Segregation and Uneven Development in Greater St. Louis, St. Louis County, and the Ferguson-Florissant School District

Expert Report submitted on behalf of plaintiffs in *Missouri State Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Redditt Hudson, F. Willis Johnson, and Doris Bailey v. Ferguson-Florissant School District and St. Louis County Board of Election Commissioners*, United States District Court for the Eastern District of Missouri, Civ. No. 14-2077

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Professional Background

I am a Professor of History and Public Policy at the University of Iowa. I received a PhD from the University of Wisconsin in 1990. My research focusses on the history of public policy and political economy in the United States since 1920. I am the author of four books: *New Deals: Business, Labor and Politics, 1920-1935* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), *Dead on Arrival: The Politics of Health in Twentieth Century America* (Princeton University Press, 2003), *Mapping Decline: St. Louis and the Fate of the American City* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), and *Growing Apart: A Political History of American Inequality* (Institute for Policy Studies, 2013). I am a research associate in the social science group at the University of Iowa's Public Policy Center, and a senior research consultant at the Iowa Policy Project, a state-level think tank for which I have written a number of reports on health coverage, economic development, and wages and working conditions. I am an active member of the Organization of American Historians, the American Historical Association, the Urban History Association, and the Social Science History Association.

My extensive and ongoing research on the history, politics, and demographics of Greater St. Louis includes quantitative and spatial analysis of both historical and contemporary data, archival research in a wide array of political, social, and administrative collections, and an exhaustive reading of the relevant secondary literature. This work has yielded my 2008 monograph (*Mapping Decline*), three substantive law review articles (on local economic development policies, local segregation, and local political fragmentation), and over 50 invited, academic, or local presentations. My work on St. Louis has been featured in national news outlets, including *The New York Times, Business Week, Time, The Christian Science Monitor, Reuters, The Washington Post, The Los Angeles Times*, and *National Public Radio (All Things Considered).* A copy of my curriculum vitae is attached; I am being compensated at a rate of $150/hour for my expertise in this case, which is my usual rate of compensation for such work.

Introduction

Senate Factor Five of the Voting Rights Act calls our attention to "the extent to which members of the minority group bear the effects of discrimination in such areas as education, employment, and health which hinder their ability to participate effectively in the political process." In this respect, it is important to document the historical and contemporary dimensions of racial discrimination and segregation in Greater St. Louis, focusing on the inner suburbs of north St. Louis County, and particularly on the footprint of the Ferguson-Florissant School District.[1] The former captures the broader regional impact of private actions and public policies that have segregated the metropolitan population—in meticulous and intentional ways—by race.[2] The latter captures the local reflection of that segregation and its implications for political participation. And both capture the consequences—in economic and educational outcomes and opportunities—that flow from sustained patterns of local segregation.

These patterns of segregation, and their consequences, are important. A quick snapshot of these consequences—showing higher rates of poverty, public assistance, and unemployment, and lower rates of educational attainment in the parts of the Ferguson-Florissant School District ("FFSD") and the metro area with concentrated African-American populations—is provided in **Table 1** below, and in **Maps 1a-g, attached as Exhibit A**.

Here I have tried to capture the tiered pattern of segregation that drives much of this story, suggesting both the place of the Ferguson-Florissant School District in the larger metropolitan patterns, and the way in which those larger patterns are replicated *within* the school district itself. In **Table 1**, I provide a summary of key metrics for the Greater St. Louis metropolitan area[3] ("metro"), for the Ferguson-Florissant School District ("FFSD"), and for the majority-black census block groups within the school district ("FFSD [b]"). For each of these areas (summarized in the accompanying reference map) data is collected and aggregated for census block groups, the smallest workable geographic unit of analysis. The metrics in the table encompass common elements of

[1] The material presented here—in the narrative and in the accompanying maps—draws on my 2008 study, *Mapping Decline: St. Louis and the Fate of the American City* (University of Pennsylvania Press) and on continuing and additional research on the social conditions and demographic trends of Greater St. Louis. Where the analysis draws directly on *Mapping Decline*, I refer to relevant pages rather than reproduce the background documentation found there. Where the analysis incorporates new material, I have included parenthetic references to relevant sources, all of which are listed in the "references" appendix.

[2] Greater St. Louis remains largely biracial: as of 2013, 93.5 percent of respondents in St. Louis County identified themselves as single-race African-American (23.2 percent) or white (70.3 percent); 95.4 percent of respondents in Ferguson and Florissant identified themselves as single-race African-American (37.9 percent) or white (57.5 percent) (American Community Survey, 2013). For this reason, I focus here on discrimination faced by African Americans and disparities between whites and African Americans.

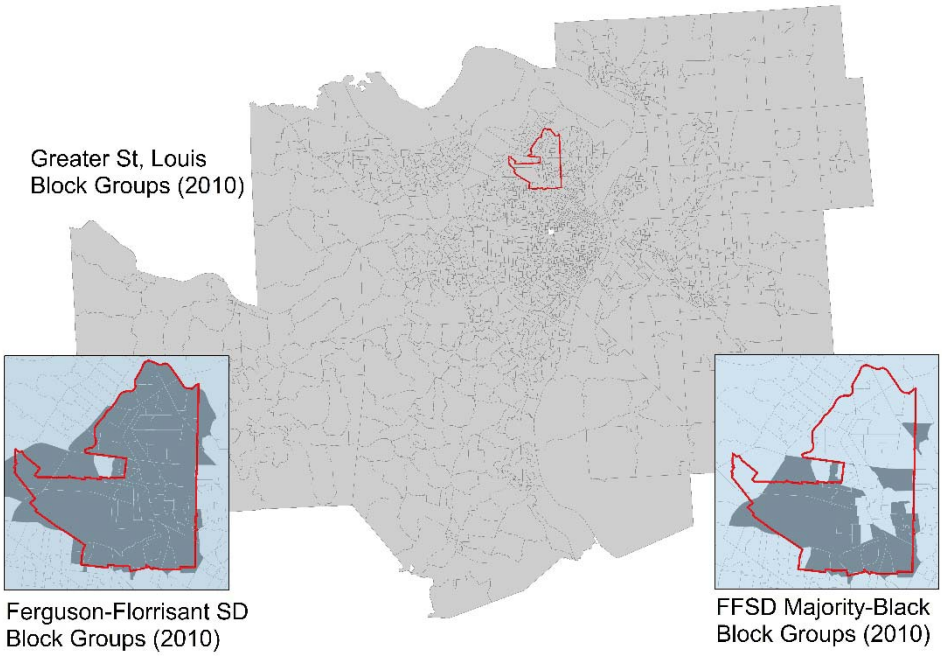
[3] "St. Louis metropolitan area" or "Greater St. Louis" refers to the census-defined St. Louis, MO-IL metropolitan statistical area (MSA), which consists of the independent City of St. Louis, seven counties in Missouri (Franklin, Jefferson, Lincoln, St. Charles, St. Louis, Warren, and Washington); and eight counties in Illinois (Bond, Calhoun, Clinton, Jersey, Macoupin, Madison, St. Clair).

neighborhood distress (Sampson 1997; Harding 2007), including rates of racial segregation, poverty, unemployment.

Table 1. Key Metrics by Block Group

metric	metro	FFSD	FFSD [b]
black population	15.7%	44.0%	67.1%
individual poverty rate	11.9%	14.0%	18.0%
family poverty rate	8.5%	11.3%	15.4%
percent on public assistance	1.9%	3.4%	5.3%
unemployment rate	8.2%	12.2%	17.0%
labor force participation rate	80.6%	81.9%	78.3%
percent with BA or higher	30.3%	20.1%	15.9%

The central pattern is not hard to discern: on each metric of socio-economic deprivation, the rate for the school district is worse than that for the larger metro area, and the rate for the majority-black block groups is worse than that for the entire school district. Educational attainment and labor force participation fall as you move from metro to district to the majority-black block groups within the district. Individual and family poverty rates and the unemployment rate run much higher in the school district and, in the majority-black area of the district, are nearly double the metro rate. The rates of female-headed households and reliance on public assistance in the majority-black areas are more than double the metro averages. In sum, the majority-black areas of the school district suffer from a host of socioeconomic ills (including rates of poverty, unemployment, and reliance on public assistance) that are approximately double the rates of the surrounding metro area.



Maps 1a-g summarize a similar range of metrics geographically. **Map 1a** captures patterns of racial occupancy in the metro region and (inset) in the school district itself. Within the school district, black populations are concentrated primarily in the southern tier. **Maps 1b-c** show the ways in which these patterns of segregation—in which, at the metro level, black occupancy is concentrated in North St. Louis and North County, and, within the school district, is concentrated within the southern tier—are echoed in rates of unemployment and female-headed households. **Maps 1d-g** do the same for the four indices used by the Department of Housing and Urban Development when assessing neighborhoods: poverty (a composite measure of family poverty and public assistance rates), labor market engagement (a composite measure of employment, labor force participation, and educational attainment), school proficiency (based on elementary reading and math scores), and health hazards (a summary measure of local exposure to harmful toxins). On each of these metrics, the geography of neighborhood distress is similar: on a metropolitan scale, it is starkest in the predominantly black areas in North St. Louis and North County; locally within the Ferguson-Florissant School District, these socioeconomic ills are starkest in the predominantly black southern tier.

This report documents the origins and the consequences of these local patterns of segregation and inequality. It does so first (Part I) by examining patterns of segregation and their historical development across the Greater St. Louis metropolitan area—focusing on the private and public policies which invented and created and sustained those patterns. The elements of this story are familiar: American cities suffered through an extended era of decline in the latter half of the twentieth century. The multi-faceted urban crisis featured sustained losses in the local industrial and employment base,

dramatic racial transition and depopulation, and a host of consequential economic and social challenges—including a collapsing tax base, a growing share of vacant or abandoned housing, rapid disinvestment, and spatially-concentrated threats to public safety and public health. By the 1970s, it became increasingly common to refer to the "bombed out" appearance of devastated inner cities. This allusion held for cartographic snapshots of urban poverty, racial segregation, fiscal capacity, crime, and private investment—all of which identified a growing statistical crater, its epicenter in a city's oldest residential wards, its edges, by century's end, circumscribing not only most of the city but many of its inner-ring suburbs as well.

All of this was particularly severe in Greater St. Louis. Midwestern "rustbelt" cities sat at the leading edge of urban decline, bearing the brunt of both demobilization after World War II and the deindustrialization of later years. By the 1970s, St. Louis was an exemplar of the nation's unfolding urban crisis: "By almost any objective or subjective standard," the *New York Times* reported in the late 1970s, "St. Louis is still the premier example of urban abandonment in America." Patterns of racial conflict and racial segregation were also especially pronounced in St. Louis. The national pattern of white flight and inner city decay, as one observer noted, could be found in St. Louis "in somewhat purer and less ambiguous form than almost anywhere else." St. Louis retained (decade after decade) its dubious distinction as one of the nation's most segregated metropolitan areas: of the top 100 metros by population, St. Louis ranked 12th on the "dissimilarity" index of segregation in 1980, 10th in 1990, 11th in 2000, and 11th in 2010[4] (Logan et al. 2014). And, for all these reasons, St. Louis was also the setting for a string of landmark civil rights litigation including *Shelley v. Kraemer* (the 1948 Supreme Court decision that outlawed state enforcement of restrictive deed covenants), *Jones v. Mayer* (the 1968 case that prohibited private discrimination in real estate transactions), and *Black Jack v. United States* (1972, one of the first "exclusionary zoning" cases).

Part II re-centers that history on the footprint of the Ferguson-Florissant School District—highlighting the ways in which those underlying patterns of segregation spilled into the inner suburbs of North County.[5] In this sense, the private and public policies which shaped the urban crisis in Greater St. Louis, in the inner suburbs of north St. Louis County, and in Ferguson-Florissant, both entrenched patterns of residential segregation and disrupted them. Over the middle years of the twentieth century, these inner suburbs employed the same tactics—including formal legal restrictions, systematic discrimination

[4] The dissimilarity index measures the degree to which two groups are evenly distributed (by census tract) in a given setting. In this measure, "evenness" is calibrated to the racial distribution in the whole city. The dissimilarity index (values ranging from 0 to 100) is the percentage of one group who would have to move to achieve an even residential pattern in which each census tract replicates the city-wide distribution. Segregation is considered high when the dissimilarity index is over 60.

[5] Throughout this report, I refer to St. Louis County, the subset of municipalities that make up "North County" and to the metropolitan area's "inner suburbs." These latter are overlapping spatial categories. "North County" refers to all of St. Louis County north of Page Avenue, including 47 municipalities roughly centered on St. Louis Airport. The "inner suburbs" refer to the first ring of suburban development in the County, including the North County municipalities immediately west of the City but east of the I-170 inner belt highway, as well as first-ring suburbs in central and south St. Louis County.

in private realty, and exclusionary zoning—as their neighbors. Over time, however, those tactics failed. Both disinvestment in north St. Louis (and with it the failure of local public goods like schools) and the dislocation caused by urban renewal (shouldered overwhelmingly by African Americans) in the City and in St. Louis County created immense pressures on the older, relatively affordable housing stock in the inner suburbs. The net result, in settings such as Ferguson-Florissant, was a sustained, yet fluid and transitional, pattern of racial segregation and local inequality.

The analysis is illustrated with maps of both Greater St. Louis and of conditions and patterns in north St. Louis County (surrounding Ferguson-Florissant). Each map can be found on the page following the first reference to it in the text, or in Exhibits A-H. The maps examining historical causes reach back into the early and middle years of the twentieth century. The maps examining the consequences either run in chronological series or draw on the most recent available data. When tracing broader patterns or documenting the relative experience of north St. Louis, the maps encompass the larger metropolitan area. And, when local patterns or detail are important, the maps focus more closely on the City's residential northside and its north suburbs. Where relevant, the footprint of the Ferguson-Florissant School District is indicated on the map.

Part 1: Patterns of Segregation in Greater St. Louis

The conditions of north St. Louis and its inner suburbs are deeply rooted in a history of private racism, public policy, and economic decline. Understanding this history is important for three reasons: First, it assigns causal weight and responsibility to the forces (and actors) which contributed to both segregation and to the ongoing urban crisis. Second, such historical forces cast a long and dismal shadow: even if the explicitly racial policies and practices that created local segregation are no longer in place, their impact can still be seen in the built environment, in persistent racial gaps in wealth and income and educational attainment, and in the political legacy of sustained discrimination and disadvantage. Third, such an understanding of causes and consequences helps to puncture the common (but mistaken) assumption that the persistence of concentrated African-American poverty in the post-civil rights era can be attributed to the poor themselves.

The net impact of systematic segregation and the disadvantages it has sustained, is dramatic. Consider the ratio, the relative difference, between black and white outcomes on key measures of economic and social and political opportunity. In Greater St. Louis, African Americans earn barely half of white incomes; they are 3.3 times more likely than whites to fall into poverty, 2.2 times more likely to lack health insurance coverage, and 3.6 times as likely to die as infants (East-West Gateway 2014). While educational attainment has grown steadily for all since the 1960s, so too has the gap between black and white (Washington University 2014). On each of the indices for local poverty, school proficiency, and labor market engagement used by the Department of Housing and Urban Development, African Americans in St. Louis trail the region's white population by at least 30 percentage points (One St. Louis 2013). And the disparity in the

homeownership rate, at 75 percent for whites and only 42 percent for blacks, is much wider in St. Louis than it is nationally (Washington University 2014).

1. Racial Restrictions on Property

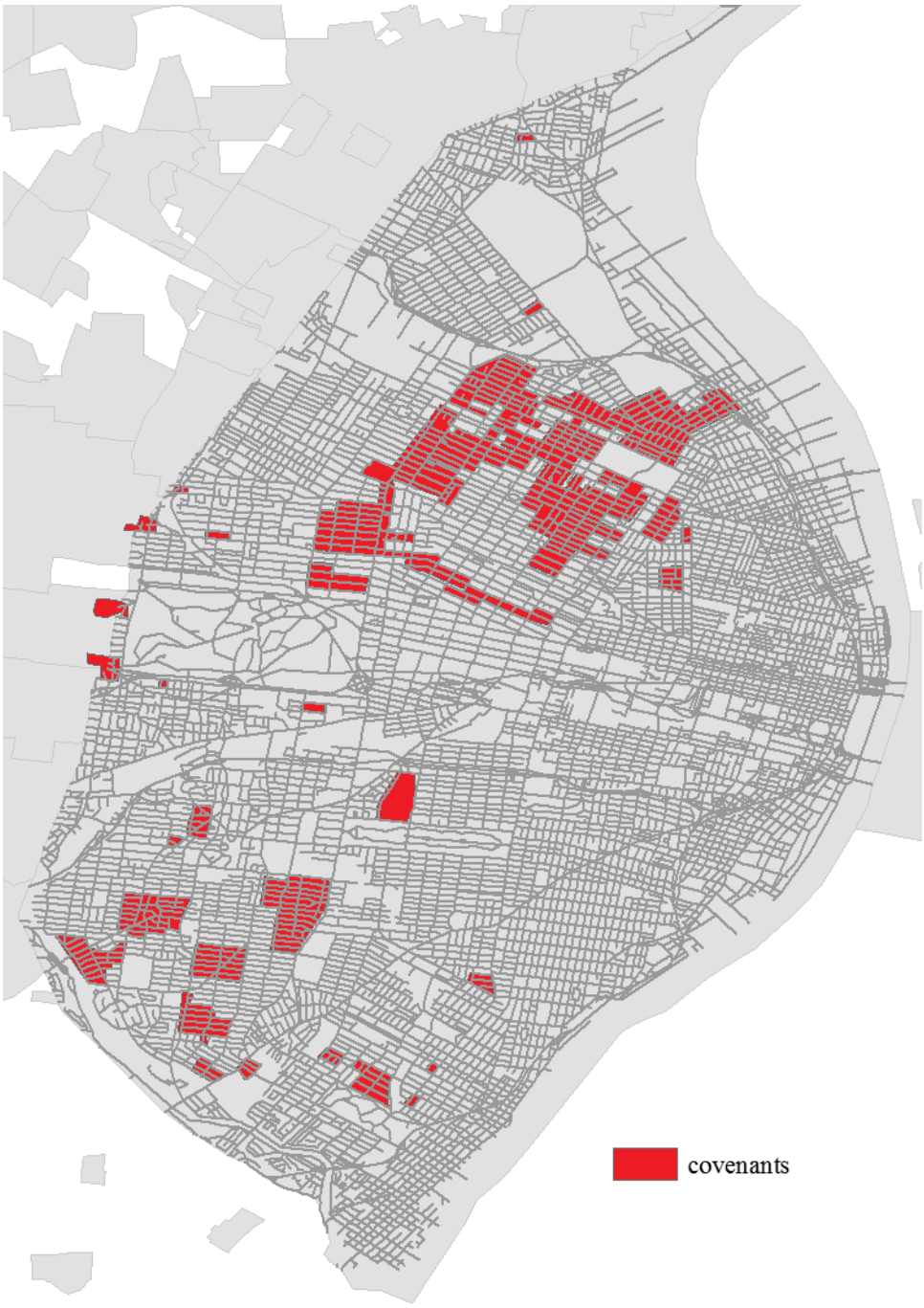
The segregation of African Americans on St. Louis's northside was accomplished and enforced by private and public strategies of exclusion which overlapped and reinforced one another. At the center of this story was the local realty industry, which lobbied for racial zoning in the World War I era; pursued and enforced race-restrictive deed covenants in the middle years of the century; pioneered the practice of residential security rating which governed both private mortgages and public mortgage guarantees; and—as a central precept of industry practice—actively discouraged desegregation of the private housing market.

The first such effort was blunt. At a time when cities were first exploring the politics and legality of zoning, St. Louis was one of a handful of cities to propose formalizing racial segregation. The St. Louis law (1916) and others like it were subject to immediate political challenge—both on "equal protection" grounds and as an unwarranted intrusion of the local police power onto private property rights. The ordinance sat in legal limbo for about a year until it was struck down when the Supreme Court ruled against a similar Louisville law in *Buchanan v. Warley*, 245 U.S. 60 (1917) (Gordon 2008, 69-71).

In the wake of *Buchanan*, local interests moved to segregate by other means. The solution was a combination of private realty practices and race-restrictive deed covenants. The boilerplate covenant drafted by the St. Louis Real Estate Exchange included "a restriction against selling, conveying, leasing, or renting to a negro or negroes, or the delivery of possession, to or permitting to be occupied by a negro or negroes of said property." Developers routinely imposed covenants on new subdivisions (observers estimated that 80 percent of new suburban housing that sprawled west into St. Louis County contained such agreements), and homeowners associations (often at the prodding of realtors) cobbled them together in established neighborhoods. By the 1940s, almost 380 covenants covered large swaths of the City's residential property base. Aside from a few development-specific covenants to the south, St. Louis's covenants formed a ragged quadrangle at the western boundary of the City's traditionally African-American wards **(Map 2)**. These were clearly aimed—as both realtors[6] and signatories understood

[6] Realtors also sustained the color line in other ways. After losing the fight for segregation by zoning in 1916, St. Louis realtors moved to accomplish the same ends by regulating real estate transactions. In 1923, the St. Louis Real Estate Exchange adopted, by referendum of its members, three "unrestricted zones" corresponding roughly to the boundaries of the City's historic black neighborhoods and to the spread of restrictive covenants on their western borders. These zones rounded out—as a professional code of conduct—what the legal mechanism of the restrictive covenant could only accomplish by patchwork. Realtors selling to African-American buyers outside the unrestricted zone stood to lose their licenses. As of 1930, the City Plan Commission estimated that just over 80 percent of City's African-American population lived within the boundaries of the "Negro" districts established by the Exchange (Gordon 2008, 85-86). In turn, the professional code of the National Association of Real Estate Boards (NAREB), first adopted in 1924, specified that "a Realtor should never be instrumental in introducing into a neighborhood a character of property or occupancy, members of any race or nationality, or any individuals whose

Map 2: **Restrictive Covenants, St. Louis, 1945.** Adapted from Charles Johnson and Herbert Lang, *People v. Property: Restrictive Race Covenants in Housing* (Nashville, 1947), 24, 60.



them—at stemming the "contagion" of black residency or to block the "colonization" of white neighborhoods "at the point of threatened invasion." The end result was a frantic, if also fragile, boundary: the Mississippi to the east, the commercial core of downtown to the south, and restrictive covenants to the west and north (Gordon 2008, 78).

Into the 1940s, the courts routinely held that—like all private contracts—such deed covenants were legal and enforceable. Signatories, and their successors in ownership, were bound by the covenant for its duration and liable for civil prosecution if they violated its terms. In the middle 1940s, a flurry of challenges to restrictive agreements culminated in the St. Louis case that would ultimately end up in the Supreme Court: *Shelley v. Kraemer*, 334 U.S. 1 (1948). While the Missouri courts had sustained the agreement in question, the Supreme Court disagreed and decided in 1948 that "judicial enforcement by state courts of such covenants is inhibited by the equal protection clause." In the wake of the decision, private parties were free to draft such agreements but could not turn to the courts for their enforcement (Gordon 2008, 81-83).

After *Shelley*, the Real Estate Exchange quickly turned to the day-to-day practice of real estate to sustain segregation and "approved a recommendation of the Committee on the Protection of Property that no realtor shall sell to Negroes, or finance any transaction involving the purchase of a Negro of any property north of Easton Avenue and West of Marcus Avenue, nor elsewhere outside of the established unrestricted districts" (Gordon 2008, 84). This included an explicitly split market, in which housing for African Americans was advertised, marketed, leased, and sold by parallel but separate institutions.[7] Confronted by black clients, St. Louis realtors routinely denied that apartments or houses were available, often pulling them off the market in response to expression of interest or offers to buy. "We never sell to colored," boasted one realtor in 1969. "When they ask for a specific house, we tell them there is already a contract on that house"—adding that office staff were routinely reminded that "a house is not to be shown to colored." Regardless of their stated preferences or price range, black clients were shown houses in transitional neighborhoods in inner-ring suburbs while white

presence will clearly be detrimental to property values in that neighborhood." The St. Louis Real Estate Exchange incorporated identical language in its own code of ethics. While both the local and national codes eventually dropped the explicit racial reference, realtors clearly continued to base home values as much on the class or racial homogeneity of the neighborhood as on the physical structure (Gordon 2008, 83-84).

[7] St. Louis newspapers listed rental and resale properties available to African Americans under a separate "for colored" heading into the late 1950s. African-American realtors tracking these advertisements noted both dramatic fluctuations in rental and housing stock and the paucity of options for black renters and buyers. The number of ads for rental property stood at nearly 1,500 in late 1941, of which fewer than 100 were listed "for colored." This shrank dramatically as the war boom hit St. Louis: only 300 properties were listed in mid-1942, shrinking to 10 or 20 in the late war and early postwar years—virtually none of which were available to African Americans. As the housing stock recovered, the split market remained intact: of nearly 800 rentals listed in 1956, only 175 were available to blacks. The pattern for property sales was even starker. The ratio of "for colored" options to the larger housing market was 10 of 1,600 in 1940; 80 of 2,200 in 1945; 250 of 3,700 in 1950; and 250 of 4,400 in 1955. Factoring in the uneven availability of federal mortgage insurance, the St. Louis Urban League estimated that, of the roughly 70,000 housing units built in the City and St. Louis County between 1947 and 1952, fewer than 35 were available to African Americans (Gordon 2008, 86).

clients were warned away from the same neighborhoods. And even in recent years, prospective buyers and fair housing advocates have routinely charged local realtors with steering African Americans to homes in certain limited geographic areas (Gordon 2008, 86-87).

All of this had a lasting and decisive impact on residential patterns and opportunities. During the peak years of African-American migration to the area, all but a handful of the City's neighborhoods were off limits. "Housing is desperately short-handed in St. Louis as it is in most other large cities," the St. Louis Urban League noted in the wake of World War II, "but the lack of housing facilities for Negroes in St. Louis is critical for peculiar reasons. Approximately 97% of the Negro population in St. Louis lives at the geographical heart of the city, surrounded on the east by commerce and business, and on the south, west, and north by neighborhood covenant agreements. There are no outlets to the open county for any kind of expansion. There is a complete circle of restriction" (Gordon 2008, 78).

Such restrictions were damaging while they were effective: they limited residential options and put tremendous stress on the limited housing stock which was "open" to African-American occupancy. And they were damaging when they failed: New development not only created new restrictions and exclusions on the suburban fringe but also hastened racial succession and conflict in the blocks and neighborhoods opened up by white flight. The collapse of a restrictive agreement (which often by its very presence nurtured an "expectation of sudden and rapid racial transition") was like the breaking of a dam. The resulting damage—pent-up demand, rapid property turnover, overcrowding—was swift and severe (Gordon 2008, 73).

2. Public Policy and Racial Restrictions

The importance of these agreements and practices should not be underestimated—both for their impact on residential patterns in Greater St. Louis and for the ways in which they lived on in other forms of public policy. The practices and assumptions of private realtors distorted not only the market for housing but also local and federal public policies that subsidized and regulated that market. Of these policies, three deserve closer attention: federal insurance of private mortgages, local zoning of land use, and combined federal-local efforts at urban redevelopment. These public policies had the effect—and the intent—of establishing and reinforcing discriminatory patterns that constrained residential options for blacks and contributed to segregation in the metro area.

i) Federal Housing and Mortgage Policies

In the 1930s, the new Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) and Federal Housing Administration (FHA) established the basic framework (low down payment, long-term amortization) for modern home ownership by offering federal insurance on qualifying mortgages. In the FHA's first five years it backed the financing of nearly one-quarter of all non-farm home sales. This swelled during the war to nearly one-half of all sales, and then settled in at about 20 percent through the 1950s and early 1960s. The FHA wedded

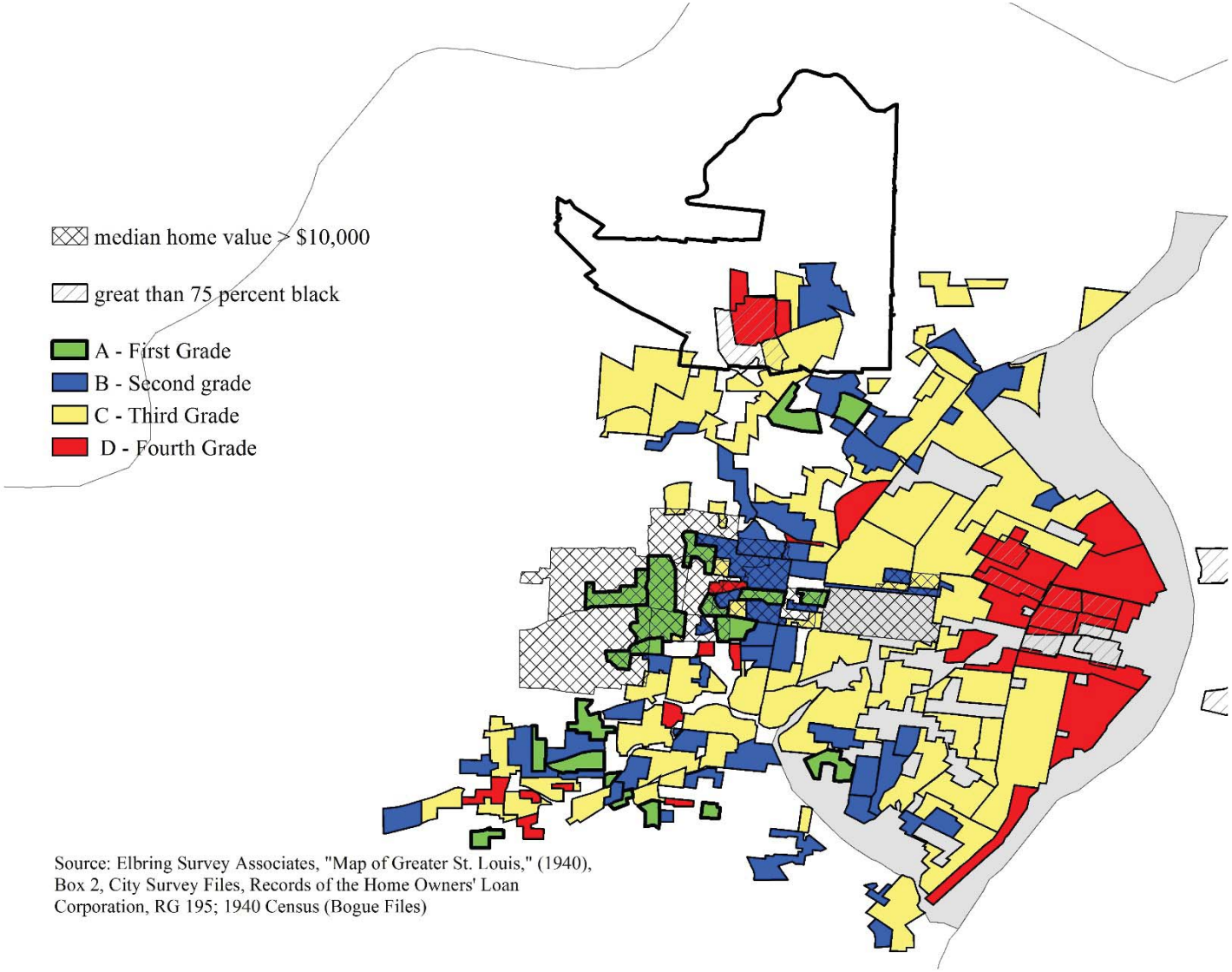
its mortgage guarantee programs to an elaborate system of rating borrowers, properties, and neighborhoods. New suburban developments, by the FHA's reckoning, were vastly preferable to the "crowded neighborhoods" and "older properties" found in central cities. The FHA viewed racially or economically heterogeneous neighborhoods as inherently risky and unattractive, until 1950 holding simply that "if a neighborhood is to retain stability, it is necessary that it be occupied by the same racial and social classes." (Gordon 2008, 88-89).

