

# FERGUSON IN FOCUS



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Ferguson, Missouri has emerged as the site of the most disturbing display of racial tension, political powerlessness, and police violence in recent memory. The fatal shooting of Michael Brown, an unarmed black teenager, by police officer Darren Wilson in Ferguson, is the latest tragic incident in a recent spate of police-involved homicides. Ferguson's history of economic exclusion, disenfranchisement, segregation and poverty helped create a political system in which African Americans are grossly underrepresented in local government as well as an environment in which protesters and journalists from around the country were met with tear gas, rubber bullets, assault rifles, Kevlar vests, and military tanks as they bore witness to and reported on the aftermath of Michael Brown's killing.

This briefing paper aims to put Ferguson in focus by opening a window into the political, social, and economic conditions surrounding the life of Michael Brown. The report will look at Ferguson through the lenses of educational inequality, political disenfranchisement, economic inequality, and the criminal justice system – areas in which the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.'s historically has rooted its advocacy in support of African-American and other marginalized communities.

Ferguson's unadorned image revealed here is a candid snapshot into many of fault lines in American society. The challenges facing Ferguson are shared by locales across the country, and we can no longer turn a blind eye.

The events that have transpired over the past several weeks in Ferguson cannot be divorced from the city's history or the history of the St. Louis metropolitan area, which provides much of the context needed to fully grasp many of the issues currently affecting this community.

The St. Louis area has a long history of racial discrimination. In fact, one of the most infamous cases decided by the United States Supreme Court, *Dred Scott v. Sandford*,<sup>1</sup> originated in St. Louis County Circuit Court where an enslaved African-American male filed a lawsuit seeking freedom for himself

and his family. In rejecting his claims, the Court held that: (1) African-Americans were not citizens of the United States and, therefore, lacked the ability to sue in federal court;<sup>2</sup> and (2) Congress had no power to prohibit slavery within the territories, including Missouri.<sup>3</sup>

Much of the area's complex racial dynamics can be traced back to 1876—only 20 years after *Dred Scott* was decided—when the City of St. Louis and St. Louis County were formally separated.<sup>4</sup> This separation led to the development of various communities outside the City of St. Louis, like Ferguson,<sup>5</sup> which became incorporated in 1894.<sup>6</sup>

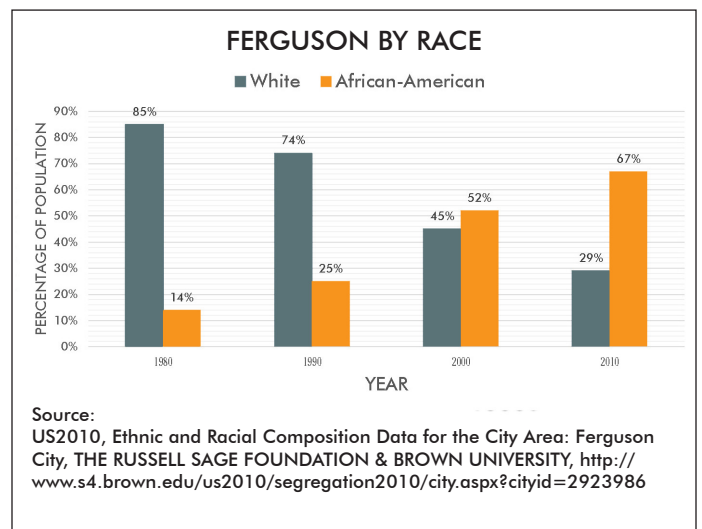
White residents eventually began to flee to these newly developed communities, which used, among other tactics, racially restrictive covenants to exclude African-Americans.<sup>7</sup> These discriminatory covenants remained in place until 1948, when they were declared unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Shelley v. Kraemer*, which the NAACP Legal Defense Fund litigated and won.<sup>8</sup>



