

Current Issues in State and National Politics

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Overview

- **Congress**
- **Biden Administration**
- **Missouri Politics and Policy**

2022 Midterms

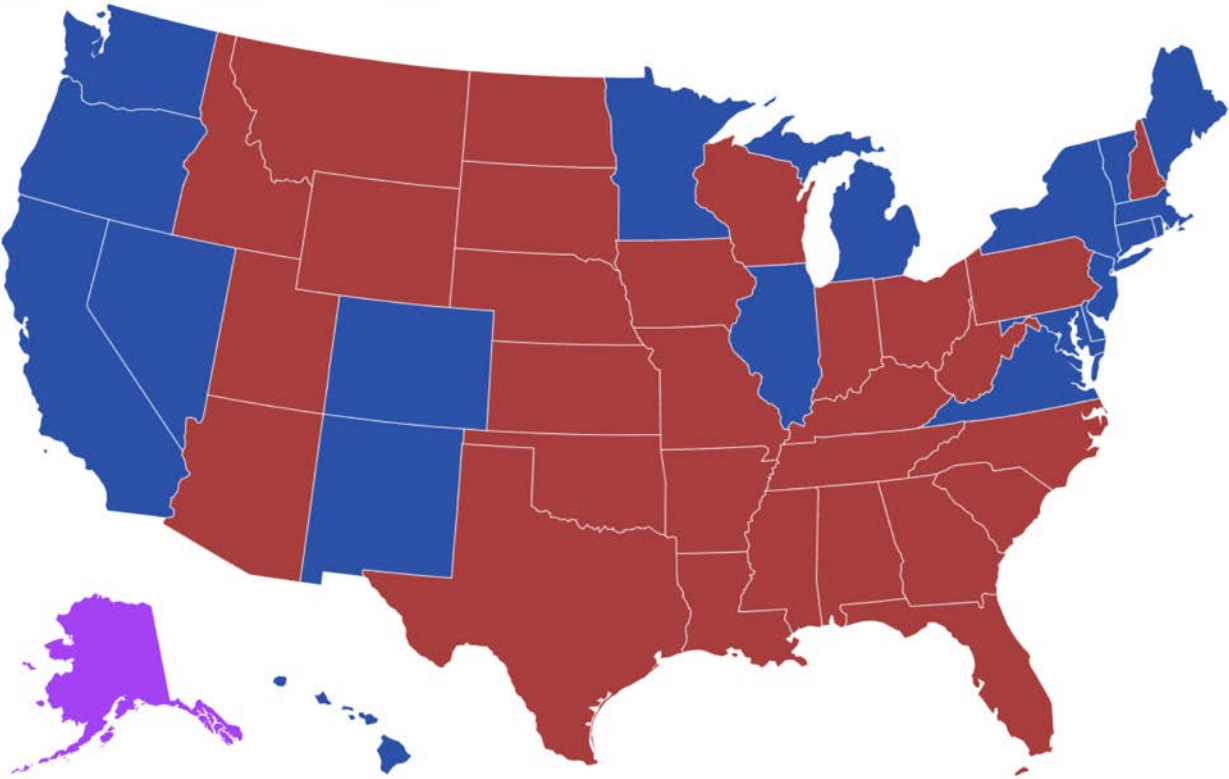
- GOP lost one Senate seat (PA).
 - The opposition party has lost Senate seats in just 6 of the past 25 midterms. On average, the opposition sees a gain of 4 seats.
- GOP lost 2 governor's mansions (MA & MD) and picked up 1 (NV).
 - The opposition party on average has gained 4.5 governor's seats.
 - This is the first time since 1986 — and only the second time since 1934 — that the opposition party has had a net loss of governor's seats.
- Only once in the past 100 years has the opposition party lost both Senate seats and governor's mansions: 1934

2022 Midterms

- Republicans gained 9 seats in the House. In the last 25 midterm elections, the opposition party on average has gained nearly 30 House seats
- GOP has lost 4 state legislative chambers.
 - The opposition party has gained state legislative chambers in every midterm election held since 2002, flipping an average of more than 12 chambers.
 - GOP has controlled a majority of state legislatures in the country since 2010.

Partisan control of state senates

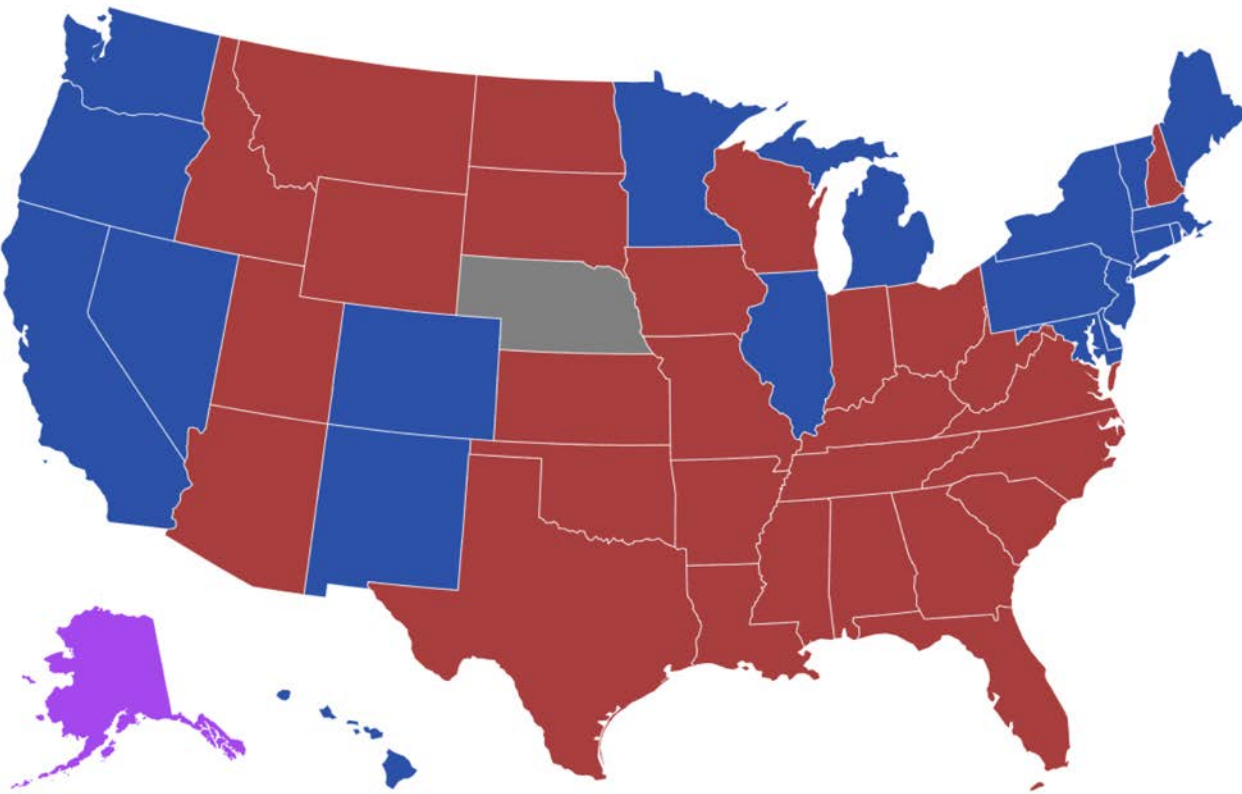
Party control
Power-sharing Republican Democratic



