FIRST REGULAR SESSION HOUSE COMMITTEE SUBSTITUTE FOR

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION NOS. 48, 46 & 47

100TH GENERAL ASSEMBLY

DANA RADEMAN MILLER, Chief Clerk

JOINT RESOLUTION

Submitting to the qualified voters of Missouri, an amendment repealing sections 2, 3, and 7 of article III of the Constitution of Missouri, and adopting three new sections in lieu thereof relating to regulating the legislature to limit the influence of partisan or other special interests.

Be it resolved by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring therein:

That at the next general election to be held in the state of Missouri, on Tuesday next following the first Monday in November, 2020, or at a special election to be called by the governor for that purpose, there is hereby submitted to the qualified voters of this state, for adoption or rejection, the following amendment to Article III of the Constitution of the state of Missouri:

Section A. Sections 2, 3, and 7, Article III, Constitution of Missouri, are repealed and three new sections adopted in lieu thereof, to be known as Sections 2, 3, and 7, to read as follows:

Section 2. (a) After December 6, 2018, no person serving as a member of or employed by the general assembly shall act or serve as a paid lobbyist, register as a paid lobbyist, or solicit prospective employers or clients to represent as a paid lobbyist during the time of such service until the expiration of two calendar years after the conclusion of the session of the general assembly in which the member or employee last served and where such service was after December 6, 2018.

7 (b) No person serving as a member of or employed by the general assembly shall accept 8 directly or indirectly a gift of any tangible or intangible item, service, or thing of value from any

EXPLANATION — Matter enclosed in bold-faced brackets [thus] in the above bill is not enacted and is intended to be omitted from the law. Matter in **bold-face** type in the above bill is proposed language.

2340H.04C

paid lobbyist or lobbyist principal [in excess of five dollars per occurrence]. This Article shall 9 10 not prevent candidates for the general assembly, including candidates for reelection, or 11 candidates for offices within the senate or house from accepting campaign contributions 12 consistent with this Article and applicable campaign finance law. Nothing in this section shall 13 prevent individuals from receiving gifts, family support or anything of value from those related to them within the fourth degree by blood or marriage. [The dollar limitations of this section 14 shall be increased or decreased each year by the percentage of increase or decrease from the end 15 16 of the previous calendar year of the Consumer Price Index, or successor index as published by 17 the U.S. Department of Labor, or its successor agency, and rounded to the nearest dollar 18 amount.]

- 19 (c) The general assembly shall make no law authorizing unlimited campaign 20 contributions to candidates for the general assembly, nor any law that circumvents the 21 contribution limits contained in this Constitution. In addition to other campaign contribution 22 limitations or restrictions provided for by law, the amount of contributions made to or accepted 23 by any candidate or candidate committee from any person other than the candidate in any one 24 election for the general assembly shall not exceed the following:
- 25 (1) To elect an individual to the office of state senator, two thousand five hundred 26 dollars; and
- 27

(2) To elect an individual to the office of state representative, two thousand dollars.

The contribution limits and other restrictions of this section shall also apply to any person exploring a candidacy for a public office listed in this subsection.

For purposes of this subsection, "base year amount" shall be the contribution limits prescribed in this section. Contribution limits set forth herein shall be adjusted on the first day of January in each even-numbered year hereafter by multiplying the base year amount by the cumulative Consumer Price Index and rounded to the nearest dollar amount, for all years after 2018.

35 (d) No contribution to a candidate for legislative office shall be made or accepted, directly or indirectly, in a fictitious name, in the name of another person, or by or through another 36 37 person in such a manner as to, or with the intent to, conceal the identity of the actual source of 38 the contribution. There shall be a rebuttable presumption that a contribution to a candidate for 39 public office is made or accepted with the intent to circumvent the limitations on contributions 40 imposed in this section when a contribution is received from a committee or organization that is primarily funded by a single person, individual, or other committee that has already reached 41 42 its contribution limit under any law relating to contribution limitations. A committee or 43 organization shall be deemed to be primarily funded by a single person, individual, or other

44 committee when the committee or organization receives more than fifty percent of its annual45 funding from that single person, individual, or other committee.

