



REPORT

OCTOBER 2019



CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION IN MISSOURI: 1945 TO THE PRESENT

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KEY FINDINGS

- In the early 20th century, Missouri was among the first states to allow for a process of direct legislation and constitutional amendment via citizen petition.
- Recent uses of the citizen initiative process to enshrine major public policy changes in the Missouri Constitution have spurred a conversation about whether it should be more difficult to use the initiative process to amend the Constitution.
- The history of Missouri constitutional revision provides helpful context for these current discussions.
- Missourians have amended their state constitution more than 120 times since its adoption in 1945. Initially just 26,000 words, the Missouri Constitution has grown to more than 85,000 words today.
- There is an important, ongoing, bipartisan conversation about how to streamline the Constitution and foster more deliberation in the policy process.

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INTRODUCTION

In 2018 Missouri citizens initiated, and voters approved, a variety of state constitutional amendments that added some 10,000 words to the Missouri Constitution. Among other things, these amendments changed the process for redrawing state legislative districts during reapportionment, created the position of state demographer, imposed new limits on campaign contributions and lobbyist gifts, established a detailed regulatory framework for medicinal marijuana sales and taxation, and increased the state minimum wage through multiple mandated annual increases. The use of the citizen initiative process to enshrine major public policy changes in the Missouri Constitution soon spurred a conversation in the General Assembly about whether it should be more difficult for citizens to amend the constitution through the initiative process.¹

The current incentive structure pushes political and legal reformers in Missouri to focus their efforts on amending the Constitution rather than revising Missouri statutes. As Article III of the Constitution provides, citizens can initiate proposed changes in state law by collecting signatures from five percent of the voters in two-thirds of the state's eight congressional districts. A bare majority of voters may approve the proposed statute in a statewide election. As with any other statutory law, however, the General Assembly can then revise, repeal, or amend it as it sees fit. And if the General Assembly does not alter the initiated statute, another General Assembly might—a prospect some reformers may be especially keen on avoiding given the regular turnover in the General Assembly required by constitutionally-imposed legislative term limits. With only a little more signature-gathering effort, reformers can reduce the risk of having their proposed policy altered by collecting signatures from eight percent of voters in two-thirds of the state's congressional districts to propose a state constitutional amendment instead. One major implication of doing so is that the General Assembly can then alter the initiated amendment only by proposing a new constitutional amendment that must then be ratified by the voters in a statewide election.²

This incentive structure has led over time to an increase in policy-specific, citizen-initiated constitutional amendments such as we saw in 2018, and it has blurred

the line between constitutional politics and public policy. Amendments to the state constitutional text increasingly make specific, hard-to-alter changes in Missouri public policy. As we continue to debate and discuss the place of the Missouri Constitution in state law and politics, it is helpful to retrace our steps and think, in a “big picture” way, about representative government and state constitutional revision, focusing in particular on changes to the Missouri Constitution in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

THEORY AND PRACTICE

“To make representative government more representative is the problem of today,” Margaret Schaffner wrote in her 1907 essay in the *American Political Science Review*, the flagship journal of the fledgling American Political Science Association.³ There was a movement underway nationwide to make government more representative by allowing citizens to propose, via petition, laws or constitutional amendments that could be ratified in statewide elections, all the while skirting the state's legislative assembly. “Measures providing for some form of direct legislation were introduced in some twenty states,” Schaffner observed, “and the results secured during the legislative year have made the question one of political importance throughout the country.” Missouri was among the states that year that proposed a constitutional amendment to provide for a system of direct legislation via citizen initiative, and voters ratified the proposed amendment in the general election in November 1908. The promise of the proposed amendment, as one Missouri newspaper put it at the time, was to guard “Representative Government, by eliminating Mis-Representation.”⁴ It was, in short, designed to give the people a check on their representatives, outside of frequent elections, through direct control of legislation and constitutional structures.

The notion that the people retain, and ought to exercise, sovereignty over public affairs has a long lineage in American politics. For example, Thomas Jefferson wrote in an 1816 letter to prominent Virginia lawyer Samuel Kercheval that the “mother principle” of American self-government is “that ‘governments are republican only in proportion as they embody the will of their people, and execute it.’” The problem Jefferson highlighted in this private letter was that constitutions embody the will of

the people only when the people consent to live under the constitution. This was a variation of the idea in the Declaration of Independence, the first draft of which also came from Jefferson's pen, that governments "derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." Practically, though, how do we establish and maintain the consent of the people to be governed by the constitution? Jefferson's solution was to provide in our constitutions mandatory revision at nineteen-year intervals, corresponding (according to contemporaneous European tables of mortality) to the time at which "a new majority will come into place; or, in other words, a new generation" with a "right to choose for itself the form of government it believes most promotive of its happiness."

At the federal level, we have gone in the opposite direction. While Jefferson was in France in the summer of 1787, the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia drafted a document that was less than 5,000 words. Over the last 230 years, we have amended the U.S. Constitution only 27 times, and it remains less than 8,000 words. Amendments at the national level are difficult and require supermajorities to propose and ratify. As a result, they are infrequent, something advocates of the Constitution touted at the time. Jefferson's friend and fellow Virginian, James Madison, explained during the ratification debates that since "every appeal to the people would carry an implication of some defect, then appeals would, in great measure, deprive the government of that veneration which time bestows on everything, and without which perhaps the wisest and freest governments would not possess the requisite stability." We rarely amend our national constitution and, as Madison hoped, the Constitution is widely venerated.

Does that mean Jefferson's idea of writing a new constitution every generation failed? Not exactly. Jefferson in his letter was writing about the Virginia state constitution, and the record of state constitutional revision tells a different story. In his 2006 book *The American State Constitutional Tradition*, Wake Forest political science professor John Dinan chronicled how "the fifty states have held over 233 constitutional conventions, adopted 146 constitutions, and ratified over 6,000 amendments to their current constitutions."⁵ The states have largely followed the Jeffersonian vision of frequent amendments and even

wholesale revision every generation. Missouri is one of fourteen states that has a mandatory referendum at set intervals for the voters to choose whether or not to call a new convention. The Missouri Constitution calls for an up-or-down vote on whether to hold a new constitutional convention at the Jeffersonian interval of every 20 years. The next time such a referendum will be put to the voters in Missouri is November 2022. Voters rejected that call by wide margins in 2002, 1982, and 1962. The last successful convention vote in Missouri was in 1942 and led to the convention that drafted the current 1945 Missouri Constitution.

Although we have not called another constitutional convention over the last 75 years, we have frequently amended our state constitution. Between 1945 and 2018, Missourians proposed nearly 190 amendments to the constitution and adopted more than 120 of them. At over 85,000 words, the document is now more than three times the length that it was in 1945. Missouri follows an interesting pattern. Although states continue to make frequent amendments to their constitutions, they have stopped calling new constitutional conventions. Of the 233 state conventions in U.S. history, 220 occurred before 1970. Since 1970, there have been 13 state conventions, and the most recent was in Louisiana in 1992, now over a quarter of a century ago. We are out of practice, then—not so much in revising our constitutions but in approaching revision holistically. Since 1945, constitutional change has occurred regularly but not comprehensively.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION OF 1945

The convention that drafted the 1945 Missouri State Constitution was composed of 83 delegates representing many paths of life, including lawyers, farmers, newspaper publishers, and college professors. As the former University of Missouri political scientist and convention delegate William L. Bradshaw noted, the "great majority of delegates were conservative, but constructive in their attitude."⁶ The convention made no major changes to Missouri's governing structures—there would still be a governor, bicameral legislature, and independent judiciary—but it did revise and modernize "the entire constitution, eliminating antiquated provisions and much

statutory detail, clarifying and simplifying language, and rearranging provisions.”⁷ The document adopted in 1945 contained 26,000 words spread over twelve articles (down from the previous constitution’s 37,000 words over fifteen articles), a significant consolidation and streamlining of the existing government charter.⁸ As David Roland has noted, the “convention eliminated dozens of redundant or archaic provisions, and worked to consolidate those remaining into a logical progression.”⁹ The work of the convention delegates went beyond reorganizing and cleaning up the text of the Constitution; they also made significant substantive changes to the Missouri Constitution such as a major reorganization of the executive branch—which added new departments of revenue, education, highways, conservation, and agriculture—and a provision for counties with 85,000 inhabitants to adopt a charter for county government.