Last updated: January 12, 2023

Partisan control of state houses

Party control
Power-sharing None (unicameral) Republican Democratic



Governor results

From [The Associated Press](#) · 36 of 36 seats up for election called · [Learn more](#)

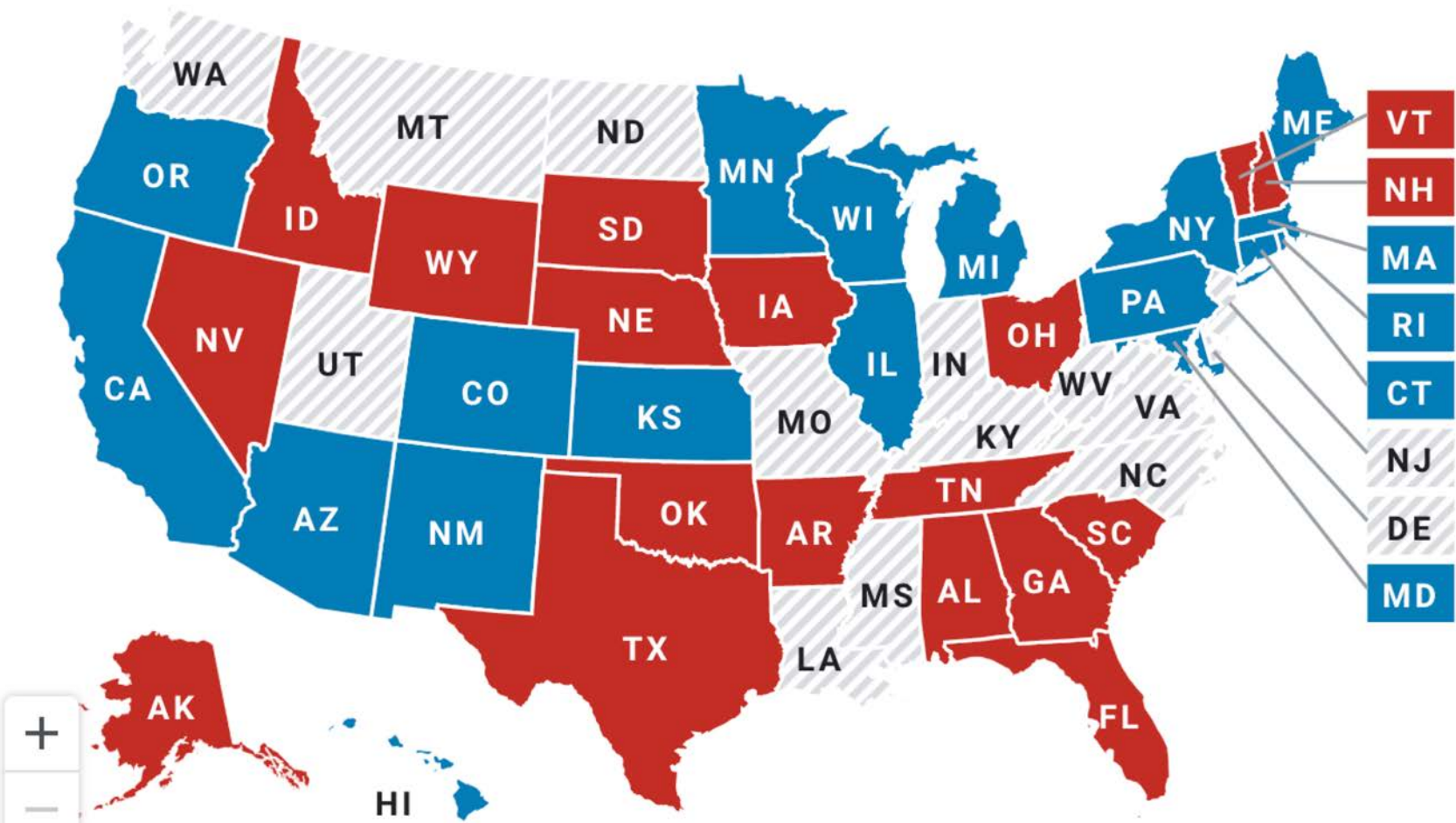
24 DEM

GOP 26

Gained 2 seats

Lost 2 seats

Other parties have 0 seats



Only the 3rd Black man elected governor.