(e) In no circumstance shall a candidate be found to have violated limits on acceptance of contributions if the Missouri ethics commission, its successor agency, or a court determines that a candidate has taken no action to indicate acceptance of or acquiescence to the making of an expenditure that is deemed a contribution pursuant to this section.

50 (f) No candidate shall accept contributions from any federal political action committee 51 unless the committee has filed the same financial disclosure reports that would be required of 52 a Missouri political action committee.

Section 3. [(a) There is hereby established the post of "Nonpartisan State Demographer". The nonpartisan state demographer shall acquire appropriate information to develop procedures in preparation for drawing legislative redistricting maps on the basis of each federal census for presentation to the house apportionment commission and the senatorial apportionment commission.

(b) The nonpartisan state demographer shall be selected through the following process. 6 7 First, state residents may apply for selection to the state auditor using an application developed by the state auditor to determine an applicant's qualifications and expertise relevant to the 8 position. Second, the state auditor shall deliver to the majority leader and minority leader of the 9 senate a list of at least three applicants with sufficient expertise and qualifications, as determined 10 by the state auditor, to perform the duties of the nonpartisan state demographer. Third, if the 11 majority leader and minority leader of the senate together agree that a specific applicant should 12 be selected to be the nonpartisan state demographer, that applicant shall be selected and the 13 selection process shall cease. Fourth, if the majority leader and minority leader of the senate 14 cannot together agree on an applicant, they may each remove a number of applicants on the state 15 auditor's list equal to one-third of the total number of applicants on that list, rounded down to the 16 next integer, and the state auditor shall then conduct a random lottery of the applicants remaining 17 after removal to select the nonpartisan state demographer. The state auditor shall prescribe a 18 time frame and deadlines for this application and selection process that both encourages 19 numerous qualified applicants and avoids delay in selection. The nonpartisan state demographer 20 shall serve a term of five years and may be reappointed. To be eligible for the nonpartisan state 21 22 demographer position, an individual shall not have served in a partisan, elected position for four 23 years prior to the appointment. The nonpartisan state demographer shall be disqualified from 24 holding office as a member of the general assembly for four years following the date of the presentation of his or her most recent legislative redistricting map to the house apportionment 25 26 commission or the senatorial apportionment commission.

3

4

27 (c)] 1. The house of representatives shall consist of one hundred sixty-three members
28 elected at each general election and apportioned as provided in this section.

[(1)] 2. Within [ten] sixty days after the population of this state is reported to the President for each decennial census of the United States or, in the event that a reapportionment has been invalidated by a court of competent jurisdiction, within [ten] sixty days after such a ruling has been made, the [nonpartisan state demographer] house independent bipartisan citizens commission shall begin the preparation of legislative districting plans and maps using the following methods, listed in order of priority:

a. Districts shall be established on the basis of total population. Legislative districts shall each have a total population as nearly equal as practicable to the ideal population for such districts, determined by dividing the number of districts to be established into the total population of the state reported in the federal decennial census;

b. Districts shall be established in a manner so as to comply with all requirements of the United States Constitution and applicable federal laws, including, but not limited to, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (as amended). Notwithstanding any other provision of this Article, districts shall not be drawn with the intent or result of denying or abridging the equal opportunity of racial or language minorities to participate in the political process or diminishing their ability to elect representatives of their choice, whether by themselves or by voting in concert with other persons[-];

46 [Districts shall be designed in a manner that achieves both partisan fairness and, 47 secondarily, competitiveness. "Partisan fairness" means that parties shall be able to translate 48 their popular support into legislative representation with approximately equal efficiency. 49 "Competitiveness" means that parties' legislative representation shall be substantially and 50 similarly responsive to shifts in the electorate's preferences.

