucracy in terms of data. For instance, crime data came from the Missouri Department of Public Safety and covered all independent departments in St. Louis City and County. However, data on municipalities that contract with the St. Louis County Police Department were missing, since the County lumps all of the data for those municipalities into its official "Unincorporated" category. This required an additional request to the County Police for the municipal-specific data. To its credit, the Department provided the requested data.

PERF raises these issues of data collection not because they posed challenges for our study, but because they undermine the transparency of policing in St. Louis County. With a significant effort, PERF was able to mobilize resources to obtain as much information as the police agencies in St. Louis County were willing to provide. **But the more important point is that this data should be easily available – for example, in reports that are available online – to residents and community leaders who want to know how their police officers spend their time, and whether the priorities of the community are reflected in the activities of their local police.**

One of PERF's recommendations in this report specifically addresses the issue of data collection and transparency.

Overview of Policing in St. Louis City and County

St. Louis City and County combined are home to just over 1.3 million residents, according to the latest U.S. Census population estimates. Approximately 319,000 people live in the City of St. Louis, whose population has declined by 63% from a peak of 857,000 in 1950. St. Louis County, by contrast, has seen its population increase by 146% since 1950, topping just over a million people in the latest Census estimates. These residents live in 90 different municipalities, plus unincorporated areas of the County.

As residents left the city in large numbers in the 1950s and 1960s, a variety of municipalities sprang up in the County. Geographically, these municipalities range in size from less than one-tenth of a square mile (Beverly Hills, Glen Echo Park, and Vinita Terrace, for example) to 25 or more square miles (Chesterfield and Wildwood). Forty-three of the County's municipalities, or just under half, occupy less than one square mile.

In terms of population, these municipalities range in size from *a few dozen* residents to more than 52,000 (Florissant). Many of the municipalities that sprung up in St. Louis County are not much larger than traditional neighborhoods. Indeed, some municipalities started out as private subdivisions, then incorporated as municipalities in an attempt to restrict who could move in. A half-century ago, the people moving into suburban St. Louis did not necessarily envision the current geography of shoulder-to-shoulder municipalities, but they did want to control land development within their communities. Today, those residents have inherited a collection of extremely small, tightly compacted municipalities that rest one on top of the other. **Of the 90 municipalities in St. Louis County, 23 have fewer than 1,000 residents; 48 have fewer than 5,000 people.**

The municipalities of St. Louis County are generally divided into four regions: North County, Mid County, South County, and West County. The Mid and North County regions contain the largest number of small communities, as well as some of the oldest "inner ring" suburbs that sprouted up from the migration from St. Louis City. Today, many of these communities are confronted with the same problems of poverty, crime, unemployment, substandard housing, and poor student achievement that residents were fleeing when they left the City of St. Louis decades ago.

In addition, much of the region remains segregated racially, economically, and politically. Many of the inner ring suburbs began as all-white communities that excluded African-Americans, first through racially restrictive covenants in property deeds, and then, after those were struck down by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1948, by zoning laws and racial "steering" by real estate agents toward certain neighborhoods and away from others. Today, many of those municipalities have become all-black or nearly all-black. Ferguson, for example, was 25% African-American in 1990, but is 67% African-American today. Similarly, the city of Jennings is now nearly 90% African-American. At the same time, many white

residents moved farther away from the city and the inner ring of suburbs. So did many of the jobs and other economic engines propelling the County's growth.

As the Economic Policy Institute concluded, these patterns of racial segregation and economic segregation go hand-in-hand. "The lower incomes of African-Americans today cannot be understood in isolation from the history of pervasive housing segregation. By keeping black families out of the better-off suburbs, segregation not only deprived them of the opportunity to build wealth through rising home equity, but contributed to (and was reinforced by) what some urban scholars term the 'spatial mismatch' between the neighborhoods where African-Americans mostly lived, and the better suburban jobs they had difficulty accessing."⁸

Community leaders and residents we spoke with pointed out that St. Louis City and County were polarized racially and economically long before the Michael Brown shooting, but that the divisions may be even worse today. This feeling was summed up by a participant at PERF's January 7, 2015, Town Hall Meeting at the Sheet Metal Workers Hall in St. Louis City: "Our neighborhoods have always been filled with crime. Now, sleeping giants have been awakened. Our anger is at 1000 percent. It's directed at our law enforcement and political leaders for years of police harassment and being economically disadvantaged. Things are different in other areas. Nothing will get better if we don't work together."

Policing in the Region Reflects Geographic Patterns

The same racial, economic, and demographic patterns that helped to shape the overall geography of St. Louis City and County have greatly influenced the organization of policing as well. Today, there are 60 individual police departments of varying sizes, structures, and resource levels.⁹ In addition, 32 municipalities in the County contract for police services: 18 with the St. Louis County Police Department, and 14 with neighboring municipalities.

Table 1: Data on St. Louis County Police Agencies and St. Louis City Metropolitan Police Dept.

POLICE DEPARTMENT	MUNICIPALITIES PATROLLED	POLICE DEPARTMENT SQUARE MILEAGE	NUMBER OF FULL TIME OFFICERS	Avg Pt I Violent Crime per 1000	Avg Pt I Arrests per 1000	Avg "Other" Arrests per 1000	Police per Sq Mile	Police Per 1000 residents
BALLWIN PD	Ballwin	8.99	47	0.5	2.5	8.8	5.2	1.5
BELLA VILLA PD	Bella Villa	0.13	5	2.7	2.2	6.0	38.5	6.9

⁸ "The Making of Ferguson: Public Policies at the Root of its Troubles," by Richard Rothstein. Economic Policy Institute, October 15, 2014. This report offers a detailed look at historical policies and trends that contributed to the current municipal geography of St. Louis County. <http://www.epi.org/publication/making-ferguson/>

⁹ Table 1 does not include the Pacific Police Department, which represents the 60th department in the county. While a small portion of the City of Pacific is in St. Louis County, the vast majority is within Franklin County.

POLICE DEPARTMENT	MUNICIPALITIES PATROLLED	POLICE DEPARTMENT SQUARE MILEAGE	NUMBER OF FULL TIME OFFICERS	Avg Pt I Violent Crime per 1000	Avg Pt I Arrests per 1000	Avg "Other" Arrests per 1000	Police per Sq Mile	Police Per 1000 residents
BELLEFONTAINE PD	Bellefontaine	4.32	31	4.9	7.2	65.6	7.2	2.9
BEL-NOR PD	Bel-Nor	0.63	5	1.7	5.1	14.1	7.9	3.3
BEL-RIDGE PD	Bel-Ridge	0.8	14	15.1	10.2	168.1	17.5	5.1
BERKELEY PD	Berkeley	4.97	31	17.5	11.0	55.4	6.2	3.5
BEVERLY HILLS PD	Beverly Hills, Velda Village Hills	0.21*	Information Not Provided	17.0	18.8	1087.8	N/A	N/A
BRECKENRIDGE HILLS PD	Breckenridge Hills	0.8	Information Not Provided	4.4	8.1	83.1	N/A	N/A
BRENTWOOD PD	Brentwood	1.96	27	1.4	20.7	28.5	13.8	3.4
BRIDGETON PD	Bridgeton	14.6	50	6.6	48.9	46.7	3.4	4.3
CALVERTON PARK PD	Calverton Park	0.41	6	2.6	3.9	191.8	14.6	4.6
CHARLACK PD	Charlack	0.26	8	3.7	12.3	156.9	30.8	5.9
CHESTERFIELD PD	Chesterfield	31.78	90	0.7	7.3	8.9	2.8	1.9
CLAYTON PD	Clayton	2.48	44	1.0	4.2	40.9	17.7	2.8
COUNTRY CLUB HILLS PD	Country Club Hills	0.18	Information Not Provided	5.8	14.9	151.3	N/A	N/A
CRESTWOOD PD	Crestwood	3.6	28	0.7	8.6	14.8	7.8	2.4
CREVE COEUR PD	Creve Coeur	10.27	44	0.8	6.5	17.4	4.3	2.5
DES PERES PD	Des Peres	4.32	30	0.9	41.0	28.0	6.9	3.6
EDMUNDSON PD	Edmundson	0.26	11	5.8	18.0	242.0	42.3	13.2
ELLISVILLE PD	Ellisville	4.4	22	0.9	5.3	12.3	5.0	2.4
EUREKA PD	Eureka	10.35	21	1.1	7.5	16.6	2.0	2.1
FERGUSON PD	Ferguson	6.19	55	4.7	17.6	16.7	8.9	2.6
FLORDELL HILLS PD	Flordell Hills	0.11	5	8.5	8.8	103.9	45.5	6.1
FLORISSANT PD	Florissant	12.56	88	1.7	11.3	26.2	7.0	1.7
FRONTENAC PD	Frontenac, Crystal Lake Park, Huntleigh, Westwood	4.6	21	0.9	5.9	40.6	4.6	4.6
GLENDALE PD	Glendale	1.92	11	0.3	2.5	4.9	5.7	1.9

POLICE DEPARTMENT	MUNICIPALITIES PATROLLED	POLICE DEPARTMENT SQUARE MILEAGE	NUMBER OF FULL TIME OFFICERS	Avg Pt I Violent Crime per 1000	Avg Pt I Arrests per 1000	Avg "Other" Arrests per 1000	Police per Sq Mile	Police Per 1000 residents
HAZELWOOD PD	Hazelwood	16.02	69	3.3	15.5	52.8	4.3	2.7
HILLSDALE PD	Hillsdale	0.35	Information Not Provided	18.4	11.8	245.5	N/A	N/A
KINLOCH PD	Kinloch	0.73	Information Not Provided	28.9	15.4	77.2	N/A	N/A
KIRKWOOD PD	Kirkwood, Oakland	9.77	61	1.1	12.3	4.1	6.2	2.1
LADUE PD	Ladue	8.55	28	0.8	5.5	23.8	3.3	3.3
LAKESHIRE PD	Lakeshire	2.28	Information Not Provided	1.4	2.9	8.4	N/A	N/A
MANCHESTER PD	Manchester	5.08	37	0.3	10.2	4.3	7.3	2.0
MAPLEWOOD PD	Maplewood	1.56	32	3.8	51.3	119.1	20.5	4.0
MARYLAND HEIGHTS PD	Maryland Heights, Champ	22.64	73	1.8	8.1	71.3	3.2	2.7
MOLINE ACRES PD	Moline Acres	0.57	12	7.9	22.4	251.1	21.1	4.9
NORMANDY PD	Normandy, Bellerive, Cool Valley, Glen Echo Park, Greendale, Pasadena Park	2.99	31	3.7	4.9	54.3	10.4	4.0
NORTHWOODS PD	Northwoods	0.71	21	8.8	15.1	7.9	29.6	5.0
OLIVETTE PD	Olivette	2.78	22	1.8	4.6	18.9	7.9	2.8
OVERLAND PD	Overland	4.36	45	3.1	14.5	54.7	10.3	2.8
PAGEDALE PD	Pagedale	1.19	17	8.5	13.9	287.2	14.3	5.1
PINE LAWN PD	Pine Lawn	0.61	11	13.6	12.2	463.3	18.0	3.4
RICHMOND HEIGHTS PD	Richmond Heights	2.03	38	2.5	55.4	63.6	18.7	4.4
RIVERVIEW PD	Riverview	0.83	12	10.3	8.6	11.2	14.5	4.2
ROCK HILL PD	Rock Hill	1.09	10	1.4	2.8	29.6	9.2	2.2
SAINT ANN PD	Saint Ann	3.18	Information Not Provided	5.3	19.2	89.4	N/A	N/A
SAINT JOHN PD	Saint John, Sycamore Hills	1.56	21	3.9	20.2	126.9	13.5	2.9

POLICE DEPARTMENT	MUNICIPALITIES PATROLLED	POLICE DEPARTMENT SQUARE MILEAGE	NUMBER OF FULL TIME OFFICERS	Avg Pt I Violent Crime per 1000	Avg Pt I Arrests per 1000	Avg "Other" Arrests per 1000	Police per Sq Mile	Police Per 1000 residents
SHREWSBURY PD	Shrewsbury, Mackenzie	1.45	18	0.6	3.9	17.2	12.4	2.8
ST. LOUIS COUNTY PD	St. Louis County, Black Jack, Clarkson Valley, Dellwood, Fenton, Grantwood Village, Green Park, Hanley Hills, Jennings, Marlborough, Norwood Court, Pasadena Hills, Twin Oaks, Uplands Park, Valley Park, Vinita Terrace, Wilbur Park, Wildwood, Winchester	265	843	2.6	9.3	21.1	3.2	2.0
ST. LOUIS METROPOLITAN PD	Saint Louis City	61.91	1,239	17.7	17.1	19.8	20.0	3.9
SUNSET HILLS PD	Sunset Hills	9.1	26	1.4	6.1	29.9	2.9	3.1
TOWN AND COUNTRY PD	Town and Country, Country Life Acres	11.8	29	0.5	4.2	26.5	2.5	2.7
UNIVERSITY CITY PD	University City	5.9	66	5.5	10.8	5.6	11.2	1.9
VELDA CITY PD	Velda City	0.16	7	12.4	9.4	177.2	43.8	4.9
VINITA PARK PD	Vinita Park	0.71	Information Not Provided	4.3	4.7	62.2	N/A	N/A
WARSON WOODS PD	Warson Woods	0.6	6	0.5	3.6	10.2	10.0	3.1
WEBSTER GROVES PD	Webster Groves	5.9	46	1.2	2.4	15.3	7.8	2.0
WELLSTON PD	Wellston	0.93	Information Not Provided	39.8	39.3	272.4	N/A	N/A
WOODSON TERRACE PD	Woodson Terrace	0.77	17	3.2	8.6	22.7	22.1	4.2

** This square mileage combines Beverley Hills and their contract municipality, but crime, arrest, and policing calculations are based on Beverley Hill's square miles of 0.09 since we have separate crime and arrest data for Beverley Hills*

Note: The crime and arrest rates per 1,000 residents represent five-year averages from 2010-2014.

The largest department in the region is the St. Louis Metropolitan Police Department, a full-service agency with more than 1,200 sworn officers serving approximately 319,000 residents of the City of St. Louis. Founded in 1808, the department has been accredited by the Commission on Accreditation for Law Enforcement Agencies (CALEA) since 2007. (CALEA accreditation is a voluntary process by which a police agency demonstrates that it has adopted policies on a wide range of practices in policing. The process of obtaining accreditation requires significant time and effort, and is considered an indication of a degree of professionalism in a police department.)

The St. Louis County Police Department is the second largest department, with almost 850 sworn officers. County police provide policing services in the unincorporated areas of St. Louis County and to 18 municipalities that contract with the County Police Department to provide police services. The St. Louis County Police Department also provides various other services—dispatch, jail and lockup, investigative and forensic support, and SWAT/special operations, among others—to a number of municipal police departments in the County. The St. Louis County Police Department has been accredited by CALEA since 1998.

Beyond these two large, full-service agencies, St. Louis County has 58 municipal police departments. These range in size from very small, five-officer departments (in Bella Vista, Bel-Nor, and the recently created Flordell Hills Police Department) to the Chesterfield and Florissant Police Departments, which have approximately 90 officers each. At least 17 of the municipal police departments in the County have fewer than 20 officers, and at least seven have fewer than 10 officers.¹⁰ While all of these departments provide basic patrol services, many of them rely on other agencies, such as the St. Louis County Police Department, for support with dispatch, lockup, investigations, and crime scene processing.

Two of the larger jurisdictions that have contracted with the St. Louis County Police Department are Fenton, which began its contract in 1995, and Jennings, which started in 2011. Despite some initial resistance from elected leaders, the business community, and some residents, the consensus in both communities seems to be that contracting with the County has improved police services and helped to control costs. Recently, Jennings and some nearby unincorporated areas of the County were organized into a distinct Jennings Precinct within the County Police Department.

One other approach employed in the County is a regional model, centered around the city of Normandy in North County. In addition to serving the approximately 5,000 residents of its city, the Normandy

¹⁰ Nine police departments in the region did not supply data on the number of officers they employ.

Police Department provides police services under contract with the nearby villages of Pasadena Park, Glen Echo Park, and Bellerive Acres as well as the cities of Cool Valley and Greendale.

A closer look at police staffing

Table 1 provides information about the number of officers in the region and their staffing levels. One common measure of police staffing is the number of officers per residents. Nationally, the average is 2-2.25 officers per 1,000 residents. In cities or areas with high crime levels, the average can be closer to 4-5 officers per 1,000 residents.

Looking at St. Louis City and County as a whole, the numbers are generally consistent with the national averages. The combined St. Louis region (St. Louis Metropolitan Police, St. Louis County Police, and all municipal police departments in St. Louis County) has 2.8 officers per 1,000 residents. The City has 3.9 officers, the County overall (including municipal departments within the County) has 2.3, and the area served by the County Police Department has 2.0 officers per 1,000 residents.

However, the number of officers per residents varies widely among municipal police departments.

Approximately one-third of the departments in St. Louis County that reported information have 4 or more officers per 1,000 residents—in other words, a higher rate than in the City of St. Louis.

These municipalities include Edmundson (which, at 13.2, is *nearly five times the regional average*), Bella Villa (6.9), Normandy (6.2), Flordell Hills (6.1), and Frontenac (6.0).

On the other hand, five municipalities have fewer than 2 officers per 1,000 residents.

Another way to examine police staffing, also found in Table 1, is the number of officers per reported crimes and reported arrests. For the latter, we examined the number of arrests for “Index” (or “Part I”) crimes¹¹ and for “other” offenses. The “other” category generally includes offenses that are so minor they are not included in any other UCR categories such as violent felonies, misdemeanors, traffic offenses, or drug offenses. Nationally in 2013, there were 9.8 million Part I offenses reported to police, more than 2 million Part I arrests, and 3.2 million arrests for “other” offenses. With a U.S. population of 316 million, the national levels were 31.0 Part I crimes per 1,000 residents, 6.4 Part I arrests per 1,000 residents, and 10.4 “other” arrests for less serious offenses per 1,000 residents.

¹¹ The Part I offenses that make up the FBI’s Uniform Crime Report (UCR) “Crime Index” are murder, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny/theft, motor vehicle theft, and arson. We have excluded arson from this analysis because counts are typically low and less reliable than other Index crimes.

Disproportionate arrest rates for minor offenses

Looking at the numbers for St. Louis City and County reveals some interesting facts. Of particular note is the high number of arrests per resident for “other” offenses in many communities, both compared with national averages and compared with the Part I arrest activity in the same jurisdictions.

For example, on average between 2010 and 2014, the Beverly Hills Police Department made 1,087 “other” arrests per 1,000 residents, or the equivalent of more than one such arrest each year for every resident of the municipalities it patrols.¹² This is more than 100 times the national rate of arrests for “other” offenses.

If one compares the arrest rates for “other” (less serious) offenses directly to the arrest rates for Part I (more serious) crimes, a pattern emerges. In many other departments, including Edmundson, Moline Acres, Pine Lawn, Calverton Park, and Pagedale, the arrest rate for “other” offenses is more than 10 times higher than the arrest rate for more serious crimes. Nationally, the arrest rate for less serious offenses is not even twice the arrest rate for more serious crimes. (In the City of St. Louis, which has higher levels of serious crime, the arrest rates for the serious Part I offenses and the less serious offenses are almost identical.)

The dramatic difference in arrest rates in so many municipalities in St. Louis County suggests that some agencies are devoting disproportionate attention and resources to less serious crime issues. This seems to be occurring even in communities that have problems with more serious crime, as measured by the number of Part I crimes per 1,000 residents that are reported to police.