In order to rate local properties and neighborhoods, the FHA/HOLC turned to the architects of racial zoning and restrictive deed covenants, local realtors and lenders, and echoed their assumption that neighborhoods "invaded" or "infiltrated" by African Americans had lost all value.[8] At the core of the FHA rating system, parroting the same juxtaposition of "nuisances" found in many St. Louis deed covenants, was the prohibition of "undesirable buildings such as stables, pig pens, temporary dwellings," and the "*prohibition of the occupancy of properties except by the race for which they are intended*" (italics added). The FHA's guidelines were enshrined on a series of "residential security maps" **(see Map 3)** that documented the insidious "spread" of the black population and carved the City into risk-rated neighborhoods[9] (Gordon 2008, 89-91). In the demographic and legal tumult of the late 1940s, FHA policies changed little.

[8] The FHA's willingness to succor segregation was captured in its underwriting manuals, which echoed the language of similar guides maintained by real estate boards and lenders. This included explicit support of restrictive deed agreements. "Restrictive covenants should strengthen and supplement zoning ordinances," the 1938 underwriting manual put it; "restrictions should be recorded with the plat [the official deed record], or imposed as a blanket encumbrance against all lots in the subdivision, and should run for a period of at least twenty-five to thirty years." Foremost among its "risk rating instructions" for appraisers, the manual noted that: "Deed restrictions are apt to prove more effective than a zoning ordinance in providing protection from adverse influences. Where the same deed restrictions apply over a broad area and where these restrictions relate to types of structures, use to which improvements may be put, and racial occupancy, a favorable condition is apt to exist. Where adjacent lots or blocks possess altogether different restrictions, especially for type and use of structure and racial occupancy, the effect of such restrictions is minimized and adequate protection cannot be considered to be present . . . . [I]t must be realized that deed restrictions, to be effective, must be enforced."

[9] The HOLC used a four-color code: A areas (green) were designated "best," B (blue) areas were "still desirable," C (yellow) areas were "definitely declining," and D (red) areas were "hazardous." While city surveys and area descriptions took note of zoning and the age of housing stock, their primary concern was racial occupancy. The standard local area survey form prefaced its narrative description with required entries for local population, the "class and occupation" of residents, the percentage of foreign born and Negro residents, and the degree of "shifting or infiltration." The most commonly noted unfavorable factors in C areas were "*expiring restrictions* [deed covenants] or lack of them" and "infiltration of a lower grade population." D areas were almost invariably marked by "infiltration" or the presence of a "colored settlement" or "Negro colony"—and the summary judgment that "the only hope is for the demolition of these buildings and transition of the area into a business district." African Americans did not, in the logic of the HOLC, live in residential areas; they invaded them and compromised them. In St. Louis, ratings closely followed the contours of the black community. For its part, the local FHA office admitted to following these ratings—including the blanket rule that "below Grand Avenue meant no insurance"—at least until 1962. As late as 1968, the "Valuation Instructions for Appraisers" used in the St. Louis FHA office warned against "change in occupancy" or in the "income or social characteristics of the occupants other than those well established in the neighborhood" (Gordon, 92-93).

Map 3: Home Owners' Loan Corporation/FHA Security Ratings, 1940. Source: National Archives, Records of HOLC.



Its 1947 Underwriting Manual removed most direct racial references but still recommended restrictive deed covenants as the best way of "meeting the needs of a particular development and in promoting maximum possible protection." While the FHA officially agreed to drop its support of race-restrictive covenants after *Shelley*, it privately assured lenders and developers that there would be no real change in policy (Gordon 2008, 91).

FHA policies clearly contributed to the flight and sprawl that left the City—and its African-American residents—behind. As of 1940, the HOLC estimated that its subsidies were enjoyed by about one of every six residential properties in St. Louis County but fewer than one of every ten in the City. "As matters now stand," one observer noted in 1942, "the FHA practically refuses to insure any mortgage loans throughout the City of St. Louis, while insuring a steady stream of speculative building development in suburban areas." Between 1934 and 1960, the FHA insured 62,772 mortgages in St. Louis County (valued at just under $560 million) and just 12,166 in the City (just under $95 million). A survey of over 400,000 FHA mortgages in Greater St. Louis between 1962 and 1967 found that only 3.3 percent went to African Americans—a number that dropped to less than 1 percent (only 56 units) in St. Louis County. "A separate and unequal housing market exists," the Commission on Civil Rights concluded in 1970, adding sadly that federal programs "have had the effect of perpetuating and promoting it" (Gordon 2008, 96).

ii) Exclusionary Zoning

Patterns of racial segregation were also sustained by zoning. And, where local governance is fragmented (the St. Louis Metro region includes over 260 incorporated municipalities; almost 100 in St. Louis County alone), there is an exaggerated incentive and opportunity to use property zoning to sort and segregate local populations. Outside the central city, the dominant practice (emerging in the middle years of the twentieth century) was "exclusionary zoning": land-use controls that ensured a pattern of predominantly low-density single-family settlement through a combination of outright prohibitions (heavy industry, manufactured housing), effective prohibitions (no land zoned for multifamily housing), and area or density standards (size, setbacks, and building size). Older cities, by contrast, did not have the power to zone until long after local land use had been decided by private restrictions and market forces. Unable to compete with the suburbs for high-end residential development, central cities often ran in the other direction—designating large areas for commercial or industrial use and often "clearing" low-return residential tracts as part of the bargain (Gordon 2008, 112).

From a metropolitan perspective, the results have not been pretty. Exclusive and fragmented zoning in the suburbs erased any semblance of residential diversity, sorting the white middle class into income-specific single-family enclaves on the periphery and leaving African Americans, the elderly, and the poor to filter into older and higher-density housing stock in the central city and inner suburbs. Over time, exclusionary zoning also fueled sprawl as those anxious to leave the City, but priced out of established suburban housing markets, leapfrogged to new subdivisions in unincorporated areas.

Over the course of the twentieth century, the power to zone was used in different ways by different fragments of Greater St. Louis. In the City, zoning tended to describe patterns of land-use rather than to shape them: Residential development was relatively dense and substantial areas were set aside for commercial and industrial use. By contrast, land use in suburban St. Louis County reflected the preference of midcentury developers for large-lot single-family subdivisions, with only minimal allowance for commercial, industrial, or higher-density residential development (Gordon 2008, 112-13).

In the City of St. Louis, early zoning efforts were organized around the conviction that "blight" was caused by the City's inability to protect residential properties from the incursion of industry, commerce, and substandard housing. Early zone plans were both a lament for the City's "former good residential districts" and an attempt to shore up residential property values. The goal, stated quite explicitly, was to stem the spread of blight "where values have depreciated, [and] homes are either vacant or occupied by colored people or boarding houses" (Gordon 2008, 120). The racial premises of zoning emerged most clearly in areas of established black occupancy. The 1918 ordinance zoned downtown "industrial" and placed most of the northside under the elastic "second residence" designation. In 1926, the boundaries of the downtown industrial district were widened and almost all of the near northside was placed under the new "multiple family" classification. "A decade ago the Zoning Commission left not a single block or neighborhood zoned as residential in the area from Delmar to Labadie and from Grand to Taylor and Core," the St. Louis Urban League noted in the late 1930s, "this wide Negro section was zoned as multiple dwelling, commercial, and industrial districts." Barred by private restrictions from settling elsewhere, the black middle class pressed for some protection of single-family residences in north St. Louis. What emerged instead was a pattern of "expulsive zoning," which underzoned black neighborhoods and denied them protection from commercial or industrial development. In the longer term, it hardened the view that black occupancy was a nonconforming blight on the central city and paved the way for its displacement under urban renewal (Gordon 2008, 122-25).

In St. Louis County, by contrast, zoning proceeded alongside development and was instrumental in shaping patterns of residential land use. Zoning authority rested in the hands of individual municipal governments (numbering 35 in 1940 and 95 by 1960) and the county. Each of these governments had every incentive to maximize tax revenues, stabilize property values, and minimize demands on local government—a combination best accomplished by creating large-lot single-family enclaves. And none of these governments had any incentive to think about broader metropolitan goals or needs regarding commercial development, affordable housing, or regional infrastructure. Fragmented zoning, in this respect, came most directly at the expense of the City of St. Louis, which shouldered many of the costs of urban development even as the suburbs poached its population, retail trade, and employment base (Gordon 2008, 129-31). Development of St. Louis County proceeded west from its border with St. Louis in raggedly concentric rings of subdivision, incorporation, and local zoning. County growth and development before 1945 was largely confined to a few established municipalities and inner suburbs, and a scattering of estates in the central county. As the pace of subdivision picked up in the 1940s and 1950s, much of the building still preceded

incorporation. Once developed, these areas often looked to municipal incorporation as a means of maintaining community standards, perpetuating the spirit of private deed restrictions, and forestalling annexation by neighbors (Gordon 2008, 131).

Suburban zoning ordinances followed a logic of systematic exclusion. These strategies included stark restrictions on multifamily housing—indeed, the rule in the first wave of zoning beyond the inner-ring was to make no allowance for alternatives to detached single-family homes **(Map 4; attached as Exhibit B)**. Many municipalities made no provision for multifamily dwelling at all; those that did typically created districts representing a tiny fraction (1 or 2 percent) of zoned land. Of the nearly 7,000 residential building permits issued in St. Louis County the first three years after World War II, only 46 (two-thirds of 1 percent) were for duplexes, and none were for denser residential development. By 1960, the County had just over 200,000 dwelling units, of which barely 7 percent were in multifamily units (almost all of which were duplexes). Into the 1980s, most of the suburban multifamily housing stock was concentrated in smaller units in the inner-ring suburbs (Gordon 2008, 137-41).

Residential districts, in turn, were shaped by density controls, including minimum lot sizes and yard or frontage requirements. Between 1930 and 1940, 274 subdivisions (representing just under 12,000 building lots) were platted in St. Louis County: Less than 10 percent of these lots were smaller than 5,000 sq.ft.; just over three-quarters were between 5,000 sq.ft. and a half-acre (roughly 20,000 sq.ft.); and the rest ranged from a half-acre to three acres. (Gordon 2008, 131). Across the County, the most pervasive priority of local zoning was the preservation of large-lot single-family districts. This equation of zoning with the protection of existing subdivision patterns and restrictions was most pronounced in the wealthy central County suburbs **(Map 5; attached as Exhibit C)**.[10]

All of this was designed to sort the metropolis by income, by family status, and by race. Just as "tenement" was synonymous with "immigrant housing" in the Progressive Era city, so "apartment" was understood as "black housing" by the planners and residents of suburban St. Louis. This was the core logic behind the practice of realty in Greater St. Louis. And it was the core logic of the zoning ordinances that inherited and perpetuated those practices. Prospectuses for urban subdivisions typically lauded the "protection" afforded by restrictive covenants. Planning consultants marketed municipal zoning as means of extending those protections behind a veil of public policy. The deliberations of suburban city planning or zoning commissions, in turn, were invariably haunted by the specter of "the City"—a ghostly reminder of what might happen if residential density and racial occupancy were not controlled (Gordon 2008, 145-46).

[10] Richmond Heights crafted its 1941 ordinance with the "intention of maintaining said subdivision as an exclusive subdivision of single-family residences of substantial value." In Ladue, city planners allowed for single-family districts of less than an acre in 1959, but only with the assurance that property owners could use deed covenants to maintain the one-acre threshold. Defending its exclusive single-family ordinance in 1969, Calverton Park officials cited "a promise made to the original purchasers of land in Calverton Park that there would never be any commercial zoning in this Village" (Gordon 2008, 136-37).

An exception to this pattern, Kinloch in north central St. Louis County, underscored these patterns and the anxieties behind them. Before 1960, fully a third of the County's African-American population lived in Kinloch, whose population hovered around 6,000. A historically all-black community, Kinloch claimed few of the advantages enjoyed by its white suburban peers. It remained unincorporated and unzoned, and largely ignored by the County. It was almost surrounded by its neighbors, Berkeley and Ferguson, whose own zoning and planning history were largely animated by the desire to quarantine Kinloch and its residents. Most Berkeley and Ferguson streets dead-ended before they reached Kinloch, and, until 1968, Ferguson barricaded the through streets. Until it was sued by the Justice Department in 1971, Berkeley maintained its own school district, forcing Kinloch to cobble together a meager "separate but equal" alternative. Kinloch was one of the few targets of urban renewal in the County, and, after 1980, its population shrank dramatically—falling to 2,700 in 1990 and under 450 in 2000. Similar pockets of African-American settlement, including Elmwood Park, were quarantined by local zoning ordinances, which surrounded such (often unincorporated) parcels with industrial or commercial districts (Gordon 2008, 146).[11]

iii) Urban Redevelopment and Public Housing

The net effect of political fragmentation, real estate restrictions, and exclusionary zoning was the virtual devastation of north and central St. Louis. City planners began taking stock of these conditions (substandard housing, abandoned commercial property, aging infrastructure) as early as World War I, but all that really changed over the following decades were the terms—obsolescence, decadence, blight, ghettoization, decay—used to label them. The prescription, in St. Louis and elsewhere, was urban renewal—a tangled combination of federal money, state enabling laws, local initiative, quasi-public redevelopment corporations, and private investment (Gordon 2008, 153).

[11] The politics of race and zoning in Greater St. Louis were underscored in the late 1960s and early 1970s in Black Jack, an unincorporated county subdivision. In 1969, St. Mark's Methodist Church of Florissant and the United Methodist Ministry in St. Louis decided to cosponsor a federal Section 236 housing development and settled on a site adjacent to the Black Jack subdivision. The land was undeveloped and zoned multifamily by St. Louis County. The plans for the project sparked opposition from white residents, who pushed to incorporate the town of Black Jack, annex the site, and impose a single-family zone over everything. The racial logic and motivation of this ploy were transparent. The new corporate boundaries encompassed 24 census blocks and part of one other, the combined population of which was 98.8 percent white and .2 percent black. Opposition to the Park View Heights proposal was "repeatedly expressed in racial terms . . . by leaders of the incorporation movement, by individuals circulating petitions, and by [the] zoning commissioners themselves," and an appeals court later observed that "racial criticism of Park View Heights was made and cheered at public meetings." Invoking the unhappy history of large-scale public housing in St. Louis, opponents claimed the development would be "another Pruitt-Igoe." One zoning commissioner tried to deflect charges of local racism by pointing to the existence of a "nigger cemetery" nearby. The subsequent legal battle underscored the racial logic of zoning in the St. Louis suburbs. The court of appeals (reversing the trial court's decision in favor of Black Jack) concluded simply that such zoning was "but one more factor confining blacks to low-income housing in the center city, confirming the inexorable process whereby the St. Louis metropolitan area becomes one that has the racial shape of a donut, with the Negroes in the hole and with mostly Whites occupying the ring" (Gordon 2008, 147-50).

Between 1954 and 2000, the City of St. Louis blighted just over 100 urban renewal areas under Chapter 353, the Missouri Urban Redevelopment law. As of 1989, an investment of just under $2 billion had yielded 28 million square feet of commercial development and fewer than 7,000 residential units. **Map 6** (**attached as Exhibit D)** summarizes the major project areas, showing the year in which the area was first blighted. Chapter 99 areas, blighted under Missouri's Land Clearance Act, betray a similar pattern **(also Map 6)**. While overlapping with Chapter 353 areas in the central business district and West End, Chapter 99 focused more on redevelopment of major industrial areas—including the Mill Creek Valley, the north and south riverfront, and the inner suburbs such as Wellston. Chapter 99 also reached into the County, creating redevelopment areas in Wellston, University City, Kinloch, Webster Groves, and Elmwood Park. As of 2000, about 50 major redevelopment areas had been blighted under Chapter 99 (Gordon 2008, 164-67).

In this story, three important elements stand out: First, although the condition of the residential northside was often used to make the case for urban renewal, those neighborhoods received virtually none of the subsequent political attention, private investment, or public subsidies. A half century of urban redevelopment not only failed to stem the decline of central St. Louis but pointedly avoided the very neighborhoods in which that decline was most palpable (Gordon 2008, 186-87). Second, the projects actually pursued under these programs—stadiums, convention centers, hotels, medical complexes, shopping malls—actually made things worse in the struggling neighborhoods of the City and its inner suburbs.

And third, the relocation pressures created by urban renewal (which uprooted nearly 75,000 residents, most of them African-American, between 1950 and 1970), created new demands on both the northside and North County. Indeed, slum clearance and public housing actually deepened local patterns of racial segregation, and pressed displaced residents—one step ahead of the bulldozer—further west in the City and ultimately into North County (Gordon 2008, 194-200). Urban renewal often created, or re-created elsewhere, the very conditions it purported to fight. More than a decade into its urban renewal program, the City concluded glumly that "the gap actually has increased between the quantity of substandard housing that must be replaced (or rehabilitated) and the supply of new or renewed housing." By the late 1960s, the presence of large public housing projects was considered a harbinger of blight, and not a means of fighting it. And, as urban renewal attention drifted west, residents and planners alike attributed the decline of these neighborhoods to the migration of those cut loose by the first generation of urban renewal surrounding the central business district (Gordon 2008, 206).

On balance, federal housing and renewal policies did little to address the paucity of safe low-income housing in Greater St. Louis and actually *deepened* patterns of residential racial segregation. FHA mortgage insurance flowed primarily to the suburbs, subsidizing white flight. Federal public housing assistance flowed primarily to the inner city, cementing the region's spatial organization of race and poverty. Indeed, when the federal government—in the context of protracted litigation over school desegregation—set out to prove that the St. Louis Board of Education was defying the mandate of the 1954 *Brown* decision, both local officials and expert witnesses identified federal housing policies as

the prime culprit. "The segregated black community was left to fester," as a City official observed, "while developers aided by the federal government rushed out to build new white enclaves on the city's edge" (Gordon 2008, 98-99).

* * *

Most explicitly racial strategies of exclusion were erased in the flurry of civil rights law and legislation of the middle 1960s. City civil rights leaders won a basic public accommodations ordinance in 1961. Fair housing provisions began to crop up in various Housing and Urban Development programs. The City of St. Louis passed its own open housing law in 1966. And—twenty years after *Shelley*—another challenge to the exclusionary practices of St. Louis realtors and developers pressed the Supreme Court (*Jones v. Mayer*) to outlaw discrimination in private real estate transactions. But restrictive real estate practices persisted both as a continuation of the pattern set in the middle years of the century and as a response to the disinvestment and physical decay that followed in its wake (Gordon 2008, 102). And, in settings such as St. Louis, quite simply, the damage was done. New fair housing or mortgage disclosure laws made it easier to assess that damage but could do little to reverse it.[12] Indeed, new federal programs and policies often helped to tip transitional neighborhoods by encouraging high-risk (often predatory) lending, and by making it easier for remaining white property owners to flee (Gordon 2008, 103).

In turn, these patterns of racial discrimination and segregation played out against an inexorable story of deindustrialization and economic decline. Between 1970 and 1995, the share of the American workforce employed in manufacturing fell by one half (from 31 percent to 16 percent of all workers). These losses, especially in industries like auto, steel, and equipment manufacturing, also meant steady losses of secure, high-wage, career employment (Jaret 2003). Large Midwestern cities (Chicago, St. Louis, Detroit, and Milwaukee) bore the brunt of both demobilization after World War II and the deindustrialization of later years. And St. Louis, whose local economy was rooted in the commerce of the Mississippi, lagged behind even its regional peers. Over the postwar era, the City's share of regional employment dropped dramatically, from about half (1950) to just over 10 percent (2000). Against national patterns of growth and decline, the region's outer Missouri counties did very well and St. Louis County held its own, but the City lagged well behind—suffering dramatically higher rates of job loss in declining

[12] The Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (1976) required lenders to report data on mortgage applications, including census tract, race and income of applicant, and disposition; the Community Reinvestment Act (1977) latter imposed broader requirements that banks meet the credit and deposit needs of the entire community they were chartered to serve. The first HDMA survey confirmed what fair housing advocates in St. Louis had long suspected: The City claimed less than 6 percent of all new loans in the metropolitan area, almost all of which were in the southern reaches. Taken together, the HMDA and CRA provide a wealth of data on lending patterns in Greater St. Louis after the late 1970s. Yet, because these laws generated both new rules and new reporting requirements, they offer a skewed portrait: We know the most about financial and actuarial discrimination just at the point when it became harder to get away with. Even as both application and origination rates for St. Louis improved in the early 1990s, the underlying pattern—continued sprawl west into the metro area's Missouri counties, and continued disinvestments in north and central St. Louis itself—remained largely unchallenged (Gordon 2008, 108-09).

sectors (manufacturing, mining) and near stagnation in growing sectors (services, retail) (Gordon 2008, 13-15). The City suffered a steady stream of significant plant closings that savaged employment in core sectors—including automobiles, chemicals, aerospace, and electrical goods. These job losses were concentrated along the City's old industrial corridors, in its inner suburbs (including Clayton and the now rapidly declining industrial enclave surrounding Wellston), and in the volatile aerospace industry surrounding Lambert Field (Gordon 2008, 15-22). As in housing and zoning, the pattern in the inner suburbs of North County (Ferguson-Florissant among them) more closely resembled that of the central city: net job flight, and a growing paucity of local employment opportunities. And they fell heavily on black shoulders: In Greater St. Louis, the black unemployment rate is 3.5 times the white rate, a disparity that is the fourth worst among the nation's metro areas (East-West Gateway 2014; Washington University 2014).

Part II: The Ferguson-Florissant School District

The preceding historical survey of segregated development in Greater St. Louis is necessary to our understanding of the demographic and economic conditions of north St. Louis County, and more particularly of the demographic and economic conditions of Ferguson-Florissant. As we re-center our attention from the broader metropolitan patterns to the particular patterns of North County and Ferguson-Florissant, we again underscore the core logic of Senate Factor Five: "the extent to which members of the minority group bear the effects of discrimination in such areas as education, employment, and health which hinder their ability to participate effectively in the political process." Turning to Ferguson-Florissant, four elements of the story stand out:

- Systematic discrimination and disinvestment in black neighborhoods produced a stark (and growing) disparity between black and white wealth. Those barred from equal access to housing, federal subsidies and home finance in the middle years of the twentieth century also lost the ability to pass housing equity on to the next generation, dramatically constraining their options and opportunities.
- In the developmental and demographic history of Greater St. Louis, the inner suburbs of North County (including Ferguson-Florissant) had an uncertain and liminal status. They were, as enclaves of white flight, much like the other suburbs which sprawled west from the City border. But they were, in their patterns of residential development and zoning, more like the City itself.
- Decline and disinvestment on the residential northside of the City of St. Louis, and redevelopment projects in the City (displacing African-American neighborhoods in the name of "slum clearance") and in the County (displacing pockets of African-American residency as inharmonious interruptions of the suburban frontier), generated population flight and immense pressures on affordable housing stock in the inner suburbs.
- The racial premises of both development and redevelopment created and sustained a particular pattern of population movement in Greater St. Louis, marked by "white flight" into St. Louis County (and beyond) beginning in the 1940s, and by black flight into North County a generation later. The net result was a unique pattern of segregation, in which the black-white divide between north and south St. Louis extended out into St. Louis County, and in which local

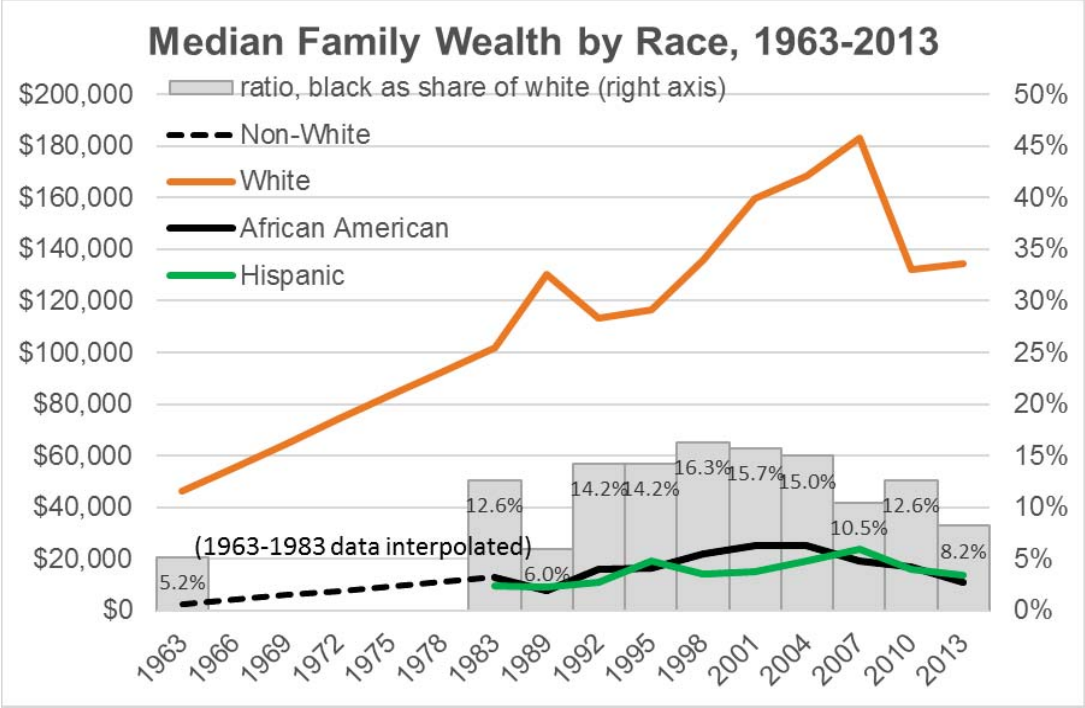
segregation was replicated within the boundaries of transitional neighborhoods—like Ferguson-Florissant—within North County.

Let's look at each of these in turn.

i) Race, Housing, and Wealth

By almost any economic metric (unemployment, job quality, wages, incomes) the gap between white and black Americans is sustained and substantial (Fairlie and Sundstrom 1999; Lang and Lehrman 2012; Couch and Fairlie 2012), but the starkest gap is in wealth (see **Figure 1** below). While the median black worker earns about three quarters the wages of his or her white counterpart and the median black household claims about two-thirds the income of its white counterpart, the gap in wealth—with black net worth stuck at about 10 percent of white net worth—is dramatically wider (Taylor et al. 2011; Shapiro et al. 2013). The source of this wealth gap is clear. Sharply disparate opportunities for homeownership, coupled with persistent gaps in family income, opened dramatic racial gaps in family wealth. Federal incentives and subsidies (beginning with the Homestead Act of 1862, through the FHA policies launched in the 1930s and the GI Bill of the 1940s, and continuing with the tax deductions available on home mortgage interest) sorted opportunity by race—not only for homeownership but also for the intergenerational accumulation of equity, and the other advantages (public services, good schools) that flow from homeownership (Katznelson 2004; Shapiro and Oliver 1996).

Figure 1: The Racial Wealth Gap



Source: Urban Institute calculations from Survey of Financial Characteristics of Consumers 1962 (December 31), Survey of Changes in Family Finances 1963, and Survey of Consumer Finances 1983–2013.