51 To this end, the nonpartisan state demographer shall calculate the average electoral performance of the two parties receiving the most votes in the three preceding elections for 52 governor, for United States Senate, and for President of the United States. This index shall be 53 54 defined as the total votes received by each party in the three preceding elections for governor, 55 for United States Senate, and for President of the United States, divided by the total votes cast 56 for both parties in these elections. Using this index, the nonpartisan state demographer shall calculate the total number of wasted votes for each party, summing across all of the districts in 57 the plan. "Wasted votes" are votes cast for a losing candidate or for a winning candidate in 58 excess of the fifty percent threshold needed for victory. In any plan of apportionment and map 59 60 of the proposed districts submitted to the respective apportionment commission, the nonpartisan state demographer shall ensure the difference between the two parties' total wasted votes, divided 61 62 by the total votes cast for the two parties, is as close to zero as practicable.

To promote competitiveness, the nonpartisan state demographer shall use the electoral performance index to simulate elections in which the hypothetical statewide vote shifts by one percent, two percent, three percent, four percent, and five percent in favor of each party. The vote in each individual district shall be assumed to shift by the same amount as the statewide vote. The nonpartisan state demographer shall ensure that, in each of these simulated elections, the difference between the two parties' total wasted votes, divided by the total votes cast for the two parties, is as close to zero as practicable;]

c. Subject to the requirements of paragraphs a. and b. of this subdivision, districts shall be composed of contiguous territory **as compact as may be**. Areas which meet only at the points of adjoining corners are not contiguous. In general, compact districts are those which **are square, rectangular, or hexagonal in shape to the extent permitted by natural or political boundaries**;

d. To the extent consistent with paragraphs a. to c. of this subdivision, district boundaries shall coincide with the boundaries of political subdivisions of the state. The number of counties and cities divided among more than one district shall be as small as possible. When there is a choice between dividing local political subdivisions, the more populous subdivisions shall be divided before the less populous, but this preference shall not apply to a legislative district boundary drawn along a county line which passes through a city that lies in more than one county;

82 e. [Preference shall be that districts are compact in form, but the standards established 83 by paragraphs a. to d. of this subdivision take precedence over compactness where a conflict 84 arises between compactness and these standards. In general, compact districts are those which 85 are square, rectangular, or hexagonal in shape to the extent permitted by natural or political 86 boundaries.] Districts shall be designed in a manner that achieves both partisan fairness 87 and, secondarily, competitiveness, but the standards established by paragraphs a. to d. of 88 this subdivision shall take precedence over partisan fairness and competitiveness where a 89 conflict arises. "Partisan fairness" means that parties shall be able to translate their 90 popular support into legislative representation with approximately equal efficiency. "Competitiveness" means that parties' legislative representation shall be substantially and 91 92 similarly responsive to shifts in the electorate's preferences.

To this end, the average electoral performance of the two parties receiving the most votes in the three preceding elections for governor, for United States Senate, and for President of the United States shall be calculated. This index shall be defined as the total votes received by each party in the three preceding elections for governor, for United States Senate, and for President of the United States, divided by the total votes cast for both parties in these elections. Using this index, the total number of wasted votes for each party,

5

6

99 summing across all of the districts in the plan shall be calculated. "Wasted votes" are votes 100 cast for a losing candidate or for a winning candidate in excess of the fifty percent 101 threshold needed for victory. In any plan of apportionment and map of the proposed 102 districts, the difference between the two parties' total wasted votes, divided by the total 103 votes cast for the two parties, shall be as close to zero as practicable.

To promote competitiveness, the electoral performance index shall be used to simulate elections in which the hypothetical statewide vote shifts by one percent, two percent, three percent, four percent, and five percent in favor of each party. The vote in each individual district shall be assumed to shift by the same amount as the statewide vote. In each of these simulated elections, the difference between the two parties' total wasted votes, divided by the total votes cast for the two parties, shall be as close to zero as practicable.

