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## S T U D Y

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## GOVERNMENT IN MISSOURI

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### EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This policy study undertakes a broad review of Missouri's state and local governmental structure, as viewed from the perspective of public choice economics. It applies various economic theories, as well as insights from the broader world of political science, to Missouri's present system of government and politics. Throughout the study, the term "government" refers to the exact bodies and officials that compose it, rather than to more theoretical ideas regarding the role it should have in our lives.

In order to facilitate an analysis of Missouri government, this study first provides a detailed outline of how the state's many government units are structured, including legislative bodies and elected officials at the state, county, township, and municipal levels. It then compares Missouri's governments to those of other states, counties, and cities — particularly in Pennsylvania.

This study particularly focuses on the theories of public choice economics, a branch that studies the institutional incentives of government and politics. The analysis considers several prevailing public choice theories and gauges their applicability to the specific cases present in Missouri: whether larger legislatures lead to increased spending; whether at-large legislative bodies spend less than districted bodies; and, whether a given jurisdiction can have both too many and too few elected officials.

The resulting data is compared to observed spending levels within Missouri governments. This study's findings include proof of the economies of scale that occur when measuring spending within smaller Missouri counties. They also describe the lack of any hard proof of relative overspending in the city of Saint Louis, despite strong theoretical indications that such proof might be found.

The author concludes the study with recommendations for ways to improve the quality and efficiency of government in Missouri.

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## INTRODUCTION

This study is a comparative analysis of government in Missouri.<sup>1</sup> It has three fundamental goals.

The first is to provide a comprehensive count of the varying levels of government units and the number of elected officials in Missouri, and to compare them to those of other states. The second is to review the economic literature that has evaluated the relationships between different sizes of government and numbers of elected officials. This literature has produced tested and demonstrable theories, such as the “Law of 1/N,” and this paper will attempt to determine whether these results apply to Missouri. The final goal is to compare levels of government spending within Missouri entities, especially for counties and municipalities.

The economic literature to be reviewed will note the relationship between the number of elected officials, in particular, and the comparative amount of spending by that government unit. This research considers the commonly held belief that an increasing number of governmental units within a polity, or “fragmentation,” results in a less efficient provision of government services. This study does not set out to prove or disprove the public choice economic ideas and laws that are under review. Rather, this paper will accept them as they are, and then determine whether they hold when applied to government in Missouri. Ultimately, the study asks: If Missouri has a large number of elected officials and government units, and if a large number of elected officials and government units generally leads to higher spending levels, then how can Missouri be a comparatively low-taxing and low-spending state?

## SECTION ONE

### GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION IN MISSOURI

#### Executive Branch (Article Four of the Missouri Constitution)

Missouri’s traditional three-branch style of government would be familiar to any civics student. The executive branch is headed by the elected governor and includes five other elected officials: lieutenant governor, secretary of state, treasurer, auditor, and attorney general. All six offices are elected statewide for four-year terms on a partisan basis.

The governor is Missouri’s primary official. He is the commander in chief of the state militia (National Guard), has authority to veto legislation, appoints appellate-level (and some circuit-level) judges, makes appointments to hundreds of state boards and commissions, and directs the management of all state departments. The governor and the treasurer are the only statewide officers limited to two four-year terms.

The lieutenant governor takes over as governor in the event of the death, impeachment, or abdication of the governor. The lieutenant governor also serves as the president of the state Senate, casting tie-breaking votes when necessary, and as such is also a member of the legislative branch. He or she is not elected on a ticket with the governor, as in many other states, or as is the case with the country’s president and vice-

president. It is therefore possible to have members of opposite parties serving as governor and lieutenant governor.<sup>2</sup> The position of lieutenant governor is the only statewide office technically considered to be part time, and although it is legal for officeholders to have a second job, most recent lieutenant governors have not availed themselves of this option.<sup>3</sup>

The secretary of state is the chief elections official of Missouri, and maintains a wide variety of official records, including corporate filings and the state archives. The treasurer is responsible for the investment and management of the state's finances and tax revenues. The attorney general represents the state's interests before the courts in civil, criminal, and regulatory matters. Interestingly, the attorney general is the only officeholder other than the governor required by law to maintain a residence in Jefferson City, and the only one who must pay for this residence himself. The auditor is charged with conducting audits of state agencies and with monitoring the finances of third-class counties, as well as of other governmental entities, in order to oversee and ensure financial responsibility. Through a petition process, any government entity in Missouri can be audited if enough residents demand it.

### **Legislative Branch (Article Three of the Missouri Constitution)**

The legislative branch consists of the traditional bicameral General Assembly, with a Senate and a House of Representatives. The Senate has 34 members, elected to staggered four-year

terms, and the House has 163 members, elected to two-year terms. All members are elected in partisan races. Officeholders are subject to term limits of eight years in each house.<sup>4</sup> Legislation must be passed in both houses of the legislature, and signed by the governor, to become law. The legislature can, however, override a gubernatorial veto by a two-thirds vote of both houses.

The House of Representatives is headed by the speaker of the House. The speaker, selected by members of the majority party, directs the management of legislation, as well as committee assignments for the other members. Although the Senate is theoretically presided over by the lieutenant governor, this authority is generally reserved, by custom, for ceremonial duties or extremely close and important votes in which the tie-breaking vote of the lieutenant governor might be required.<sup>5</sup> On a daily basis, the Senate is headed by the president pro tem, who, like the speaker of the House, is chosen by members of the majority party.

The General Assembly convenes each year in January, and meets through mid-May. There is a short session in the fall to consider potential veto overrides. The legislature can also be called into special session by the governor at other times. Senators and representatives are not considered full-time officials, and many, if not most, have other jobs.

### **Judicial Branch (Article Five of the Missouri Constitution)**

The third branch of Missouri government is the judicial system. The 45

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judicial circuits, in which criminal and civil matters are first heard, are the foundation. Larger counties tend to serve as their own judicial circuits. For instance, the 16th Circuit Court consists entirely and solely of Jackson County. Smaller counties are generally merged with other counties into circuits. For example, the 1st Circuit Court consists of Clark, Scotland, and Schuyler counties.<sup>6</sup> Judicial circuits are presided over by circuit and associate circuit judges. By law, every county must have at least one associate circuit judge assigned to it. At present, there are 148 circuit judges and 187 associate circuit judges.<sup>7</sup> Additionally, individual cities often have municipal courts that decide issues of traffic violation and municipal ordinances.

Within the circuit courts, circuit judges hear felony criminal cases and civil cases when the amount in dispute is greater than \$25,000. Associate circuit judges generally hear misdemeanor criminal cases and civil disputes concerning less than \$25,000. Issues like probate and domestic relations are generally heard by circuit judges, although associate circuit judges can be assigned to hear them, too.<sup>8</sup>

The next judicial level is the Court of Appeals, which is divided into Eastern, Western, and Southern districts, with 32 appellate judges serving among them. These courts hear appeals from the circuit courts.

The highest court in the state is the Supreme Court. Based in Jefferson City, it comprises seven judges and is the final arbiter of what is legal under the provisions of the Missouri Constitution. It also issues decisions about many other important issues, such as stays of execution in death penalty cases.

Missouri has designed an original and distinctive method for selecting judges. Previously, judges at all three levels had been selected in partisan elections. However, in 1940, the state adopted a plan of judicial selection that has subsequently been emulated by many other states. "The Missouri Plan," as it is known, uses appointed boards to select three candidates for vacant judicial positions, and the governor chooses the final appointee from among the panel's recommendations. This system applies to appellate and Supreme Court judges, as well as to circuit and associate circuit judges in six of Missouri's larger counties.<sup>9</sup> Judges appointed under the "Missouri Plan" are then subject to retention votes by the people. The length of terms and frequency of retention votes varies by office; appellate judges serve 12-year terms, and circuit and associate circuit judges serve six-year terms.

In the remaining 40 circuits, voters still choose their circuit and associate circuit judges in partisan elections. Circuit judges run for six-year terms, and associate circuit judges for four. There are no term limits for either elected or appointed judges, although there is a retirement age of 70.<sup>10</sup>

**Local Government  
Organization in Missouri  
(Article Six of the Missouri  
Constitution)**

Missouri is divided into 114 counties and one independent city, Saint Louis. As many Missourians know, Saint Louis city and Saint Louis County are completely separate. Missouri statutes closely direct how local county governments should

operate, with the exception of three charter counties and the sole independent city. For example, state statutes, not local preferences, dictate everything from the size of the local governing board to the salaries paid to elected officials.

There are four classes of counties. A county's class is determined by the total assessed valuation of land and property it contains. A plurality of counties are designated as class three — i.e., counties with less than \$450 million in assessed valuation. There are 89 class three counties in Missouri, which encompass slightly less than 30 percent of the state's population. Class three (and class four) counties also have the option of using a township form of government; 22 counties with class three status have chosen to subdivide into townships.

Class two counties have an assessed valuation of between \$450 and \$600 million. There are six class two counties. Closely related to these are class four counties, which used to be designated as class two, but have since fallen below \$450 million in assessed valuation. Although class four counties fall into the same assessed valuation category as class three counties, they are subject to many of the same governing rules as class two counties. There are two class four counties (Lafayette and Saline in West-Central Missouri). Class four counties are governed just like class two counties, unless they choose to use the township form of government, which neither has. Roughly 6 percent of Missourians reside in class two or class four counties.

Class one counties have a total assessed property valuation of more than \$600 million, and those that reach

a population of at least 85,000 also have the option of becoming charter counties. A charter county enjoys greater local control over a large number of policy issues, and more options for selecting a governing structure. As of 2008, only three counties (Saint Louis, Saint Charles, and Jackson) have elected to become charter counties, although Jefferson County is currently undergoing the change to charter status, and Franklin County is debating and considering a switch to charter status. There are 17 class one counties, including the three with a charter. About two thirds of the population of Missouri lives in class one counties and in the independent city of Saint Louis, which has home rule status and effectively operates as a charter county.

All counties, except for the three charter counties (soon to be four) and single independent city, are governed by a three-member county commission, which acts both as the executive and legislative branches of government within a county. The presiding commissioner is elected countywide; the other two commissioners each represent half of the county. The commission's power is checked by the circuit courts, and by other countywide elected officials. Missouri counties also elect such positions as prosecuting attorney, sheriff, recorder of deeds, coroner, circuit clerk, county clerk, assessor, treasurer, auditor, public administrator, county surveyor, collector of revenue, and county road commissioner (also known as the county highway engineer). There are some differences among classifications; for example, class three counties are not allowed to elect an auditor. Counties also enjoy limited

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authority to appoint or combine certain positions; for example, Ozark County combines the offices of circuit clerk and recorder of deeds, and Lewis County appoints its county surveyor. The fact is, though, that every one of these counties elects all — or almost all — of the above-listed positions.

Not all of these positions are considered full-time. Sheriffs always are, and others, such as county clerks, treasurers, and circuit clerks, generally are. Positions such as coroner and public administrator are almost always part-time, and generally fit into a doctor's or lawyer's general practice. The job of prosecuting attorney (or circuit attorney, as the position is called in the city of Saint Louis) is full-time in larger counties, which have larger populations and bigger workloads, but generally part-time in smaller counties.

The 22 class three counties that have elected to use a township form of government have further divided themselves into a total of 312 townships.

Each township comprises four elected officials: a township trustee, who also serves as township treasurer; two township board members; and a township clerk. Together, the trustee and the two board members make up the township's legislative body. The principal duty of township boards is road construction and maintenance. To this end, townships may further divide into road districts. Township officials are considered part-time, and are paid a stipend for attendance at meetings. The treasurer also receives a small percentage of tax collections, as a salary.

## Municipalities

Cities, towns, and villages are all types of municipalities under Missouri law.<sup>11</sup> Depending on various factors — primarily population — the 952 municipalities<sup>12</sup> may be one of five classifications (see Table 1). Missouri's largest cities are all constitutional charter cities, which give their residents a good

Table 1: Forms and Number of Missouri Municipalities

CLASS	POPULATION REQUIREMENT	TOTAL	FORM OF GOVERNMENTS ALLOWED	TOTAL
Village	Fewer than 500	300 (approx.)	Board of Trustees	
Class 4	500–2,999	550 (approx.)	Mayor / Board of Aldermen	750 (approx.)
			Mayor / City Administrator / Board of Aldermen	150 (approx.)
Class 3	3,000–29,999	56	Mayor / Council	
			Mayor / City Administrator / Council	
			Council / Manager	38
			Commission	2
Constitutional Charter	more than 5,000	37	To be decided by the people	
Legislative Charter	None	8	As set forth in the charter	

Notes: The numbers in the final column include cities from multiple classifications using that form of government. All villages, which have a chairman and a board of trustees, are counted in the mayor / board of aldermen form.

Sources: "Forms of Government For Missouri Municipalities," Missouri Municipal League, Dec. 2004; and: *Official Manual, State of Missouri*, 2005–2006.

deal of discretion over matters within municipal boundaries.

The five classes of municipalities usually have options with respect to how the local government will function. In the case of charter cities, those options are virtually unlimited. However, villages — which are the smallest incorporated entities — have no choices and must use a board of trustees, a form of government in which the citizens elect five trustees (nine, in the case of a few larger villages) and a chairman of the village board is selected from among them.

Class three and class four cities can choose among various forms of government. Class four cities can choose either the mayor / board of aldermen form or the mayor / city administrator / alderman form. The primary structural decision in class four cities is whether to hire a professional administrator or let the elected officials manage the daily duties of government. Most class four cities have elected not to hire a city administrator, but some have, like Charlack in Saint Louis County.

Class three cities have four options, with the council / manager and commission forms of government added to the two options of class four cities. The major differences among the three primary choices — mayor / council (or board), mayor / city administrator / council, and council / manager — pertain to the municipality's decision of whether to hire a professional city manager and how much power to give that position. Full-time, professional city managers are employed in both the mayor / city administrator / council and the council / manager forms, although the professional administrator

has more power under the latter. Almost all class three cities employ either city managers or administrators. The final option for class three cities — the commission form — is almost obsolete; only the cities of Monett and West Plains still use it. In this form, the mayor and council members directly serve as the department heads of city agencies, while also serving in the legislative body.

Mayors and council members (or aldermen, or trustees) are usually paid a small stipend for their services. Full-time, well-paid mayors are generally reserved for the state's largest cities, but some smaller Missouri cities also have full-time mayors. Bellefontaine Neighbors, for instance, a suburb of Saint Louis with a population of 11,088, has a full-time mayor with a full-time salary in lieu of a city manager or administrator.

Within these primary forms, almost all cities have three or four wards, with usually two council members per ward, and a mayor elected citywide. Sometimes the mayor votes with the board, and sometimes he just breaks ties. In city-manager municipalities, the board interacts mostly with the city manager, while in city-administrator cities there is more direct contact between the staff and elected officials. In some city-manager cities, such as University City, council members can be impeached for having too much direct contact with the municipal staff outside of the city manager. These small differences aside, most municipalities of similar size in Missouri have very similar forms of local government.

There are also eight legislative charter cities in Missouri: Augusta, Carrollton, Chillicothe, LaGrange, Liberty,

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Miami, Missouri City, and Pleasant Hill. These eight cities were all granted special charters in the 1800s, but the constitutional method of granting these charters was eliminated in 1875. Most legislative charter cities, however, are by now using one of the standard forms of government. LaGrange, for example, uses the city administrator form, but differentiates its three wards by north, middle, and south instead of by number — which would not be allowed were it not a legislative chartered city.

Missouri's largest cities, including all four cities with a population greater than 100,000,<sup>13</sup> are constitutional charter cities. Any city with more than 5,000 residents can become a charter city, but, somewhat surprisingly, only 37 have done so. These cities have much more discretion over how they govern themselves, and provide examples of several unique structures for local government. One charter city is Kansas City, with its six council members elected at large, another six via wards, and a very powerful city manager.<sup>14</sup> Another is Saint Louis, with its 28 alderman from wards, one at-large president of the board of aldermen, no city manager or administrator, and numerous citywide elected officials. Wildwood, a Saint Louis suburb established in the 1990s, has eight wards with 16 council members — both very large numbers for a population of only about 32,000. Other charter cities, like Kirkwood and Webster Groves, which are also in Saint Louis County, elect their councils entirely at large. These structural decisions can affect how a city taxes and spends.

## **Special Taxing Districts**

Missouri makes extensive use of special taxing districts and separate taxing entities. School districts are always independent political entities in Missouri, with elected school boards responsible for providing public education. There are 536 different school districts in Missouri. As of 1992, there were 295 special road districts alone, the most of any state in the nation.<sup>15</sup> Missouri has 1,514 special taxing districts, not counting school districts.<sup>16</sup>

While school districts are certainly the most well-known separate taxing districts, there are numerous others. Each independent taxing authority has its own board, often elected but sometimes appointed, with legal authority to levy and collect taxes. Along with school districts, Missouri statutes currently allow independent taxing districts to be created to provide for libraries, fire departments, water, sewers, roads and bridges, levies, soil conservation, mass transit, junior colleges, parks, zoos, museums, health needs and ambulances, general community improvements, pensions for the blind, sheltered workshops, and street lights. It is indeed possible to be elected to the local street light authority, with the full power to tax one's neighbors for the community's street lights, and only the street lights.

Special taxing districts often cross municipal and county lines. In the Saint Louis suburb of University City, residents pay property taxes to University City, Saint Louis County, the University City Library District, the University City School District, the Community College District, the Metropolitan Zoo and



Museum District, the county's Sheltered Workshop, the Metropolitan Sewer District, the Special School District, and the state's Blind Pension fund. This is only the list of government recipients for property taxation in a single municipality, and University City is actually easier to decipher than many other cities, because its school and library districts follow municipal boundaries exactly.

Service on the boards that oversee any one of these thousands of special taxing districts is very part-time, and usually unpaid.<sup>17</sup> Thankfully, county collectors typically collect taxes on behalf of every special entity within the county, then distribute it to the various taxing districts; so Missourians usually receive only one yearly property tax bill instead of 15. But the extensive use of special taxing districts can make it difficult to compare tax rates within Missouri to those of other states, as no doubt some of the independently levied taxes are left out of such comparisons.

## SECTION TWO

### COMPARING LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT IN MISSOURI TO THOSE IN OTHER STATES

Altogether, Missouri has 3,723 government units.<sup>18</sup> This is the eighth-highest total of all the states (see Appendix 1). Of the five states with more local government units, four have significantly higher populations. Only Kansas has both more government units and a lower population than Missouri.

When counting government units per resident, Missouri ranks 12th, with one government unit per 1,579 residents. Interestingly, most of the states with the highest ratio of residents to government units are also states with the lowest populations, such as the Dakotas, Nebraska, Wyoming, and Vermont. This does not necessarily mean that small states have chosen a larger number of government units than other states. Rather, it shows that there is a baseline level of government that every state will have no matter what the population; i.e., a city will have one mayor and one council whether it has a hundred residents or a million. However you consider it, it is clear that Missouri has more separate government units than many other states, particularly when compared to states in its population range, like Maryland, Arizona, Washington, and Tennessee.