Home equity is the most important element of household wealth, especially for families of moderate means. (Collins and Margo 2000: Oliver and Shapiro 1996). The racial gap in wealth (and specifically home equity) reflects gaps in the rate of homeownership (Collins and Margo 2000; Collins and Margo 2001; Fetter 2013; Katznelson 2005),[13] in the tenure of homeownership (Shapiro, 2013), and in the terms of homeownership (Fetter 2013; Collins and Margo 2011). Facing systematic discrimination in both private realty and private lending, fewer African Americans entered the housing market, they entered it later in life, and they entered it on relatively unfavorable terms. The federal mortgage insurance and subsidies established in the 1930s and 1940s lowered the age at which families entered the housing market, but actually *widened* the gap between young (25-34) white and black households. At the same time, black home values have lagged behind white home values. And those values stagnated or fell—if they did not evaporate entirely—in underzoned, underserviced, segregated neighborhoods (Schertzer 2014; Gordon 2008, ch. 3).

Income, wealth, and inequality are embedded in places: in the neighborhoods (deeply segregated across our history) where families buy homes, raise families, and pass on assets and opportunities to the next generation (Sharkey 2013). Even as civil rights and fair housing legislation and litigation curbed the worst of these practices, substantial obstacles—including continued discrimination, attenuated disadvantage, and late access to housing markets—slowed progress. What this meant, in St. Louis and its suburbs, was that a long history of discrimination and segregation effectively "lived on" in the form of the black-white wealth gap. So when housing markets did open up after the 1970s, segregation by wealth (and income) both displaced and sustained segregation by race. Where African Americans would or could live was determined less by the legal triumphs of the civil rights era than by the limited supply of affordable housing—much of it abandoned (in the City and its inner suburbs) by white flight.

ii) The Making of an Inner Suburb

As we traced above, the suburbanization of Greater St. Louis followed a particular and potent pattern. Private development pressed westward, especially after World War II, relatively unrestrained by local or state restraints on what we now call "sprawl." Like most Midwestern cities, St. Louis faced few geographic obstacles to growth. And, among Midwestern states, Missouri was notoriously lax in exerting any regulatory control over the incorporation of new municipalities. Against a backdrop of systematic segregation, these background conditions had three important consequences: First, it

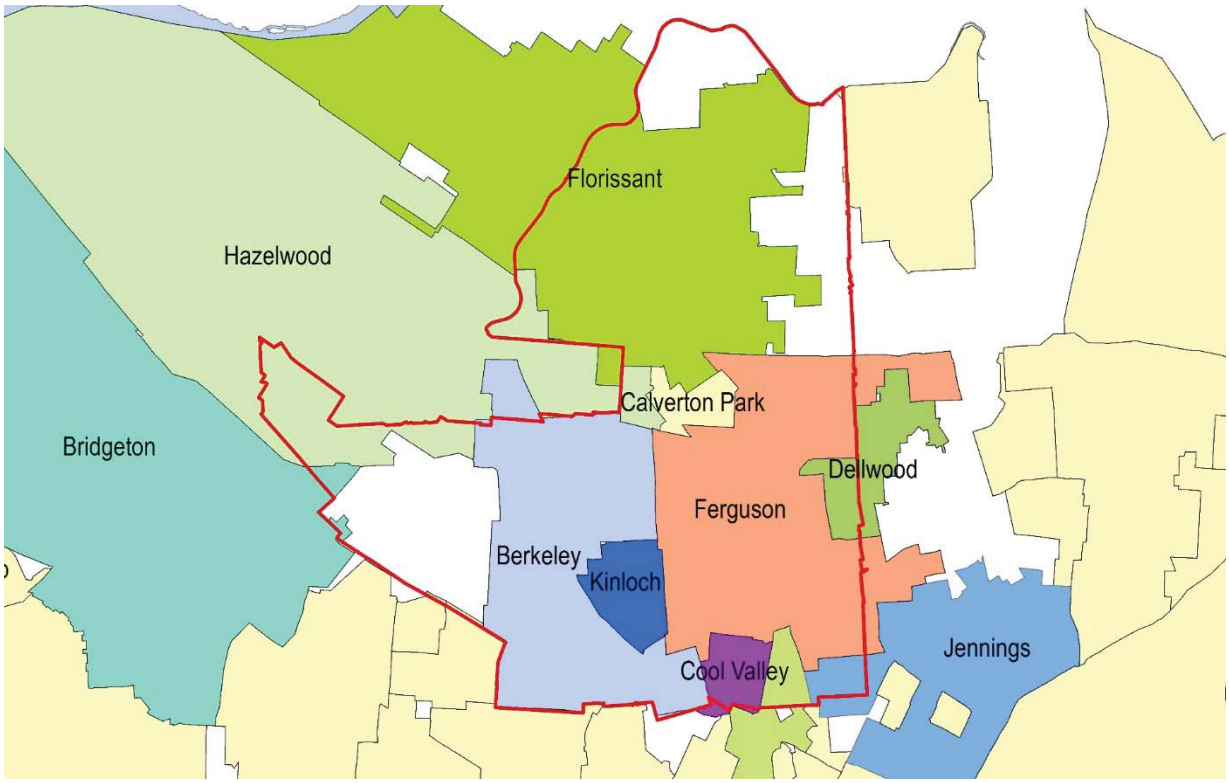
[13] While the rate of African-American homeownership increased dramatically in the first century after the Civil War (from 8 percent in 1870 to more than 50 percent by the late 1970s) the white-black gap remained substantial. In 2007, 54 percent of black male household heads (aged 25-64) owned homes—starkly lower than the rate (76.5 percent) for their white counterparts. Tellingly, almost all of the gains occurred *before* 1910. The owner-occupancy gap narrowed from nearly 50 percentage points in 1870 (white 56.6, black 7.7) to less than 24 (white 47, black 23.5) in 1910, but budged little after that. Migration, urbanization, and segregation in the early years of the 20th century actually dampened black homeownership rates. The redlining which accompanied midcentury innovations in mortgage finance (subsidies for veterans, federal mortgage insurance) meant that their benefits flowed disproportionately to white Americans.

meant that private development generally preceded municipal incorporation, so that incorporation (and more importantly zoning) simply cemented private development patterns and choices. Second, it meant that such patterns sustained patterns of segregation—hardly surprising given that municipal incorporation was largely animated by the desire to seal exclusionary patterns of land use. And third, it meant that the municipal organization of the metro (and especially of St. Louis County) was remarkably fragmented, with each of those fragments paying a particular role in sustaining and regulating patterns of land use and occupancy.

This fragmentation was reflected in the organization of municipalities and school districts, both of which were designed to reflect and cement local patterns of racial segregation. Indeed the liminal status of Ferguson-Florissant, first as a bastion of exclusion and then a zone of racial transition, is captured in the history of the school district itself. In the middle years of the twentieth century, County school districts were smaller and more numerous. Prior to 1937, the current footprint of the Ferguson-Florissant District was split between the overwhelmingly-white Ferguson-Florissant District and the Kinloch District—whose population was mixed but whose schools were segregated by Missouri law. In 1937, the City of Berkeley incorporated for the expressed and blunt purpose of splitting the Kinloch district along racial lines: at the point of the split, the new Berkeley District had a population of 5,040 students of which 80 percent were white; the remnant of the Kinloch District had 1,201 students of which 99.3 percent were black (Manley 1976). In a pattern typical of American metropolitan areas, but exaggerated in the St. Louis case, the proliferation of small, racially homogenous school districts hardened both residential segregation and wide discrepancies in school quality and educational outcomes (Bischoff 2008; Quillian 2014).

In the course of the region's protracted school desegregation process, the three districts (Kinloch, Berkeley, and Ferguson-Florissant) were pulled together into a single "Ferguson-Florissant" district in 1970. The result, as with a number of district consolidations in St. Louis County, was a more expansive and diverse school district, overlaying a largely unchanged and fragmented pattern of municipal organization. The modern Ferguson-Florissant School District sprawls across 11 municipalities, only two of which (Calverton Park and Kinloch) are entirely within the district **(Map 7**). Because disparate patterns of land use were sustained by municipal zoning, district consolidation essentially traded segregation *between* districts for segregation *within* districts.

Map 7: Municipalities in the Ferguson-Florissant School District



Segregation within the district, in turn, reflected the regionally uneven development and zoning of St. Louis County. Ferguson and Florissant, just to the northwest of the City in St. Louis County, were not conventional suburbs. Florissant was incorporated in 1857 and served by rail from St. Louis. Ferguson was incorporated in 1894, also an outgrowth of rail-based development. Both grew dramatically in the middle years of the twentieth century (Florissant added nearly 18,000 homes between the end of World II and 1980s), but even this development was unlike the larger footprint suburban tracts spreading west through central County. Outside these older inner suburbs **(see Map 8 series; attached as Exhibit E)**, private development generally preceded incorporation or annexation, so that the latter (and the zoning laws that accompanied them) simply sealed patterns of exclusive land use established by private developers. By contrast, the infrastructure and residential development of Ferguson and Florissant came earlier, the lots and houses were generally smaller, and the land use was less restrictive than in the County's more conventional suburban development**.**

This is evident in recent patterns of housing value. Median home values in North County, at $88,000 in 2012, are almost 40 percent less than the figure for the whole of St. Louis County ($144,000). While a third of homes in the County are valued above $200,000, only eight homes in all of North County cross that threshold. Between 2005 and 2011 (including the housing crash and recovery), most properties in Central, West, and South County showed a slight increase in assessed values; in most areas of North

County, assessed values fell. Of the County's 24,000 foreclosures (2005-2012), fully 70 percent (17,000) were in North County. And, at 12 percent, the housing vacancy rate in North County is double that of communities in West and South County (Office of Community Development, St. Louis County Department of Planning, 2012).

And just as low values, foreclosures, and vacancies are concentrated in North County, so too are the region's multi-family rental units. This is an artifact of both early and uneven suburban development, and of less-exclusionary zoning in North County's inner suburbs—characterized by the rental complexes strung along Maline Creek in south Ferguson and in Kinloch (One St. Louis 2013). As a result, much of the region's affordable and rental housing is concentrated in North County: Of 6,600 tax credit units that are part of large properties (defined as having 50 or more units) in the County, 63 percent are in North County (Office of Community Development, St. Louis County Department of Planning, 2012).

The net result left Ferguson-Florissant in an unusually vulnerable position. Here, much of the mid-century residential development rested on the same motives and restrictions and subsidies that marked "white flight" suburbanization elsewhere in the region. But, because such development was crowded next to the City, it was less exclusive and more transitional. Because these municipalities were older and their footprints generally smaller (especially in North County), they suffered both higher costs and lower fiscal capacity as they aged. And, because land use was less exclusive and lots were smaller in these inner suburbs, they served as the logical destination not just for the white working class fleeing the city in the 1940s and 1950s, but for African Americans displaced by disinvestment and urban renewal a generation later. In St. Louis County, 83 percent of public housing units and 93 percent of housing vouchers units are occupied by African Americans (the rate for both is only 3 percent in outlying Franklin and Jefferson Counties) (One St. Louis 2013).

iii) Disinvestment and Flight

Certainly the most dramatic element of St. Louis's postwar history is the depopulation of the City itself. The City's population peaked at just over 850,000 in 1950, at which point it claimed just under half (47.9 percent) of the population of the metropolitan area. With each new census, the City's population dropped farther (750,000 in 1960; 622,000 in 1970; 453,000 in 1980; 397,000 in 1990; 348,000 in 2000; 318,000 in 2010), as did its share of the metropolitan area population. The City lost an average of just under 10,000 persons a year between 1950 and 2013. The housing shortage of the 1940s and 1950s gave way to chronic vacancy and abandonment: by 1978, St. Louis had the highest vacancy rate (just under 10 percent) of all central cities. This was a pace of depopulation and decline unmatched by *any* other American city, as suggested by the plunge in the City's ranking (by population) among American cities, from 4th in 1910 to 48th in 2000 **(see Table 2)**.

Table 2: Growth and Decline of Major US Cities, 1940-2000.

	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2000 peak
New York	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	100%
Chicago	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	80%
Philadelphia	3	3	3	3	3	3	4	4	4	5	5	73%
Los Angeles	36	17	10	5	5	4	3	3	3	2	2	100%
Detroit	13	9	4	4	4	5	5	5	6	7	9	51%
Baltimore	6	7	8	9	7	6	6	7	10	12	17	69%
Cleveland	7	6	5	6	6	7	8	10	18	23	33	52%
St. Louis	**4**	**4**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**8**	**10**	**18**	**26**	**34**	**48**	**41%**
Washington	15	16	14	14	11	9	9	9	15	19	21	71%
Boston	5	5	7	8	9	10	13	16	20	20	20	74%
San Francisco	9	11	12	11	12	11	12	13	13	14	13	100%
Pittsburgh	11	8	9	10	10	12	16	24	30	40	51	49%
Houston	85	68	45	26	21	14	7	6	5	4	4	100%
Buffalo	8	10	11	13	14	15	20	28	39	50	57	50%
Cincinnati	10	13	16	17	17	18	21	29	32	45	53	66%
Dallas	88	58	42	33	31	22	14	8	7	8	7	100%
San Antonio	71	54	41	38	36	25	17	15	11	10	8	100%
San Diego			93	53	43	31	18	14	8	6	6	100%
Phoenix						99	29	20	9	9	5	100%

Source: Gordon 2008, 233.

These demographic patterns are traced in **Maps 9a-g (attached as Exhibit F)**, each of which spans a decade and shows the local growth and decline of the region's black and white populations. Between 1940 and 1950 **(Map 9a)**, whites settled throughout the suburban St. Louis counties and in a few tracts surrounding Forest Park and in the City's southern reaches. Many of these were new arrivals to the St. Louis area, but many (evidenced by the collapsing white population in many central city tracts) were moving from the City to its suburbs. Blacks, by contrast, settled almost exclusively in a few northside tracts, the old industrial suburbs on the Illinois side, and scattered county outposts like Kinloch.

In the 1950s **(see Map 9b)**, white settlement retained its suburban pattern, and flight from the City was now evident in all but a few southern tracts. African-American settlement now reached the City limits along the northern border of Forest Park, concentrated in tracts being abandoned by whites. This decade also saw swaths of depopulation and disinvestment in north and central St. Louis. Between 1950 and 1970, close to 60 percent of the white population fled the City. By 1970 **(Map 9c)**, the locus of white settlement had moved to the western reaches of St. Louis County, and racial succession and white flight now reached the inner-ring suburbs (Gordon 2008, 22-25). These patterns were shaped by racial restrictions (detailed above) that both denied African Americans the same residential mobility and—as spatial segregation deepened—exaggerated the motives of those who wanted out.

By the 1970s, it was no longer accurate to label this phenomenon "white flight." African Americans, fleeing the same conditions (crime, deteriorating schools), were also leaving. After 1970 **(Maps 9d-f)**, the depopulation of the City (and especially the near northside) accelerated. By this time, whites were fleeing the inner suburbs as well, and white population growth was concentrated in the western reaches of St. Louis County and beyond. In a sense, the suburban color line had drifted west from the City limits to encompass much of near northeastern St. Louis County (Wellston, Bridgeton, Normandy, Jennings, Ferguson, Bellefontaine Neighbors) south and east of Lindbergh Boulevard.

iv) The Pressures of Redevelopment and Relocation

These broad demographic patterns, and those of Ferguson-Florissant specifically, also reflect the history of urban redevelopment in St. Louis and St. Louis County. These programs generally equated black occupancy with "blight" and viewed "slum clearance" as their primary goal. What this meant for the inner suburbs of north St. Louis County was twofold. First, the City's major projects were accompanied by cynical and haphazard plans for relocated residents. Urban renewal authorities simply expected dislocated residents to fend for themselves and vastly inflated (for the consumption of federal officials) their ability to accommodate or assist those losing their homes. The relocation office of the Mill Creek project, for example, claimed it had housed all those displaced by initial land clearance (4,172 families) in decent housing. But a federal audit found that more than half of those eligible for relocation assistance received no help, and that most of the assisted relocations were to other substandard dwellings. The movement of African Americans from cleared tracts—some into local public housing but most into neighborhoods to the west and north—deepened segregation in many central city neighborhoods, created new demands for redevelopment in neighborhoods accommodating the refugees from the latest round of renewal, and encouraged white residents of north St. Louis out into the inner and outer suburbs (Gordon 2008, 206-11).

While the City's redevelopment and public housing policies hardened patterns of segregation within St. Louis, those of the County and its municipalities deepened the racial divide between the City and its suburbs. Urban renewal in St. Louis County was often designed and pursued as a means of relocating suburban pockets of African-American settlement "back" into the City (Gordon 2008, 100-01).[14] Among these was Kinloch, bordering Ferguson to the West. Kinloch had peak population of over 6,500 at the 1960 census, but was targeted by surrounding municipalities (who worked to quarantine African-American students into a separate and unequal school district), St. Louis County (which was looking to erase the last pockets of older African-American occupancy in the name of redevelopment), and the St. Louis Airport (which was looking to expand in the Kinloch area). While the County's "Maline Creek" redevelopment scheme never got off the ground (in part because it refused to contemplate building

[14] For their part, federal officials viewed Greater St. Louis as a stubborn outlier for its resistance to subsidizing housing. "This is the only metropolitan area, the only area in the [four-state HUD] region where you cannot carry on an intelligent discussion of the policies and programs," noted one HUD official, adding that "refusing to accept any responsibility for the problems of the disadvantaged . . . has been profitable for St. Louis County and for several of the leaders in the right sections of St. Louis City."

affordable housing for those displaced), airport expansion did eventually erase much of Kinloch—whose population had shriveled to under 300 people by 2012.

As we have seen, disinvestment, underzoning, and job losses—and the concomitant collapse of public goods and public services—generated waves of population flight (white and then black) from St. Louis's central and northside neighborhoods. At the same time, dislocations as a result of government action—including urban renewal and urban highway construction as well—created another set of pressures on the housing stock of North County's inner suburbs. Many left St. Louis for its inner and outer suburbs in a quest for jobs, safer streets, and better schools. Others simply saw their homes and neighborhoods razed in the name of redevelopment, and made the same move reluctantly.

v) The Transformation of North County

Taken together, uneven metropolitan development, disinvestment in the central city, and City and County redevelopment policies drove racial transition and segregation in the inner suburbs of North County. Initially developed and populated by white working class migrants from north St. Louis, Ferguson and Florissant now became the logical frontier for black flight—and for those displaced by urban renewal to the west and the east. In part, this transformation and transition reflected the tangle of factors traced above. In part, it reflected the slow erosion of formal restrictions on black occupancy, especially after *Jones v. Mayer* extended civil rights protections to private realty and the institutions of home finance (after the passage of the HDMA) followed suit. And, in part, it reflected the evolution of public housing—from large scale central-city projects (like St. Louis's Pruitt-Igoe towers) to portable "Section 8" vouchers (Judd 1997).

The impact and implications of these patterns were dramatic and, in some respects, devastating. Disparate patterns of white and black settlement, of white and black wealth, and of white and black flight, hardened racial segregation and isolation. Black flight from the northside opened a class rift in the black community, concentrating poverty in the central city and eroding the middle class institutions (hospitals, schools, churches) upon which that community depended. By the 1980s and 1990s, these losses were underscored and exaggerated by dramatic patterns of local economic decline, disinvestment, vacancy, and property abandonment. Taken together, these trends began to exact tremendous social costs—captured by any regional assessment of educational attainment, public safety, or public health.

The fragile line between white and black occupancy at the City-County line eroded over time, as white settlement looked further west, and the collapse of formal racial restrictions finally opened County housing markets. But the north-south divide between black and white occupancy largely held, so that whites leaving the City (or its inner suburbs) moved south and west, while blacks leaving the city (including the diaspora from the failure of the City's public housing projects) settled largely in North County. In effect, the "Delmar Divide" between North and South St. Louis pushed across the County, splitting University City and marking everything to the north—the twenty-five

postage-stamp municipalities between the City boundary and Highway 170 and south of Lindbergh Avenue—as a zone of racial transition **(Map 10)**.

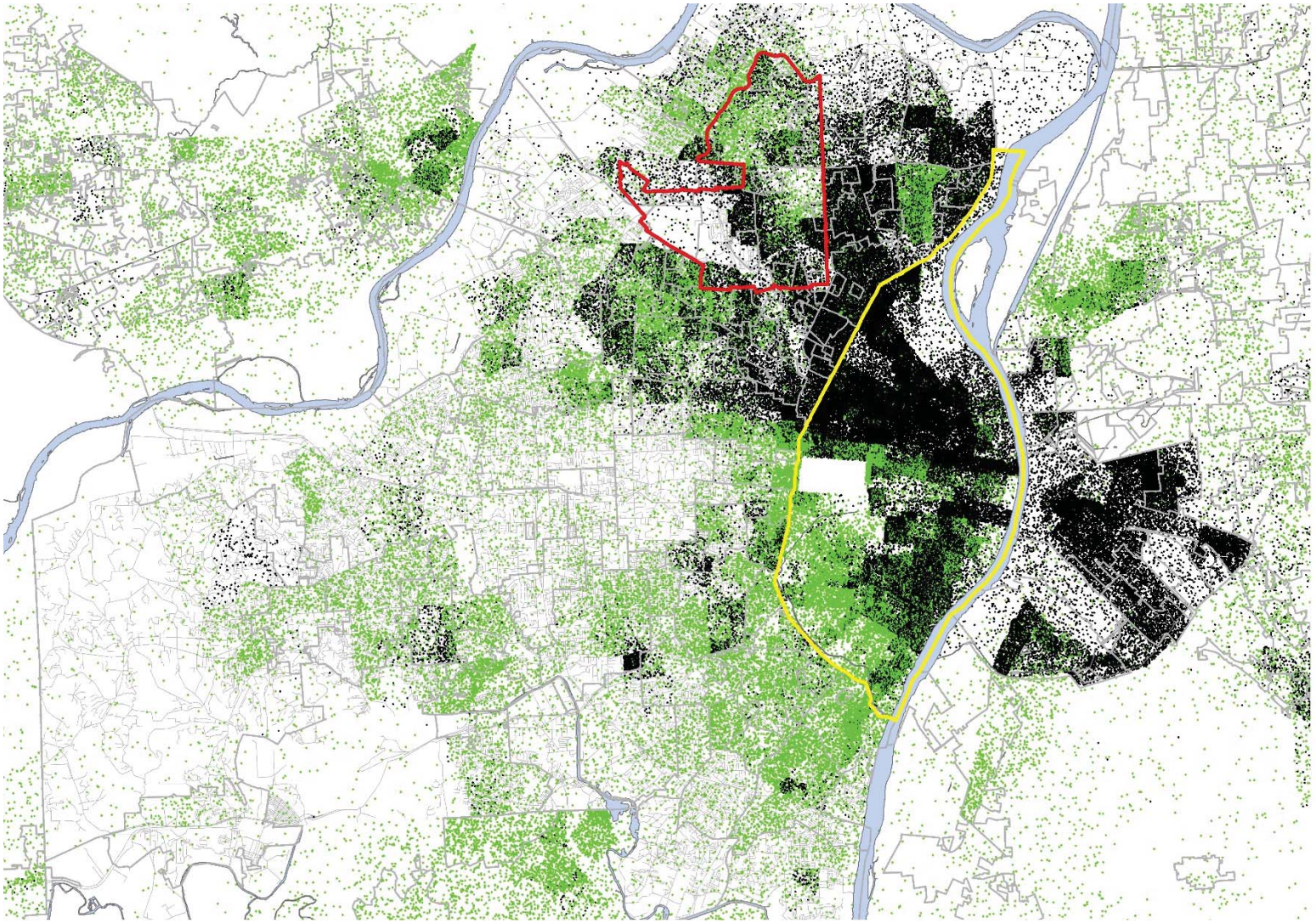
As the population of St. Louis County (and especially North County) began to change, it also stopped growing. Between 2000 and 2010, the population of the County fell slightly (the first decadal population loss in a century), to just under 1 million, while its African-American population grew by almost 20 percent (One St. Louis 2013). For its part, North County lost 21,000 people from 2000 to 2010. Over the same span, outlying counties (St. Charles, Franklin, Jefferson) grew at a steady clip (Office of Community Development, St. Louis County Department of Planning, 2012).

The patterns and mechanisms of segregation invented and sustained in the City of St. Louis migrated along this North-South line out into St. Louis County. This extended the contours of segregation so engrained in the City's history, and it reinvented them in new settings (including Ferguson-Florissant) in the inner suburbs. Here, segregation was spatial: African Americans in Ferguson-Florissant have settled overwhelmingly in the apartment complexes (Suburban Heights, Northwinds, Canfield) along Maline Creek in south Ferguson and Kinloch, and in pockets of single-family housing east of West Florissant Avenue and south of I-270. And it was also political, especially in settings where the previous generation of white residents retained a stranglehold over local employment, local politics, and local services such as education or policing. Segregation sustained, entrenched, and deepened other economic and social disparities (Jaret et al. 2003; Yinger 2005); it was, as Massey and Denton underscore, "the institutional apparatus that supports other racially discriminatory processes and binds them together into a coherent and uniquely effective system of racial subordination'' (1993, 8).

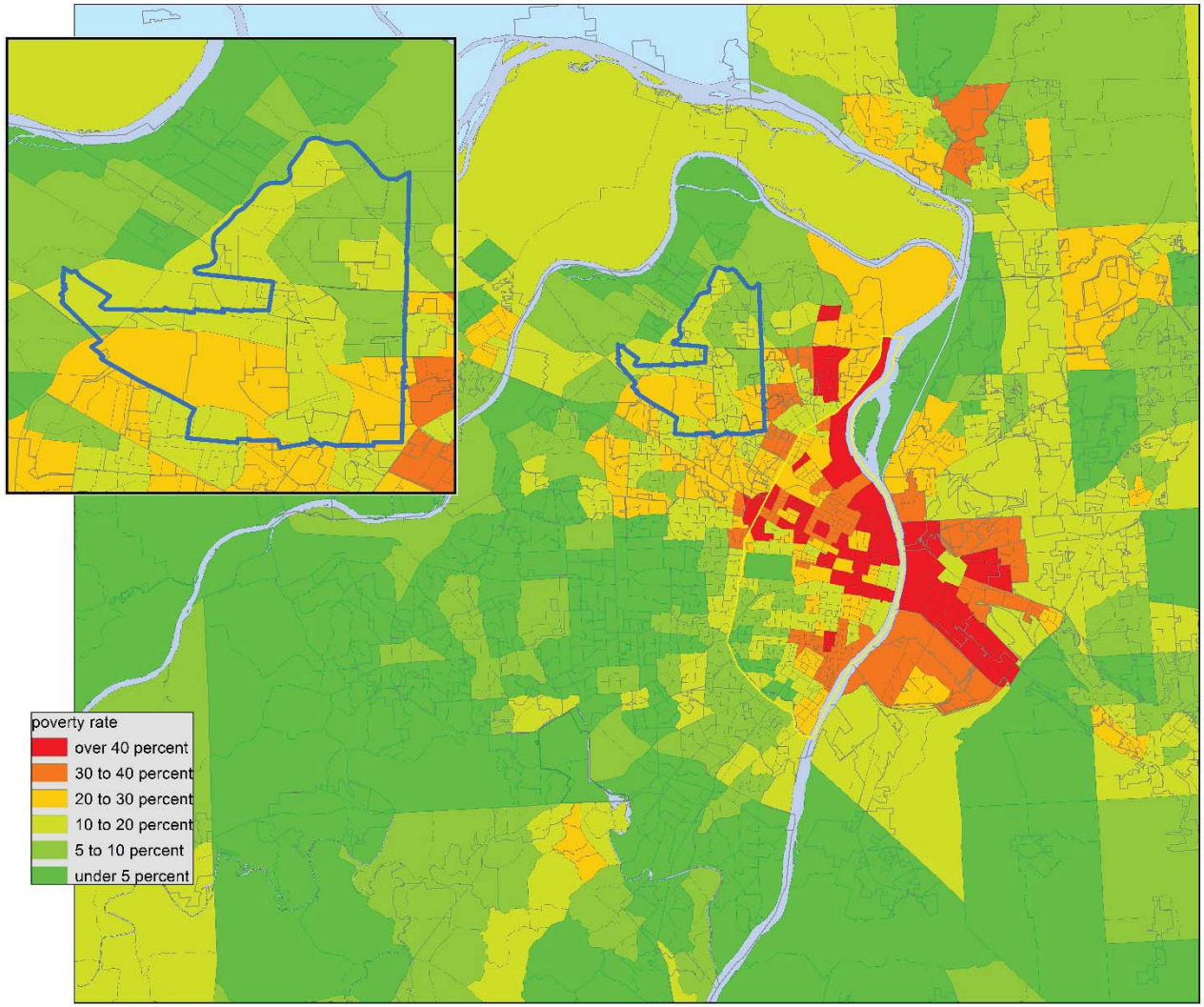
The economic consequences of regional and local racial and income segregation are clear. With racial transition came a replication and extension of the tangled disadvantages long-faced by African Americans on the northside. Income inequality, measured as a share of the metropolitan-wide median, spread out into North County after the 1970s **(Map 11; attached as Exhibit G)**. Inflation-adjusted average earnings (for those employed) fell by one-third between 2000 and 2012. In 1990, median household income for North County was 3 percent greater than that of the region as whole; now it is 13 percent lower. (Office of Community Development, St. Louis County Department of Planning, 2012). Poverty rates rose dramatically: between 2000 and 2013, the poor population of Ferguson doubled—by which point about one in four residents lived in poverty (Kneebone 2014) **(Map 12)**. Ferguson's unemployment rate almost doubled between 2000 and 2010, and still sits at over 12 percent **(Map 13)**.