Lack of Diversity in the Police Ranks

Another organizational issue that came up frequently during our Town Hall Meetings and focus groups was the level of diversity among police officers in many jurisdictions. Time and again, we heard from residents—in particular, African-American residents—who expressed concern that their police departments did not come close to reflecting the racial makeup of the communities they serve. On numerous occasions, residents expressed frustration that officers do not understand the community, because they do not live there and cannot relate to the cultures, experiences, and everyday challenges of the people who do live there. During a Town Hall Meeting on January 8, 2015, one participant said, “I attended community meetings in Ferguson with members of the community and police officers. The

¹² Obviously, some of these arrests are of individuals who live outside of the municipalities that the Beverly Hills Police Department patrols. Still, measuring arrests per resident population provides a consistent measure of law enforcement activity in various communities.

Ferguson police officers just don't understand that there are issues of systematic racism present. They don't get it."

During a focus group conducted at Carnahan High School of the Future in St. Louis City, one participant stated: "The city of St. Louis has a residency requirement for all police officers. I think this helps cops understand the unique neighborhood cultures in the city. Most county municipalities don't have a residency requirement and the officers aren't well received, especially in North County." A participant in a different focus group put it more bluntly: "I question whether the County municipalities are actually serious about hiring minorities."

Challenges to building a diverse workforce: While residents expressed a desire for more diversity within their police forces, police executives in meetings with PERF identified a number of barriers to increasing diversity, including mixed feelings among African-Americans and other minorities about the policing profession, and fierce competition for qualified minority candidates. Such candidates are in high demand and can often choose among multiple offers from departments that have the most attractive compensation packages, newer equipment, and better technology. As one police official stated, "Diversity won't happen at the community level [in local municipalities] for generations." We heard similar sentiments in meetings with leaders of African-American communities, who said that no matter what your background, at some point almost every African-American in the St. Louis region will have had a negative, even humiliating experience with the police. These negative feelings make some members of the African-American community even less inclined to pursue careers in law enforcement. This is an issue that has been reported by police chiefs in other parts of the United States.

Other speakers at the Town Hall Meetings sponsored by Better Together and focus groups pointed out that racial diversity within officer ranks does not guarantee community trust or high-quality policing, especially if African-American and other minority officers are hired into departments that continue to emphasize revenue generation over community policing.

Findings

This section presents the major findings of our study. These findings are based on the data analysis of crime and policing, as well as the personal perspectives and experiences offered by the participants in our Town Hall, focus group, and one-on-one meetings.

Finding #1:

The City of St. Louis and many municipalities in St. Louis County are experiencing high rates of violent and property crime.

Our analysis of crime in St. Louis City and County was based on the FBI's Uniform Crime Report for 2013 (the most recent year for which complete data were available),¹³ as well as 2014 data obtained from the Missouri Department of Public Safety.

Looking broadly, crime rates in St Louis City and County combined exceeded both the national and Midwest rates for all seven Index crimes analyzed in 2013 (see Table 2). However, this big-picture overview masks important facts about crime levels within the combined jurisdictions. For example, St. Louis County had substantially lower crime rates than the region as a whole. Crime rates in the County were similar to other metropolitan counties in the United States (although St. Louis County had noticeably higher robbery and larceny rates).

Not surprisingly, crime is highly concentrated within St. Louis City, which also has some of the highest concentrations of poverty, unemployment, drug addiction, and other social factors that contribute to crime. Though the City has approximately one-third the population of the County, raw crime counts are generally much higher in the City. For example, St. Louis City reported 2,209 robberies in 2013; St. Louis County, 751. As a result, the crime rate per 100,000 population is considerably higher in the City; in fact, the 2013 crime rates in St. Louis City exceeded almost all of the comparison areas we examined. The City's murder rate is 10 times that of the County, and substantially higher than the rate of similarly-sized cities (250,000-499,999) nationally.

¹³ We caution that UCR data provide a general overview of crime and should not be used for ranking or rating purposes. As the FBI notes in its data disclaimer: "UCR data are sometimes used to compile rankings of individual jurisdictions and institutions of higher learning. These incomplete analyses have often created misleading perceptions which adversely affect geographic entities and their residents. For this reason, the FBI has a long-standing policy against ranking participating law enforcement agencies on the basis of crime data alone.... UCR statistics include only jurisdictional population figures along with reported crime, clearance, or arrest data. Rankings ignore the uniqueness of each locale."

Table 2. UCR offense figures and crime rates (per 100,000 population), 2013

AREA		Murder	Rape*	Robbery	Aggravated Assault	Burglary	Larceny	Motor Vehicle Theft
U.S.								
	Count	14,196	108,612	345,031	724,149	1,928,465	6,004,453	699,594
	Rate	4.5	34.4	109.1	229.1	610.0	1,899.4	221.3
Midwest								
	Count	3,042	26,929	66,945	135,803	383,297	1,217,580	128,619
	Rate	4.5	39.9	99.1	201.0	567.4	1,802.5	190.4
Cities								
	Count	10,346	37,637	290,331	528,554	1,311,054	4,522,141	535,070
	Rate	5.2	44.0	145.7	265.3	658.1	2,270.0	268.6
Metropolitan Counties								
	Count	2,337	10,858	36,566	121,120	357,567	864,293	108,473
	Rate	3.4	31.7	53.0	175.7	518.6	1,253.4	157.3
Cities, population 250,000 to 499,999								
	Count	1,640	4,223	42,962	58,600	139,194	391,524	73,731
	Rate	11.0	62.3	288.8	393.9	935.5	2,631.5	495.6
STL Region (County and City)								
	Count	157	568	2,209	4,969	9,307	31,798	4,721
	Rate	11.9	43.0	167.4	376.5	705.1	2,409.0	357.7
STL County								
	Count	37	235	751	1,798	5,002	18,263	1,391
	Rate	3.7	23.5	75.0	179.5	499.5	1,823.7	138.9
STL City								
	Count	120	333	1,458	3,171	4,305	13,535	3,330
	Rate	37.7	104.6	457.8	995.6	1,351.7	4,249.7	1,045.5

Source: Missouri Department of Public Safety; Crime in the United States, 2013

Note: Considerable caution is required regarding rape statistics, because the FBI recently adopted a significantly broader definition of rape, and not all police agencies are reporting under the new definition.

Although the City of St. Louis has comparatively high levels of violent and property crime, it is not unique in this regard—parts of St. Louis County are experiencing high crime levels as well. In 2014, there were 16.9 violent crimes and 63 property crimes per 1,000 residents of St. Louis City.¹⁴ There are several municipalities within St. Louis County that have crime rates similar to, or in some cases higher than, St. Louis City's rates.

¹⁴ Because this part of the analysis looked at jurisdictions with smaller population sizes, crime rates were calculated per 1,000 residents, as opposed to the traditional measure of 100,000.

Table 3. Violent and property crime rates, 2014

AREA	Violent Crime Rate (per 1,000 residents)
STL City-County Combined	6.3
STL City	16.9
STL County	3.0
TOP 10 MUNICIPALITIES	
Wellston	35.9
Velda City	15.5
Bellefontaine Neighbors	14.2
Kinloch	13.4
Jennings	13.1
Hillsdale	12.9
Bel-Ridge	12.1
Northwoods	10.6
Flordell Hills	9.7
Pine Lawn	9.5

AREA	Property Crime Rate (per 1,000 residents)
STL City-County Combined	31.9
STL City	63.0
STL County	22.0
TOP 10 MUNICIPALITIES	
Bellefontaine Neighbors	176.5
Fenton	99.0
Wellston	97.7
Richmond Heights	88.3
Bridgeton	80.8
Jennings	79.3
Riverview	73.5
Cool Valley	65.2
Pine Lawn	54.0
Berkeley	53.8

For example, the city of Wellston had a violent crime rate—35.9 per 1,000 residents—more than double that of St. Louis City, and in other municipalities the violent crime rate is just slightly below the City’s rate. In addition, eight municipalities have property crime rates greater than St. Louis City: Bellefontaine Neighbors (nearly three times the City’s rate), Fenton, Wellston, Richmond Heights, Bridgeton, Jennings, Riverview, and Cool Valley.

Much of this crime is concentrated in the North and Mid County. For violent crime, the “Top 10” most violent municipalities in St. Louis County account for 2.3% of the County’s area (11.6 square miles of the entire County’s 508 square miles) and 3.4% of the County’s total population (34,052 residents of the County’s total population of 1,001,876). However, these same municipalities account for 15.4% of the County’s total violent crime in 2014. Four municipalities—Bellefontaine Neighbors, Jennings, Pine Lawn, and Wellston—were on the “top 10” listings for both violent and property crime, and all four are located in North or Mid County.

Figure 1. Municipalities with the highest violent crime rates in St. Louis County, 2014

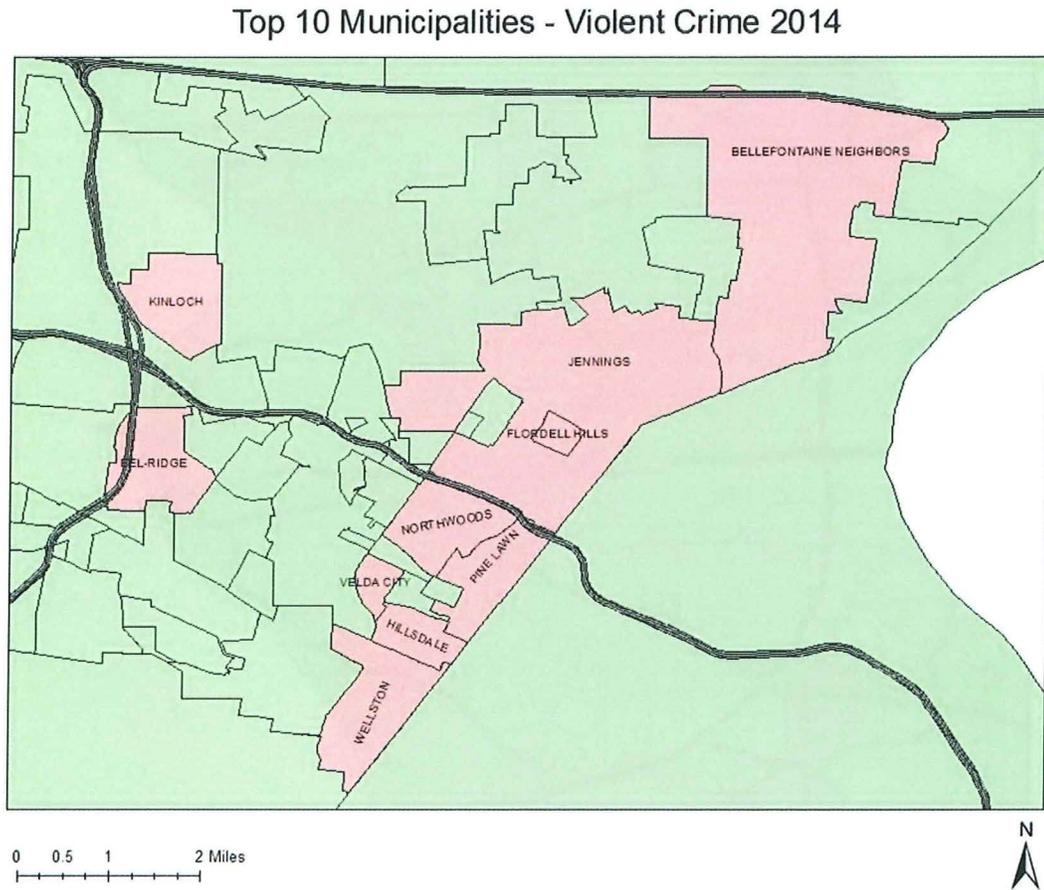
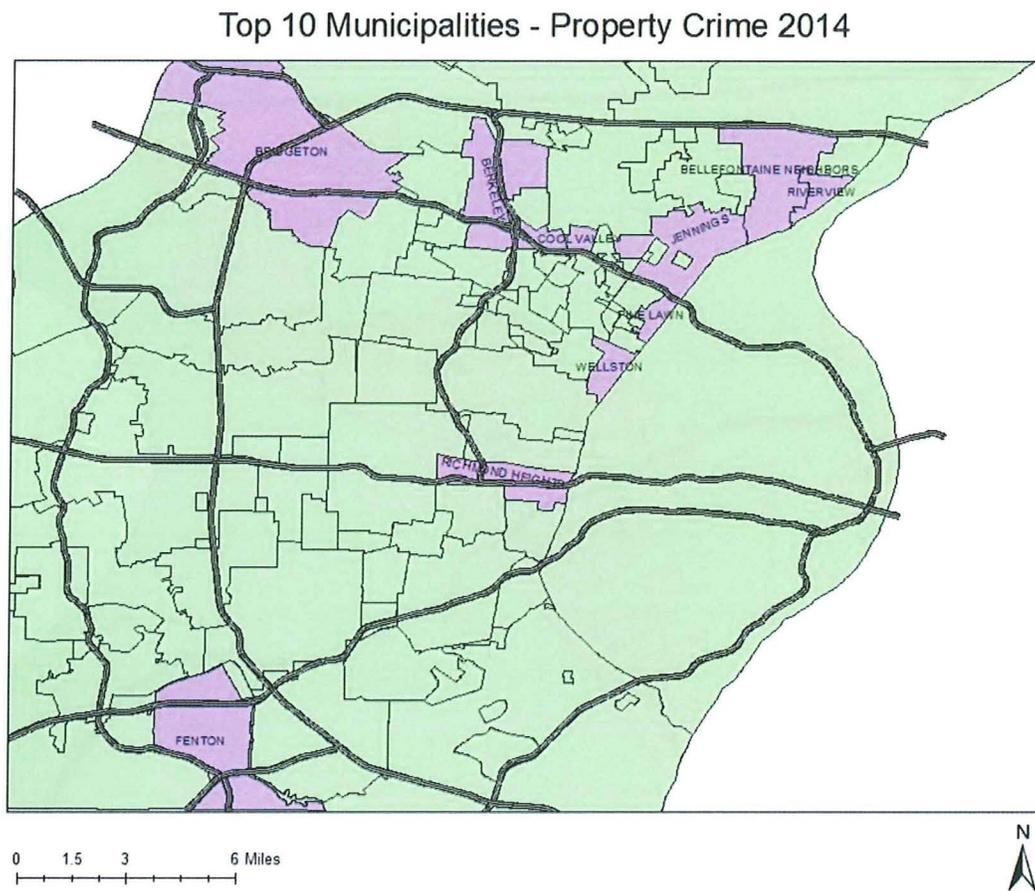


Figure 2. Municipalities with the highest property crime rates in St. Louis County, 2014



These data illustrate that crime does not stop at a municipal or county border, and the impact of crime affects the entire region. St. Louis City and County should view policing as a regional issue that is best addressed through regional approaches and strategies.

Finding #2:

Crime has financial costs that are borne by the residents and governments of the St. Louis region.

Measuring the cost of crime is important for at least two reasons: to understand how crime affects economic vitality and to assess the returns on investments made in policing and other criminal justice activities. To help policymakers and researchers better understand and measure the actual costs of crime and the returns on investments, the RAND Corp. developed a research-based *Cost of Crime*

*Calculator.*¹⁵ The calculator is based on a RAND report that summarizes research studies about the costs of crime. PERF used the most “conservative” of three cost models cited by RAND (the model that yields the lowest dollar figures for the costs of each type of crime).¹⁶ These cost estimates include:

- Potential victim costs, such as lost productivity and property, additional medical and/or social/psychological care, and a future “quality of life” estimate, when applicable.
- Criminal justice costs, such as the necessary processing outlays from police, legal representatives, courts, corrections, and probation/parole.
- Offender costs, such as expenses borne by offenders’ families and the loss of legitimate earnings due to incarceration.

Table 4. Estimated cost per crime nationally cited by RAND Corp.

Type of Crime	Cost Estimate (in 2014 dollars)
Homicide	\$5,708,829
Rape	\$171,265
Robbery*	\$26,261
Aggravated Assault	\$62,797
Burglary	\$5,709
Larceny	\$3,197
Motor Vehicle Theft	\$10,276

SOURCE: RAND Corporation

Using UCR data from 2013 and the *Cost of Crime Calculator*, we determined the annual costs of FBI Index crime across multiple jurisdictions in St. Louis County and City.

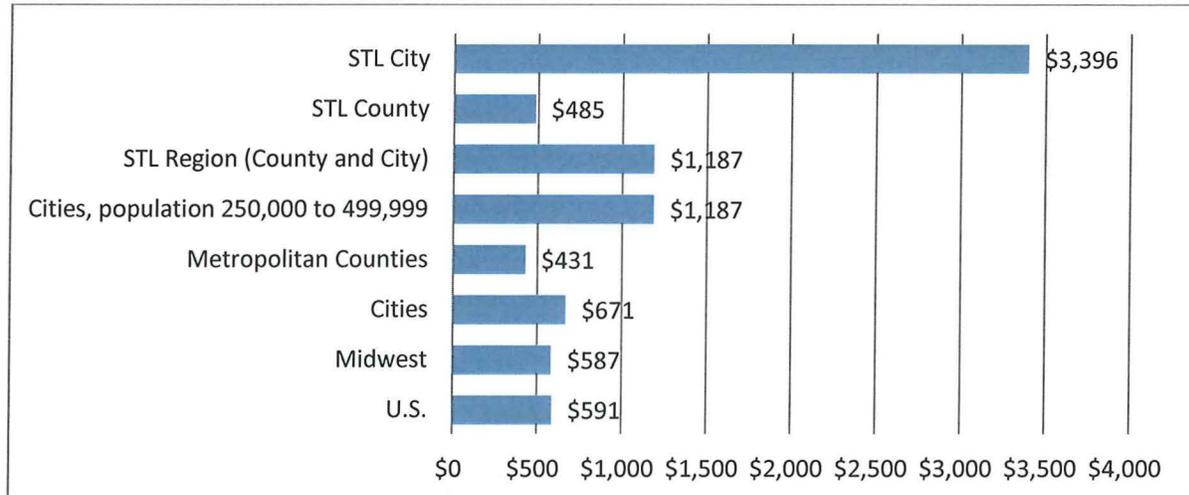
In St. Louis City and County combined, the total cost of serious crime exceeded \$1.56 billion in 2013. These costs are absorbed by community members, either directly as taxes for government functions such as operating jails, or as de facto taxes on the economic vitality of the region (such as lost productivity when victims are injured).

PERF next divided the costs of crime in St. Louis City and County by population figures, in order to produce a “cost per person” for each resident. We then compared these costs in St. Louis to other national and regional figures:

¹⁵ For more information on the RAND *Cost of Crime Calculator*, see <http://www.rand.org/jie/centers/quality-policing/cost-of-crime.html>.

¹⁶ Hidden in Plain Sight: What Cost-of-Crime Research Can Tell Us About Investing in Police. RAND Corporation, 2010. Table 1. http://www.rand.org/pubs/occasional_papers/OP279.html

Figure 3. Cost of FBI Index Crime, per resident, 2013



The cost of crime is highest in St. Louis City, at nearly \$3,400 per person per year; in St. Louis County, the cost is much lower, at \$485 per person per year. This pattern is similar to that of the Baltimore area, which we analyzed for comparative purposes. Crime in Baltimore City costs each resident \$3,071 per year; in the surrounding Baltimore County, the cost of crime is \$523 per person per year. For further benchmarking, we calculated the annual per capita cost of crime in the combined city-county departments in Indianapolis (\$1,800), New Orleans (\$2,955), and Louisville (\$872).

Table 5. Cost of FBI Index Crime, per resident, in selected areas, 2013

	Population (2013)	Cost	Cost per Person
NATIONAL	291,676,240*	\$172,475,537,525	\$591
METROPOLITAN COUNTIES, NATIONALLY	68,954,749	\$29,686,524,381	\$431
CITIES (1 million+)	25,735,804	\$22,332,648,481	\$868
CITIES (250-499k)	14,878,533	\$17,654,903,777	\$1,187
INDIANAPOLIS	850,220	\$1,530,515,716	\$1,800
LOUISVILLE	671,120	\$585,190,817	\$872
NEW ORLEANS	377,022	\$1,114,139,155	\$2,955

ST. LOUIS REGION	1,319,940	\$1,566,918,380	\$1,187
BALTIMORE REGION	1,445,987	\$2,341,798,424	\$1,620
St. Louis City	318,496	\$1,081,576,270	\$3,396
St. Louis County	1,001,444	\$485,342,110	\$485
Baltimore City	622,104	\$1,910,690,854	\$3,071
Baltimore County	823,883	\$431,107,570	\$523

*Population represents the number of people served by police agencies that report crime information to FBI's UCR system.