In response to the Court's decision, many suburban communities in the St. Louis area quickly began to implement exclusionary zoning restrictions.<sup>9</sup> These practices required the development of large single-family homes at certain price ranges,<sup>10</sup> effectively prohibiting African-Americans from being able to purchase homes or reside in the area.<sup>11</sup>

By the 1970s African-Americans began to move out of the city and into "inner-ring" suburbs like Ferguson.<sup>12</sup> African-Americans migrated into St. Louis County in even greater numbers when a federal court approved a settlement plan to integrate city and county schools in the early 1980s.<sup>3</sup>

However, as African-Americans began to move into Ferguson, and other similarly situated communities, Whites fled.<sup>14</sup> This phenomenon, referred to as "White flight," led to drastic



changes in Ferguson’s racial demographics over recent decades. For example, although the City of Ferguson was 85% White and 14% Black in 1980, it is now approximately 67% Black and 29 percent White.<sup>15</sup>



These rapid demographic changes—and the discriminatory practices that enabled their development—laid the groundwork for the racial tension that has surfaced in Ferguson since the killing of Michael Brown.

Public schools in the St. Louis area have long been plagued by racial inequality and segregation.<sup>16</sup> Prior to the Court’s 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*,<sup>17</sup> Missouri’s constitution mandated racially segregated public schools.<sup>18</sup> Although the state Attorney General recognized that this provision was no longer enforceable after the *Brown* decision, segregation remained the law of the state until it was formally removed from the Constitution in 1976.<sup>19</sup> In the decades following *Brown*, communities in St. Louis County, including Ferguson, sought to maintain racially segregated schools.<sup>20</sup> This resulted in the proliferation of educationally-inferior, all-black schools districts.<sup>21</sup>

In 1973, a federal district court held that the City of Ferguson was responsible for maintaining racial segregation.<sup>22</sup> As a result, the court ordered Ferguson to participate in a desegregation plan, which it “vigorously” protested<sup>23</sup> and eventually appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court.<sup>24</sup>

In 1983, Ferguson, along with 23 other suburban school districts, entered into a multi-component interdistrict settlement agreement, which served to remedy the constitutional violations found in a separate law suit brought by parents and children of North St. Louis.<sup>25</sup> One of the most important components of the settlement agreement—but which Ferguson did not participate in<sup>26</sup>—was the implementation of a Voluntary Interdistrict Transfer Program to promote integration in St. Louis Public Schools, the goal of which was to increase the black student population in suburban schools.<sup>27</sup> However, for those students left behind in predominantly black schools, little was done to improve the quality of education.<sup>28</sup>

In 1999, the case was removed from federal supervision and a new settlement agreement was reached,<sup>29</sup> and St. Louis schools didn’t reach unitary status until 2008, enabling them to opt out of the desegregation plan.<sup>30</sup>

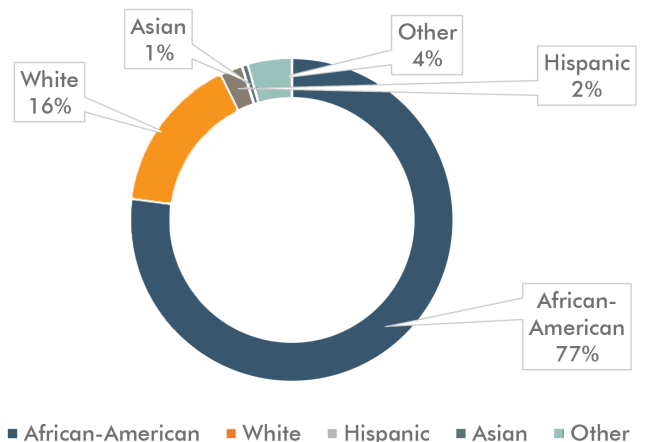
The effects of racial segregation in Missouri’s schools are apparent in the resource inequities and other inequalities that persist in its predominately African-American school districts, like the Ferguson-Florissant District.