Localized inequality, racial segregation, and concentrated poverty multiply and magnify the problems faced by both communities and poor families (Wilson 1996; Massey and Denton 1993; Jencks and Peterson 1991). Such circumstances underlie social disorganization, increased crime, threats to public health, and further flight of population, investment, and resources. As population flees and property values plummet, local tax capacities collapse—a combination which yields baser public services, deteriorating public schools, *and* higher tax rates; all of which makes new investment less likely and

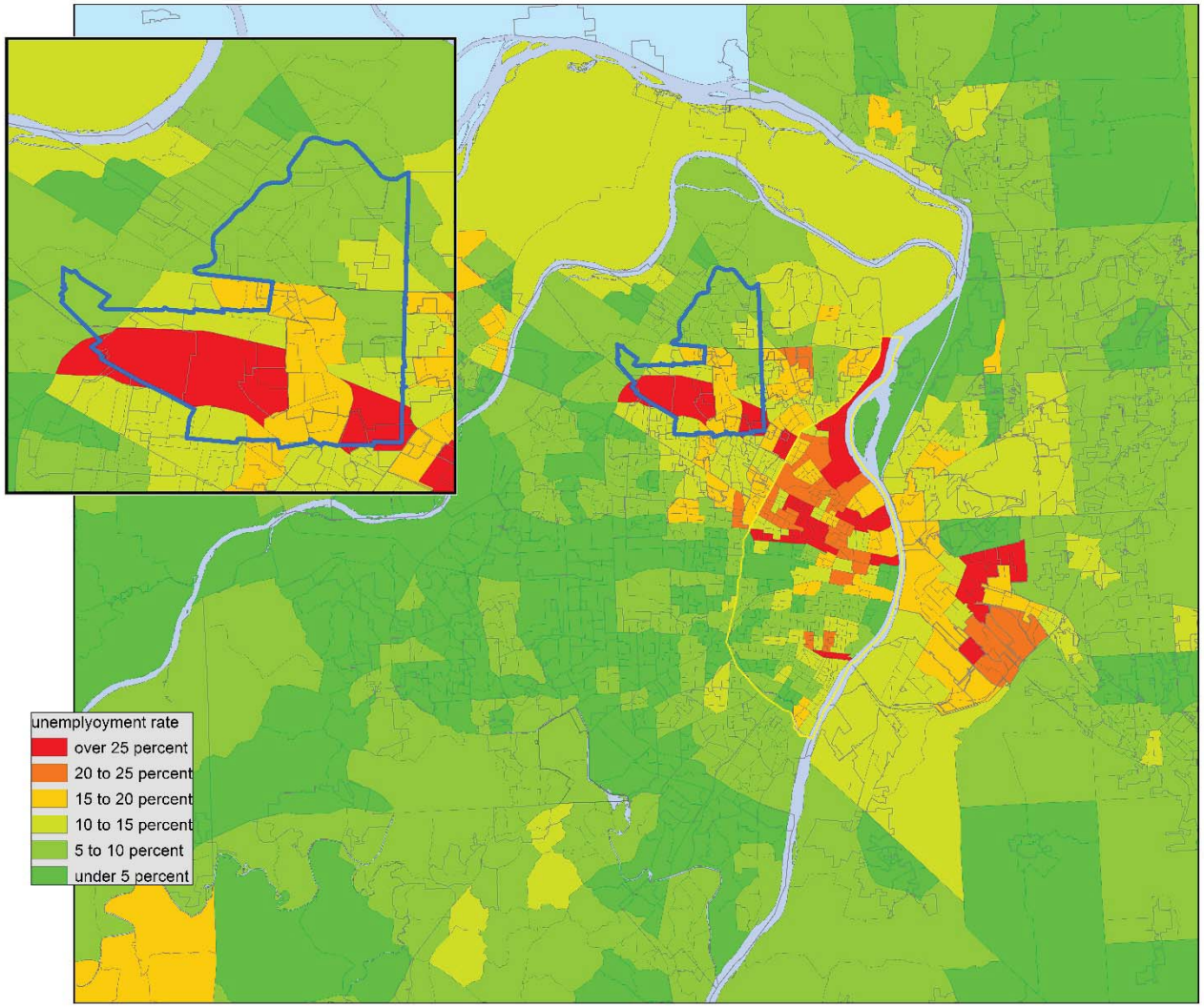
Map 10: Racial Occupancy (by Block Group), 2010. Source: St. Louis EOHC, HUD
(green dot = 10 white persons, black dot = 10 black persons)



Map 12: Poverty by Block Group 2012. Source, St. Louis EOHC and HUD



Map 13: Unemployment by Block Group 2012. Source, St. Louis EOHC and HUD



old investment less secure. The school districts of North County, including Ferguson-Florissant, combine property values well below the metro average with tax rates well above the county average **(Map 14)** "[H]ousing segregation in St. Louis County," as Dennis Judd concludes, "not only segregates Black students in the schools; it also segregates them into the school districts with the most meager resources" (Judd 1997, 226; see also Orfield 1996, 10-11). To add insult to injury, the collapse of the local property tax base has also encouraged struggling North County communities to backfill public coffers court costs and fines **(Map 15; attached as Exhibit H)**—a tactic that underlies the dismal state of community-police relations in North County (Department of Justice 2015) and created the backdrop for the shooting of Michael Brown.

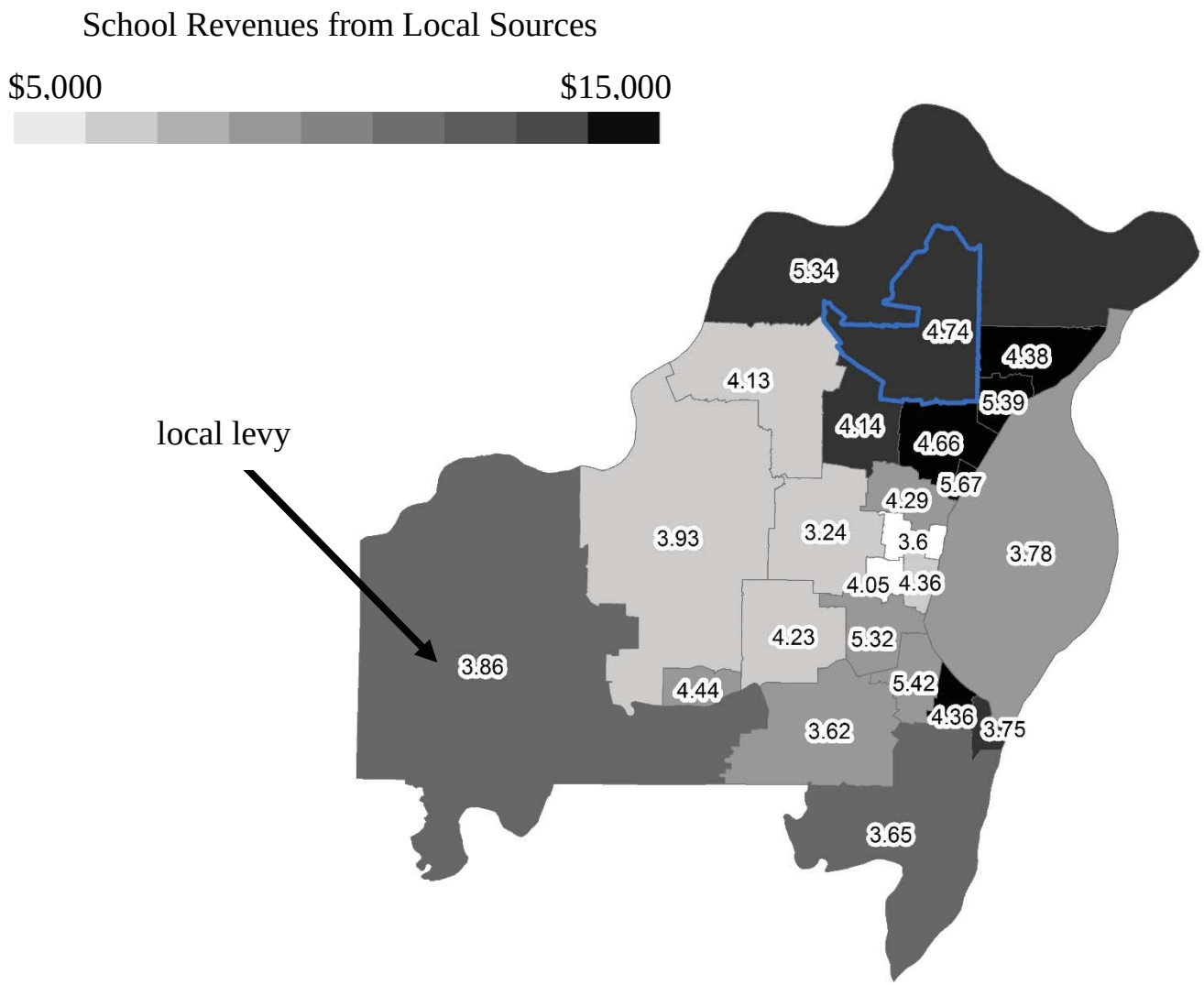
Summary and Conclusions

Ferguson-Florissant is a stark testament to the debilitating effects of sustained racial segregation and uneven metropolitan development. In the early decades of the last century, realtors, developers, and white property owners erected elaborate obstacles to property ownership and occupancy. These restrictions were, over time, adopted and formalized as an ethical obligation of private realtors, lenders, and insurers; as the organizing principle of both local zoning and federal home ownership policies; and as the key determinant of value whenever property was taxed, "blighted" for redevelopment, or redeveloped. The net effect was not just the stark spatial segregation of metropolitan St. Louis by race and class, but also a cascade of disinvestment and disadvantage in the City's northside residential neighborhoods, an uneven and fragmented pattern of residential development and land-use zoning, and a wide racial gap in local wealth.

Against this backdrop, other public policies (or policy failures) began to dislocate large swaths of the region's African-American population. In the 1950s, downtown urban renewal programs displaced thousands of families—some of whom were accommodated in new public housing projects, most of whom simply moved west and north ahead of the bulldozer. In the 1960s, the County launched a more limited program of redevelopment, but also a much more pointed one—blighting and razing pockets of older African-American settlement now surrounded by new suburban development. Underinvestment, underzoning, and the erosion of public services on the City's northside also encouraged population flight—although the outmigration of African Americans did not really take off until civil rights jurisprudence began to prise open County housing markets. Finally, the abject failure of "big-box" public housing (the City's infamous Pruitt-Igoe towers were razed in 1972) created yet another anxious diaspora.

All of this converged on North County's inner suburbs, Ferguson-Florissant foremost among them. An older and more modest residential base, combined with the dislocation elsewhere of those with limited accumulated housing wealth or savings, made Ferguson-Florissant a logical and necessary zone of racial transition. The patterns and mechanisms of segregation established on the City's northside both drifted into North County and were replicated there. And, in the bargain, the consequences—including concentrated poverty, limited economic opportunity, a paucity of public services (except heavy-handed policing) and political disenfranchisement—moved to the inner suburbs as well.

Map 14: School Funding and Fiscal Capacity, St. Louis County 2013. Source: MO DOE.



The importance and impact of this history of systematic segregation cannot be underestimated. Indeed, "the extent to which members of the minority group bear the effects of discrimination in such areas as education, employment, and health" in this case, as Senate Factor Five underscores, is clear and compelling. The first mechanisms of segregation, such as race restrictive deed covenants, drew stark racial boundaries during the middle years of the last century. These were adopted and codified and sustained by public policies, especially zoning and urban renewal. The overarching consequence was a pattern of local segregation which was pervasive, and yet spatially unstable. Across the last generation, that pattern of racial segregation persists. Segregation has led those most disadvantaged by it—the African-American communities that migrated into the inner suburbs of North St. Louis County, including the footprint of the Ferguson-Florissant School District—to continue to suffer its consequences in education, employment, and health.

Executed on May 26, 2015.

Colin Gordon

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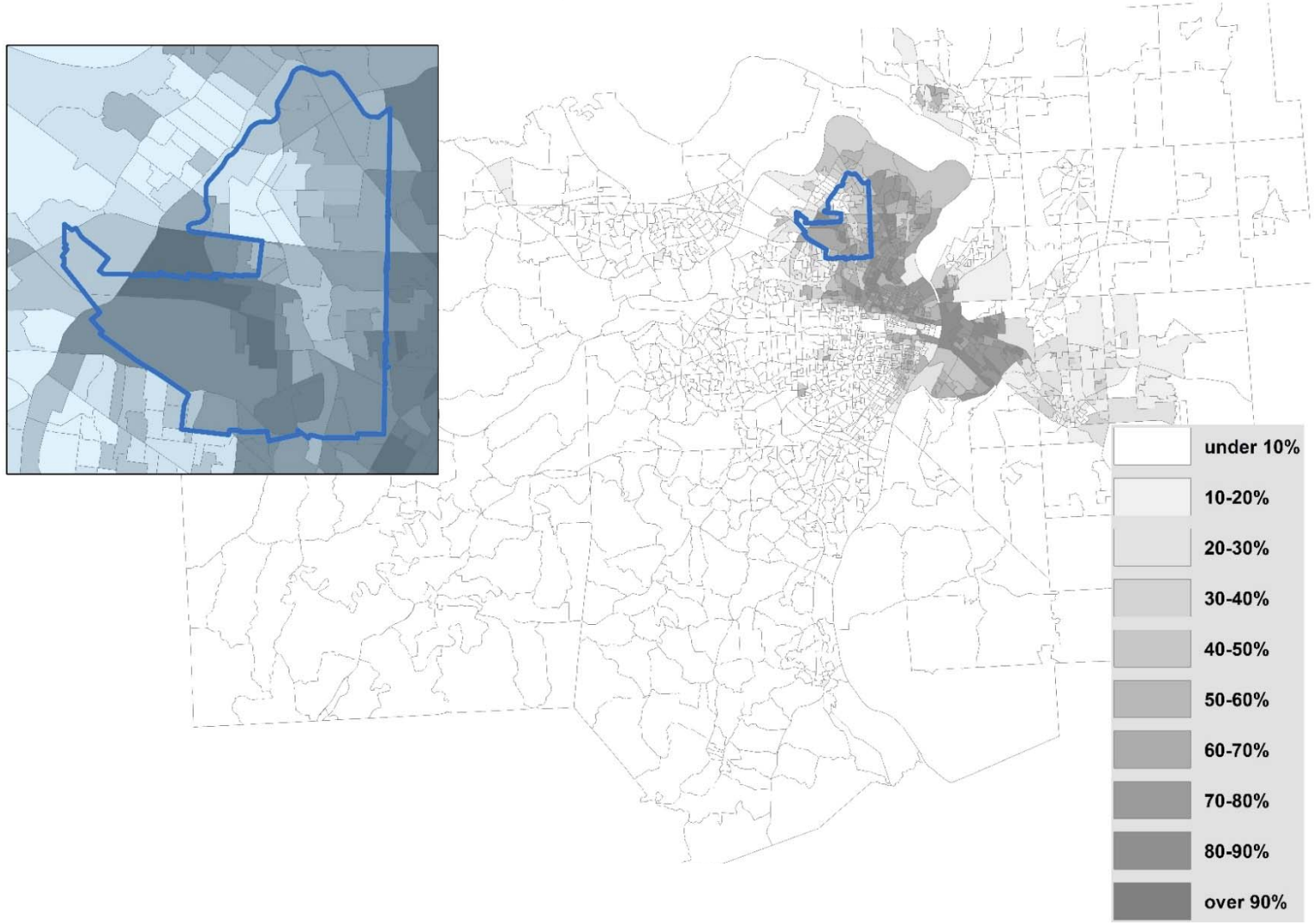
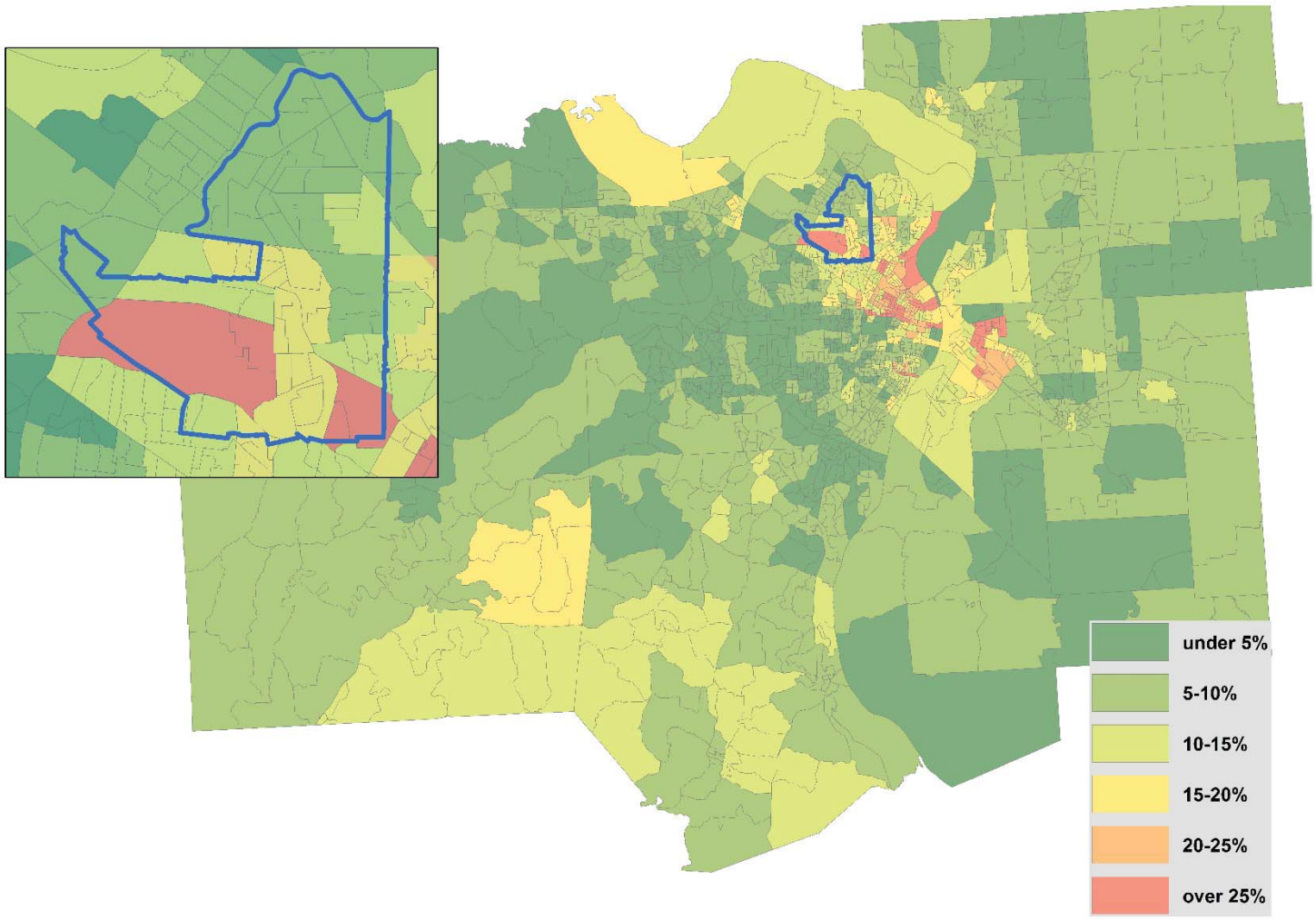
Exhibit A

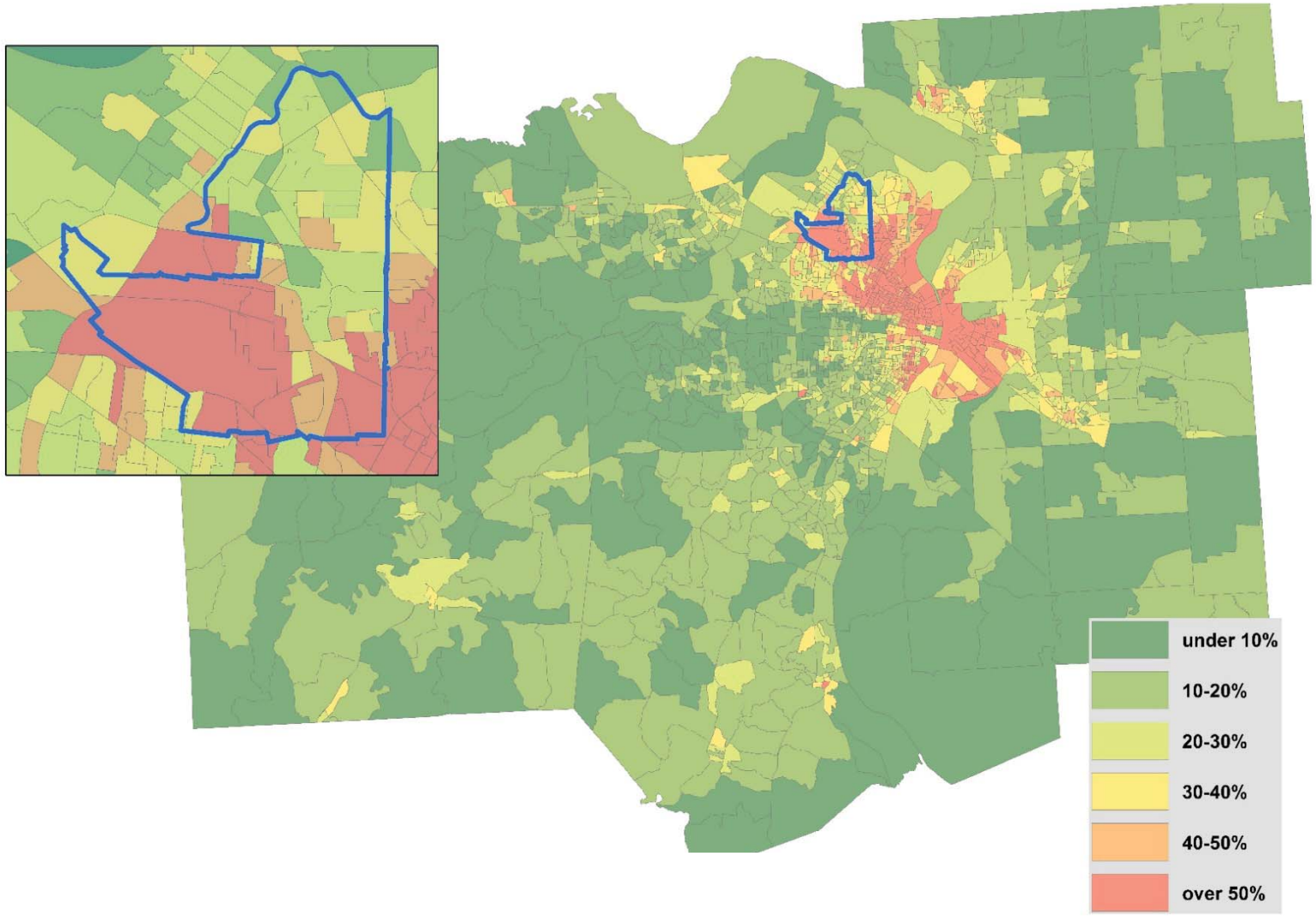
Map 1a: Percent Black, Greater St. Louis and Ferguson-Florissant School District (2010)



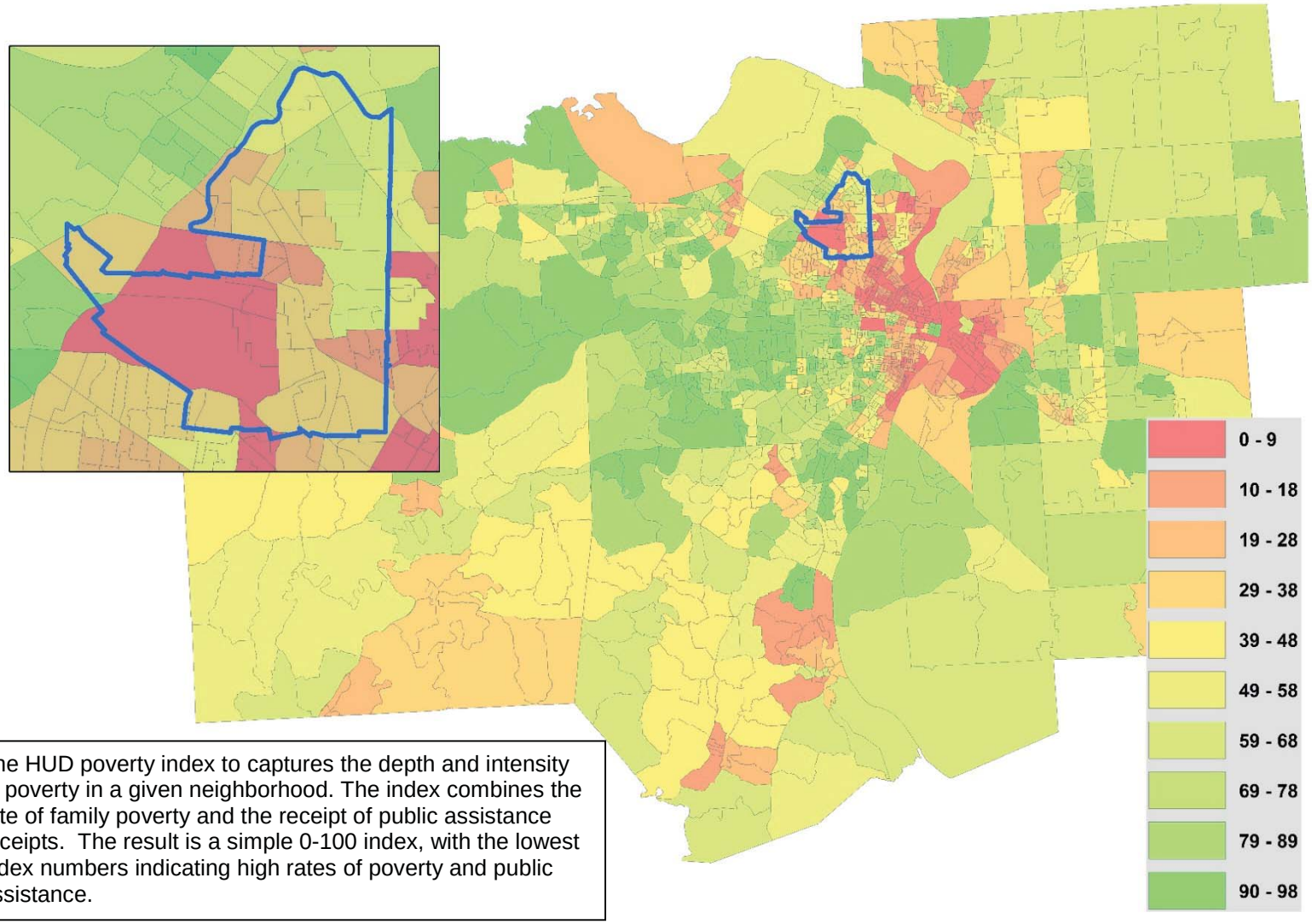
Map 1b: Unemployment Rate, Greater St. Louis and Ferguson-Florissant School District (2010)



Map 1c: Female-Headed Households, Greater St. Louis and Ferguson-Florissant School District (2010)

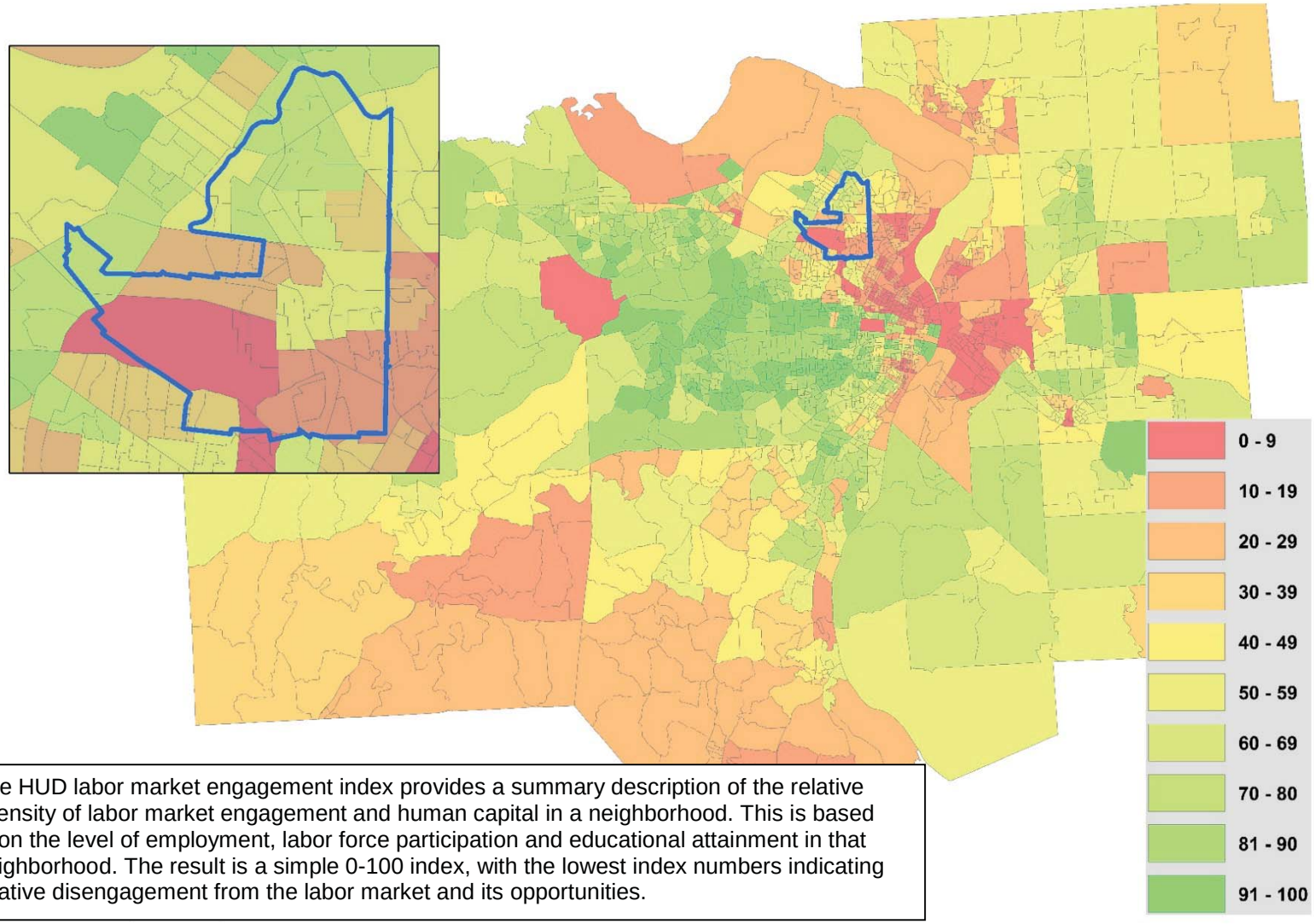


Map 1d: HUD Poverty Index, Greater St. Louis and Ferguson-Florissant School District (2010)