In addition to looking at the total cost of crime, we also examined the *costs of police services* in selected jurisdictions. In St. Louis City and County combined, the cost of providing police services was \$355 per resident per year. By comparison, in the Baltimore region (Baltimore City and County combined), police services cost \$438 per person per year. The Indianapolis, Louisville, and New Orleans regions are consolidated city-county policing models, and thus provide interesting perspectives. The annual cost of police services per person was lower in two of the three regional jurisdictions (\$242 in Indianapolis and \$257 in Louisville) and was approximately the same in New Orleans (\$357).

Table 6. Annual costs of crime and police services, per resident, in selected comparison areas

	Cost of Crime per person (2013)	Cost of Police Services per person (2014)
St. Louis Region	\$1,187	\$355
Baltimore Region	\$1,620	\$438
Indianapolis Region	\$1,800	\$242
Louisville Region	\$872	\$257
New Orleans Region	\$2,955	\$357
St. Louis City	\$3,396	\$597
St. Louis County	\$485	\$278
Baltimore City	\$3,071	\$713
Baltimore County	\$523	\$232

The cost of crime and the cost of policing in St. Louis City and many of the municipalities in St. Louis County area are high when compared with other jurisdictions. Maintaining the status quo means the region will be saddled with huge expenses—in terms of both dollars and personal hardship—for years to come.

However, by making targeted investments in policing and other services that could bring down the crime rate, the region has the opportunity to achieve dramatic cost savings as well. Given that each homicide is estimated to cost society approximately \$5.7 million, even a 10% reduction in homicides in the St. Louis region would save an estimated \$91 million. Creating systems that improve policing and drive down the crime rate makes sense from the standpoint of both public safety and economics.

Finding #3:

In many municipalities in St. Louis County, policing is driven by the need to generate revenue, and not by the public safety needs or priorities of the community.

A concern expressed by many participants in our Town Hall Meetings and focus groups was that in many communities, police priorities are not just misguided—they are the complete opposite of what residents want and expect. As one town hall participant put it, policing in her community is viewed by many as “another form of taxation,” rather than the proper role of protecting and serving the community. This feeling is especially strong in those municipalities where property and sales taxes (the primary sources of revenue in most St. Louis County municipalities) are lagging. In those communities, local officials have turned to fines associated with traffic tickets and municipal code citations issued by the police to plug revenue gaps for their local governments. One of our focus group participants put it this way: “It’s no secret that a lot of these municipal police officers are only supposed to be revenue drivers for their cities.”

This intense, widespread focus of the police on generating revenue is an anomaly that PERF has not seen elsewhere in the United States. It is considered a best practice in policing for municipal governments to write formal mission statements defining exactly what they want from their police departments. These mission statements often have many points in common (e.g., crime prevention is usually a high priority), while differing in emphasis according to the political or philosophical leanings of the jurisdiction on certain issues, such as immigration enforcement and civil liberties priorities. PERF is unaware of any police mission statement that makes any mention of generating revenue through fines and penalties, although that is clearly a high priority of some departments in St. Louis County.

Reliance on fees is concentrated in St. Louis County: In the aggregate, the 90 municipalities in St. Louis County account for 11% of Missouri’s total population, but bring in 34% of all municipal fines and fees statewide—a total of more than \$45 million in 2013.¹⁷ Of the 14 municipalities whose largest individual source of revenue is municipal fines and fees, 13 lie within the small area north of Olive Boulevard and within the boundary of I-270. Twenty of the 21 municipalities that obtain at least 20% of their budgets from fines and fees are in that same area. This emphasis on generating revenue has turned the justice

¹⁷ “Municipal Courts Report,” Executive Summary, Better Together, p. 2.
<http://www.bettertogetherstl.com/studies/public-safety/municipal-courts-report>

system on its head in some areas. Rather than attempting to prevent infractions and keep individuals *out of the justice system*, many police departments engage in practices that end up bringing more people *into the system* in an effort to bring more dollars into municipal coffers.

“Everyone’s got a horror story to tell”: In many communities, traffic enforcement is a major police focus, and a favored way to generate revenue. As former St. Louis Police Chief Tim Fitch told PERF, “Everyone’s got a horror story to tell about the police, and most of that horror story relates back to being ticketed for some minor violation.” We heard reports of some departments setting up “DUI checkpoints” (sometimes as early as 10 a.m.), not necessarily in an effort to take drunk drivers off the road, but rather to issue citations for other types of violations that would result in municipal court fines. For example, a 36-year-old resident of St. Louis told the St. Louis Post-Dispatch she was stopped at a Pine Lawn sobriety checkpoint in June 2014. After police ran her name, they discovered a warrant for failure to appear on a traffic case. She said police never tested her sobriety, and she was held in jail for two weeks in lieu of a \$350 bond she could not pay.¹⁸ Pine Lawn, a Mid-County community of just six-tenths of a square mile, issued more than 17,000 traffic citations during 2013. That’s the equivalent of more than five citations per resident.

In addition to traffic enforcement, St. Louis County police departments aggressively enforce a wide array of municipal code infractions, including offenses that often lack tightly written definitions, such as disturbing the peace, affray, or failure to comply. Many of these offenses serve to give police officers the opportunity to stop individuals and look for still more infractions. Further compounding the situation is the common practice of adding new fines and penalties, and even issuing arrest warrants, for individuals who fail to appear in municipal court on their original charge or fail to pay the original penalty on time.

A participant at Better Together’s January 2015 Town Hall Meeting said that her neighbor was fined for overgrown grass. The individual’s lawnmower was broken and he could not afford to get it fixed. A new fine was assessed on top of the existing fine, and that cost was compounded by a failure to appear fee. In Bel-Ridge, police issue citations for failing to subscribe to the city’s only approved trash collection service. Ferguson has a municipal code charge of failure to remove leaf debris, and has required violators to appear in court regardless of whether they are contesting the charges. Several Town Hall participants agreed that it is not unusual for a small infraction (such as overgrown grass, leaf debris, or a leaky gutter) to result in fines and fees that end up costing several times the original citation. “These municipalities are making their money on the backs of good people who can’t pay,” said one community leader.

Police and courts seen as working together to maximize revenue: As frustrated as many residents are with police actions in their communities, residents also understand that the police are not operating

¹⁸ “Protesters demand change at Pine Lawn police department and court,” by Jeremy Kohler. St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Feb. 5, 2015.

alone or in a vacuum. They are part of larger municipal court systems that have been described by Better Together as “punitive revenue centers” and “a blatant system of taxing residents in the poorest communities in the region.”¹⁹ In parts of St. Louis County, police and court practices go hand in hand in a seemingly coordinated effort to maximize revenue. The police feed the municipal court system by writing traffic tickets and other municipal violations. In turn, the courts (and the local officials who oversee them) encourage the police to do even more enforcement and to issue arrest warrants for those who fail to appear in municipal court.

In some cases, the relationship between the police and the courts is built into the very organizational structure of the municipality. In Ferguson, the municipal court lies organizationally within the Police Department. Court staff—including the Court Clerk who exercises broad discretion over the court’s operations—report directly to the chief of police, and the court is physically located within police headquarters.²⁰ Such close relationships undermine the court’s proper role as neutral arbiters of justice, and feed the perception in the community that the system is rigged against defendants.²¹

As one focus group participant told us: “These courts are terrible. There is a line out the door. You can’t bring your children or anyone else in with you. There’s no ATM—you pay cash or credit card but you don’t know what you owe until you get in the door. It’s predatory!”

Loss of driver’s license can create additional hardship: Beyond fines and fees and the possibility of jail time, many defendants in St. Louis County face another potential sanction when they get caught up in the municipal court system: suspension of their driver’s licenses. Under Missouri law, failure to pay on time a moving traffic violation, or failure to appear in court for such a violation, results in the suspension of driving privileges. Individuals caught in those circumstances are even less likely to appear for subsequent court dates, because getting to most municipal courts almost always involves driving, and thus risking being pulled over by the police and facing additional charges. We heard from many people that getting out of this cycle of missed court appearances and catching up on outstanding fines can be extremely difficult, especially for those who are unemployed or have low-wage jobs.

¹⁹ Ibid 15, p.1.

²⁰ During its investigation of the Ferguson Police Department, the Justice Department was informed by Ferguson officials that they were considering placing the municipal court under the supervision of the City Finance Director.

²¹ Recent examinations of the municipal courts in St. Louis County found that many of them make it difficult for defendants to easily resolve their cases. This is done by limiting court hours to just a few sessions a month, providing few (if any) alternatives to appearing in person, failing to provide clear information on where and how to pay a ticket, and not always being transparent about the entire process and the consequences for not complying with it. The result is that many defendants run afoul of the courts’ requirements, which only results in additional fines and fees—and, often, warrants for their arrest. There have been reports of cases in which individuals were arrested without ever knowing that they had an outstanding warrant against them.

See www.bettertogetherstl.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/BT-Municipal-Courts-Report-Full-Report1.pdf and <https://www.dropbox.com/s/vwptqn3mhq9xvy7/ArchCity%20Defenders%20Municipal%20Courts%20Whitepaper.pdf>.

Relying on fines and fees for minor offenses to cover basic revenue needs, and then using the threat of incarceration to exact payment, is wrong, and is correctly seen by residents as lacking legitimacy. Such practices can create hardships for residents who have not committed any serious offense, and for their families. People who are incarcerated or cannot drive because they failed to appear in court are more likely to lose their jobs, their means of transportation, and their housing.

Kentucky aims to reduce jailing of minor offenders: Officials in other jurisdictions have recognized the inefficiencies and negative consequences of charging, arresting, and holding large numbers of offenders cited for traffic and minor misdemeanor offenses. For example, in 2008, the police chiefs in Campbell County, Kentucky (across the Ohio River from Cincinnati), came together at the request of the County Judge Executive and implemented a local policy whereby police officers making arrests for most minor traffic and misdemeanor offenses would “cite and release,” rather than holding defendants in the county jail. It soon became clear that the program was reducing costs to the county and avoiding unnecessary and costly disruptions to the lives of residents stopped by the police. After the new policy was implemented, “We significantly reduced the cost to our county,” Alexandria, KY Police Chief Mike Ward wrote in an online policing publication. “We were not paying for people to sit in jail waiting for trial.... [The change in policy] was a major achievement, because so many people lost their jobs due to being incarcerated for only a few days.”²² What started as an isolated pilot program has since been established statewide. St. Louis County could benefit from a similar, region-wide approach.

Finding #4:

The inappropriate, revenue-driven mission of the police is often directed by local officials looking to fund municipal government.

Nearly every constituency we engaged in this project recognized that the focus on revenue generation typically does not start with the police: it usually starts with elected officials who reprioritize police activities to focus on money over public safety. In an interview with PERF, Former St. Louis County Police Chief Tim Fitch said that the police should not be blamed for policies dictated by elected officials. “I’ve always blamed it on the municipal officials who force their police to do that,” Fitch said. A Town Hall Meeting participant said, “In the current system, police are being asked to play a role [generating revenue] that they shouldn’t have to play.”

In many municipalities in St. Louis County, anticipated court revenues are included as line items in the overall operating budgets—in essence, setting a monetary “target” for the police and the courts to reach, regardless of the level of crime or violations occurring within their communities. As some

²² “[Safe, Fair and Effective Pretrial Justice Is Crucial to Law Enforcement](http://theiacpblog.org/2015/04/02/safe-fair-and-effective-pretrial-justice-is-crucial-to-law-enforcement/),” by Mike Ward. Official Blog of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, April 2, 2015. <http://theiacpblog.org/2015/04/02/safe-fair-and-effective-pretrial-justice-is-crucial-to-law-enforcement/>

municipalities have seen traditional sources of revenue such as sales taxes stagnate, it is not uncommon for them to increase court revenue targets each year. For example, Ferguson collected \$1.38 million in court fines and fees in 2010, but budgeted for \$2.63 million in 2014.

Meeting those targets is something that many local leaders pay close attention to. In Ferguson, the Justice Department uncovered emails in which the Finance Director warned the Police Chief in 2010 that “unless ticket writing ramps up significantly before the end of the year, it will be hard to significantly raise collections next year.... Given that we are looking at a substantial sales tax shortfall, it’s not an insignificant issue.” In another email, the Police Chief said he would try to raise court fees not by the anticipated 7.5%, but by 10%. Ferguson police officers from all ranks told Justice Department investigators that revenue generation “is stressed heavily within the police department, and that message comes from City leadership.”²³

In Edmundson, a North County community of just over 800 people, the Mayor went so far as to imply that officers’ compensation would be affected by how many tickets the police wrote. In an April 2014 memo, titled “Traffic tickets” and sent to all police sergeants and patrol officers, the Mayor noted a “marked downturn in traffic and other tickets being written by your department” and reminded officers that “the tickets that you write do add to the revenue on which the P.D. budget is established and will directly affect pay adjustments at budget time.”²⁴

In Ferguson, the municipal court provided police with monthly reports on the number of tickets issued by each officer. Supervisors reportedly posted the lists inside the police station as a way to encourage officers to write more tickets. When officers failed to meet “productivity” goals, supervisors were instructed to change officers’ assignments or even impose discipline. Officers were also reminded that “self-initiated activity” would be considered in upcoming promotional processes.²⁵

Police officers oppose ticket quotas: Police officers and union representatives interviewed by PERF said they strongly opposed any ticket quotas—stated or implied—being placed on officers. Many expressed exasperation at being blamed for issues and policies set by municipal governments and their political leaders. In a meeting with PERF, one area police official said, “These priorities [traffic enforcement] are set by local politicians and residents’ complaints, not my department.” A St. Louis area journalist interviewed by PERF said, “The public hates ticket quotas, and cops don’t like them either.”

Macks Creek Law may be strengthened: In recent years, the Missouri legislature has tried to reduce the overreliance on municipal court fines and fees to fund local government. A 2013 state statute, commonly known as Macks Creek law, specifies that no municipality may collect more than 30% of its

²³ “Investigation of the Ferguson Police Department,” U.S. Department of Justice. March 4, 2015, p. 2. http://www.justice.gov/sites/default/files/opa/press-releases/attachments/2015/03/04/ferguson_police_department_report_1.pdf

²⁴ “Edmundson Ticket Memo.” <http://www.scribd.com/doc/220153867/Edmundson-Ticket-Memo>.

²⁵ Ibid. 21, pp. 11-12.

annual general operating revenue from traffic tickets and court fees, with any revenue above that threshold transferred to the public schools. However, in its recent report on the municipal courts, Better Together concluded that Macks Creek Law “is rarely meaningfully enforced at either the court or circuit level.”²⁶

In late 2014, the Missouri Attorney General, joined by the State Auditor and members of the Missouri Legislature, filed a lawsuit against 13 North County municipalities, alleging they exceeded the cap on court revenue as a percentage of total operating revenue for the municipalities. In March 2015, the Attorney General dropped several municipalities from the lawsuit after they had submitted financial reports or re-filed their reports with updated information.

More recently, both the Missouri House and Senate have passed legislation that would strengthen the Macks Creek law by lowering the percentage of operating revenue that municipalities in St. Louis County could raise from traffic tickets. The House bill sets the cap at 15%; the Senate bill would gradually lower the cap to 10% in urban municipalities and 20% in more rural areas. The legislation would also reform some of the municipal court procedures that many have said are unfair, including excessive fines and the threat of jail for failure to pay. This type of state intervention, or potential intervention by the U.S. Justice Department’s Civil Rights Division, may dramatically alter the mission and priorities of many municipal police departments in St. Louis County.

Finding #5:

Most residents want their police departments to engage in serious and meaningful community-based policing, but because of the emphasis placed on generating revenue, community policing is de-emphasized or non-existent in many jurisdictions.

As much as we heard concerns about what some police departments are doing in terms of aggressively issuing tickets and citations, we also heard frequent complaints about what officers are *not* doing—namely, not engaging with residents in positive, productive ways to enhance community safety. One focus group meeting participant summed it up this way: “Maybe if police could stop writing tickets to support their governments, they could actually do some real community-oriented policing.”

“Don’t just drive by. Stop and say hello.” In almost every meeting we convened, residents expressed the desire for traditional “beat cops” who know residents. A common complaint was that in many communities, officers seldom get out of their police cars, “walk the beat,” or otherwise seek to engage in real community policing. “Don’t just drive by,” said one town hall participant. “Stop and say hello.” Ironically, one of the perceived benefits of having small, locally controlled departments is the increased

²⁶ “Municipal Courts Report,” Executive Summary, Better Together, p. 2.

opportunity for developing strong police-community relationships. But it appears that such partnerships are often the weakest in some of the smallest and most cash-strapped municipalities.

“People are willing to pay good money for safety when it works,” said one meeting participant. This sentiment was expressed in several focus groups and Town Halls Meetings. In general, community members support paying taxes for an effective police agency. Residents of Bridgeton, for example, said they were very pleased with the level of police services they receive. Participants at the February 9, 2015, Town Hall Meeting said that the Bridgeton Police Department’s priorities are in line with those of the community. One Bridgeton resident explained, “We love our police department because they have high hiring standards, quality training programs, and are accountable for their actions. The department is friendly to the community, they help our youth with problems, they’re invested in the community, and they reflect our values and needs.”

In other communities, however, the activities needed to support revenue-driven policing end up robbing officers of the time they might be able to devote to community policing. For example, many municipalities do not operate their own detention facilities and instead contract with other jurisdictions or the County. So when a defendant (often a minor violator who failed to appear in court) needs to be transported to jail, the police department must take one of its on-duty officers out of service. In smaller departments with only a few officers on duty at any given time, this can mean a sizeable percentage of their force is unavailable.

Officer discretion should be used to improve police-community relationships: Under community policing, the notion of “officer discretion” is considered critically important. Most often, it refers to instances in which police officers step back from overly strict interpretation of the law and use their judgment on how best to approach a problem. Our examination found that in some communities, the concept of police discretion has been turned on its head, as officers end up alienating community members, rather than establishing working relationships with them.

Following are several such reports:

- An attendee at a Town Hall Meeting said that when police in Bellefontaine Neighbors discovered that his home had been broken into, the officers did not attempt to contact the homeowner, who was not at home, to tell him of the burglary. But they did issue three animal control citations for dogs kept at his home.
- One local faith leader shared a story where his identity was questioned by officers when his home burglar alarm went off accidentally. The officer asked him for proof of residency and would not accept his driver’s license or even the picture of him on the wall as proof that he lived in the home. “Thankfully, the sergeant [who knew the homeowner personally] came by and straightened things out,” the man said. “I don’t know what would have happened to me if the sergeant hadn’t been driving by.”

- Another town hall attendee recounted an encounter where she was hit across the head in a parking lot while holding her two-year-old child. She fought back against her attacker, but when police arrived, she ended up in handcuffs, not the person who hit her. Though she and bystanders tried to explain that she had been attacked, the officer dismissed her story and cited her for assault. The officer reportedly advised, “In the future, when you’re being attacked, just go run and hide. Don’t fight back.” Charges against the woman were subsequently dropped by the prosecuting attorney.
- The Justice Department documented instances in Ferguson in which concerned friends or family members showed up at the scene of vehicle accidents involving people they knew, only to end up being arrested and jailed themselves.²⁷
- A community leader at a PERF meeting cited the case of a young man in his neighborhood walking home and being handcuffed and thrown into the back of a police vehicle while the officer checked his identity. “This was a straight A student just trying to get home,” the person said.