111 $\left[\frac{(2)}{2}\right]$ 3. Within [sixty] ten days after the population of this state is reported to the 112 President for each decennial census of the United States or, in the event that a reapportionment 113 has been invalidated by a court of competent jurisdiction, within [sixty] ten days that such a 114 ruling has been made, the state committee and the congressional district [committee] 115 committees of each of the two political parties casting the highest vote for governor at the last 116 preceding election shall meet and the members of [the] each committee shall nominate, by a 117 majority vote of the members of the committee present, provided that a majority of the elected 118 members is present, [two] members of their party, residents in that district, in the case of a 119 congressional district committee, as nominees for [reapportionment commissioners] the house 120 independent bipartisan citizens commission. [Neither] No party shall select more than one 121 nominee from any one state legislative district. The congressional district committees shall each 122 submit to the governor their list of two elected nominees. The state committees shall each 123 submit their list of five nominees to the governor. Within thirty days the governor shall 124 appoint a house independent bipartisan citizens commission consisting of one name from each 125 list submitted by each congressional district committee and two names from each list 126 submitted by each state committee to reapportion the state into one hundred and sixty-three 127 representative districts and to establish the numbers and boundaries of said districts. No person 128 shall be appointed to both the house independent bipartisan citizens commission and the 129 senate independent bipartisan citizens commission during the same reapportionment cycle. 130 If any [of the congressional committees] committee fails to submit a list within such 131 time, the governor shall appoint a member of his or her own choice [from that district and] from

132 the political party of the committee failing to [make the appointment] submit a list, provided 133 that in the case of a congressional district committee failing to submit a list, the person

134 appointed to the commission by the governor shall reside in the congressional district of 135 such committee.

Members of the commission shall be disqualified from holding office as members of the general assembly for four years following the date of the filing by the commission of its final statement of apportionment.

139 For the purposes of this Article, the term congressional district committee or 140 congressional district refers to the congressional district committee or the congressional district 141 from which a congressman was last elected, or, in the event members of congress from this state 142 have been elected at large, the term congressional district committee refers to those persons who 143 last served as the congressional district committee for those districts from which congressmen 144 were last elected, and the term congressional district refers to those districts from which 145 congressmen were last elected. Any action pursuant to this section by the congressional district committee shall take place only at duly called meetings, shall be recorded in their official 146 147 minutes and only members present in person shall be permitted to vote.

[(3) Within six months after the population of this state is reported to the President for each decennial census of the United States or, in the event that a reapportionment has been invalidated by a court of competent jurisdiction, within six months after such a ruling has been made, the nonpartisan state demographer shall make public and file with the secretary of state and with the house apportionment commission a tentative plan of apportionment and map of the proposed districts, as well as all demographic and partisan data used in the creation of the plan and map.]

155 4. The commissioners so selected shall, [within ten days of receiving the tentative plan 156 of apportionment and map of the proposed districts,] on the fifteenth day, excluding Sundays 157 and state holidays, after all members have been appointed, meet in the capitol building and 158 proceed to organize by electing from their number a chairman, vice chairman and secretary. The 159 commission shall adopt an agenda establishing at least three hearing dates on which hearings 160 open to the public shall be held to hear objections or testimony from interested persons. A copy 161 of the agenda shall be filed with the clerk of the house of representatives within twenty-four 162 hours after its adoption. Executive meetings may be scheduled and held as often as the 163 commission deems advisable.

164 [The commission may make changes to the tentative plan of apportionment and map of 165 the proposed districts received from the nonpartisan state demographer provided that such 166 changes are consistent with this section and approved by a vote of at least seven-tenths of the 167 commissioners. If no changes are made or approved as provided for in this subsection, the 168 tentative plan of apportionment and map of proposed districts shall become final. Not later than 169 two months of receiving the tentative plan of apportionment and map of the proposed districts, 170 the commission shall file with the secretary of state a final statement of the numbers and the

171 boundaries of the districts together with a map of the districts.]