Since 1945, however, the significant and haphazard growth of the Missouri Constitution has left many to conclude that another period of consolidation and modernization is in order. When the convention referendum was put to voters in 1962, University of Missouri political scientist Martin Faust commented that “a strong case for a comprehensive revision could have been made, [yet] no movement had developed to generate recognition by influential groups that the need existed.”¹⁰ Twenty years later, Faust’s colleague in the Political Science Department at the University of Missouri, Frederick Spiegel, averred that it was “abundantly clear that, in order to achieve the kind of modernization that is necessary, a comprehensive review by constitutional convention will be required. Reliance upon the regular amendment process makes ordered change virtually impossible.”¹¹ The following decade, then-President of Southwest Baptist University Roy Blunt and University of Missouri political scientist David Leuthold noted that the “addition of more than forty amendments by the fiftieth anniversary of the 1945 constitution may mean that Missourians will have a more detailed discussion of the constitution in 2002, the year when the next vote on whether to call a constitutional convention will occur.”¹² As we approach the next constitutionally-mandated convention referendum in 2022, Missourians are making similar observations and engaging in a conversation about the best path toward constitutional revision. James Layton,

David Roland, and Michael Wolff recently put forward a creative proposal that would eschew a convention in favor of reform through requiring voters to pass any new constitutional amendment twice, limiting the legislature’s ability to immediately revise an initiative-passed statute, and creating a bi-partisan Constitutional Review Commission that would propose simplifying and clarifying constitutional amendments to the voters for ratification.¹³

What is it about our record of state constitutional change that has raised so many eyebrows? Following John Dinan’s analytic grouping in his recent book *State Constitutional Politics: Governing by Amendment in the American States*, we can think about these changes to the Missouri Constitution in terms of (1) institutional amendments; (2) rights amendments and (3) policy amendments. Institutional amendments are those that alter the structure and authority of governing institutions. Rights amendments, by contrast, define and protect individual rights, sometimes in anticipation of or in response to court rulings or other actions taken by public officials. Finally, policy amendments limit, authorize, or enact specific policies.¹⁴ These changes occur at specific times in specific political contexts, and state constitutions carry within them a peculiar record of state political history. This certainly is the case in Missouri.

Institutional Amendments

Missouri voters have adopted a number of institutional amendments, including amendments:

- Limiting the duration of the regular legislative session to four months and a special session to sixty days (1952)
- Limiting the governor to two terms (1965)
- Creating a bipartisan redistricting commission and fixing the number of state representatives at 163 (1966)
- Modifying the line of succession should the governorship become vacant (1970)
- Altering the exclusive jurisdiction of the Missouri Supreme Court and creating a Court of Appeals

- subdivided into districts (1970)
- Providing for annual, instead of biennial, legislative sessions (1970)
- Changing the jurisdictions of the Supreme Court, Court of Appeals, and Circuit Courts (1976)
- Clarifying an issue of mandatory review for the Supreme Court (1982)
- Creating a state department of insurance (1990)
- Setting service limits of 8 years in both the Missouri House and Senate (1992)
- Imposing a duty on the governor to pay the public debt (2014)
- Creating a new redistricting process (2018)

Rights Amendments

Missouri voters have adopted a smaller number of rights amendments, and these include amendments:

- Outlining the legal rights of crime victims (1992)
- Affirming the right to worship God according to the dictates of conscience and the right to pray (2012)
- Creating a constitutional right to engage in farming and ranching practices (2014)
- Strengthening the right to bear arms and including a right to ammunition and accessories (2014)
- Protecting electronic communications from unreasonable searches and seizures (2014)

Policy Amendments

The majority of amendments to the 1945 Missouri Constitution have been policy amendments: those that constrain public officials' policy discretion or authorize, enact, or entrench specific policies. Most focus on taxation, spending, or a specific policy authorization or enactment. These include amendments related to:

- Subgovernment organization and powers

- Authorizing political subdivisions to create employee pension programs (1948 and 1966)
- Authorizing the people of the county of St. Louis and the city of St. Louis to adopt a plan to consolidate parts or all of the county and city together (1966)
- Authorizing counties to create alternative forms of county government if approved by the voters (1994)
- Constraints on taxing power
 - Addressing constitutional limitations on school tax increases (1950) and authorizing school districts to levy property taxes (1966)
 - Specifying the allocation of the state motor fuel tax (1962)
 - Allowing counties of over 80,000 to adopt a charter form of government (1976)
 - Limiting the General Assembly's authority to impose taxes (1980) and requiring voter approval of any major tax or fee increase (1996)
 - Real estate transfer tax (2010)
 - Sales tax expansion (2016)
- Constraints on spending power
 - Lottery revenue for education (1992)
 - Gas tax revenue for roads (2004)
 - Rainy day fund (2000)
- Borrowing
 - Providing guidelines for school indebtedness (1952 and 1956)
 - Authorizing municipality indebtedness or bond issues (1960, 1974, 1978)
 - Authorizing the General Assembly to issue bonds (1956 and 1998)

- Allowing for storm water and drinking water upgrades (1971, 1979 1988, 1998, 2008)
- Requiring 4/7 of voters to approve bond issues for schools, roads, and bridges (1988)
- Authorizing neighborhood improvement districts (1990)
- Tax exemptions
 - Nonprofits and veterans' organizations (2006)
 - Disabled former prisoners of war (2006)
- Specific policy authorizations or enactments
 - Creating a conservation sales tax (1976)
 - Allowing the legislature to authorize the game of bingo (1980)
 - Creating the Missouri Horse Racing Commission and authorizing wagering on horse races (1984)
 - Authorizing the State Lottery (1984) and earmarking lottery revenue for education (1992)
 - Providing authorization and guidelines for stem cell research (2006)
 - Imposing new campaign finance regulations (2016)
 - Requiring a photo ID to vote (2016)
 - Creating a new article in the constitution devoted to medicinal marijuana regulation and taxation (2018)
 - Creating new ethics guidelines, creating the position of state demographer, and altering the method of redistricting (2018)
 - Increasing the state minimum wage (2018)

Other amendments that are included in Article I of the Constitution (“Bill of Rights”) but are, according

to Dinan’s categorization, more accurately described as policy-amendments are ones:

- Defining marriage as a union of a man and woman (2004), subsequently invalidated by implication in the U.S. Supreme Court case *Obergefell v. Hodges* (2015)
- Declaring English to be the official language of the state (2008)
- Allowing evidence of prior criminal acts to be admitted as corroboration in certain sex-crimes prosecutions (2014)

WHAT AND HOW SHOULD WE AMEND?

We have frequently amended our constitution since 1945. In the November 2018 election, however, we saw amendments proposed and passed by citizen initiative that were longer and more complex than previous policy amendments. Among other things, Amendment 1 created the position of Nonpartisan State Demographer, identified specific policy goals for redistricting and prescribed detailed methods for achieving those goals. Amendment 2 created a complex regulatory scheme for medical marijuana and added 10,000 words and a new section to the Missouri Constitution. Any change to these policy goals or regulatory schemes must now come as a proposed constitutional amendment and go back to the voters for ratification. These amendments certainly accomplish the goal of limiting legislative influence on specific proposed public policies, but legislating through constitutional amendment in this way will make it more difficult for the state efficiently to revise and modify policies when confronted with the inevitable practical challenges of governance that will accompany any complex regulatory program. Because of this, these amendments reignited a debate in Missouri about the “how” and “why” of state constitutional revision.

Appendix 1 at the end of this report consists of two charts showing the number of constitutional amendments that have passed in each year from 1945 to 2018, the number of amendments that have been submitted by the General Assembly, and the number submitted by initiative petition.

Our prescribed treatment for the Missouri Constitution will depend on our diagnosis. How sick is the patient? Continuing with the metaphor of bodily health, the apparent ailments afflicting the Missouri Constitution range from minor irritations on one end to a metastasis on the other. The minor irritations are merely cosmetic. There are provisions in the Constitution that are irrelevant or unenforceable, or both. Take, for example, Section 22(b) in the Missouri Bill of Rights, providing that courts “shall excuse any woman who requests exemption” from “being sworn as a juror.” In *Duren v. Missouri* (1979), the United States Supreme Court ruled that this provision violates the U.S. Constitution and is therefore unenforceable. Maintaining these kinds of provisions in the Constitution does not impact Missouri citizens on a day-to-day basis, but streamlining each section by removing outdated provisions would make the document more concise and accurate. A more serious challenge is that major policy changes are being made by constitutional amendment through the initiative process. This process does not promote the kind of deliberation that legislatures are created to provide, and it is not conducive to efficient policy adaptation.

In the initiative process, voters are asked to accept or reject constitutional amendments with major public policy implications. The writing of those amendments, however, is done in advance by the private organizations that draft the amendment language and advocate for the amendment’s passage. Unlike bills filed by the legislature, the citizen initiative process is not in practice subject to the same kinds of back-and-forth negotiation, bargaining, and compromise that the legislative process is designed to promote. When the citizen initiative process is used to amend the constitution, decisions are doubly insulated from legislative deliberation since they can be revised only through future constitutional amendments. Whether the policies in question are about taxation and government revenue, redistricting, local governance, or other issues, the constitutional changes made through the initiative process do impact Missouri citizens.

