

## 2025 Department Bill Review

Final Bill Votes	Yes	No	Bill Number:	HB 1 (2 <sup>nd</sup> Extra Session)
3 <sup>rd</sup> Reading:	90	65	Bill Title:	Creates provisions for redistricting federal congressional seats
TAFP:	21	11		<b>First Chamber</b>
Emergency Clause	N/A		Sponsor:	Rep. Deaton
			Committee:	Special Committee on Redistricting (H)
				<b>Second Chamber</b>
Sign bill by certain date:	N/A		Handler:	Sen. Brattin
Implementation Date:	90 days after adjournment of Session ( <a href="#">Art. III Sec. 29</a> )		Committee:	Committee on Local Government and Elections, and Pensions (S)

### Signing Date / Implementation Date / Emergency Clause Issues

(Include multiple dates and/or explanations of why the bill must be signed/implemented early)

N/A

Lead Reviewing Agency:	Office of Administration, Division of Budget & Planning		
Reviewer's Name:	Sarah Sclesky	Dept. Legal Counsel's Name:	Jessica Klaus
Phone Number:	573-751-2345	Phone Number:	573-751-1809
Email:	<a href="mailto:Sarah.a.sclesky@oa.mo.gov">Sarah.a.sclesky@oa.mo.gov</a>	Email:	<a href="mailto:Jessica.klaus@oa.mo.gov">Jessica.klaus@oa.mo.gov</a>

### Summary of the Bill Review

Subject #	Title	Section Number(s)	Agency	Also TAFP In
Subject #1	Congressional Redistricting	<a href="#">128.345</a> , <a href="#">128.346</a> , <a href="#">128.348</a> , <a href="#">128.471</a> , <a href="#">128.472</a> , <a href="#">128.473</a> , <a href="#">128.474</a> , <a href="#">128.475</a> , <a href="#">128.476</a> , <a href="#">128.477</a> , <a href="#">128.478</a> , <a href="#">128.479</a>	B&P	N/A

### 1. Were there any notable votes? If yes, please list and explain the member's rationale behind the vote.

- a. **Explanation of Senate vote(s):** As of 9/12/25, the Senate Journal for the day, with the TAFP roll call, had not been published.
- b. **Explanation of House vote(s):** Vote was largely along partisan lines except thirteen Republicans joined Democrats in opposition, including Reps. Allen, Brown (16), Falkner, Gallick, Griffith, Haley, Harbison, Laubinger, McGaugh, Nolte, Patterson, Wallenkamp, and Wolfen. Opponents noted in their dissents that they would be unable to vote for a map that divides Jackson County or that the new map does not accurately reflect their district's values. (See Attachment #1-11.)

### 2. Complete all lettered questions for each subject below.

## EXHIBIT

PX 12

**Subject #1: Redistricting Congressional Seats**

<b>Reviewing Agency:</b>	Budget & Planning	<b>Contact Name:</b>	Sarah Sclesky
<b>Contact Phone Number:</b>	573-751-2345	<b>Contact Email:</b>	<a href="mailto:Sarah.a.sclesky@oa.mo.gov">Sarah.a.sclesky@oa.mo.gov</a>

**Sections:** [128.345](#), [128.346](#), [128.348](#), [128.471](#), [128.472](#), [128.473](#), [128.474](#), [128.475](#), [128.476](#), [128.477](#), [128.478](#), [128.479](#)

**Level:** TRD

**Overview****A. Describe current issue being addressed:**

On August 29, 2025, the Governor called the legislature into an extraordinary session to update the district lines for Missouri's eight congressional seats.

The Missouri Constitution ([Article III, Section 45](#)) requires the General Assembly to "divide the state into districts corresponding with the number of representatives to which it is entitled, which districts shall be composed of contiguous territory as compact and as nearly equal in population as may be." [The U.S. Constitution \(Article I, Section 2\)](#) mandates that representatives be apportioned among the "several States. . . according to their respective numbers".

**B. Summarize the statutory solution:**

This bill redraws Missouri's eight U.S. House districts based on the 2020 Census results and reapportionment process. The new districts would, if approved, apply for the November 2026 General Elections for the 120<sup>th</sup> Congress. (See district maps in Attachment #1-10.)