5. Not later than five months after the appointment of the commission, the commission shall file with the secretary of state a tentative plan of apportionment and map of the proposed districts and during the ensuing fifteen days shall hold such public hearings as may be necessary to hear objections or testimony of interested persons.

176 **6.** Not later than six months after the appointment of the commission, the 177 commission shall file with the secretary of state a final statement of the numbers and the 178 boundaries of the districts together with a map of the districts, and no statement shall be 179 valid unless approved by at least seven-tenths of the members.

180 7. After the final statement is filed, members of the house of representatives shall 181 be elected according to such districts until a reapportionment is made as provided in this 182 section, except that if the statement is not filed within six months of the time fixed for the 183 appointment of the commission, the commission shall stand discharged and the house of 184 representatives shall be apportioned by a commission of six members appointed from 185 among the judges of the appellate courts of the state of Missouri by the state supreme 186 court, a majority of whom shall sign and file its apportionment plan and map with the 187 secretary of state within ninety days of the date of the discharge of the house independent 188 bipartisan citizens commission. Thereafter, members of the house of representatives shall 189 be elected according to such districts until the house of representatives is reapportioned 190 as provided in this section.

191 **8.** Each member of the commission shall receive as compensation fifteen dollars a day 192 for each day the commission is in session but not more than one thousand dollars, and, in 193 addition, shall be reimbursed for his **or her** actual and necessary expenses incurred while serving 194 as a member of the commission.

195

9. No reapportionment shall be subject to the referendum.

Section 7. [(a) Within ten days after the population of this state is reported to the President for each decennial census of the United States or, in the event that a reapportionment has been invalidated by a court of competent jurisdiction, within ten days after such a ruling has been made, the nonpartisan state demographer authorized in Article III, Section 3 shall begin the preparation of senatorial districting plans and maps using the same methods and criteria as those required by Article III, Section 3 for the establishment of districts for the house of representatives. [6] [(b)] 1. Within [sixty] ten days after the population of this state is reported to the

9 President for each decennial census of the United States, or within [sixty] ten days after a 10 reapportionment has been invalidated by a court of competent jurisdiction, the state committee

and the congressional district committees of each of the two political parties casting the 11 12 highest vote for governor at the last preceding election shall, at a committee meeting duly called, 13 select by a vote of the individual committee members, and thereafter submit to the governor a list of ten persons, and] meet and the members of each committee shall nominate, by a 14 15 majority vote of the members of the committee present, provided that a majority of the 16 elected members is present, members of their party, residents in that district, in the case 17 of a congressional district committee, as nominees for the senate independent bipartisan 18 citizens commission. No party shall select more than one nominee from any one state 19 legislative district. The congressional district committees shall each submit their list of two 20 elected nominees to the governor. The state committees shall each submit their list of five 21 elected nominees to the governor. Within thirty days thereafter the governor shall appoint a 22 senate independent bipartisan citizens commission consisting of [ten members, five] two names from each list submitted by each state committee and one name from each list 23 24 submitted by each congressional district committee, to reapportion the thirty-four senatorial 25 districts and to establish the numbers and boundaries of said districts. No person shall be 26 appointed to both the house independent bipartisan citizens commission and the senate 27 independent bipartisan citizens commission during the same reapportionment cycle.

If [either of the party committees] any committee fails to submit a list within such time, the governor shall appoint [five members] a member of his or her own choice from the political party of the committee [so] failing to [act] submit a list, provided that in the case of a congressional district committee failing to submit a list, the person appointed to the commission by the governor shall reside in the congressional district of such committee.

33 Members of the commission shall be disqualified from holding office as members of the 34 general assembly for four years following the date of the filing by the commission of its final 35 statement of apportionment.