- The Ferguson-Florissant School District is predominately African-American; 77.1% of the District’s 13,234 student enrollment was African-American in the 2011-

## TIME LINE

- **1856—*Dred Scott v. Sandford* decided by U.S. Supreme Court.**
- **1865—Missouri Constitution mandates racially segregated schools.**
- **1954—*Brown v. Board of Education* invalidates racial segregation in the nation’s public schools.**
- **1973—Federal district court in Missouri finds Ferguson responsible for maintaining racial segregation in a nearby school district.**
- **1976—School segregation provision removed from Missouri Constitution.**
- **1983—Court-supervised inter-district desegregation plan between the city and the county is implemented as part of a settlement agreement.**
- **1999—Settlement reached to end court supervised inter-district desegregation plan.**

**FERGUSON-FLOISSANT SCHOOL DISTRICT RACIAL DEMOGRAPHICS (2011-2012)**



Source:  
U.S. Department of Education-Office for Civil Rights Data Collection, 2011-2012, available at <http://ocrdata.ed.gov/Page?t=d&eid=48240&sk=6&pid=736>.

2012 school year. White students comprised 15.6% of the population; Hispanics 2.3%; and Asians 0.6%.<sup>31</sup> Less than 20 miles away, in the Affton School District, 80.6% of students are White and 6.9% are African-American.<sup>32</sup>

- Ferguson-Florissant is a high-poverty district, with 60.7% of students receiving Free or Reduced-price lunch.<sup>33</sup>
- Less than 2% (1.7%) of Ferguson-Florissant’s enrolled African-American students were represented in Gifted-and-Talented Programs.<sup>34</sup>
- State test scores from 2013 indicate that Ferguson-Florissant students scored below proficient in English, Math, Science, and Social Studies.<sup>35</sup>
- Out of all non-disabled students who received out-of-school suspensions, 87.1% were African-Americans, compared to 6.7% of white students.<sup>36</sup> African-Americans with disabilities comprise 100 % of students subjected to corporal punishment,<sup>37</sup> and African-Americans were 78% of students expelled under “zero tolerance” discipline policies.<sup>38</sup>
- African-American students comprised 100% of all school-based arrests.<sup>39</sup>

There is a stark contrast between the residents of Ferguson, nearly 70% of whom are African-American,<sup>40</sup> and the city’s elected officials, nearly all of whom are White:

- The current Mayor is White<sup>41</sup>—the City has never had an African-American mayor.<sup>42</sup>
- Out of the 6 City Council members, only 1 is African-American.<sup>43</sup>
- 6 of the 7 Board of Education members are White.<sup>44</sup>

Because white officials control Ferguson’s elected government, they also control the police force, municipal employment, government contracts, and educational priorities in the city without input from African-American residents.<sup>45</sup>

Structural factors have led to white political dominance in the city of Ferguson,<sup>46</sup> which undoubtedly has contributed to racial inequalities in socio-economic access for African-Americans.<sup>47</sup> Indeed, because African-American residents in Ferguson were only 6% of the electorate in the last municipal election, the vast majority of Ferguson’s elected officials were not elected by the people they are charged to represent.<sup>48</sup> This disconnect between local government and the local populace has long served as a source of racial tension within Ferguson.<sup>49</sup>

Three specific factors act as barriers to African-American voter engagement.