The bill creates new district lines by listing the counties, voting districts, and census tracts to be included in each district in accordance with the updated map provided by the Governor's Office.

**C. Explain any concerns or unintended consequences:** None.**Bill Language****D. Detail the changes in each section of the subject:**

Section #	Change Description
<a href="#">128.345</a>	Revises the section range listed for congressional district definitions to include the new sections created in the bill.
<a href="#">128.346</a>	Limits the application of the current districts to the term of the 119 <sup>th</sup> Congress and establishes that the new districts are effective for the 120 <sup>th</sup> Congress.
<a href="#">128.348</a>	Establishes Missouri's eight congressional seats are effective with the elections for the <b>120<sup>th</sup> Congress</b> .
<a href="#">128.471</a>	Composition of the <b>first</b> congressional district
<a href="#">128.472</a>	Composition of the <b>second</b> congressional district
<a href="#">128.473</a>	Composition of the <b>third</b> congressional district
<a href="#">128.474</a>	Composition of the <b>fourth</b> congressional district
<a href="#">128.475</a>	Composition of the <b>fifth</b> congressional district
<a href="#">128.476</a>	Composition of the <b>sixth</b> congressional district
<a href="#">128.477</a>	Composition of the <b>seventh</b> congressional district
<a href="#">128.478</a>	Composition of the <b>eighth</b> congressional district
<a href="#">128.479</a>	Directs the Revisor of Statutes to publish maps representing the official congressional district boundaries as an appendix to the Revised Statutes.

**E. Are there any problems with the bill language?** No.

## Context

### F. Provide other observations and relevant context information:

#### Referendums Under Art. III, Sec. 52(a)

Any bill passed by the legislature can face a statewide vote if a petition is signed by five percent of voters in six of the eight congressional districts. A petition must be filed within ninety days of the end of the session. If a petition were filed on HB 1, the effective date of the bill may be delayed pending an election. The Secretary of State's website currently notes the number of signatures needed for the petition would be just over 106,000. (See Attachments #1-13 and 1-16)

- The *Missouri Independent* reports that at least two groups are considering this referendum strategy, the Missouri AFL-CIO and People NOT Politics. (See Attachment #1-18)

#### Districts:

Attachments #1-3 through 1-9 provide more details regarding each district. The reports show that the eight districts are all contiguous; that nine counties are split once, that Jackson County is split three times; and that the districts are divided by population as equally as possible. Seven districts have a population of 769,364, while CD-7 has a population of 769,365.

#### Compactness Measures:

There are several compactness measures that use different formulas or criteria to generate compactness scores for each district. The various scores, along with an explanation of the score's methodology can be found in Attachment #1-8 and 1-16. While the OA Redistricting Office did not endorse any specific score in 2022, the Reock and the Polsby-Popper measures have been commonly used in litigation during the 2010 and 2020 redistricting cycles. The Reock and the Polsby-Popper scores are always between 0 and 1, with 1 being the most compact.

- Using these two measures, four districts are at or above 0.5 in the Reock: CD-1, CD-2, CD-7, and CD-8, and only CD-7 is above 0.5 in the Polsby-Popper.

#### Comparison of Current Congressional Districts vs. HB 1 Congressional Districts

Based on election results data from the 2020 Presidential election, this map would likely have resulted in Republican victories in seven of Missouri's eight districts. However, under the HB 1 districts, the GOP margin of victory would have shrunk in CDs 1, 3, 4, and 6, while CDs 7-8 remain unchanged. CDs 2 and 5 would have seen a 1.7% and 19.1% increase in GOP voters, respectively. See Attachments #1-1 thru 1-3.

The following shows how HB 1 affects the composition of residents in each Congressional district using racial and partisanship data from the 2020 U.S. Presidential Election:

- **Congressional District One** would have seen an increase of 1% in white residents, offset by a 1% decrease in minority residents. CD-1 would see an increase of 0.3% Democratic voters, offset by a 0.3% decrease in Republican voters.
- **Congressional District Two** would have seen an increase of 0.1% in white residents, offset by a 0.1% decrease in minority residents. CD-2 would see an increase of 1.7% Republican voters, offset by a 1.7% decrease in Democratic voters.
- **Congressional District Three** would have seen a decrease of -2.0% in white residents, and an increase of 2.2% in minority residents. CD-3 would see an increase of 3.9% Democratic voters, offset by a 3.9% decrease in Republican voters.

