

NOTICE: You are advised that the proposed constitutional amendment may change, repeal, or modify by implication or may be construed by some persons to change, repeal or modify by implication, the following Articles and Sections of the Constitution of Missouri: Article I, Section 8 and the following Sections of the Missouri Revised Statutes: Sections 105.450 through 105.496 and Sections 130.011 through 130.160. The proposed amendment revises Article III of the Constitution by amending Sections 2, 5, 7, and 19 and adopting three new sections to be known as Article III Sections 3, 20(c), and 20(d).

*Be it resolved by the people of the state of Missouri that the Constitution be amended:*

Section A. Article III of the Constitution is revised by amending Sections 2, 5, 7, 19, and adopting three new sections to be known as Article III Sections 3, 20(c), and 20(d) to read as follows:

#### Section 2.

After the effective date of this section, 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 the effective date of this section.

(a) No person serving as a member of or employed by the General Assembly shall accept directly or indirectly a gift of any tangible or intangible item, service, or thing of value from any paid lobbyist or lobbyist principal in excess of five dollars per occurrence. This Article shall not prevent Candidates for the General Assembly, including candidates for reelection, or candidates for offices within the senate or house from accepting campaign contributions consistent with this Article and applicable campaign finance law. Nothing in this section shall 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 shall be increased or decreased each year by the percentage of increase or decrease from the end of the previous calendar year of the Consumer Price Index, or successor index as published by the U.S. Department of Labor, or its successor agency and rounded to the nearest dollar amount.

(c) The General Assembly shall make no law authorizing unlimited campaign contributions to candidates for the General Assembly, nor any law that circumvents the contribution limits contained in this Constitution. In addition to other campaign contribution limitations or restrictions provided for by law, the amount of contributions made to or accepted by any candidate or candidate committee from any person other than the candidate in any one election for the General Assembly shall not exceed the following:

- (1) To elect an individual to the office of state senator, two thousand five hundred dollars; and
- (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.

(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 person in such a manner as to, or with the intent to, conceal the identity of the actual source of the contribution. There shall be a rebuttable presumption that a contribution to a candidate for public office is made or accepted with the intent to circumvent the limitations on contributions 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 its contribution limit under any law relating to contribution limitations. A committee or organization shall be deemed to be primarily funded by a single person, individual, or other committee when the committee or organization receives more than fifty percent of its annual 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.

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

#### Section 3.

(a) There is hereby established the post of "non-partisan state demographer." The non-partisan 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 non-partisan state demographer shall be selected through the following process. 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 position. Second, the state auditor shall deliver to the majority leader and minority leader of the senate a list of at least three applicants with sufficient expertise and qualifications, as determined by the state auditor, to perform the duties of the non-partisan state demographer. Third, if the majority leader and minority leader of the senate together agree that a specific applicant should be selected to be the non-partisan state demographer, that applicant shall be selected and the selection process shall cease. Fourth, if the majority leader and minority leader of the senate cannot together agree on an applicant, they may each remove a number of applicants on the state auditor's list equal to one-third of the total number of applicants on that list, rounded down to the next integer, and the state auditor shall then conduct a random lottery of the applicants remaining after removal to select the non-partisan state demographer. The state auditor shall prescribe a time frame and deadlines for this application and selection process that both encourages numerous qualified applicants and avoids delay in selection. The non-partisan state demographer shall serve a term of five years and may be reappointed. To be eligible for the non-partisan state demographer position an individual shall not have served in a partisan, elected position for four years prior to the appointment. The non-partisan state demographer shall be disqualified from 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 commission or the senatorial apportionment commission.

(c) The house of representatives shall consist of one hundred sixty-three members elected at each general election and apportioned [in the following manner:] as provided in this section.

- (1) 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 non-partisan state demographer 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.

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

To this end, the non-partisan state demographer shall calculate 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. 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 non-partisan state demographer shall calculate the total number of wasted votes for each party, summing across all of the districts in the plan. Wasted votes are votes cast for a losing candidate or for a winning candidate in excess of the fifty percent threshold needed for victory. In any plan of apportionment and map of the proposed districts submitted to the respective apportionment commission, the non-partisan state demographer shall ensure 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.