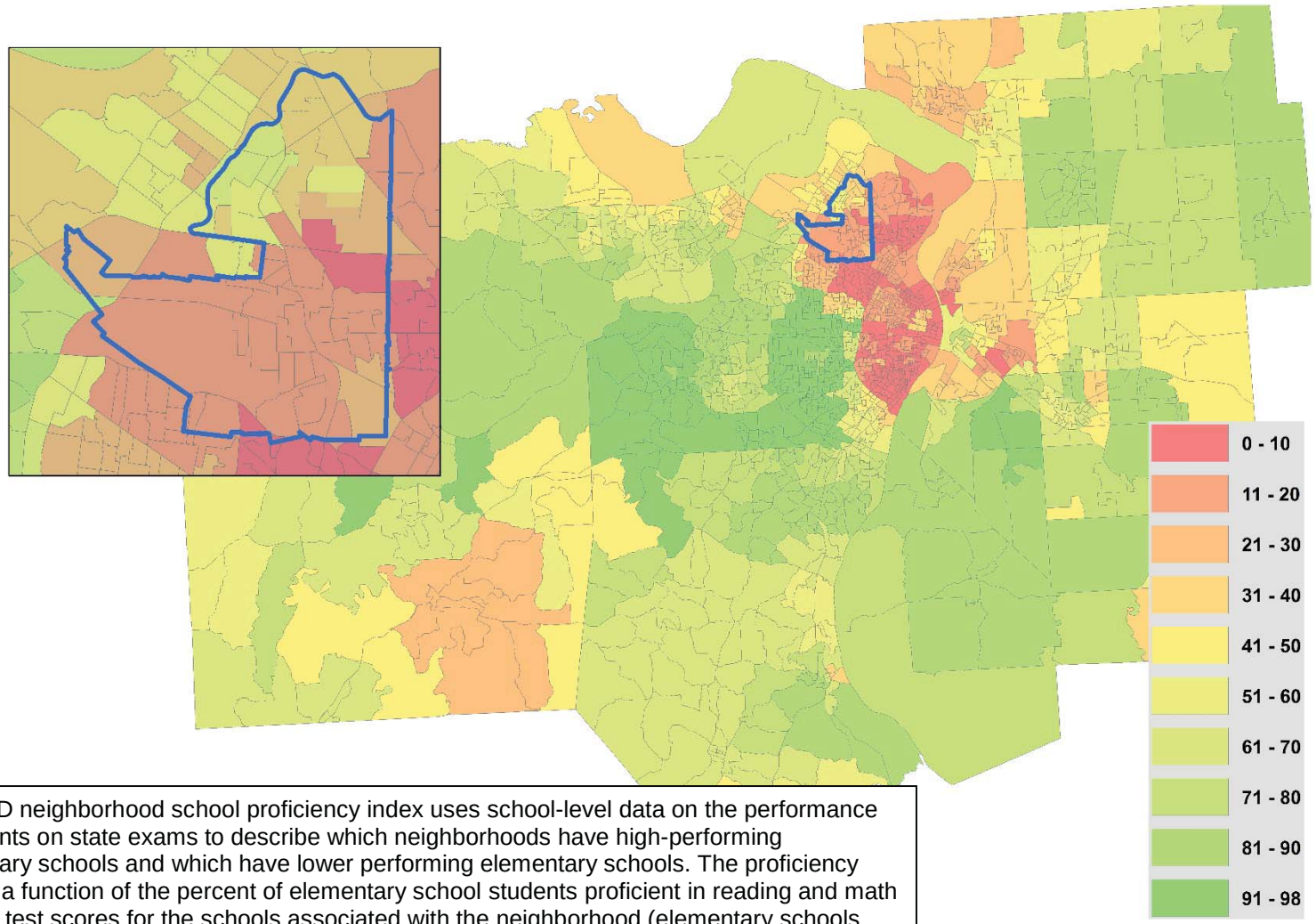
The HUD poverty index to captures the depth and intensity of poverty in a given neighborhood. The index combines the rate of family poverty and the receipt of public assistance receipts. The result is a simple 0-100 index, with the lowest index numbers indicating high rates of poverty and public assistance.

Map 1e: HUD Labor Market Index, Greater St. Louis and Ferguson-Florissant School District (2010)



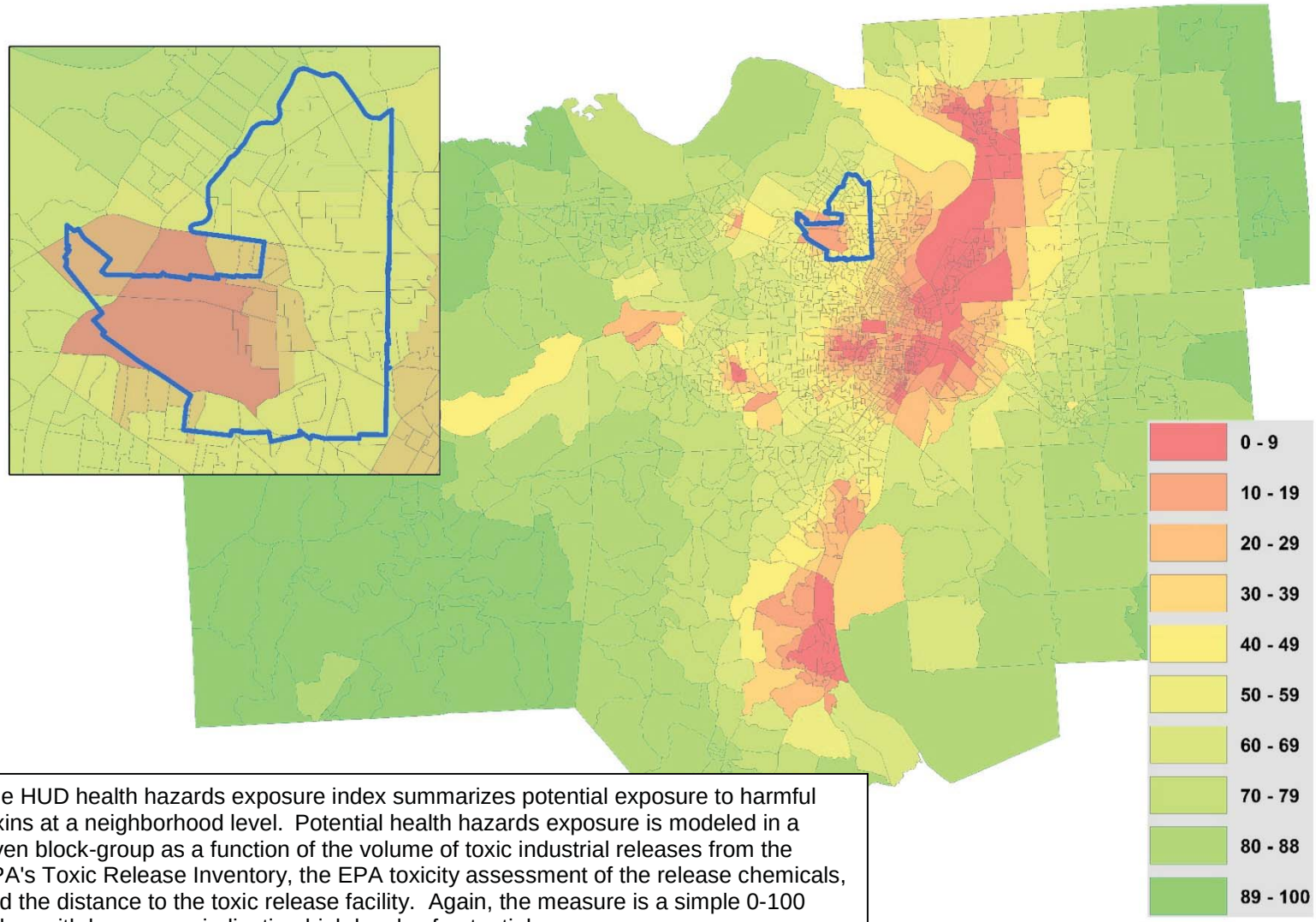
The HUD labor market engagement index provides a summary description of the relative intensity of labor market engagement and human capital in a neighborhood. This is based upon the level of employment, labor force participation and educational attainment in that neighborhood. The result is a simple 0-100 index, with the lowest index numbers indicating relative disengagement from the labor market and its opportunities.

Map 1f: HUD School Proficiency Index, Greater St. Louis and Ferguson-Florissant School District (2010)



The HUD neighborhood school proficiency index uses school-level data on the performance of students on state exams to describe which neighborhoods have high-performing elementary schools and which have lower performing elementary schools. The proficiency index is a function of the percent of elementary school students proficient in reading and math on state test scores for the schools associated with the neighborhood (elementary schools are linked with block-groups based on a geographic mapping of attendance area zones).

Map 1g: HUD Health Hazards Index, Greater St. Louis and Ferguson-Florissant School District (2010)



The HUD health hazards exposure index summarizes potential exposure to harmful toxins at a neighborhood level. Potential health hazards exposure is modeled in a given block-group as a function of the volume of toxic industrial releases from the EPA's Toxic Release Inventory, the EPA toxicity assessment of the release chemicals, and the distance to the toxic release facility. Again, the measure is a simple 0-100 index, with low scores indicating high levels of potential exposure.

Exhibit B

Map 4: Municipal Zoning in St. Louis County, ca 1965. Source: various archival sources.

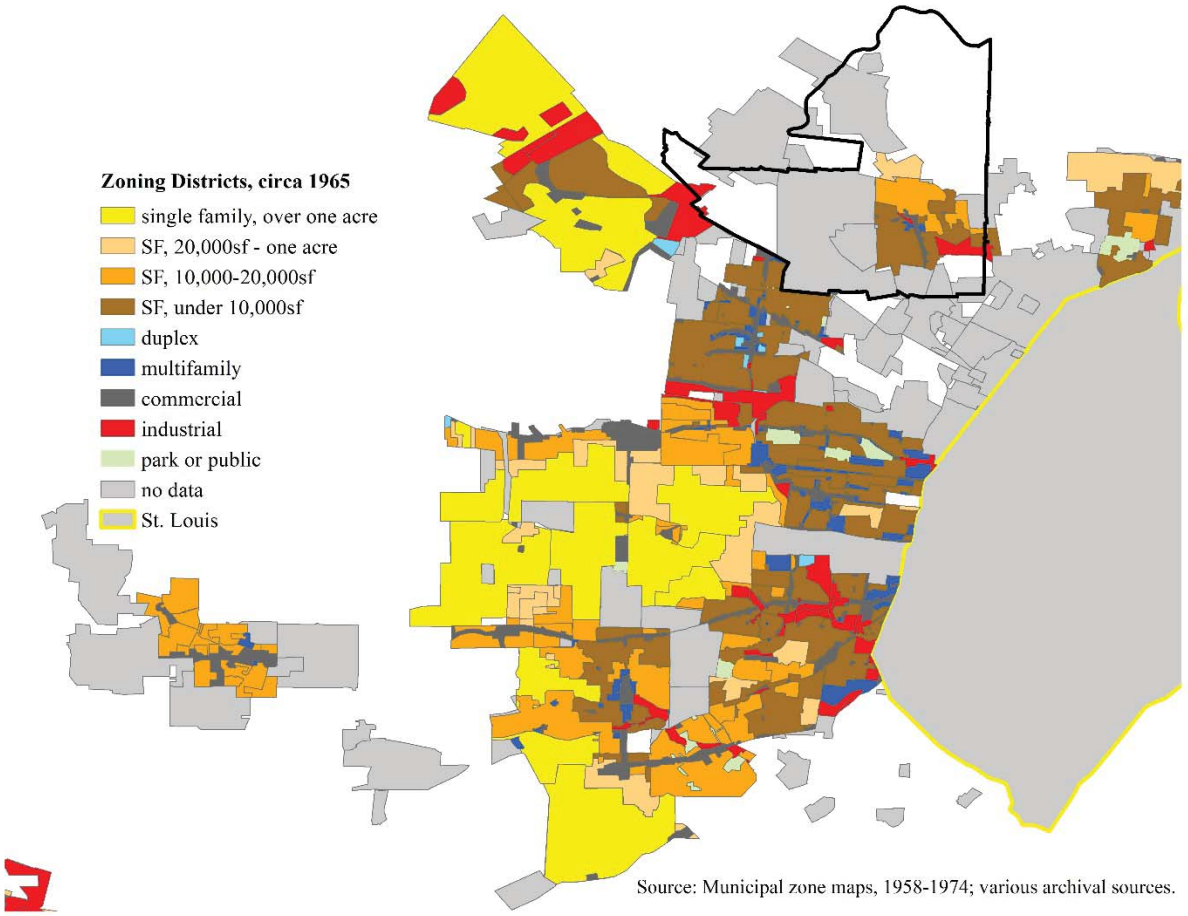


Exhibit C

Map 5: Municipal Zoning in Greater St. Louis, 2000. Source: EW Gateway.

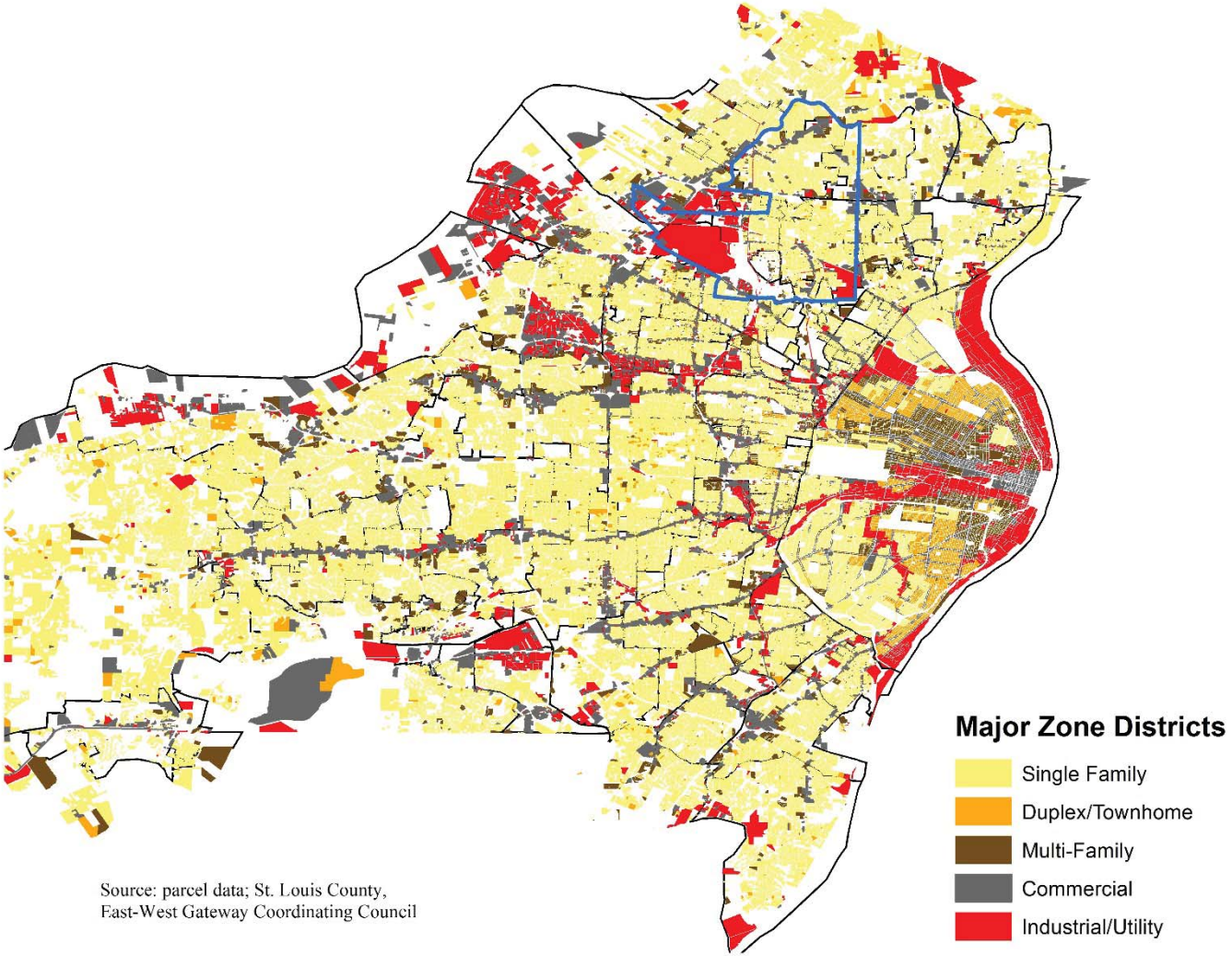


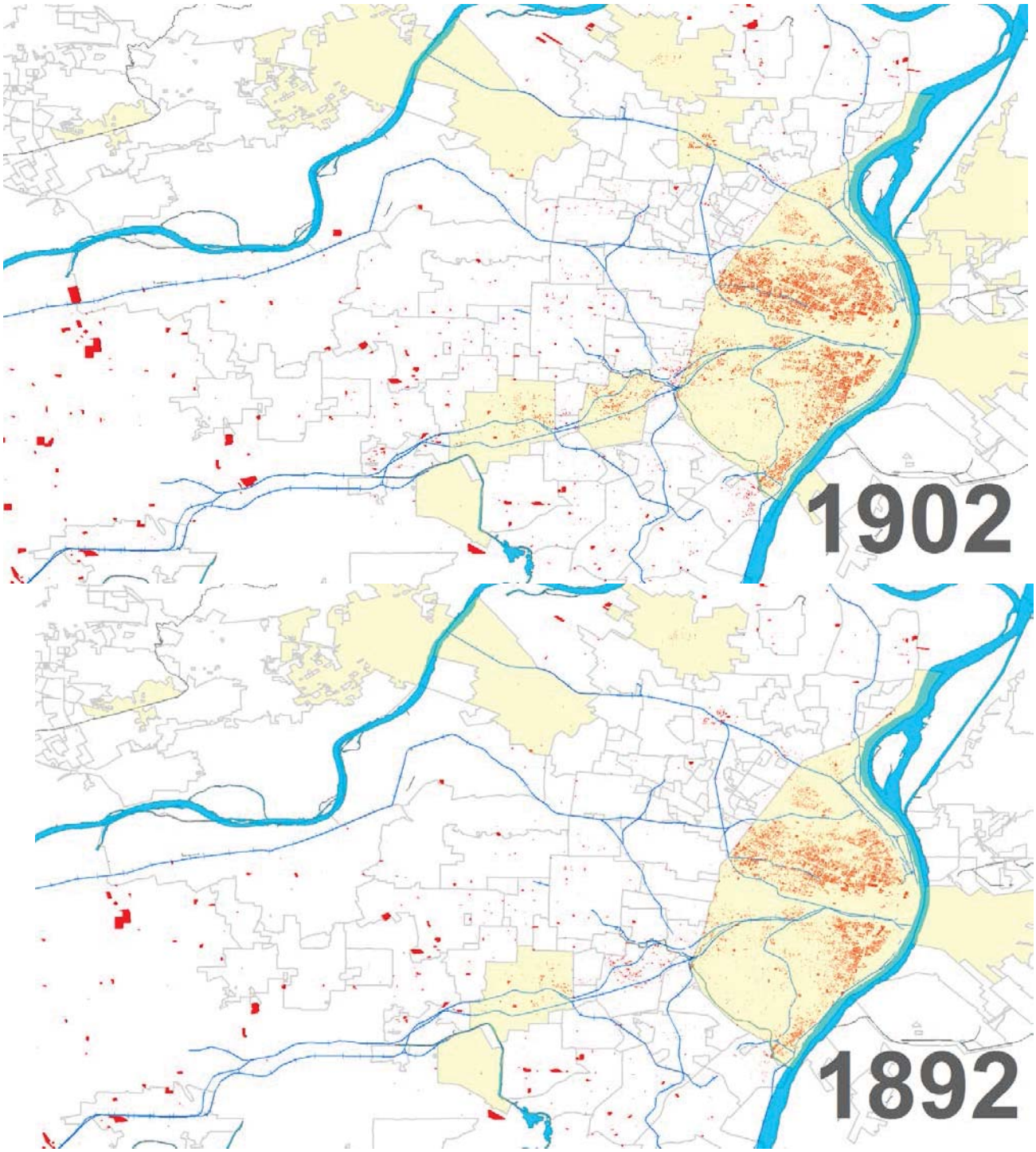
Exhibit D

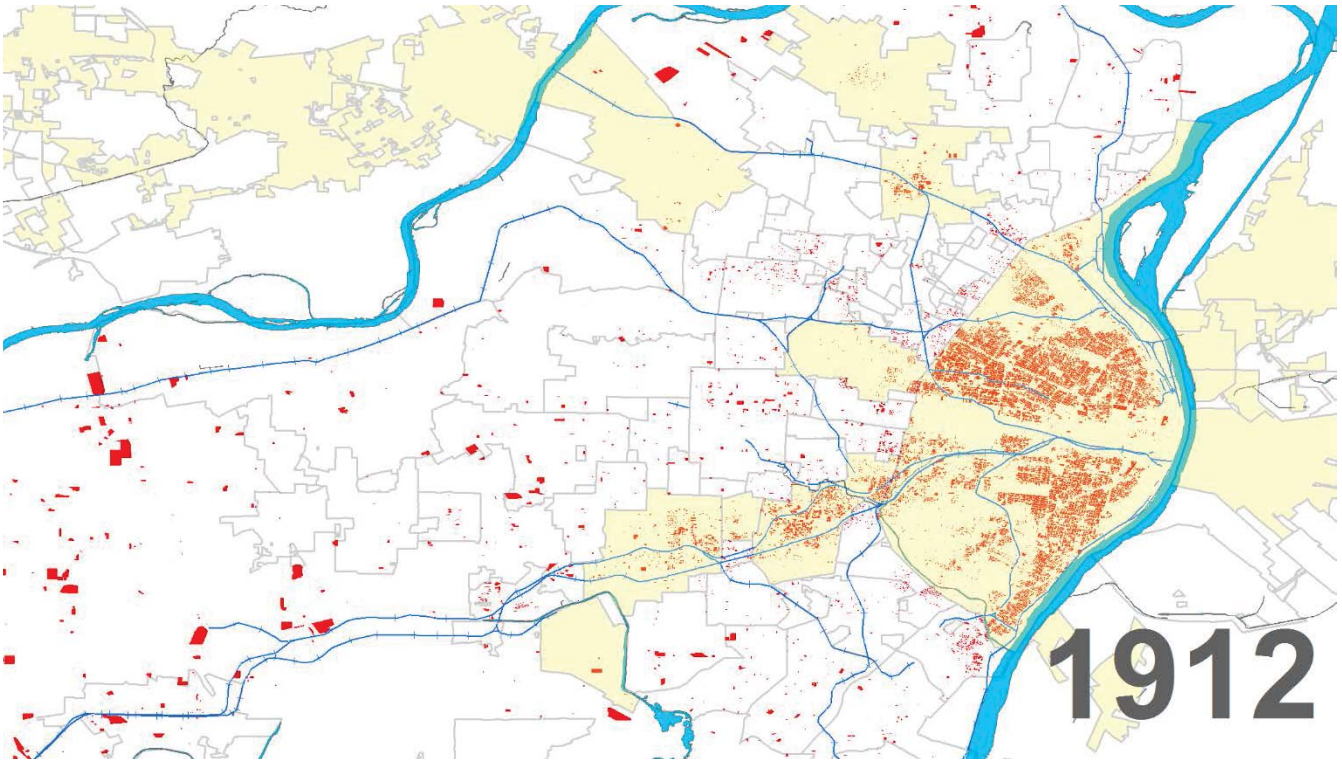
Map 6: Urban Renewal in St. Louis, 1951-1980. Source: St. Louis LCRA

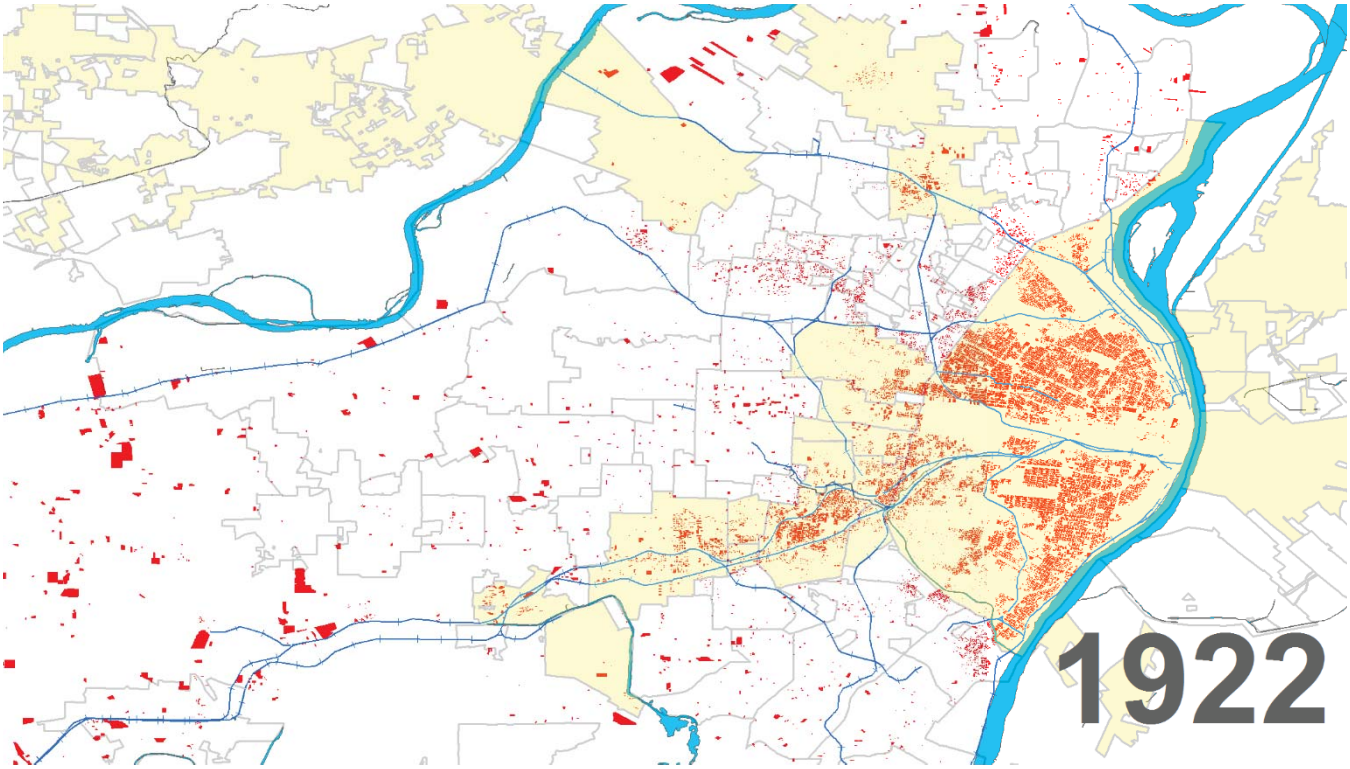
Source: Various LCRA, CDA reports; Collins (1974); Urban Land Institute (1985); City ordinances and parcel data; UR Map in Mercantile Library, UMSL