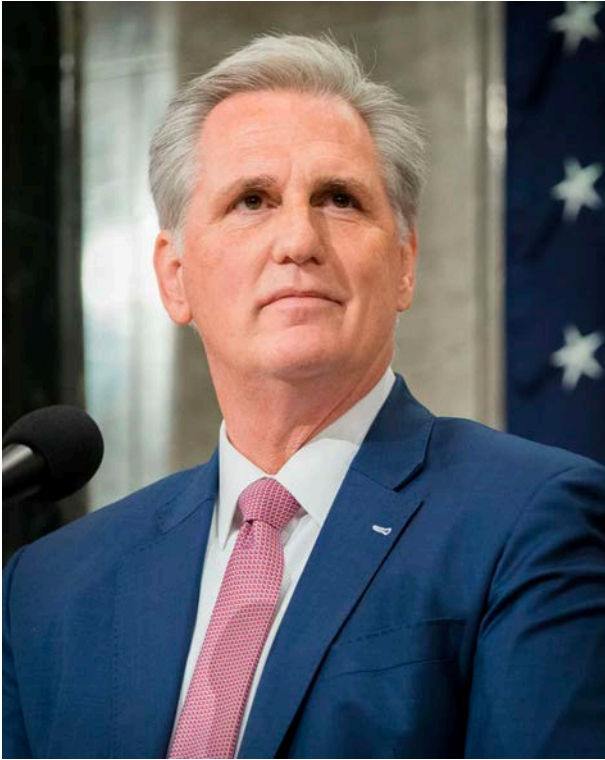


Democratic House Leadership



Katherine Clark (MA-Whip) Hakeem Jeffries (NY-Leader) Pete Aguilar (CA-Caucus Chair)

Republican House Leadership



Kevin McCarthy (CA, Speaker)



Steve Scalise (LA, Leader)



Tom Emmer (MN, Whip)



Elise Stefanik (NY, Caucus Chair)

Speaker Election and Concessions

- 15th ballot, most since Civil War
- Rules require a 2/3 majority to raise taxes, mandate new spending to be paid for
- Created investigatory panel to look into weaponization of govt
- Put Freedom Caucus members in coveted seats on the party panel that doles out committee assignments
- Gives caucus members 3 seats on the House Rules Committee, which sets the floor agenda and decide which amendments will be allowed on House bills
- Promised votes on a 10-year balanced budget plan and a bill that would limit reps to 3 terms (6 years) and senators to 2 terms (12 years)
- Committed to pair a vote to increase the government debt limit with steep spending cuts
- Restored “motion to vacate” that allows a single member to call a vote to remove him as Speaker
- Will vote separately on the 12 different appropriation bills rather than allow them to be bundled together into an end-of-year omnibus spending bill

House Oversight Committee

- **Border crisis**
- **Classified documents**
- **Biden family influence**
- **Pandemic origins and spending**
- **Energy crisis**
- **Drug prices**
- **Afghanistan**

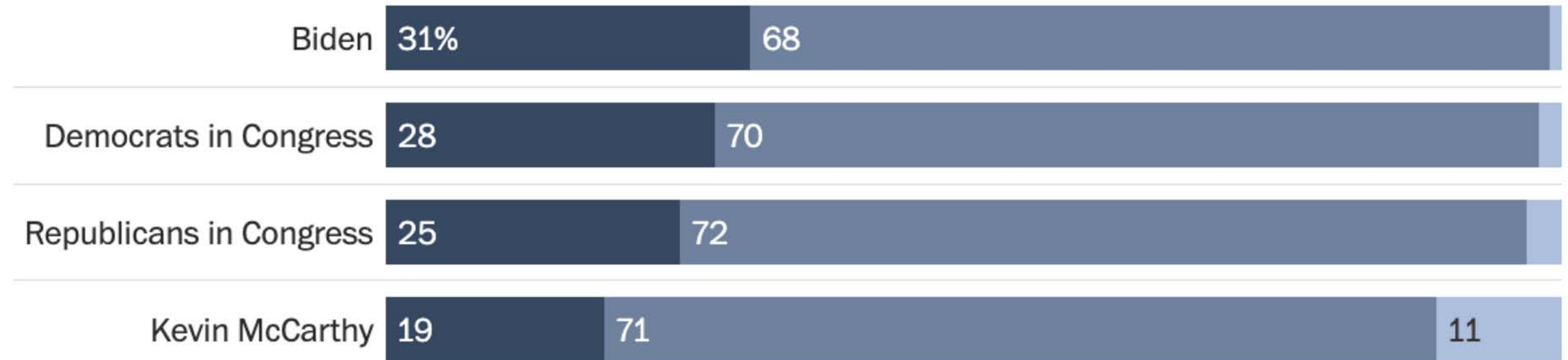
House Judiciary Committee

- **Classified documents**
- **Border security**
- **Weaponization of DOJ and FBI**

Americans broadly distrust Biden, McCarthy and both parties in Congress

Q: How much confidence do you have in _____ to make the right decisions for the country's future?

