SECOND REGULAR SESSION

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 115

100TH GENERAL ASSEMBLY

INTRODUCED BY REPRESENTATIVE TRENT.

DANA RADEMAN MILLER, Chief Clerk

JOINT RESOLUTION

Submitting to the qualified voters of Missouri an amendment repealing Sections 3 and 7 of Article III of the Constitution of Missouri, and adopting three new sections in lieu thereof relating to elections.

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of the Constitution of the state of Missouri: Section A. Sections 3 and 7, Article III, Constitution of Missouri, are repealed and three

- 2 new sections adopted in lieu thereof, to be known as Sections 3, 7, and 55, to read as follows: Section 3. [(a) There is hereby established the post of "Nonpartisan State Demographer".
- 2 The nonpartisan state demographer shall acquire appropriate information to develop procedures
- 3 in preparation for drawing legislative redistricting maps on the basis of each federal census for
- 4 presentation to the house apportionment commission and the senatorial apportionment
- 5 commission.
- 6 (b) The nonpartisan state demographer shall be selected through the following process.
- 7 First, state residents may apply for selection to the state auditor using an application developed
- 8 by the state auditor to determine an applicant's qualifications and expertise relevant to the
- 9 position. Second, the state auditor shall deliver to the majority leader and minority leader of the

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.

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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 12 majority leader and minority leader of the senate together agree that a specific applicant should 13 be selected to be the nonpartisan state demographer, that applicant shall be selected and the 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 18 after removal to select the nonpartisan state demographer. The state auditor shall prescribe a 19 time frame and deadlines for this application and selection process that both encourages 20 numerous qualified applicants and avoids delay in selection. The nonpartisan state demographer 21 shall serve a term of five years and may be reappointed. To be eligible for the nonpartisan state demographer position, an individual shall not have served in a partisan, elected position for four 22 23 years prior to the appointment. The nonpartisan state demographer shall be disqualified from holding office as a member of the general assembly for four years following the date of the 24 25 presentation of his or her most recent legislative redistricting map to the house apportionment 26 commission or the senatorial apportionment commission. 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.

29 [(1)] 2. Within [ten] sixty days after the population of this state is reported to the 30 President for each decennial census of the United States or, in the event that a reapportionment 31 has been invalidated by a court of competent jurisdiction, within [ten] sixty days after such a 32 ruling has been made, the [nonpartisan state demographer] house independent bipartisan 33 citizens commission shall begin the preparation of legislative districting plans and maps using 34 the following methods, listed in order of priority:

35 a. Districts shall be [established on the basis of total] as nearly equal as practicable in population[. Legislative districts shall each have a total population as nearly equal as practicable 36 37 to the ideal population for such districts, determined by dividing the number of districts to be 38 established into the total population of the state], and districts shall be drawn on the basis of one 39 person, one vote, using data reported in the federal decennial census. Districts are as nearly 40 equal in population as practicable if no district deviates by more than one percent from the 41 ideal population of the district, as measured by dividing the number of districts into the statewide population data being used, except that a district may deviate by up to three 42 43 percent if necessary to follow subdivision lines consistent with paragraph d.;

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 46 shall not be drawn with the intent or result of denying or abridging the equal opportunity of racial 47 or language minorities to participate in the political process or diminishing their ability to elect 48 49 representatives of their choice, whether by themselves or by voting in concert with other persons.] The following principles shall take precedence over any other part of this 50 51 constitution: no district shall be drawn in a manner which results in a denial or abridgment of the right of any citizen of the United States to vote on account of race or 52 53 color; and no district shall be drawn such that members of any community of citizens protected by the preceding clause have less opportunity than other members of the 54 55 electorate to participate in the political process and to elect representatives of their choice;

56 [Districts shall be designed in a manner that achieves both partisan fairness and, 57 secondarily, competitiveness. "Partisan fairness" means that parties shall be able to translate 58 their popular support into legislative representation with approximately equal efficiency. 59 "Competitiveness" means that parties' legislative representation shall be substantially and 60 similarly responsive to shifts in the electorate's preferences.