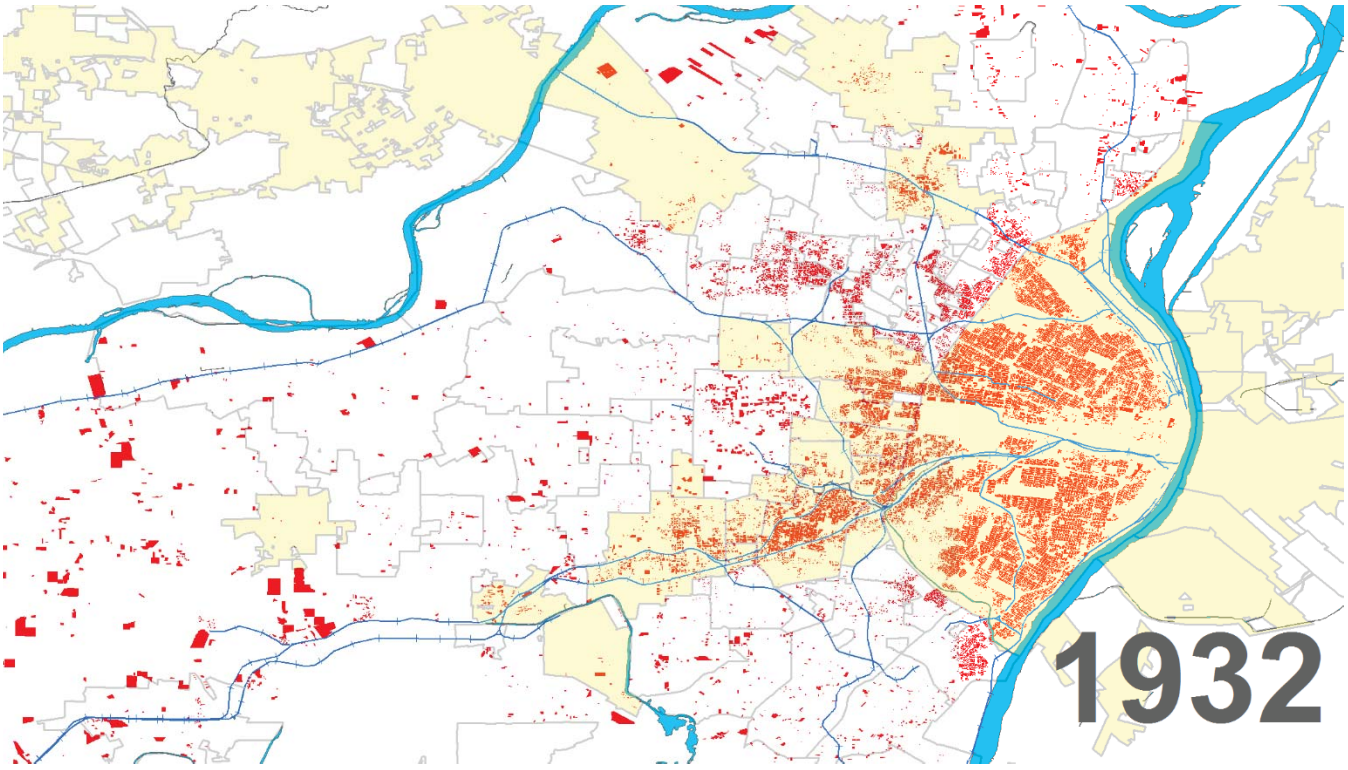
Exhibit E

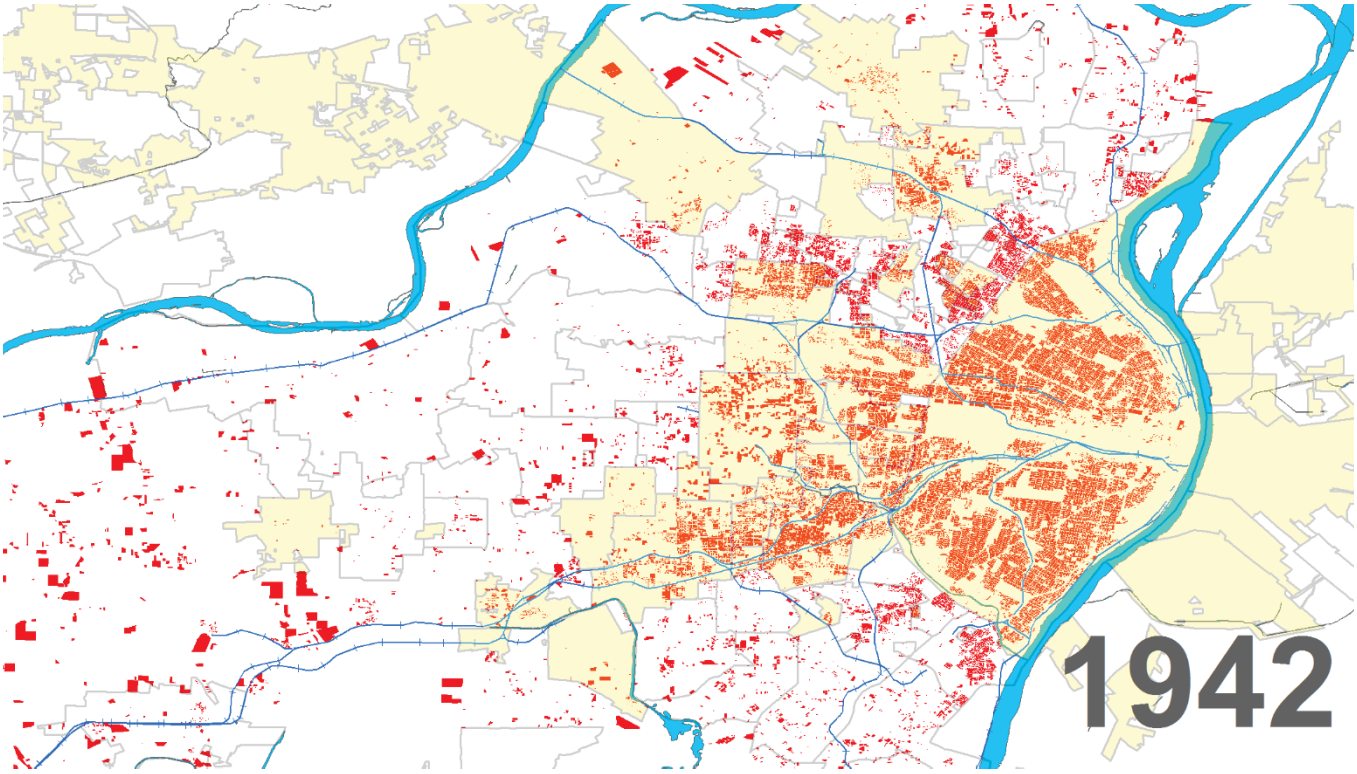
Map 8: Municipal Growth and Annexation, St. Louis County, 1892-1982. Source: County parcel data; various archival sources (yellow=incorporations, red=residential construction by year built.




1912


1922


1932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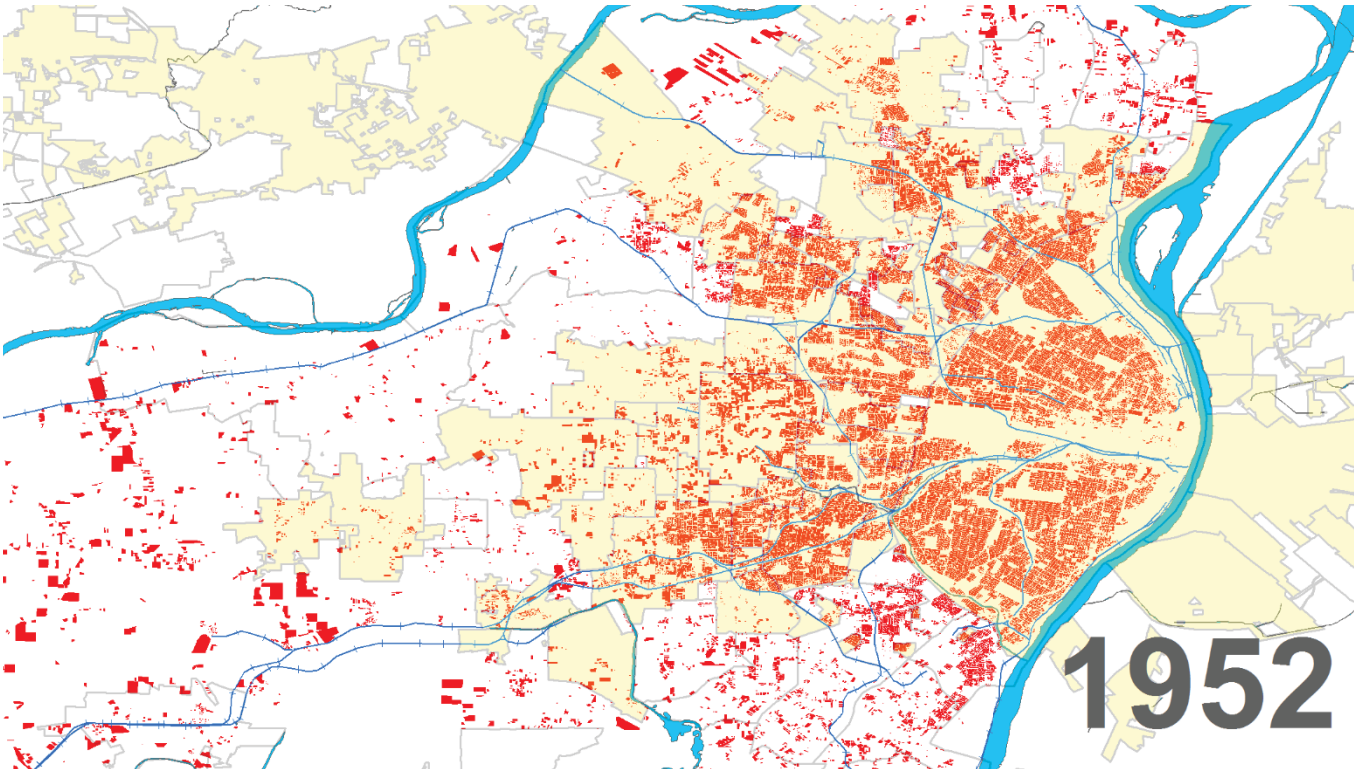
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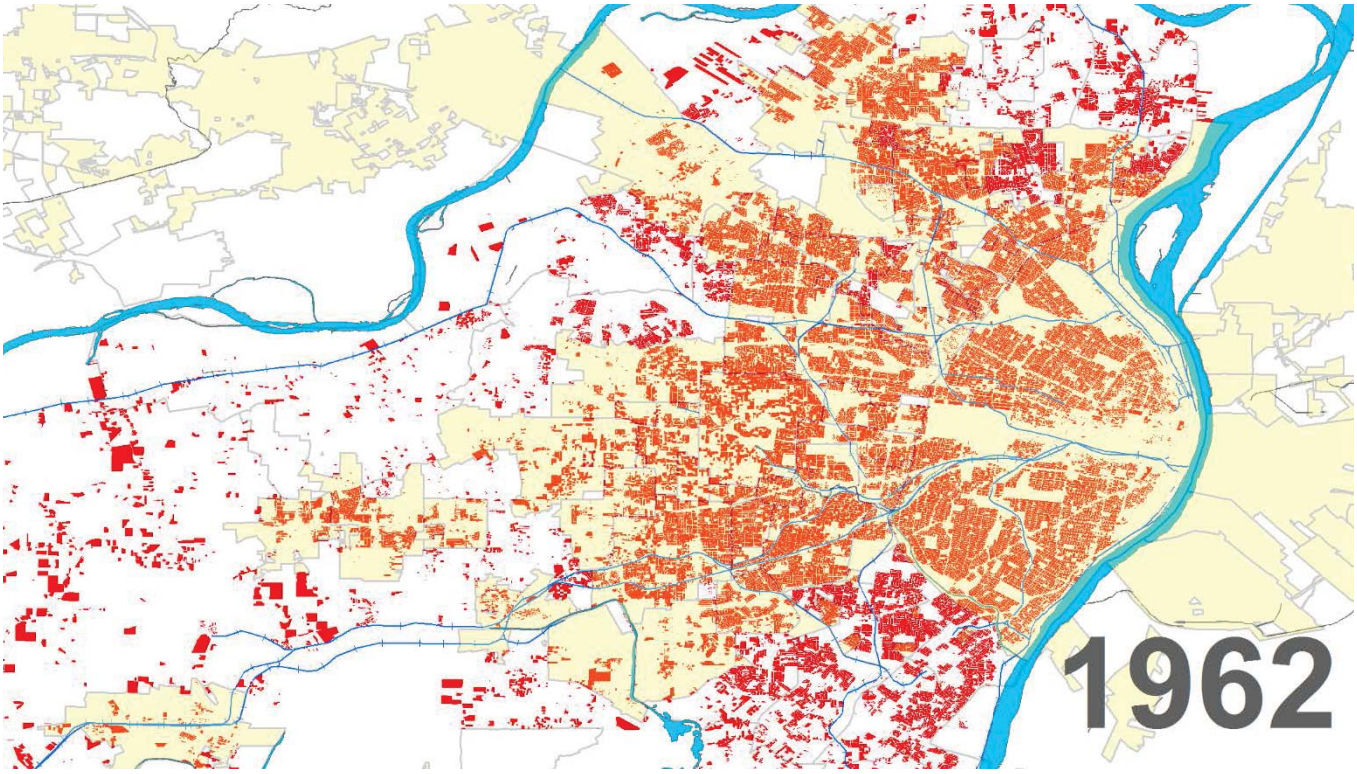
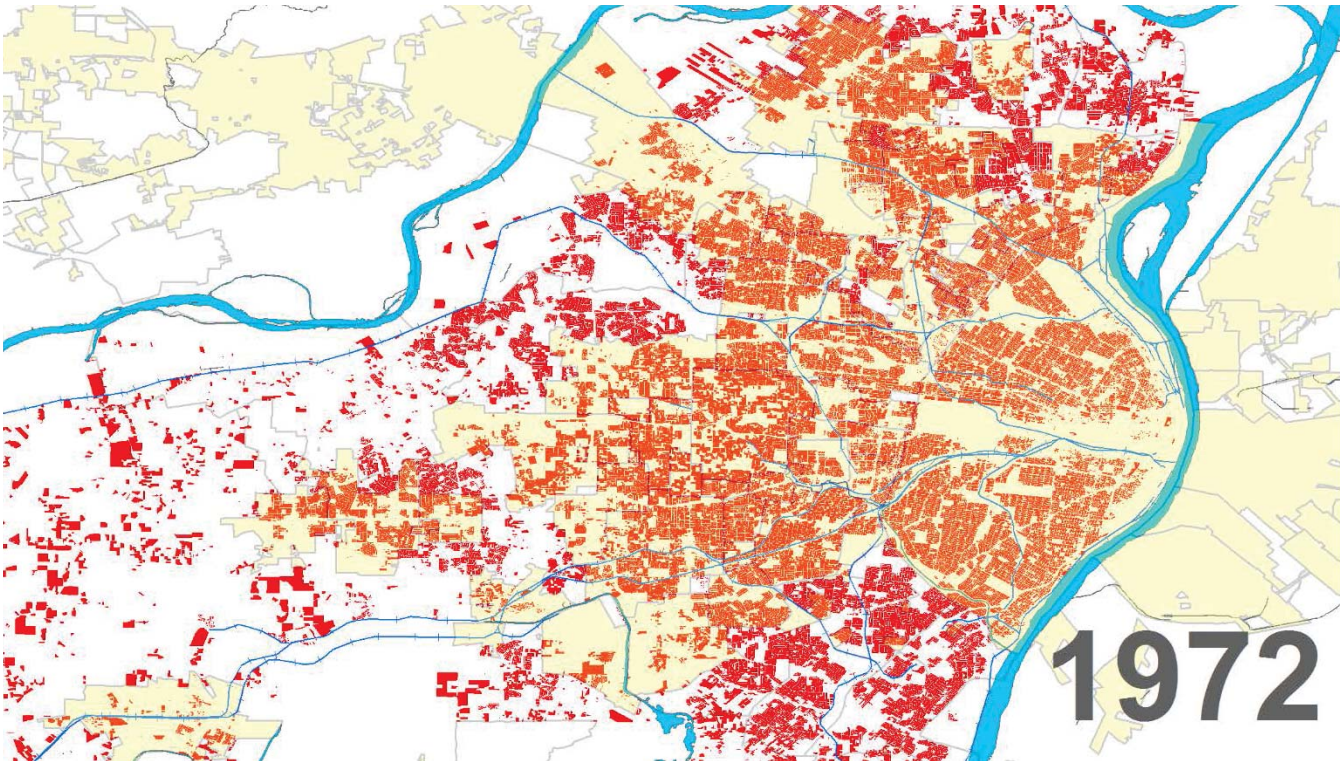

1962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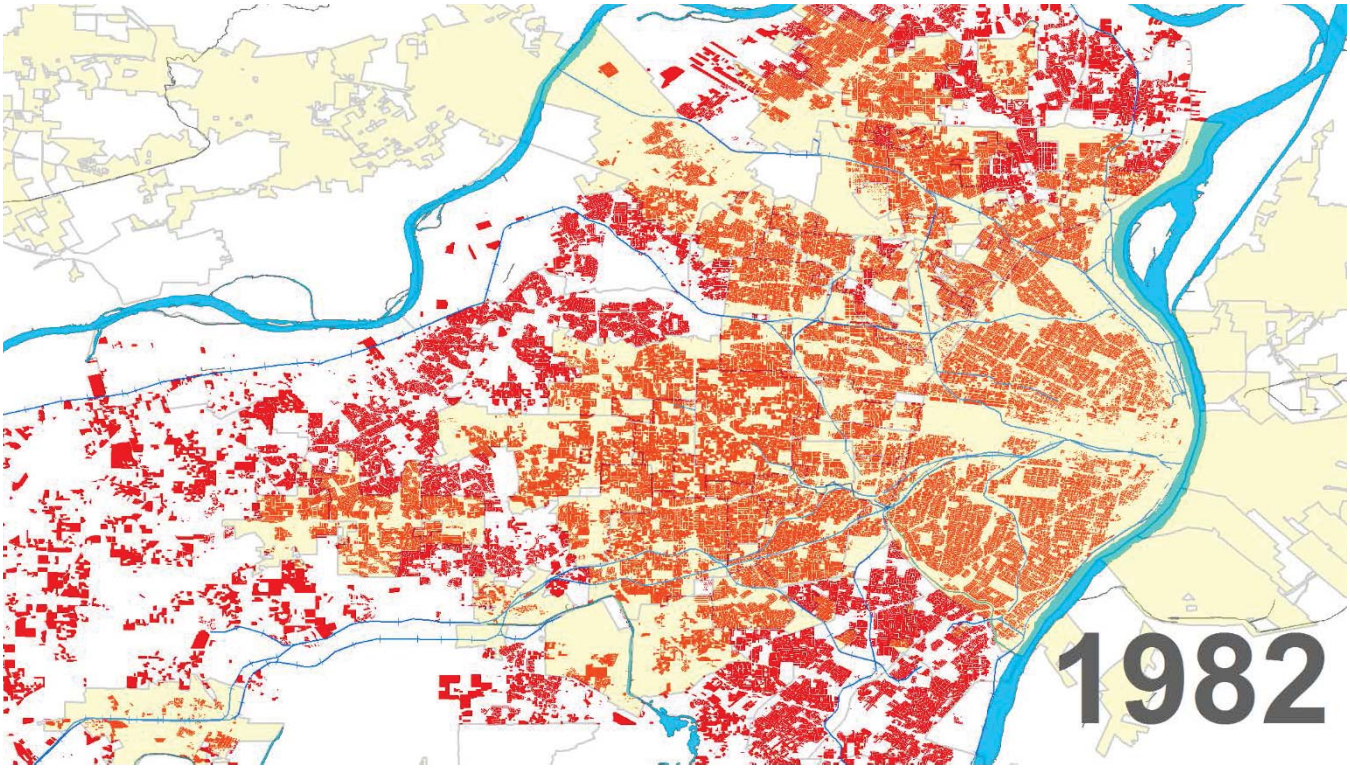
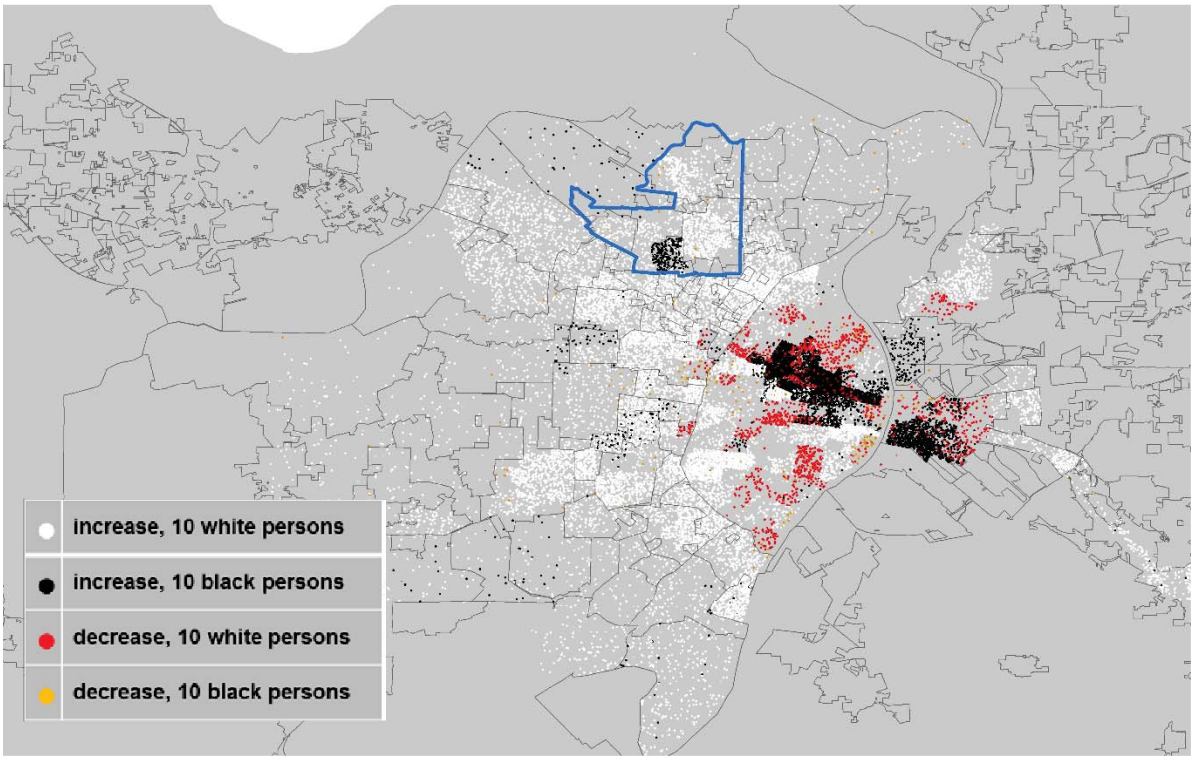
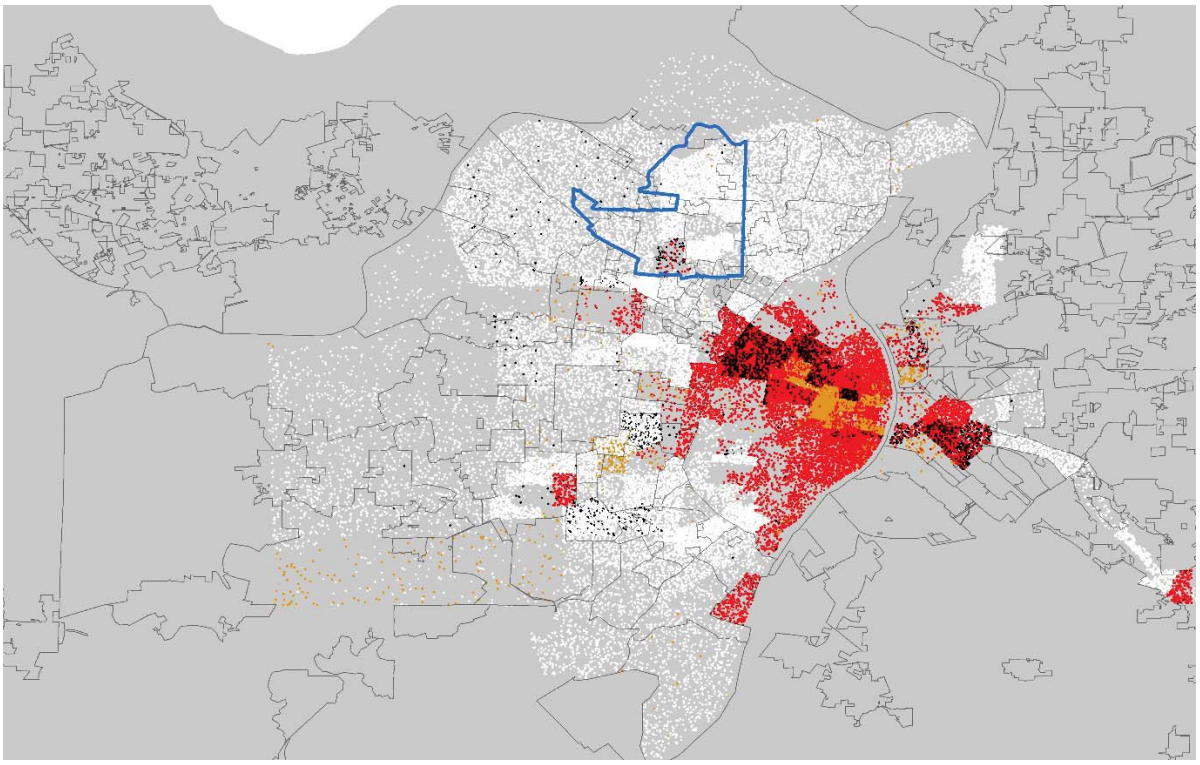

1982

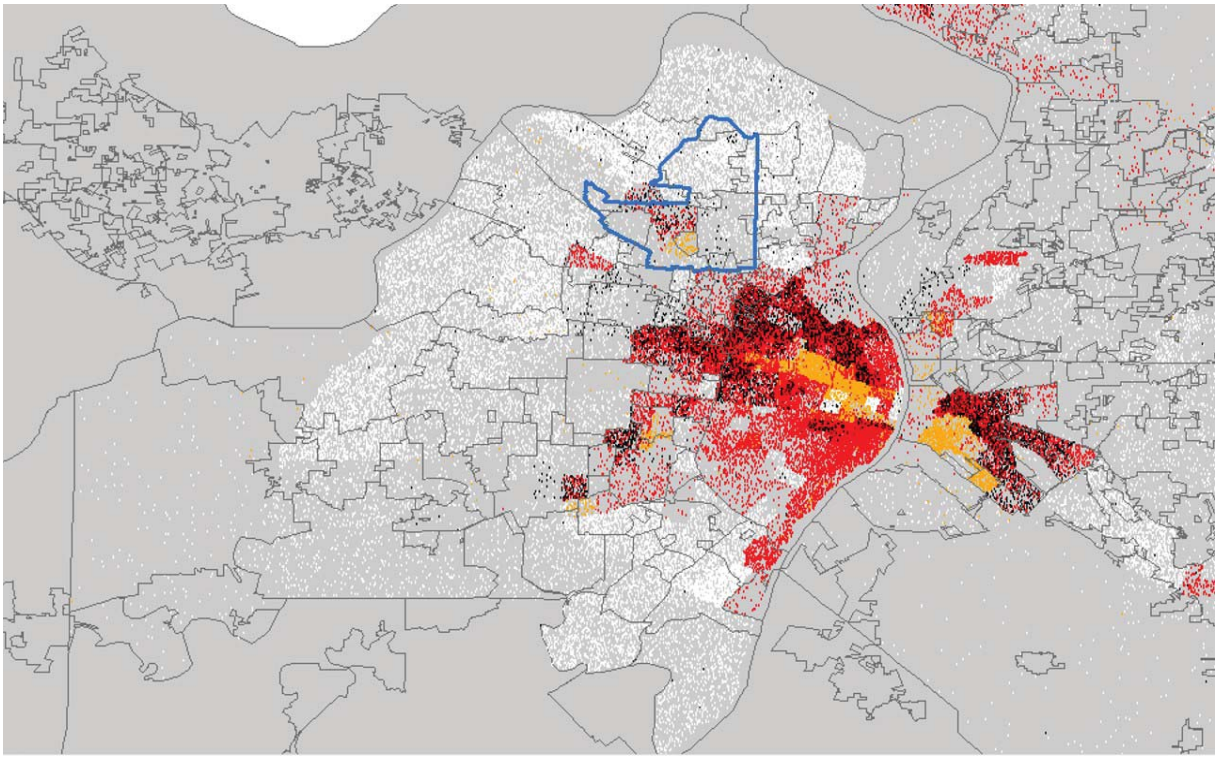
Exhibit F: Map 9a: White and Black Flight, 1940-1950. Source: Decennial Census



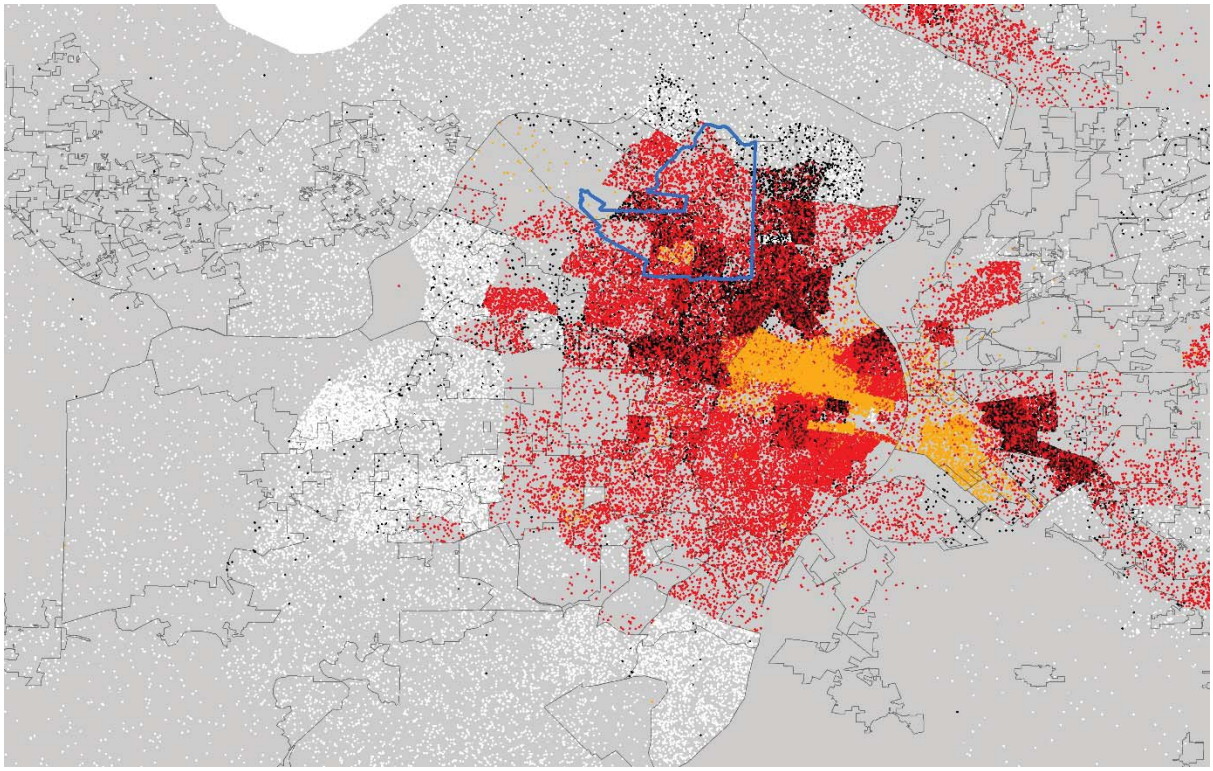
Map 9b: White and Black Flight, 1950-1960. Source: Decennial Census