■ Great deal/Good amount ■ Just some/None at all ■ No opinion



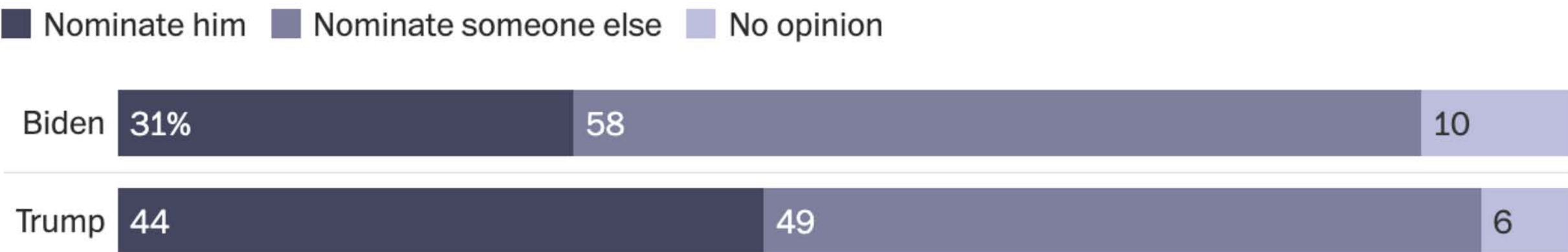
Note: Question on Kevin McCarthy identified him as "the speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives."

Source: Jan. 27-Feb. 1, 2023, Post-ABC poll of 1,003 U.S. adults with an error margin of +/- 3.5 percentage points.

EMILY GUSKIN / THE WASHINGTON POST

Republicans are roughly split between nominating Trump or someone else, while most Democrats prefer alternative to Biden

Question on Biden asked of Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents, question on Trump asked of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents

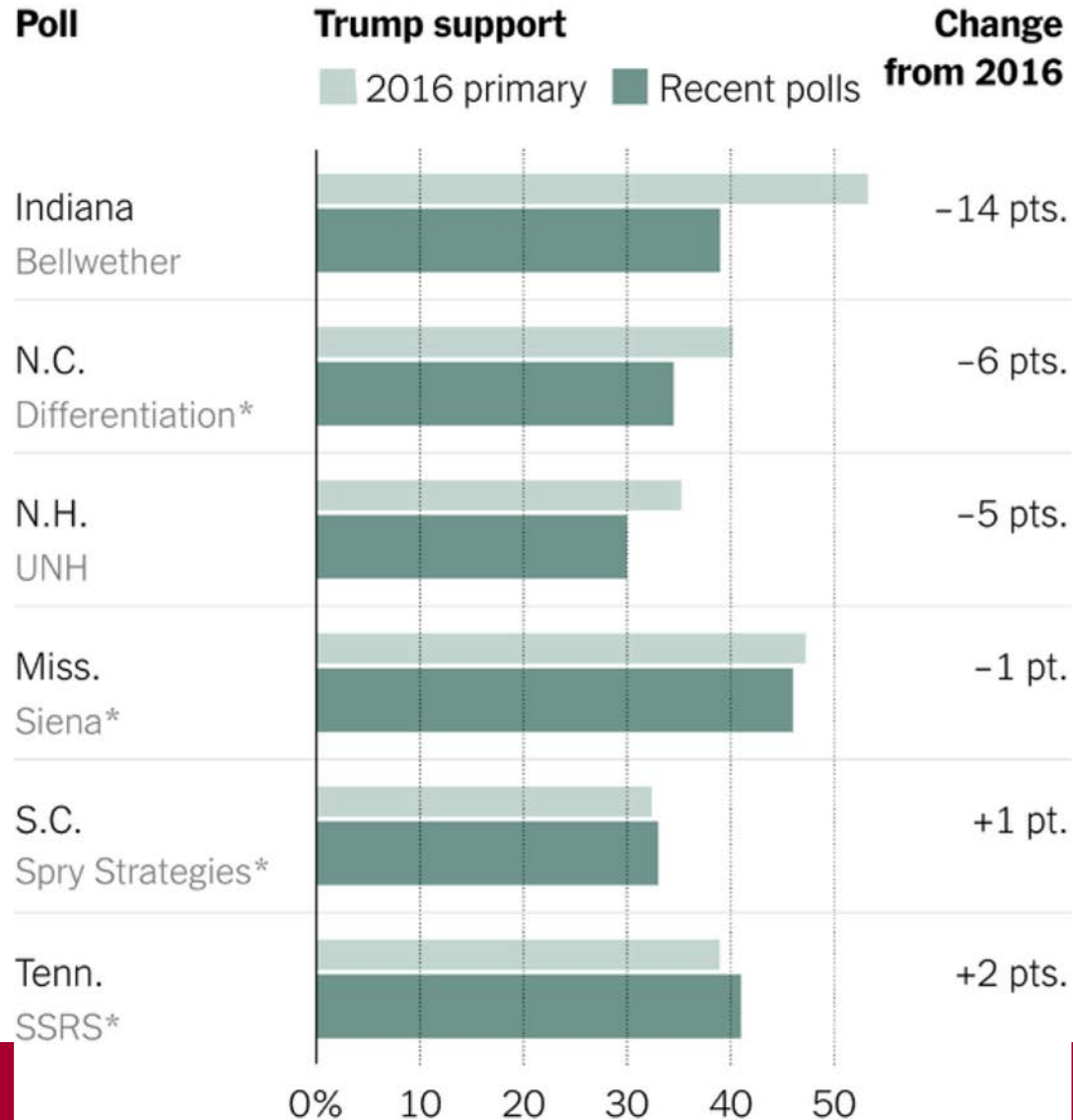


Source: Jan. 27-Feb. 1, 2023, Post-ABC poll of 410 Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents and 456 Republicans and Republican-leaning independents with error margins of +/- 5.5 percentage points.

EMILY GUSKIN / THE WASHINGTON POST

Trump Is Generally Running Behind 2016 Results

How Trump's support in recent state polls compares with his share of the vote in the 2016 primaries.