To promote competitiveness, the non-partisan 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 non-partisan 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 subdivisions (1)(a) and (1)(b), Districts shall be composed of contiguous territory. Areas which meet only at the points of adjoining corners are not contiguous.
- (d) To the extent consistent with subdivisions (1)(a) – (1)(c) of this subsection, 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.
- (e) Preference shall be that districts are compact in form, but the standards established by subdivisions (1)(a) – (1)(d) of this subsection take precedence over compactness where a conflict arises between compactness and these standards. In general, compact districts are those which are square, rectangular, or hexagonal in shape to the extent permitted by natural or political boundaries.

- (2) Within sixty days after the population of this state is reported to the President for each decennial census of the United States [and] or, in the event that a reapportionment has been invalidated by a court of competent jurisdiction, within sixty days [after notification by the governor] that such a ruling has been made, the congressional district committee of each of the two parties casting the highest vote for governor at the last preceding election shall meet and the members of the committee shall nominate, by a majority vote of the members of the committee present, provided that a majority of the elected members is present, two members of their party, residents in that district, as nominees for reapportionment commissioners. Neither party shall select more than one nominee from any one state legislative district. The congressional committees shall each submit to the governor their list of elected nominees. Within thirty days the governor shall appoint a commission consisting of one name from each list to reapportion the state into one hundred and sixty-three representative districts and to establish the numbers and boundaries of said districts.

If any of the congressional committees fails to submit a list within such time the governor shall appoint a member of his own choice from that district and from the political party of the committee failing to make the appointment.

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.

For the purposes of this Article, the term congressional district committee or congressional district refers to the congressional district committee or the congressional district from which a congressman was last elected, or, in the event members of congress from this state have been elected at large, the term congressional district committee refers to those persons who last served as the congressional district committee for those districts from which congressmen were last elected, and the term congressional district refers to those districts from which 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 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 non-partisan 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.

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

partisan state demographer provided that such changes are consistent with this section and approved by a vote of at least seven-tenths of the commissioners. If no 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 of receiving the tentative plan of apportionment and map of the proposed districts, 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.

[The commission shall reapportion the representatives by dividing the population of the state by the number one hundred sixty-three and shall establish each district so that the population of that district shall, as nearly as possible, equal that figure.

Each district shall be composed of contiguous territory as compact as may be.

Not later than five months after the appointment of the commission the commission shall receive the tentative plan of apportionment and map of the proposed districts ordered in subsection 4 of this section and during the ensuing fifteen days shall hold such public hearings as may be necessary to hear objections or testimony of interested persons.

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.

After the statement is filed members of the house of representatives shall be elected according to such districts until a reapportionment is made as herein provided, except that if the statement is not filed within six months of the time fixed for the appointment of the commission, it shall stand discharged and the house of representatives shall be apportioned by a commission of six members appointed from among the judges of the appellate courts of the state of Missouri by the state supreme court, a majority of whom shall sign and file its apportionment plan and map with the secretary of state within ninety days of the date of the discharge of the apportionment commission. Thereafter members of the house of representatives shall be elected according to such districts until a reapportionment is made as herein provided.]

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

No reapportionment shall be subject to the referendum.

#### Section 5.

(a) The Senate shall consist of thirty-four members elected by the qualified voters of the senatorial [respective] districts for a term of four years. [For the election of senators, the state shall be divided into convenient districts of contiguous territory, as compact and nearly equal in population as may be.] Senatorial districts shall be apportioned as provided for in Article III, Section 7.

#### Section 7.

(1) 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 non-partisan 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.

(2) Within sixty days after the population of this state is reported to the President for each decennial census of the United States, [and] or within sixty days after [notification by the governor that] a reapportionment has been invalidated by a court of competent jurisdiction, the state committee of each of the two political parties casting the highest vote for governor at the last preceding election shall, at a committee meeting duly called, select by a vote of the individual committee members, and thereafter submit to the governor a list of ten persons, and within thirty days thereafter the governor shall appoint a commission of ten members, five from each list, to reapportion the thirty-four senatorial districts and to establish the numbers and boundaries of said districts.