As shown in Appendix 2, Missouri has the fourth largest House of Representatives in the 50 states. Only New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, and Georgia have more representatives in their lower houses. New Hampshire is the outlier, with a statehouse of 400 members; however, representatives meet there only every other year, for a total biennial salary of \$200. Pennsylvania and Georgia are more comparable. Georgia has 180 representatives, but their salary is only half of what Missouri pays its officials, and their average workload is ranked lower than that of Missouri officials.<sup>19</sup> On the other hand, Missouri has only 34 seats in its Senate, the upper body. This is tied for 34th among the states, and appears to be one of Missouri's few examples of electoral moderation.

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It is more difficult to compare Missouri's six statewide elected officers to the total in other states. The Census Bureau does not compute this number in its Census of Governments, but this author's review of the totals indicates that Missouri's six statewide elected officials (excluding United States senators) is a fairly average number, and probably slightly below average. Many other states elect such officials as agriculture commissioner, superintendents of insurance, state school board members, railroad commissioners, supreme court judges, and more. It is also an open question whether appointed judges who are later subject to retention elections, such as Missouri Supreme Court justices, should be counted as elected officials.

One example of a state with fewer statewide elected officials is Virginia, which has only three. Alaska has just two, and Tennessee has only one — the governor.<sup>20</sup>

Missouri has 114 counties, the fourth-highest total of all the states. Texas, with its enormous area, has the most counties, with 254. Georgia is second, with 156 (Georgia, Pennsylvania, and Missouri always seem to be near the top of these sorts of lists). Missouri's border state of Kentucky is third, with 119 — only four more than Missouri, if one includes the independent city of Saint Louis.<sup>21</sup> Twenty-six of Missouri's counties have fewer than 10,000 residents. One need not be a radical consolidator to wonder about the

**Table 2: Saint Louis and Jackson County Municipalities Compared to Other Comparable Counties**

COUNTY	STATE	POPULATION	MUNICIPALITIES	PER CAPITA
<b>Saint Louis</b>	<b>MO</b>	<b>995,118</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>10,935</b>
Allegheny	PA	1,223,411	86	14,226
Jefferson	AL	656,700	32	20,522
Hennepin	MN	1,122,093	42	26,717
Will	IL	668,217	25	26,729
Westchester	NY	949,355	29	32,736
Snohomish	WA	669,887	19	35,257
<b>Jackson</b>	<b>MO</b>	<b>666,890</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>37,049</b>
Cook	IL	5,288,655	121	43,708
Franklin	OH	1,095,662	25	43,826
Contra Costa	CA	1,024,319	19	53,912
Salt Lake	UT	978,701	15	65,247
Orange	FL	1,043,500	13	80,269
Fulton	GA	960,009	10	96,001
Shelby	TN	911,438	7	130,205
Pima	AZ	946,362	5	189,272
Norfolk	MA	654,753	2	327,377
Fairfax	VA	1,010,443	3	336,814

Source: Author-compiled data from multiple sources of the U.S. Department of Commerce, Census Bureau.

Table 3: Size of Saint Louis and Kansas City Councils Compared to Other Comparable Cities

CITY	STATE	POP. (2006 EST.)	CITY COUNCIL	MEMBERS PER CAPITA
<b>Saint Louis</b>	<b>MO</b>	<b>347,181</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>11,972</b>
Cleveland	OH	444,313	21	21,158
Minneapolis	MN	372,833	13	28,679
<b>Kansas City</b>	<b>MO</b>	<b>447,306</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>34,408</b>
Pittsburgh	PA	312,819	9	34,758
Cincinnati	OH	332,252	9	36,917
Virginia Beach	VA	435,619	11	39,602
Arlington	TX	367,197	9	40,800
Colorado Springs	CO	372,437	9	41,382
Honolulu	HA	377,357	9	41,929
Tulsa	OK	382,872	9	42,541
Raleigh	NC	356,321	8	44,540
Tampa	FL	332,888	7	47,555
Santa Ana	CA	340,024	7	48,575
Oakland	CA	397,067	8	49,633
Sacramento	CA	453,781	9	50,420
Wichita	KS	357,698	7	51,100
Omaha	NE	419,545	7	59,935
Mesa	AZ	447,541	7	63,934
Anaheim	CA	334,425	5	66,885
Miami	FL	404,048	5	80,810

Source: Author-compiled data from multiple sources of the U.S. Department of Commerce, Census Bureau.

cost and efficiency of so many separate counties containing so few people.

The two U.S. metropolitan areas with the most local governmental entities, also referred to as having the greatest fragmentation, are Saint Louis and Pittsburgh. In their 1993 paper,<sup>22</sup> Roger Parks of Indiana University and Ronald Oakerson of Houghton College directly compare Saint Louis County and city to Allegheny County in Pennsylvania. Kansas City also ranks very high on some of these lists (see Table 9), but only because of a factor that should be discounted.<sup>23</sup>

Table 2 lists the number of municipalities per capita of comparable

counties in the United States. Table 3 compares the sizes of the local legislative boards of comparable cities. In each instance, Saint Louis County or city tops the lists with the most government entities and the largest local legislative body. Kansas City and Jackson County are much closer to the average.

Missouri also has 536 school districts, the ninth-highest number in the United States. Most states with more school districts than Missouri also have a substantially larger population. These include California, Illinois, Texas, Michigan, New York, Ohio, and New Jersey. Only two states with smaller

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populations, Oklahoma and Nebraska, have more school districts.

## SECTION THREE

### ECONOMIC LITERATURE REVIEW

Missouri has a large amount of government; this fact is undeniable. Nearly every way that it can be counted, Missouri is at or near the top in terms of government units and elected officials. There are a few exceptions to this, but the question really is not, “Does Missouri have a relatively large amount of government?” The answer to that is “Yes.” A better question is, “What effect does this large amount of government have on state and municipal levels of taxation and spending?”

In recent years, economic studies of government have produced a considerable body of literature about how the structure of government and its provision of services affect people. The economic effects are generally measured in terms of taxes, spending, or property values. Public choice theory, as it has come to be known, is part economics and part political science. One prominent finding of public choice economics is the “Law of  $1/N$ ,”<sup>24</sup> which states that spending will grow as the size of a legislature increases. Other studies have demonstrated that a state’s budget grows in relation to the size of its legislature,<sup>25</sup> and that local spending grows in relation to the size of a local council.<sup>26</sup> Studies have also shown that cities with separate wards spend more per capita than cities with at-large elections.<sup>27, 28</sup>

While the math that supports these studies is complicated, the essential reasoning is not. Legislators at all levels frequently trade votes with each other (“logrolling”), leading some to support spending for projects or programs they would normally not care about in order to secure support for their own projects and programs. While certain spending projects are focused on individual areas, the taxes used to support them can be spread as widely as the area the elected officials represent. The spending for a “Bridge to Nowhere” in Alaska might benefit a very few people, but with the taxes to support it paid by more than 300 million Americans, who would normally notice the cost? And the more legislators there are at any level of government, the more opportunities exist for pet projects, preferred programs, and logrolling.

Then there is the issue of the ability of voters to assign credit or blame accurately to elected officials for the results of government actions and policies. If a small number of elected officials is responsible for a large number of areas or departments, voters must assess, at some level, their performance in *all* of those areas, which makes it difficult for a voter to hold any one person accountable for success or failure in any one of the many areas of government. On the other hand, a large number of elected officials makes it difficult for voters to hold any one elected official responsible for general successes or failures, for there are too many ways to assign credit or blame.

If the bulk of the literature agrees that the greater the number of elected officials serving on an elected body, the more it spends, what about the number

of government entities, such as cities, in an area? The groundbreaking work here was done by Charles Tiebout, who was an economics professor at the University of Washington. He concluded that residential mobility has created a competitive environment for local government, and that the resulting competition has kept local government spending and provision of services efficient.<sup>29</sup> If government services are better and taxes lower in Lee's Summit than in Blue Springs, it is simple enough for a family to make that move without drastically changing their lives. Hence, according to Tiebout, the invisible hand of competition constantly improves municipal government, as measured by population changes.

Some people actively promote having a high number of government bodies and elected officials. It is easier to contact and get to know one's local representatives if there are more of them, each representing smaller groups of constituents. Some worry that the size of the U.S. House of Representatives has not kept pace with population growth, as it did for most of our history.<sup>30</sup> Studies comparing nations have noted a relationship between higher levels of government decentralization and lower levels of corruption,<sup>31, 32</sup> a finding that is supported by the Saint Louis area's reputation for low levels of political corruption.

Many people opposed to urban planning mandates advocate a high number of separate governments.<sup>33</sup> To their mind, the harm to economic growth and property rights by centralized planners far outweighs the monetary benefits of fewer government entities. A more dispersed government, with more elected

officials and bodies, make it harder for one central agency to dictate how we should live our lives and manage our property. This author has a great deal of sympathy for that opinion, but shouldn't there be a way to prevent overreaching urban planning while also striving for more efficient use of tax dollars?

One example of how too many entities can raise taxes is Saint Louis County, which has 91 municipalities, 37 of which have fewer than 2,000 residents. Almost all 91 of these municipalities contract with county government for services in some form or another. Some contract with the county for most of their local services. Appendix 9 shows the current contracting arrangements with the Saint Louis County Department of Public Works alone. While contracting with the county is effective and efficient, consolidation of jurisdictions could be even better, from a tax perspective.

People pay the same taxes to county government regardless of whether they live in an incorporated or an unincorporated part of Saint Louis County. If they live in a city that contracts with the county to perform certain local services, they are paying taxes to their city, which in turn are paid by the city to the county, for services that the county performs for residents of the unincorporated areas at no extra charge. In these cases, the cities act as nothing more than middlemen. Residents of cities that contract with the county pay the same taxes to the county as do residents of the unincorporated areas, and get the same services, but still pay taxes to the city in the middle.

In certain situations, the county may perform a service, such as an inspection,

***Residents of cities that contract with the county pay the same taxes to the county as do residents of the unincorporated areas, and get the same services, but still pay taxes to the city in the middle.***

***As a locality gains more elected officials, spending decreases as voters can more accurately hold those officials accountable. Eventually, though, the increasing number of elected officials again results in voter confusion and an inability to maintain accountability, and spending again increases.***

free of charge to an individual in a city that contracts with the county for such service, although there would normally be a charge for the same service in an unincorporated area. In these cases, the city is taxing everyone to pay for services that only a few use, whereas the county, in its unincorporated areas, is charging only the people who use the service. This latter option is generally preferable. But other services, such as policing, would absolutely be provided free to citizens of a city by the county, if not for the existence of the city in the middle. While contracting with the county is a far more efficient use of tax dollars than would be entailed by every municipality using its own employees to perform every service, residents of certain cities in the county could get the same level of service, for less tax money, through disincorporation. However, provided that small cities attempt to contract out and co-operate whenever possible, economic analysis demonstrates that the overall tax costs and inefficiencies arising from many different governments may be very small.

Such inefficiencies are much less of an issue in Jackson County, where the municipalities are larger on average than in Saint Louis County, and are able to effectively provide these services on their own. In fact, the unincorporated population of Jackson County is so small (just 3 percent) that the opposite question must be asked from the one that was relevant to Saint Louis County: Why does Jackson County provide services to unincorporated areas at all? For items like its public works department, contracting with municipalities to provide these

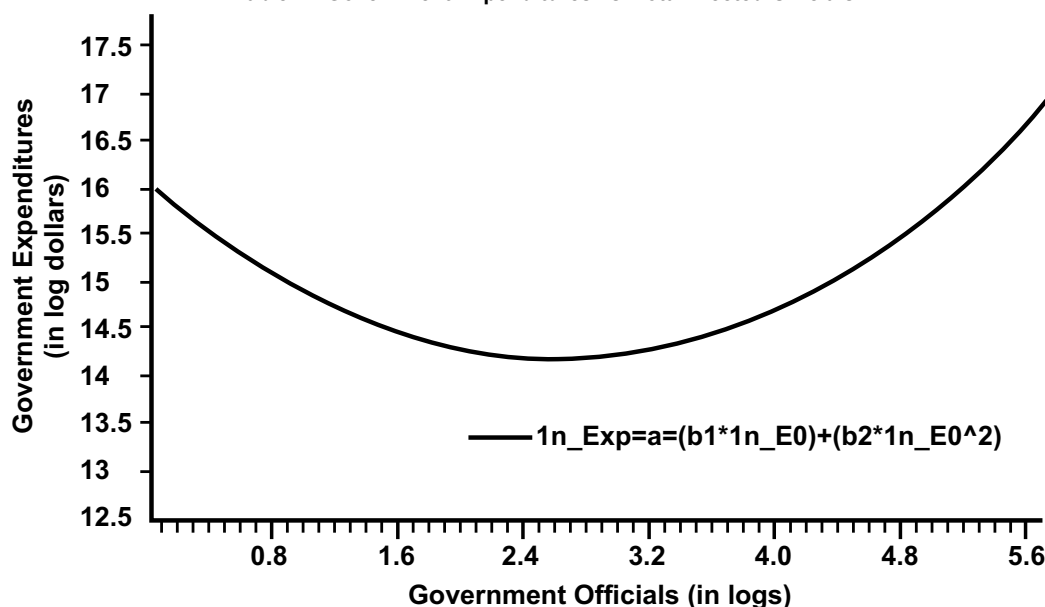
services to unincorporated areas would likely be more efficient.

## **Give Me a “U”**

In June 2007, Christopher Berry and Jacob Gersen of the University of Chicago published a study that related the number of elected officials in a county to the expenditures within that county.<sup>34</sup> It was notable in that it did not include members of legislative bodies in the total, instead looking for “unbundled” officials, i.e., sheriffs, county clerks, and mayors. The study’s thesis was that having “unbundled” elected officials allows voters to judge the work within those government departments fairly, and to hold those officials accountable. If there are too few elected officials, it is impossible for voters to hold them reasonably accountable for the actions of numerous agencies, and hence for spending increases. As a locality gains more elected officials, spending decreases because voters can more accurately hold those officials accountable. Eventually, though, the increasing number of elected officials again results in voter confusion and an inability to maintain accountability, and spending again increases. How does Missouri government fit into this theory?

Very nicely, it turns out. Appendix 3 shows the averages for elected official counts nationwide, along with the comparable Missouri totals. In determining our counts, and in trying to ensure that they were exactly equivalent to those of the University of Chicago study, we counted one member from each county board (except in the charter counties,

Table 4: Government Expenditures vs. Total Elected Officials



Note:  $1n\_Exp$ =log government expenditures;  $1n\_E0$ =log elected officials per 1,000 people. Additional control variables were also included. Coefficient estimates by OLS.  
Source: Author-collected data analyzed using statistical methods from Berry and Gersen study (see endnote 34).

where we discounted them entirely), all other countywide officials, two officials from every township, and one mayor for each town within a county. We also decided to keep the exact totals from special districts, while eliminating school districts entirely. This count of elected officials is very different from the totals discussed in previous sections, which: pertained only to county office holders; included members of legislative bodies; and did not include municipal or special district officials, as the Berry and Gersen study does. On the basis of these new totals, consistent with those of the Berry and Gersen study, we can see that Missouri counties do have more “unbundled” elected officials on average than do other states.

Berry and Gersen ran numerous regressions in determining their results; we ran just one, of 2002 Missouri

county expenditures from the Census of Governments, in order to keep the data consistent. The results of this regression demonstrate that, on the basis of elected officials per 1,000 residents, counties with a smaller number of elected officials spend more, the spending decreases as one approaches an optimum, and spending increases again in counties with higher numbers of elected officials. The results of our own regression are shown in Table 4.<sup>35</sup>

The spending pattern for elected officials per 1,000 residents does indeed follow a “U” shape. Spending levels decrease in Missouri counties as they first acquire more unbundled elected officials, but rise again as that level rises too high. With regard to measuring elected officials per government unit, the regression yielded a similar result but the coefficients were not statistically significant.

***Spending levels decrease in Missouri counties as they first acquire more unbundled elected officials, but rise again as that level rises too high.***

***While much of this current study discusses how Missouri has too much government overall, too many elected officials, and the potential effects of this overabundance, it is important to consider that it is also possible to have too few elected officials from an efficiency standpoint, as the relevant regressions make clear.***

Although the broader Berry and Gersen study was much more thorough than this, with more data, variables, and regressions, our small-scale analysis of Missouri counties replicated the U-shaped spending patterns that they also found. While much of this current study discusses how Missouri has too much government overall, too many elected officials, and the potential effects of this overabundance, it is important to consider that it is also possible to have too few elected officials from an efficiency standpoint, as the relevant regressions make clear. These results also do not tell us what an optimum number of elected officials would be, only that there can be dangers in both too much centralization and in too much fragmentation.

One unbundled office in particular might be more important than others for keeping taxes and spending low: the assessor. Assessors are elected in every county in Missouri, except Saint Louis, Jackson, and Saint Louis city. Elected assessors operate with an understandable and inherently selfish motive for keeping their assessments low, along with the resulting real estate and property taxes: the desire to be re-elected. Between 1994 and 2007, the 112 Missouri counties with elected assessors experienced a population increase of 18 percent and a total assessed valuation increase of 130 percent.<sup>36</sup> Much of that assessment increase can undoubtedly be attributed to new construction of homes and commercial properties that directly cause or relate to the overall growth. In the two counties and one city with appointed assessors, however, the combined population actually decreased very slightly,

but assessed valuation still increased by 93 percent. With no population growth, much less of the assessment increases can be attributed to new construction or improvements. In these geographical areas, the bulk of the assessment increases, and the resulting higher tax bills, were on existing properties, as was the case during Saint Louis County's infamous "drive-by assessor" scandal, in 2001.<sup>37</sup> Elected assessors are more sensitive to electoral pressures, and a common result is lower assessments and taxes.

The results of this study, and of other public choice studies, could have a tangible impact on Missouri. At least two suburban counties in the Saint Louis area, Franklin and Jefferson, are now undergoing the process of charter reform. Franklin County began this process by passing a vote to establish a charter commission in April 2008, while Jefferson County successfully passed charter reform in November 2008. Among other important changes, charter reform would allow residents of these two counties to institute their own system of government, rather than following the state-mandated three-person board system. When considering a new charter, the residents of these two counties should review the issues raised by Berry and Gersen and compare their prospective charters to the systems established in the state's three existing charter counties and one independent, home-rule city.

Perhaps the best option for revised government in these two counties would be to maintain at least some of the unbundled elected officials, as in Saint Charles County and Saint Louis city,



instead of eliminating almost all of them, as in Saint Louis and Jackson counties. It also might be a good idea to keep a small number of legislators on the elected county board, to reduce the possibilities for logrolling, and not to give them the filibuster, as with the Saint Louis County Council. One might also continue at least some at-large council elections, as with the Jackson County Council.

## SECTION FOUR

### ECONOMIC APPLICATIONS TO MISSOURI GOVERNMENT

#### **Does a Larger General Assembly Lead to More Government Spending?**

By most accounts, Missouri is considered to be a generally low-tax state. The Tax Foundation ranks Missouri as having the 46th-lowest state and local tax burden among the states. While the total level of taxation in comparison to other states may be debated, and although Missouri relies much more on income taxes and special taxing districts than other states do, it can be safely said that Missouri's total tax burden ranks in the bottom half of all states. How do we reconcile this with another widely accepted public choice economic theory — that larger legislative bodies spend more money? Specifically, if Missouri's House of Representatives is so large, why does Missouri not have higher tax and spending levels?