To this end, the nonpartisan state demographer shall calculate the average electoral 61 performance of the two parties receiving the most votes in the three preceding elections for 62 governor, for United States Senate, and for President of the United States. This index shall be 63 64 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 65 for both parties in these elections. Using this index, the nonpartisan state demographer shall 66 calculate the total number of wasted votes for each party, summing across all of the districts in 67 the plan. "Wasted votes" are votes cast for a losing candidate or for a winning candidate in 68 excess of the fifty percent threshold needed for victory. In any plan of apportionment and map 69 of the proposed districts submitted to the respective apportionment commission, the nonpartisan 70 state demographer shall ensure the difference between the two parties' total wasted votes, divided 71 72 by the total votes cast for the two parties, is as close to zero as practicable.

73 To promote competitiveness, the nonpartisan state demographer shall use the electoral 74 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 75 76 vote in each individual district shall be assumed to shift by the same amount as the statewide 77 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 78 79 two parties, is as close to zero as practicable;] 80 c. Subject to the requirements of paragraphs a. and b. of this subdivision, districts shall

81 be composed of contiguous territory as compact as may be. Areas which meet only at the

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82 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;

92 e. [Preference shall be that districts are compact in form, but the standards established 93 by paragraphs a. to d. of this subdivision take precedence over compactness where a conflict arises between compactness and these standards. In general, compact districts are those which 94 95 are square, rectangular, or hexagonal in shape to the extent permitted by natural or political 96 boundaries.] Districts shall be designed in a manner that achieves both partisan fairness 97 and, secondarily, competitiveness, but the standards established by paragraphs a. to d. of 98 this subdivision shall take precedence over partisan fairness and competitiveness where a 99 conflict arises. "Partisan fairness" means that parties shall be able to translate their 100 popular support into legislative representation with approximately equal efficiency. 101 "Competitiveness" means that parties' legislative representation shall be substantially and 102 similarly responsive to shifts in the electorate's preferences.

103 To this end, the average electoral performance of the two parties receiving the most 104 votes in the three preceding elections for governor, for United States Senate, and for 105 President of the United States shall be calculated. This index shall be defined as the total 106 votes received by each party in the three preceding elections for governor, for United States 107 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, 108 109 summing across all of the districts in the plan shall be calculated. "Wasted votes" are votes 110 cast for a losing candidate or for a winning candidate in excess of the fifty percent 111 threshold needed for victory. In any plan of apportionment and map of the proposed 112 districts, 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. 113

114 To promote competitiveness, the electoral performance index shall be used to 115 simulate elections in which the hypothetical statewide vote shifts by one percent, two 116 percent, three percent, four percent, and five percent in favor of each party. The vote in 117 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.

121 [(2)] 3. Within [sixty] ten days after the population of this state is reported to the 122 President for each decennial census of the United States or, in the event that a reapportionment 123 has been invalidated by a court of competent jurisdiction, within [sixty] ten days that such a 124 ruling has been made, the state committee and the congressional district [committee] 125 committees of each of the two political parties casting the highest vote for governor at the last 126 preceding election shall meet and the members of [the] each committee shall nominate, by a 127 majority vote of the members of the committee present, provided that a majority of the elected 128 members is present, [two] members of their party, residents in that district, in the case of a 129 congressional district committee, as nominees for [reapportionment commissioners] the house 130 independent bipartisan citizens commission. [Neither] No party shall select more than one 131 nominee from any one state legislative district. The congressional district committees shall each 132 submit to the governor their list of two elected nominees. The state committees shall each 133 submit their list of five nominees to the governor. Within thirty days the governor shall 134 appoint a house independent bipartisan citizens commission consisting of one name from each 135 list submitted by each congressional district committee and two names from each list 136 submitted by each state committee to reapportion the state into one hundred and sixty-three 137 representative districts and to establish the numbers and boundaries of said districts. **No person** 138 shall be appointed to both the house independent bipartisan citizens commission and the 139 senate independent bipartisan citizens commission during the same reapportionment cycle. 140 If any [of the congressional committees] committee fails to submit a list within such 141 time, the governor shall appoint a member of his or her own choice [from that district and] from 142 the political party of the committee failing to [make the appointment] submit a list, provided 143 that in the case of a congressional district committee failing to submit a list, the person 144 appointed to the commission by the governor shall reside in the congressional district of 145 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.

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 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.]