The focus of many police departments on revenue at the expense of community policing is eroding the public’s trust and undermining residents’ cooperation in investigations and crime prevention efforts. Public safety and well as officer safety suffer as a result. “The police should be fighting crime, not the community,” said Rev. Tommie Pierson of the Greater St. Mark’s Family Church.

Furthermore, in a region with so many small communities, the erosion of trust in any one police department can undermine overall trust in “the police.” The Justice Department noted this phenomenon in its report on Ferguson: “It appears clear that individuals’ experiences with other law enforcement agencies in St. Louis County ... in many instances have contributed to a general distrust of law enforcement that impacts interactions with the Ferguson police and municipal court.”²⁸ This “spill-over” effect has the potential to set back policing, even in municipalities that have high standards and are trying to work effectively with the community.

Finding #6:

Policing is fragmented, which undermines efficiency and hurts operations.

As detailed earlier in this report (see especially Table 1), policing in the St. Louis region is highly fragmented, with 60 different police departments of varying sizes and service levels, often serving small geographic areas. Some of these departments have as few as five officers, and some patrol areas are not much larger than one-tenth of a square mile.

²⁷ Ibid. 21, p. 81.

²⁸ Ibid. 21, p. 79.

The fragmentation of policing has consequences. First, it can cause confusion and anxiety among residents and other people traveling through the region. This problem is especially acute in the North and Mid County areas. One busy 10-mile stretch of Route 115 (also known as Natural Bridge Road) crosses through 16 different municipalities, meaning that a motorist with a traffic violation such as expired license plates could get pulled over for the same violation in multiple jurisdictions on a single trip. Further complicating the situation is the fact that jurisdictions are likely to have their own municipal codes, their own enforcement strategies, their own municipal court systems, and their own fine and fee structures.²⁹ In our meetings, we heard from several residents who said they purposefully altered their travel routes to avoid jurisdictions where they have had negative experiences.

Inefficiencies and duplication of effort: The fragmentation of policing also creates inefficiencies. Some jurisdictions do share some services, such as detention, dispatch, major crime investigations, and crime scene processing. However, the costs for many items, such as vehicles, equipment, training, and police administration, are borne by each individual municipality, some of which have only a handful of officers. Communities are missing out on efficiencies of scale that would come from larger, bulk purchases of some items and less overhead.

One major area where police fragmentation has created inefficiencies is in emergency dispatch. Better Together has previously reported on the range of public safety answering points (PSAPs) in the St. Louis region. Each PSAP represents an independent dispatch center for use by police, fire, EMS, and other emergency services.

Table 7. Public Safety Answering Points in the St. Louis region

PSAP	# of Police Departments Served
Ballwin PD	2
Berkeley PD	1
Bridgeton PD	1
Crestwood PD	1
Des Peres PD	1
East Central Dispatch Center	8
Ferguson PD	4
Florissant PD	1
Glendale PD	2
Hazelwood PD	1
Kirkwood PD	1
Ladue PD	1
Maryland Heights PD	1
Overland PD	1
St. Ann PD	4
St. Louis City PD Dispatch	1

²⁹ In April 2015, 80 of the 82 municipal courts in St. Louis County voluntarily agreed to a uniform standard for fines and court fees.

St. Louis County PD	23
Sunset Hills PD	1
University City PD	1
West Central Dispatch Center	3

There are 20 active PSAPs serving the St. Louis region, excluding Pacific’s PSAP.³⁰ Given that approximately two-thirds of these PSAPs serve only one municipality, there is likely an opportunity for pooling resources with greater efficiency.

This issue was raised at some of our Town Hall Meetings. A resident of unincorporated St. Louis County who participated in the January 8, 2015 meeting explained that it may take over 20 minutes for the county police to respond when she calls the police. “It doesn’t make any sense. I live right next to the Eureka Police Department. Why can’t they just respond?” Another participant at this meeting said that when he was out driving and saw an apparently drunk driver, he tried to report it, but he kept getting transferred from one dispatch center to another, or told to call another department, because the drunk driver was passing through so many different municipalities.

The fragmentation of policing has also contributed to dramatic variations in the quality and professionalism of police services from one community to another. Hiring standards, policies, training, and pay levels can vary dramatically among the region’s police departments, and there are few, if any, regional standards. (See Finding #7, below, for a more extensive discussion of this topic.)

Finally, the large number of police departments can make it difficult for agencies to form strong, regional partnerships with one another. St. Louis County Police Chief John Belmar noted: “It is not realistic for my agency to have close relationships with five dozen different departments. Inter-agency coordination and cooperation—from everyday policing to major investigations and events—would be much easier if there were a more manageable number of municipal departments.”

It should be noted that several of the mayors and city managers we spoke with defended the current system of municipalities and municipal police departments, saying that “keeping it local” helps ensure that the community’s needs are heard and addressed. Especially in North County, municipal leaders expressed concern about being disenfranchised if they were to consolidate with St. Louis County or another jurisdiction. In the necessary triage of calls that would take place in larger areas served by larger departments, there was concern that smaller communities would be neglected. However, some of these departments were the same ones where community policing is neglected in favor of revenue generation, and where many residents do not trust the police.

³⁰ For our purposes, we have not included Pacific PD. While a small portion of the City of Pacific is in St. Louis County, the vast majority is within Franklin County. Pacific PD already has numerous contract and mutual aid agreements, but with jurisdictions outside of St. Louis County.

Finding #7:

Police standards, training, pay, and professionalism vary dramatically from agency to agency.

Throughout our study, we heard concerns about the lack of standards for the policing profession as a whole, and lack of consistency from agency to agency. The issue was raised by police professionals, municipal leaders, members of the news media, community leaders, and individual residents. We repeatedly heard that when traveling throughout the region, residents do not always receive a consistent level of policing that is fair, just, professional, and free of bias. As one city manager pointed out during a PERF focus group session, there might not be “one size that fits all” when it comes to policing in St. Louis City and County, but there should be a basic, consistent level of service that all residents should expect. A participant at the January 7, 2015, Town Hall Meeting echoed this sentiment: “Policing is different across the County. We all want to be treated with respect and the same level of service, regardless of what town we are in. We understand the value in local policing, but there is a lack of quality control.”

Just one-quarter of the police departments in St. Louis City and County are either accredited by the national Commission on Accreditation for Law Enforcement Agencies (CALEA) or certified by the Missouri Police Chiefs Charitable Foundation. Of the 10 agencies currently accredited by CALEA, only one—the Florissant Police Department—is in north county.³¹ CALEA accreditation is a voluntary process by which a police agency demonstrates that it has adopted policies on a wide range of practices in policing. The process of securing and retaining accreditation can be extensive and costly, especially for smaller jurisdictions. Still, CALEA accreditation is one measure of professionalism among police agencies, because it requires agencies to take the time and trouble to develop and adopt written policies, and departments of all sizes are CALEA-accredited.

Variations in policies and practices were found in the following areas:

Use of force: The lack of standards was cited in a number of areas, including hiring (see Finding #8, below), training, pay, equipment, disciplinary procedures, and policies. An area of strong concern was police use of force. In Town Hall Meetings, we heard from residents who complained that some police officers were quick to use force, that use-of-force incidents are not taken seriously by police departments, and that officers who use force are not held accountable. We also heard that some residents were reluctant or afraid to report police use of force or other allegations of misconduct, for fear that they or their loved ones would be retaliated against. Local leaders and residents who participated in our meetings said police needed additional training in use-of-force scenarios and

³¹ The municipal or regional law enforcement agencies accredited by CALEA are Chesterfield, Clayton, Creve Couer, Florissant, Maplewood, Richmond Heights, Shrewsbury, St. Louis County, St. Louis Metropolitan, and Webster Groves. In addition, the University of Missouri St. Louis Police Department is accredited; the Maryland Heights Police Department is currently in the self-assessment phase of CALEA accreditation.

especially de-escalation techniques, which thousands of police agencies have adopted to reduce the use of force when police encounter persons with mental illness or other conditions that cause them to behave erratically.³² One element of de-escalation is “slowing down” a tense situation, as one participant noted. One town hall participant put it this way: “If unarmed officers in Ireland can de-escalate someone with a knife, why can’t officers in the U.S. do it without a gun?”

Legal experts we spoke with also pointed out that Missouri’s current use-of-force law is not in line with the Supreme Court’s landmark 1985 decision in *Tennessee v. Garner*, which prohibits the use of deadly force against an unarmed suspect who is fleeing from the police unless the officer “has probable cause to believe that the suspect poses a significant threat of death or serious physical injury to the officer or others.” Police chiefs and police union leaders agreed that the state’s statute should be updated.

Training: On the broader issue of training, residents and community leaders were in agreement that police officers needed not just more training, but new and different types of training. Lewis Reed, President of the Board of Aldermen for St. Louis City, put it bluntly in an interview: “We need complete reform in our training academies from top to bottom. We need a unified training plan across the region that reflects today’s standards and expectations for police.” Residents and community leaders said that particular emphasis should be placed on training in such areas as community relations, cultural competency, constitutional rights, and communications. Some participants at Better Together Town Halls and other meetings identified other specialized areas where more effective training is needed:

- **Individuals with mental health problems.** Several community members said officers need more training in how to interact with persons with mental illness or other conditions that can cause them to misunderstand police and behave dangerously. In its investigation on Ferguson, the Justice Department found that officers there were often quick to use force on individuals who may lack the physical or cognitive abilities to understand police orders.³³
- **Non-English speaking individuals.** Focus group participants recommended that police develop standard protocols and receive additional training in working with non-English speaking individuals. They said that the patchwork of municipalities in St. Louis County can be difficult for anyone to understand, and is especially difficult for residents with a limited understanding of English. Participants also recommended that materials such as traffic citations and municipal court instructions be available in multiple languages in every community.
- **Members of the LGBT community.** Leaders of PROMO (Promoting Equality for All Missourians) said that additional training and resources are needed on police interactions with the region’s

³² See “An Integrated Approach to De-Escalation and Minimizing Use of Force.” Police Executive Research Forum, 2012.

http://www.policeforum.org/assets/docs/Critical_Issues_Series/an%20integrated%20approach%20to%20de-escalation%20and%20minimizing%20use%20of%20force%202012.pdf

³³ “Investigation of the Ferguson Police Department,” U.S. Department of Justice. March 4, 2015, p. 36-37.

lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender communities. Andrew Shaughnessy, PROMO's policy director, applauded efforts in St. Louis City and some other municipalities to proactively engage with lesbian, gay, and bisexual residents, and recommended that there be additional liaison officers in other municipalities as well. However, he noted that cultural competency training for working with transgender residents was needed in almost all departments. Others recommended specialized training on domestic violence issues in the LGBT community.

State oversight: Another concern about training that emerged during our research involved state mandates for training and the ability of the Missouri Peace Officers Standards and Training (POST) program to monitor training requirements statewide. Missouri state law requires that all officers in St. Louis City and St. Louis County have a Class A License. In order to obtain a Class A License, an individual must successfully complete 600 hours of basic training. The state cannot require more, but a local jurisdiction can. Currently, the St. Louis County and Municipal Police Academy has a 916-hour basic curriculum; the St. Louis City Police Academy spans 28 weeks, which equates to 1,120 hours of instruction. While licensed training centers cover a full range of topics in basic training, state law mandates only one specific block of training for all recruit officers in the state: 30 hours devoted to "the investigation and management of cases involving domestic and family violence."³⁴ Some of the people we spoke with expressed concern that this one state mandate is inadequate, especially in the current dynamic environment of policing in St. Louis City and County.

Missouri law also requires that to maintain their certification, Class A licensees must complete 48 hours of continuing education over a three-year period. Again, Missouri law contains only one continuing-education mandate for licensed officers who make traffic stops: they must complete three hours of training within each three-year reporting period concerning "the prohibition against racial profiling."³⁵ Our examination revealed two concerns about continuing education. First, the number of required hours is insufficient; and second, the state's POST program cannot effectively monitor continuing education statewide. The latter issue has been a concern for years. In 2005, the Missouri State Auditor found that POST had neither the statutory authority, nor the systems and resources, to track continuing education among Missouri peace officers and to ensure they are meeting the required standards.³⁶ Ten years later, POST is still severely underfunded.

Differences in pay. Another issue that fundamentally impacts police performance and consistency is pay. Although we were unable to undertake a thorough analysis of officer pay because some agencies declined to provide data, anecdotal evidence suggests that pay levels for police vary widely from community to community, with some municipalities paying their officers wages well below industry

³⁴ Missouri Revised Statutes, 590.040-3.

³⁵ Missouri Revised Statutes, 590.050-1.

³⁶ Missouri State Auditor, "Peace Officers Standards and Training Program," Report no. 2005-10.

standards. In many communities, low pay leads to high turnover among officers, which can undermine opportunities for community policing and increase overall costs for recruitment and training.

Some community leaders noted that pay and working conditions in municipal police departments seem to be lower than among the region's fire services, which could be another disincentive to attracting and retaining quality officers. Some of the groups we spoke with advocated greater uniformity in salary and benefits for police officers, as a way to equalize service levels. Beyond pay, promotional opportunities and effective pension systems are "non-existent" in many departments, according to Roger Goldman, Professor Emeritus at the Saint Louis University School of Law and an expert on police licensing and standards.

Finding #8:

Through a process known as the "muni shuffle," police officers with disciplinary or performance issues slip through the cracks and move from department to department. Part of the blame lies with a severely underfunded state oversight system.

The term "muni shuffle" is ubiquitous in the St. Louis region. Nearly every constituency that we met with used the phrase at least once in our discussions. "Muni shuffle" describes a two-step process in which 1) a police department separates a problem officer before completing a formal disciplinary proceeding that might cost the officer his or her state-issued police certificate; and then 2) another department, eager to find an already trained and certified officer at a low cost, hires the officer without fully investigating his or her background. The fact that the muni shuffle was the subject of a St. Louis Post-Dispatch investigative series back on 2003,³⁷ yet remains a common occurrence today, is cause for concern.

The muni shuffle was universally condemned by everyone with whom we met. Many individuals expressed concern over the inherent problem that the muni shuffle causes for low-income cities: officers engaged in the muni shuffle often end up in the poorest, often high-crime communities, including some of those in North and Mid County. One local municipal leader said, "When these guys do something bad and they get fired from one of the better departments, they get hired somewhere else, making less money. The citizens in these communities deserve better services than what they're getting." A focus group participant said, "We need to establish disincentives for departments who hire these guys."

Probably the biggest motivation for departments to engage in the muni shuffle is money, even if it means overlooking previous misconduct by the officers. Departments can save on training costs by

³⁷ "Bad cops bounce from city to city," by Trisha L. Howard and Heather Ratcliffe. St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Dec. 1, 2003. http://www.stltoday.com/news/local/crime-and-courts/part-ii-bad-cops-bounce-from-city-to-city/article_e9dd169a-2cba-5d17-8c29-395bf5716b64.html

hiring officers who have already completed the 600 hours of basic training and are licensed, and they can get newly hired officers on the street more quickly. Professor Goldman of the Saint Louis University School of Law says that the muni shuffle happens in “case after case,” especially in parts of St. Louis County where municipal governments are strapped for cash and need additional police officers to write tickets and citations that will generate revenue.

POST system inadequate: While money may be the prime motivation behind the muni shuffle, one of its primary enablers is a severely underfunded and understaffed monitoring and investigative system operated by the state’s POST program. Under state law, the chief executive of each law enforcement agency is required to report within 30 days the commissioning of any peace officer. Similarly, the chief is required to report, also within 30 days, when an officer departs that agency or otherwise ceases to be commissioned, including the circumstances under which the officer left. In addition, the Director of the Missouri Department of Public Safety is empowered to discipline peace officers throughout the state for criminal offenses or other violations or for conditions that make the officer unfit to perform his or her duties. In this respect, Missouri’s *policy* for disciplining officers is considered comparatively progressive, because an officer does not have to be convicted of a crime to lose his or her license.

In practice, the ability of the State to monitor hirings and firings and to discipline officers has been severely limited for years. As long ago as 2005, the Missouri State Auditor found that the required notifications to the state were not being done on a consistent basis, that the state POST’s system for logging and tracking complaints was “inadequate,” and that the time it took to initiate and complete investigations was excessively long.³⁸ The Department of Public Safety’s response to that audit focused largely on the fact that the POST program was underfunded, with just one full-time investigator at the time handling 100 or more active complaints statewide at any one time. Today, the POST program is still severely under-resourced, with just two investigators statewide, and the system still relies on the reporting of local law enforcement executives. One focus group participant concluded, “The Missouri POST Program needs more teeth and leverage to hold chiefs accountable for not reporting.”

We were told that in some circumstances, local chiefs find it easier to simply allow a problem officer to resign, before initiating disciplinary proceedings that might lead to the suspension of an officer’s license. As one union official we interviewed described the process, officers typically are told they can “resign right now or resign at 4 p.m. under charges.” State statutes do provide for completed investigations of officer misconduct to be made available to any “hiring law enforcement agency.”³⁹ However, when officers are allowed to resign before investigations are completed, those officers may slip through the cracks of the disciplinary process, maintain their licenses, and be free to take jobs at other departments.

³⁸ Missouri State Auditor, “Peace Officers Standards and Training Program,” Report no. 2005-10.

³⁹ Missouri Revised Statutes, 590.118.1.

Sharing of information is inconsistent: In its Model Minimum Standards, the International Association of Directors of Law Enforcement Standards and Training (IADLEST) recommends that, on the request of a law enforcement agency conducting a background investigation on a potential applicant, “another law enforcement agency employing, previously employing or having conducted a complete or partial background investigation on the applicant should advise the requesting agency of any known misconduct.”⁴⁰ Our examination revealed that some St. Louis County agencies do make such inquiries and share information with other departments on an informal, ad hoc basis. (As one police chief told us, “Pick up the damn phone and ask ‘What’s the deal with this guy?’ ” who is applying to be a police officer.) However, there is no uniform, comprehensive system for collecting and sharing this information. This undermines the ability of agencies to thoroughly investigate officer applicants, and enables the muni shuffle to continue. One focus group participant recommended that “there should be some type of ‘insurance rating’ on the high liability candidates, so that departments know to steer clear.”

The St. Louis area is not unique in facing this issue. In other jurisdictions, such as Chattanooga, Tennessee, forward-thinking police chiefs are working to ensure that officers who are fired by one department cannot simply take a new job in another department.⁴¹

Finding #9:

The issue of race—and perceived racial bias against African-Americans in particular—looms over the entire justice system. Racial tensions between the police and large segments of the community are holding back progress.

Any analysis of policing in St. Louis City and County, and any attempt to improve policing services, must address the issue of race directly and honestly. Race is at the heart of every aspect of this study. On issue after issue, the matter of racial tensions and perceived racial bias was raised by many of the people we spoke with. One common theme we heard is that in some communities, the police and the entire justice system unfairly target people of color, in particular African-Americans. This feeling was acknowledged by many white residents as well as African-Americans.

Racial disparities can be found in all aspects of the justice system, beginning with traffic stops. Missouri law mandates that every time a police officer stops a driver in a motor vehicle, the officer is required to record information about the stop, including the age, gender, and race of the motorist. The state Attorney General analyzes the data from local and state agencies and compiles an annual report.⁴² As

⁴⁰ IADLEST Model Minimum Standards, 6.0.7.1.

⁴¹ “Chattanooga police chief says fired cops shouldn't work as officers again,” by Shelly Bradbury. Chattanooga Times Free Press, Apr. 26, 2015. <http://www.timesfreepress.com/news/local/story/2015/apr/26/fletcher-says-fired-cops-shouldnt-work-office/300842/>

⁴² Missouri Revised Statutes, 590.650.

part of that annual report, the Attorney General calculates a “disparity index” for each reporting agency and the state as a whole.