Missouri and Pennsylvania both have large state legislatures. Pennsylvania currently spends more money on legislative salaries than any other state, although this is subject to change pending salary fluctuations over time, both in Pennsylvania and in other states. Its senators and representatives are considered to be full-time, and are paid accordingly, at \$73,613 per year. With 203 representatives alone, that adds up to a great deal of money spent on elected officials. But according to rankings compiled by the Manhattan Institute's Empire Center for New York State Policy, and shown in Appendix 4, Pennsylvania ranks second in the total size of its legislative budget, while Missouri ranks 26th. This is a much larger difference than can be accounted for only by the difference in state populations. If larger legislative bodies lead to greater spending, what explains the substantial discrepancy between Pennsylvania and Missouri?

The leading work in this field has been done by Barry Weingast, Kenneth Shepsle, and Christopher Johnsen of Washington University in Saint Louis. It was they who identified the "Law of 1/N" in a 1981 paper,<sup>38</sup> in which "Law of 1/N" holds that as the number of legislative districts grows, the scale of budget projects increases and efficiency decreases. In more general terms, the law states that the more legislators there are in a given body, the greater are the opportunities for logrolling and pork projects, and the greater the overall spending.

In 1995, economics professors Thomas Gilligan and John Matsusaka published a paper<sup>39</sup> that demonstrated the

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***Missouri is generally considered to have part-time legislators, although they meet more often than the legislators of most other states in the “part time” category.***

positive correlation between spending at the state level and the size of legislatures; i.e., the larger a state’s legislature, the higher the state’s spending. However, their study made a key distinction between the bicameral bodies. After controlling for various factors, Gilligan and Matsusaka found that the increases in spending correlate only with increases in the size of the upper body of the legislature.

Pennsylvania’s upper house is more comparable in size with its lower house than is Missouri’s upper house. With 50 senators, Pennsylvania has the fifth-largest state senate. However, while Pennsylvania may lag behind four states — and is tied with three others — in the size of its state senate, only two of those seven states are, like Pennsylvania, considered to have full-time legislators.<sup>40</sup> Missouri is generally considered to have part-time legislators, although they meet more often than the legislators of most other states in the “part time” category. Like the number of members, time spent legislating can also affect logrolling potential, and Pennsylvania’s state senators have plenty of both. According to Gilligan and Matsusaka, the small number of senators — 34 altogether — may have a greater impact on Missouri governance than ever before realized.

Gilligan and Matsusaka state that there is no obvious explanation for their finding that a larger number of seats in an upper body leads to greater spending, but that this doesn’t hold in a lower body; indeed, they find the results “a little troubling.”<sup>41</sup> The answer may lie in the rules and art of politics, rather than in economics. Upper bodies tend to have rules that lower bodies do not have. Two

prominent examples are the filibuster and confirmation of appointments. Both are factors that readily foster logrolling, and a lower body simply does not have to deal with them. These rules ensure that the average members of an upper body — especially those from the minority party, or newly elected members — wield more influence than do similarly situated members of the lower house. In the lower body, which is often tightly ruled by a powerful speaker, the rules greatly limit both the opportunities for and the effectiveness of interest-group representation or logrolling, for many members — especially those in the minority party. But the rules of the upper house give all members more influence, and thus more opportunities to participate in the kind of legislative actions that lead to greater spending overall. This could be an important reason why Missouri is a comparatively low-spending state despite its large house of representatives; its lower-than-average number of state senators has a direct effect on taxes and spending.

These findings can also shed light on unicameral legislatures like city councils. If Gilligan and Matsusaka are correct, a local board that operates more like a house of representatives should spend less than a local board that operates more like a senate. The size of a local council will not matter if the chosen leader of that council dominates the board and tightly controls its actions, but could matter greatly if individual legislators hold the balance of power. On the Board of Aldermen in Saint Louis city, each individual alderman has the power to filibuster legislation. Combined with the

large size of this board in comparison to the boards and councils of other cities (see Table 3), this favors relatively high levels of spending.

## The Number of School Districts

Missouri's 536 school districts share an important difference from other government entities, in that there is a very good reason that keeps them from growing too large geographically: school bus routes. Ensuring that children's routes to school are not too long is a legitimate and reasonable goal. A child should not have to spend an hour each way on a bus, no matter how few people live in his or her part of the state. Most of Missouri's smaller districts, by student population, are in rural areas. Before one argues in favor of district consolidation, one must take into consideration travel times for children. Thus, it is not as simple as it might seem to reduce the number of school districts in Missouri.

However, there are certainly some school districts with very small student populations located close enough to other districts; in those cases, consolidation would make sense. In Saint Louis County, the school districts of Bayless (with 1,585 students) and Hancock Place (with 1,773 students) are good examples. In 2007, Missouri school district student populations ranged from 32,135 in Saint Louis city's school district to just 27 in the Gorin R-III school district of Scotland County.

Interestingly, during the decades following World War II, school districts across the country underwent a dramatic

reduction in size just as the "baby boom" was producing tremendous population growth. The number of school districts in the United States declined from 67,355 in 1952 to 15,781 in 1972 — a 76-percent drop. The decline has continued since then, but at a much slower rate, to 13,506 districts in 2002. Missouri has exceeded the national rate, going from 4,891 school districts in 1952 to 636 in 1972, an 87-percent drop. Like in Missouri, many states in the middle and north of the country also exceeded the national rate of decline. Census documents do not list reasons for this decline, but a 1994 study by Lawrence Kenny and Amy Schmidt attributed it to "a declining farm population, increased population density, growing public sector unionization, and the rising role of the state in school funding."<sup>42</sup>

Related work by Kenny demonstrated that "average achievement scores were higher in *districts* with more students," and that "students in larger *schools* had higher achievement test scores than did students in small schools." (emphasis added).<sup>43</sup> However, according to another study by him, "The cost of a particular quality of education was minimized by increasing school size until the gains from exploiting scale economies with the school were offset by the increase in transportation cost as the average student faced a longer trip to schools."<sup>44</sup>

Kenny's research indicates that larger districts and larger schools benefit from economies of scale that allow the schools to offer a better overall educational environment as gauged by test scores. However, the improvements that larger schools can offer are offset when transportation costs and distances grow

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***Townships in Missouri have authority to spend money earmarked for them by the county, but no authority to raise their own revenues. This is a critical difference from township-level governments in other states.***

too large. Missouri has already undergone a radical decrease in the number of school districts. The state and — more importantly — its students, have likely received most, if not all, of the benefits available from consolidation. Additional gains from further consolidation, except in cases where increases in transportation cost would be minimal, would likely be very hard to achieve.

### **Do We Really Have Townships?**

In many states, townships serve as a level of government between counties and cities, or — in many cases — as the *de facto* unit of local government in unincorporated areas. Townships are particularly common and jurisdictionally important in northern states like Michigan, Illinois, and Ohio. As of 2007, 22 Missouri counties, primarily in the northwest part of the state, have townships.<sup>45</sup> The number had been 23, but in 2001 the citizens of Wright County abolished their townships after a series of financial inconsistencies in the county's township government.

If having more elected officials and more government bodies leads to higher government spending, it should follow that township counties will spend more than comparable counties without townships — unless the theory outlined by Berry and Gersen applies, in which case additional township officials allow greater voter control over spending in those counties.

Appendix 5 compares both the general revenue and road fund revenue of all class three Missouri counties. As the chart clearly shows, there is no significant difference in the spending levels between township

counties and non-township counties. Because township powers generally pertain to roads within a county, the column for special road and bridge funds is of particular importance. Based on 2004 totals (the latest available), township counties spend \$100 per resident out of their special road and bridge fund, while non-township counties spend \$109. In general revenue funds, township counties spend an insignificantly small amount more per resident — \$147 per person, as opposed to \$145 for non-township counties. The lack of any real distinction in spending between township counties and non-township counties likely can be attributed to the fact that townships in Missouri have authority to spend tax money assessed and collected for them by the county. Townships do not generally have authority to raise their own revenues, outside of property tax levies for which the state has set a strict maximum amount.

Are there other taxes outside of subdivided county funds that township counties use to increase spending levels over non-township counties? It does not appear so, but the information readily available to the public on small Missouri counties is limited. A review of the special road districts and transportation development districts (TDDs) in Missouri, which are other structures used to collect and distribute road taxes, shows no greater use of these methods in township counties than in other counties. Indeed, TDDs (see Appendix 8) are predominantly used in high-density, non-township counties like Saint Louis and Jackson.

There is no quantifiable evidence that increased levels of government lead to higher spending when it comes to the

alternative between township counties and non-township counties. However, the Missouri auditor's office has documented numerous problems with township governments in Missouri. As noted above, residents of Wright County in Southern Missouri eliminated townships from their county during 2001, in response to serious financial problems. A 2003 report by the state auditor noted numerous failures by other townships in Missouri to properly file financial reports and document finances with the state.<sup>46</sup> For instance, for the 2001 fiscal year, only 31 out of 312 townships properly filed financial reports with the Missouri Department of Transportation, and only three out of 22 county clerks reported that all townships in their county had filed the proper reports. Given the widespread improprieties and lack of county oversight of townships, Missouri would be well served by elimination of the township option for class three and class four Missouri counties.

## **Government Spending in Missouri's Larger Counties**

Appendix 6 shows spending at the county level in Missouri's 26 class one, class two, and class four counties, plus the independent city of Saint Louis. Two entities, Taney County and Saint Louis city, clearly spend significantly more tax revenue per person than any other county in Missouri. Saint Louis city's total is so high because it serves as both a city and county, and also hosts the primary downtown area in Missouri, along with the resulting costs and expenses.

Taney County is home to Branson, one of America's leading tourist destinations. The sales tax collections of

this thriving and growing area are what have allowed it to spend such a large sum per capita, as it must deal with approximately 8 million tourists per year. These tourists provide an enormous sales tax base for both Taney County and the City of Branson. In 2001 (the year for which the most recent Taney County state audit is available), sales taxes provided 55 percent of the county's total budget. By comparison, in Saint Louis County, which has a very strong sales tax base with a number of retail malls, the county revenue obtained through sales taxes has ranged from only 17 to 22 percent in recent years. The listed Taney County budget expenditures of \$75 million do not include a recent county sewer improvement of approximately \$40 million more. Even excluding the sewer expense, Taney still spends far more revenue per capita than any other county.<sup>47</sup>

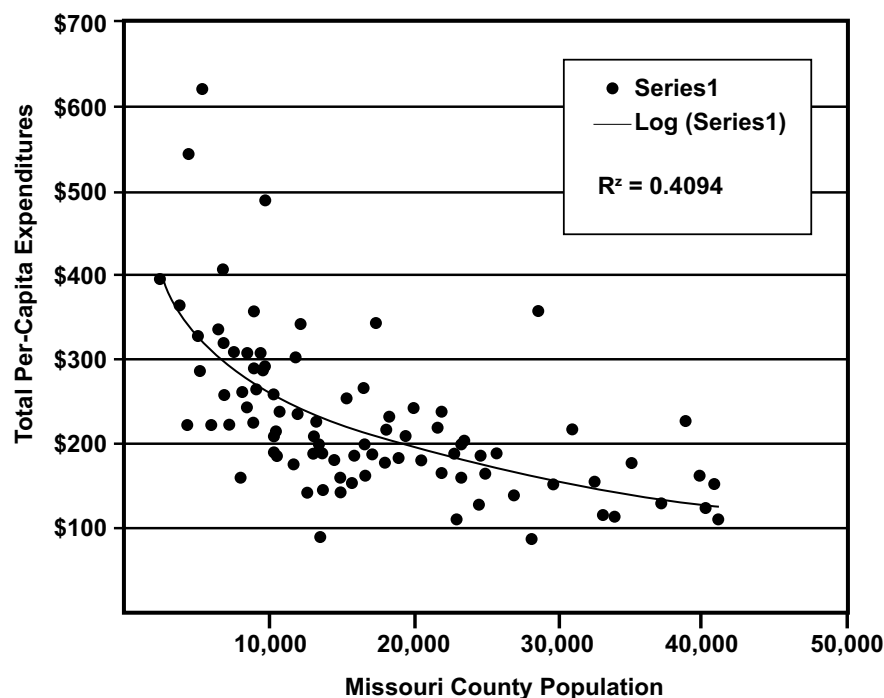
The data show a positive, statistically significant correlation between per-capita spending by a county and the percentage of it that is either unincorporated or consists of cities with fewer than 2,500 residents. Alternatively, the table shows a negative correlation between per-capita spending and the percentage of a county that falls within larger towns. Neither of these findings should be a surprise; the more a county is made up of cities, the more services will be provided by those cities instead of by the county. Small cities generally provide fewer services to their residents than mid-sized or large cities do, leaving many of those service expenditures to the county.

The spending statistics are consistent. Sixteen of the 27 counties are within \$100 of the median per-capita

***There is no quantifiable evidence that increased levels of government lead to higher spending when it comes to the alternative between township counties and non-township counties.***

***Jackson County's relatively low per-capita expenditures for such a large county can be best understood in light of the fact that only 4 percent of the county is either unincorporated or within very small municipalities.***

Table 5: Class Three County Per-Capita Spending



Source: Missouri State Auditor's Office; author-compiled data from numerous sources.

expenditure of \$414. Jackson County's relatively low per-capita expenditures for such a large county can be best understood in light of the fact that only 4 percent of the county is either unincorporated or within very small municipalities. Camden County's relatively high expenditures are attributable to the same causes as those of Taney County. Camden is a county in the popular Lake of the Ozarks tourist region, with its resulting economic growth and demands. Most of the other counties that rank high on the per-capita expenditure list, such as Saint Charles, Platte, and Franklin, are fast-growing suburban counties near Saint Louis and Kansas City, and in recent decades have also seen a large amount of growth, with the requisite accompanying public expenditures.

## Government Spending in Missouri's Smaller Counties

Appendix 5 (first discussed in the section on townships) lists the per-capita spending in Missouri's class three counties. The obvious question that emerges is why Saint Clair County spends so much more tax money than other counties spend. The difference is enormous, with Saint Clair spending general revenue tax dollars of \$448 per person, three times the average per-capita spending and \$161 more than the runner-up — Caldwell county at \$287. What's more, Saint Clair has had a consistently high level of general fund expenditures over the past several years.

State auditor audits show that in both 2002 and 2003, a much

higher percentage of Saint Clair's general revenue funds came from "intergovernmental transfers" than was the case in other counties. In 2004, the percentage of its funds coming from "charges for services" increased dramatically. A fair reading of these numbers does not automatically support the view that Saint Clair taxes and spends much more than other counties. Saint Clair may well have recently built, some type of facility, such as a jail or landfill, that is shared by other governments in the area and that accounts for this dramatic difference. This would explain the previously high level of "intergovernmental transfers" — for example, assistance on a major project from the federal government, and now the currently high percentage of "charges for services." If this is the reason, it would be a good example of government cooperation.<sup>48</sup> Of course, its also possible that Saint Clair simply has high levels of taxation and spending.

There is a noticeable correlation between the populations of class three counties and per-capita spending on both general revenue and roads and bridges. This is shown in Table 5.

The higher the population in a class three county, the lower its per-capita spending levels. It would be unwarranted to assume that smaller counties are necessarily taxing and spending liberally while the larger class three counties are being more cautious with tax dollars. As stated earlier in this paper, there is a baseline level of government service that any entity must provide, whether it is small or large. However, the correlation between population and spending levels

can be fairly read as an example of the economies of scale attainable when larger entities provide services.<sup>49</sup>

## Elected Officials by County

There is notable consistency in the number of elected officials at the county level in each of Missouri's 114 counties. Appendix 7 lists the totals from census documents, and adds the city of Saint Louis. The mean number of elected officials per county is 15, the median is 14, and the mode is also 14. Out of 115 counties, 105 have between 11 and 19 elected officials, with most of the already-small differences found in judicial, rather than political, offices. Both the highest total on the census bureau county list, Schuyler County with 34, and the lowest, Texas County with seven, are errors. The *Official Manual, State of Missouri* reports that Texas has 13 elected officials and Schuyler has 14, including associate circuit judges.<sup>50</sup>

Saint Louis city has the highest total of elected officials, with 39, but this is entirely explainable by the fact that it is an independent city, so that both "municipal" and "county" officials are included in the total. One striking fact that becomes clear once Texas County and its erroneous total are removed from the list is that the largest county in the state, Saint Louis, has the smallest number of elected officials: just nine. Saint Louis and Jackson counties are the only two counties in which almost all countywide offices, such as treasurer or county clerk, are appointed by the chief official of the county, instead of independently elected.

***The correlation between population and spending levels can be fairly read as an example of the economies of scale attainable when larger entities provide services.***

Table 6: At-Large City Budgets Compared to Ward Cities in Saint Louis County

MUNICIPALITY	POPULATION	WARDS	BOARD	2007 BUDGET	\$ PER PERSON	MUNI. FD
Manchester	19,161	3	7	\$10,993,870	573.76	N
Ballwin	31,283	4	9	\$18,992,603	607.12	N
Chesterfield	46,802	4	9	\$71,248,485	1,522.34	N
Maryland Heights	27,352	4	9	\$53,787,000	1,966.47	N
Fenton	4,360	4	9	\$14,602,699	3,349.24	N
Creve Coeur	16,759	4	9	\$18,496,705	1,103.69	N
Town & Country	10,894	4	9	\$16,439,090	1,509.00	N
Saint Ann	13,607	5	11	\$8,175,028	600.80	N
Wildwood	32,884	8	17	\$19,851,463	603.68	N
Florissant	53,948	9	10	\$29,547,263	547.70	N
Ferguson	22,406	3	7	\$19,985,974	891.99	Y
Clayton	15,935	3	7	\$28,619,903	1,796.04	Y
Des Peres	8,592	3	7	\$16,638,081	1,936.46	Y
Frontenac	3,483	3	7	\$8,143,036	2,337.94	Y
Ladue	8,413	3	7	\$14,300,000	1,699.75	Y
Shrewsbury	6,644	3	7	\$6,670,000	1,003.91	Y
Pacific	6,580	3	7	\$7,300,000	1,109.42	Y
University City	37,644	3	7	\$42,064,000	1,117.42	Y
Glendale	5,767	3	7	\$5,900,000	1,023.06	Y
Rock Hill	4,765	3	7	\$3,200,000	671.56	Y
Richmond Heights	9,602	4	9	\$36,159,100	3,765.79	Y
Brentwood	7,693	4	9	\$20,823,021	2,706.75	Y
Crestwood	11,863	4	9	\$13,554,332	1,142.57	Y
Jennings	15,469	4	9	\$8,120,000	524.92	Y
Hazelwood	26,206	8	9	\$36,934,410	1,409.39	Y
Berkeley	10,063	5	7	\$9,819,135	975.77	Y
Maplewood	9,228	3	7	\$11,947,675	1,294.72	Y
<b>Olivette</b>	<b>7,438</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>\$9,526,079</b>	<b>1,280.73</b>	<b>Y</b>
<b>Webster Groves</b>	<b>23,230</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>\$19,972,445</b>	<b>859.77</b>	<b>Y</b>
Kirkwood	27,324	1	7	\$49,123,007	1,797.80	Y
<b>Totals</b>	<b>Per-Capita \$</b>					
<b>At-Large cities</b>	<b>\$1,356</b>					
<b>Ward cities</b>	<b>\$1,221</b>					
<b>Olivette &amp; WG only</b>	<b>\$962</b>					
<b>Fire Depts. and Wards</b>	<b>\$1,379</b>					

Source: Author-compiled data from numerous sources.