36 [(c) Within six months after the population of this state is reported to the President for 37 each decennial census of the United States or in the event that a reapportionment has been 38 invalidated by a court of competent jurisdiction, within six months after such a ruling has been 39 made, the nonpartisan state demographer shall file with the secretary of state and with the 40 senatorial apportionment commission a tentative plan of apportionment and map of the proposed 41 districts.]

42 2. The commissioners so selected shall [within ten days of receiving the tentative plan 43 of apportionment and map of the proposed districts required by this subsection], on the fifteenth 44 day, excluding Sundays and state holidays, after all members have been appointed, meet 45 in the capitol building and proceed to organize by electing from their number a chairman, vice 46 chairman and secretary. The commission shall adopt an agenda establishing at least three

47 hearing dates on which hearings open to the public shall be held to hear objections or testimony 48 from interested persons. A copy of the agenda shall be filed with the secretary of the senate 49 within twenty-four hours after its adoption. Executive meetings may be scheduled and held as 50 often as the commission deems advisable. [The commission may make changes to the tentative plan of apportionment and map of the proposed districts received from the nonpartisan state 51 demographer provided that such changes are consistent with this section and the methods and 52 53 eriteria required by Section 3 of this Article for the establishment of districts for the house of representatives and approved by a vote of at least seven-tenths of the commissioners. If no 54 55 changes are made or approved as provided for in this subsection, the tentative plan of apportionment and map of proposed districts shall become final. Not later than two months after 56 57 receiving the tentative plan of apportionment and map of the proposed districts, the commission 58 shall file with the secretary of state a final statement of the numbers and the boundaries of the 59 districts together with a map of the districts.]

60 3. The senate independent bipartisan citizens commission shall reapportion the 61 thirty-four senatorial districts using the same methods and criteria as those required by 62 Article III, Section 3, Subsection 2, of this constitution for the establishment of districts for 63 the house of representatives.

4. Not later than five months after the appointment of the senate independent bipartisan citizens commission, the commission shall file with the secretary of state a tentative plan of apportionment and map of the proposed districts and during the ensuing fifteen days shall hold such public hearings as may be necessary to hear objections or testimony of interested persons.

5. Not later than six months after the appointment of the commission, the commission shall file with the secretary of state a final statement of the numbers and the boundaries of the districts together with a map of the districts, and no statement shall be valid unless approved by at least seven-tenths of the members.

73 6. After the statement is filed, senators shall be elected according to such districts 74 until a reapportionment is made as provided in this section, except that if the statement is 75 not filed within six months of the time fixed for the appointment of the commission, it shall 76 stand discharged and the senate shall be apportioned by a commission of six members 77 appointed from among the judges of the appellate courts of the state of Missouri by the 78 state supreme court, a majority of whom shall sign and file its apportionment plan and 79 map with the secretary of state within ninety days of the date of the discharge of the senate 80 independent bipartisan citizens commission. Thereafter, senators shall be elected 81 according to such districts until a reapportionment is made as provided in this section.

11

82 **7.** Each member of the commission shall receive as compensation fifteen dollars a day 83 for each day the commission is in session, but not more than one thousand dollars, and, in 84 addition, shall be reimbursed for his actual and necessary expenses incurred while serving as a 85 member of the commission.

86

5

8

8. No reapportionment shall be subject to the referendum.

Section B. Pursuant to chapter 116, and other applicable constitutional provisions and 2 laws of this state allowing the general assembly to adopt ballot language for the submission of 3 this joint resolution to the voters of this state, the official summary statement of this resolution 4 shall be as follows:

"Shall the Missouri Constitution be amended to:

• Ban lobbyist gifts to legislators and their employees; and

7 • Ensure that the independent bipartisan citizens commissions prepare state

legislative district maps that are equal in population, follow the U.S.

9 Constitution and federal law, and are as compact and contiguous as possible?"

1