If either of the party committees fails to submit a list within such time the governor shall appoint five members of his own choice from the party of the committee so failing to act.

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.

(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 non-partisan state demographer shall file with the secretary of state and with the senatorial apportionment commission a tentative plan of apportionment and map of the proposed districts.

The commissioners so selected shall [on the fifteenth day, excluding Sundays and holidays, after all members have been selected] within ten days of receiving the tentative plan of apportionment and map of the proposed districts required by this subsection, meet in the capitol building and proceed to organize by electing from their number a chairman, vice chairman and secretary [and]. The commission shall adopt an agenda establishing at least three hearing dates on which hearings open to the public shall be held to hear objections or testimony from interested persons. A copy of the agenda shall be filed with the secretary of the senate within twenty-four hours after its adoption. Executive meetings may be scheduled and held as 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 non-partisan state demographer provided that such changes are consistent with this Section and the methods and criteria 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 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 receiving the tentative plan of apportionment and map of the proposed districts, 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.

[The commission shall reapportion the senatorial districts by dividing the population of the state by the number thirty-four and shall establish each district so that the population of that district shall, as nearly as possible, equal that figure; no county lines shall be crossed except when necessary to add sufficient population to a multi-district county or city to complete only one district which lies partly within such multi-district county or city so as to be as nearly equal as practicable in population. Any county with a population in excess of the quotient obtained by dividing the population of the state by the number thirty-four is hereby declared to be a multi-district county.

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.

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 members.

After the statement is filed senators shall be elected according to such districts until a reapportionment is made as herein provided, except that if the statement is not filed within six months of the time fixed for the appointment of the commission, it shall stand discharged and the senate shall be apportioned by a commission of six members appointed from among the judges of the appellate courts of the state of Missouri by the state supreme court, a majority of whom shall sign and file its apportionment plan and map with the secretary of state within ninety days of the date of the discharge of the apportionment commission. Thereafter senators shall be elected according to such districts until a reapportionment is made as herein provided.]

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

No reapportionment shall be subject to the referendum.

#### Section 19.

(a) Senators and representatives shall, in all cases except treason, felony, offenses under this Article, or breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during the session of the general assembly, and for the fifteen days next before the commencement and after the termination of each session; and they shall not be questioned for any speech or debate in either house in any other place.

(b) Legislative records shall be public records and subject to generally applicable state laws governing public access to public records, including the "Sunshine Law." Legislative records include, but are not limited to, all records, in whatever form or format, of the official acts of the general assembly, of the official acts of legislative committees, of the official acts of members of the general assembly, of individual legislators, their employees and staff, of the conduct of legislative business and all records that are created, stored or distributed through legislative branch facilities, equipment or mechanisms, including electronic. Each member of the general assembly is the custodian of legislative records under the custody and control of the member, their employees and staff. The chief clerk of the house or the secretary of the senate are the custodians for all other legislative records relating to the house and the senate, respectively.

(c) Legislative proceedings, including committee proceedings, shall be public meetings subject to generally applicable law governing public access to public meetings, including the "Sunshine Law." Open public meetings of legislative proceedings shall be subject to recording by citizens, so long as the proceedings are not materially disrupted.

#### Section 20(c).

No political fundraising activities or political fundraising event by any member of or candidate for the general assembly, including but not limited to the solicitation or delivery of contributions, supporting or opposing any candidate, initiative petition, referendum petition, ballot measure, political party or political committee, shall occur in or on any premises, property or building owned, leased or controlled by the State of Missouri or any agency or division thereof. Any purposeful violation of this section shall be punishable by imprisonment for up to one year or a fine of up to one thousand dollars or both, plus an amount equal to three times the illegal contributions. The Missouri Ethics Commission or its successor agency is authorized to enforce this section as provided by law.

#### Section 20(d).

If any provision of sections 2, 3, 7, 19, or 20(c) or the application thereof to anyone or to any circumstance is held invalid, the remainder of those provisions and the application of such provisions to others or other circumstances shall not be affected thereby.