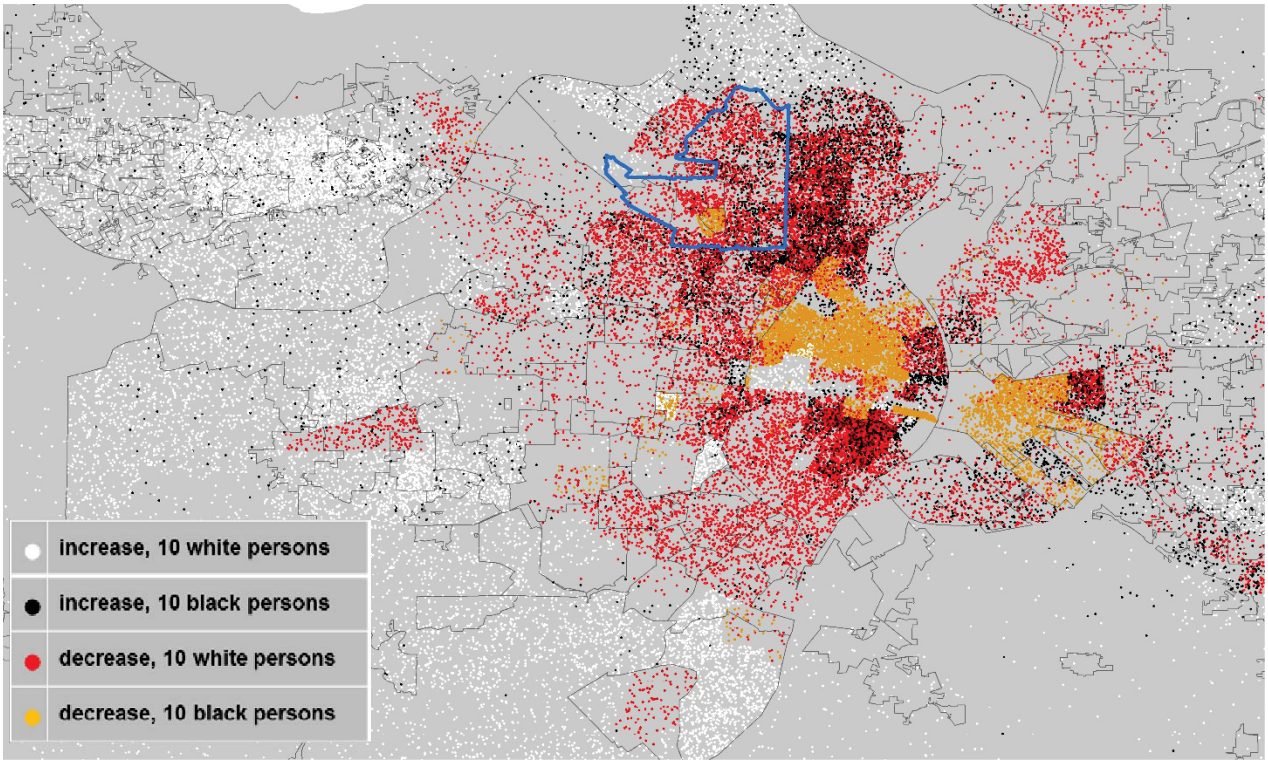
Map 9c: White and Black Flight, 1960-1970. Source: Decennial Census



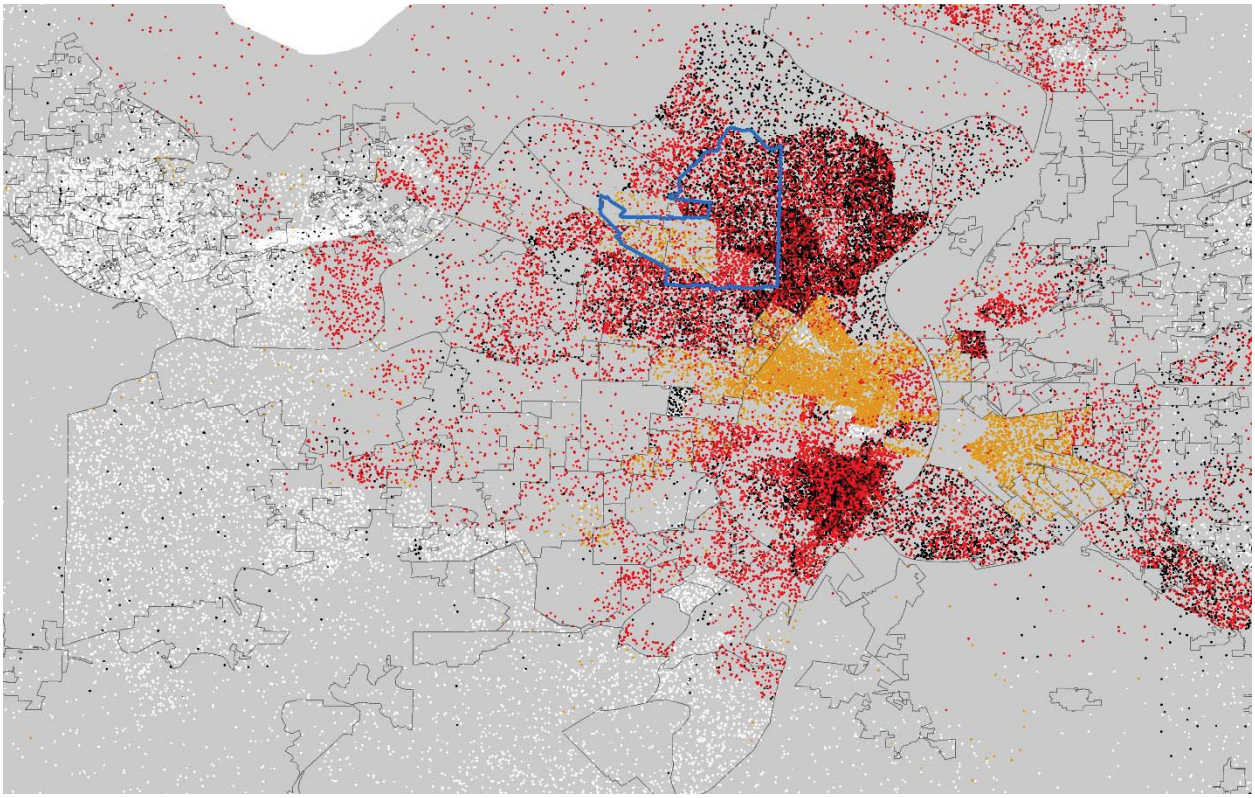
Map 9d: White and Black Flight, 1970-1980. Source: Decennial Census



Map 9e: White and Black Flight, 1980-1990. Source: Decennial Census



Map 9f: White and Black Flight, 1990-2000



Map 9g: White and Black Flight, 2000-2010. Source: Decennial Census

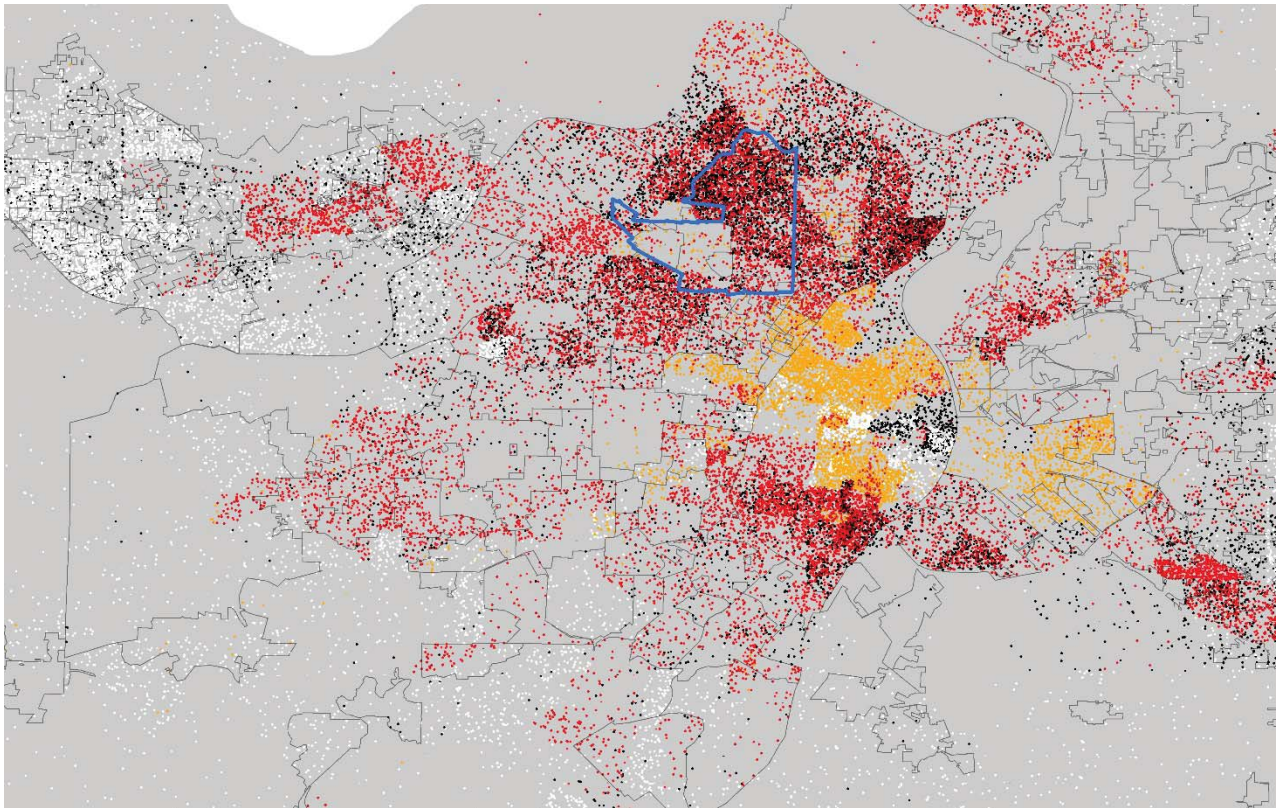
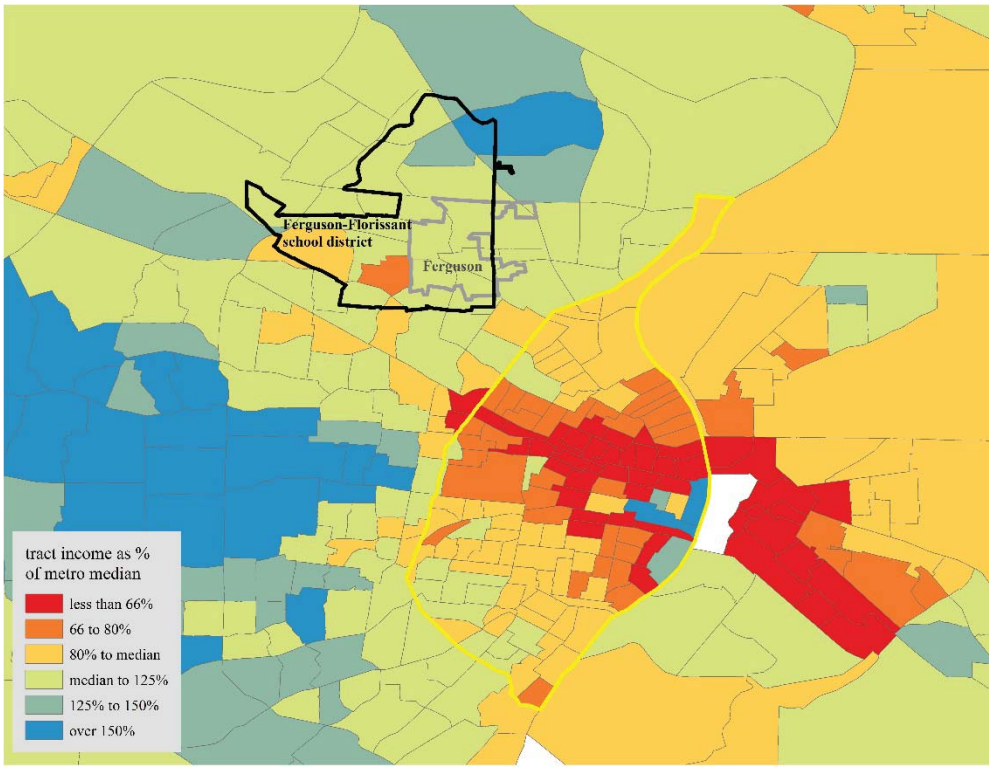
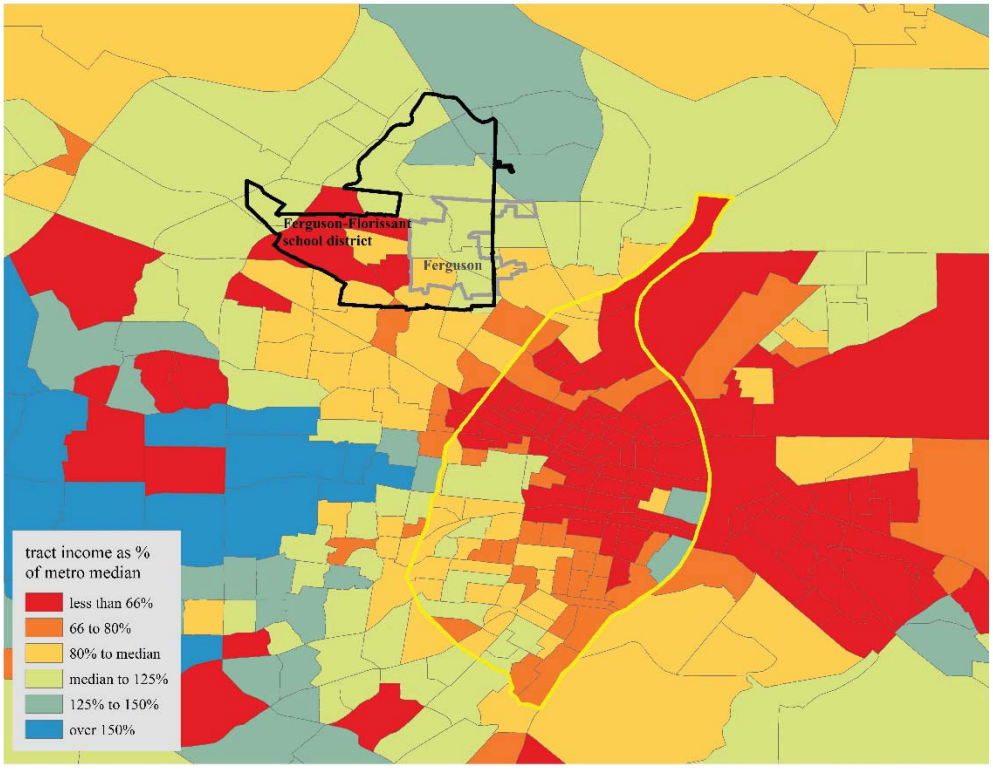


Exhibit G

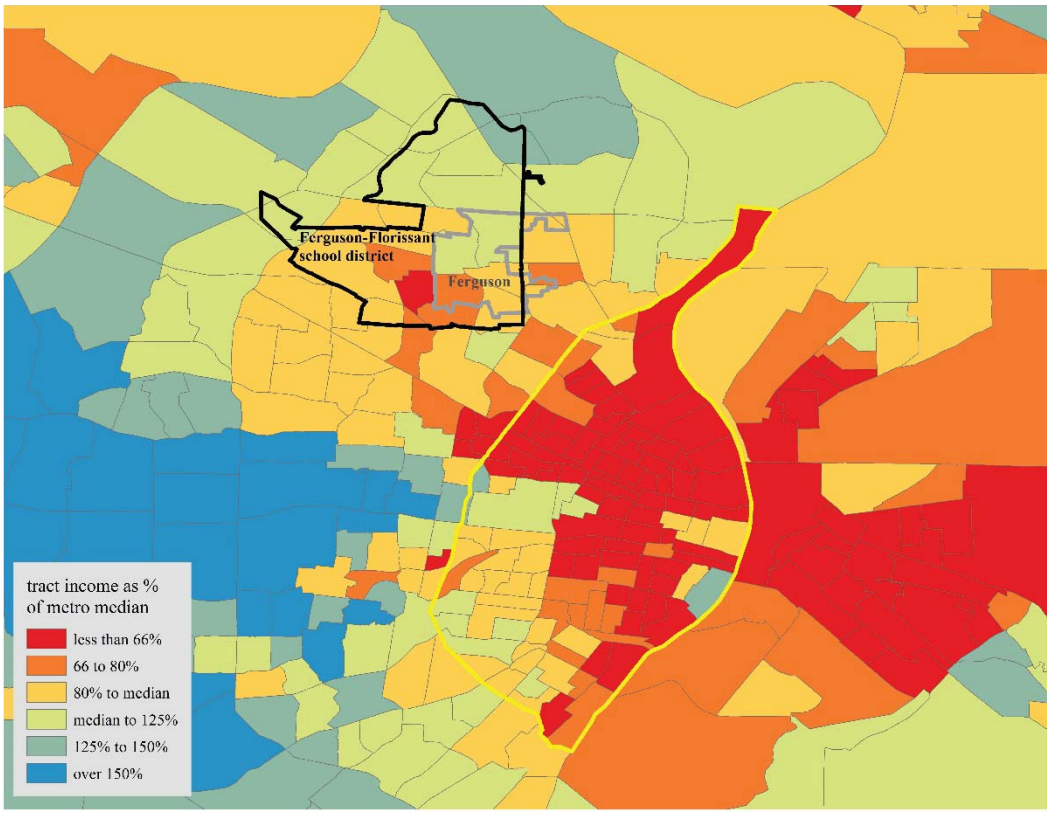
Map 11: Local Income Inequality, 1970-2007. Source: Sean Reardon and Kendra Bischoff, *Income Segregation in the United States' Largest Metropolitan Areas*



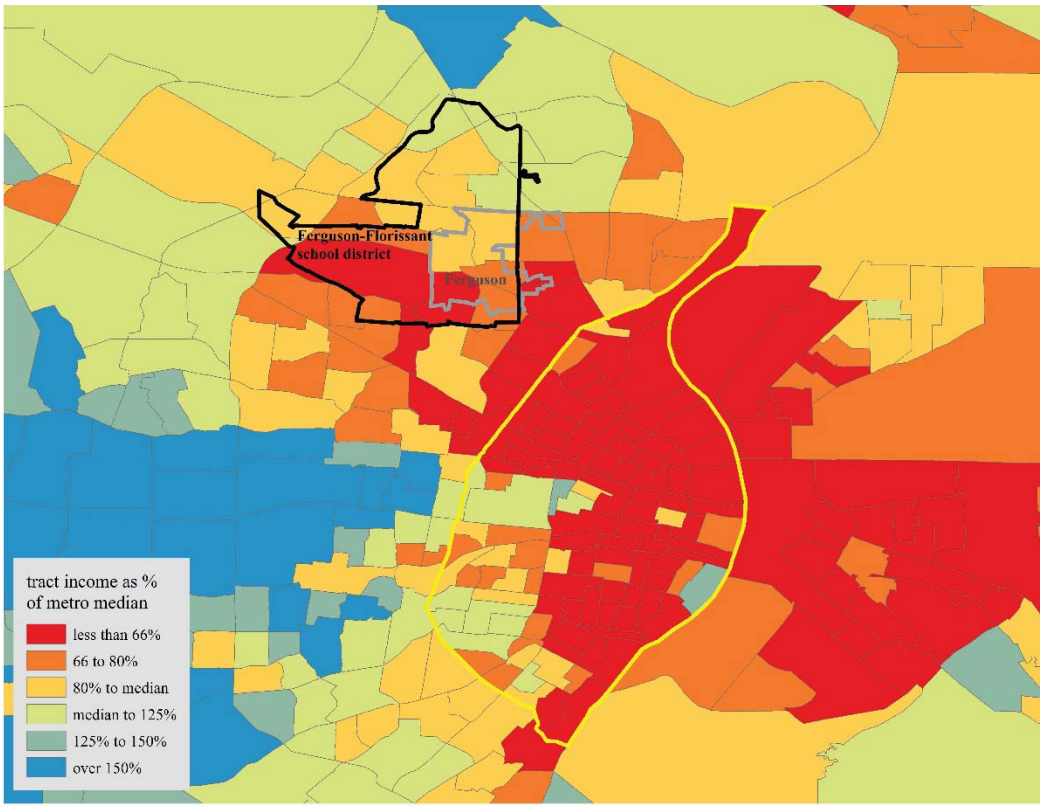
1970



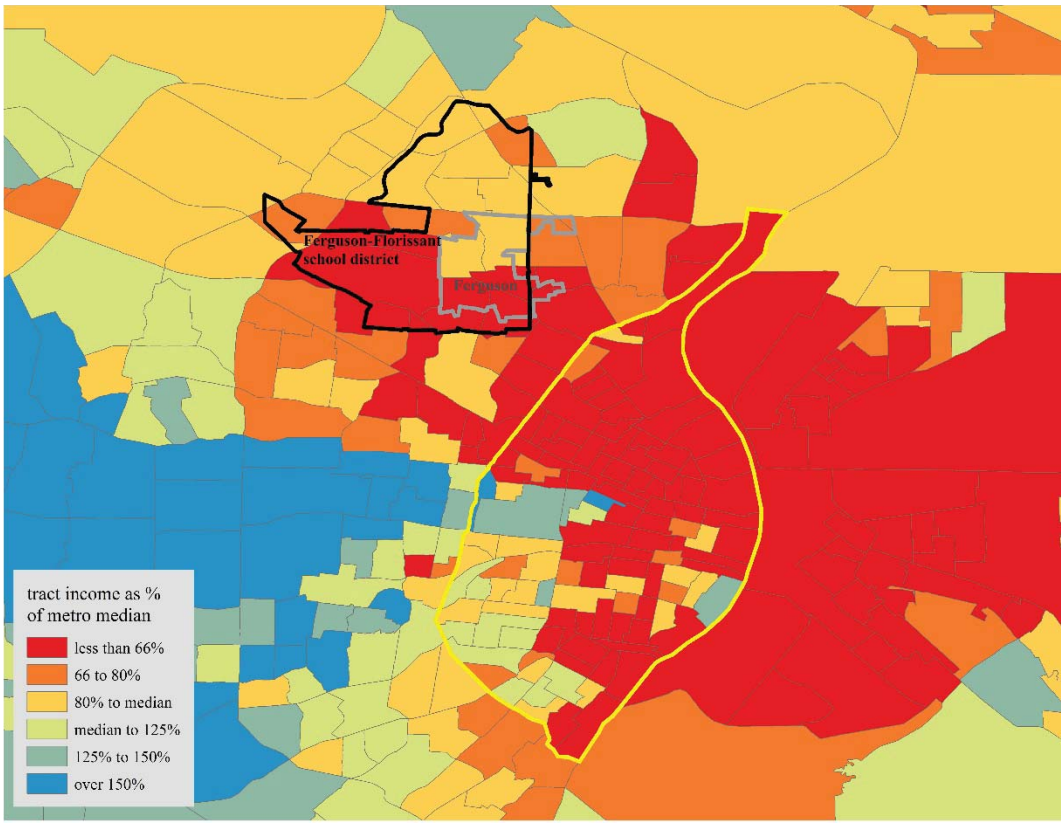
1980


Ferguson-Florissant
school district
Ferguson
tract income as %
of metro median
less than 66%
66 to 80%
80% to median
median to 125%
125% to 150%
over 150%

1990


Ferguson-Florissant
school district
Ferguson
tract income as %
of metro median
less than 66%
66 to 80%
80% to median
median to 125%
125% to 150%
over 150%

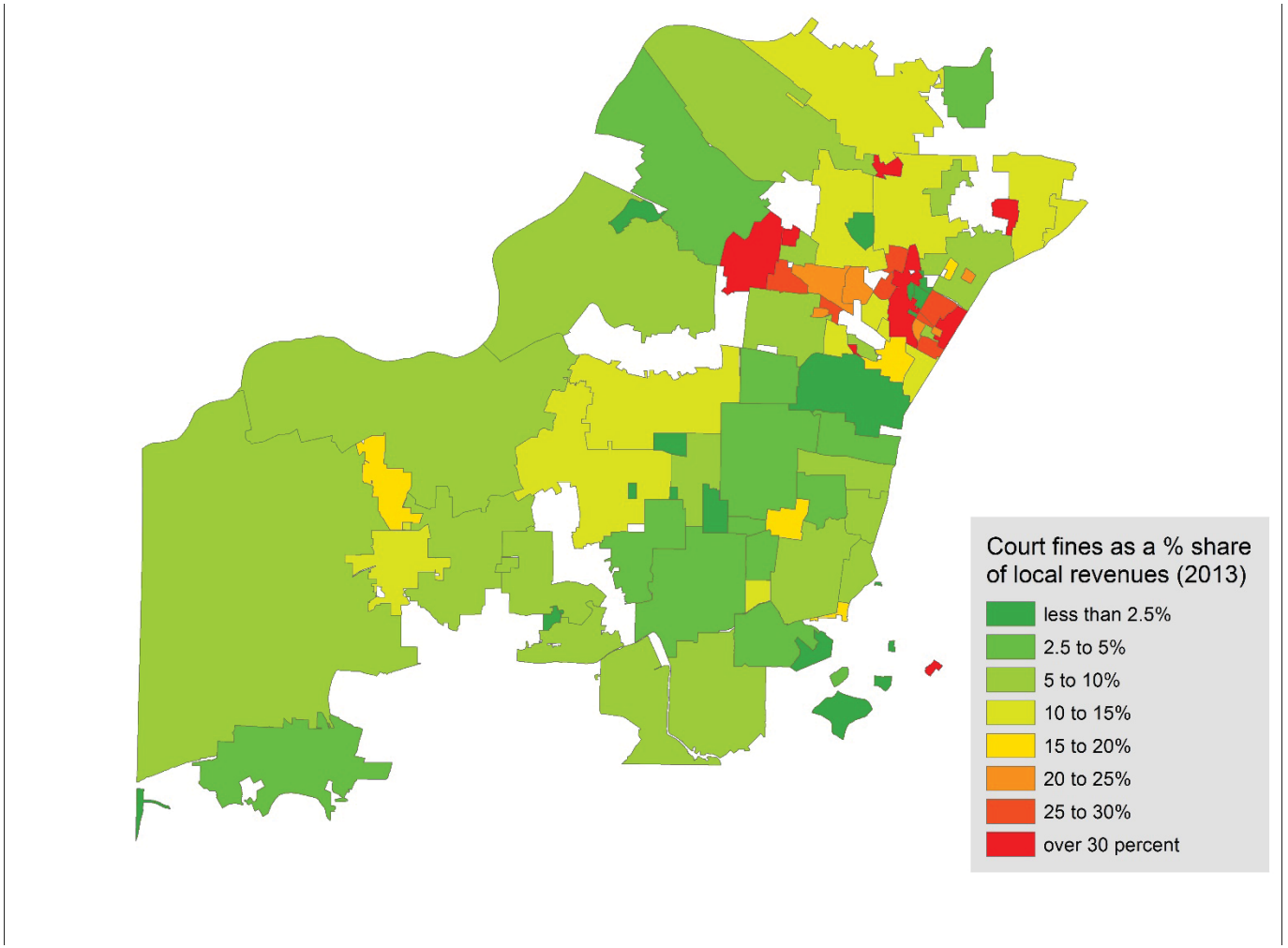
2000


Ferguson-Florissant
school district
Ferguson
tract income as %
of metro median
less than 66%
66 to 80%
80% to median
median to 125%
125% to 150%
over 150%

2007

Exhibit H

Map 15: Local Court Fines and Fiscal Capacity, St. Louis County 2013. Source: Better Together, Municipal Court Report (2015).



CURRICULUM VITAE

Colin Gordon, Professor of History, University of Iowa
colin-gordon@uiowa.edu

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1. EDUCATION

University of Wisconsin - Madison, PhD. History, 1990
York University - Toronto, MA History, 1986
University of Alberta - Edmonton, BA (honors), History, 1985

2. PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYMENT

Department Chair, August 2006-August 2011
Professor, April 2004-present, University of Iowa
Associate Professor, June 1996-April 2004, University of Iowa
Assistant Professor, 1994-1996, University of Iowa
Assistant Professor, 1990-1994, University of British Columbia

3. PUBLICATIONS

i) Monographs

Growing Apart: A Political History of American Inequality (Institute for Policy Studies, 2013); e-book at www. inequality.org

Mapping Decline: St. Louis and the Fate of the American City (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008; paperback 2009), 272pp

Dead on Arrival: The Politics of Health Care in Twentieth Century America (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003 (paperback edition, January 2005), 316pp.