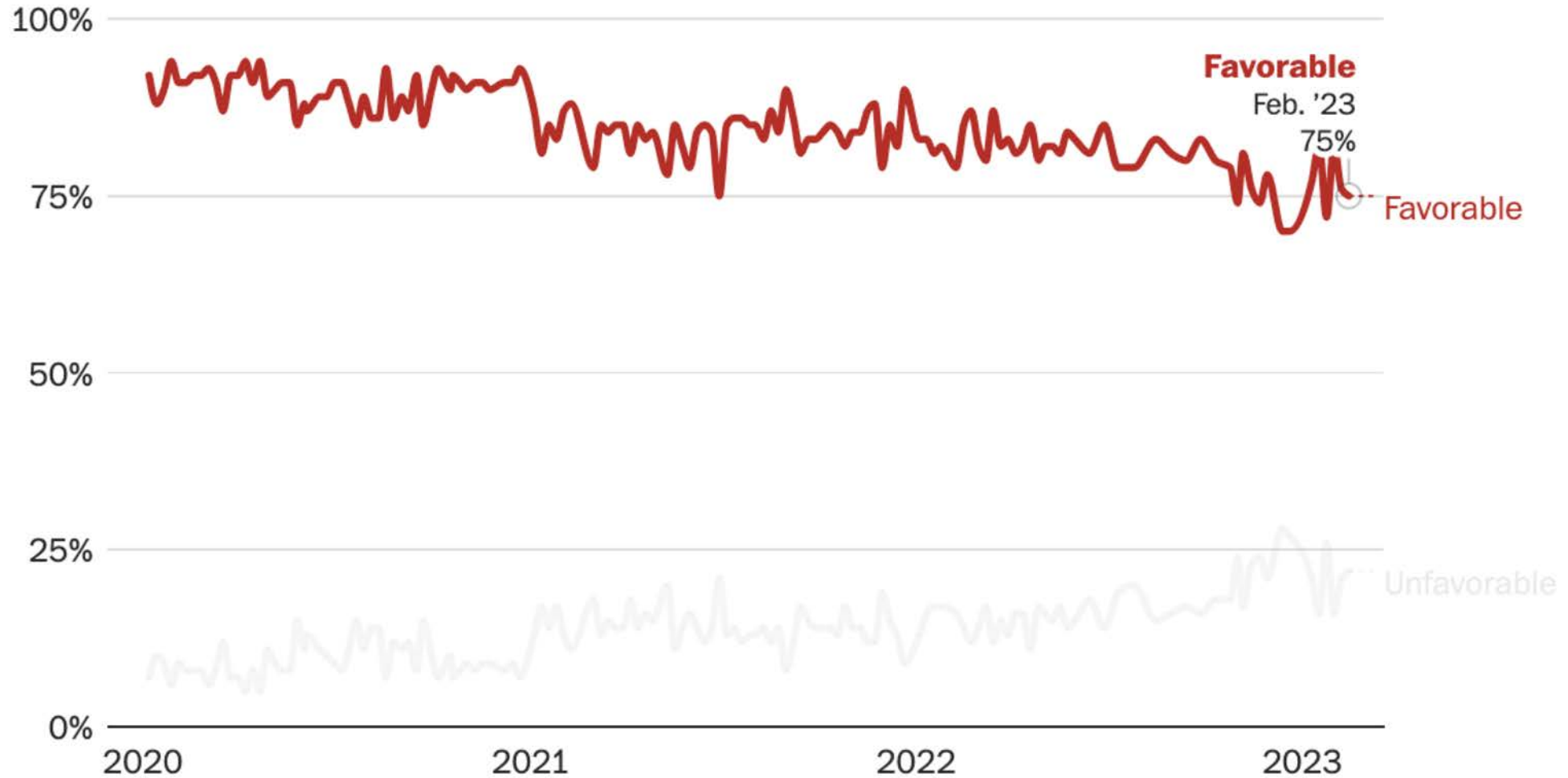
Average support in national polls of Republican voters



In polls from Jan. 19 to Feb. 16. | Source: RealClearPolitics

Trump's favorability among Republicans has fallen since 2020

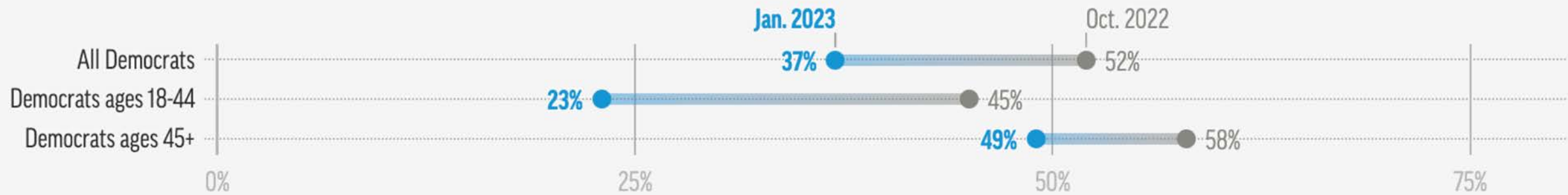
Percent of Republicans with an opinion of Donald Trump



Note: "Don't know" not shown.

Source: YouGovAmerica

Percentage of Democrats saying they want to see Joe Biden run for president in 2024