Statewide in 2013 (the last year for which data are available), African-Americans had a disparity index of 1.59, meaning they were pulled over at a rate 59 percent greater than would be expected based solely on their proportion of the population aged 16 and older.⁴³ The disparity index for African-Americans has increased in 11 of the last 14 years for which data has been collected, rising from 1.27 in the year 2000.

In many parts of St. Louis City and County, the disparity index was dramatically higher than the statewide figure. The City of St. Louis and 15 municipalities in St. Louis County had a disparity index that exceeded 5.0 in 2013. St. Louis County’s disparity index was 2.99 in 2013.

Table 8. Municipalities with a Disparity Index for African-Americans greater than 5.0, 2013

Area	Disparity Index
Beverly Hills	8.55
Moline Acres	8.52
Country Club Hills	8.4
Hillsdale	8.14
Ferguson	7.89
Pagedale	7.53
Pine Lawn	7
Bel-Ridge	6.94
Florissant	6.54
Bel-Nor	6.47
St. Louis City	6.21
Calverton Park	5.99
Berkeley	5.8
Bellefontaine Neighbors	5.6

Furthermore, data compiled by the Attorney General indicate that in addition to being pulled over more frequently than whites, African-Americans are searched and arrested at higher rates. Statewide, in 2013, African-Americans were 1.89 times more likely to be searched than whites following a traffic stop, and 1.84 times more likely to be arrested. The data also indicate that when white motorists are searched,

⁴³ “2013 Vehicle Stops Executive Summary,” Missouri Attorney General Chris Koster.
<https://ago.mo.gov/divisions/litigation/vehicle-stops-report/vehicle-stops-report---2013-executive-summary#findings>

they are found to have contraband more frequently than African-Americans, with a 26.3% “hit rate” for whites, compared with 18.8% for African-Americans.⁴⁴

The disparity index and other indicators in the State Attorney General’s report may be imperfect measures of racial bias in policing, and several of the police officials we spoke with said the aggregate numbers do not always present a complete or accurate picture. On each individual traffic stop, a number of factors can impact why a motorist was pulled over and whether they were searched or arrested. However, the overall numbers show extreme disparities that cannot be explained.

Participants at our Town Hall Meetings said their experiences support the statistics: Many African-Americans who participated in our Town Hall Meetings and focus groups said they did not need statistical data to tell them the system is biased. Many reported that they or their family members had been stopped by police (often multiple times and for questionable reasons, such as “braking too often”), and when they got to municipal court, they encountered long lines of largely African-Americans waiting their turn. As one community leader put it, “Everyone speeds, but African-Americans are pulled over more frequently for speeding.”

The Justice Department found a disparate impact on African-Americans throughout Ferguson’s justice system. “African-Americans are disproportionately represented at nearly every stage of Ferguson law enforcement, from initial police contact to final disposition of a case in municipal court...part of a comprehensive municipal justice system that, at each juncture, enforces the law more harshly against black people than others.”⁴⁵ Many of the individuals we spoke with said the same impact can be found in many other communities. It is clear that any efforts to improve policing and the administration of justice in St. Louis City and County must address the issue of racial disparity—actual and perceived.

Finding #10:

Police interactions with young people are often strained, and the lack of trust threatens to undermine policing efforts now and in the future.

Another issue we paid close attention to was police interactions with young people. This issue is important because it impacts police-community relationships today, and shapes how those relationships will develop in the future and how effective policing will be. To gain insight into this issue, we held a focus group with students from Carnahan High School of the Future in St. Louis, and we encouraged youth participation in Town Hall Meetings.

Some youths see police as a threat: In general, the message from many young people—especially young African-Americans—is that they often see the police as a threat, not as a protector. “I always run

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ “Investigation of the Ferguson Police Department,” U.S. Department of Justice. March 4, 2015, p. 63.

from the police. My dad tells me to,” said one of the students. Students complained that officers were frequently aggressive, especially when the young people were “just hanging out.” They claimed that officers were quick to pull their Tasers or other weapons when confronting young people and thus ended up escalating encounters. A young participant at the January 15, 2015 Town Hall said, “The kids in my school are great people, but we’re scared of the police.” He said that his fellow students, who have not done anything wrong, should be able to see the police as a resource, but are instead are generally fearful of the police.

Beyond instances of the use or threat of force, several Carnahan students related anecdotes of feeling harassed by the police. One student told of being handcuffed and written a ticket in Richmond Heights when he was attempting to get more money to put onto his train fare card. Another said he and other African-Americans were carded for curfew when playing basketball; non-African-Americans were not challenged, the student said. Another student told of being stopped, searched, and forced to sit in the snow when walking to the local store.

Weaknesses in School Resource Officer programs: In its examination of Ferguson, the Justice Department found similar concerns and similar tensions between the police and young people. “FPD’s approach to policing impacts how its officers interact with students...leading them to treat routine discipline issues as criminal matters and to use force when communication and de-escalation techniques would likely resolve the conflict.”⁴⁶ The investigation highlighted one School Resource Officer (SRO) at a Ferguson middle school who arrested a 14-year-old boy for failure to comply when the student would not leave the classroom after getting into a verbal argument with another student. The situation escalated, with the officer “drive-stunning” (direct contact with the body) the student with his Taser in the classroom. The Justice Department noted that Ferguson SROs viewed increased arrests as a positive result of their work.

The effectiveness of SROs was raised by several people with whom we spoke. One focus group participant pointed out that municipal police boundaries and school district boundaries do not always align, which can make it difficult to assign and manage SROs effectively. In addition, smaller departments may not have the resources to dedicate to the schools, thus missing an opportunity to establish better relationships with young people. Finally, an educator at one focus group complained that in his jurisdiction, police officials rotate out their SROs every 1-2 years, which prevents the officers from forming strong bonds with school administrators and students. In general, educators felt that schools are an ideal place for police and young people to start building positive relationships, and that it was important to have some consistency and continuity in SRO assignments.

One Town Hall Meeting participant pointed out that the key to building better relationships between police and young people boiled down to better communications: “I want us to change how officers talk

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 37.

to young people and children. Learn and use their names. Talk to them and get to know the community. Learn how to interact with people. I don't want to hear about another killing."

Summary of Key Findings

- **High crime rates are costly:** High rates of crime in St. Louis City and parts of St. Louis County are costing governments and individuals staggering sums of money. The total cost of Part I crime in St. Louis City and County combined—including victim, criminal justice, and community costs—was estimated to exceed \$1.5 billion in 2013.
- **Policing is extremely fragmented:** St. Louis County contains a patchwork of police departments, many of which have jurisdiction over very small areas. About one-third of the municipalities in the County that have a police department occupy less than one square mile. This has led to confusion and distrust among residents, who often feel targeted and harassed by police officers and the municipal court system.
- **Fragmentation undermines effective policing:** The fragmentation of policing is also inefficient, undermines police operations, and makes it difficult to form effective law enforcement partnerships to combat crime locally and regionally.
- **Many police departments have inappropriate goals:** In many municipalities, policing priorities are driven not by the public safety needs of the community, but rather by the goal of generating large portions of the operating revenue for the local government. This is a grossly inappropriate mission for the police, often carried out at the direction of local elected officials.
- **Community policing is lacking in many cities where it is needed most:** Even though residents consistently say they want their police departments to engage in more community-oriented policing, this approach is de-emphasized or non-existent in many jurisdictions, especially in communities with high levels of crime and deep distrust between residents and police.
- **The “muni shuffle” is unprofessional:** Police standards, training, pay, and professionalism vary dramatically throughout the region. Of particular concern is the so-called “muni shuffle,” in which police officers who are fired or allowed to resign because of disciplinary or performance issues in one department are quickly hired by another department, because it can be less expensive to hire an experienced (albeit compromised) officer than to recruit and train a new officer.
- **Concerns about race permeate the justice system:** Race is an issue that permeates almost every aspect of policing and justice in St. Louis City and County. Concerns over racial tensions and racial bias were raised throughout the course of this study, especially by African-Americans and young people. The failure to address the racial issues in policing is holding back progress.

All of these issues together are undermining the quality of policing services and harming the reputation of St. Louis City and County. The future safety, economic health, and vitality of the region will require not only addressing the immediate problems today, but also creating new approaches and better systems that are recognized as national “best practices.” As a participant at one of our Town Hall Meetings put it, “A system that’s broken isn’t going to fix itself.”

Recommendations

Greater Collaboration and Regional Standards of Excellence

As noted throughout this report, crime does not stop at a municipal or county border, and the impact of crime permeates the entire St. Louis City and County region. Policing must be viewed as a regional issue. Local governments must work toward collaborative solutions that address crime and violence, maximize partnerships and resources, and set standards that will provide consistent and professional policing services to all residents of the City, County, and local municipalities.

Recommendation #1:

Create a regional police training center and conduct joint City-County training exercises.

Throughout our study, we heard that to be effective, police officers need additional training, and new and different types of training that can address the unique needs of police agencies in St. Louis City and County. We also heard that training needs to be more consistent from agency to agency. (See Finding #7 for discussion of training issues.)

To address these needs, we recommend that St. Louis City and County combine their resources to create a single state-of-the-art police training center that would offer basic, in-service, and advanced training for all police officers in the City and County. A combined academy would provide an advanced and forward-looking approach to training and education, tailored to the needs of police officers throughout St. Louis City and County. And on issues such as coordinated responses to major events such as mass demonstrations, de-escalation strategies and reducing use of force, and community engagement, a state of the art training facility could help set standard practices for the entire St. Louis City/County region.

This facility could combine “the best and the brightest” trainers from both agencies, and could solicit the involvement of private-sector leaders in areas such as human resources, use of technology, budgeting, and use of social media.

As noted earlier, Missouri law sets minimum basic training requirements to become a certified police officer in the state and minimum continuing education requirements to maintain certification. Currently, both the St. Louis City Police Academy and the St. Louis County and Municipal Police Academy exceed the minimum requirements for basic training, and both academies have extensive continuing education offerings as well. Both academies also make extensive use of simulations, scenarios, and role playing as

part of their instructional approach. Their similar philosophies to training and education suggest that merging the two academies would be easier than if they had dramatically different approaches.

The City's Police Academy was built in 1925; the County facility, in 1989. Designing and building a new facility from the ground up would create opportunities to better integrate critical training topics and take greater advantage of new training approaches and technologies.

For example, a unified academy could offer standardized training and state-of-the-art simulations on such important topics as critical incident response, police use of force, de-escalation strategies, and unconscious bias and fair and impartial policing. Training in firearms, defensive tactics, and driving skills should focus on both skills development and decision-making.

A combined academy could also explore options for continuing education studies that would expand the use of online and distance-learning opportunities. This will be critically important for implementing the enhanced continuing education requirements contained in Recommendation #2 (see below). The creation of a unified academy would help ensure that all officers in St. Louis City and County receive the same high-quality training, and the academy would provide the flexibility to focus on emerging issues of importance to the region's law enforcement community.

Policing is not a static profession; new issues are constantly emerging, such as the technical, legal, and civil rights aspects of many new technologies in policing, from body-worn cameras and automated license plate readers to biometric devices and cell phone tracking equipment. Police professionals nationwide also are evaluating new strategies for de-escalating encounters and minimizing use of force in light of the many controversial incidents that have made headlines over the last year. A combined academy would provide a way of addressing these emerging issues in an organized way and producing state-of-the-art training that would benefit police agencies across St. Louis County and City. A combined academy also would provide a forum for designing and conducting joint City-County training exercises on issues that require inter-agency cooperation, as well as advanced educational opportunities for current and future department leaders.

Investing in a new facility would yield significant returns by enhancing the training and professionalism of all police officers within the City and County of St. Louis, which in turn would advance both community and officer safety.

Recommendation #2:

Establish a set of regional standards covering critical policies, practices, and operations that will enhance quality and professionalism.

We recommend reforms in the following areas:

Hiring standards. All officers hired by a municipal or County police department should undergo a full psychological screening by a County-approved psychiatrist or psychologist. New hires should also receive a full background investigation that includes a check of police records; education, employment, and military history; credit history, and driving records. In addition, departments should use a polygraph (or other comparable test) to detect deception. Finally, all police departments should contact the Missouri POST (Peace Officers Standards and Training) program to review the license status and any known disciplinary history of potential hires before making an offer of employment.

Training standards. The current state requirement of 48 hours of continuing education over a three-year reporting period is insufficient to maintain and enhance the skills needed for policing excellence. Instead, officers in St. Louis City and County should be required to complete a minimum of 40 hours of in-service training each year. This training should cover emerging issues and be tailored to the unique needs of police officers in the City and County. By using new technologies, including online and remote learning, this expanded continuing education requirement could be met without large cost increases to departments that now expend overtime to send officers to courses or to backfill positions while officers are at training. Consideration might be given to establishing a pool of highly trained officers who could be temporarily assigned to some departments while an officer was away at training, thus maintaining minimum staffing levels.

Use-of-force policies. Departments should re-engineer their use of force training and adopt model use-of-force policies that include the following elements: emphasize de-escalation of force whenever possible; prohibit officers from firing at moving vehicles when the vehicle itself is the only “weapon” being used; require officers to intervene if they witness another officer using excessive force; require that all use-of-force incidents be recorded on a standard form that will support data collection and analysis; and require thorough investigation of all officer-involved shootings, whether or not the subject was hit, seriously injured, or died as a result.

Code of conduct. Departments should adopt a standardized code of conduct for sworn police personnel. Furthermore, departments should have a detailed policy prohibiting biased policing.

Compliance and accreditation. Compliance standards should be created and police departments held accountable for meeting these standards, either at the state or regional level. In addition, all police agencies in St. Louis City and County should pursue national accreditation based on the adoption of this consistent set of standards and guidelines.

Recommendation #3:

Create a multi-agency Compstat program to identify and analyze cross-border crime problems, and a regional Major Case Squad to combat these problems.

As in other major metropolitan areas, crime in St. Louis City and St. Louis County is a regional issue. Criminal offenders cross boundaries, and crime prevention and crime investigation are complicated in areas that are subdivided into dozens of small, autonomous jurisdictions.

A regional Compstat program would help the police agencies in St. Louis City and County to work together in a proactive way to address these issues of fragmented responses to crime. Compstat is a data-driven performance management system that is used by police departments to reduce crime and achieve other public safety goals. Pioneered by the New York City Police Department in the mid-1990s, Compstat emphasizes information-sharing, responsibility and accountability, and improving effectiveness.⁴⁷ Today, individual police departments across the country are using Compstat to combat crime and improve policing services. Compstat systems are inclusive in nature; participants in Compstat meetings may include police officials from various ranks and different departments, as well as federal law enforcement officials, prosecutors, and any others who can contribute information or ideas for identifying crime problems and devising solutions. Many police agencies' Compstat initiatives are regional, with participants from multiple agencies focusing on cross-jurisdictional investigation and prevention efforts.⁴⁸

Establishing a regional, St. Louis City-County Compstat would allow City, County, and municipal departments, as well as state and federal law enforcement agencies, to work collaboratively to combat crime and improve effectiveness. Crime analysts would share data in order to detect cross-jurisdictional crime patterns, including data on crime "hot spots" and serious repeat offenders, and to develop collaborative solutions. Compstat meetings would also provide a feedback loop for officials in the region to evaluate progress and identify future resource needs. Finally, Compstat would serve to facilitate much-needed communication and regional partnerships among the myriad police departments in St. Louis City and County.

Regional Major Case Squad: As a natural extension of the Compstat process, we also recommend creation of a regional Major Case Squad to address the crime patterns and repeat offenders uncovered through Compstat. The Major Case Squad would include investigators from multiple jurisdictions. In addition to providing new resources to combat cross-jurisdictional crime, the proposed Major Case Squad would also promote partnerships at the operational level and advance the skills of the officers assigned to it.

⁴⁷ For background on Compstat, see "Compstat: Its Origins, Evolution, and Future in Law Enforcement," Bureau of Justice Assistance and Police Executive Research Forum.

http://www.policeforum.org/assets/docs/Free_Online_Documents/Compstat/compstat%20-%20its%20origins%20evolution%20and%20future%20in%20law%20enforcement%20agencies%202013.pdf.

⁴⁸ Scinto, Rick. "New Haven Police Launch Regional Law Enforcement Sharing." *New Haven Register*. N.p., 4 Nov. 2013. <http://www.nhregister.com/general-news/20131104/new-haven-police-launch-regional-law-enforcement-sharing>; Corpus Christi Police Department Twitter <https://twitter.com/corpuschristipd/status/487347834354561024>.

Recommendation #4:

Provide for cross-deputizing St. Louis City and County police officers, to enhance flexibility and effectiveness in fighting crime.

Currently, officers in the St. Louis Metropolitan Police Department and the St. Louis County Police Department have authority to make arrests in either jurisdiction, but only for violations of state law. City police officers cannot cite or make arrests under County ordinances, and County officers cannot enforce St. Louis City ordinances. This restriction can reduce police effectiveness in combating lower-level crime that would typically be handled at the municipal court level.

For example, if a St. Louis County Police officer working off-duty at Busch Stadium or assigned to the Metro Link Train witnesses a fight, that officer can make arrests only for violations of state law. Typically, low-level offenses such as brawling are considered municipal ordinance violations and would be better handled in municipal court. In this example, a citation for a municipal ordinance violation would not be permitted, and the case would be taken to the already overburdened state courts system.

Under this recommendation, St. Louis Metropolitan Police officers and St. Louis County officers would be formally cross-deputized, thus permitting them to arrest or cite someone for an ordinance violation in both jurisdictions. Both City and County leaders have expressed interest in cross-deputizing their officers. They should follow through by developing a formal Memorandum of Agreement that spells out the deputization arrangement and stipulates any limitations, and provides for training of officers on any significant differences in each jurisdiction's ordinances.

Recommendation #5:

Reduce the number of dispatch centers in the County to reduce confusion among residents and promote efficiency.

As noted earlier in this report (see Finding #6), the current emergency dispatch system in St. Louis County is fragmented, inefficient, and at times causes confusion among residents. Right now, there are approximately 20 separate public safety answering points (PSAPs) in St. Louis City and County. Two-thirds of these serve only one community. Therefore, we are recommending that the number of dispatch centers could be reduced through consolidation or contracting of services.

Some of these consolidations would be a natural outgrowth of our three proposed "consolidation clusters" for various police departments in St. Louis County (see Recommendations #10-#12, below). For example, since Ferguson would contract with the County Police Department under our recommendation, dispatch services for Ferguson and three other departments—Flordell Hills, Country Club Hills, and Calverton Park—would shift to the County Police PSAP. The Berkeley dispatch center

would also fall under the County PSAP under our recommendations. We also recommend any agencies contracting with University City could become a part of that city's PSAP; those agencies currently contract with either the County or St. Ann.

In addition, there are existing clusters of independent PSAPs which may good candidates for consolidation or contracting. For example, there are five PSAPs in close enough proximity (Des Peres, Kirkwood, Glendale, Crestwood, and Sunset Hills) that there may be clear potential for increased efficiency by pooling dispatch resources. Another cluster of bordering PSAPs occurs in Hazelwood, Bridgeton, St. Ann, and Maryland Heights. Given that St. Ann already serves as a small hub for dispatch services, their PSAP may be a viable option for contracting within this cluster. Additionally, both Ladue and Overland border the three departments making up the West Central Dispatch Center.

By implementing the three proposed agency consolidation clusters, as well as the potential groupings of geographic clusters, the number of PSAPs in St. Louis City and County could potentially be reduced by 60%, from 20 PSAPs to 8. This would create opportunities to improve efficiency and service.

Strengthening State Monitoring and Oversight

The state of Missouri plays an important role in promoting and ensuring the quality and professionalism of policing in St. Louis City and County. However, our study found that critical state programs are not as effective as they could, largely because they are seriously underfunded.

Recommendation #6:

Provide additional resources to support the Peace Officers Standards and Training (POST) program in its monitoring and oversight roles.