Saint Louis has only two countywide elected officials, and Jackson County has only three.

The legislative bodies that govern each county are also the same almost everywhere. Out of 114 counties, 111 are governed by a three-person board, with one official elected countywide and two elected from districts. Only the three class one charter counties have a different system. Saint Louis and Saint Charles counties each have a seven-member council elected from districts, and Jackson County has a nine-member council with three members elected at large and six elected from districts. Jefferson County, which is currently transitioning to charter status, will have a seven-member board. Saint Louis city has a 29-member board, with a “president of the board of aldermen” elected citywide, and 28 aldermen elected from wards. In addition to the 29-member board are 10 other city-wide elected officials, including eight who represent what are considered “county” offices, such as sheriff, and three (mayor, comptroller, and the previously mentioned president of the board of aldermen) who are considered “city” officials.

### **At-Large City Budgets Compared to Ward City Budgets**

Economists Douglas R. Dalenberg, Kevin T. Duffy-Deno, Lawrence Southwick Jr., and Reza Baqir, among others, have argued that cities that elect their councils by ward spend more than cities that elect their councils at large or citywide (see endnotes 26, 27, and 28). The theory is that at-large elections lead to

lower spending because every official serves the same constituent group, so that there is more interest in working for the whole unit than for one ward or district within it. How does this hypothesis apply to Missouri? The county with the largest number of municipalities by far in Missouri is Saint Louis. There are 91 municipalities in Saint Louis County, of which the smaller ones tend to have at-large elections for village trustees and the larger ones tend to have ward elections.<sup>51</sup> Unfortunately, the smaller cities and villages tend not to make their budget data readily available. There is no way to collect up-to-date data on local government financing in Missouri or Saint Louis County, short of contacting officials in every small city. However, we can compare the revenues of the three largest cities in Saint Louis County that have an at-large council system to a representative sample of other municipalities in the county that have ward systems. Table 6 shows this data.

This list does not control for many of the factors that others include in the calculations, as Dalenberg and Duffy-Deno do in “At-Large Versus Ward Elections: Implications for Public Infrastructure.” As such, it should not be taken as either supporting or refuting any of the cited studies on this subject. This sampling, like others in this paper, is simply an attempt to apply public choice theories to Missouri government entities in a direct manner. As Table 6 indicates, there is no decreased amount of city government spending in the three at-large cities and the sampled ward cities. In fact, the average per-capita expenditures in the at-large cities are higher than those in the ward cities.

***Out of 114 counties, 111 are governed by a three-person board, with one official elected countywide and two elected from districts. Only the three class one charter counties have a different system.***

Table 7: Saint Louis City Budget Compared to Other Independent Cities and Kansas City

CITY	POP.	SQUARE MILES	BOARD	ELECTED OFFICIALS	BUDGET	EDUCATION	BUDG. - EDU.	BUDGET PER CAPITA
Kansas City	447,306	317	13	13	410,335,821	0	410,335,821	\$917.35
Virginia Beach	435,619	497	11	14	1,054,300,000	319,800,000	734,500,000	\$1,686.11
Saint Louis	350,759	66	29	39	867,748,187	0	867,748,187	\$2,473.92
Norfolk	234,403	96	8	12	978,891,400	308,714,200	670,177,200	\$2,859.08
Baltimore	631,366	92	15	18	2,646,180,698	267,000,000	2,379,180,698	\$3,768.31

Source: Author-compiled data from numerous sources.

***It is difficult to compare the government structure and expenditures of Saint Louis city to those of other entities. There are not many similar cities in the United States.***

One fact that must be considered in this comparison is that Kirkwood, one of the three at-large cities, is the only city in Saint Louis County that still maintains municipal utility services, which greatly increase the city's per-capita spending. If we were to eliminate the utility expenditures in Kirkwood, the at-large city results would be very close to those of ward cities. With regard to the other two at-large cities, Webster Groves and Olivette, only Webster Groves spends less on average than the ward-city composite. Olivette's per-capita spending is slightly higher than the average ward-city totals.

However, controlling for another major factor — fire departments — changes the results somewhat. All three cities with at-large elections provide municipal fire services, and many of the ward cities on the list are within independent fire districts. Because fire departments are obviously a major expense, whether a city pays for fire protection is clearly an important distinction. Comparing the three at-large cities to the 17 cities with both municipal fire departments and ward elections, we find a slight difference in per-person expenditures. All 20 cities in Saint Louis County that have municipal fire departments are listed in Table 6. The at-large cities do spend less per capita than the ward cities. And if Kirkwood — with

its municipal utilities — is omitted from the comparison, the difference becomes substantial. Olivette and Webster Groves, the two at-large cities with municipal fire departments but without municipal utilities, spend \$962 per person annually.<sup>52</sup> The 17 cities with wards and fire departments spend \$1,379 per person annually.

While the comparison is hindered by the uneven availability of budget information and small sample size, this review provides evidence that at-large councils do lead to lower spending in Saint Louis County than do ward councils.

## Saint Louis City

It is difficult to compare the government structure and expenditures of Saint Louis city to those of other entities. There are not many similar cities in the United States. However, Table 7 compares Saint Louis city to three similarly-sized independent cities: Baltimore, Md.; Norfolk, Va.; and Virginia Beach, Va. Kansas City, the only Missouri city comparable in population size, is also included for comparison, but Kansas City data are not included in many of the correlations, as the city's location within a county (actually, within four counties) distorts the data on per-capita spending, elected officials, etc. Carson City, Nev.,

is the only other independent city in the United States outside of Virginia, and its population of 55,000 is too small to warrant comparison.

Table 7 shows that Saint Louis spends less money per capita than either Baltimore or Norfolk, even after we have omitted the education spending that is a city function in Baltimore and the Virginia cities, but not in Missouri cities. It is certainly possible that the use of special taxing districts artificially lowers per-capita spending in Saint Louis. However, the city of Saint Louis has fewer special taxing districts than other Missouri counties, not more, and has only a slightly higher number of independent districts than Baltimore or Norfolk. Saint Louis has a total of nine separate government structures, compared to five for Baltimore and for Norfolk, and two for Virginia Beach. The largest of these is the school district, already accounted for in the spending totals.<sup>53</sup> There is also no statistical correlation between the number of elected officials or the size of the board and the per-capita spending in the four independent cities, although it is difficult to draw any general conclusions from such a small sample size.

The significant federal expenditures, either direct or indirect, in a city like Norfolk,

with its enormous naval base, would tend to increase municipal revenues and expenditures. However, members of the military, like college students, are likely to use fewer municipal resources than other residents do, because many of their needs for government-type services are met by the federal government (just as the comparable needs of college students tend to be met by their university). This countervailing support would serve to decrease per-capita spending, as is certainly seen in the example of Clayton, Mo., which spends much less per capita than its neighboring municipalities, despite being a very wealthy city. Including the Washington University student population in Clayton's overall total certainly reduces its per-capita expenditure, as seen in Table 6.

The only honest conclusion to take from this table is that every city is different, and that drawing conclusions from a small number of cities is impossible. Comparisons of cities across states are also difficult, because the interactions and divisions of responsibilities among cities, townships, counties, and state governments are different for every state, and often different among counties, townships, and cities within states.

Table 8 shows a comparison among Saint Louis city, Kansas City, Saint

***It is certainly possible that the use of special taxing districts artificially lowers per-capita spending in Saint Louis. However, the city of Saint Louis has fewer special taxing districts than other Missouri counties, not more, and has only a slightly higher number of independent districts than Baltimore or Norfolk.***

Table 8: Comparison of Large Cities and Counties in Missouri

CITY/COUNTY	POPULATION	AREA	MUNICIPALITIES	ELECTED OFFICIALS	LEGISLATIVE BOARD	SCHOOL DIST.	FIRE DIST.	LIBRARY DIST.
Saint Louis city	350,759	66.2	1	39	29	2	1	1
Saint Louis Co.	995,118	524	91	9	7	26	24	10
Saint Charles Co.	343,952	592	18	15	7	8	10	1
Jackson Co.	666,890	616	18	12	9	13	8	2
Kansas City	447,306	317	1	13	13	1	1	1

Source: 2002 Census of Governments, U.S. Department of Commerce, Census Bureau; 2007 Annual Population Estimate, U.S. Department of Commerce, Census Bureau; author-compiled data from numerous sources.

***Although the evidence is mixed, most indications are that the city of Saint Louis does not spend a disproportionately large amount of money per capita.***

Louis County, Saint Charles County, and Jackson County in Missouri.

The large number of municipalities in Saint Louis County and the large number of legislative board members in Saint Louis city stand out in this table, but the economic comparisons have thus far failed to prove that these higher numbers harm the city or county by increasing spending pressure and inefficiencies. It appears that Tiebout's analysis of competition among cities holding down taxes and expenditures is an accurate description of the greater Saint Louis area.

Although the evidence is mixed, most indications are that the city of Saint Louis does not spend a disproportionately large amount of money per capita. The city does spend far more per capita than all but one county in Missouri, but that can be explained by its functional position as both a city and a county. If one adds Saint Louis County per-capita spending (\$479 per person) to the municipalities listed in Table 6, and compared the total to Saint Louis city, the city is above average in total per-capita spending — but by no means at the top. If one compares Saint Louis city to the combined totals of Kansas City and Jackson County, which have much smaller and less-powerful legislative councils, it would appear that Saint Louis city spends much more per capita. However, in all of these cases, we are not comparing apples to apples. Given the paucity of true comparisons for an independent city like Saint Louis, it is difficult to reach strong conclusions.

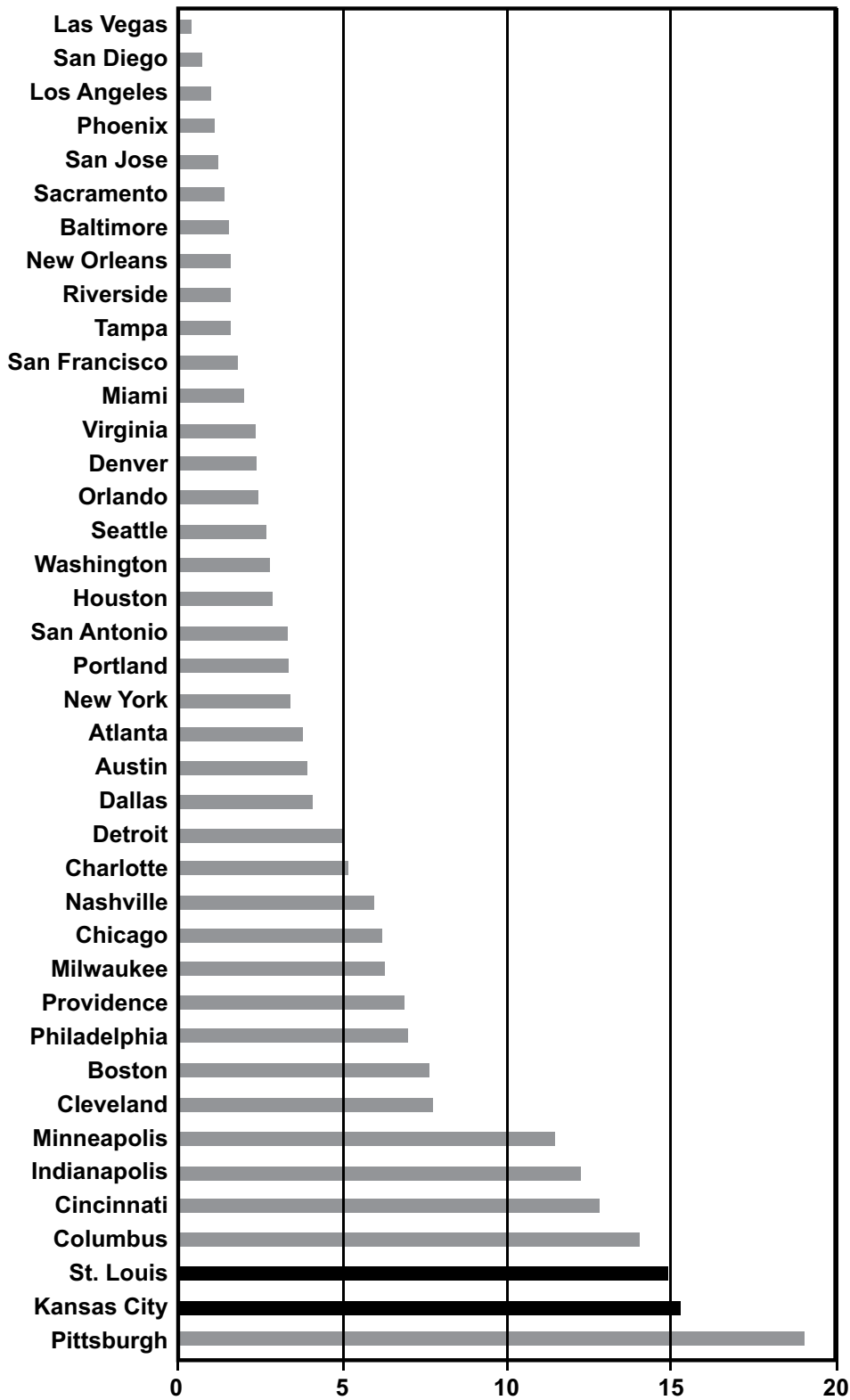
Amazingly, the government of the city of Saint Louis is freighted with just about every factor that should, in theory, result in higher levels of spending: a very

large council (Weingast), ward districts instead of at-large elections (Dalenberg and Duffy-Deno), a structurally weak mayor (Baqir), and a council system more closely resembling an upper body than a lower body (Gilligan and Matsusaka, as I interpret them). Yet when per-capita expenditures are compared to other independent cities nationwide (Table 7), or to the combined city-county expenditures of neighboring Saint Louis County (Table 6), we find no evidence of systematic overspending. Why?

The fact that there are 11 “unbundled” citywide officeholders might help hold down spending, as the work of Berry and Gersen would suggest. Missouri's state-based control of the city's police and election departments — although the city pays for them both — may be a factor, particularly in regard to the significant expense of the police department. The use of special taxing districts may hide some of the spending, but only in comparisons to entities outside of Missouri.

The city's Board of Estimate and Apportionment, a three-member commission consisting of the mayor, comptroller, and president of the Board of Aldermen (all elected at large), might well be a strong mitigating factor. The Board of E and A, as it is known, must approve all major expenditures after they have been approved by the Board of Aldermen. Saint Louis city thus operates in practical terms as a bicameral legislature. Limited membership on the Board of E and A may also help restrain spending, just as the small size of the state senate counters the large House of Representatives. Moreover, state laws limiting the amount

Table 9: Total Units of Government in Metropolitan Areas, Per 100,000 Population



Source: Miller, Harold D., *Pittsburgh's Future*, Aug. 5, 2007.  
 Online here: [tinyurl.com/9ykbhe](http://tinyurl.com/9ykbhe)

***The essential difference between the Saint Louis and Pittsburgh areas, and other American metropolitan areas, is that in Saint Louis and Pittsburgh, numerous governmental bodies have been established to address a single area, such as a fire district or the Community College District.***

of taxation that any one municipality may enact prevent the city from spending money it cannot obtain in the first place. Whatever the reason — and keeping in mind the fact that finding legitimate comparisons for the city is difficult — it is clear that the common view of the city of Saint Louis as a high taxing, high spending city is not supported by the evidence, particularly with regard to its spending levels.

In the post–World War II era, however, something has clearly gone wrong in the city of Saint Louis, and outlining the many possible causes — not all of which can be attributed to government action — could easily fill a book. Since the war, more than 500,000 people — about 60 percent of the population at its peak — have “voted with their feet” by moving to neighboring counties or states. On the other hand, the population has stabilized during the past decade, and perhaps this holds promise for the future.

## **Missouri and Pennsylvania: A Comparison**

In 1993, *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* published an article by Roger Parks of Indiana University and Ronald Oakerson of Houghton College, titled “Comparative Metropolitan Organization: Service Production and Governance Structures in Saint Louis (MO) and Allegheny County (PA),”<sup>54</sup> in which the authors compared local government in Saint Louis County and city to that of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County. Saint Louis and Pittsburgh are the two most dispersed, or fragmented, metropolitan areas in the United States, as measured

by the number of independent units of local government (see Table 9).

As we have noted, the similarities between Missouri and Pennsylvania are not confined to Saint Louis and Pittsburgh. Missouri and Pennsylvania have two of the largest state legislatures. Pennsylvania has the second-highest total number of government units, with 6,904, while Missouri has the eighth-largest, with 3,423.

Parks and Oakerson attempted to measure how the high number of government units in Saint Louis and Pittsburgh affected basic service levels, performance, and fiscal efficiencies. Their conclusions in regard to fiscal efficiencies in a fragmented system are key to the present paper (emphasis added):

We were able to explore fiscal performance to an extent, however. Reform critics of fragmented areas have often alleged them to be inefficient — a claim predicated on the argument that small political jurisdictions are too small to produce many services efficiently, together with *the perception* that small jurisdictions do attempt to produce most services in fragmented areas. To test for inefficiencies related to jurisdiction size, we estimated multivariate statistical models of the relationships between population served and per capita expenditures for services provided by municipalities in both areas. The models allowed adjustment for differences in resource availability and service conditions. If fragmented structures with extensive horizontal differentiation of direct service production are inefficient,

as critics argue, the estimated relationships of jurisdiction population and per capita expenditures should be negative and significant, both substantively and statistically. *No such negative, significant relationships were found in either area.*

The essential difference between the Saint Louis and Pittsburgh areas, and other American metropolitan areas, is that in Saint Louis and Pittsburgh, numerous governmental bodies have been established to address a single area, such as a fire district or the Community College District. These voluntarily formed governments generally focus on their single specific task. Additionally, government entities in Saint Louis and Pittsburgh — such as the Major Case Squad or the Cooperative School District organization, both in Saint Louis — do a much better job than people realize at cooperating with each other. In other metropolitan areas, dominant cities or counties tend to provide most of these primary services.

As the economic analysis demonstrates, as long as the many individual units cooperate as much as possible, and as long as they avoid duplication of services as much as possible, the overall systems in Saint Louis and Pittsburgh can be just as efficient as those of other metropolitan areas. A previous example provided evidence of how fragmented government can require additional taxes. Yet municipal residents in that example have chosen to live in a small city instead of in the unincorporated area, or in a larger city. Although all government is relatively inefficient, the key point is that as long as the small cities in Saint Louis

County may, when possible, voluntarily cooperate and contract with the county (see Appendix 9) or with other cities, then the overall differences in efficiency between Saint Louis and more centralized areas will be small.

One example of this kind of cooperation within Saint Louis County is shown by the cities of Clayton, Richmond Heights, Maplewood, and Brentwood, which recently began an active effort to share services and costs. For example, Clayton police enforce the parking meters for both cities along streets near the border with Richmond Heights. The four cities have begun to share their park and recreation facilities so that the residents of each can enjoy expanded facilities without each city having to build its own outdoor pool (Maplewood), indoor ice rink (Brentwood), or indoor water park (Richmond Heights). The savings from such initiatives can be significant.