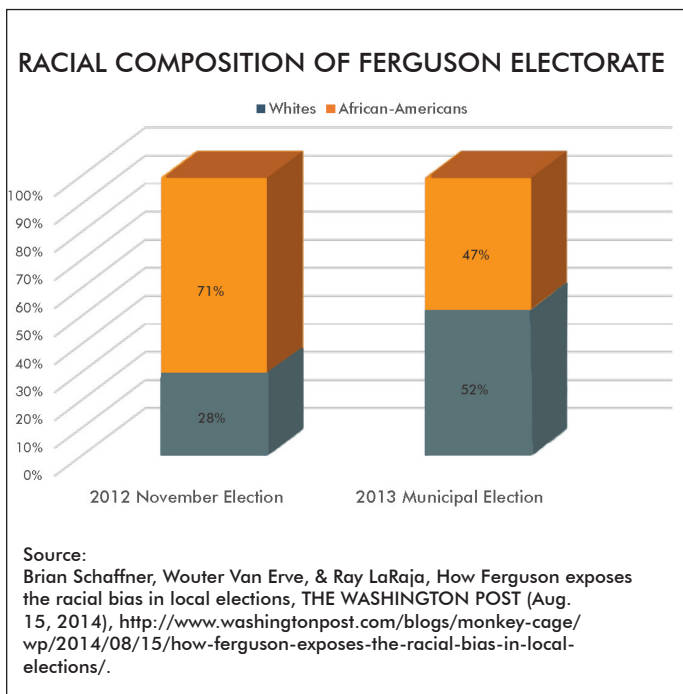
### 1. Election Calendar

One of the most important structural barriers to increased African-American political participation in Ferguson is that the city holds its local elections during odd-number years “when there is no state or national-level general election.”<sup>50</sup> This odd-year, off-month election date significantly depresses African-American voter turnout, as illustrated by Ferguson’s African-American turnout in the November 2012 elections, as compared to African-American turnout in the April 2013 municipal election.<sup>51</sup>



- In the November 2012 presidential election, Black voters constituted 71% of the Ferguson electorate (with Black turnout at 54%) and White voters were 28% of the city’s electorate (white turnout was 55%).<sup>52</sup>
- In the last municipal election, held in April of 2013, “just 6% of eligible Black voters cast a ballot, compared to 17% of White voters.”<sup>53</sup> Because of depressed Black voter turnout, White voters made up 52%, the majority, of the city’s electorate and Black voters only 47%.<sup>54</sup>

The dramatic shift in voter turnout in Ferguson between the April 2013 elections and the November 2012 elections confirms the significant impact that election dates can have on the racial composition of the electorate. As in many other cities across St. Louis County and the nation, Ferguson’s decision to hold elections in April during odd-years, when most voters are unlikely to even know about the election, may also explain the extent to which the demographics of elected officials in Ferguson do not reflect the racial makeup of its population.<sup>55</sup>

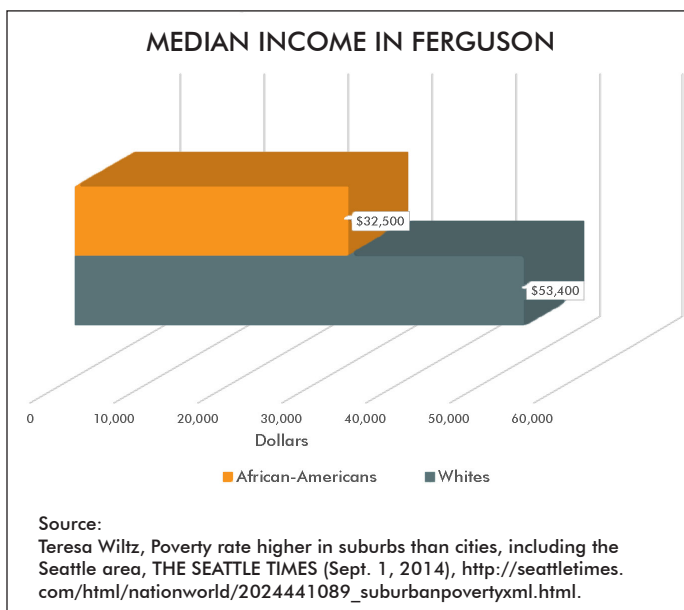


## 2. Non-partisan Elections

Ferguson also holds non-partisan elections, which can often act as another structural barrier to African-American political participation.<sup>56</sup> Political science research has demonstrated that the lack of party labels for candidates on the ballot decreases voter information about candidates and, relatedly, the likelihood that people will vote in an election.<sup>57</sup> These consequences are worse for citizens, like many of the African-American residents of Ferguson, with less education and less income.<sup>58</sup>