- **Congressional District Four** would see an increase of 1% in white residents and a 1% decrease in minority residents. CD-4 would see an increase of 10.5% Democratic voters, offset by a 10.5% decrease in Republican voters.
- **Congressional District Five** would see an increase of 8.5% in white residents, and a 9.1% decrease in minority residents. CD-5 would see an increase of 19.1% Republican voters, offset by a 19.1% decrease in Democratic voters.
- **Congressional District Six** would see a decrease of -4.1% in white residents, and a 4.5% increase in minority residents. CD-6 would see an increase of 5.9% Democratic voters, offset by a 5.9% decrease in Republican voters.
- **Congressional Districts Seven and Eight** would not experience any changes in their racial or partisan compositions.

G. Are there benefits beyond addressing the problem? None.

H. Will the status quo change if this subject does not become law? Yes ( ) No (X)  
If yes, what will change or occur?

I. Is this subject unique to Missouri? Yes ( ) No (X)  
If no, explain related provisions in other states.

All 49 other states have the capability of redrawing their Congressional districts. Redistricting outside of the decennial Census timeline does not appear to be barred by federal law, though some states, such as California and New York, have prohibited the redrawing of their Congressional district maps mid-decade unless specific guidelines are met. Tennessee state law bars mid-decade redistricting altogether.

- Other states have been required to redraw their redistricting maps outside of the decennial Census timeline; however, it has been as a result of their initial redistricting maps being declared unconstitutional. (See Attachment #1-17.)

Several other states have recently undertaken efforts to redraw their congressional districts ahead of the 2026 midterm elections. Texas recently passed a new Republican-leaning congressional map in August 2025. As a result, Democratic-leaning states, including California, Illinois, and New York, and Republican-leaning states, including Indiana and Florida, have indicated they may also move to redraw their districts. (See Attachment #1-12.)

### Legislative History

J. What individual, group, or industry brought the language to which legislator(s)?

On August 29, 2025, Governor Kehoe called the legislature into an extraordinary session and provided the HB 1 maps to the public and legislators in his call.

K. What step in the legislative process was this subject added to this bill, and by whom?

Rep. Deaton filed this language as the introduced version of the bill.

L. Did the bill sponsor(s) work with the department on this subject before the TAFP vote? If yes, explain.

N/A



**M. Was this subject in an introduced bill this year? If yes, complete the table.**

Bill Number	Sponsor	Last Action and Date
HB 1	Deaton	9/12/2025 – Truly Agreed to and Finally Passed

**N. Was this subject in an introduced bill during a recent prior session?**

If yes, add any that made it out of a committee to the table.

No, the district maps were last redrawn by the 101<sup>st</sup> General Assembly in May 2022 by HB 2909 (Shaul).

### Hearings & Public Testimony

**O. Was this subject heard in committee this session? If yes, complete the tables below and summarize testimony.****a. All House and Senate hearings:**

Hearings			
Bill Number	Bill Sponsor	Date	Chamber & Committee
HB 1	Deaton	09/04/2025	House Special Committee on Redistricting
HB 1	Deaton	09/11/2025	Senate Committee on Local Government, Elections and Pensions