This is essentially the same conclusion reached by Dr. Terry Jones of the University of Missouri–Saint Louis in his detailed history of Saint Louis–area government, *Fragmented by Design*. Voluntary cooperation between local governments can have the same positive effects as cooperation within a residential or business community.

During 1988, the United States Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations conducted a substantial case study of the Saint Louis area. It concluded: “Jurisdictional fragmentation need not lead to functional fragmentation. Effective metropolitan governance can emerge from local self-determination and citizen choice.”<sup>55</sup> Perhaps surprisingly, the study went so far

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as to suggest that Saint Louis “has much to teach the rest of metropolitan America.”<sup>56</sup>

Twenty years later, confronted with the limited overall growth of Saint Louis County and city as compared to that of many other metropolitan areas, would the authors still say so? I believe that the unusual, organic nature of government in Saint Louis would be hard to successfully transfer or replicate, although the greater Saint Louis area has made it work for Saint Louis.

## **Further Research**

Future studies should consider many other areas of Missouri government. A comparison of the spending levels of Jackson County municipalities would be a worthy effort. The latest edition of the Census of Governments has released some early data that have been used here, but additional releases should allow some of these numbers to be updated. A consideration of the unicameral legislature in Nebraska and its potential for Missouri should be undertaken. A detailed analysis of the differences between the assessment results of elected assessors and those of appointed assessors would also be a beneficial study.

## **CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

The primary goal of this paper was to reconcile three simple, accurate, yet apparently conflicting statements:

- Missouri has a large amount of government, as shown by comparisons cited in this study.

- More government generally leads to higher levels of spending, as also shown by studies cited in this paper.
- Missouri is a comparatively low-tax state.<sup>57</sup>

The small size of the Missouri state Senate plays an important role in the comparatively low levels of taxes and spending in Missouri. The small size of local county boards also plays a role in limiting spending. There is only so much logrolling that can be done and only so many pet projects that can be generated by three people, which is the size of the board in the vast majority of Missouri counties. The “Law of 1/N” more directly refers to the number of districts, not of elected officials. With three people representing just two districts in 111 Missouri counties, that would tend to produce much more efficient spending of tax dollars. The effective unbundling of local officials in many Missouri counties also contributes to the low-tax nature of Missouri. The elected assessors in most Missouri counties are examples of such unbundled officials.

Clearly, other factors beyond these institutional setups also affect government in Missouri. The natural conservatism of most Missourians plays a role in keeping the taxing and spending rates in the state relatively low. The Hancock Amendment to the Missouri Constitution formally limits the growth in both the resources and role of government. But the governing structures measured and considered here also have an impact.

It is worth highlighting the conclusions of the Parks and Oakerson study



of Pittsburgh and Saint Louis. They determined, with respect to the areas of government service they measured, that there is no correlation between fragmentation and inefficiency. Although they could do much better — for example, the grid in Appendix 9 could be more fully filled out — the many local governments in Missouri do a better job of voluntary cooperation than most people would expect. The significant flexibility accorded the largest counties in the state — the three charter counties and the home-rule city of Saint Louis — also fosters cooperation, contracting, and greater efficiencies in service than might be expected.

One unfortunate conclusion is that it is extremely difficult to compare governments directly. Every state has its own structure determining which levels of government perform which services. The division of labor between states, cities, townships, counties, and other independent districts differs in every state. To compare a city in Missouri to a city in Maryland accurately, therefore, involves tremendous detailing of the differences in functions. Even the study used in this paper that directly compares Pittsburgh and Allegheny County to Saint Louis County and city — an informative 21-page report — was obliged to limit its focus to police, fire, streets, and education.

The data giving the most accurate and fair comparisons are shown in Appendix 5, which compares spending in Missouri's class three counties. The structures of government, general levels of service, and percentages of incorporated areas in each of these counties are similar enough

to judge fairly, but even small differences within these counties could affect the outcomes.

So that all levels of government in Missouri may better serve the citizenry, the state's policymakers and citizens should consider the following changes to the government structure:

Saint Louis city should re-enter Saint Louis County as the 92nd municipality. The resulting integration of the traditional "county" offices<sup>58</sup> would achieve significant cost savings for city taxpayers, assuming that political calculations and machine politics were left out of those staffing decisions (which might not be a sound assumption).

- Jackson County should contract out many of its services, such as public works, to municipalities. There is no reason the county should provide such services to only 3 percent of the population. County government could then focus on issues that involve the entire county, such as its park system and its assessment process.
- Residents of Missouri's smallest counties should strongly consider merging their counties with similarly small neighboring counties. The state should not mandate this, but as opportunities present themselves, residents should urge that they be considered. The evidence of differences in the per-capita spending levels of class three counties, depending on their populations, demonstrates that economies of scale can be exploited by having somewhat larger government entities (see pages 22–23).

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***The assumption that larger, less fragmented government is a more capable and efficient provider of services does not stand up to initial analysis and is not supported by the research.***

- If and when counties merge, they should be careful to maintain a number of independently elected officials. Offices that make important policy decisions or provide necessary checks on other officials, such as prosecuting attorney, treasurer, election clerk, assessor, and sheriff, should remain elective. Offices that perform required services involving little or no policy options or checks on other officials, such as recorder of deeds, coroner, public administrator, and circuit clerk, should be changed to appointed positions under the authority of the county supervisor or executive, subject to approval by the full county board or council (see pages 4–6).
- Missouri should reduce the size of its House of Representatives. Even if studies have demonstrated that the size of the Senate, rather than the House, more heavily influences taxing and spending levels, the House is still larger than it needs to be. House members and their staffs are not free, and 46 states manage just fine with fewer representatives. Reducing the size of the House to 101 members, as has been proposed in past legislation that went nowhere, could save taxpayers more than \$1 million each year in salaries alone.
- For the same reason, Saint Louis city should reduce the size of its Board of Aldermen to 15, and elect the president of the board from among the members.
- The township option for counties should be scuttled. This recommendation is based on

principles not of fiscal discipline, but of good government. There is simply no need for our smallest counties to subdivide themselves even further into districts so small that it is unreasonable and impractical to expect any regular oversight (see pages 20–21).

Missourians have chosen to have a large quantity of smaller government units. They have also chosen to have a large number of elected officials, representing smaller areas than the national average, so that the citizens may be in closer contact with those officials and monitor them more effectively. Economies of scale can be exploited in larger governments, as shown in the graph of per-capita spending for class three counties, but the efficiencies and benefits of larger government are less common and less significant than often supposed. The assumption that larger, less fragmented government is a more capable and efficient provider of services does not stand up to initial analysis and is not supported by the research.

# APPENDICES

**Appendix 1: Total Governmental Units Listed by State**

	GENERAL PURPOSE				SUB COUNTY		SPECIAL PURPOSE			PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEMS	
GEOGRAPHIC AREA	TOTAL 1	TOTAL 2	COUNTY¹ 3	TOTAL 4	MUNICIPAL 5	TOWN OR TOWNSHIP 6	TOTAL 7	SPECIAL DISTRICTS 8	TOTAL 9	SCHOOL DISTRICTS 10	DEPENDENT PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEMS² 11
United States	89,476	39,044	3,033	36,011	19,492	16,519	50,432	37,381	14,561	13,051	1,510
Alabama	1,185	525	67	458	458	-	660	529	131	131	-
Alaska	177	162	14	148	148	-	15	15	54		54
Arizona	645	105	15	90	90	-	540	301	253	239	14
Arkansas	1,548	577	75	502	502	-	971	724	247	247	-
California	4,344	535	57	478	478	-	3,809	2,765	1,102	1,044	58
Colorado	2,416	332	62	270	270	-	2,084	1,904	180	180	-
Connecticut	649	179	-	179	30	149	470	453	166	17	149
Delaware	338	60	3	57	57	-	278	259	19	19	-
District of Columbia	2	1	-	1	1	-	1	1	2		2
Florida	1,623	477	66	411	411	-	1,146	1,051	95	95	-
Georgia	1,439	689	154	535	535	-	750	570	180	180	-
Hawaii	19	4	3	1	1	-	15	15	1		1
Idaho	1,240	244	44	200	200	-	996	880	116	116	-
Illinois	6,994	2,833	102	2,731	1,299	1,432	4,161	3,249	912	912	-
Indiana	3,231	1,666	91	1,575	567	1,008	1,565	1,272	293	293	-
Iowa	1,954	1,046	99	947	947	-	908	528	380	380	-
Kansas	3,931	2,084	104	1,980	627	1,353	1,847	1,531	316	316	-
Kentucky	1,346	537	118	419	419	-	809	634	175	175	-
Louisiana	526	363	60	303	303	-	163	95	69	68	1
Maine	850	504	16	488	22	466	346	248	299	98	201
Maryland	256	180	23	157	157	-	76	76	39		39
Massachusetts	861	356	5	351	45	306	505	423	332	82	250
Michigan	2,893	1,858	83	1,775	533	1,242	1,035	456	730	579	151
Minnesota	3,526	2,729	87	2,642	854	1,788	797	456	341	341	-
Mississippi	1,000	378	82	296	296	-	622	458	167	164	3
Missouri	3,723	1,378	114	1,264	952	312	2,345	1,809	536	536	-
Montana	1,273	183	54	129	129	-	1,090	758	332	332	-
Nebraska	2,659	1,077	93	984	530	454	1,582	1,294	288	288	-
Nevada	198	35	16	19	19	-	163	146	17	17	-
New Hampshire	545	244	10	234	13	221	301	137	174	164	10
New Jersey	1,383	587	21	566	324	242	796	247	625	549	76
New Mexico	863	134	33	101	101	-	729	633	96	96	-
New York	3,403	1,604	57	1,547	618	929	1,799	1,119	716	680	36
North Carolina	963	648	100	548	548	-	315	315	173		173
North Dakota	2,699	1,730	53	1,677	357	1,320	969	771	198	198	-
Ohio	3,702	2,334	88	2,246	938	1,308	1,368	700	668	668	-
Oklahoma	1,880	671	77	594	594	-	1,209	642	567	567	-
Oregon	1,546	278	36	242	242	-	1,268	1,034	234	234	-
Pennsylvania	4,871	2,628	66	2,562	1,016	1,546	2,243	1,728	515	515	-
Rhode Island	134	39	-	39	8	31	95	91	36	4	32
South Carolina	698	314	46	268	268	-	384	299	85	85	-
South Dakota	1,983	1,291	66	1,225	309	916	692	526	166	166	-
Tennessee	928	439	92	347	347	-	489	475	136	14	122
Texas	4,835	1,463	254	1,209	1,209	-	3,372	2,291	1,082	1,081	1
Utah	599	271	29	242	242	-	328	288	40	40	-
Vermont	733	296	14	282	45	237	437	144	293	293	-
Virginia	511	324	95	229	229	-	187	186	135	1	134
Washington	1,845	320	39	281	281	-	1,525	1,229	296	296	-
West Virginia	663	287	55	232	232	-	376	321	55	55	-
Wisconsin	3,120	1,923	72	1,851	592	1,259	1,197	756	444	441	3
Wyoming	726	122	23	99	99	-	604	549	55	55	-

- Represents zero.

<sup>1</sup> Excludes areas corresponding to counties but having no organized governments.

<sup>2</sup> Systems operated by a state, county, municipal, or township government. These are not included in total of local government.

Source: 2007 Census of Governments, U.S. Department of Commerce, Census Bureau. Online here: [tinyurl.com/9gw3yb](http://tinyurl.com/9gw3yb)

## Appendix 2: Size of State Legislature Per State

State	Senate			House			
	Number	Term	Next Election	Number	Term	Next Election	Total Legislators
Alabama	35	4	2010	105	4	2010	140
Alaska	20	4	2008	40	2	2008	60
Arizona	30	2	2008	60	2	2008	90
Arkansas	35	4	2008	100	2	2008	135
California	40	4	2008	80	2	2008	120
Colorado	35	4	2008	65	2	2008	100
Connecticut	36	2	2008	151	2	2008	187
Delaware	21	4	2008	41	2	2008	62
Florida	40	4	2008	120	2	2008	160
Georgia	56	2	2008	180	2	2008	236
Hawaii	25	4	2008	51	2	2008	76
Idaho	35	2	2008	70	2	2008	105
Illinois	59	4	2008	118	2	2008	177
Indiana	50	4	2008	100	2	2008	150
Iowa	50	4	2008	100	2	2008	150
Kansas	40	4	2008	125	2	2008	165
Kentucky	38	4	2008	100	2	2008	138
Louisiana	39	4	2007	105	4	2007	144
Maine	35	2	2008	151	2	2008	186
Maryland	47	4	2010	141	4	2010	188
Massachusetts	40	2	2008	160	2	2008	200
Michigan	38	4	2010	110	2	2008	148
Minnesota	67	4	2010	134	2	2008	201
Mississippi	52	4	2007	122	4	2007	174
Missouri	34	4	2008	163	2	2008	197
Montana	50	4	2008	100	2	2008	150
Nebraska	49	4	2008	NA	NA		49
Nevada	21	4	2008	42	2	2008	63
New Hampshire	24	2	2008	400	2	2008	424
New Jersey	40	4	2007	80	2	2007	120
New Mexico	42	4	2008	70	2	2008	112
New York	62	2	2008	150	2	2008	212
North Carolina	50	2	2008	120	2	2008	170
North Dakota	47	4	2008	94	4	2008	141
Ohio	33	4	2008	99	2	2008	132
Oklahoma	48	4	2008	101	2	2008	149
Oregon	30	4	2008	60	2	2008	90
Pennsylvania	50	4	2008	203	2	2008	253
Rhode Island	38	2	2008	75	2	2008	113
South Carolina	46	4	2008	124	2	2008	170
South Dakota	35	2	2008	70	2	2008	105
Tennessee	33	4	2008	99	2	2008	132
Texas	31	4	2008	150	2	2008	181
Utah	29	4	2008	75	2	2008	104
Vermont	30	2	2008	150	2	2008	180
Virginia	40	4	2007	100	2	2007	140
Washington	49	4	2008	98	2	2008	147
West Virginia	34	4	2008	100	2	2008	134
Wisconsin	33	4	2008	99	2	2008	132
Wyoming	30	4	2008	60	2	2008	90
<b>Total</b>	<b>1971</b>			<b>5411</b>			<b>7382</b>

Source: National Conference of State Legislatures.  
Online here: [tinyurl.com/5dpuq4](http://tinyurl.com/5dpuq4) ; [tinyurl.com/55ffn8](http://tinyurl.com/55ffn8)

### Appendix 3: Government Expenditures vs. Total Elected Officials

MO County	2002 Expenditures	2002 Expenditures per capita	EO's per 1,000 capita, using M	EO's per gov't, using M	ln_Exp	ln_Exp per Capita	ln_EO p1000	ln_EO p1000^2	ln_EO pGov	ln_EO pGov^2
ADAIR	5484000	219.56	1.36	2.43	15.52	5.3916	0.3084	0.0951	0.8873	0.7873
ATCHISON	3398000	528.46	16.64	3.15	15.04	6.2700	2.8119	7.9065	1.1465	1.3144
AUDRAIN	6319000	244.42	2.20	2.28	15.66	5.4989	0.7906	0.6251	0.8242	0.6793
BARTON	12570000	1002.31	4.86	2.03	16.35	6.9101	1.5819	2.5023	0.7097	0.5036
BENTON	3615000	210.42	2.50	2.15	15.1	5.3491	0.9175	0.8417	0.7655	0.5859
BOLLINGER	1976000	164.27	2.16	2.00	14.5	5.1015	0.7708	0.5941	0.6931	0.4805
BOONE	43600000	321.88	0.58	2.79	17.59	5.7742	-0.5519	0.3046	1.0245	1.0496
BUCHANAN	20970000	243.84	0.79	2.27	16.86	5.4965	-0.2348	0.0551	0.8183	0.6696
CALDWELL	1024000	114.17	6.80	1.69	13.84	4.7377	1.9171	3.6753	0.5274	0.2781
CALLAWAY	9637000	236.40	1.72	2.80	16.08	5.4655	0.5406	0.2923	1.0296	1.0601
CAPE GIRARDEAU	13930000	202.79	1.19	2.48	16.45	5.3122	0.1771	0.0314	0.9102	0.8285
CARROLL	2881000	280.12	16.43	2.68	14.87	5.6352	2.7992	7.8356	0.9868	0.9737
CARTER	927000	156.03	5.72	2.13	13.74	5.0501	1.7445	3.0432	0.7538	0.5682
CASS	40246000	490.25	1.46	2.11	17.51	6.1949	0.3797	0.1441	0.7444	0.5542
CHARITON	2404000	284.90	11.26	2.32	14.69	5.6521	2.4211	5.8619	0.8403	0.7061
CHRISTIAN	14272000	262.91	1.22	1.94	16.47	5.5718	0.1954	0.0382	0.6633	0.4400
CLAY	51797000	281.50	0.49	1.73	17.76	5.6401	-0.7152	0.5115	0.5486	0.3009
CLINTON	1705000	89.84	2.58	2.04	14.35	4.4980	0.9485	0.8996	0.7138	0.5095
COLE	17663000	247.39	0.91	2.60	16.69	5.5110	-0.0939	0.0088	0.9555	0.9130
COOPER	15040000	902.22	2.34	1.63	16.53	6.8049	0.8500	0.7224	0.4855	0.2357
CRAWFORD	2221000	97.40	1.62	2.64	14.61	4.5788	0.4840	0.2342	0.9719	0.9445
DADE	1795000	226.56	8.96	1.82	14.4	5.4230	2.1929	4.8089	0.5991	0.3589
DAVIESS	2773000	345.93	10.35	1.84	14.84	5.8462	2.3374	5.4634	0.6122	0.3748
DE KALB	794000	68.47	3.97	1.53	13.58	4.2263	1.3779	1.8986	0.4274	0.1827
DENT	1804000	120.85	2.01	2.14	14.41	4.7946	0.6980	0.4872	0.7621	0.5809
FRANKLIN	27184000	289.79	1.62	2.67	17.12	5.6691	0.4826	0.2329	0.9808	0.9620
GASCONADE	4727000	308.11	2.74	3.00	15.37	5.7305	1.0071	1.0142	1.0986	1.2069
GREENE	70743000	294.28	0.26	1.66	18.07	5.6845	-1.3391	1.7933	0.5055	0.2556
GRUNDY	2750000	263.61	5.18	1.50	14.83	5.5745	1.6441	2.7031	0.4055	0.1644
HARRISON	2325000	262.71	9.72	1.79	14.66	5.5711	2.2739	5.1708	0.5831	0.3401
HENRY	6565000	298.45	4.14	1.63	15.7	5.6986	1.4200	2.0163	0.4855	0.2357
HICKORY	1826000	204.25	2.35	1.62	14.42	5.3193	0.8540	0.7293	0.4796	0.2300
HOLT	3480000	650.35	13.64	2.09	15.06	6.4775	2.6132	6.8287	0.7351	0.5404
HOWELL	5812000	156.08	1.26	1.88	15.58	5.0504	0.2328	0.0542	0.6313	0.3985
IRON	1576000	147.33	3.08	2.06	14.27	4.9927	1.1265	1.2691	0.7239	0.5241
JACKSON	186807000	285.25	0.14	1.56	19.05	5.6534	-1.9958	3.9833	0.4456	0.1985
JASPER	21416000	204.57	0.53	1.04	16.88	5.3209	-0.6436	0.4143	0.0370	0.0014
JEFFERSON	47795000	241.27	0.85	2.47	17.68	5.4859	-0.1648	0.0272	0.9045	0.8180
JOHNSON	13528000	280.33	1.18	2.19	16.42	5.6360	0.1665	0.0277	0.7850	0.6162
LACLEDE	5160000	158.71	1.57	2.55	15.46	5.0671	0.4502	0.2027	0.9361	0.8763

Source: Author-collected data analyzed using statistical methods from Berry and Gersen study (see endnote 34).