## 3. Demographic Factors

Other factors also impact political participation. For example, because “older voters tend to turnout at higher rates than younger votes” and “Ferguson’s white population tends to be older than its black population,”<sup>59</sup> this likely contributed to the racial disparities seen in the 2013 municipal elections. Additionally, differences in homeownership rates and length of residency between African-American and white residents may also explain racially disparate voter turnout rates in Ferguson.<sup>60</sup> Both length of residency and homeownership “correlate with higher voter turnout.”<sup>61</sup> Unfortunately, “Ferguson’s [B]lack residents are less likely to have longstanding roots in the community,” and are “more likely to rent than to own their own homes,”<sup>62</sup> leading to predictably lower turnout for African-American voters.



In Ferguson, as in much of the rest of the country, political and economic inequality result in the exclusion of African-Americans from meaningful economic opportunities.

The unrest in Ferguson has been fueled in part by this pervasive economic inequality. While likely a product of educational inequalities and employment discrimination, much of this inequality is also tied to the almost total exclusion of African-Americans from the city’s political and civic institutions. Whites in Ferguson have used their “control

of patronage jobs” and power over government contracting to steer economic opportunities to those within their networks, awarding municipal contracts largely to members of their own race, and leaving African-Americans with limited economic opportunities.<sup>63</sup>

- In Ferguson, the poverty rate for African-Americans is 25%, which is more than double that of Whites (11%).<sup>64</sup>
- In Ferguson, the median income for African-Americans is \$32,500, compared to \$53,400 for Whites.<sup>65</sup>

While the African-American unemployment rate in Ferguson is 19%, the White unemployment rate is only 6.7%.<sup>66</sup>

- 55% of Whites live in owner occupied housing units,<sup>67</sup> while only 46.2% of African-Americans do.<sup>68</sup>

The killing of Michael Brown is symbolic of larger racial inequalities embedded within the criminal justice system. It marks the culmination of what Ferguson residents have experienced for years—police and courts that unjustifiably target, demean, and exploit African-Americans. Racial disparities in policing, fueled by perverse financial incentives that drive the unfair application of the criminal law, and the use of excessive force by law enforcement are at the heart of what plagues Ferguson’s criminal justice system.

Policing in Ferguson is characterized by stark racial disparities and disproportionality. For example:

- Blacks comprise 67% of the population, yet 86% of vehicle stops involved a Black motorist. Meanwhile, whites are 29% of Ferguson’s population and only 12.7% of vehicle stops. A staggering 92% of the searches conducted by the Ferguson Police Department were of African-Americans, despite the fact that police were at least 10% more likely to find contraband on Whites.<sup>69</sup>
- The overwhelming majority of arrests—93%—made by the Ferguson Police Department in 2013 were of African-Americans.<sup>70</sup>

The harm felt by these racial disparities and the community’s distrust of the police are exacerbated by the pervasive use of Ferguson’s criminal justice system as a source for financial support. Unpaid court fees and fines result in warrants and further financial penalties for Ferguson’s citizens. Thus:

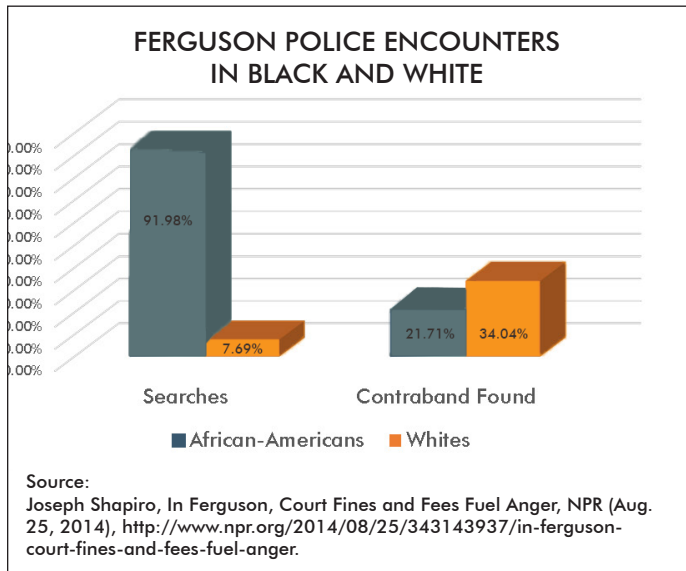
- In 2013, municipal court fines accounted for \$2.6 million, or 21%, of general fund revenue, making it the “city’s second-biggest source of income.”<sup>71</sup>
- That same year, Ferguson’s municipal court issued 32,975 arrest warrants for non-violent, mostly traffic offenses.<sup>72</sup> For a city comprised of just over 21,000 residents, 67% of whom are African-American, that amounts to 1.5 arrests warrants per person.<sup>73</sup>

In addition, Ferguson police officers, have been the subject of numerous complaints alleging claims of excessive use of force.

- At least 5 Ferguson officers have been named in excessive force lawsuits<sup>74</sup>—several of which have occurred within the last decade.<sup>75</sup>
- In 2009, Henry Davis, a 52 year-old African-American man was wrongfully arrested, beaten, and then charged with the crime of “property damage” for bleeding on the officers’ uniforms.<sup>76</sup>
- In 2010, according to a lawsuit filed in Missouri federal court, an officer currently serving on the Ferguson Police Department, hogtied a 12 year-old boy while previously working for another police department. The accusations emerged just after he was introduced as a new officer with the Ferguson Police Department in 2012.<sup>77</sup>
- In 2011, Eugene McAllister, already in police custody, was beaten by police and attacked by one of the officer’s K-9 dogs.<sup>78</sup>
- In 2013, Officer Darren Wilson, the individual responsible for the killing of Michael Brown, allegedly “roughed up” an individual suspected of committing a crime. A grand jury has been empaneled to hear the merits of these allegations.<sup>79</sup>

The combination of explicit and implicit racial bias, financial incentives that drive policing, and longstanding patterns of excessive force and police violence have shaped police-citizen interactions in Ferguson, deepening the gulf of mistrust between law enforcement and those they are sworn to protect and serve.

- The Ferguson Police Department has 53 members, but only 4 are African American.<sup>80</sup>



Putting Ferguson in focus allows us to understand and reveal similar conditions of inequality and injustice. Ferguson, however, has caught America’s gaze and captured international interest. The tragedy of Michael Brown’s death and the violent government response to protests that followed underscore that a deeper understanding of the persistent conditions of racism in American is desperately needed.



**“Do you know how hard it was for me to get him to stay in school and graduate? You know how many black men graduate? Not many. Because you bring them down to this type of level, where they feel like they don’t got nothing to live for anyway. ‘They’re going to try to take me out anyway.’ ”**

**—Lesley McSpadden (Michael Brown’s mother)**

Source: Julie Bosman & Emma G. Fitzsimmons, Grief and Protests Follow Shooting of a Teenager, THE NEW YORK TIMES (Aug. 10, 2014), <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/08/11/us/police-say-mike-brown-was-killed-after-struggle-for-gun.html>

## (Endnotes)

<sup>1</sup> *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, 60 U.S. 393 (1856).

<sup>2</sup> *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, 60 U.S. 393, 406 (1856).

<sup>3</sup> *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, 60 U.S. 393, 452 (1856).

<sup>4</sup> Jeff Smith, *In Ferguson, Black Town, White Power*, THE NEW YORK TIMES (Aug. 17, 2014), <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/08/18/opinion/in-ferguson-black-town-white-power.html>.

<sup>5</sup> Tanzina Vega & John Eligon, *Deep Tensions Rise to the Surface After Ferguson Shooting*, THE NEW YORK TIMES (Aug. 16, 2014), <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/08/17/us/ferguson-mo-complex-racial-history-runs-deep-most-tensions-have-to-do-police-force.html>.