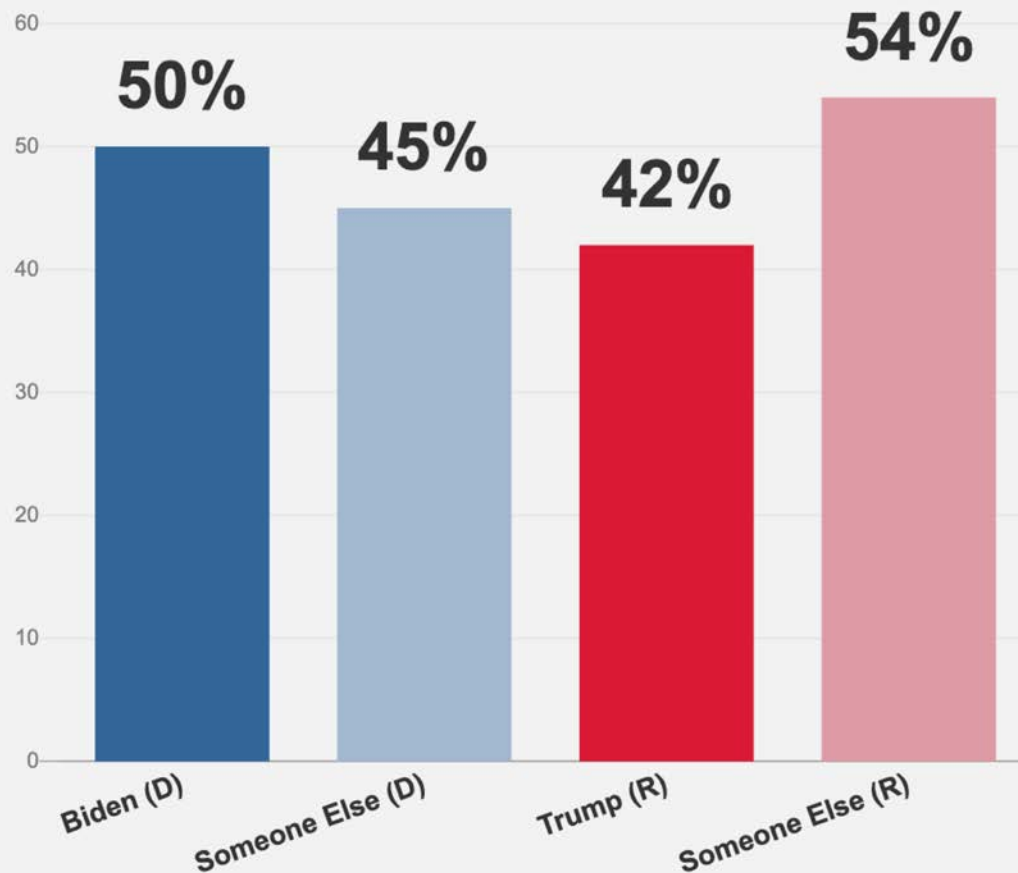
Results are based on a survey of 462 Democrats conducted Jan. 26-30, 2023. The margin of error is 6.5 percentage points for the full sample, higher for subgroups.

Source: AP-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research

AP

2024 Presidential Nominees

Do you think [Democrats/Republicans] have a better chance of winning the presidency in 2024 if [Joe Biden/Donald Trump] is the party's nominee, or if someone else is the party's nominee?



NPR/PBS NewsHour/Marist Poll National Democrats and Democratic leaning Independents. National Democrats and Democratic leaning independents: n=570 MOE +/- 5.1 percentage points. National Republicans and Republican leaning independents: n=461 MOE +/- 5.7 percentage points. Interviews conducted February 13th through

Changes in Democratic Presidential Primary

- Feb. 3 in South Carolina
- Feb. 6 New Hampshire and Nevada
- Feb. 13 Georgia
- Feb. 27 Michigan
- Logistical challenges—GA & NH have until June to make progress
- Strong resistance in New Hampshire, where officials have vowed to hold the first primary anyway
- NH could lose delegates in the nomination process
- Candidates who campaign in a state that flouts the party schedule could face repercussions, such as not receiving delegates from that state
- Dems say they will review every 4 years

Republican Primary


- Republicans have set an early primary calendar, keeping the order of Iowa, New Hampshire, South Carolina and Nevada
- RNC rules make clear that states that jump the order will lose delegates.

Missouri Political Landscape

- 10 years ago, Missouri Dems won tough races for U.S. Senate, governor, attorney general, secretary of state, and treasurer.
- The last statewide office held by Dems, state auditor, flipped to the GOP.
- 2008 was the first time the presidential winner didn't carry MO since

President

100% reporting

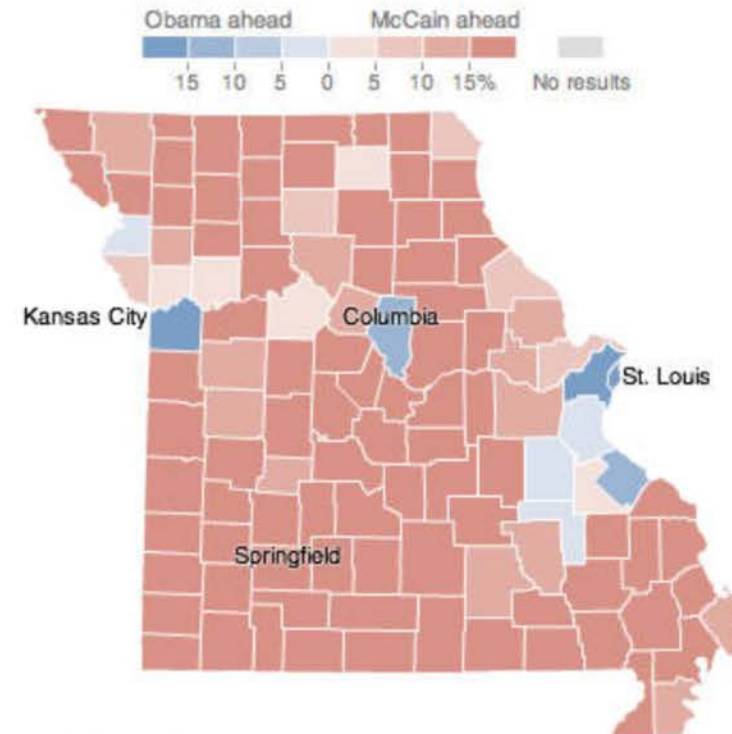
| | Candidate | Party | Votes | Pct. | Change from '04 | Electoral votes |
|---|---------------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------------|-----------------|
|  | ✓ John McCain | Rep. | 1,445,812 | 49.4% | -3.9% | 11 |
| | Barack Obama | Dem. | 1,442,180 | 49.3 | +3.2 | 0 |
| | Ralph Nader | Ind. | 17,813 | 0.6 | N.A. | 0 |
| | Bob Barr | Lib | 11,386 | 0.4 | N.A. | 0 |
| | Chuck Baldwin | CST | 8,201 | 0.3 | N.A. | 0 |