The POST program is critically important to ensuring the integrity and quality of licensed police professionals in the state of Missouri and holding local agencies accountable for meeting state standards. Given widespread concerns over police hiring practices in some communities in St. Louis County—the so-called “muni shuffle”—it is essential that the POST program be adequately funded and staffed to carry out its monitoring, oversight, and investigative roles. This includes not only documenting police officer hires and separations and investigating disciplinary issues, but also monitoring continuing education requirements for licensed police officers in the state.

As documented in the 2005 Missouri State Auditor report, the Missouri POST program has lacked adequate resources for at least a decade. The Missouri legislature should appropriate the necessary funds for the POST program, and the Department of Public Safety should move quickly to restaff the program, update systems, and bolster its investigative capabilities.

Recommendation #7:

The Macks Creek law should be strengthened and enforced more vigorously.

Like other recent studies, our examination documented how police priorities and actions in many communities in St. Louis County are driven by the need to generate revenue for local governments, and not by the public safety needs of the community. To prevent “predatory policing,” the Missouri legislature passed a statute, known as the Macks Creek law,⁴⁹ that currently limits to 30% the amount of general operating revenue that municipalities can collect from municipal fines and fees.

Better Together found that while well-intentioned, the Macks Creek law has not been meaningfully enforced on a consistent basis. Using data provided by the state judiciary⁵⁰, six agencies were in violation of the law in 2013; 26 municipalities exceeded 15% of general revenue; and 40 exceeded 10%.

Given the reluctance of many elected leaders to change the mission and priorities of their municipal police departments, it is important that the state show leadership and action. As this report was being finalized, the Missouri House and Senate were considering separate bills to strengthen Macks Creek law, including significantly reducing the current 30% cap on court revenue. These efforts are worthy and important, and the bills should be reconciled and enacted into law. If the cap on court revenue is reduced to 10% or 15%, as provided by various versions of the legislation, numerous municipalities may find themselves in violation of the law in the future.

In addition, the state must ensure that the strengthened law is vigorously enforced. The state agencies responsible for enforcement must make it a priority to ensure that municipalities are reporting their information accurately and in a timely manner, and any municipalities that fail to comply with the law must be held accountable.

Improving Data Collection and Analysis

Having accurate, timely, and accessible data is critical to understanding police effectiveness, developing strategies for improvement, and evaluating success. These include data on police operations and activities, as well as community survey information.

Recommendation #8:

⁴⁹ Missouri Revised Statutes, Section 302.341.1.
<http://www.moga.mo.gov/mostatutes/stathtml/30200003411.HTML>

⁵⁰ <https://www.courts.mo.gov/file.jsp?id=68844>

Create a Central Data Warehouse about policing in St. Louis City and County that is accessible to police officials and members of the public.

Earlier in this report, we detailed a number of challenges we faced in trying to assemble and analyze critical data for this analysis (see “Data Challenges,” p. 6). These included difficulties in obtaining basic information on budgeting, staffing, and officer workload in many departments, as well as a lack of standardization on how information is collected and reported. The lack of complete, accurate, and standardized information makes it difficult to fully evaluate policing practices and measure improvements. The lack of information and transparency also undermines public confidence in policing.

Under our recommendation, a Central Data Warehouse would be created for St. Louis City and County. The data warehouse would be operated as a joint venture between the governments of the City and County, as the data availability would benefit the region as a whole. All departments would be expected to provide basic information, in a standardized format, on at least an annual basis. This could be required under Missouri’s Sunshine Law.

Among the data that would be reported and readily available for analysis would be the following:

- Police departments’ operating budgets, including salary costs, maintenance costs, costs of contracted services, and revenue from contracted services.
- Organizational information, including an organizational chart and staffing levels by rank, gender, and race/ethnicity.
- UCR crime data for Part I and Part II offenses
- UCR arrest data
- Standardized calls-for-service information, include call type, self-initiated vs. citizen-generated activity, date/time/location, and call disposition.
- Information on all officer-involved shootings.

The collection of data on police-involved shootings would give St. Louis City and County a unique opportunity to lead the way nationally on an issue of critical importance at this time. Currently, there is no reliable national database on police-involved shootings, and information at the local level is generally spotty or non-existent as well. Collecting and reporting these data would demonstrate transparency and commitment by government and citizens to understand how these incidents occur and any lessons that can be learned to reduce uses of force. Recent events across the country demonstrate the need for accurate and open information. The creation of a Central Data Warehouse containing this type of information would be a significant step in that direction.

Recommendation #9:

Survey the community on an ongoing basis to measure citizen satisfaction with policing services and to assess progress over time.

Opening lines of communications with the community and asking their opinions help to break down barriers and generate useful information about the quality of policing services. Through the proposed Central Data Warehouse, we recommend creating a police satisfaction survey that would be available to the public through an online portal. Any citizen who interacts with the police in St. Louis City and County would be able to provide feedback on the services they received and offer suggestions. A number of police agencies nationwide have implemented this type of tool. The Washington, DC government provides such a tool for grading an entire range of government agencies, including the police.⁵¹

Survey instruments are already being used in parts of St. Louis County. For example, every three years, the Normandy Police Department distributes surveys to random residences in the community, with postage-paid envelopes for remittance. (See appendix to this report.) The surveys ask about residents' perceptions of safety and levels of satisfaction with the police. Jennings officers also distribute survey cards to community members.

Our proposal takes the concept of community surveys to the next level. An online police satisfaction survey connected to the Central Data Warehouse would be more geographically widespread, and it would engage people who have recently had direct contact with the police. The collected data would provide an immediate snapshot of customer satisfaction, as well as long-term trends within individual agencies and across the region. The results could help inform future training and policy needs as well. This process would add an additional element of transparency and accountability to the Central Data Warehouse concept, and would give citizens a voice in stating their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the police.

Strategic Consolidations

Research has shown that consolidating police agencies can offer both advantages (greater consistency, the ability to offer a wider range of services, and efficiencies, to name a few) and some possible disadvantages (start-up costs of reorganizing, and potential lessening of local control over police priorities).

⁵¹ "Grade DC Government" website: <http://grade.dc.gov/>

In an ideal world, consolidating all police agencies would have advantages in terms of ending wasteful duplications of effort, establishing agency-wide standards and best practices, and producing cost savings. However, the St. Louis region is large and diverse, with different crime problems and different community needs and priorities, and many of the residents and community leaders we spoke with are quite satisfied with their police departments and work well with them. Attempting to dismantle current policing structures in these areas would be met with staunch community opposition and could serve to undermine strong and productive community policing partnerships that currently exist.

While wholesale mergers are not recommended, some targeted and strategic consolidations could improve the quality of policing in some areas. Therefore, we are recommending that three consolidation clusters be established in St. Louis County.

The communities in each cluster typically have several factors in common: relatively high crime rates, high numbers of low-level arrests and traffic citations, high ratios of officers to resident populations, high numbers of officers per square mile, and high population density. In addition, they are geographically contiguous. Under our proposal, the departments in each cluster would contract with the County Police Department or another agency for services.

It should be noted that for each cluster, there could be some reductions in the total number of officers serving the combined jurisdictions. Although it may seem counter-intuitive to reduce the number of police officers in high-crime areas of St. Louis County, we believe our plan will lead to higher-quality policing and improved crime control. Having so many small municipalities, each with its own small police agency, is costly and inefficient. Most of these departments currently have high ratios of officers to population and to land area—in many cases, well beyond the norm elsewhere in the country. Furthermore, the prime function of many of the officers in these jurisdictions is to issue traffic citations in order to raise revenue. In many cases, officers have been hired to write tickets, not to investigate crime and develop crime prevention strategies.

Under our proposals, officers in these communities would function as they do in other cities across the nation, focusing on preventing crime, investigating crimes that do occur, and working with community members to enhance neighborhood safety. Following best policing practices, this model and the accompanying recommendations will help the region to reduce crime in a more efficient manner, thus saving money by reducing the costs of crime.

Recommendation #10:

Create a consolidation cluster encompassing nine contiguous jurisdictions in the vicinity of University City: Beverly Hills, Hillside, Northwoods, Pagedale, Pine Lawn, Uplands Park, Velda City, Velda Village Hills, and Wellston.

These jurisdictions would be consolidated into a single police district and merged via contracts with either the St. Louis County Police Department or the highly regarded University City Police Department.

Analysis

These nine municipalities are roughly bounded by Interstate 70 to the north, the City of St. Louis to the east, University City to the south, and Normandy and Pasadena Hills to the west. They have a combined population of 18,091 and a total land area of 4.2 square miles. These municipalities combined account for 1.1% of the land area and 1.8% of the population in St. Louis County, but 3.4% of all Part I crime (based on a five-year average). Seven of the jurisdictions – Beverly Hills, Hillsdale, Northwoods, Pagedale, Pine Lawn, Velda City, and Wellston—have their own stand-alone police departments. Uplands Park contracts with St. Louis County for police services; Velda Village Hills contracts with Beverly Hills. The following table summarizes key data about the municipalities in the proposed consolidation cluster.

Size and Staffing Data: Municipalities in Proposed Cluster #1

Municipality	Population	Square Miles	Full Time Officers	Officers per 1,000 Residents	Officers per Square Mile	Population Per Square Mile
Beverly Hills	574	0.09	11*	19.2	122.2	6,378
Hillsdale	1,478	0.35	13*	8.8	37.1	4,223
Northwoods	4,227	0.71	21	5.0	29.6	5,954
Pagedale	3,304	1.19	17	5.1	14.3	2,776
Pine Lawn	3,275	0.61	11	3.4	18.0	5,369
Uplands Park	445	0.07	DATA UNAVAILABLE (UNA)	UNA	UNA	6,357
Velda City	1,420	0.16	7	4.9	43.8	8,875
Velda Village Hills	1,055	0.12	UNA	UNA	UNA	8,792
Wellston	2,313	0.93	11*	4.8	11.8	2,487
TOTAL	18,091	4.2	91	5.0	21.5	4,277
University City	35,371	5.9	66	1.9	11.2	5,995

*Officer count obtained through either departmental website or through Missouri UCR estimates.

The nine municipalities are small in both population and land area. Yet, each has a high number of police officers per population (well above the national average of 2.3 per 1,000) and officers per square

mile. The number of officers per 1,000 residents and per square mile is also much higher than in University City.

Crime and Arrest Data: Municipalities in Proposed Cluster #1

Municipality	Population	Violent Crime per 1,000 residents (5-year average)	Property Crime per 1,000 residents (5-year average)	Avg Part I Arrests per 1,000 residents (5-year average)	“Other” Arrests per 1,000 residents (5-year average)
Beverly Hills*	574	17.0	50.1	18.8	1087.8
Hillsdale	1,478	18.4	32.2	11.8	245.5
Northwoods	4,227	8.8	35.5	15.1	7.9
Pagedale	3,304	8.5	41.8	13.9	287.2
Pine Lawn	3,275	13.6	40.1	12.2	463.3
Uplands Park *	445	9.0	31.5	7.3	66.3
Velda City	1,420	12.4	28.2	9.4	177.2
Velda Village Hills	1,055	4.4	22.2	5.3	110.7
Wellston	2,313	39.8	71.8	39.3	272.4
University City	35,371	5.5	41.9	10.8	5.6

*Agencies did not report full UCR data for entire time period. Averages were adjusted based on the number of years reported.

The data suggest that in these municipalities, officers are focusing on minor offenses which can maximize revenue, rather than devoting attention to more serious crime problems. Other than in Velda Village Hills, the number of arrests for Part I crimes was substantially lower than the number of Part I offenses. However, both the number of officers and the overall arrest rates per 1,000 residents are exceptionally high, especially when compared to University City, again indicating a focus on minor offenses.

Efficiency Analysis

This proposed consolidation cluster would eliminate redundant command structures and reduce the total number of officers, thereby increasing efficiency and saving money. At the same time, officers would be freed from revenue-generating activities and be able to focus on crime control and prevention.

Currently, the nine departments in the proposed cluster have 91 officers, for a ratio of 5.0 officers per 1,000 population, or more than twice the national average. Yet, despite the high number of police officers, this cluster has five of the “top ten” highest-crime municipalities. The consolidated district could be composed of substantially fewer officers, while providing six officers constantly on duty in the

4.2 square miles of the combined jurisdiction. A ratio of 3.0 officers per 1,000 residents or less would be much more in line with national and regional averages. By reducing the total number of officers, the new consolidated police district would be able to offer higher salaries to officers, allowing the district to attract higher-quality candidates.⁵²

The new district would benefit from a centralized command and control structure, the constant presence of a field supervisor, and having several detectives dedicated to the investigation of crime. Two traffic officers could be allocated to respond to neighborhood traffic complaints, not revenue generation. In addition, the new field configuration would be supported by crime and problem analysis that would show patterns for the entire area that could be addressed by the whole district.

By eliminating the current limitations and redundancies created by the nine municipalities' political boundaries, and by having all officers in the district centrally directed, policing will become more directed at combating the area's crime problems, and move away from the current focus on revenue generation.

Recommendation #11:

Create a consolidation cluster encompassing four contiguous jurisdictions—Berkeley, Calverton Park, Ferguson and Kinloch—that would be consolidated into a single police district and merged via contract with the St. Louis County Police Department.

Analysis

These four municipalities have a combined population of 31,772 and a total land area of 12 square miles. They account for 2.3% of the land area and 3.2% of the population in St. Louis County, but 6.3% of all Part I crime (based on a five-year average). Each of the four municipalities operates a separate stand-alone police department. The following table summarizes key data about the municipalities in the proposed consolidation cluster.

Size and Staffing Data: Municipalities in Proposed Cluster #2

Municipality	Population	Square Miles	Full Time Officers	Officers per 1,000 Residents	Officers per Square Mile	Population Per Square Mile
Berkeley	8,978	4.97	31	3.5	6.2	1,806

⁵² Officer salary information from agencies in the proposed district that did not provide salary data is excluded from the estimate.

Calverton Park	1,293	0.41	6	4.6	14.6	3,154
Ferguson	21,203	6.19	55	2.6	8.9	3,425
Kinloch	298	0.73	4*	13.4	5.5	408
Total	31,772	12	96	3.0	7.8	2,583

*Officer count obtained through either departmental website or through Missouri UCR estimates.

The municipalities vary in population size and in land area. However, some of their police departments have high numbers of officers per 1,000 residents. This is especially true in Kinloch, with 13.4 officers per 1,000 residents; the national average is approximately 2.3 per 1,000. In terms of officers per square mile, the four municipalities are generally higher than the regional average.

Crime and Arrest Data: Municipalities in Proposed Cluster #2

Municipality	Population	Violent Crime per 1,000 residents (5-year average)	Property Crime per 1,000 residents (5-year average)	Avg Part I Arrests per 1,000 residents (5-year average)	“Other” Arrests per 1,000 residents (5-year average)
Berkeley	8,978	17.5	51.3	11.0	55.4
Calverton Park	1,293	2.6	13.6	3.9	191.8
Ferguson	21,203	4.7	50.2	17.6	16.7
Kinloch	298	28.9	50.3	15.4	77.2

As with the municipalities in the proposed consolidation cluster #1, the crime and arrest data here suggest that officers in these four municipalities are focusing on minor offenses which can maximize revenue, rather than devoting attention to more serious crime problems. This is especially true in Berkeley and Kinloch, which have relatively high rates of violent crime. Calverton Park, on the other hand, has a high “other” arrest rate but a relatively low Part I crime rate.

Efficiency Analysis

Combined, the four departments in the proposed cluster currently have 96 officers, for a ratio of 3.0 officers per 1,000 population. The proposed consolidated district could reduce the number of officers slightly, allowing an increase in the salaries of officers in the new consolidated district, helping the district to attract higher-quality and possibly more diverse candidates.

This proposed new district would also allocate resources more effectively to target neighborhood crime problems and build partnerships with the community. For example, the proposed district could have 10 officers and one sergeant in the field around the clock. In addition, it could have a special unit of 6 officers and 1 sergeant dedicated to addressing specific crime problems, and four detectives for follow-up investigations. Central command and control would enhance coordination and leadership within the

district, and centralized crime and problem analysis would focus on patterns that could be addressed by the whole district.

Recommendation #12:

Merge five contiguous municipalities—Bellefontaine Neighbors, Country Club Hills, Flordell Hills, Moline Acres, and Riverview—via contracts into the Jennings Precinct of the St. Louis County Police Department.

Analysis

These five municipalities have a combined population of 18,254 and a total area of 6 square miles. Each currently has its own stand-alone police department, ranging from 5 officers in Flordell Hills to 31 in Bellefontaine Neighbors. The consolidated precinct with Jennings would have a population of 33,010 located in 10 square miles. Together, this new district would account for 2% of the land area and 3.3% of the population in St. Louis County, but 6.8% of all Part I crime (based on a five-year average).

Size and Staffing Data: Municipalities in Proposed Cluster #3

Municipality	Population	Square Miles	Full Time Officers	Officers per 1,000 Residents	Officers per Square Mile	Population Per Square Mile
Bellefontaine Neighbors	10,860	4.32	31	2.9	7.2	2,514
Country Club Hills	1,274	0.18	12*	9.4	66.7	7,078
Flordell Hills	822	0.11	5	6.1	45.5	7,473
Moline Acres	2,442	0.57	12	4.9	21.1	4,284
Riverview	2,856	0.83	12	4.2	14.5	3,441
Jennings	14,756	3.7	33*	2.2	8.9	3,988
Total	33,010	10	106	3.2	10.9	3,400

*Officer count obtained through either departmental website or through Missouri UCR estimates.

The municipalities’ populations and land areas are generally small—four of the agencies patrol areas that are less than one square mile. Yet their police departments are relatively large, both in terms of officers per 1,000 residents and in officers per square miles. In fact, the current Jennings Precinct is the only jurisdiction in the proposed cluster that has a ratio of officers per 1,000 residents that is lower than the national average of 2.3.

Crime and Arrest Data: Municipalities in Proposed Cluster #3

Municipality	Population	Violent Crime per 1,000 residents (5-year average)	Property Crime per 1,000 residents (5-year average)	Avg Part I Arrests per 1,000 residents (5-year average)	“Other” Arrests per 1,000 residents (5-year average)
Bellefontaine Neighbors	10,860	4.9	35.8	7.2	65.6
Country Club Hills	1,274	5.8	41.1	14.9	151.3
Flordell Hills	822	8.5	48.7	8.8	103.9
Moline Acres	2,442	7.9	50.1	22.4	251.1
Riverview	2,856	10.3	59.2	8.6	11.2
Jennings	14,756	12.6	62.5	26.0	86.2

Although the rates of violent crime in these jurisdictions are relatively low, the overall arrest rates are high. Again, this indicates that a disproportionate number of arrests are being made for relatively minor offenses. Creating a consolidated precinct in the area could enhance community safety by allowing officers to focus more attention on neighborhood crime problems.

Efficiency Analysis

Combined, the departments in the proposed cluster currently have 106 officers, for a ratio of 3.2 officers per 1,000 population. The proposed consolidated precinct could reduce that number slightly, to achieve a ratio of approximately 2.7 officers per 1,000. Again, this would allow increases in salaries, to help the district recruit and retain more highly qualified officers.

The newly consolidated precinct could have 11 officers and a sergeant on patrol around the clock. This would give them time and responsibility to respond to citizen requests for service and to engage residents in more proactive community policing efforts. This consolidated precinct would also have a special unit of six officers and a sergeant focused on crime control, plus four detectives and two traffic officers.

As with the other proposed consolidation clusters, creating a single consolidated precinct in this area would improve policing services. Through centralized command and control and crime and problem analysis, officers would be able to focus on the most serious crime problems of the area, without concern for local political boundaries. Opportunities to engage with the community would also be enhanced.

Recommendation #13:

Non-cluster agencies should implement the recommendations in this report and consider changes to meet community expectations, the Macks Creek Law, and national best practices in policing.