<sup>6</sup> Alan Scher Zagier, *A look at town where police shot unarmed teenager*, THE SEATTLE TIMES (Aug. 11, 2014), [http://seattletimes.com/html/nationworld/2024291682\\_shootingtownxml.html](http://seattletimes.com/html/nationworld/2024291682_shootingtownxml.html).

<sup>7</sup> See Radley Balko, *How municipalities in St. Louis County, Mo., profit from poverty*, THE WASHINGTON POST (Sept. 3, 2014), <http://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-watch/wp/2014/09/03/how-st-louis-county-missouri-profits-from-poverty/>; Bryce Covert, *The Racist Housing Policies That Helped Fuel the Anger in Ferguson*, Think Progress (Aug. 14., 2014), <http://thinkprogress.org/economy/2014/08/14/3471237/ferguson-housing-segregation/>.

<sup>8</sup> 334 U.S. 1 (1948).

<sup>9</sup> Jeannette Cooperman, *St. Louis: A city divided*, ALJAZEERA AMERICA (Aug. 18, 2014), <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2014/8/18/st-louis-segregation.html>.

<sup>10</sup> Jeannette Cooperman, *St. Louis: A city divided*, ALJAZEERA AMERICA (Aug. 18, 2014), <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2014/8/18/st-louis-segregation.html>.

<sup>11</sup> See *U.S. v. City of Black Jack, Missouri*, 508 F.2d 1179, 1186 (8th Cir. 1974); The Editorial Board, *The Death of Michael Brown*, THE NEW YORK TIMES, (Aug. 12, 2014), <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/08/13/opinion/racial-history-behind-the-ferguson-protests.html>.

<sup>12</sup> The Editorial Board, *The Death of Michael Brown*, THE NEW YORK TIMES, (Aug. 12, 2014), <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/08/13/opinion/racial-history-behind-the-ferguson-protests.html>.

<sup>13</sup> Radley Balko, *How municipalities in St. Louis County, Mo., profit from poverty*, THE WASHINGTON POST (Sept. 3, 2014), <http://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-watch/wp/2014/09/03/how-st-louis-county-missouri-profits-from-poverty/>.

<sup>14</sup> The Editorial Board, *The Death of Michael Brown*, THE NEW YORK TIMES, (Aug. 12, 2014), <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/08/13/opinion/racial-history-behind-the-ferguson-protests.html>; Colin Gordon, *Mapping Decline: St. Louis and the American City*, UNIVERSITY OF IOWA, <http://mappingdecline.lib.uiowa.edu/map/> (last visited Sept. 22, 2014).

<sup>15</sup> US2010, *Ethnic and Racial Composition Data for the City Area: Ferguson City*, THE RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION & BROWN UNIVERSITY, <http://www.s4.brown.edu/us2010/segregation2010/city.aspx?cityid=2923986>.

<sup>16</sup> See William H. Freivogel, *St. Louis: Desegregation and School Choice in the Land of Dred Scott*, in *DIVIDED WE FAIL: COMING TOGETHER THROUGH PUBLIC SCHOOL CHOICE*, 210-15 (Century Found. Task Force on the Common Sch. Ed., 2002), available at <http://72.32.39.237:8080/Plone/publications/pdfs/pb377/freivogel.pdf>.

<sup>17</sup> *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

<sup>18</sup> *Adams v. U.S.*, 620 F.2d 1277, 1280 (8th Cir. 1980).

<sup>19</sup> *Adams v. U.S.*, 620 F.2d 1277, 1280 (8th Cir. 1980).

<sup>20</sup> See *U.S. v. State of Mo.*, 363 F.Supp. 739, 749 (E.D. Mo. 1973).

<sup>21</sup> See *U.S. v. State of Mo.*, 363 F.Supp. 739, 743 (E.D. Mo. 1973).

<sup>22</sup> *U.S. v. State of Mo.*, 363 F.Supp. 739, 747 (E.D. Mo. 1973).