165 4. The commissioners so selected shall, [within ten days of receiving the tentative plan of apportionment and map of the proposed districts,] on the fifteenth day, excluding Sundays 166 167 and state holidays, after all members have been appointed, meet in the capitol building and 168 proceed to organize by electing from their number a chairman, vice chairman and secretary. The 169 commission shall adopt an agenda establishing at least three hearing dates on which hearings 170 open to the public shall be held to hear objections or testimony from interested persons. A copy 171 of the agenda shall be filed with the clerk of the house of representatives within twenty-four 172 hours after its adoption. Executive meetings may be scheduled and held as often as the 173 commission deems advisable.

174 [The commission may make changes to the tentative plan of apportionment and map of 175 the proposed districts received from the nonpartisan state demographer provided that such 176 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 177 178 tentative plan of apportionment and map of proposed districts shall become final. Not later than 179 two months of receiving the tentative plan of apportionment and map of the proposed districts, 180 the commission shall file with the secretary of state a final statement of the numbers and the 181 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. The commission shall make public the 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.

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6. 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.

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193 7. After the final statement is filed, members of the house of representatives shall 194 be elected according to such districts until a reapportionment is made as provided in this 195 section, except that if the statement is not filed within six months of the time fixed for the 196 appointment of the commission, the commission shall stand discharged and the house of 197 representatives shall be apportioned by a commission of six members appointed from 198 among the judges of the appellate courts of the state of Missouri by the state supreme 199 court, a majority of whom shall sign and file its apportionment plan and map with the 200 secretary of state within ninety days of the date of the discharge of the house independent 201 bipartisan citizens commission. The judicial commission shall make public the tentative 202 plan of apportionment and map of the proposed districts, as well as all demographic and 203 partisan data used in the creation of the plan and map. Thereafter, members of the house 204 of representatives shall be elected according to such districts until the house of 205 representatives is reapportioned as provided in this section.

8. 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 **or her** actual and necessary expenses incurred while serving as a member of the commission.

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9. No reapportionment shall be subject to the referendum.

211 10. Any action alleging a violation of this section shall be filed in the circuit court 212 of Cole County and shall name the body that approved the challenged plan of 213 apportionment as a defendant. Only an eligible Missouri voter who sustains an individual 214 injury by virtue of living in a district drawn in violation of this constitution, and whose 215 injury is remedied by a differently drawn district, shall have standing. If the court renders 216 a judgment in which it finds that a completed plan of apportionment violates this constitution, its judgment shall adjust only those districts, and only those parts of district 217 218 boundaries, necessary to bring the map into compliance. The supreme court shall have 219 exclusive appellate jurisdiction upon the filing of a notice of appeal within ten days after 220 the judgment has become final.

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 5 preparation of senatorial districting plans and maps using the same methods and criteria as those

6 required by Article III, Section 3 for the establishment of districts for the house of
7 representatives.

8 (b) 1. Within [sixty] ten days after the population of this state is reported to the President for each decennial census of the United States, or within [sixty] ten days after a 9 reapportionment has been invalidated by a court of competent jurisdiction, the state committee 10 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, select by a vote of the individual committee members, and thereafter submit to the governor a 13 14 list of ten persons, and] meet and the members of each committee shall nominate, by a majority vote of the members of the committee present, provided that a majority of the 15 elected members is present, members of their party, residents in that district, in the case 16 of a congressional district committee, as nominees for the senate independent bipartisan 17 citizens commission. No party shall select more than one nominee from any one state 18 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 23 names from each list submitted by each state committee and one name from each list 24 submitted by each congressional district committee, to reapportion the thirty-four senatorial districts and to establish the numbers and boundaries of said districts. No person shall be 25 26 appointed to both the house independent bipartisan citizens commission and the senate independent bipartisan citizens commission during the same reapportionment cycle. 27

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.

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.

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 of apportionment and map of the proposed districts required by this subsection], on the fifteenth 43 day, excluding Sundays and state holidays, after all members have been appointed, meet 44 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 often as the commission deems advisable. [The commission may make changes to the tentative 50 plan of apportionment and map of the proposed districts received from the nonpartisan state 51 52 demographer provided that such changes are consistent with this section and the methods and 53 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 54 55 changes are made or approved as provided for in this subsection, the tentative plan of 56 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 57 shall file with the secretary of state a final statement of the numbers and the boundaries of the 58 districts together with a map of the districts.] 59

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. The commission shall make public the 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.