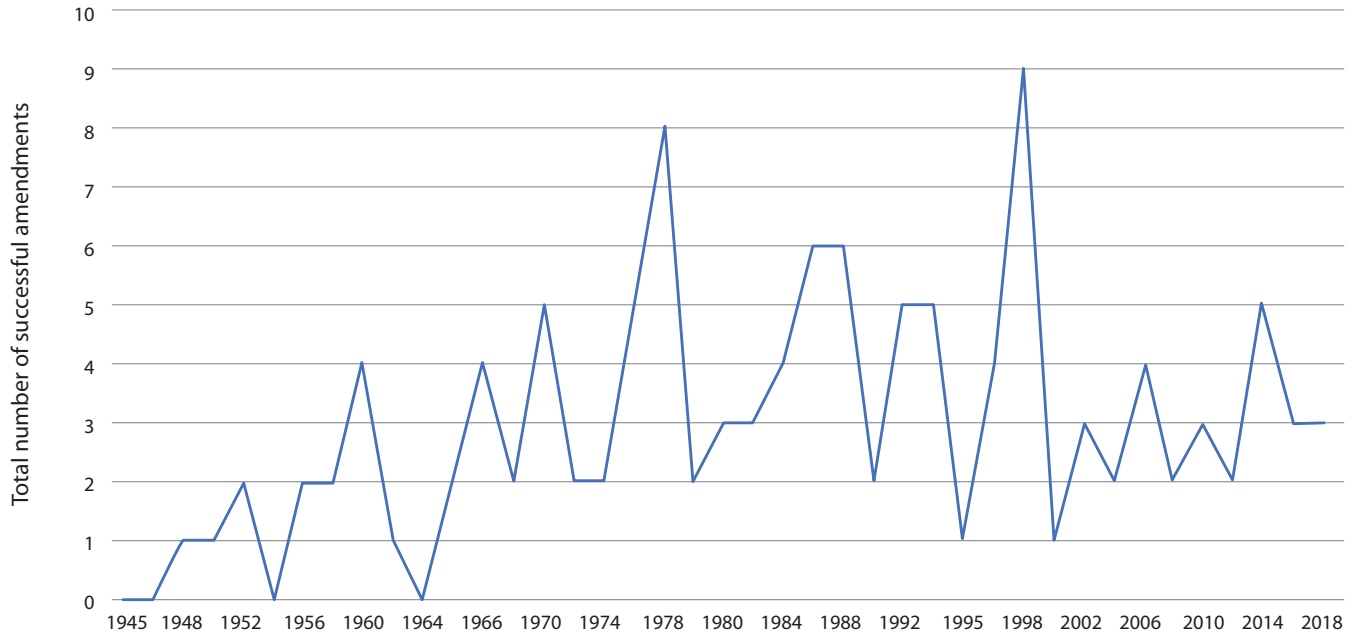
The process we adopt for writing and implementing state public policy will affect both the quality of deliberation and substantive policy outcomes. Possible prescriptions, mentioned already in the introduction, require that we first come to a bipartisan agreement on how to revise

the process before debating substance. Ideas on the table currently include: making the initiative process more difficult by raising the number of signatures required or requiring a supermajority vote for ratification of a new amendment; increasing citizen deliberation by requiring new constitutional amendments to be approved twice at two different general elections; incentivizing initiative statutes rather than amendments by preventing the General Assembly from revising initiated statutes for a period of time; or creating a bipartisan Constitutional Review Commission to propose specific constitutional overhauls, article by article, to the voters for consideration and approval. A final option, provided for in the constitution itself, is the mandatory referendum we will see in 2022 asking voters: “Shall there be a convention to revise and amend the constitution?” In the years leading up to November 2022, Missourians can turn for insight to the history of constitutional revision in Missouri to tackle anew the problem of making representative government more representative for the people of our state.

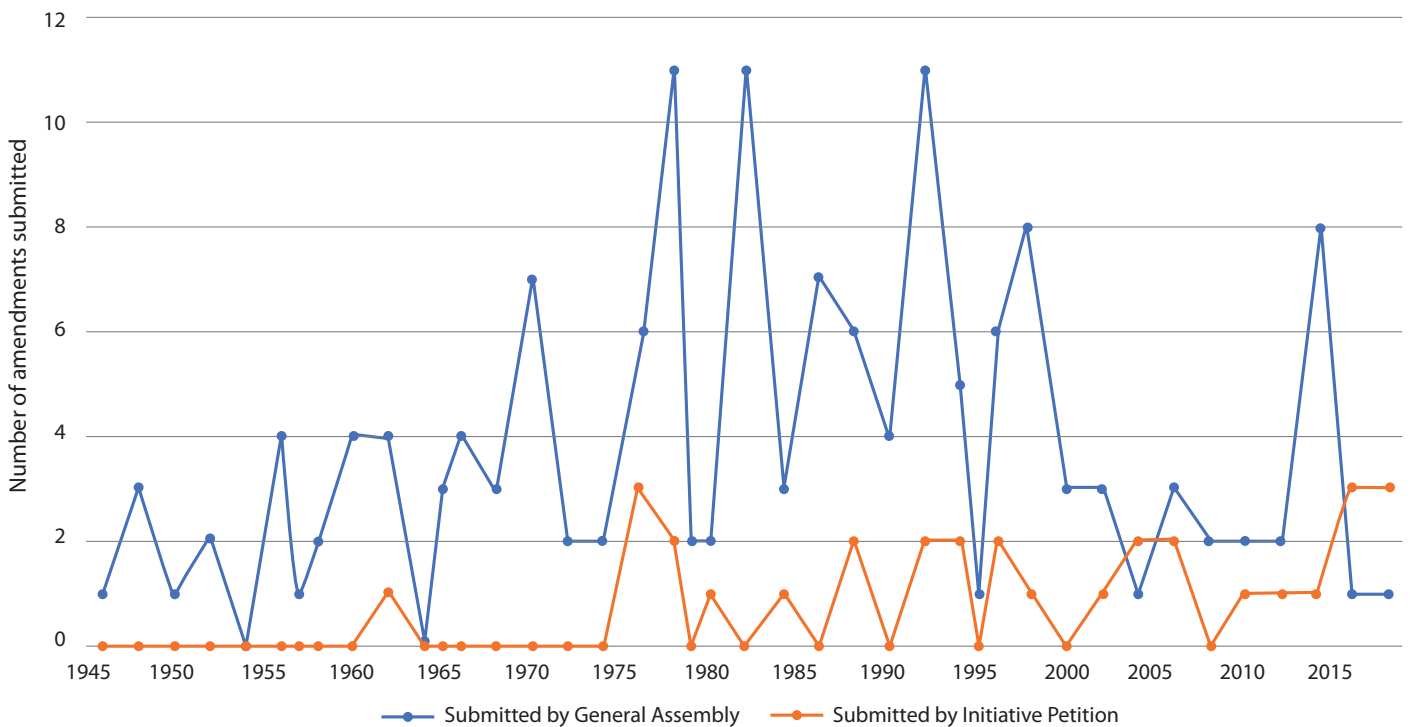
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Appendix 1: Amendments To The Missouri Constitution By Year And Origin

Amendments to the Missouri Constitution Since 1945 by Year



Amendments Submitted to the Missouri Constitution Since 1945 by Origin



Appendix 2: Complete List Of Proposed Missouri Constitutional Amendments, 1910–2018

SUBJECT	ORIGIN	ELECTION DATE	VOTE - YES TO NO	% YES
Empower cities to provide system of pensions for aged and disabled police	General Assembly	11/8/1910	Defeated 132,354 to 384,774	25.5
Empower boards in cities to provide pension fund for public school teachers	General Assembly	11/8/1910	Defeated 122,063 to 389,647	23.8
Authorize levy for permanent fund for public roads	General Assembly	11/8/1910	Defeated 170,847 to 347,651	32.9
Amend manner of amending charter of City of St. Louis	General Assembly	11/8/1910	Defeated 138,942 to 349,147	28.4
Provide for erection and equipment of new State Capitol	General Assembly	11/8/1910	Defeated 188,259 to 332,858	36.1
Empower counties to raise limit of indebtedness for purpose of building poorhouses	General Assembly	11/8/1910	Defeated 150,174 to 337,984	30.7
Increase per diem compensation for members of General Assembly	General Assembly	11/8/1910	Defeated 95,045 to 385,765	19.7
Provide for the use of voting machines	General Assembly	11/8/1910	Defeated 133,569 to 352,915	27.4
Increase limit of tax rate for local purposes for certain cities	General Assembly	11/8/1910	Defeated 110,283 to 374,942	22.7
Prohibition of intoxicating beverages	Initiative petition	11/8/1910	Defeated 207,281 to 425,406	32.8
Direct levy for support of university	Initiative petition	11/8/1910	Defeated 181,659 to 344,274	34.5
Empower General Assembly to provide for establishing and maintaining free public schools	General Assembly	11/5/1912	Defeated 207,298 to 367,032	36
Increase the limit of indebtedness that County of St. Louis may incur for purpose of constructing sewers	General Assembly	11/5/1912	Defeated 140,611 to 402,473	25.8
Provide for increasing the limit of tax rate that may be levied for municipality purposes by cities and towns with certain populations	General Assembly	11/5/1912	Defeated 121,794 to 401,918	23.2
Require that people of foreign births complete naturalization to be qualified to vote	General Assembly	11/5/1912	Defeated 172,140 to 378,263	31.2
Empower General Assembly to provide by law for the registration of voters in St. Louis County or other similar counties	General Assembly	11/5/1912	Defeated 151,694 to 385,698	28.3
Single tax on land	Initiative petition	11/5/1912	Defeated 86,647 to 508,137	14.6
Substitution of tax commission for equalization board	Initiative petition	11/5/1912	Defeated 96,911 to 475,151	16.9
Grand jury investigation of elections	Initiative petition	11/5/1912	Defeated 197,643 to 348,495	36.2
Direct levy for support of schools and higher education	Initiative petition	11/5/1912	Defeated 154,952 to 401,843	27.8
Restrict submission of "single tax" measures	General Assembly	11/3/1914	Defeated 138,039 to 334,310	29.2
Increase the limit of indebtedness that City of Kansas City may incur for purpose of acquiring/purchasing public utilities	General Assembly	11/3/1914	Defeated 123,596 to 312,651	28.3
Collect State tax of \$.10 on each \$100 assessed valuation for construction and maintenance of public roads in certain counties	General Assembly	11/3/1914	Defeated 112,497 to 346,995	24.4
Provide for change of compensation of members of General Assembly from per diem during session to annual salary of \$1,000	General Assembly	11/3/1914	Defeated 89,629 to 355,326	20.1
Provide for increase of limit of indebtedness that cities with 100,000 inhabitants or more may incur for building subways	General Assembly	11/3/1914	Defeated 117,197 to 316,959	26.9
Voters may increase by majority vote the local rate of taxation by levying a special tax for road purposes	General Assembly	11/3/1914	Defeated 117,041 to 333,576	35
Empower General Assembly to make provisions for granting and payment of pensions to the deserving blind	General Assembly	11/3/1914	Defeated 214,951 to 255,717	45.6
Authorize certain cities to amend their charters by less difficult methods	General Assembly	11/3/1914	Defeated 140,475 to 290,562	32.5
Women's suffrage	Initiative petition	11/3/1914	Defeated 182,257 to 322,463	36.1
\$50,000,000 bond issue for roads	Initiative petition	11/3/1914	Defeated 76,574 to 378,530	20.2
Property tax for roads	Initiative petition	11/3/1914	Defeated 80,935 to 373,302	17.8
Concerning pensions for blind	General Assembly	11/7/1916	ADOPTED 385,627 to 272,908	58.5
State land bank	Initiative petition	11/7/1916	Defeated 296,964 to 346,443	46.2