New Deals: Business, Labor, and Politics in America, 1920-1935 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 329pp (paperback 1994 as well).

ii) Textbooks

Major Problems in American History, 1920-1945: Document and Essays (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1999; revised edition 2010), 451pp.

iii) Digital Projects

Digital Johnson County. Interactive mapping website, developed in cooperation with University of Iowa Libraries, Office of State Archeologist, and DNR. Research Assistance from Cody Hodson. Launched April 2013

The Telltale Chart. Animated graphs and maps, illustrating American economic and demographic trends. Launched November 2011.

Mapping Decline: St. Louis and the American City. Interactive mapping website, developed in cooperation Harvard's WorldMap project. Launched December 2011.

Mapping Decline: St. Louis and the American City. Interactive mapping website, developed in cooperation with the University of Iowa Libraries. Launched October 2010.

iv) Refereed Articles

"Making Ferguson: Segregation's Long Shadow in the St. Louis Suburbs," in Kimberly Norwood (ed), *Ferguson Fault Lines* (American Bar Association), in press.

"Patchwork Metropolis: Fragmented Governance and Urban Decline in Greater St. Louis," *St. Louis University Public Law Review (in press)*

"St. Louis Blues: The Urban Crisis in the Gateway City" *St. Louis University Public Law Review* 33:1 (2103)

"Lost in Space, Or Confessions of an Accidental Geographer, *International Journal of History and Computing* 5:1 (2011), 1-22.

"Blighting the Way: Urban Renewal, Economic Development, and the Elusive Definition of 'Blight'," *Fordham Urban Law Journal* 31:2 (January 2004), 305-337; reprinted in Patricia Salkin (ed), 2005 *Zoning and Planning Law Handbook* (Thomson-West, 2005), pp. 956-986.

"A Poisonous Past," *Reviews in American History* (December 2003), 611-14.

"The Lost City of Solidarity: Metropolitan Unionism in Historical Perspective," *Politics and Society* 27:4 (December 1999), 557-581; also published by University of Washington Labor Center, Working Paper #8 (March 1999).

"Why Wagner? A Response to Robert Zieger," *Journal of Policy History* 11:2 (1999), 201-6.

"Rethinking the New Deal," *Columbia Law Review* 98:8 (December 1998), 2029-54.

"Perche Negli Stati Uniti non si e Affermato il Corporatismo," *Passato e Presente* [Italy] 45 (Dec. 1998), 93-112.

"Why No Corporatism in the United States?: Business Disorganization and its Consequences," *Business and Economic History* 27:1 (Fall 1998), 29-46.

"Why No Health Insurance in the United States? The Limits of Social Provision in War and Peace, 1941-1948, *Journal of Policy History* 9:3 (1997), 277-310.

"Does the Ruling Class Rule?" *Reviews in American History* 25:2 (June 1997), 288-293.

"Still Searching for Progressivism," *Reviews in American History* 23 (1995): 669-674.

"Lessons of History? Past and Present in the Gulf War," *Radical History Review* 55 (Winter 1993): 135-144.

"Dead On Arrival: Health Care Reform in the United States," *Studies in Political Economy* 39 (Autumn 1992): 141-158.

"New Deal, Old Deck: Business and the Origins of Social Security, 1920-1935." *Politics and Society* 19 (June 1991): 165-207.

"Crafting a Usable Past: Consensus, Ideology, and Historians of the American Revolution." *William and Mary Quarterly* 46 (Oct. 1989): 671-695.

"The Modern American Presidency, 1945-1974: A Bibliographical Essay." *Canadian Review of American Studies* 16 (1985): 425-441

v) Legal Consulting and Briefs

"Segregation and Uneven Development in Greater St. Louis, St. Louis County, and the Ferguson-Florissant School District," Expert Report submitted on behalf of plaintiffs in *Missouri State Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Redditt Hudson, F. Willis Johnson, and Doris Bailey v. Ferguson-Florissant School District and St. Louis County Board of Elections Commissioners,* United States District Court for the Eastern District of Missouri, Civ. No. 14-2077 (in progress).

"Brief of Health Care Policy History Scholars as *Amici Curiae* in Support of Petitioners," King v Burwell, US Supreme Court 14-114 (2015) (just signatory).

"Brief of Health Care Policy History Scholars as *Amici Curiae* in Support of Petitioners," USDHS v Florida, US Supreme Court 11-398 (2011) (just signatory).

"North St. Louis Neighborhood Analysis," A Report to Capital Habeas Unit Federal Community Defender Office for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, BILLIE ALLEN v UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (survey of neighborhood conditions in petitioner's neighborhood), 79 pages, 3 figures, 41 maps (2010).

"Brief Amici Curiae of Twelve University Professors and the Center for a New Democracy" New Party v. Timmons [Supreme Court case deciding validity of state prohibitions on electoral fusion or multi-party nomination] August 1996" (author and co-signor)

vi) Policy Research

Stolen Chances: Precarious Work and Wage Theft in Iowa (Iowa Policy Project, in progress)

The State of Working Iowa, 2014 (Iowa Policy Project, September 2014)

Keep High Quality in High Quality Jobs (Iowa Policy Project Backgrounder, February 2014)

The Rich Get Richer: Top Incomes in Iowa, 1917-2011 (Iowa Policy Project, February 2014)

Iowa follows U.S. patterns on loss of employer-sponsored coverage (Iowa Policy Project, November 2013)

Counting Jobs: A Primer (Iowa Policy Project, November 2013)

The State of Working Iowa, 2013 (Iowa Policy Project, September 2013)

The State of Working Iowa, 2012 (Iowa Policy Project, December 2012)

(with Robin Clark-Bennett, Jen Sherer, and Matthew Glasson), Wage Theft in Iowa (Iowa Policy Project, August 2012)

Brief of Health Care Policy History Scholars as *Amici Curiae* in Support of Petitioners, USDHS v Florida, US Supreme Court 11-398 (2011).

(with Andrew Cannon, Peter Fisher, and Noga O'Connor), Fending for Themselves: Nonstandard Workers, Health Insurance Coverage and the Labor Market (Iowa Policy Project, October 2011), Department of Labor funded study, 59pp.

(with Noga O'Connor), The State of Working Iowa, 2011 (Iowa Policy Project, September 2011), 25pp.

Not Your Father's Health Insurance: Discount Medical Plans and the American Health Crisis (Iowa Policy Project, December 2010); Department of Labor funded study, 15pp.

"North St. Louis Neighborhood Analysis," A Report to Capital Habeas Unit Federal Community Defender Office for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, BILLIE ALLEN v UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (survey of neighborhood conditions in petitioner's neighborhood), 79 pages, 3 figures, 41 maps (2010).

(with Christine Ralston) The State of Working Iowa, 2009 (Iowa Policy Project, 2009)

(with Christine Ralston) Wage and Benefit Standards: An Analysis of Proposed Changes to the Iowa Values Fund (Iowa Policy Project, 2009), 14pp.

(with Beth Pearson), Young Workers and the Iowa Economy (Iowa Policy Project, 2008), 8pp.

(with Beth Pearson), Women, Work, and Iowa Economy (Iowa Policy Project, 2008), 13pp.

(with Beth Pearson), The State of Working Iowa , 2008 (Iowa Policy Project, 2008), 12pp

EZ Money: Assessing Iowa's Enterprise Zone Program (Iowa Policy Project, 2008), 18pp

(with Elaine Ditsler and Jevon Europe), The State of Working Iowa, 2007 (Iowa Policy Project, 2007), 32pp

Prescriptions and Placebos: Health Reform in Iowa (Iowa Policy Project, 2006), 28pp.

(with Elaine Ditsler), No Picnic: The State of Working Iowa: 2006 (Iowa Policy Project, 2006), 10pp

(with Peter Fisher, David West, and Elaine Ditsler), Nonstandard Jobs, Substandard Benefits (Iowa Policy Project, 2005), 52pp
(with Elaine Ditsler and Peter Fisher), On the Fringe: The Substandard Benefits of Workers in Part-Time, Temporary, and Contract Jobs (The Commonwealth Fund, 2005), 32pp
(with Elaine Ditsler and Peter Fisher), The State of Working Iowa, 2005 (Iowa Policy Project, 2005), 46pp
Working Blues: Labor Day in Iowa, 2004 (Iowa Policy Project, 2004), 7pp
Bending the Rules: The Promise and Practice of the Grow Iowa Values Fund (Iowa Policy Project, 2004), 18pp
(with Peter Fisher) The State of Working Iowa, 2003 (Iowa Policy Project), 56pp
(with Peter Fisher) The State of Working Iowa, 2001 (Iowa Policy Project), 63pp
"Brief Amici Curiae of Twelve University Professors and the Center for a New Democracy" New Party v. Timmons [Supreme Court case deciding validity of state prohibitions on electoral fusion or multi-party nomination] August 1996" (author and co-signor)
"Dead on Arrival: The Past and Future of American Health Care," (Open Magazine, New Party Papers #2, 1995), 1-30.

vi) Short Articles

JP Morgan Sounds the Alarm on Inequality, *Dissent* (May 2015)
Border City Blues, *Dissent* (May 2015)
Minimum Wage Increase Hits the Bulls Eye, *Working Economics* (May 2015)
How Racism Became Policy in Ferguson, *Dissent* (March 5, 2015)
The Segregation Index, *Dissent* (Winter 2015)
Mapping Our Unequal States, *Dissent* (January 2015)
Declining Cities, Declining Unions: Urban Sprawl and US Inequality, *Dissent* (December 2014)
Segregation's Long Shadow, *Dissent* (October 2014)
The Making of Ferguson, *Dissent* blog (August 2014)
What this Months Job Report Doesn't Tell Us, *Dissent* blog (June 2014)
The Wage Crunch in Perspective, *Dissent* blog (June 2014)
Piketty in One Graph (Center For Economic and Policy Research, Graphic Economics, May 2014)
Employment Change by State and Sector, 1995-2014 (Center for Economic and Policy Research, April 2014)
The United States of Inequality, *Dissent* (March 2014)
Mapping Inequality, *Working Economics* (February 2014)
Inequality in the States, *Working Economics* (February 2014)
Jim Crow for the Jobless, *Dissent* (January 2014)
Two Cheers and Two Cautions for the Jobs Report, *Dissent* (December 2013)
Beyond SeaTac: Movement on the Minimum Wage? *Dissent* (November 2013)
Social Security by the Numbers, *Dissent* (November 2013)
Iowa Follows US on Loss of Employer-Sponsored Coverage, *Iowa Policy Points* (November 2013)
Strangled by the Purse Strings: Austerity After the Shutdown, *Dissent* (October 2013)
The Irony and Limits of the Affordable Care Act, *Dissent* (October 2013)
Union Membership and The Income Share of the Top Ten Percent, *Working Economics* (EPI), October 2013
Growing Together, Growing Apart, *Working Economics* (EPI), October 2013
Fargo or Bust: The State Income Numbers, *Dissent* (September 2013)
The Top One Percent Income Share (annotated), CEPR (September 2013)

Behind the Income Numbers, *Dissent* (September 2013)
McRecovery: The Troubling New Jobs Report, *Dissent* (September 2013)
Labor Day Blues, *Dissent* (September 2013)
States of Recession (Center for Economic and Policy Research, August 2013)
Mind the Gap, *Dissent* (August 2013)
ALEC in Plunderland, *Dissent* (July 2013)
Unemployment and Its Symptoms, *Dissent* (July 2013)
Three Reasons Not to Get Too Excited about the Latest Jobs Report, *Dissent* (July 2013)
Defending the Top One Percent–And Failing At It, *inequality.org* (July 2013)
The Great Barbecue Revisited, *Dissent* (June 2013)
Wage Growth and Unemployment in the States (CEPR, June 2013)
How the Rich Got Richer, *Dissent* (June 2013)
Revenue Blues: The Case for Higher Taxes, *Dissent*, June 2013
Inflation, the Friendly Ghost, *Dissent* (May 2013)
The Austerity Follies, *Dissent* (May 2013)
From Bad Jobs to Good Jobs, Dissent (May 2013)
The Lost City of Solidarity, *Dissent* (April 2013)
How the Density of Your County Affects How You Vote, *Atlantic Cities* (April 2013)
The Arc of Inequality, *Dissent* (March 2013)
(with John Schmitt), What's So Bold about $9.00/hour? Benchmarking the Minimum Wage, *Dissent* (March 2013)
US Health Care is Still Bad (and Expensive), *Dissent* (February 2013)
A Bad Year For Unions, *Dissent* (January 2013)
A Jobless Recovery, *Dissent* (January 2013)
Back to Full Employment (Center for Economic and Policy Research), January 2103
Unemployment Numbers: The Long View, *Dissent* (January 2013)
Iowa View: Counting job gains while excluding losses is wrong, *Des Moines Register* (January 15, 2013)
The Folly of Right to Work, *Dissent* (December 2012)
The Good Jobs Deficit, *Dissent* (December 2012)
Better Pizza, Bitter Politics, *Dissent* (November 2012).
(with Steve Herzenberg), The Manufacturing Jobs Score, 1949-2011 (Keystone Research Center, October 2012)
(with Larry Mishel), Real Hourly Wage Growth: The Last Generation, Working Economics (Economic Policy Institute), October 10, 2012
(with Steve Herzenberg), "Bill Clinton Was Right That Dems Create More Jobs: The Manufacturing Jobs Score, 1948-2011" Alternet (September 18, 2012); cross-posted at Huffington Post (September 20, 2012).
Growing Together, Growing Apart: Income Growth since 1948 (Center for Economic and Policy Research, September 2012)
(with Donald Cohen), Do America's Corporations Care How Much American Workers Earn? *Dissent* (August 30, 2012); also published in Huffington Post and Truthout
Where Have All the Good Jobs Gone? (Center for Economic and Policy Research, August 2012)
Union Decline and Rising Inequality in Two Charts, Working Economics (Economic Policy Institute), June 2012
(with Ross Eisenberry), As Unions Decline Inequality Rises, Economic Policy Institute Economic Snapshot (June 2012)

Effective Government Would Neutralize Tea Party, History News Network (November 2010)
Hands off My Medicare! The Deadly Legacy of Social Insurance, distributed by History News Service, appearing in LA Progressive (9/01/10)
"New Deal Succeeded When FDR Invested in the U.S." Casper [WY] Tribune (November 9, 2009)
"We've Been Here Before: History and Health Reform," Princeton University Press Blog (September 2009); cross-posted at History News Network
"Welfare Capitalism," Encyclopedia of the Great Depression (Thompson-Gale, 2004), 1027-29.
"The New Deal" entry in *Encyclopedia of American Studies* (Grolier, 2004)
"Chamber of Commerce" and "National Association of Manufacturers," entries in the *Oxford Companion to American History* (Oxford, 2004)
"Replace FDR with Reagan on the Dime?" History News Network (December 2003)
"September 11 in Historical Perspective" *subTerrean* [Vancouver] (January 2002)
"Health Care: Some Historical Lessons," One for All: Newsletter of Health For All–California 5 (Spring 1998), 2, 5 [reprinted by Third World Traveler]
"Blown Fusion" *In These Times* 21:14 (26 May 1997), 29-31.
"Who Killed Health Care?" *In These Times* 20:25 (28 November 1996), 31-33.
"History and the 'New World Order'" *New Internationalist* 247 (Sep. 1993), 20-22.
"The American Politics of Canadian Health Care," *Canadian Dimension* (Sep. 1992): 17-20.
"Labor Update: Miners' Health Bargain," *Z Magazine* 5-6 (May-June 1992): 56-57.
"The Politics of Health Care Reform," *Against the Current* 7:1 (March-April 1992): 3-6.
"Thicker than Oil: American Stakes in the Gulf." *Canadian Dimension* 25 (April-May 1991): 33-37 [reprinted in *Z Magazine* 4 (April 1991): 26-30; and in *The New World Order and Military Intervention* (GEM Publications, 1991)].
"Cosmetic Surgery: Health Care the Corporate Way," *The Nation* (25 Mar 1991): 376-380.
"Pittston and the Political Economy of Coal," *Z Magazine* 3 (Feb. 1990): 95-100.

4. Presentations

Invited

"Understanding American Inequality," Bavarian American Association, Munich, July 2015.
"Ferguson in Historical Perspective," Deconstructing Ferguson: How Social Institutions, Policy, and Law Shape American Civic Identity and Experience (workshop), Yale, May 2015.
"Ferguson, St. Louis, and the Fate of the American City," keynote at LAWCHA Luncheon, Organization of American Historians, St. Louis, April 2015
"Understanding American Inequality," Cambridge Forum (Cambridge, MA), March 2015
"Ferguson, St. Louis, and the Fate of the American City," Luther College (Decorah, IA), March 2015
"Blight and Urban Renewal in Historical Perspective," Blight as Politics Workshop (Ann Arbor), February 2015.
"Ferguson, St. Louis, and the Fate of the American City," East Central Community College (Union, MO), January 2015
"Understanding Ferguson," AHA Presidential Panel, American Historical Association (New York), January 2015 [broadcast on CSPAN]
"Ferguson, St. Louis, and the Fate of the American City," St. Louis University, November 2014
"Ferguson, St. Louis, and the Fate of the American City," McKendree University (Lebanon Illinois), October 2014
"The Fire This Time: Ferguson, St. Louis, and the Fate of the American City," University of Missouri-Columbia, October 2014

"Ferguson, St. Louis, and the Fate of the American City," Auburn University, *City Scenarios* workshop, School of Architecture, Planning and Landscape Architecture, September 2014
"US Social Policy in Historical Perspective," Northeastern University (Shenyang, China), June 2014
"Dead on Arrival: Universal Health Care in the United States," Northeastern University (Shenyang, China), June 2014
"Growing Apart: Historical Perspectives on Inequality in the US," Hall Center for the Humanities, University of Kansas (April 2014)
"Mapping Decline: St. Louis and the Fate of the American City," Augustana College (Geography and History), April 2014.
"Mapping Decline: St. Louis and the Fate of the American City," University of Northern Iowa (Geography and History), April 2014.
"Mapping Decline: St. Louis and the Fate of the American City," Featured Speaker, National Social Studies Conference, St. Louis, November 2013
"Mapping Decline: St. Louis and the Fate of the American City," Lindenwood University, November 2013
"Mapping Decline: St. Louis and the Fate of the American City," Urban Planning, University of Illinois, September 2013
"Mapping Decline: St. Louis and the Fate of the American City," Geography Colloquium, Illinois State, March, 2013
"The Urban Crisis in Historical Perspective," Saving the Cities: How to Make America's Urban Core Sustainable in the Twenty-first Century**,** St. Louis University School of Law, March 2013.
"Mapping Decline: St. Louis and the Fate of the American City," Missouri Conference on History, Columbia MO, March 2012
"Mapping Decline: St. Louis and the Fate of the American City," Spatial Studies in the Social Sciences, Brown University, November 2010
(with Todd Swanstrom) "Justice in the American Metropolis: The St. Louis Case," Justice and the American Metropolis Conference, Washington University in St. Louis, May 7-9, 2009 (bus tour and presentation).
"Community Decline and Development in Greater St. Louis," George Warren Brown School of Social Work, Washington University, March 2009.
"St. Louis Blues: Mapping the Decline of an American City," The New School, New York (March 2009).
"Blight and Redevelopment: Historical Perspectives" at the Fourth Annual Brigham-Kanner Property Rights Conference, William and Mary Law School (October 2007)
"St Louis Blues: Public Policy and the Urban Crisis" plenary address at the annual meeting of the Economic Analysis and Research Network, St. Louis, September 2006
"Race and Realty in Greater St. Louis" Columbia University seminar on Twentieth Century Politics and Society, January 2006
"Mapping St. Louis" at Missouri Supreme Court Historical Society, November 2005
"Debating Health Insurance in the 1940s" for the Center For Business, Technology, and Society, Hagley Museum and Library, September 1997
"A Disorganizational Synthesis? Business, Labor, and Politics in Modern America" for the Atlanta Seminar in the Comparative History of Labor, Industry, Technology, and Society, Atlanta, October 1996

"Why No National Health Insurance in the U.S.? The Limits of Social Provision in War and Peace, 1941-1948" at the Hagley Museum Conference, "Aftermath: The Transition from War to Peace in America after World War II," Wilmington, DE, October 1995

Conference Papers

"Growing Apart: A Political History of American Inequality," Labor and Working Class History Association, Washington, May 2015

"Laboring Big Data," roundtable, Labor and Working Class History Association, Washington, May 2015

"Growing Apart: Understanding American Inequality" Social Science History Association (Toronto), November 2014

"Metroland or Sectionville: Patterns of Urban Decline and Union Decline in the United States," Urban History Association, Philadelphia, October 2014.

"Mapping Decline," New Directions in Digital History, Urban History Association, Philadelphia, October 2014.

"The Suburban Quarantine: Race and Redevelopment in Greater St. Louis," Social Science History Association, Vancouver, November 2012

New Directions in Spatial History, American Historical Association (Presidential Session), January 2012

Roundtable on "Mapping Decline," at the SSHA Conference, Miami, October 2008

Roundtable on "Mapping Decline," at the Policy History Conference, St. Louis, May 2008

"Race and Space in the Urban Crisis: The Case of St. Louis" at the Social Science History Association, November 2007

"Mapping St. Louis" Poster Session (American Historical Association, Atlanta, January 2007)

"Race and Public Policy" Roundtable on Ira Katznelson's, When Affirmative Action Was White at the Social Science History Association, Minneapolis, November 2006

"Mapping St. Louis" at the Policy History Conference, Charlottesville VA, June 2006

"The Struggle for National Health Insurance: Lessons from the 20th Century," at the American Public Health Association, Washington DC, November 2004

""Fifty Hands on Fifty Triggers": Business, Federalism, and American Social Policy," at the Policy History Conference, St. Louis MO, June 2002

Dancing with Jim Crow: Medicare, Title VI, and the Politics of Health Reform in the 1960s," at the Policy History Conference, St. Louis MO, May 1999.

"Why No Corporatism in the United States? The Political Disorganization of Business and its Consequences" at the Business History Conference, College Park MD, March 1998

"Metropolitan Unionism in Historical Perspective" at the Metro Unionism Conference (AFL-CIO, University of Washington Labor Center), Seattle, June 1998

"States of Chaos: Economic Interests, Social Policy, and the Logics of American Federalism" at the AHA [session sponsored by SHGAPE], Seattle, January 1997

"The Limits of Social Provision in Two Postwar Eras, 1918-1920, 1945-1948," at the Organization of American Historians, Chicago, March 1996.

"Dead on Arrival: Health Insurance and the American Welfare States, 1920-1940," at the Social Science History Association, Chicago, November 1995.

Conference Chairs and Comments

Comment on "Blighting the City" (Society for American City and Regional Planning History, Baltimore, November 2011).

Chair and Comment on "The Metropolitan Paradox" (Policy History Conference, St. Louis, June 2008)
Comment, Panel on "Unstable Family Subjects" (AHA, Atlanta, January 2007)
Comment, Panel on Postwar Liberalism, OAH Conference, San Francisco, April 2005
Chair, Panel on the Private Welfare State, SSHA Conference, Chicago, November 2001
Comment, Panel on American Federalism, APSA Conference, Atlanta, September 1999.
Comment, Panel on Labor and Employment, Policy History Conference, St. Louis, May 1999.
Comment, Panel on Bankruptcy and Labor Law, OAH, Toronto, April 1999
Chair, Panel on the Auto Industry, Business History Conference, Columbus, Ohio, April 1996
Chair, Panel on NAFTA, Rocky Mountain Conference on Latin American Studies, Vancouver, 1993

Public, Community or Local Presentations

"Why Ferguson?" Breakfast Talk at Decorah Lutheran Church, March 2015
"Wage Theft and Low Wage Work in Iowa," Injustice on our Plates, UI Labor Center, February 2015
"Why Ferguson?" Sunday Forum, Davenport Unitarian/Universalist Congregation, October 2014
"Race and Inequality," University of Iowa Labor Center, CWA Leadership School, September 2014
"Mapping Decline: Historical GIS and Big Data," University of Iowa Techforum, June 2014
"Mapping Decline: St. Louis and the Fate of the American City," Missouri Social Science Association, St. Louis, November 2013
"Inequality for All" panel presentation (following showing of Robert Reich film), November 2013
"Race and Realty in Greater St. Louis," Metropolitan St. Louis Equal Housing and Opportunity Council, Fair Housing Training Conference, St. Louis, April 2013
"Making St. Louis," Missouri Humanities Festival, St. Louis, April 2013
"Causes of the Great Depression," National History Center (resources and webinar for high school teachers), March 2013
"The State of Working Iowa," UICHR Conference: Forging Hope: Local Alliances for Good Jobs and Racial Justice," February 2013
"Mapping Decline: St. Louis and the Fate of the American City," Missouri Geography Alliance,
"Wage Theft in Iowa" UI/UICHR Labor Center Conference on Wage Theft (February 2012)
(with Peter Fisher) "Why Occupy? Understanding Inequality in America," Occupy Iowa City Teach In, November 2011
"Dead on Arrival? Historical Perspectives on Health Care Reform," Department of Internal Medicine Grand Rounds (April 2011)
"The Geography of Inequality in St. Louis," Missouri Historical Society, January 2011
"Making St. Louis," plenary address, Transportation Engineering Association of Metropolitan St Louis, Maryland Heights, MO, November 2009
"Understanding Health Care Reform" for UI Labor Center Short Courses, Fall 2009
"Mapping Decline: The Urban Crisis in Historical Perspective," East-West Gateway Coordinating Council, June 2008
"St. Louis: What Happened?" book talk and slide show, Left Bank Books, St. Louis, May 2008)
"The Promise and Limits of the New Deal," St. Paul Public Library, invited talk in "Untold Stories" [Labor History Month] series, April 2008
"St. Louis: Historical Perspectives and Current Challenges," plenary address, East-West Gateway Coordinating Council Annual Meeting, November 2008
"St. Louis Blues: Mapping the Decline of an American City," St. Louis Community College—Forest Park, November 2008

"Universal Health Care in the US: History, Politics, and Prospects" UI Global Health Conference, March 2008
"Universal Health Care in the US: History, Politics, and Prospects" (UI Pediatrics Symposium, September 2007)
"Understanding the US Health Care System: Past, Present, and Future" (UI Labor Center Short Courses (April 2007, June 2007, June 2008)
"Mapping Urban Decline," UI Geography Colloquium, October 2007
"The Health Care Crisis (Again)" for UI Labor Center Short Courses, Fall 2006
"Race and Housing in 20th Century St. Louis" for UI Urban Planning Workshop, February 2005
"Understanding Health Care" UI Economics Society roundtable, October 2005
"Nickel and Dimed in America," panel presentation after performance of the theatrical version, Mabie Theater, Iowa City, February 2005
"Workers at War: A Labor History of American Warfare" for UI Labor Center Short Course, Spring 2003
"The Health Care Crisis (Again)" for UI Labor Center Short Courses, Spring 2004 and Fall 2005
"Paying for War in the US" for UI/Cornell College student groups, Spring 2003
"Out of the Frying Pan and Into the Flame: Organized Medicine and Health Politics" for the Medicine and Society series (UI Medical School), December 2002
"The Impact of September 11" EARN (Economic Analysis Research Network) Conference, Chicago, Fall 2001
"The State of Working Iowa" (with Peter Fisher and David Osterberg), "Iowa Talks" WSUI, Fall 2000.
"The State of Working Iowa" (with Peter Fisher), for UI Labor Center Short Course, Fall 2000
"The Politics and History of Health Care Reform" for the Interdisciplinary Health Group (Fall 1998) and the University Hospital School Tuesday Issues Seminar (Spring 1999)
"Towards a Living Wage" for American Friends Service Committee (Des Moines), 1999.
"Why No National Health Insurance in the U.S.? The Limits of Social Provision in War and Peace, 1941-1948" Iowa Legal History Workshop, Iowa City, October 1995.

5. GRANTS AND AWARDS

University of Iowa, Distinguished Achievement in Publicly Engaged Research Award (2015)
National Science Foundation, Broadband Use Mapping, Data and Evaluation (small role involving digital mapping of results, with Tolbert, Leicht, Pacheco, Mossberger), 2013-15
Digital Studio for Public Humanities Grant (UI, 2012)
Summer Faculty Fellowship (University of Iowa, 2010)
Arts and Humanities Initiative Grant (University of Iowa, 2009-10)
May Brodbeck Fellowship (University of Iowa, 2007-8)
Robert Seilor Fellowship (Missouri State Archives, 2005)
National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship (2004-5)
nTitle Teaching Grant (University of Iowa, 2003)
Arts and Humanities Initiative Grant (University of Iowa, 2002-3)
Obermann Interdisciplinary Research Grant (Summer 2002), with Peter Fisher
University of Iowa Faculty Scholarship (1998-2000)
Central Investment Fund for Research Enhancement (University of Iowa, 1997)
University of Iowa "Old Gold" Summer Research Grant (1996)
University of Iowa Development Assignment (Semester Leave, Spring 1996)

University of Iowa “Old Gold” Summer Research Fellowship (1995)
Harry S. Truman Library, Grant-in-Aid (1995)
Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute, Grant-in-Aid (1995)
Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, Major Research Grant (1993).
University of British Columbia, Humanities and Social Sciences Small Grant (1991).

May 2015