**b. All significant witnesses:**

Significant Witnesses				
Name	Phone Number	Organization	TAFP Position (For/Against)	Bills
Susan Kline	573-635-5110	Missouri Right to Life	For	HB 1
Phil Scaglia	816-914-5913	Congressman Cleaver's Office	Against	HB 1
Denise Lieberman	314-780-1833	Missouri Voter Protection Coalition	Against	HB 1
James Figro Robinette Jr.	844-622-2743	Missouri NAACP	Against	HB 1
Joshua Dunne	573-777-1364	Missouri Democratic Rural Caucus	Against	HB 1
Carolyn Niswonger	314-644-1011	Missouri Sierra Club	Against	HB 1
Jen Bernstein	314-993-5181	National Council of Jewish Women of St. Louis	Against	HB 1
Peggy Glaser	314-644-0466	Jobs with Justice	Against	HB 1
Shannon Cooper	660-890-1432	City of Kansas City	Against	HB 1
Emmanuel Cleaver	202-225-4535	U.S. Congress	Against	HB 1
Judge Jon R. Gray	816-881-3618		Against	HB 1
Zaki Baruti	314-454-9005	Universal African People Organization	Against	HB 1
Kay Park	314-961-6869	League of Women Voters of Missouri	Against	HB 1
Dr. Carla "Coffee" Wright		U.S. Colored Troops Memorial Park	Against	HB 1
Dava-Leigh Brush	314-600-6018	Missouri Equity Education Partnership	Against	HB 1
Riisa Rawlins	314-446-6454	Community Health Commission of Missouri	Against	HB 1
Kelvin Simmons	816-213-4460	Health Forward Foundation of Kansas City	Against	HB 1
Otto Fajen	573-508-8527	Missouri NEA	Against	HB 1

**c. Testimony In Favor:**

This legislation would be beneficial for ensuring more pro-life legislation can be established in Congress. The House sponsor noted the new map is more compact, splits fewer counties, and complies with the constitutional and legal requirements.

**d. Testimony In Opposition:**

Maps should not be changed simply because the President demands it. The new map would dilute minority representation within the democratic process. Some also argued against the constitutionality of creating a new map outside of the standard decennial Census timeline.

**e. Testimony for Information Only: N/A**

**f. Did any significant witnesses change their positions on the TAFP bill?** None known.

**g. Are other organizations, stakeholders, or members of the public impacted by this subject?** No

### Additional Details

**P. Is this subject required for federal compliance or due to a federal mandate?**

No, but any district changes must be consistent with the 1965 Voting Rights Act ([Section 2, 52 U.S.C. 10301](#)), which prohibits voting practices nationwide that discriminate on the basis of race, color, or membership in a language minority group (Attachment #1-14). States violate the act if "political processes leading to nomination or election in the State or political subdivision are not equally open to participation by members of a class of citizens".

**Q. Does this subject require future legislation to address a language or other issue? No****R. Does this subject make any changes to a state board, commission, council, task force, or other state entity?**

Yes, changes to Congressional district lines may impact state entities where members are appointed based on their residency within a certain district. Future appointments of this type will also be based on the new Congressional district lines.

### Legal Analysis & Memo

**S. Has a staff attorney for the department reviewed the provisions of this subject?** Yes (X) No ( )

**T. Have all intersectional references in this subject been checked, and are they correct?** Yes (X) No ( )

**U. The staff attorney will be submitting a legal analysis memo.** Yes (X) No ( )

Staff Attorney's Name	Title	Phone Number	Email
Jessica Klaus	Legal Counsel	573-751-1809	<a href="mailto:Jessica.Klaus@oa.mo.gov">Jessica.Klaus@oa.mo.gov</a>