SUBJECT	ORIGIN	ELECTION DATE	VOTE - YES TO NO	% YES
Prohibition of intoxicating beverages	Initiative petition	11/7/1916	Defeated 294,288 to 416,826	41.4
Affecting the tax rate for school purposes	General Assembly	11/5/1918	Defeated 90,637 to 297,118	23.3
Affecting revenue for school purposes	General Assembly	11/5/1918	Defeated 93,392 to 289,269	24.4
Providing for a special tax levy	General Assembly	11/5/1918	Defeated 94,142 to 287,488	24.6
Providing for a levy of a special road tax	General Assembly	11/5/1918	Defeated 81,610 to 293,101	21.7
Extending amount cities of 2,000 to 30,000 inhabitants may vote obligations	General Assembly	11/5/1918	Defeated 88,246 to 286,886	23.5
Prohibiting manufacture of intoxicating liquors	General Assembly	11/5/1918	Defeated 223,618 to 297,582	42.9
Homestead loan fund	Initiative petition	11/5/1918	Defeated 102,452 to 290,207	26.1
Single tax on land	Initiative petition	11/5/1918	Defeated 80,725 to 373,220	17.8
Home rule for cities over 100,000	Initiative petition	11/5/1918	Defeated 95,197 to 280,839	33.9
Increase pay of members of General Assembly	General Assembly	11/2/1920	Defeated 320,406 to 407,672	44
Framing of charters in certain cities—self-government	General Assembly	11/2/1920	ADOPTED 385,656 to 311,922	55.2
Related to limit of indebtedness—counties, cities, civil subdivisions	General Assembly	11/2/1920	ADOPTED 368,651 to 329,938	52.7
Relating to road districts—authorizing a special tax levy	General Assembly	11/2/1920	ADOPTED 375,942 to 340,665	52.4
Relating to taxes—public buildings, improvements, etc.	General Assembly	11/2/1920	Defeated 312,323 to 398,279	43.9
Relating to issue of bonds for road building—proposed issue, \$60,000,000	General Assembly	11/2/1920	ADOPTED 372,514 to 339,021	52.3
Relating to public improvements—permitting certain cities to incur additional indebtedness for waterworks, electric light plants	General Assembly	11/2/1920	ADOPTED 381,794 to 310,210	55.1
Relating to pensions for the blind—providing the levy of a tax to pay same	General Assembly	11/2/1920	ADOPTED 455,227 to 295,788	60.6
Relating to soldiers settlement fund—proposing a bond issue of \$1,000,000	General Assembly	11/2/1920	ADOPTED 379,156 to 348,749	52
Relating to judicial department—increasing the number of supreme court judges to nine	General Assembly	11/2/1920	Defeated 315,837 to 369,077	46.1
Relating to soldiers votes—providing for an absentee vote	General Assembly	11/2/1920	ADOPTED 440,102 to 279,490	61.1
Relating to judicial department—increasing number of St. Louis appeals court judges to six	General Assembly	11/2/1920	Defeated 316,661 to 355,401	47.1
Requires voters to decide whether Constitution should be revised every 20 years	Initiative petition	11/2/1920	ADOPTED 394,437 to 317,815	55.4
Constitutional Convention	General Assembly	8/2/1921	ADOPTED 175,355 to 127,130	57.9
Enabling women to hold any office in the state	General Assembly	8/2/1921	ADOPTED 159,230 to 147,751	51.8
Interest of \$60 million authorized road bond issue may be paid from motor vehicle license fees	General Assembly	8/2/1921	ADOPTED 247,274 to 59,776	80.5
Authorizing legislature to incur and provide by taxation for payment of indebtedness for bonuses to soldiers, sailors, and marines	General Assembly	8/2/1921	ADOPTED 210,238 to 100,131	67.7
Relating to increased in pay of members of General Assembly	General Assembly	11/7/1922	Defeated 235,045 to 454,020	34.1
Striking from qualifications for voting in state the requirement that voter is a “male” U.S. citizen	General Assembly	11/7/1922	ADOPTED 383,499 to 299,404	56.1
Providing for the maintenance of road system from motor vehicle license fees	General Assembly	11/7/1922	ADOPTED 484,884 to 233,379	67.5
Enlarges power of religious corporations to own real and personal property	General Assembly	2/26/1924	Defeated 168,553 to 170,683	49.6
Legislative power of General Assembly; changes provisions of the initiative and referendum processes	General Assembly	2/26/1924	Defeated 123,811 to 204,881	37.6
Relates to Senatorial districts pay of members, and limitation of expenditures for employees, organization of General Assembly	General Assembly	2/26/1924	ADOPTED 237,430 to 190,911	55.4
Authorizes additional issuance of bonds for deficiency in payment of bonuses to soldiers and sailors of the World War	General Assembly	2/26/1924	ADOPTED 201,218 to 135,234	59.8

SUBJECT	ORIGIN	ELECTION DATE	VOTE - YES TO NO	% YES
Requires General Assembly to provide by law for safeguarding and promotion of public health	General Assembly	2/26/1924	Defeated 139,837 to 189,261	42.4
Vests executive power of the State; provides for reorganization of executive and ministerial departments of State government	General Assembly	2/26/1924	Defeated 139,154 to 190,524	42.2
Vests the judicial power; provides for the organization, jurisdiction and procedure of courts; creates judicial council	General Assembly	2/26/1924	Defeated 128,808 to 202,814	38.8
Relates to impeachment of State officials	General Assembly	2/26/1924	ADOPTED 163,642 to 162,440	50.1
Regulates the exercise of the elective franchise and authorizes examination of ballots in elections	General Assembly	2/26/1924	ADOPTED 175,580 to 152,713	53.4
Gives political parties option to nominate candidates for office either by party primary or by convention of delegates	General Assembly	2/26/1924	Defeated 122,604 to 205,937	37.3
Provides for the organization, government, expansion, and classification of counties, cities, and villages	General Assembly	2/26/1924	Defeated 154,873 to 171,166	47.5
Relates to limitations of taxing power and authorizes cities to finance local improvements through creation of revolving funds	General Assembly	2/26/1924	Defeated 139,704 to 193,317	41.9
Permits General Assembly to exercise an option in the method of taxing property, subjects motor vehicles to registration fee	General Assembly	2/26/1924	Defeated 113,123 to 216,985	34.2
Abolishes the ex officio State Board of Equalization	General Assembly	2/26/1924	Defeated 121,028 to 203,711	37.2
Creates the elective State Board of Education, an appointed Commissioner of Education, changes age for entitlement of free education	General Assembly	2/26/1924	Defeated 114,022 to 221,994	33.9
Permits legal discount of notes and bonds of corporations, changes requirements for corporations to issue preferred stock	General Assembly	2/26/1924	Defeated 148,792 to 176,822	45.6
Removes provided exemption from military service, provides for election and appointment of militia officers	General Assembly	2/26/1924	Defeated 143,223 to 183,958	43.7
Relates to removal from office and prohibits nepotism	General Assembly	2/26/1924	ADOPTED 163,729 to 161,643	50.3
Permits Kansas City to issue bonds for public improvements and to assume cost of construction of certain sewers	General Assembly	2/26/1924	ADOPTED 178,311 to 147,953	54.6
Changes requirement for publication of proposed amendments to Constitution	General Assembly	2/26/1924	Defeated 155,283 to 168,477	47.9
Makes provision for carrying proposed amendments into effect, and for continuing in force existing laws pending the changes	General Assembly	2/26/1924	ADOPTED 167,478 to 157,992	51.4
Fixing salaries of Supreme Court Judges, providing for 2 more Supreme Court Judges, defining powers of Supreme Court	General Assembly	11/4/1924	Defeated 331,774 to 526,553	38.6
Prescribing the methods and means of revising and amending the Constitution of Missouri	General Assembly	11/4/1924	Defeated 326,065 to 511,152	38.9
Prescribing the methods and means of amending the charter of City of St. Louis	General Assembly	11/4/1924	Defeated 391,346 to 436,520	47.2
Regulating the salaries and expenses of members of the General Assembly, prohibiting appointment of relatives to General Assembly	General Assembly	11/4/1924	Defeated 392,319 to 459,599	46
Authorization for consolidation of St. Louis City and County	Initiative petition	11/4/1924	ADOPTED 477,776 to 385,516	55.3
Tax exemption of religious and educational property	Initiative petition	11/4/1924	Defeated 427,691 to 461,031	48.1
Police pensions	Initiative petition	11/2/1926	ADOPTED 523,634 to 277,450	65.4
Increase pay of members of General Assembly with provisions to their expenses	General Assembly	11/6/1928	Defeated 446,063 to 620,367	41.8
\$75,000,000 bond issue for roads	Initiative petition	11/6/1928	ADOPTED 670,299 to 503,861	57.1
Increasing compensation of members of General Assembly	General Assembly	11/4/1930	Defeated 218,812 to 376,233	36.7
Exempt from taxation all evidences of debt for money loaned on real estate where aggregate cost to borrower doesn't exceed 5% annually	General Assembly	11/4/1930	Defeated 211,858 to 371,473	36.3
Making public utilities bonds and bonds other than for utilities issued by cities of 5,000 or more payable within 50 years	General Assembly	11/4/1930	Defeated 178,835 to 378,680	32
New plan for consolidation of St. Louis City and county	Initiative petition	11/4/1930	Defeated 218,381 to 375,718	36.8
Excess condemnation in some areas	Initiative petition	11/4/1930	Defeated 176,268 to 396,176	30.8