While we recommend three strategic clusters in Recommendations 10-12, problematic departments in St. Louis County are not limited to the areas that would be affected by those recommendations. Numerous municipal police agencies have serious problems that are not included in the cluster models. One area of particular concern is to the west of Lambert International Airport. While this sector does not face the serious crime problems or degree of inefficient staffing seen within our three clusters, policing problems are evident. Agencies in St. Ann, Charlack, Edmundson, Bel-Ridge, St. John, and Sycamore Hills are among the top 20 municipalities receiving a percentage of revenue from municipal court fines and fees in 2013. All exceed 22%, which means all would be in violation of either proposed revision to the Macks Creek Law.

Departments in this area have also been criticized for poor evidence collection and handling, questionable jailing practices, and the potential misuse of reserve officers. PERF is concerned that should either of the proposed updates to the current Macks Creek law be enacted, these agencies will no longer be stable. **In addition to implementing the county-wide recommendations listed earlier in this report, strong consideration should be given to a collective review of how these agencies will change their operating procedures to be more in line with community expectations, the Macks Creek law, and nationally accepted best practices in policing.** These agencies should consider efforts, including consolidation, to strengthen the delivery of police services to the 50,000 residents who live near the airport. If these agencies do not implement reforms recommended in this report, they are at risk for facing the same issues of high crime rates that most of the municipalities in the clusters are facing.

Recommendation #14:

Focus on breaking down walls and building bridges between the police and communities in the St. Louis region.

Police, with support from elected officials, must take significant steps to build trust and restore relationships with the communities that they serve. This is especially important in the communities that historically have had a contentious relationship with the police. Police officials must embrace and commit to this new way of policing as a partnership with the community.

The community needs to expect to see changes in how their communities are being policed, and must be willing to take steps to collaborate with police and seize every opportunity to heal these wounds.

Each positive interaction and partnership takes the region one step closer to the fair, transparent, unbiased and civil policing that are desired by community members and police officials in the St. Louis area.

Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to identify best systems for policing across the entire St. Louis City and St. Louis County area, and we studied the entire region. But inevitably we were drawn to the parts of the region that have the highest rates of serious crime, the highest costs of crime, and the most serious disconnects between high crime rates and police priorities.

PERF's study confirmed many of the concerns that have been raised over the past year, including a police and court system in some communities that is fragmented and driven by generating revenue, as opposed to the legitimate, proper role of policing: working with communities to identify problems of crime and disorder, and implementing solutions that prevent crime and respond effectively to crimes that are committed.

Our study revealed a complex policing and justice environment that cannot be "fixed" by any one measure, such as consolidating all of the police agencies in the City and County. Our report recommends targeted and strategic consolidations of three clusters of police departments in St. Louis County, as well as broader, region-wide reforms to improve the quality of policing throughout the City and County.

The challenges ahead are daunting. The region as a whole has significant levels of serious and violent crime, and St. Louis City and a number of municipalities in St. Louis County have very high crime rates. The costs of crime in St. Louis City and County are high—in terms of personal hardship for victims as well as financial costs. It is estimated that crime cost each resident of St. Louis City and County \$1,187 per year in 2013, for a total exceeding \$1.5 billion a year.

The overall response to crime by police is hindered by a number of factors:

- **Fragmentation:** The fragmentation of policing among 60 separate police agencies, many of which are extremely small, causes inefficiencies and uneven delivery of police services to area residents. Small police departments are found in other parts of the United States, and those departments work together in many cases. But the fragmentation in the St. Louis region is extreme. As St. Louis County Police Chief Jon Belmar told us, "It is not realistic for my agency to have close relationships with five dozen different departments."
- **Weaknesses in policies, training, hiring, and pay levels:** The lack of standards and commonality in policies, training, hiring, and pay levels weakens the professionalism and quality of individual agencies, and undermines public confidence in the police in general.

- **Inappropriate goals:** An inappropriate and misguided mission has been thrust upon the police in many communities: the need to generate large sums of revenue for their city governments. The 90 municipalities in St. Louis County account for 11% of Missouri’s population, but bring in more than one-third of all municipal fines and fees. This is not the way that policing is done in the United States. PERF has never before encountered what we have seen in parts of St. Louis County. The role of police is to protect the public and to work with local communities to solve problems of crime and disorder—not to harass residents with absurd systems of fines and penalties, mostly for extremely minor offenses.
- **Racial bias:** Issues of race and racial bias lie at the heart of many of these problems. As revealed in both the statistical data we analyzed and the hundreds of people we spoke with in Town Hall Meetings, focus groups, and one-on-one interviews, it is predominantly African Americans who are getting caught up in these unfair, improper revenue-driven practices.

These and other issues documented in this report are driving a wedge between police and residents in many communities. They are undermining the legitimacy of the police in the eyes of many residents, community leaders, business leaders, and the news media. And they are preventing the police and residents from working together and cooperatively to prevent crime and respond effectively when residents are victimized by crime.

We also heard that the type of policing being conducted in some parts of the St. Louis region is not what officers want to be doing. Young men and women become police officers because they want to serve their communities and protect them, not because they want to harass the people they are charged with serving. In many communities, good police officers are caught up in a bad system.

Finally, this system is causing severe damage to the reputation of the entire St. Louis region. The failures of the justice system are making it less likely that people nationwide will see the St. Louis area as a healthy, vital, happy place to work and live.

Despite these challenges—and there are many—there is a positive, hopeful way of looking at this situation.

St. Louis City and County have endured a continuing crisis of confidence for almost a year now. As difficult and challenging as this year has been, the crisis provides an opportunity to come together and galvanize the will to make reforms.

Most people now understand that the status quo is not an option if St. Louis is to heal the wounds that have been opened and to move forward in a positive direction. Most of the people we

encountered during this project were frustrated and concerned, and in some cases, angry. But most were not despairing; they had hope for the future. The leaders of St. Louis City and County should share in their hope and seize this opportunity to fix the problems, and make the region's policing and justice system a national model for reform.

Out of the terrible situation that exists in many parts of the St. Louis region, an opportunity exists to create a new, more integrated, regional approach to policing that is modeled on best policies, best practices, and best training and development of officers. Not all of the police agencies in the City and County need to be combined, but there is a great need for police departments to share information, to work together, and to stop functioning as separate agencies unto themselves.

There is also a need and opportunity for private-sector leaders to become more engaged. Business and community leaders have everything at stake in the future of the St. Louis region, so police leaders should think about how they can tap into private-sector assistance, resources, and expertise in such areas as new technologies, human resources, and budgeting. Private-sector leaders may be able to serve as adjunct “professors” in policing training programs or as “executives on loan” who temporarily work in police agencies.

The future of policing in St. Louis City and County is not just about the police; it is also about the community. Police leaders and community leaders must work together on devising reforms.

More specifically, on issues of officer recruitment and training, policies and standards, cross-deputization and cooperation among neighboring departments, consolidated approaches to certain functions, development of regional Compstat systems and joint investigations to fight cross-border crime, centralized data systems that facilitate accountability and transparency, and efforts to rebuild trust and partnerships with community members, the police departments in St. Louis City and County have opportunities to step up to a higher level of professionalism.

The Police Executive Research Forum believes that the recommendations in this report will help to build a new model of justice for the region. Police agencies in St. Louis City and County should aim higher than merely responding to the current crisis. They should aim for developing an unprecedented new state-of-the-art approach to regional policing, in which all agencies work together and work with their communities to address the crime problems and quality of life issues that really matter to the people who live in St. Louis City and St. Louis County.

Appendix: Normandy Police Department 2015 Community Survey

1. Have you or any member of your household called or had contact with the Normandy Police Department for service or assistance within the last year? Yes No

2. Please rate the Normandy Police Department in the following areas:

	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor
Ability to handle/resolve serious situations				
Speed of response when called				
Professional competence/knowledge				
Protection of the community				
Police Visibility				
Neighborhood Patrols				
Fair and Equal Treatment				
Officer Appearance/Demeanor				
Case follow up in needed				
Accuracy of Report				
Overall image of the Normandy Police Department				

3. How satisfied are you with the service provided to you by the Normandy Police Department?
 Very Satisfied Satisfied Unsatisfied Very Unsatisfied

In regards to your answer why did you answer the way you did?

4. How safe do you feel in your particular community?

Walking in your neighborhood during the day?

Very Safe Safe Unsafe Very Unsafe

Walking in your neighborhood at night?

Very Safe Safe Unsafe Very Unsafe

In your home during the day?

Very Safe Safe Unsafe Very Unsafe

In your home at night?

Very Safe Safe Unsafe Very Unsafe

Generally, in parts of the city away from your own neighborhood?

Very Safe Safe Unsafe Very Unsafe

In any of the parks in your city?

Very Safe Safe Unsafe Very Unsafe

In regards to your answers, why did you answer the way you did?

5. The Normandy Police Department's highest priorities are to respond immediately to emergency situations such as crimes against persons, in-progress property crimes and abuse/neglect of children or elderly. The department also endeavors to pro-actively respond to "neighbor nuisance" issues. Using each number only once, please rank the following services in order of importance to you and your family, with 1 being the highest priority and 5 being the lowest priority.

- Address nuisance complaints, such as loud music or barking dogs.
- Investigate suspicious people and/or suspicious vehicles.
- Ticket and/or remove derelict vehicles, ticket properties out of code compliance.
- Investigate open doors and windows on home and businesses.
- Strictly enforce traffic regulations, such as speeding or stop sign violations.

6. What is your belief or perception about the current crime trend in the City of Normandy over the last two years?

- Crime has increased in Normandy over the last two years.
- Crime has remained the same in Normandy over the last two years.
- Crime has decreased in Normandy over the past two years?
- Do not know.

7. In your opinion, compared to surrounding communities how safe is Normandy?

Much safer Somewhat safer The same Somewhat less Much less safe

8. Are you aware that Normandy provides contractual police services to other communities?

Yes No

9. Do you know anyone that lives in another community you think would benefit from having the Normandy Police Department provide service to them?

Yes No

10. Would you feel comfortable recommending the Normandy Police Department to them?

Yes No

Why or why not?

11. Are you aware that the Normandy Police Department is a State Accredited police department?

Yes No

12. Do you agree or disagree that being recognized as an Accredited police department is a benefit to the community?

Highly agree Agree Doesn't matter Disagree Highly Disagree

13. The traits, habits, programs or policies I like most about the Normandy Police are:

14. The three most important concerns I have with or about the Normandy Police are?

1.

2.

3.

15. Are you aware that the Normandy Police have a website, a Facebook page and a Twitter account and welcome visits and comments from the communities we serve and any visitors?

Yes No

16. **The next section is also entirely voluntary and strictly confidential. It will not be publicly displayed and will only be available to select police personnel and only with the express permission of the Chief of Police. We greatly value your privacy and understand if you would wish to remain anonymous. However, we want to have every opportunity to hear your input which is also very valuable to us.**

Would you like for us to re-contact you about your experiences with the Normandy Police Department so that we may discuss any comments, concerns, ideas, etc.?

Accept Decline

Name:

Address:

Phone:

Email:

Thank you for your and cooperation in completing this survey. It helps us to determine what we are doing properly and what areas we need to improve on. Please enclose the completed survey in the self-addressed stamped envelope and place it in your mailbox or you may deliver it to the Normandy City Hall.

DRAFT VERSION
MCG Amended Calls to Action
June 23, 2015

This proposal offers a vision of system-wide change for municipal courts in the St. Louis region that is founded on principles of procedural justice, effective court administration, and public safety. This vision is sorely needed as the structural challenges of municipal courts in the 21st Judicial Circuit of Missouri (“the 21st Judicial Circuit”) are large and interrelated. The Ferguson Commission seeks a bold vision for all municipal courts in the 21st Judicial Circuit - a blueprint for reform, flexible but detailed enough to begin the substantial rebuilding necessary to correct the structural failings of the past while meeting the demands of the future.

Discussion of the problems and concerns over the past year about the municipal courts in the 21st Judicial Circuit has been robust and encouraging. Well-researched policy recommendations have been provided from credible sources. In the case of the Ferguson Municipal Court, the Civil Rights Division of the United States Department of Justice (DOJ) issued a list of thirteen detailed recommendations for reform based on their extensive investigation. With respect to policing, the well-respected Police Executive Research Forum (PERF) offered a bold vision for a number of police departments in North St. Louis County. The Center for Court Innovation, the National Center for State Courts, and Better Together have also provided essential research, analysis, and recommendations.

Building off of these foundational efforts, the Ferguson Commission developed additional findings through various reports, news accounts, editorials, state and federal legislative hearings, court orders, and testimonies heard and submitted to the Commission as a whole, and the Municipal Courts and Governance working group in particular. This extensive research and listening effort revealed three major areas of concern:

First, we learned of excessive fines and fees; misuse of court power, including inappropriate detentions; and violations of the civil rights of individuals, particularly low income people of color. The widespread and misplaced use of fines, fees, and detentions as a source of revenue provides a motive to perpetuate deficiencies and other shortcomings. Many citizens perceive that municipal courts have embraced a culture of “debtors’ prisons” to bolster insufficient government revenue.

Second, we learned of major structural and administrative deficiencies in the municipal courts, including inaccessibility to the courts and to court information; part-time courts that meet only a few evenings a month, some with inadequate facilities; part-time judges and employees, some with arguable conflicts of interest and some with lack of training. At a count of 81, the sheer number of municipal courts in this Circuit has led in some instances to inadequate oversight in fulfilling the existing administrative rules, orders of the Missouri Supreme Court and the 21st Judicial Circuit, and procedural justice generally.

Third, we learned of seriously fractured community relations, insensitivity to the economic realities and needs of citizens, and growing public mistrust in municipal courts, judges, and governments.

The Commission’s vision laid out here focuses on these three priority areas with various calls to action within each of the priority areas to provide the support beams for necessary structural change. The specific calls to action proposed below are not the only way of addressing these priorities and repairing the underlying support beams, but they are likely the best ones available, as they are grounded in best principles, proven success in other

jurisdictions, and recommendations from local and national assessments. As with any repair effort, it is necessary to address all of these priorities and calls to action in one unified effort. Neglecting any one priority or call to action risks compromising the structural integrity of the whole building. In this rare opportunity for true reform, we cannot afford to leave such work unfinished.

The Commission acknowledges that challenges exist in implementing solutions while respecting other goals and interests. Municipalities have very legitimate public safety and civil society interests in compliance with their ordinances and in their municipal policies being carried out by applicable courts. Municipalities that have grown dependent on fines and fees for revenue may find it difficult to adjust their budgets. The Commission attempted to address these concerns with budgetary and administrative considerations mentioned in the recommendations discussed below. These concerns provide a continuing focus that should not obstruct reform, but should help refine efforts to be more successful in their implementation. Staying faithful to the imperatives of procedural justice, effective court administration, and public safety, the calls to action that constitute this new vision of municipal courts include:

FIRST PRIORITY AREA: Citizen-Centered Court Reforms

Court reforms should re-emphasize procedural and substantive justice standards for municipal courts. In short, municipal courts should focus on citizens, not on revenue. Citizens’ current perceptions that their civil rights are being violated and that municipal courts operate against their interests need to be addressed with substantial changes that refocus court activities on the needs and rights of citizens. The calls to action provided below enable that refocusing, calling for protection of clearly articulated rights of citizens and clearly articulated policies on court administration, judges’ roles, and conflicts of interest. These clear articulations should provide for procedural uniformity that increases both procedural and substantive justice and efficiency of court practices.

Overall Call to Action -- Provide Notification of Rights and Procedures

Initial Call to Action	Consensus Language from 6/23 Meeting
(a) Residents shall be informed of their rights and of municipal court procedures via a written "bill of rights" – drafted/established/approved by the applicable Missouri circuit court – delivered with every ticket and via signage posted at each location where municipal court meetings are held.	Unanimous approval
(b) Municipal judges, clerks, and attorneys shall inform residents of municipal court procedures and their constitutional or other procedural rights as defendants at all court appearances and prior to adjudication of their cases.	Unanimous approval
(c) Municipal courts shall provide all defendants with written notice of the time, date, and location of any court hearing they must attend. If a municipal court must change the time, date, or location of any court session, notice must be provided in writing at least 14 days prior to the original court date.	Majority approval
(d) Municipal court sessions shall be open and accessible to the public, including children.	Unanimous approval
(e) Municipal courts shall inform all defendants of their right to counsel and must obtain an informed waiver if defendants	This recommendation was split into two parts, with the first part staying the same:

<p>choose to proceed <i>pro se</i>. If a defendant requests counsel but cannot afford representation, the court shall appoint an attorney when constitutionally or statutorily required. Municipal courts shall provide attorneys for all minors and in additional instances where doing so is consistent with their policies.</p>	<p>(e) Municipal courts shall inform all defendants of their right to counsel and must obtain an informed waiver if defendants choose to proceed <i>pro se</i>. If a defendant requests counsel but cannot afford representation, the court shall appoint an attorney when constitutionally or statutorily required.</p>
	<p>(f) Minors charged with a criminal offense with jail as a potential sentence, shall be assigned an attorney.</p>
<p>(f) Municipalities shall use recognizance and summons, rather than warrants, where appropriate. After a first arrest, a failure to appear will trigger a certified letter and new court date. No warrant will be issued for the first failure to appear. A subsequent failure to appear will trigger a warrant and a letter explaining that the warrant can be removed and a new court date set by appearing in person at the clerk's office. If arrested on that warrant, the person is given summons and recognizance, but not detained or imprisoned. A further non-appearance will result in unsecured bond and may result in arrest and detention without bond for up to 48 hours before appearance before a judge.</p>	<p>(g) Municipal courts shall not incarcerate individuals for minor, nonviolent offenses, nor issue failure to appear warrants on such charges.</p> <p>This recommendation also added Missouri Supreme Court as an accountable body.</p>
<p>(g) All municipal convictions of non-repeat offenders shall be expunged after a defined period of time, predetermined by the Missouri Supreme Court.</p>	<p>Majority approval</p>
<p>(h) Municipalities shall not hold a defendant for another municipality based on a monetary payment that the person cannot pay.</p>	<p>(i) All failure to appear warrants shall be withdrawn and cancelled. A municipality shall not hold a defendant for another municipality for longer than 4 hours for a non-violent offense.</p>
<p>(i) Municipal courts shall collect debts in a manner consistent with other civil debts. If court debts are not paid or resolved by community service or other means within 6 months, the municipality shall refer the debt to a civil debt-collector and take no further action in municipal court. This process shall be communicated in writing to every person when the amounts are assessed.</p>	<p>(j) Municipalities should treat minor nonviolent offenses as civil violations rather than criminal cases. Municipal courts shall collect debts in a manner consistent with other civil debts.</p>
<p>(j) When municipal courts refer debts to a civil debt collector, that event, including the business name and address of the debt collector and the amount owed, shall be communicated in writing to those owing debts. Any resources or services available to civil debtors, such as debt consolidation, shall be communicated at that time as well.</p>	<p>This recommendation is ELIMINATED</p>
<p>(k) Rather than focus on punishments, warning letters delivered by municipalities – and any statements of rights or procedures provided by courts – shall be written in language that encourages compliance by building relationships with</p>	<p>This recommendation is ELIMINATED</p>

municipal residents.	
(l) All municipal jails shall retain services of medical personnel to provide services in the event they are needed by inmates.	(m) All municipalities shall develop and implement an operating plan to provide necessary medical services, including mental health services, for all persons in custody.

Accountable Bodies

- Missouri Supreme Court
- 21st Judicial Circuit
- Municipal Courts

Overall Call to Action -- Eliminate Conflicts of Interest Among Judges and Other Court Personnel

In the current 21st Judicial Circuit municipal court system, attorneys often serve in several roles in multiple jurisdictions that create perceived conflicts of interest. These conflicts of interest, whether they are real and substantial or inconsequential to the attorney’s duties, sow seeds of distrust that undermine the legitimacy of municipal courts and citizens’ perceptions of procedural justice. At its worst, this current structure lends itself to actual conflicts of interest. At the very least, this structure will continue to erode trust in the current system and thereby serve as an obstacle to rebuilding confidence in the justice system.