## Attachments

### V. List all attachments and references by subject – attachment number:

Attachment #	File Name / Article Title	Link	Web Only?
1-1	Missouri Congressional District Maps		No
1-2	Current vs HB1 Population Comparisons		No
1-3	Population Data-Bill Review HCS HB 2909 (Congressional Redistricting)		No
1-4	Population by Race & Hispanic Origin HB1 (2nd Spec Session)		No
1-5	Partisan Data by District HB1 (2nd Spec Session)		No
1-6	Voting Age Pop by Race & Hispanic Origin HB1 (2nd Spec Session)		No
1-7	HB 1 Contiguity Report		No
1-8	HB 1 Error Check Report		No
1-9	HB 1 Measures of Compactness		No
1-10	HB 1 Political Subdivision Splits		No
1-11	KYTV-Springfield – Highest-ranking Republican in Missouri House votes against party on redistricting bill	<a href="https://www.ky3.com/2025/09/10/highest-ranking-republican-mo-house-votes-against-party-redistricting-bill/">https://www.ky3.com/2025/09/10/highest-ranking-republican-mo-house-votes-against-party-redistricting-bill/</a>	Yes
1-12	PBS News – Missouri lawmakers join Trump's redistricting effort in GOP push to win more U.S. House seats	<a href="https://www.pbs.org/newshour/politics/missouri-lawmakers-join-trumps-redistricting-effort-in-gop-push-to-win-more-u-s-house-seats">https://www.pbs.org/newshour/politics/missouri-lawmakers-join-trumps-redistricting-effort-in-gop-push-to-win-more-u-s-house-seats</a>	Yes
1-13	Department Of Justice - Guidance Under Section 2 Of the Voting Rights Act, 52 U.S.C., 10301, For Redistricting and Methods of Electing Government Bodies	<a href="https://Oa.Mo.Gov/Sites/Default/Files/DOJ%20guidance-Redistricting-9-1-21-Edited_508.Pdf">https://Oa.Mo.Gov/Sites/Default/Files/DOJ%20guidance-Redistricting-9-1-21-Edited_508.Pdf</a>	Yes
1-14	STLPR – Opponents of Missouri redistricting push could have a secret weapon-a referendum	<a href="https://www.stlpr.org/government-politics-issues/2025-09-08/missouri-redistricting-opponents-referendum">https://www.stlpr.org/government-politics-issues/2025-09-08/missouri-redistricting-opponents-referendum</a>	Yes
1-15	Mapitude Report Compactness Definitions		No
1-16	SOS – Initiative and Referendum Petition Process	<a href="https://www.sos.mo.gov/CMSImages/Elections/Petitions/IPProcessOverviewFlyer-2026Cycle.pdf">https://www.sos.mo.gov/CMSImages/Elections/Petitions/IPProcessOverviewFlyer-2026Cycle.pdf</a>	Yes
1-17	Mid-Decade Congressional Redistricting: Key Issues	<a href="https://www.congress.gov/crs-product/IF13082">https://www.congress.gov/crs-product/IF13082</a>	Yes
1-18	Missouri Independent – GOP push to gerrymander Missouri congressional map could be decided at the ballot	<a href="https://missouriindependent.com/2025/09/10/gop-push-to-gerrymander-missouri-congressional-map-could-be-decided-at-the-ballot/">https://missouriindependent.com/2025/09/10/gop-push-to-gerrymander-missouri-congressional-map-could-be-decided-at-the-ballot/</a>	Yes

## 2025 Division of Budget & Planning Bill Review

Reviewer Name:	Sarah Sclesky	Bill Number:	HB 1 (2 <sup>nd</sup> Extra Session)
Phone Number:	573-751-2345	Bill Subject:	Congressional Maps
Email:	<a href="mailto:Sarah.A.Sclesky@oa.mo.gov">Sarah.A.Sclesky@oa.mo.gov</a>		

### Subjects without Public Testimony

1. **Verify and list all the subjects that were not heard in committee.**  
None – all subjects were heard in committee in both the House and Senate.

### General Revenue Fiscal Impact

2. **Summarize Budget & Planning's assessment of the fiscal impact of this bill on General Revenue.**  
The official fiscal note is used as the initial source. If it is determined that there is no accurate fiscal note available, B&P will create an estimate using the B&P Fiscal Note Form attached to this review.

	FY25	FY26	FY27
Revenue/Savings	\$0	\$0	\$0
(Costs)	\$0	\$0	\$0
Net Effect	\$0	\$0	\$0

Fiscal Note Version:	<a href="#">Perfected (3344H.01P)*</a>	Total FTE	0	B&P Estimate?	N/A
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3. **Summary of Significant Costs/Revenue:** None.
4. **If Legislative Oversight's FN was not used, provide a brief overview as to why:** N/A
5. **Federal or Other Funds Issues:** None.
6. **During the session was this bill on the Costly Bill scan list?** No.
7. **B&P Comments on Fiscal Impact:** None.

### TSR/18E Impact:

	Yes	No	Maybe
Does this bill affect 18e?		X	
Does this bill affect TSR?		X	
Should the accounting analyst review these provisions?		X	

8. **B&P Comments on TSR/18E:** None.

### Summary of Demographic Information

9. **Has B&P reviewed any demographic descriptions for accuracy?** Yes (X) No ( )