SUBJECT	ORIGIN	ELECTION DATE	VOTE - YES TO NO	% YES
Permitting sheriffs and coroners to succeed themselves	Initiative petition	11/4/1930	Defeated 254,385 to 340,836	42.7
Permit Legislature to grant or authorize the granting of pensions to persons 70 years of age who are incapacitated from earning livelihood	General Assembly	11/8/1932	ADOPTED 988,594 to 275,297	78.2
Limiting legislative employees and changing legislative procedure	Initiative petition	11/8/1932	ADOPTED 990,088 to 191,092	83.8
Executive budget and item veto	Initiative petition	11/8/1932	ADOPTED 931,429 to 213,676	81.3
\$10,000,000 building bond issue for Missouri	General Assembly	5/15/1934	ADOPTED 288,195 to 166,607	63.3
Authorizing compensation to members of General Assembly not exceeding one thousand dollars per annum	General Assembly	11/6/1934	Defeated 356,782 to 455,892	43.9
Authorizing City of St. Louis to provide, by charter, for election of chief executive	General Assembly	11/6/1934	ADOPTED 394,657 to 381,736	50.7
Teachers' pensions	Initiative petition	11/6/1934	Defeated 394,295 to 422,511	48.2
Authorizing compensation to members of General Assembly at \$125.00 per month	General Assembly	11/3/1936	Defeated 482,169 to 654,224	42.4
Pensions for firemen	General Assembly	11/3/1936	ADOPTED 642,458 to 509,699	55.7
Teachers' pensions	Initiative petition	11/3/1936	ADOPTED 659,034 to 515,046	56.1
Creates Conservation Commission	Initiative petition	11/3/1936	ADOPTED 879,213 to 351,962	71.4
Increase compensation to members of General Assembly	General Assembly	11/8/1938	Defeated 336,769 to 560,500	37.5
Making State Treasurer eligible for re-election as his own successor	General Assembly	11/8/1938	Defeated 288,457 to 590,951	32.8
Authorizing county courts to levy special tax not exceeding \$1 million for support of county hospitals	General Assembly	11/8/1938	Defeated 303,602 to 567,337	34.8
Authorizing General Assembly to grant pensions to persons over 65 years of age	General Assembly	11/8/1938	ADOPTED 689,423 to 321,481	68.1
Concerning state highways, fixing motor fuel tax, prescribing powers relating thereto of General Assembly and State Highway Commission	Initiative petition	11/8/1938	Defeated 490,622 to 536,675	47.8
Changes in General Assembly	Initiative petition	11/8/1938	Defeated 242,431 to 628,454	27.8
Tax revision	Initiative petition	11/8/1938	Defeated 226,044 to 629,351	26.4
Permitting sheriffs and coroners to succeed themselves	Initiative petition	11/8/1938	Defeated 317,134 to 561,077	36.1
Fixing compensation of members of General Assembly at \$125.00 per month	General Assembly	11/5/1940	Defeated 418,119 to 574,478	42.1
Providing for revisions of statutes in 1949 and every ten years thereafter	General Assembly	11/5/1940	Defeated 445,104 to 506,568	46.7
Nonpartisan court plan	Initiative petition	11/5/1940	ADOPTED 535,642 to 445,194	54.6
Initiative procedure	Initiative petition	11/5/1940	Defeated 456,546 to 492,564	48.1
Repeal of wildlife and forestry code	Initiative petition	11/5/1940	Defeated 359,628 to 709,421	33.6
\$.03 gasoline tax, etc.	Initiative petition	11/5/1940	Defeated 258,660 to 737,932	26
Reduce motor vehicle license fees, provide revenue for rural roads, and abolishing municipal gasoline taxes	Initiative petition	11/5/1940	Defeated 416,322 to 636,928	39.5
Relating to taxes for school purposes in counties in excess of 200,000 and not exceeding 450,000 population	General Assembly	11/3/1942	ADOPTED 477,275 to 179,278	72.6
Changing the annual rate on property for county purposes in certain counties	General Assembly	11/3/1942	ADOPTED 396,828 to 253,953	60.9
Fixing compensation of General Assembly members at \$125.00 monthly and mileage	General Assembly	11/3/1942	ADOPTED 341,855 to 264,618	56.3
Relating to nomination, appointment and election of judges of certain courts	General Assembly	11/3/1942	Defeated 216,554 to 389,065	35.7
Constitutional Convention	N/A	11/3/1942	ADOPTED 366,018 to 265,294	57.9
Permit legislature to enact laws to govern the time and manner of investment or use of income of county free public school fund	General Assembly	11/7/1944	ADOPTED 444,104 to 347,984	56
Unicameral legislature	Initiative petition	11/7/1944	Defeated 364,794 to 401,900	47.6

SUBJECT	ORIGIN	ELECTION DATE	VOTE - YES TO NO	% YES
Adoption or Rejection of the proposed Constitution	N/A	2/27/1945	ADOPTED 312,032 to 185,658	62.6
Providing payment to Senators and Representatives of \$5 for expense for each day in attendance of General Assembly after 1/1/1945	General Assembly	11/5/1946	Defeated 312,941 to 437,487	41.7
Providing revenue for county and municipal roads, increasing motor vehicle fuel tax 1 1/2 cent per gallon, abolishing municipal motor fuel tax	General Assembly	11/2/1948	Defeated 462,323 to 694,960	39.9
Providing city of more than 40,000 may be authorized to pension employees and widows and minor children of deceased employees	General Assembly	11/2/1948	ADOPTED 542,414 to 480,507	53
Providing maximum bonus of \$400 for Missouri residents who served honorably in armed forces of US between 12/7/1941 & 9/1/1945	General Assembly	11/2/1948	Defeated 440,159 to 629,586	41.1
Providing school taxes may be increased not to exceed 3 times constitutional limitation by majority vote for period of 2 years	General Assembly	11/7/1950	ADOPTED 616,337 to 451,299	57.7
Limiting legislature to 4 months regular or 60 days special session; authorizing members daily expenses not exceeding \$10	General Assembly	11/4/1952	ADOPTED 638,147 to 440,674	59.1
Providing school districts may become indebted up to 10% valuation of taxable tangible property by 2/3 vote	General Assembly	11/4/1952	ADOPTED 686,025 to 448,394	60.4
Authorizing General Assembly to issue \$75 million in bonds to build, repair, or remodel buildings at state eleemosynary and educational institutions	General Assembly	1/24/1956	ADOPTED 114,570 to 46,609	71
Changes to legislative session dates, mileage and expense allowance of legislators, and authorizing legislature to fix legislators salaries	General Assembly	11/6/1956	Defeated 357,333 to 664,251	34.9
County Court or Township may levy a tax not exceeding 50 cents on each \$100 assessed valuation for road and bridge purpose fund	General Assembly	11/6/1956	Defeated 401,647 to 613,015	39.5
Authorizing investment of state funds not needed for current operating expenses in short-term U.S. obligations or interest bearing time deposit	General Assembly	11/6/1956	ADOPTED 722,774 to 295,259	70.9
Pay legislators monthly salaries of \$300 and mileage traveled for 1 round trip per week from their homes to Capitol to attend sessions	General Assembly	4/2/1957	Defeated 192,856 to 279,829	40.8
Relating to Department of Revenue and its divisions; together with the manner in which money may be withdrawn from state treasury	General Assembly	11/4/1958	ADOPTED 415,126 to 329,232	55.7
Permit citizens of the U.S. to vote for presidential/vice presidential electors upon 60 days residence in Missouri prior to presidential election	General Assembly	11/4/1958	ADOPTED 561,413 to 248,733	69.2
Disaster in this state due to enemy attack on U.S., legislature shall convene and provide for temporary succession of all public officers	General Assembly	11/8/1960	ADOPTED 932,821 to 245,143	79.1
Salaries of members of Legislature may be fixed by law	General Assembly	11/8/1960	ADOPTED 576,104 to 549,762	51.1
Extend for 12 years the special park fund and to authorize expenditure of such fund on historical sites as well as state parks	General Assembly	11/8/1960	ADOPTED 730,554 to 366,614	66.5
Municipality may become indebted by 2/3 vote not to exceed 10% of value of taxable property to acquire/improve plants etc. for lease to private interests	General Assembly	11/8/1960	ADOPTED 553,003 to 541,437	50.5
Allocates state motor fuel tax to state, counties, cities, towns, and villages; prohibits levy on such tax by city, town, or village without 2/3 vote	General Assembly	3/6/1962	ADOPTED 380,573 to 133,001	74.1
Increase maximum tax rates for City of St. Louis school districts and certain charter counties	General Assembly	11/6/1962	Defeated 292,318 to 527,611	35.6
Provides that executive department regulations promulgated pursuant to statute shall be reviewed by legislative committee	General Assembly	11/6/1962	Defeated 255,981 to 510,471	33.3
Constitutional Convention	N/A	11/6/1962	Defeated 295,972 to 519,499	36
Enlarges charter county powers outside city	General Assembly	11/6/1962	Defeated 279,290 to 503,208	35.6
St. Louis City-County merger	Initiative petition	11/6/1962	Defeated 217,744 to 633,011	25.6
Authorize a person to be elected Governor not more than twice or not more than once if served more than 2 years of a term for which another was elected	General Assembly	8/17/1965	ADOPTED 204,987 to 75,968	72.9
Authorize cities to dispose of plants for manufacturing and industrial development purposes constructed from proceeds of revenue bonds	General Assembly	8/17/1965	ADOPTED 176,942 to 94,882	65
House shall have 168 members to be elected from districts and Senate shall have 34 members elected from districts	General Assembly	8/17/1965	Defeated 112,211 to 160,568	41.1