[County results](#) | [Exit polls](#) | [President map](#) | [President table](#)

Governor

99% reporting

| | Candidate | Party | Votes | Pct. |
|---|------------------------|-------|-----------|-------|
|  | ✓ Jay Nixon | Dem. | 1,680,611 | 58.4% |
| | Kenny Hulshof | Rep. | 1,136,363 | 39.5 |
| | Andrew W. Finkenzstadt | Lib | 31,850 | 1.1 |



State Highlights

Missouri's US Senate Race

- Lucas Kunce
 - Marine veteran
 - Self-described “populist”
 - Lost in the primary in an unsuccessful run for the Senate last year
- Democrats face a brutal Senate map in 2024 with few, if any, endangered Republicans up for reelection.
- \$350,000 in fundraising in the first week of his campaign, an amount they say is a record for the state of Missouri.
- More than 9 times the amount that Hawley brought in during the first week of his campaign last cycle.



MO State House

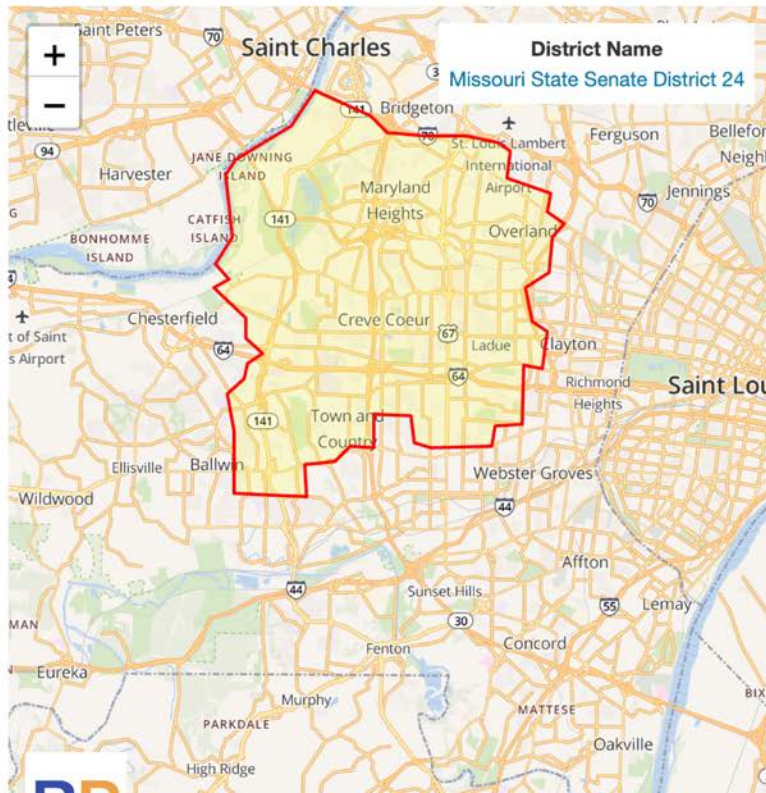
- GOP has a supermajority of 111 House seats; 7 seats flipped
- Democrats picked up 3 seats for its largest House caucus (52) since 2011
- Dems won 13 of 20 competitive seats, losing only one of the seats they held previously; 2 seats lost due to shifts in population gave the GOP a seat now in St. Charles and another in west St. Louis County.

MO State Senate

- In the state Senate, 17 of 34 seats were on the ballot; GOP held their 14 seats and Democrats kept their 3 seats.
- Dems won an expensive (\$3.8 million) race in Senate 24

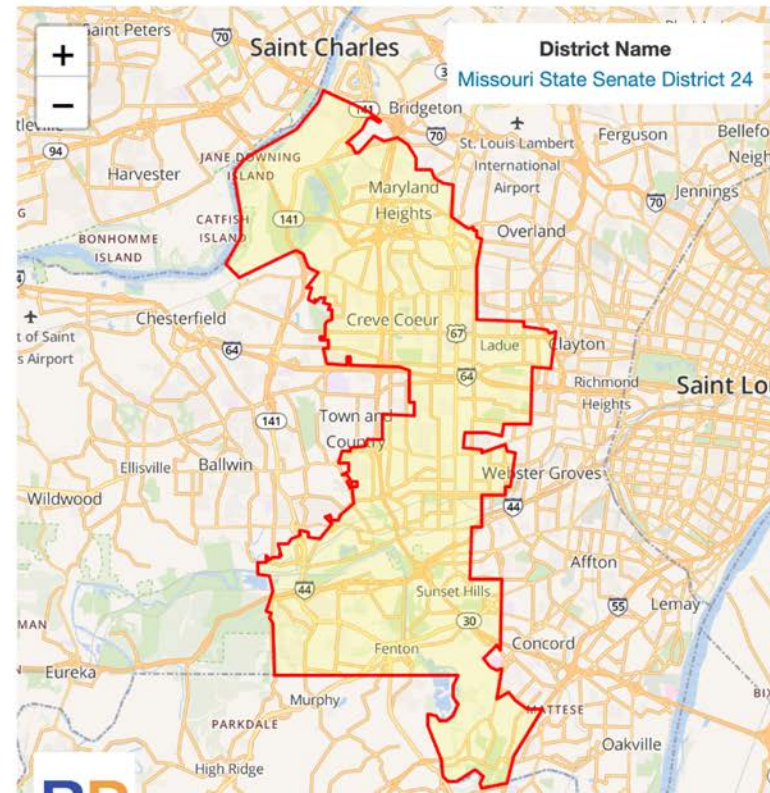
**Missouri State Senate District 24
before 2020 redistricting cycle**

Click a district to compare boundaries.