**Appendix 3: Government Expenditures vs. Total Elected Officials (continued)**

MO County	2002 Expenditures	2002 Expenditures per capita	EO's per 1,000 capita, using M	EO's per gov't, using M	In_Exp	In_Exp per Capita	In_EO p1000	In_EO p1000^2	In_EO pGov	In_EO pGov^2
LAWRENCE	3789000	107.63	1.22	1.23	15.15	4.6787	0.2000	0.0400	0.2059	0.0424
LEWIS	2034000	193.83	6.19	2.60	14.53	5.2670	1.8236	3.3255	0.9555	0.9130
LINN	2700000	196.31	6.11	1.87	14.81	5.2797	1.8095	3.2742	0.6242	0.3896
LIVINGSTON	3749000	257.52	5.22	2.38	15.14	5.5511	1.6526	2.7311	0.8650	0.7482
MADISON	13821000	1552.40	2.92	2.36	16.44	7.3476	1.0717	1.1486	0.8602	0.7399
MARIES	1703000	60.20	1.06	1.88	14.35	4.0977	0.0587	0.0034	0.6286	0.3951
MARION	7339000	338.50	2.63	3.35	15.81	5.8245	0.9666	0.9343	1.2098	1.4637
MERCER	1633000	434.66	13.84	2.60	14.31	6.0746	2.6276	6.9044	0.9555	0.9130
MILLER	3722000	157.95	2.08	1.63	15.13	5.0623	0.7321	0.5360	0.4906	0.2407
MISSISSIPPI	5544000	412.90	4.17	2.67	15.53	6.0232	1.4281	2.0394	0.9808	0.9620
MONITEAU	1921000	129.56	2.23	1.94	14.47	4.8642	0.8001	0.6401	0.6633	0.4400
MONROE	1968000	211.36	4.73	1.76	14.49	5.3536	1.5530	2.4118	0.5653	0.3196
NEWTON	5791000	110.02	1.22	1.49	15.57	4.7007	0.1955	0.0382	0.3977	0.1582
NODAWAY	4013000	183.14	4.43	1.70	15.21	5.2103	1.4877	2.2132	0.5317	0.2827
OSAGE	2235000	171.11	4.36	2.48	14.62	5.1423	1.4733	2.1707	0.9076	0.8237
OZARK	2294000	240.41	2.93	2.15	14.65	5.4823	1.0765	1.1589	0.7673	0.5887
PETTIS	6736000	170.95	0.79	1.63	15.72	5.1414	-0.2399	0.0575	0.4895	0.2397
PHELPS	83156000	2088.04	0.95	2.00	18.24	7.6440	-0.0469	0.0022	0.6931	0.4805
PIKE	14397000	784.53	1.58	1.38	16.48	6.6651	0.4576	0.2094	0.3228	0.1042
PLATTE	22696000	307.61	1.92	2.78	16.94	5.7288	0.6547	0.4287	1.0240	1.0486
POLK	4678000	173.31	1.52	1.52	15.36	5.1551	0.4180	0.1748	0.4177	0.1745
RALLS	2399000	249.22	3.84	3.70	14.69	5.5183	1.3465	1.8129	1.3083	1.7117
RAY	15783000	675.82	3.94	2.09	16.57	6.5159	1.3710	1.8797	0.7376	0.5441
SCOTLAND	2538000	509.33	7.83	2.79	14.75	6.2331	2.0575	4.2334	1.0245	1.0496
SCOTT	4120000	101.92	1.48	1.43	15.23	4.6242	0.3950	0.1560	0.3567	0.1272
SHANNON	1557000	187.05	4.08	3.78	14.26	5.2314	1.4072	1.9803	1.3291	1.7666
SHELBY	2398000	352.70	7.35	2.63	14.69	5.8656	1.9952	3.9810	0.9676	0.9362
ST. CHARLES	81010000	285.36	0.27	1.70	18.21	5.6538	-1.2919	1.6689	0.5281	0.2789
ST. CLAIR	5044000	522.59	4.46	1.54	15.43	6.2588	1.4940	2.2321	0.4290	0.1840
ST. FRANCOIS	10046000	180.55	0.68	1.73	16.12	5.1960	-0.3813	0.1454	0.5465	0.2987
ST. LOUIS	630006000	619.89	0.17	1.07	20.26	6.4295	-1.7535	3.0746	0.0645	0.0042
STE. GENEVIEVE	26318000	1505.43	2.12	3.70	17.09	7.3168	0.7497	0.5621	1.3083	1.7117
SULLIVAN	2178000	301.70	8.87	1.94	14.59	5.7094	2.1822	4.7619	0.6624	0.4387
VERNON	3350000	163.78	4.74	2.11	15.02	5.0985	1.5565	2.4228	0.7461	0.5566
WARREN	5609000	228.71	2.90	4.44	15.54	5.4324	1.0630	1.1299	1.4901	2.2204
WASHINGTON	17265000	739.59	1.24	1.71	16.66	6.6061	0.2170	0.0471	0.5341	0.2852
WAYNE	3693000	278.53	2.26	2.73	15.12	5.6295	0.8165	0.6667	1.0033	1.0066
WEBSTER	4561000	146.92	0.87	1.69	15.33	4.9899	-0.1396	0.0195	0.5232	0.2738
WORTH	1063000	446.26	13.85	3.00	13.88	6.1009	2.6286	6.9094	1.0986	1.2069
WRIGHT	1937000	107.88	1.89	2.00	14.48	4.6810	0.6385	0.4077	0.6931	0.4805

Source: Author-collected data analyzed using statistical methods from Berry and Gersen study (see endnote 34).

Appendix 4: Empire Center Rankings of State Budgets

State	Rank	Legislative Budget (millions)
California	1	\$296.4
Pennsylvania	2	\$286.0
New York	3	\$206.5
Florida	4	\$161.6
Texas	5	\$121.3
Michigan	6	\$96.8
Illinois	7	\$74.4
New Jersey	8	\$72.6
Washington	9	\$70.1
Maryland	10	\$57.2
Connecticut	11	\$55.5
Massachusetts	12	\$53.6
Wisconsin	13	\$52.9
Minnesota	14	\$50.9
South Carolina	15	\$49.2
North Carolina	16	\$46.8
Arkansas	17	\$43.8
Ohio	18	\$42.3
Louisiana	19	\$40.6
Kentucky	20	\$37.9
Nevada	21	\$36.0
Oklahoma	22	\$34.2
Virginia	23	\$34.1
Indiana	24	\$31.6
Alaska	25	\$31.6

State	Rank	Legislative Budget (millions)
Missouri	26	\$29.9
Oregon	27	\$29.2
Georgia	28	\$29.2
Tennessee	29	\$29.1
Alabama	30	\$26.7
Iowa	31	\$26.4
West Virginia	32	\$26.3
Rhode Island	33	\$25.7
Maine	34	\$23.9
Arizona	35	\$23.9
New Mexico	36	\$21.6
Hawaii	37	\$21.4
Colorado	38	\$21.1
Mississippi	39	\$20.0
Kansas	40	\$15.8
Montana	41	\$14.6
Nebraska	42	\$14.0
New Hampshire	43	\$11.5
Delaware	44	\$10.7
Idaho	45	\$10.5
Utah	46	\$10.1
North Dakota	47	\$9.3
Vermont	48	\$8.0
Wyoming	49	\$6.3
South Dakota	50	\$4.3

Source: Empire Center for State Policy. Online here: [tinyurl.com/6xf4sz](https://tinyurl.com/6xf4sz) ; [tinyurl.com/6qq3km](https://tinyurl.com/6qq3km) ; [tinyurl.com/58265d](https://tinyurl.com/58265d)

#### Appendix 4: Empire Center Rankings of State Budgets (continued)

State	Salary	Per Diem (Allowance for Daily Expenses)
Alabama	\$10/day (C)	\$2,280/month plus \$50/day for three days during each week that the legislature actually meets during any session (U).
Alaska	\$24,012/year	\$163 or \$218 /day (depending on the time of year) tied to federal rate. Legislators who reside in the Capitol area receive 75% of the federal rate.
Arizona	\$24,000/year	\$35/day for the 1st 120 days of regular session and for special session and \$10/day thereafter. Members residing outside Maricopa County receive an additional \$25/day for the 1st 120 days of reg. session and for special session and an additional \$10/day thereafter (V). Set by statute.
Arkansas	\$14,765/year	\$130/day (V) plus mileage tied to federal rate.
California	\$113,098/year	\$162/day for each day they are in session.
Colorado	\$30,000/year	\$45/day for members living in the Denver metro area. \$99/day for members living outside Denver (V). Per diem is determined by the legislature.
Connecticut	\$28,000/year	No per diem is paid.
Delaware	\$42,000/year	No per diem is paid.
Florida	\$30,996/year	\$126/day (V) tied to federal rate. Based on the number of days in session. Travel vouchers are filed to substantiate.
Georgia	\$17,342/year	\$173/day (U) set by the Legislative Services Committee.
Hawaii	\$35,900/year	\$120/day for members living outside Oahu. \$10/day for members living on Oahu (V). Set by the legislature.
Idaho	\$16,116/year	\$122/day for members establishing second residence in Boise. \$49/day if no second residence is established and up to \$25/day travel (V) set by Compensation Commission.
Illinois	\$57,619.00/year	\$125/per session day.
Indiana	\$11,600/year	\$137/day (U) tied to federal rate.
Iowa	\$25,000/year	\$118/day (U). \$88.50/day for Polk County legislators (U) Set by the legislature to coincide with federal rate. State mileage rates apply.
Kansas	\$84.80/day (C)	\$99/day (U) tied to federal rate.
Kentucky	\$180.54/day (C)	\$108.90/day (U) tied to federal rate (110% Federal per diem rate).
Louisiana	\$16,800/year	\$138/day (U) tied to federal rate (26 U.S.C. Section 162(h)(1)(B)(ii))
Maine	\$12,713/year	\$38/day housing, or mileage and tolls in lieu of housing (at rate of \$0.36/mile up to \$38/day) plus \$32/day for meals. Per diem limits are set by statute.
Maryland	\$43,500/year	Lodging \$116/day. Meals \$41/day maximum.
Massachusetts	\$58,237.15/year	From \$10/day-\$100/day, depending on distance from State House (V) set by the legislature.
Michigan	\$79,650 /year	\$12,000 yearly expense allowance for session and interim (V) set by compensation commission.
Minnesota	\$31,140.90/year	Senators receive \$96/day and Representatives receive \$77/legislative day (U) set by the legislature.

State	Salary	Per Diem (Allowance for Daily Expenses)
Mississippi	\$10,000/year	\$91/day (U) tied to federal rate.
Missouri	\$31,351/year	\$79.20/day (U) tied to federal rate. Verification of per diem is by roll call.
Montana	\$82.67/day (L)	\$98.75/day (U)
Nebraska	\$12,000/year	\$99/day outside 50-mile radius from Capitol. \$39/day if member resides within 50 miles of Capitol (V) tied to federal rate.
Nevada	\$137.90/day	Federal rate for Capitol area (V). Legislators who live more than 50 miles from the capitol, if require lodging, will be paid Hud single-room rate for Carson City area for each month of session.
New Hampshire	\$200/two-year term	No per diem is paid.
New Jersey	\$49,000/year	No per diem is paid.
New Mexico	None	\$142/day (V) tied to federal rate and the constitution.
New York	\$79,500/year	Varies (V) tied to federal rate.
North Carolina	\$13,951/year	\$104/day (U) set by statute. \$559.00/month expense allowance.
North Dakota	\$125/day during legislative sessions (C)	Lodging reimbursement up to \$900/month (V).
Ohio	\$58,933.56/year	No per diem is paid.
Oklahoma	\$38,400/year	\$122/day (U) tied to federal rate.
Oregon	\$18,408/yr	\$99/day (U) tied to federal rate.
Pennsylvania	\$73,613/year	\$129/day (V) tied to federal rate. Legislators can receive actual expenses or per diem.
Rhode Island	\$13,089.44/year	No per diem is paid.
South Carolina	\$10,400/year	\$119/day for meals and housing for each session day and committee meeting tied to federal rate.
South Dakota	\$12,000/two-yr term	\$110/legislative day (U) set by the legislature.
Tennessee	\$18,123/year	\$153/legislative day (U) tied to federal rate.
Texas	\$7,200/year	\$139/day (U) set by Ethics Commission.
Utah	\$130/day (C)	\$90/day (U) lodging for each calendar day. Tied to federal rate. \$54/day meals (U).
Vermont	\$600.78/week (session)	Federal per diem rate for Montpelier is \$88/day for lodging and \$51/day for meals for non-commuters. Commuters receive \$51/day for meals plus mileage.
Virgin Islands	\$65,000	\$30/day (U) set by the legislature.
Virginia	\$18,000/year (Senate) \$17,640/year (House)	House \$135/day (U) tied to federal rate. Senate \$140/day (U) tied to federal rate.
Washington	\$36,311/year	\$90/day.
West Virginia	\$15,000/year	\$115/day during session (U) set by compensation commission.
Wisconsin	\$47,413/year	\$88/day maximum (U) set by compensation commission (90% of federal rate).
Wyoming	\$150/day (L)	\$85/day (V) set by the legislature, includes travel days for those outside of Cheyenne.

Source: Empire Center for State Policy. Online here: [tinyurl.com/6xf4sz](http://tinyurl.com/6xf4sz) ; [tinyurl.com/6qq3km](http://tinyurl.com/6qq3km) ; [tinyurl.com/58265d](http://tinyurl.com/58265d)



Appendix 4: Empire Center Rankings of State Budgets (continued)

State	Rank	Average Spending Per Member
US	-	\$347,667
California	1	\$2,469,708
Pennsylvania	2	\$1,130,517
Florida	3	\$1,010,250
New York	4	\$973,900
Texas	5	\$669,895
Michigan	6	\$653,750
New Jersey	7	\$604,791
Nevada	8	\$572,015
Alaska	9	\$525,866
Washington	10	\$476,904
Illinois	11	\$420,508
Wisconsin	12	\$400,878
Oregon	13	\$324,755
Arkansas	14	\$324,303
Ohio	15	\$320,795
Maryland	16	\$304,180
Connecticut	17	\$296,850
South Carolina	18	\$289,464
Nebraska	19	\$285,897
Louisiana	20	\$281,847
Hawaii	21	\$281,263
North Carolina	22	\$275,382
Kentucky	23	\$274,311
Massachusetts	24	\$267,785
Arizona	25	\$265,100

State	Rank	Average Spending Per Member
Minnesota	26	\$253,213
Virginia	27	\$243,907
Oklahoma	28	\$229,651
Rhode Island	29	\$227,159
Tennessee	30	\$220,196
Colorado	31	\$211,310
Indiana	32	\$210,866
West Virginia	33	\$195,955
New Mexico	34	\$193,151
Alabama	35	\$190,992
Iowa	36	\$175,793
Delaware	37	\$171,790
Missouri	38	\$151,532
Maine	39	\$128,284
Georgia	40	\$123,809
Mississippi	41	\$115,068
Idaho	42	\$100,304
Utah	43	\$97,557
Montana	44	\$97,553
Kansas	45	\$95,890
Wyoming	46	\$69,911
North Dakota	47	\$65,794
Vermont	48	\$44,300
South Dakota	49	\$41,276
New Hampshire	50	\$27,183

Source: Empire Center for State Policy. Online here: [tinyurl.com/6xf4sz](https://tinyurl.com/6xf4sz) ; [tinyurl.com/6qq3km](https://tinyurl.com/6qq3km) ; [tinyurl.com/58265d](https://tinyurl.com/58265d)

**Appendix 5: Class Three County Per-Capita Spending**

Mo County	Population	Class	Twsp	General Rev.	Budget Year	Adjusted Budg. Gr	Per Capita \$	Spec. R & B, '04	R&b Per Capita
Barton	12,541	3	T	\$1,397,160	2007	\$1,397,160	\$111	771911	\$62
Bates	16,653	3	T	\$1,478,316	2004	\$1,611,364	\$97	1184819	\$71
Caldwell	8,969	3	T	\$2,571,198	2007	\$2,571,198	\$287	791501	\$88
Carroll	10,285	3	T	\$1,651,586	2007	\$1,651,586	\$161	1412307	\$137
Chariton	8,438	3	T	\$1,390,556	2007	\$1,390,556	\$165	711384	\$84
Dade	7,923	3	T	\$856,725	2007	\$856,725	\$108	703005	\$89
Daviess	8,016	3	T	\$1,524,756	2007	\$1,524,756	\$190	1346650	\$168
De Kalb	11,597	3	T	\$1,394,543	2007	\$1,394,543	\$120	833979	\$72
Dunklin	33,155	3	T	\$1,707,931	2007	\$1,707,931	\$52	981828	\$30
Gentry	6,861	3	T	\$1,103,221	2007	\$1,103,221	\$161	692688	\$101
Grundy	10,432	3	T	\$1,567,454	2007	\$1,567,454	\$150	743529	\$71
Harrison	8,850	3	T	\$1,108,767	2007	\$1,108,767	\$125	2401947	\$271
Henry	21,997	3	T	\$2,626,898	2007	\$2,626,898	\$119	1395204	\$63
Linn	13,754	3	T	\$1,718,099	2007	\$1,718,099	\$125	1282051	\$93
Livingston	14,558	3	T	\$1,780,725	2007	\$1,780,725	\$122	1034401	\$71
Mercer	3,757	3	T	\$679,917	2007	\$679,917	\$181	739195	\$197
Nodaway	21,912	3	T	\$5,776,590	2007	\$5,776,590	\$264	2765217	\$126
Putnam	5,223	3	T	\$851,645	2007	\$851,645	\$163	794100	\$152
Stoddard	29,705	3	T	\$5,061,056	2007	\$5,061,056	\$170	1543210	\$52
Sullivan	7,219	3	T	\$1,073,627	2007	\$1,073,627	\$149	559595	\$78
Texas	23,003	3	T	\$2,131,060	2007	\$2,131,060	\$93	978970	\$43
Vernon	20,454	3	T	\$2,576,951	2007	\$2,576,951	\$126	1496795	\$73
Adair	24,977	3		\$2,146,555	2007	\$2,146,555	\$86	1919622	\$77
Andrew	16,492	3		\$2,757,325	2007	\$2,757,325	\$167	2976842	\$181
Atchison	6,430	3		\$1,389,790	2007	\$1,389,790	\$216	1049059	\$163
Audrain	25,853	3		\$3,027,705	2007	\$3,027,705	\$117	1924736	\$74
Barry	34,010	3		\$3,919,366	2007	\$3,919,366	\$115	603178	\$18
Benton	17,180	3		\$2,186,277	2007	\$2,186,277	\$127	1323734	\$77
Bollinger	12,029	3		\$1,366,779	2007	\$1,366,779	\$114	1484019	\$123
Butler	40,867	3		\$4,809,127	2007	\$4,809,127	\$118	2567289	\$63
Carter	5,941	3		\$856,001	2007	\$856,001	\$144	599574	\$101
Cedar	13,733	3		\$1,228,086	2007	\$1,228,086	\$89	967099	\$70
Clark	7,416	3		\$745,644	2007	\$745,644	\$101	1320061	\$178
Clinton	18,979	3		\$2,213,787	2007	\$2,213,787	\$117	1340921	\$71
Cooper	16,670	3		\$2,425,154	2007	\$2,425,154	\$145	1022043	\$61
Crawford	22,804	3		\$2,686,629	2007	\$2,686,629	\$118	1882108	\$83
Dallas	15,661	3		\$1,615,570	2007	\$1,615,570	\$103	1329075	\$85
Dent	14,927	3		\$1,570,912	2007	\$1,570,912	\$105	1053497	\$71
Douglas	13,084	3		\$1,589,617	2007	\$1,589,617	\$121	997925	\$76
Gasconade	15,342	3		\$1,830,573	2005	\$1,940,407	\$126	2038605	\$133
Hickory	8,940	3		\$1,574,880	2007	\$1,574,880	\$176	698065	\$78
Holt	5,351	3		\$1,435,772	2007	\$1,435,772	\$268	2144521	\$401
Howard	10,212	3		\$1,120,829	2007	\$1,120,829	\$110	1166023	\$114
Howell	37,238	3		\$3,602,769	2007	\$3,602,769	\$97	1665341	\$45
Iron	10,697	3		\$1,451,023	2007	\$1,451,023	\$136	984757	\$92

Source: Missouri State Auditor's Office; author-compiled data from numerous sources.