SUBJECT	ORIGIN	ELECTION DATE	VOTE - YES TO NO	% YES
Authorizes first class counties to provide pensions to salaried employees; permits city, county, or political subdivision to provide pensions for employees	General Assembly	1/14/1966	ADOPTED 217,116 to 127,461	63
Authorizes school districts to levy a property tax rate not in excess of \$1.25 per \$100 valuation	General Assembly	1/14/1966	ADOPTED 195,798 to 148,519	56.8
Provides for 163 representatives; Representative and Senatorial Districts created by bipartisan commission	General Assembly	1/14/1966	ADOPTED 178,924 to 165,395	51.9
Authorize St. Louis County and City to adopt a plan for partial or complete government of all or any part of county or city	General Assembly	11/8/1966	ADOPTED 360,877 to 357,128	50.2
Adds secretary of state, state auditor, state treasurer, and attorney general, in that order, to line of succession to governor in case of vacancy	General Assembly	8/6/1968	ADOPTED 469,776 to 146,890	76.1
Reduces % of voters required to approve municipal general obligation bonds from 2/3 to 60%	General Assembly	11/5/1968	Defeated 599,434 to 609,612	49.5
Authorizing General Assembly, when enacting income tax laws, to define income by reference to the laws of the United States	General Assembly	11/5/1968	ADOPTED 616,856 to 497,068	55.3
Removes prohibition on state treasurer succeeding himself	General Assembly	8/4/1970	ADOPTED 301,345 to 279,319	51.8
Authorizes State Highway Commission to construct and operate toll roads	General Assembly	8/4/1970	Defeated 174,989 to 423,942	29.2
Provides for a Court of Appeals consisting of districts in place of the present Courts of Appeal; alters exclusive jurisdiction of Supreme Court of Missouri	General Assembly	8/4/1970	ADOPTED 320,047 to 237,169	57.4
Provides annual legislative sessions, prohibits secret final vote on bills, resolutions, confirmations	General Assembly	11/3/1970	ADOPTED 511,296 to 502,589	50.4
Allow citizens of a charter county to determine what services should be provided to them by local or county governments	General Assembly	11/3/1970	ADOPTED 575,371 to 430,849	57.1
Increases maximum tax rates which can be levied by city and town school districts	General Assembly	11/3/1970	Defeated 311,196 to 717,099	30.2
Provides tax rate for school district not proposing higher rate shall be last tax rate approved by voters	General Assembly	11/3/1970	ADOPTED 587,657 to 433,025	57.5
Authorize a number of tax exemptions	General Assembly	11/7/1972	ADOPTED	
Set up a process for the legislature at the following session to consider bills returned by the governor at the end of a session	General Assembly	11/7/1972	ADOPTED	
18 and older entitled to vote in elections if registered in prescribed time	General Assembly	11/5/1974	ADOPTED 776,377 to 218,769	78
Municipalities/counties indebted for industrial development upon 2/3 vote	General Assembly	11/5/1974	ADOPTED 579,275 to 313,028	64.9
Deletion of 25 year limitation on laws granting partial tax relief for forestry lands	General Assembly	8/3/1976	ADOPTED 623,883 to 411,169	60.2
Stop election ballot numbering system recording numbers by voters name	General Assembly	8/3/1976	ADOPTED 614,154 to 437,826	58.3
Authorizes municipalities/counties to issue utility or airport bonds with voter approval	General Assembly	8/3/1976	Defeated 393,266 to 639,645	38
Allows legislature to rescind administrative rules of agencies without presentation to governor	General Assembly	8/3/1976	Defeated 318,567 to 690,114	31.5
Repeal provision to provide "separate schools for white and colored children"	General Assembly	8/3/1976	ADOPTED 598,897 to 442,103	57.5
Changes authority and jurisdiction of Supreme court, courts of appeal, and circuit court	General Assembly	8/3/1976	ADOPTED 518,521 to 485,536	51.6
Assistance to students in public and nonpublic schools	Initiative petition	8/3/1976	Defeated 463,198 to 684,818	40.3
1/8 cent sales tax for conservation	Initiative petition	11/2/1976	ADOPTED 901,535 to 873,421	50.8
Exemption of food and drugs from sales tax	Initiative petition	11/2/1976	Defeated 742,627 to 970,560	43.3
Any county with population of at least 80,000 may adopt charter form of government	General Assembly	8/8/1978	ADOPTED 473,755 to 364,355	56.5
Changes treasurer's duties concerning investment of state funds	General Assembly	8/8/1978	Defeated 295,849 to 585,052	33.5
Appointed commission of appellate judges perform redistricting of state senatorial and representative districts	General Assembly	8/8/1978	Defeated 333,911 to 490,684	40.4
Requires preparation of statement of cost for public inspection before changing retirement benefits for public officials/employees	General Assembly	8/8/1978	ADOPTED 451,327 to 378,231	54.4
\$0.10 gasoline tax	Initiative petition	8/8/1978	Defeated 112,425 to 803,936	12.2
Authorizes municipalities/counties to issue utility or airport bonds with voter approval	General Assembly	11/7/1978	ADOPTED 695,380 to 612,717	53.1