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.

75 6. After the statement is filed, senators shall be elected according to such districts 76 until a reapportionment is made as provided in this section, except that if the statement is not filed within six months of the time fixed for the appointment of the commission, it shall 77 78 stand discharged and the senate shall be apportioned by a commission of six members 79 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 80 81 map with the secretary of state within ninety days of the date of the discharge of the senate 82 independent bipartisan citizens commission. The judicial commission shall make public 83 the 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. Thereafter, 84 85 senators shall be elected according to such districts until a reapportionment is made as 86 provided in this section.

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

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8. No reapportionment shall be subject to the referendum.

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9. For purposes of this subsection, the following terms and phrases shall mean:

93 (1) "Bipartisan citizens commission" the independent citizens commissions defined
 94 under Article III, Sections 3 and 7 of the Constitution of Missouri;

95 (2) "Redistricting process", the process of preparing and drawing legislative maps
 96 pursuant to Article III, Sections 3 and 7 of the Constitution of Missouri;

97 (3) "Redistricting public comment portal", the website established under this 98 subsection for the purpose of allowing the bipartisan citizens commission to publicly 99 receive comments, records, documents, maps, data files, communication, or information 100 of any kind relating to the redistricting process;

(4) "Redistricting records", any comments, records, documents, maps, or
 information of any kind accepted from a person or entity that is not the bipartisan citizens
 commission and any comments, records, documents, maps, data files, communication, or
 information created by such commission as part of the redistricting process.

10510. (1) The bipartisan citizens commission shall establish a website, to be known106as the "Redistricting Public Comment Portal", for the purpose of allowing the public107acceptance of comments, records, documents, maps, data files, communication, or108information of any kind relating to the redistricting process.

(2) The commission shall accept public comments, records, documents, maps, data
 files, communication, and information of any kind relating to the redistricting process
 solely through the redistricting public comment portal.

(3) Any comments, records, documents, maps, data files, communication, or
 information of any kind submitted through the redistricting public comment portal by any
 person or entity shall be accompanied by a disclosure form that indicates whether:

(a) The person or entity making the submission was responsible in whole or in part
 for such submission; or

(b) A person or entity other than the person or entity making the submission
contributed money that was intended to fund the preparation of the submission and, if so,
the disclosure form shall additionally identify each such person or entity.

120 11. Any action alleging a violation of this section shall be filed in the circuit court 121 of Cole County and shall name the body that approved the challenged plan of 122 apportionment as a defendant. Only an eligible Missouri voter who sustains an individual 123 injury by virtue of living in a district drawn in violation of this constitution, and whose 124 injury is remedied by a differently drawn district, shall have standing. If the court renders 125 a judgment in which it finds that a completed plan of apportionment violates this 126 constitution, its judgment shall adjust only those districts, and only those parts of district 127 boundaries, necessary to bring the map into compliance. The supreme court shall have 128 exclusive appellate jurisdiction upon the filing of a notice of appeal within ten days after 129 the judgment has become final.

130 Section 55. Only citizens of the United States, including occupants of soldiers' and 131 sailors' homes, over the age of eighteen who are residents of this state and of the political 132 subdivision in which they offer to vote are entitled to vote at all elections by the people, if 133 the election is one for which registration is required if they are registered within the time 134 prescribed by law, or if the election is one for which registration is not required, if they 135 have been residents of the political subdivision in which they offer to vote for thirty days 136 next preceding the election for which they offer to vote: Provided however, no person who 137 has a guardian of his or her estate or person by reason of mental incapacity, appointed by 138 a court of competent jurisdiction and no person who is involuntarily confined in a mental 139 institution pursuant to an adjudication of a court of competent jurisdiction shall be entitled 140 to vote, and persons convicted of felony, or crime connected with the exercise of the right 141 of suffrage may be excluded by law from voting. 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

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- 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:
- Ensure that only American citizens can vote in Missouri elections; and
- 7 Ensure that the independent bipartisan citizens commissions prepare state
- 8 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?"

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