**Appendix 5: Class Three County Per-Capita Spending (continued)**

Mo County	Population	Class	Twsp	General Rev.	Budget Year	Adjusted Budg. Gr	Per Capita \$	Spec. R & B, '04	R&b Per Capita
Knox	4,361	3		\$792,998	2007	\$792,998	\$182	1688843	\$387
Laclede	32,513	3		\$5,170,225	2007	\$5,170,225	\$159	1257530	\$39
Lawrence	35,204	3		\$4,130,529	2007	\$4,130,529	\$117	2747462	\$78
Lewis	10,494	3		\$1,558,668	2007	\$1,558,668	\$149	836303	\$80
Lincoln	38,944	3		\$7,095,105	2007	\$7,095,105	\$182	5409739	\$139
Macon	11,800	3		\$1,871,874	2007	\$1,871,874	\$159	1998918	\$169
Madison	8,903	3		\$1,532,096	2007	\$1,532,096	\$172	1526732	\$171
Maries	28,289	3		\$1,240,338	2007	\$1,240,338	\$44	1068016	\$38
Marion	21,681	3		\$5,167,338	2007	\$5,167,338	\$238	562659	\$26
Mcdonald	15,762	3		\$1,993,305	2007	\$1,993,305	\$126	1614698	\$102
Miller	23,564	3		\$3,128,203	2005	\$3,315,895	\$141	1915409	\$81
Mississippi	13,427	3		\$1,739,724	2007	\$1,739,724	\$130	925553	\$69
Moniteau	14,827	3		\$1,450,127	2007	\$1,450,127	\$98	839310	\$57
Monroe	9,311	3		\$1,890,674	2007	\$1,890,674	\$203	1378612	\$148
Montgomery	12,136	3		\$3,399,943	2007	\$3,399,943	\$280	1289123	\$106
Morgan	19,309	3		\$3,591,965	2007	\$3,591,965	\$186	1398494	\$72
Oregon	10,344	3		\$1,622,877	2007	\$1,622,877	\$157	697809	\$67
Osage	13,062	3		\$1,312,905	2007	\$1,312,905	\$101	1208318	\$93
Ozark	9,542	3		\$1,263,639	2007	\$1,263,639	\$132	1660142	\$174
Pemiscot	20,047	3		\$2,925,788	2007	\$2,925,788	\$146	1786426	\$89
Perry	18,132	3		\$3,018,931	2007	\$3,018,931	\$166	1346571	\$74
Phelps	39,825	3		\$4,361,573	2007	\$4,361,573	\$110	2633671	\$66
Pike	18,351	3		\$2,110,394	2007	\$2,110,394	\$115	2274689	\$124
Polk	26,992	3		\$1,719,194	2007	\$1,719,194	\$64	2505875	\$93
Pulaski	41,165	3		\$3,102,323	2007	\$3,102,323	\$75	1218342	\$30
Rails	9,626	3		\$1,605,759	2007	\$1,605,759	\$167	1217152	\$126
Randolph	24,663	3		\$2,554,529	2007	\$2,554,529	\$104	1631008	\$66
Ray	23,354	3		\$3,609,363	2007	\$3,609,363	\$155	1253210	\$54
Reynolds	6,689	3		\$1,047,756	2007	\$1,047,756	\$157	1630360	\$244
Ripley	13,509	3		\$982,840	2007	\$982,840	\$73	447866	\$33
Schuyler	4,170	3		\$512,246	2007	\$512,246	\$123	511175	\$123
Scotland	4,983	3		\$747,536	2007	\$747,536	\$150	809998	\$163
Scott	40,422	3		\$4,251,868	2007	\$4,251,868	\$105	1378909	\$34
Shannon	8,324	3		\$1,033,223	2007	\$1,033,223	\$124	1628248	\$196
Shelby	6,799	3		\$1,212,924	2007	\$1,212,924	\$178	1102852	\$162
St. Clair	9,652	3		\$4,319,705	2007	\$4,319,705	\$448	1171242	\$121
Ste. Genevieve	17,482	3		\$4,303,352	2007	\$4,303,352	\$246	1885414	\$108
Stone	28,658	3		\$7,289,175	2007	\$7,289,175	\$254	4280867	\$149
Warren	24,525	3		\$4,000,368	2007	\$4,000,368	\$163	1426267	\$58
Washington	23,344	3		\$2,785,134	2007	\$2,785,134	\$119	2292052	\$98
Wayne	13,259	3		\$1,513,762	2007	\$1,513,762	\$114	1387657	\$105
Webster	31,045	3		\$2,692,214	2004	\$2,934,513	\$95	3945709	\$127
Worth	2,382	3		\$472,556	2007	\$472,556	\$198	505346	\$212
Wright	17,955	3		\$1,555,093	2007	\$1,555,093	\$87	1641164	\$91

Source: Missouri State Auditor's Office; author-compiled data from numerous sources.

### Appendix 6: Per-Capita Spending of Class One, Two, and Four Counties

MO County	Population	Class	Total Budget Exp.	Budget Year	Adjusted budget	per capita	% city > 2,500	% city < 2,500	% unincorporated	% unin. + small
Jasper	104,686	1	\$27,823,439	2007	\$27,823,439	\$266	65.1%	10.8%	24.0%	34.8%
Cole	71,397	1	\$18,194,274	2005	\$19,285,930	\$270	53.6%	6.0%	40.4%	46.4%
Callaway	40,766	1	\$12,111,117	2007	\$12,111,117	\$297	36.4%	5.6%	58.0%	63.6%
Newton	52,636	2	\$17,455,827	2007	\$17,455,827	\$332	29.9%	17.7%	52.4%	70.1%
Clay	184,006	1	\$62,572,120	2007	\$62,572,120	\$340	90.3%	2.4%	7.3%	9.7%
Buchanan	85,998	1	\$30,271,954	2007	\$30,271,954	\$352	85.6%	1.8%	12.6%	14.4%
Christian	54,285	2	\$19,305,035	2006	\$19,884,186	\$366	46.4%	7.7%	46.0%	53.7%
Boone	135,454	1	\$50,555,682	2007	\$50,555,682	\$373	66.6%	3.2%	30.2%	33.4%
Pettis	39,403	2	\$15,173,879	2007	\$15,173,879	\$385	50.9%	6.5%	42.6%	49.1%
Johnson	48,258	2	\$18,607,905	2007	\$18,607,905	\$386	45.4%	3.1%	51.6%	54.7%
Jackson*	654,880	1	\$254,472,132	2007	\$254,472,132	\$389	96.1%	0.6%	3.3%	3.9%
Cass	82,092	1	\$31,956,680	2006	\$32,915,380	\$401	63.7%	9.7%	26.5%	36.2%
Cape Girardeau	68,693	1	\$27,954,502	2007	\$27,954,502	\$407	69.1%	2.4%	28.5%	30.9%
St. Francois	55,641	2	\$23,393,963	2007	\$23,393,963	\$420	57.4%	5.9%	36.7%	42.6%
Jefferson	198,099	1	\$85,835,317	2007	\$85,835,317	\$433	24.6%	1.5%	73.9%	75.4%
New Madrid	19,760	2	\$8,998,917	2007	\$8,998,917	\$455	33.4%	40.4%	26.2%	66.6%
Lafayette	32,960	4	\$15,501,940	2007	\$15,501,940	\$470	42.7%	19.1%	38.2%	57.3%
Greene	240,391	1	\$114,301,148	2007	\$114,301,148	\$475	66.9%	2.3%	30.8%	33.1%
St. Louis	1,016,315	1	\$487,267,825	2007	\$487,267,825	\$479	64.1%	3.9%	31.9%	35.8%
Franklin	93,807	1	\$52,677,174	2007	\$52,677,174	\$562	39.0%	4.3%	56.7%	61.0%
Camden	37,051	1	\$21,301,463	2007	\$21,301,463	\$575	17.7%	7.4%	74.9%	82.3%
Platte	73,781	1	\$43,372,965	2006	\$44,674,154	\$605	62.1%	10.2%	27.7%	37.9%
St. Charles	283,883	1	\$226,997,859	2007	\$226,997,859	\$800	69.7%	2.0%	28.3%	30.3%
Saline	23,756	4	\$21,278,521	2007	\$21,278,521	\$896	53.8%	21.6%	24.6%	46.2%
Taney**	39,703	1	\$74,981,678	2007	\$74,981,678	\$1,386	25.2%	9.9%	64.8%	74.7%
St. Louis City	348,189	1	\$867,748,187	2007	\$867,748,187	\$2,492	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
					Average	\$581	56.0%	7.9%	36.1%	44.0%
					Median	\$414	55.6%	5.8%	31.4%	44.4%
					Missouri		58.2%	7.4%	34.4%	41.8%

Correlations	
Per capita spending to % unincorporated in counties	0.27
Per capita spending to % unincorporated in counties and small towns	0.30
Per capita spending to % larger cities, excluding St. Louis City	-0.30

Source: Missouri State Auditor's Office; 2000 Census, U.S. Department of Commerce, Census Bureau; author-compiled data from numerous sources.

\* Stadium financing of \$516,985,497 not counted here.

\*\* Sewer project of approximately \$40 million not counted here.

**Appendix 7: County Elected Officials, Special Road Districts, Townships, and TDDs in Missouri**

<b>Mo County</b>	<b>Population</b>	<b>County Elected Officials</b>	<b>SRDs</b>	<b>Townships</b>	<b>TDDs (As of 2005)</b>
Adair	24,977	14	0	0	0
Andrew	16,492	14	0	0	0
Atchison	6,430	18	4	0	0
Audrain	25,853	19	4	0	0
Barry	34,010	14	25	0	0
Barton	12,541	12	0	15	0
Bates	16,653	19	2	24	0
Benton	17,180	14	3	0	1
Bollinger	12,029	12	0	0	0
Boone	135,454	19	1	0	8
Buchanan	85,998	13	0	0	2
Butler	40,867	15	0	0	2
Caldwell	8,969	10	0	12	0
Callaway	40,766	14	0	0	0
Camden	37,051	15	3	0	1
Cape Girardeau	68,693	15	1	0	0
Carroll	10,285	13	0	20	0
Carter	5,941	13	0	0	0
Cass	82,092	17	1	0	2
Cedar	13,733	15	15	0	0
Chariton	8,438	13	0	15	0
Christian	54,285	14	7	0	1
Clark	7,416	13	1	0	0
Clay	184,006	11	6	0	1
Clinton	18,979	13	2	0	0
Cole	71,397	17	0	0	1
Cooper	16,670	13	0	0	1
Crawford	22,804	14	0	0	0
Dade	7,923	11	7	16	0
Dallas	15,661	14	0	0	0
Daviess	8,016	11	3	15	0
De Kalb	11,597	12	0	9	0
Dent	14,927	15	0	0	0
Douglas	13,084	13	0	0	0
Dunklin	33,155	13	0	8	0
Franklin	93,807	16	4	0	0
Gasconade	15,342	14	1	0	0
Gentry	6,861	12	0	8	0
Greene	240,391	14	0	0	0

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Census Bureau; author-compiled data from numerous sources.

**Appendix 7: County Elected Officials, Special Road Districts, Townships, and TDDs in Missouri (continued)**

<b>Mo County</b>	<b>Population</b>	<b>County Elected Officials</b>	<b>SRDs</b>	<b>Townships</b>	<b>TDDs (As of 2005)</b>
Grundy	10,432	12	1	13	0
Harrison	8,850	12	0	20	0
Henry	21,997	12	11	19	0
Hickory	8,940	14	0	0	0
Holt	5,351	13	4	0	0
Howard	10,212	19	2	0	0
Howell	37,238	14	0	0	0
Iron	10,697	13	0	0	0
Jackson	654,880	12	0	0	13
Jasper	104,686	16	7	0	1
Jefferson	198,099	12	2	0	1
Johnson	48,258	16	0	0	1
Knox	4,361	12	0	0	0
Laclede	32,513	13	3	0	0
Lafayette	32,960	16	10	0	0
Lawrence	35,204	14	12	0	0
Lewis	10,494	14	3	0	0
Lincoln	38,944	14	1	0	1
Linn	13,754	13	2	14	0
Livingston	14,558	13	0	13	0
Mcdonald	11,800	22	0	0	0
Macon	8,903	19	2	0	0
Madison	28,289	13	0	0	0
Maries	21,681	15	2	0	2
Marion	15,762	13	0	0	0
Mercer	3,757	16	0	9	0
Miller	23,564	13	2	0	1
Mississippi	13,427	19	0	0	0
Moniteau	14,827	12	0	0	0
Monroe	9,311	14	2	0	0
Montgomery	12,136	14	2	0	0
Morgan	19,309	12	3	0	0
New Madrid	19,760	18	0	0	0
Newton	52,636	13	6	0	0
Nodaway	21,912	13	0	15	0
Oregon	10,344	19	1	0	0
Osage	13,062	14	4	0	0
Ozark	9,542	14	0	0	0
Pemiscot	20,047	23	0	0	0

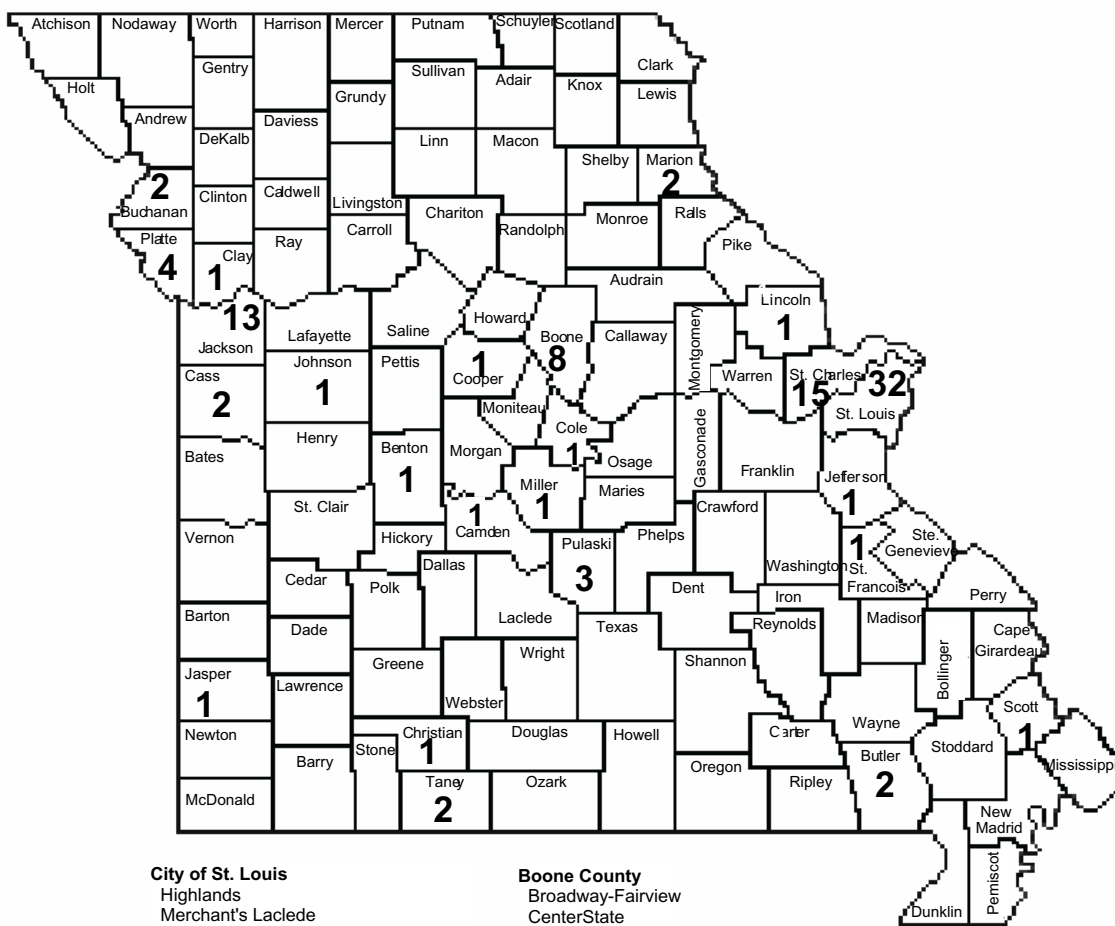
Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Census Bureau; author-compiled data from numerous sources.

**Appendix 7: County Elected Officials, Special Road Districts, Townships, and TDDs in Missouri (continued)**

<b>Mo County</b>	<b>Population</b>	<b>County Elected Officials</b>	<b>SRDs</b>	<b>Townships</b>	<b>TDDs (As of 2005)</b>
Perry	18,132	14	0	0	0
Pettis	39,403	24	0	0	0
Phelps	39,825	19	0	0	0
Pike	18,351	14	2	0	0
Platte	73,781	16	4	0	4
Polk	26,992	14	7	0	0
Pulaski	41,165	18	0	0	3
Putnam	5,223	18	2	11	0
Ralls	9,626	18	0	0	0
Randolph	24,663	18	1	0	0
Ray	23,354	15	6	0	0
Reynolds	6,689	19	0	0	0
Ripley	13,509	14	19	0	0
Saline	23,756	16	7	0	0
Schuyler	4,170	34	1	0	0
Scotland	4,983	13	0	0	0
Scott	40,422	20	2	0	1
Shannon	8,324	18	0	0	0
Shelby	6,799	18	1	0	0
St. Charles	283,883	14	0	0	15
St. Clair	9,652	13	7	0	0
St. Francois	55,641	15	1	0	1
St. Louis	1,016,315	9	0	0	28
Ste. Genevieve	17,482	15	1	0	0
Stoddard	29,705	19	6	7	0
Stone	28,658	19	0	0	0
Sullivan	7,219	18	3	12	0
Taney	39,703	14	0	0	2
Texas	23,003	7	0	17	0
Vernon	20,454	14	0	20	0
Warren	24,525	12	0	0	0
Washington	23,344	13	0	0	0
Wayne	13,259	14	0	0	0
Webster	31,045	14	1	0	0
Worth	2,382	13	0	0	0
Wright	17,955	21	1	0	0
St. Louis City	348,189	39	0	0	4
115	5,594,851	1,741	244	312	98

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Census Bureau; author-compiled data from numerous sources.