SUBJECT	ORIGIN	ELECTION DATE	VOTE - YES TO NO	% YES
Permits contracted officers of municipalities to issue revenue bonds when authorized by voters	General Assembly	11/7/1978	ADOPTED 705,238 to 612,765	53.5
Defines lottery permit games where nothing of value is exchanged to participate	General Assembly	11/7/1978	ADOPTED 1,012,061 to 379,677	72.7
Authorizes earlier time for canvass of votes following each general election	General Assembly	11/7/1978	ADOPTED 775,781 to 503,536	60.6
Voters may authorize additional tax for road and bridge use; legislature may reduce tax for roads	General Assembly	11/7/1978	ADOPTED 660,089 to 645,948	50.4
1/8 cent sales tax for conservation revenue may be used for payments in lieu of taxes on commissioned lands	General Assembly	11/7/1978	Defeated 588,622 to 700,301	45.6
Legislature may enacted laws to local governments to reduce rates of levy for taxes	General Assembly	11/7/1978	ADOPTED 870,606 to 437,017	66.5
No person may be deprived of work for membership or non-membership in labor organizations	Initiative petition	11/7/1978	Defeated 631,829 to 948,387	39.9
Authorize bonds for water pollution-control projects	General Assembly	10/6/1979	ADOPTED	
Adjust structure of transportation department and earmark certain revenue for highway projects	General Assembly	10/6/1979	ADOPTED	
Legislature may authorize that organizations may conduct game known as bingo	General Assembly	11/4/1980	ADOPTED 1,338,272 to 533,458	71.4
1/8 cent sales tax for conservation revenue may be used for payments in lieu of taxes on commissioned lands	General Assembly	11/4/1980	ADOPTED 1,152,704 to 603,181	65.6
Limits state taxes; prohibits local tax increases without popular vote	Initiative petition	11/4/1980	ADOPTED 1,002,935 to 807,187	55.4
Change maximum school tax rate without voter approval and authorize higher school tax rate by simple majority vote	General Assembly	8/3/1982	Defeated 332,782 to 598,359	35.7
Permits classification of real property for tax assessment, exempts inventories from taxation, homestead exemption	General Assembly	8/3/1982	ADOPTED 580,720 to 328,652	63.8
Prohibits change of laws by regulation	General Assembly	11/2/1982	Defeated 497,341 to 792,329	38.5
Cities/counties provide cost of living increases in retirement benefits	General Assembly	11/2/1982	Defeated 667,728 to 684,327	49.3
Method for selecting congressional redistricting commission	General Assembly	11/2/1982	Defeated 581,210 to 729,031	44.3
Medical benefits for dependents of state officers and employees	General Assembly	11/2/1982	Defeated 523,225 to 815,153	39
Tax for certain motor vehicles in place of tax on fuel for those vehicles	General Assembly	11/2/1982	Defeated 591,270 to 734,594	44.5
Establish a process for selecting delegates to a convention, in case voters approved calling a convention.	General Assembly	11/2/1982	Defeated 496,888 to 790,062	38.6
Supreme Court not required to review every term of life imprisonment	General Assembly	11/2/1982	ADOPTED 756,042 TO 563,482	57.2
Bonded indebtedness by four-sevenths vote instead of two-thirds	General Assembly	11/2/1982	Defeated 495,430 to 764,872	39.3
Senate reapportionment commission hold hearings/file plans for new districts same as House	General Assembly	11/2/1982	ADOPTED 724,225 to 544,691	57
Constitutional Convention	N/A	11/2/1982	Defeated 406,446 to 927,056	30.4
Local government retirement system may provide cost-of-living increases to retirees	General Assembly	11/6/1984	ADOPTED 1,144,445 to 715,076	61.5
Medical benefits for dependents of state officers and employees	General Assembly	11/6/1984	ADOPTED 918,596 to 917,812	50
State lottery authorized	General Assembly	11/6/1984	ADOPTED 1,369,910 to 590,648	69.8
Creates Missouri Horse Racing Commission; authorizes pari-mutuel wagering on horse racing	Initiative petition	11/6/1984	ADOPTED 1,157,664 to 771,437	60
Any bill enacted by legislature and not rejected by governor within prescribed time limits becomes law	General Assembly	8/5/1986	ADOPTED 378,960 to 324,522	53.8
Establishes cash operating reserve fund in state treasury	General Assembly	8/5/1986	ADOPTED 423,712 to 269,903	61
County officials compensation shall not exceed limits provided by law	General Assembly	8/5/1986	ADOPTED 473,135 to 205,945	69.6
State treasurer to be custodian of state funds; flexibility in investing state funds	General Assembly	8/5/1986	ADOPTED 411,294 to 274,975	59.9
Clarifies horseracing amendment	General Assembly	8/5/1986	ADOPTED 410,889 to 292,863	58.3
Cities/counties may issue bonds for public improvements upon 2/3 petition of property owners	General Assembly	11/4/1986	Defeated 594,117 to 687,978	46.3
Only voters of participating governmental units need approve issuance of bonds	General Assembly	11/4/1986	ADOPTED 665,135 to 535,932	55.3

SUBJECT	ORIGIN	ELECTION DATE	VOTE - YES TO NO	% YES
Make various changes in business-related provisions	General Assembly	3/2/1988	DEFEATED	
Increase amount of lottery proceeds available for funding prizes, clarify power of lottery commission, remove ad restrictions	General Assembly	8/2/1988	ADOPTED 470,795 to 350,745	57.3
Requires 4/7 majority of votes to approve bond issues for building and improving schools, roads, bridges	General Assembly	8/2/1988	ADOPTED 464,237 to 361,134	56.2
Shareholders may determine business purposes of a corporation and how stock is voted	General Assembly	8/2/1988	ADOPTED 549,262 to 237,106	69.8
Changes length of sessions of legislature	General Assembly	11/8/1988	ADOPTED 1,421,973 to 406,250	77.7
Issuance of additional bonds for water projects and improvements	General Assembly	11/8/1988	ADOPTED 1,235,023 to 600,751	67.2
Ten year sales tax extension for parks and soil conservation	Initiative petition	11/8/1988	ADOPTED 1,263,644 to 576,790	68.6
Add new Article to Constitution titled "Health Care"	Initiative petition	11/8/1988	Defeated 550,974 to 1,372,102	28.6
Change membership requirements for persons participating in bingo operations	General Assembly	8/7/1990	Defeated 342,131 to 380,573	47.3
Establish neighborhood improvement districts whereby residents, by vote, may be indebted to pay for improvements	General Assembly	8/7/1990	ADOPTED 370,788 to 348,176	51.5
Requires 4/7 majority vote to approve certain operating levies in counties, cities, and school districts	General Assembly	8/7/1990	Defeated 358,088 to 359,449	49.9
Create state department of insurance, with office of consumer affairs within	General Assembly	8/7/1990	ADOPTED 376,290 to 329,293	53.3
Increase bonded indebtedness by 5%, with voter approval, to retrofit buildings to withstand earthquakes	General Assembly	8/4/1992	Defeated 454,832 to 597,647	43.2
Governing bodies may adopt property taxes rates by majority vote	General Assembly	8/4/1992	Defeated 345,315 to 712,838	32.6
Transfer 5% of new motor fuel tax from state road projects to various counties and City of St. Louis	General Assembly	8/4/1992	ADOPTED 532,472 to 506,998	51.2
Limit commercial property surcharge levies to 1992 receipts	General Assembly	8/4/1992	Defeated 453,771 to 522,541	46.4
All net state lottery revenue to be used solely for public schools, colleges, and universities	General Assembly	8/4/1992	ADOPTED 818,879 to 233,408	77.8
Change % of necessary voters to approve tax increases from 2/3 to 4/7 in municipalities/counties, school districts	General Assembly	11/3/1992	Defeated 915,082 to 1,228,518	42.6
Allows construction of toll roads and bridges	General Assembly	11/3/1992	Defeated 906,887 to 1,233,662	42.3
Simulcasting of horse races allowed by licensed live horse track operator	General Assembly	11/3/1992	Defeated 1,082,086 to 1,085,336	49.9
Crime victims to have right to be informed of rights and be present at criminal proceedings	General Assembly	11/3/1992	ADOPTED 1,859,878 to 315,702	85.4
Create Budget Stabilization Fund	General Assembly	11/3/1992	Defeated 889,077 to 1,148,531	43.6
Required 4/7 of votes cast for approval at St. Louis bond issue elections	General Assembly	11/3/1992	Defeated 786,231 to 1,207,497	39.4
Amend constitution to prohibit any person from serving more than 8 years in House or State Senate	Initiative petition	11/3/1992	ADOPTED 1,610,311 to 535,562	75
Amend constitution to prohibit U.S. Senators from serving more than 2 terms; U.S. Reps. from serving more than 4 terms	Initiative petition	11/3/1992	ADOPTED 1,590,552 to 558,299	74
Excursion gambling boats to operate only on the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers	General Assembly	4/5/1994	Defeated 527,285 to 528,967	49.9
Authorized bonds for fourth state building fund	General Assembly	8/2/1994	ADOPTED 416,787 to 409,912	50.4
Counties authorized to adopt alternative form of county government if approved by voters	General Assembly	11/8/1994	ADOPTED 999,459 to 549,771	64.5
DNR to pay counties, schools and other political subdivisions for taxes lost due to acquisition of land for park use	General Assembly	11/8/1994	ADOPTED 1,050,097 to 556,409	65.3
Compensation for all elected officials be set by Citizen's Commission	General Assembly	11/8/1994	ADOPTED 900,128 to 668,786	57.3
Excursion gambling boats and floating facilities for gaming only operate on Mississippi and Missouri rivers	Initiative petition	11/8/1994	ADOPTED 943,652 to 807,707	53.8
Amend constitution to limit yearly increases of total state revenue generated by new, increased, or broadened taxes	Initiative petition	11/8/1994	Defeated 558,642 to 1,195,483	31.8
Prohibitions against special laws that pertain to less than all counties in a class be repealed retroactively	General Assembly	4/4/1995	ADOPTED 317,127 to 233,023	57.6