Overlap in the current system consists of:

- Attorneys serving as prosecutor in a municipality and a judge in a neighboring municipality
- Attorneys serving as a judge in multiple municipalities and as a private attorney in other municipalities
- Attorneys serving as a prosecutor in multiple municipalities and a private attorney in other municipalities
- Attorneys serving as a city attorney and a prosecutor for the same municipality
- Firms that serve as prosecutor, judge, and city attorney in multiple municipalities

Although Missouri Supreme Court Rule 2-3.10 prohibits judges from practicing law, municipal judges appear to be exempted. That exemption should be eliminated. If it is not eliminated, then the authority, conditions, limitations, and rationale for that exemption shall be clearly stated and followed in each judicial circuit in Missouri. Where such policies and exemptions are not already articulated, Missouri municipal courts shall draw on the principles of successful models offered below.

Initial Call to Action	Consensus Language from 6/23 Meeting
(a) Municipal judges shall be prohibited from practicing law in the county in which they serve as a municipal judge.	Majority approval
(b) Municipal prosecutors shall be prohibited from representing criminal defendants in the county in which they serve as a prosecutor.	Majority approval
(c) The Missouri Supreme Court shall not exempt municipal court personnel from its conflicts of interest rules.	Unanimous approval

Accountable Bodies

- Missouri Supreme Court
- Missouri Legislature
- Presiding Judge of the 21st Judicial Circuit
- Municipal Courts

- The Missouri Bar

Successful Models

- New York prohibits a part-time judge from practicing law in the county in which his or her court is located. The law further prohibits the partners or associates of the part-time judge from practicing law in a court in which he or she is a judge.¹
- Colorado prohibits a part-time judge from practicing law in “any comparable level courts in the same judicial district as the judge serves.”²
- Ohio bars a part-time judge from practicing law in any court subject to the appellate jurisdiction of the court in which the judge serves.³ Nevada also follows this rule.⁴
- The National District Attorneys Association provides in its model rules that “part-time prosecutors shall not represent persons in criminal matters in other jurisdictions. This is because of the potential for conflicts with his or her duties as a prosecutor and because of the perception that such representation would decrease his or her dedication to the performance of prosecutorial functions.”

SECOND PRIORITY AREA: Structural and Administrative Municipal Court Reforms

Structural municipal court reform is key to achieving procedural justice, effective administration, and public safety as the structure of municipal courts dramatically impacts daily activities and outcomes for citizens and municipalities. The following reforms provide bold actions to respond to the types of structural and administrative failures noted by the DOJ and reflect recommendations offered in that authoritative and in-depth report, as well as those offered in other reports. By focusing on solutions that provide budgetary successes and greater efficiency and uniformity among courts, these measures will evolve to address the continuing challenge of enhancing administrative operations, meeting public safety goals, and improving procedural justice while working within budgetary constraints.

One of the largest challenges facing municipal courts stems from the fact that many municipal courts in St. Louis County are severely pressed for time and space, inadequate facilities, and minimal training, record keeping, etc. These difficult challenges are in large part a product of the size and quantity of these municipal courts, which number 81 in St. Louis County, representing 81 separate judicial systems. The sheer number of courts creates inefficiencies of scale. Municipalities should reverse this dynamic to take advantage of shared resources and goals, thereby cutting costs and improving quality of court services and procedures.

Furthermore, the existence of many small municipal courts makes oversight of a stressed circuit judiciary impossible at the level of detail that is needed. Other jurisdictions across the U.S. have recognized this dynamic when consolidating municipal courts. Encouraging or requiring consolidation of the 81 municipal courts under the three existing satellite courts in St. Louis County is key to effectively addressing these problems and improving the court system’s transparency, notice to defendants, simplification, equity, program evaluation, due process, equal protection, consistency of results, and compliance with SB 5. Creating larger, better-staffed courts would also raise public confidence in the courts, as has been the case with the 17 other counties in Missouri that have fully consolidated their municipal courts. The 21st Judicial Circuit shall look to those successful examples and determine how to best echo those successes in a way that addresses its particular resources and challenges.

Consolidation would reduce costs dramatically. It currently costs an estimated \$13M a year to operate the 81 municipal courts. In contrast, it would cost an estimated \$2.28M to \$4.96M a year to consolidate the municipal courts under the three satellite courts. Other consolidation schemes are possible, but using the three satellite courts is resource efficient and institutionally wise, because those courts are already fully staffed and open daily. Alternatively, the 21st Judicial Circuit shall call on the Supreme Court of Missouri to determine if a different number of courts would more efficiently and effectively administer justice.

¹ 22 NYCRR 100.6(B)

² Colorado Code of Judicial Conduct Chapter 24 III

³ Ohio Code of Judicial Conduct 2009 III(B)

⁴ NV ST S CT Code of Judicial Conduct Part VI Application (III)(c)

Because the cost savings are so large, this particular reform creates substantial opportunities for other reforms, some of which may involve cost increases. Accordingly, this call to action addresses the strong and important budgetary interests of individual municipalities, which face limitations in shifting revenue collection to other non-fine sources. Finally, municipalities' interests in enforcing their own laws is preserved and potentially enhanced by this reform as more centralized courts would have more resources to oversee the just application of laws on a timely basis.

Note: The above framing text will be edited to include a comparison with other judicial circuits in the state of Missouri and their ability to supervise a smaller number of Municipal Courts.

Initial Call to Action	Consensus Language from 6/23 Meeting
The Missouri Supreme Court should require Municipal Courts to Combine into Larger, More Just, and More Cost-effective Judicial Courts under the direct jurisdiction of the Associate Circuit Court.	Supreme Court should take direct jurisdiction of municipal court functions through the associate circuit court and consolidate into an appropriate number the municipal courts for the purpose of the efficient administration of justice.

Accountable Bodies

- Municipalities
- Municipal organizations (e.g., 24:1)
- Presiding judge of 21st Judicial Circuit
- Missouri Supreme Court (under Article V of Mo Constitution)
- Missouri Legislature
- Federal Government

Successful Models

- Missouri – Between 1976 and 2001, 24 Missouri counties consolidated their trial courts. In a study conducted by the National Center for State Courts⁵, a vast majority of court clerks reported improvements in:
 - Efficiency within the court: Increased flexibility, communication, and coordination between staff, greater adherence to law and procedures, faster case processing
 - Greater public access to court facilities: 87% say public trust and confidence in court system improved
 - Cost effectiveness: cost savings from shared supplies and equipment, greater interest income
- New Jersey – as of 2010, of 566 total municipalities in NJ, approximately 10% of these municipalities formed a joint court arrangement in which the participating municipalities disbanded their courts and created a new court covering multiple municipalities.⁶
- California - California's 1998 ballot initiative Proposition 220 allowed for the combination of municipal courts and superior courts within a county. All 58 California counties have since voted to consolidate their trial court operations, doing away with municipal courts.

Overall Call to Action -- *Establish Effective Administrative Standards and Record Keeping*

Improving court administration and the speedy and just resolution of cases is essential to achieving greater procedural justice in a cost-effective manner. The DOJ highly emphasized the role of poor court administration in producing the widespread resentment around Ferguson's municipal court system. Unclear court requirements, inaccurate information, and resulting adverse consequences for citizens were some of several factors leading to

⁵https://www.ncsc.org/~media/Files/PDF/Education%20and%20Careers/CEDP%20Papers/2001/Court_Consolidation_MO.ashx

⁶<https://www.judiciary.state.nj.us/mcs/consolidationplan9-10.pdf>

distrust and resentment with the court system. Those challenges are compounded by the fact that residents may interact with several courts, all of whose practices and shortcomings are likely different in substantial ways.

Encouraging and requiring the creation of larger, cost-effective municipal courts, as called for above, will necessarily address the need for more effective and uniform administration. However, whether the 21st Circuit has three large, efficient courts or some larger number, the Commission recommends that the following requirements should be met by all municipal courts:

Initial Call to Action	Consensus Language from 6/23 Meeting
(a) All municipal courts shall explicitly establish formal and uniform systems of documentation and record keeping at every stage of defendants' court involvement. Whenever possible and appropriate, such documents and records shall be available to defendants.	Majority approval
(b) All operating procedures of municipal courts shall be clearly defined and followed, and all staff shall be trained in those procedures.	Unanimous approval
(c) To limit inappropriate sharing of information, all municipal courts and municipal prosecutors shall maintain separate files.	Unanimous approval
(d) Annual audits of municipal courts shall be implemented and municipal courts shall be required to deliver copies of case records and documents to the Office of State Courts Administrator in compliance with audit requests.	Majority approval

Accountable Bodies

- Municipal courts
- Presiding judge of 21st Judicial Circuit
- Office of State Court Administration
- Missouri Supreme Court

Successful Models

- Ohio’s Mayor’s Courts are required to register and file statistical case management reports with the Supreme Court of Ohio on a quarterly basis. The Supreme Court of Ohio also hosts a single, accessible web page that offers training videos, rules for Mayor’s courts, and annual reports on case management across the state from 2004 to 2013.
- Audits of municipal and local courts in Delaware and South Carolina are available through the National Center for State Courts web site, which also offers reports on management and resource needs, technology, and other administrative elements of municipal courts.⁷

Overall Call to Action -- *Require Training for Court Personnel*

Initial Call to Action	Consensus Language from 6/23 Meeting
All municipal court, jail, and city government employees shall receive training on how to protect the constitutional rights of residents and defendants, and how to effectively	Unanimous approval

⁷ <http://www.ncsc.org/Topics/Special-Jurisdiction/Municipal-Courts/Resource-Guide.aspx>.

administer courts. Each employee must sign a written acknowledgement upon completion of training. This training shall ensure that court personnel adequately understand that the following apply to their activities and duties:

(a) All relevant administrative rules of the Missouri Supreme Court, the applicable judicial circuit court, and the municipal court.

(b) All constitutional and statutory procedural rights afforded to citizens.

(c) All other constitutional protections for citizens, including the requirements that:

(i) Consistent with the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, municipal courts shall not hold a person in custody after an arrest because the person is too poor to post a monetary bond or bail payment.

(ii) Municipal courts shall not hold a person in jail for nonpayment at proceedings initiated by the municipality without a meaningful inquiry into the person's ability to pay (including notice and an opportunity to present evidence) and without the assistance of counsel or an informed waiver of assistance.

(iii) Municipal courts shall provide all inmates held in any municipal jail with a toothbrush, toothpaste, hand soap, shower access, reasonably sanitary surroundings, exercise, reading materials, adequate medical care, and nutritious meals. Feminine hygiene products shall be provided to inmates upon request. No person shall be charged any money for any time spent in jail or for the provision of basic needs while in jail.

Accountable Bodies

- Municipal Court Personnel
- Municipal Courts
- 21st Judicial Circuit Court
- Office of State Court Administration
- Missouri Supreme Court

Successful Models

- Texas law requires all court coordinators and municipal court judges to complete at least twelve (12) hours of training every year or thirty-two (32) hours for judges who are not licensed attorneys.
- The Colorado Association for Municipal Court Administration and other state associations offer voluntary classes, monthly meetings, legislative updates and other resources, spreading professionalism and better administration across the state.
- Similarly, the Missouri Municipal and Associate Circuit Judges Association (MMACJA) is dedicated to the professionalism of Missouri municipal judges. The MMACJA could have additional positive influence in Missouri by offering trainings and classes on a continuing basis.

THIRD PRIORITY AREA: Community Justice Reforms

True municipal court reform includes rebuilding community trust, improving access to justice, and addressing the practical and economic realities of citizens. This requires connecting individuals with the services and

community support needed to maintain public safety, diminish the likelihood of future interactions with the court, address inequities, and improve community engagement.

One innovative way to accomplish this is through community justice centers that operate in conjunction with the municipal courts for defendants (for traffic violations and other types of violations) who are unable to pay or otherwise in need. This community-based, municipal justice approach includes case management and social work services, providing judges and prosecutors with a broad range of alternative sentencing options, such as community service, community restitution, community mediation, and access to social services. Community justice centers could coordinate existing and cultivate new community service alternatives, as now required by SB 5.

These centers also could provide citizens with limited legal advice on how to avoid future violations and connect people to organizations that can assist with insurance, housing, employment, mental health, and credit counseling, needs that frequently underlie traffic and other municipal violations. Last, these centers could aid in the resolution of community disputes through community mediation and community restitution. These centers could be developed through public and/or private initiatives, advanced by municipalities, churches, businesses, schools, and other community stakeholders in conjunction with the Missouri Supreme Court, the 21st Judicial Circuit Court, and municipal courts. In the end, these centers could become a model for the rest of the state and the country.

Overall Call to Action -- *Resolve Municipal Charges Through Community Alternatives*

Initial Call to Action	Consensus Language from 6/23 Meeting
(a) Municipal courts shall not incarcerate individuals for minor, nonviolent offenses.	Unanimous approval
(b) Municipal courts shall determine defendants' ability to pay fines and fees.	Unanimous approval
(c) Municipal courts shall establish effective alternatives to jail time, fines, and fees for violations of municipal ordinances, including payment plans and community service.	Unanimous approval
(d) Municipal courts shall retain services of dedicated personnel (e.g., social workers, community service coordinators, through community justice centers or otherwise) for provision of social services, diversion options, and other alternatives to traditional sentencing to all municipal defendants who choose or are determined to require such services.	Majority approval
(e) All non-violent offenses by minors shall be treated as closed juvenile records.	Majority approval
(f) Juveniles charged with violent crimes shall be appointed a public defender.	Majority approval

Overall Call to Action -- *Resolve Municipal Charges and Reduce License and Registration-Related Penalties Through Education and Assistance*

Initial Call to Action	Consensus Language from 6/23 Meeting
(a) Municipal courts (through community justice centers or otherwise) shall provide counseling assistance with license reinstatement. The following requirements for reinstatement of a driver's license amount to onerous barriers that increase the risk of incurring further municipal ordinance violations for drivers	This recommendation is VOIDED

who have had their licenses suspended.

(i) Needing to maintain insurance for however long one's license is suspended is one of the most burdensome requirements for license reinstatement. It is seemingly inconsistent to require individuals to pay for insurance for a car they cannot legally drive, and we recommend the elimination of this requirement. (ii) Needing to obtain compliance letters and needing to know which courts have charges are recurrent problems for many drivers.

(A) We recommend providing an on-line data base to address the first burden and an automated system that identifies which charges have been cleared so that those courts can send the requisite compliance letters directly to the Department of Revenue to address the second. Drivers do not have a simple way to look up what holds are on their driving records without having to call the DOR; many do not understand how to accomplish this task and the task can take a lot of time, especially prohibitive for low-income drivers who have limited minutes on their phones. Knowing what holds are on their record enables drivers to know which courts they need to request compliance letters from once they have resolved the underlying charges that caused their licenses to be suspended. This could be remedied by providing drivers with an online database similar to Regis, so they can look up their own information.

(B) The second problem with getting compliance letters is the time it takes to call each court and request the compliance letters, as well as the general bureaucracy involved with doing so, namely proving compliance to the court to begin with. This could be remedied by the use of an automated system that would alert the courts involved that the driver's charges have been cleared so that those courts can send the requisite compliance letters directly to the DOR. This automated system would be something akin to vehicle registration renewal: upon payment of the reinstatement fee, that payment would be entered into the system, designating the individual as compliant and generating automatic notice to courts through the database and email.

(iii) Having to retake the written portion of the driving test means scheduling the test at a time that does not interfere with work or other responsibilities, and arranging for one's obligations to be satisfied in the event that the appointment will take longer than expected, which often happens. The requirement that an individual retake a driver's test shall be determined on a case-by-case basis; as suspensions do not always result from traffic violations and even suspensions that do arise from traffic violations do not necessarily reflect the individual's driving ability.

<p>(b) Municipal courts (through community justice centers or otherwise) shall provide counseling assistance with vehicle registration assistance, and economic assistance if possible. Failure to register is one of the most common charges low-income drivers in St. Louis County are given. This charge is often a result of one of the following: (1) insufficient financial means for the registration fees; (2) insufficient financial means for the required elements that must be fulfilled before registering one's vehicle; (3) lack of information as to necessary documentation to show that the requirements have been met; (4) lack of access to necessary documentation; and/or (5) inability to lift an active lien on one's vehicle. This policy proposal addresses the first three issues by proposing counseling and, where needed, subsidies to low-income residents for the auto repairs necessary for passing inspection, waivers for the registration fees by right of participation in the traffic ordinance education program, as well as by providing a means for drivers to learn what they need to do in order to get their registration through the traffic ordinance education program.</p>	<p>This recommendation is VOIDED</p>
<p>(c) Municipal courts (through community justice centers or otherwise) shall provide counseling assistance with obtaining auto insurance subsidies, and economic assistance if possible. The cost of auto insurance can be prohibitive for individuals with modest incomes. The California Low Cost Auto Insurance Program is a model for a policy that would enable more St. Louis County residents to have continuous auto insurance. Having auto insurance is critical for the purposes of vehicle registration renewal, as well as for reinstatement of a driver's license following a suspension or revocation. Making auto insurance more affordable would remove one of the reasons that drivers become trapped in a cycle of getting charged with multiples of the same municipal ordinance violations or find themselves faced with exacerbated penalties.</p>	<p>This recommendation is VOIDED</p>
	<p>This recommendation voids (a), (b), and (c) above:</p> <p>(a) We strongly recommend that municipalities institute some form of community court or community justice center as an accessible alternative for residents charged with municipal violations.</p> <p>Also, Circuit Courts needs to be added to the accountable bodies for this section, which brings the total accountable bodies up to 4.</p>
<p>(d) In the event of arrest, municipal courts shall allow owners of legally compliant vehicles a reasonable number of hours to have their vehicle moved by a licensed and capable driver in lieu of impounding the vehicle as a punitive measure. Penalties associated with immediate impoundment are disproportionately</p>	<p>This recommendation now becomes (b) and the language stays the same</p>

burdensome on poor and impoverished residents and are not essential to municipalities' public safety or justice interest.	
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Accountable Bodies

- Missouri Department of Revenue
- Missouri Supreme Court
- 21st Judicial Circuit
- Missouri Legislature

Successful Models

- Sensible Justice: Alternatives to Prison describes the development of the Community Service Sentencing Project by the Vera Institute.⁸
- Dispensing Justice Locally: The Implementation and Effects of the Midtown Community Court describes detail about the Community Service Sentencing Project.⁹
- Bronx Community Solutions. This project, which came out of the Center for Court Innovation, actively utilizes alternative community service programming. In 2005, it was awarded a grant from the Bureau of Justice Assistance of the U.S. Department of Justice.¹⁰
- Bouffard, J. & Muftic, L. (2007). The Effectiveness of Community Service Sentences Compared to Traditional Fines for Low-Level Offenders. *The Prison Journal*, 87(2):171-194. DOI: 10.1177/0032885507303741.¹¹

Conclusion:

Municipal courts are Missourians' first – and sometimes their only – impression of the legal system. Increasingly, it is a very bad impression. Much is at stake with municipal court reforms. Change in Missouri's municipal court system is crucial in the process of respecting and protecting the rights of defendants; restoring the integrity of the municipal court system and rebuilding public confidence; and ensuring that municipal courts, judges, and governments are independent, transparent, and fair.

⁸ <https://www.nytimes.com/books/first/a/anderson-justice.html>

⁹ <http://www.courtinnovation.org/research/dispensing-justice-locally-implementation-and-effects-midtown-community-court?url=research%2F4%2Fpublication&mode=4&type=publication&page=5>

¹⁰ http://www.courtinnovation.org/sites/default/files/BCS_%202006_report.pdf

¹¹ http://www.researchgate.net/publication/249707604_The_Effectiveness_of_Community_Service_Sentences_Compared_to_Traditional_Fines_for_Low-Level_Offenders