<sup>23</sup> *U.S. v. State of Mo.*, 515 F.2d 1365, 1369 (8th Cir. 1975).

<sup>24</sup> *Ferguson Reorganized School District R 2 v. U.S.*, 423 U.S. 951 (1975) (denying certiorari).

<sup>25</sup> FOCUS on Desegregation, FOCUS ST. LOUIS, available at [http://c.ymcdn.com/sites/www.focus-stl.org/resource/resmgr/policy\\_report/focus\\_on\\_desegregation\\_quest.pdf](http://c.ymcdn.com/sites/www.focus-stl.org/resource/resmgr/policy_report/focus_on_desegregation_quest.pdf).

<sup>26</sup> FOCUS on Desegregation, FOCUS ST. LOUIS, available at [http://c.ymcdn.com/sites/www.focus-stl.org/resource/resmgr/policy\\_report/focus\\_on\\_desegregation\\_quest.pdf](http://c.ymcdn.com/sites/www.focus-stl.org/resource/resmgr/policy_report/focus_on_desegregation_quest.pdf).

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<sup>28</sup> William H. Freivogel, *St. Louis: Desegregation and School Choice in the Land of Dred Scott*, in *DIVIDED WE FAIL: COMING TOGETHER THROUGH PUBLIC SCHOOL CHOICE*, 221 (Century Found. Task Force on the Common Sch. ed., 2002).

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<sup>31</sup> U.S. Department of Education-Office for Civil Rights Data Collection, 2011-2012, available at <http://ocrdata.ed.gov/Page?t=d&eid=27900&syk=6&pid=736>.

<sup>32</sup> U.S. Department of Education-Office for Civil Rights Data Collection, 2011-2012, available at <http://ocrdata.ed.gov/Page?t=d&eid=48240&syk=6&pid=736>.

<sup>33</sup> U.S. Department of Education-Office for Civil Rights Data Collection, 2011-2012, available at <http://ocrdata.ed.gov/Page?t=d&eid=27900&syk=6&pid=736>.

<sup>34</sup> U.S. Department of Education-Office for Civil Rights Data Collection, 2011-2012, available at <http://ocrdata.ed.gov/Page?t=d&eid=27900&syk=6&pid=830>.

<sup>35</sup> Walker Moskop, *Searchable database: 2013 Missouri MAP scores*, ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH (Aug. 23, 2013), [http://www.stltoday.com/news/local/education/searchable-database-missouri-map-scores/html\\_2edc608f-d500-5d65-bd78-2d7b87f172ab.html?appSession=881123588015631](http://www.stltoday.com/news/local/education/searchable-database-missouri-map-scores/html_2edc608f-d500-5d65-bd78-2d7b87f172ab.html?appSession=881123588015631).

<sup>36</sup> U.S. Department of Education-Office for Civil Rights Data Collection, 2011-2012, available at <http://ocrdata.ed.gov/Page?t=d&eid=27900&syk=6&pid=886>.

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<sup>38</sup> U.S. Department of Education-Office for Civil Rights Data Collection, 2011-2012, available at <http://ocrdata.ed.gov/Page?t=d&eid=27900&syk=6&pid=922>.

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<sup>40</sup> U.S. Census Bureau, *State and County QuickFacts, 2010*, available at <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/29/2923986.html>.

<sup>41</sup> Jordan Weissman, *Ferguson is Mostly Black. Why Is Its Government So White*, SLATE (Aug. 14, 2014), [http://www.slate.com/blogs/moneybox/2014/08/14/ferguson\\_missouri\\_government\\_why\\_is\\_it\\_so\\_white.html](http://www.slate.com/blogs/moneybox/2014/08/14/ferguson_missouri_government_why_is_it_so_white.html).

<sup>42</sup> Jelani Cobb, *Bullets and Ballots*, THE NEW YORKER (Sept. 1, 2014), <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2014/09/01/bullets-ballots>.

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