SUBJECT	ORIGIN	ELECTION DATE	VOTE - YES TO NO	% YES
Require state vote to approve all tax or fee increases for fiscal year that in total exceed \$50 million	General Assembly	4/2/1996	ADOPTED 472,854 to 216,176	68.6
School districts with voter approval may incur bonded indebtedness up to 15% of property value rather than 10%	General Assembly	8/6/1996	Defeated 310,624 to 377,045	45.1
Annual transfer of % of funds from general revenue fund to "Facilities Maintenance Reserve Fund"	General Assembly	11/5/1996	ADOPTED 1,013,243 to 862,022	54
Amend constitution to create a state department of aging within executive branch of state government	General Assembly	11/5/1996	Defeated 848,233 to 1,067,574	44.2
Authorize municipalities, upon voter approval, to issue bonds to build revenue producing sewer treatment plants	General Assembly	11/5/1996	Defeated 936,202 to 946,218	49.7
Create "Budget Stabilization Fund"	General Assembly	11/5/1996	Defeated 931,705 to 958,173	49.2
Extend for 10 years sales and use tax of 1/10 of 1% for use by DNR for parks, soil, and water conservation	Initiative petition	11/5/1996	ADOPTED 1,280,245 to 641,793	66.6
Amend state constitution intending that it lead to adoption of amendment to U.S. Constitution for Congressional term limits	Initiative petition	11/5/1996	ADOPTED 1,075,215 to 787,985	57.7
Change deadline for submitting initiative petitions from 4 months to 6 months before election	General Assembly	11/3/1998	ADOPTED 820,937 to 600,830	57.7
School board may set operating levy no higher than \$2.75 without vote, required simple majority vote to set levy up to \$6.00	General Assembly	11/3/1998	ADOPTED 858,649 to 601,190	58.8
State treasurer prepare written investment policy for state funds investment, authorize additional categories of investments	General Assembly	11/3/1998	ADOPTED 1,071,261 to 343,343	75.7
Allows financing for municipal or joint sewer improvement for issuance of bonds	General Assembly	11/3/1998	ADOPTED 1,014,211 to 410,594	71.1
Authorizes State to issue bonds to fund distribution of water and sewer grants or loans	General Assembly	11/3/1998	ADOPTED 918,977 to 500,347	64.7
Allow federally recognized charitable or religious organizations to sponsor raffles and sweepstakes with state regulation	General Assembly	11/3/1998	ADOPTED 895,373 to 565,354	61.2
Allow gaming on gambling boats on Mississippi and Missouri Rivers	Initiative petition	11/3/1998	ADOPTED 857,829 to 688,184	55.43
Kansas City board of education may set operating levy at rate up to but not equal to 1995 rate set by court order	General Assembly	4/7/1998	ADOPTED 466,161 to 195,413	68.8
Maximum bonding capacity amount for school districts not to exceed 15% of value of taxable tangible property	General Assembly	4/7/1998	ADOPTED 439,861 to 210,506	67.6
Create budget reserve fund for use by governor with in disaster emergency or revenue falls below revenue estimates	General Assembly	11/7/2000	ADOPTED 1,223,284 to 844,303	59.1
Reduce time from 2 yrs to 6 months that individuals be member of organization making them eligible to operate bingo games	General Assembly	11/7/2000	Defeated 672,370 to 1,395,873	32.5
Salaries recommended by Citizen's Commission on Compensation require appropriation by legislature	General Assembly	11/7/2000	Defeated 780,192 to 1,127,189	40.9
Amend City of St. Louis charter	General Assembly	11/5/2002	ADOPTED 1,173,822 to 516,584	69.4
Permit firefighters, ambulance personal, and dispatchers to unionize	Initiative petition	11/5/2002	Defeated 840,493 to 881,395	48.8
Exclude legislative terms of less than 1/2 resulting from special elections from term limit calculations	General Assembly	11/5/2002	ADOPTED 879,162 to 740,941	54.2
Joint boards or commissions be allowed to own joint projects, issue bonds	General Assembly	11/5/2002	ADOPTED 927,715 to 678,137	57.7
Constitutional Convention	N/A	11/5/2002	Defeated 569,598 to 1,079,085	34.5
Floating gambling facilities on or adjacent to White River in Rockaway Beach, MO be licensed consistent with all other floating facilities in State of MO	Initiative petition	8/3/2004	Defeated 659,433 to 834,943	44.2
Marriage definition	General Assembly	8/3/2004	ADOPTED 1,055,771 to 439,529	70.6
Revenues from existing motor fuel tax be used only for state and local highways, roads, bridges; and vehicle taxes and fees be used only for state highways	Initiative petition	11/2/2004	ADOPTED 1,966,619 to	78.9
Extend for 10 years sales and use tax of 1/10 of 1% for use by DNR for parks, soil, and water conservation	General Assembly	8/8/2006	ADOPTED 485,103 to 200,179	70.8
Authorizes stem cell research	Initiative petition	11/7/2006	ADOPTED 1,077,482 to 1,028,742	51.2

SUBJECT	ORIGIN	ELECTION DATE	VOTE - YES TO NO	% YES
Increases tobacco tax to .80 cents per pack	Initiative petition	11/7/2006	Defeated 1,083,286 to 1,021,636	51.5
Real and personal property tax exemption for veterans organizations	General Assembly	11/7/2006	ADOPTED 1,229,602 to 777,190	61.3
Revised authority of the General Assembly to negate salary increases approved by the salary commission	General Assembly	11/7/2006	ADOPTED 1,708,866 to 322,656	84.1
Establish English as the official language of all governmental meetings where policy is discussed or decided	General Assembly	11/4/2008	ADOPTED 2,404,562 to 381,187	86.3
Amends constitution relating to storm water control finance provisions	General Assembly	11/4/2008	ADOPTED 1,492,137 to 1,087,367	57.8
Requires office of assessor for St. Louis County be an elective position	General Assembly	11/2/2010	ADOPTED 1,356,093 to 473,142	74.1
Exempts the homes of former POWs with a 100% service-connected disability from property taxes	General Assembly	11/2/2010	ADOPTED 1,223,128 to 636,852	65.8
Prohibits new taxes on the sale of real estate	Initiative petition	11/2/2010	ADOPTED 1,586,994 to 308,117	83.7
Right to worship God	General Assembly	8/7/2012	ADOPTED 780,567 to 162,631	82.8
Nonpartisan judicial selection	General Assembly	11/6/2012	Defeated 608,458 to 1,929,470	23.9
Municipal police force	Initiative petition	11/6/2012	ADOPTED 1,617,443 to 914,143	63.9
Right to agricultural production	General Assembly	8/5/2014	ADOPTED 499,963 TO 497,588	50.1
Right to bear arms	General Assembly	8/5/2014	ADOPTED 602,863 to 386,308	60.9
Temporary sales tax	General Assembly	8/5/2014	Defeated 408,288 to 591,232	40.8
Veterans lottery ticket	General Assembly	8/5/2014	Defeated 441,520 to 539,519	45
Electronic communications security	General Assembly	8/5/2014	ADOPTED 729,752 to 246,515	74.7
Evidence of prior criminal acts by minors	General Assembly	11/4/2014	ADOPTED 1,018,773 to 396,519	71.9
Standards-based performance evaluation system for teachers	Initiative petition	11/4/2014	Defeated 339,422 to 1,100,628	23.6
Voting in person prior to election day	General Assembly	11/4/2014	Defeated 416,447 to 985,966	29.7
Governor required to pay public debt	General Assembly	11/4/2014	ADOPTED 791,099 to 601,699	56.8
Establish limits on campaign contributions	Initiative petition	11/8/2016	ADOPTED 1,894,870 to 814,016	69.9
Increase cigarette tax	Initiative petition	11/8/2016	Defeated 1,120,389 to 1,649,723	40.4
Prohibit new taxes on services or transactions not taxed prior to 01/01/2015	Initiative petition	11/8/2016	ADOPTED 1,533,909 to 1,158,291	56.9
Voter ID requirement	General Assembly	11/8/2016	ADOPTED 1,712,274 to 1,005,234	63
Redrawing state legislative districts	Initiative petition	11/6/2018	ADOPTED 1,469,093 to 899,613	62
Medicinal marijuana—Impose 4 percent tax on retail marijuana sales	Initiative petition	11/6/2018	ADOPTED 1,583,227 to 830,631	65.6
Medicinal marijuana—Impose 15 percent tax on retail marijuana sales	Initiative petition	11/6/2018	Defeated 754,007 to 1,639,622	31.5
Limit Bingo game advertising	General Assembly	11/6/2018	ADOPTED 1,194,304 to 1,085,158	52.4

Source: David C. Valentine, "Constitutional Amendments, Statutory Revision and Referenda Submitted to the Voters by the General Assembly or by Initiative Petition, 1910–2010," MU Institute of Public Policy Report 19-2010 (December 2010), Table A-1, updated and revised by Elizabeth Dorssom in July 2019.

NOTES

1. Lee Churchill, "Legislation aims to make petition process more difficult after four ballot measures pass in November." *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, February 8, 2019, https://www.stltoday.com/news/local/govt-and-politics/legislation-aims-to-make-petition-process-more-difficult-after-four/article_6a4a3e68-9101-5f2b-a4cc-15671dec1be1.html
2. Missouri Constitution, Art. III, Secs. 50 and 53.
3. Margaret Schaffner, "The Initiative, the Petition, and the Recall: Recent Legislation in the United States," *American Political Science Review* (1907) 2(1):32.
4. Chariton courier (Keytesville, Chariton County, Mo.), 23 Oct. 1908. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress. (<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88068010/1908-10-23/ed-1/seq-6/>)
5. John Dinan, *The American State Constitutional Tradition* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2006), 1.
6. William L. Bradshaw, *The American Political Science Review* (1945), 39(1):62.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Robert F. Karsch, *The Government of Missouri* (Lucas Bros., 1961), p. 6. The author thanks David Roland for pointing out this source.
9. David Roland, "Missouri's Constitutions: An Overview" (n.d.), unpublished paper in author's possession, 39.
10. Martin Faust, *Constitution Making in Missouri: The Convention of 1943–1944* (National Municipal League, 1971), 174.
11. Frederick Spiegel in Richard J. Hardy and Richard R. Dohm, eds., *Missouri Government and Politics* (University of Missouri Press, 1984), 67.
12. Roy Blunt and David A. Leuthold in Richard J. Hardy, Richard R. Dohm, and David A. Leuthold, eds., *Missouri Government and Politics*, rev. and enl. (University of Missouri Press, 1995), 95.
13. James Layton, David Roland, and Michael A. Wolff. "How to fix Missouri's 'people's constitution,'" *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, February 18, 2019 (https://www.stltoday.com/opinion/columnists/how-to-fix-missouri-s-people-s-constitution/article_4269901c-5760-5f6e-bc3b-13f2074df569.html).
14. John Dinan, *State Constitutional Politics: Governing by Amendment in the American States* (University of Chicago Press, 2018).



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