## Appendix 8: Map of TDDs by County



## City of St. Louis

Highlands  
Merchant's Laclede  
Residence Inn Downtown St. Louis  
Southtown

## St. Louis County

370/Missouri Bottom Road/Taussig Road  
Ballwin Town Center  
Big Bend Crossing  
Brentwood Pointe  
Brentwood/Strassner Road  
Chesterfield Commons  
Chesterfield Valley  
Crestwood Point  
Elm Grove  
Eureka Commercial Park  
Eureka Old Town  
Fenton Crossing  
Folk Avenue South  
Francis Place  
Glenwood-Watson  
Gravois Bluffs  
Hanley Road and North of Folk Avenue  
Hanley Station  
Hanley/Eager Road  
Kenilworth  
Meramec Station Road and Highway 141  
Olive Boulevard  
Pershall Road  
Shoppes at Cross Keys  
Shoppes at Old Webster  
St. John Crossings  
St. John's Church Road  
Station Plaza

## Boone County

Broadway-Fairview  
 CenterState  
 Conley Road  
 Grindstone Plaza  
 Lake of the Woods  
 Northwoods  
 Shoppes at Stadium  
 Stadium Corridor

## St. Charles County

Boscherts Landing  
Dardenne Town Square  
Hawk Ridge  
Hutchings Farm Plaza  
Kingsmill  
Mark Twain Mall  
Megan Shoppes  
Mexico Road  
Mid Rivers/N  
Salt Lick Road  
St. Charles Riverfront  
Wentzville  
Wentzville II  
Wentzville Parkway I  
WinqHaven

## Platte County

Parkville Commons  
Platte County Missouri South I  
Platte County Missouri South II  
Tuileries Plaza



## Jackson County

71 Highway & 150 Highway  
Country Club Plaza of Kansas City, MO  
Douglas Square  
Douglas Station  
I-470 and I-350  
I-70 and Adams Dairy Parkway  
Lee's Summit, MO New Longview  
M 150 and 135th Street  
Raintree Lake Village  
Raintree North  
Strother Interchange  
Thirty-Ninth Street  
Truman Road


Source: "Transportation Development Districts," Missouri State Auditor's Office, Report No. 2007-28, July 2007, p. 76 (drawn from MoDOT TDD database). Online here: [tinyurl.com/6rsm4q](http://tinyurl.com/6rsm4q)



## Appendix 9: Chart of Saint Louis County Municipal Contracting

X = Changes from last printing															
Municipality Number		<div></div> <div>MUNICIPALITIES</div>													
		BUILDING CODE	RESIDENTIAL CODE	EXISTING BUILDING CODE	MECHANICAL CODE	ELECTRICAL CODE	PLUMBING CODE	EXPLOSIVES ORDINANCE	PROPERTY MAINTENANCE CODE	RESIDENTIAL RE-OCCUPANCY PERMITS	FIRE SUPPRESS. SYSTEMS - Note 1	ELEVATORS AND CONVEYORS	AMUSEMENT RIDES	PERIODIC INSPECT MECH. EQUIP.	LAND DISTURBANCE
X = Changes from last printing															
Municipality Number		<div></div> <div>MUNICIPALITIES</div>													
		BUILDING CODE	RESIDENTIAL CODE	EXISTING BUILDING CODE	MECHANICAL CODE	ELECTRICAL CODE	PLUMBING CODE	EXPLOSIVES ORDINANCE	PROPERTY MAINTENANCE CODE	RESIDENTIAL RE-OCCUPANCY PERMITS	FIRE SUPPRESS. SYSTEMS - Note 1	ELEVATORS AND CONVEYORS	AMUSEMENT RIDES	PERIODIC INSPECT MECH. EQUIP.	LAND DISTURBANCE
	093	BALLWIN													
	002	BELLA-VILLA													
	088	BELLEFONTAINE NEIGHBORS													
	003	BELLERIVE													
	004	BEL NOR (Village)													
	005	BEL RIDGE (Village)													
	007	BERKELEY													
	008	BEVERLY HILLS													
	103	BLACK JACK													
	084	BRECKENRIDGE HILLS													
	009	BRENTWOOD													
	010	BRIDGETON													
x	012	CALVERTON PARK (Village)	4, 8												
	102	CHAMP (Village)													
	013	CHARLACK							1						
	105	CHESTERFIELD													
	087	CLARKSON VALLEY													
	014	CLAYTON													
	096	COOL VALLEY													
	015	COUNTRY CLUB HILLS													
	079	COUNTRY LIFE ACRES (Village)													
	069	CRESTWOOD													
	082	CREVE COEUR			1					9					
	016	CRYSTAL LAKE PARK													
	095	DELLWOOD													
	017	DES PERES	3	1,3											
	073	EDMUNDSON	3, 5, 7												
	019	ELLISVILLE													
x	098	EUREKA			1	1	1,A			1	1	1	1		
	021	FENTON													
	022	FERGUSON													
	023	FLORDELL HILLS													
	024	FLORISSANT													
	025	FRONTENAC													
	027	GLEN ECHO PARK (Village)													
	026	GLENDALE													
	029	GRANTWOOD (Village)													
	086	GREENDALE													
	106	GREEN PARK													
	076	HANLEY HILLS (Village)													
	080	HAZELWOOD													
	068	HILLSDALE (Village)													
	030	HUNTLEIGH													
	031	JENNINGS													
	074	KINLOCH													
	032	KIRKWOOD			1										
	033	LADUE													
	070	LAKESHIRE													
	034	MACKENZIE (Village)													
	094	MANCHESTER													
	035	MAPLEWOOD													
	037	MARLBOROUGH (Village)													
	104	MARYLAND HEIGHTS									9				
	081	MOLINE ACRES													
	039	NORMANDY													
	040	NORTHWOODS													
	077	NORWOOD COURT (Town)													
	041	OAKLAND	1		1	1	1	1			1			1	
	042	OLIVETTE													
	043	OVERLAND													
	044	PACIFIC													
	085	PAGEDALE													
	045	PASADENA HILLS													
	046	PASADENA PARK (Village)													
	048	PINE LAWN													
	049	RICHMOND HEIGHTS									9				
	089	RIVERVIEW (Village)													
	050	ROCK HILL	B	B	4										
	072	SAINT ANN													
X	075	SAINT GEORGE													
	051	SAINT JOHN													
	053	SHREWSBURY													
	101	SUNSET HILLS													
	054	SYCAMORE HILLS (Village)													
	083	TOWN AND COUNTRY													
	055	TWIN OAKS (Village)													
	057	UNIVERSITY CITY													
	056	UPLANDS PARK (Village)													
	058	VALLEY PARK													
	059	VELDA CITY													
	060	VELDA VILLAGE HILLS													
	061	VINITA PARK			3										
	062	VINITA TERRACE													
	063	WARSON WOODS	4		1,4										
	064	WEBSTER GROVES													
	078	WELLSTON													
	097	WESTWOOD (Village)													
	065	WILBUR PARK (Village)													
	107	WILDWOOD													
	066	WINCHESTER													
	067	WOODSON TERRACE	3		3										
	AFTTON - Fire Protect. Dist.														
	MOLINE - Fire Protect. Dist.														

Note 1 - Fire Suppression Systems utilize gasses, liquids, or solids to control, or suppress fires through either automatic or manual application of agent. Term includes all sprinkler and standpipe fire hose systems as well as other suppression systems. Term system includes all pumps, tanks, pipes, valves, fittings, compressors and other components.

 Indicates code-requirements enforced by Saint Louis County  
 # Indicates EXCLUSIONS as applied by municipality

## ALPHABETICAL March 10, 2008

\* Requires Municipal Zoning Approval for Lawn Irrigation Backflow Devices.

## EXCLUSIONS

- 1) Commercial Only (Exclude Structures and Property at 1 & 2 Family Dwellings)
- 2) Residential Only (Structures and Property at 1 & 2 Family Dwellings Only)
- 3) Exclude Re-Occupancy Permits for Commercial properties
- 4) Exclude Signs
- 5) Exclude Parking Lots
- 6) Exclude Temporary Structures
- 7) Exclude Evaluating Unfit/Dangerous Structures; and Demolition of any Structure
- 8) Commercial & NEW 1 & 2 Family Dwellings Only (Exclude Existing 1&2 Family)
- 9) Fire suppression systems for cooking exhaust hoods, paint spray and dipping rooms and booths, and systems for exhaust of hazardous vapors Only
- A) Includes permits for Residential Backflow Prevention Devices
- B) Exclude non-habitable residential structures under 400 square feet and signs.

Source: Saint Louis County Department of Public Works. Online here: [tinyurl.com/6l8oko](http://tinyurl.com/6l8oko)

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# NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> When this study refers to the size or amount of government in Missouri, it denotes the exact number of separate government units or elected officials. It does not take into account the more abstract questions surrounding the role that government should have in our lives, which services the government should provide, etc.
- <sup>2</sup> This last happened in 1988.
- <sup>3</sup> Roger Wilson had outside employment during his second term in office from 1997–2000.
- <sup>4</sup> With minor differences for those elected in special elections.
- <sup>5</sup> If the lieutenant governor and the Senate majority are in opposition, the Senate can prevent the lieutenant governor from presiding over it at all, according to a Supreme Court ruling. See: Pilant, Denny, “Missouri’s Other State Constitutional Officers,” *Missouri Government and Politics*, University of Missouri Press, 1995, p. 144.
- <sup>6</sup> Ten counties make up their own circuit. Thirty-five circuits consist of multiple counties.
- <sup>7</sup> This information, and much more from this section, comes from the annual *Official Manual, State of Missouri*, also known as the “Blue Book,” published each year by the secretary of state’s office. Here, the 2005–2006 edition is used.
- <sup>8</sup> Hardy, Richard J., and Joseph J. Carrier, “Missouri Courts, Judges, and Juries,” *Missouri Government and Politics*, University of Missouri Press, 1995, p. 176.
- <sup>9</sup> The Missouri Plan applies at the local level in Saint Louis city, and in Saint Louis, Jackson, Clay, and Platte counties.
- <sup>10</sup> Hardy, Richard J., and Joseph J. Carrier, *op. cit.*, p. 185.
- <sup>11</sup> Information for this section was taken from: *Forms of Government For Missouri Municipalities*, Missouri Municipal League, Dec. 2004.
- <sup>12</sup> 2007 Census of Governments, U.S. Department of Commerce, Census Bureau, Table 1.
- <sup>13</sup> Kansas City, Saint Louis, Springfield, and Independence.
- <sup>14</sup> Kansas City is one of the largest cities in the United States making use of the city manager form of government.
- <sup>15</sup> Dohm, Richard, “The Politics of Planning and Zoning in Missouri,” *Missouri Government and Politics*, University of Missouri Press, 1995, p. 327.
- <sup>16</sup> 2002 Census of Governments, U.S. Department of Commerce, Census Bureau.
- <sup>17</sup> An exception is fire districts, whose board members are elected and receive a small salary.
- <sup>18</sup> 2007 Census of Governments, U.S. Department of Commerce, Census Bureau, Table 1.
- <sup>19</sup> “NCSL Backgrounder: Full- and Part-Time Legislatures,” National Conference of State Legislatures, Jan. 2008. Online here: [tinyurl.com/94ma5](http://tinyurl.com/94ma5)
- <sup>20</sup> Not counting judges as elected officials for the purpose of counting.
- <sup>21</sup> If independent cities were combined with counties, Virginia would also have more primary units of local government (95 counties and 39 independent cities) than Missouri.
- <sup>22</sup> Parks, Roger B., and Ronald J. Oakerson, “Comparative Metropolitan Organization: Service Production and Governance Structures in St. Louis (MO) and Allegheny County (PA),” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, 1993, pp. 19–40. Online here: [tinyurl.com/b6jkh](http://tinyurl.com/b6jkh)
- <sup>23</sup> Kansas City ranks as high as it does because two of the counties of the Kansas City metropolitan area, Bates and Caldwell, are township counties. Although area observers would not commonly consider the two of these counties to be part of the Kansas City metropolitan area, they fall within the official census definition nonetheless. The 36 combined townships within the two counties greatly increase the total in this chart, and distort the reality that the heart of Kansas City — the city itself, and Jackson County — has a much more average level of government than other metropolitan areas.
- <sup>24</sup> Weingast, Barry R., Kenneth A. Shepsle, and Christopher Johnsen, “The Political Economy of Benefits and Costs: A Neoclassical Approach to Distributive Politics,” *Journal of Political Economy*, vol. 89, no. 4, 1981.
- <sup>25</sup> Gilligan, Thomas W., and John G. Matsusaka, “Deviations From Constituent Interests: The Role of Legislative Structure and Political Parties and the States,” *Economic Inquiry*, vol. XXXIII, July 1995.
- <sup>26</sup> Baqir, Reza, “Districting and Government Overspending,” *Journal of Political Economy*, vol. 110, no. 6, 2002.
- <sup>27</sup> Dalenberg, Douglas R., and Kevin T. Duffy-Deno, “At-Large Versus Ward Elections: Implications for Public Infrastructure,” *Public Choice*, vol. 70, no. 3, 1991.
- <sup>28</sup> Southwick, Lawrence, Jr., “Local Government Spending and At-Large Versus District Representation; Do Wards Result in More Pork?,” *Economics and Politics*, vol. 9, no. 2, 1997.
- <sup>29</sup> Tiebout, Charles M., “A Pure Theory of Local Expenditures,” *The Journal of Political Economy*, vol. 64, no. 5, 1956.
- <sup>30</sup> Sabato, Larry J., *A More Perfect Constitution: 23 Proposals to Revitalize Our Constitution and Make America a Fairer Country*, Walker & Company, 2007
- <sup>31</sup> Arikan, G.G., “Fiscal Decentralization: A Remedy for Corruption?” *International Tax and Public Finance*, vol. 11, no. 2, 2004.
- <sup>32</sup> Lessmann, Christian, and Gunther Markwardt, “One Size Fits All? Decentralization,

- Corruption, and Development,” Institute for Economic Research, 2007. Online here: [tinyurl.com/5too9c](http://tinyurl.com/5too9c)
- <sup>33</sup> Cox, Wendell, and Hugh Pavletich, “4th Annual Demographia International Housing Affordability Survey: 2008,” Wendell Cox Consultancy, p. 28.
- <sup>34</sup> Berry, Christopher R., and Jacob E. Gersen, “The Fiscal Consequences of Electoral Institutions,” John M. Olin Law and Economics Working Paper No. 344, The University of Chicago, 2007.
- <sup>35</sup> The data used in the analysis included information about elected officials and individual county expenditures from the 2002 Census of Governments. The 2002 Census lacked spending data from every Missouri county. The graph includes data from the 80 counties for which the census did obtain information.
- <sup>36</sup> Data derived from tables of assessed values by county, for tax years 1997 and 2007, provided to the author via e-mail by the State Tax Commission of Missouri.
- <sup>37</sup> During 2001, stemming from widespread rising property values in the housing market, Saint Louis County assessors stopped inspecting almost all homes in their jurisdiction for which assessments had risen more than 17 percent. Physical visits were required by law at the time, but assessors were merely driving past homes and claiming that this constituted a physical visit. The director of revenue and county assessor were both fired, and the county was forced to reopen the appeals process in the fall for those who wished to appeal their assessments.
- <sup>38</sup> Weingast, Barry R., Kenneth A. Shepsle, and Christopher Johnsen, “The Political Economy of Benefits and Costs: A Neoclassical Approach to Distributive Politics,” *Journal of Political Economy*, University of Chicago Press, Aug. 1981, pp. 642–64. Online here: [tinyurl.com/cq4tn6](http://tinyurl.com/cq4tn6)
- <sup>39</sup> Gilligan, Thomas W., and John G. Matsusaka, “Deviations From Constituent Interests: The Role of Legislative Structure and Political Parties in the States,” *Economic Inquiry*, Sept. 28, 2007, pp. 383–401. Online here: [tinyurl.com/dz534p](http://tinyurl.com/dz534p)
- <sup>40</sup> New York and Illinois.
- <sup>41</sup> Gilligan and Matsusaka, p. 399.
- <sup>42</sup> Kenny, Lawrence W., and Amy B. Schmidt, “The Decline in the Number of School Districts in the U.S.: 1950-1980,” *Public Choice*, vol. 79, no. 1-2, 1994.
- <sup>43</sup> Kenny, “Economics of Scale in Schooling,” *Economics of Education Review*, vol. 2, 1982.
- <sup>44</sup> Kenny, Lawrence W., “A Model of Optimal Plant Size with an Application to the Demand for Cognitive Achievement and for School Size,” *Economic Inquiry*, vol. 20, no. 2, 1982.
- <sup>45</sup> It is important to distinguish between the townships in these 22 counties, which are government bodies, and the townships in the rest of the state’s counties, which are strictly political boundaries along with wards and precincts, and are only used as voting districts by election boards and clerks. We are not talking about electoral townships here.
- <sup>46</sup> “Township Financial Reporting Practices,” Missouri State Auditor, Report No. 2003-30.
- <sup>47</sup> The author also did not include the 2007 fiscal year \$500 million stadium bond issue in Jackson County’s budget totals, because this amount would have dramatically changed Jackson County’s rankings and it does not truly pertain to the annual budget expenses.
- <sup>48</sup> The author requested an explanation in a letter sent to Saint Clair County on October 29, 2007, but has not yet received a response.
- <sup>49</sup> There is no correlation between the populations of class three counties and their percentage of unincorporated versus incorporated areas, so that is not a factor in the correlation between lower county populations and higher per-capita spending.
- <sup>50</sup> *Official Manual, State of Missouri*, 2005–2006 edition. Saint Charles also has a different total in the census documents than my own research indicates, but it is a difference of only one and could well be attributable to recent changes in Saint Charles, rather than to an error in the census data.
- <sup>51</sup> There are also 64 separate police departments, the second-highest total, second only to Cook County, Ill.
- <sup>52</sup> Or \$1,060 per person, if one doesn’t weight the average by the larger population of Webster Groves; even so, this is still significantly less than ward cities.
- <sup>53</sup> 2002 Census of Governments, U.S. Department of Commerce, Census Bureau.
- <sup>54</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>55</sup> “Metropolitan Organization: The Saint Louis Case,” ACIR, M-158, 1988, p. 169.
- <sup>56</sup> Ibid, p. 168.
- <sup>57</sup> The Tax Foundation’s 2008 Tax Freedom Day report calculates that Missouri ranks 36th among the states in total tax burden.
- <sup>58</sup> Such a merger would not necessarily involve the merger of all eight county offices of the city of Saint Louis. In particular, the four offices having to do with the circuit court might have to be kept separate, unless the circuits were merged as well.



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