**Missouri State Senate District 24
after 2020 redistricting cycle**

Click a district to compare boundaries.



State Legislative Priorities

- Regulating schools
- Legislation aimed at healthcare and athletics involving transgender youth
- Making the ballot initiative petition process more stringent
- A bill that would allow K-12 students to attend school outside their resident district
- Placing restrictions on Medicaid (limiting number funded and adding work requirements)

State Legislature

- The House passed a bill that would give all school personnel the ability to concealed-carry at school, but not every school has to allow it.
- A House committee advanced a bill that would place statewide limits on residential building energy codes and potentially make it illegal for St. Louis area municipalities to enforce portions of locally adopted ordinances.
- The House passed a proposed constitutional amendment that would take control of the state road fund away from the Transportation Department and give it to lawmakers.
 - Because it's a proposed constitutional amendment, it would also have to go before voters.

Missouri Gun Law

- A federal judge ruled that a 2021 Missouri state law that declared several federal gun laws "invalid" is unconstitutional
- Under the Missouri law, state or local law enforcement agencies could face a \$50,000 fine if they knowingly enforced federal laws that the state measure purportedly nullified.
- AG Andrew Bailey has promised an appeal, saying he is committed to "defending Missourians' fundamental right to bear arms."

Missouri lawmakers have filed the most anti-LGBTQ bills of any state, according to the ACLU.

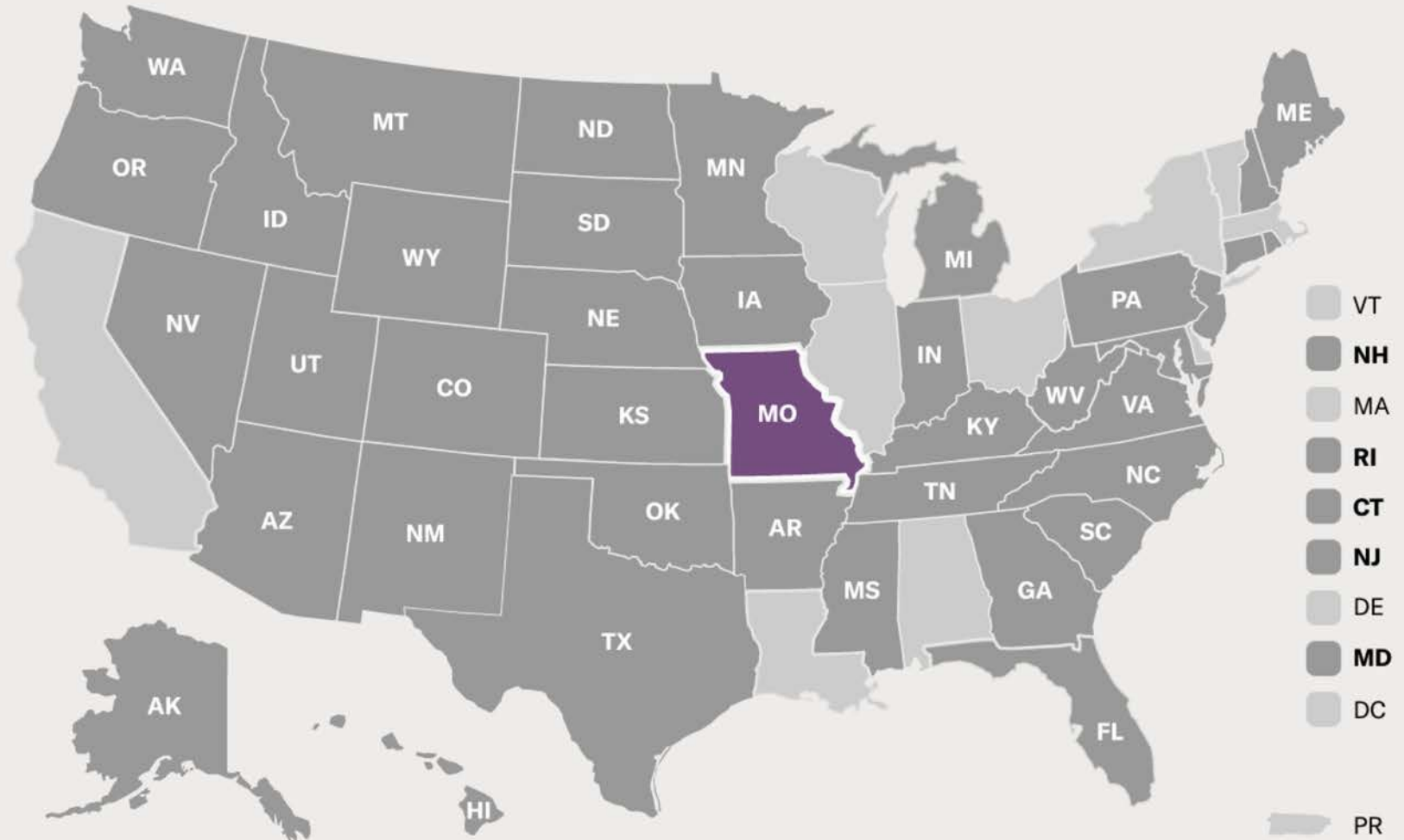
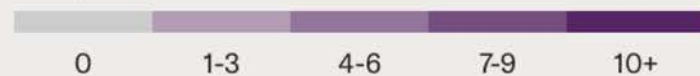
2023 LEGISLATIVE SESSION

The ACLU is tracking **34** anti-LGBTQ bills in Missouri.

Choose a state on the map to show the different bills targeting LGBTQ rights and take action. While not all of these bills will become law, they all cause harm for LGBTQ people.

[View past legislative sessions.](#)

Bills per state

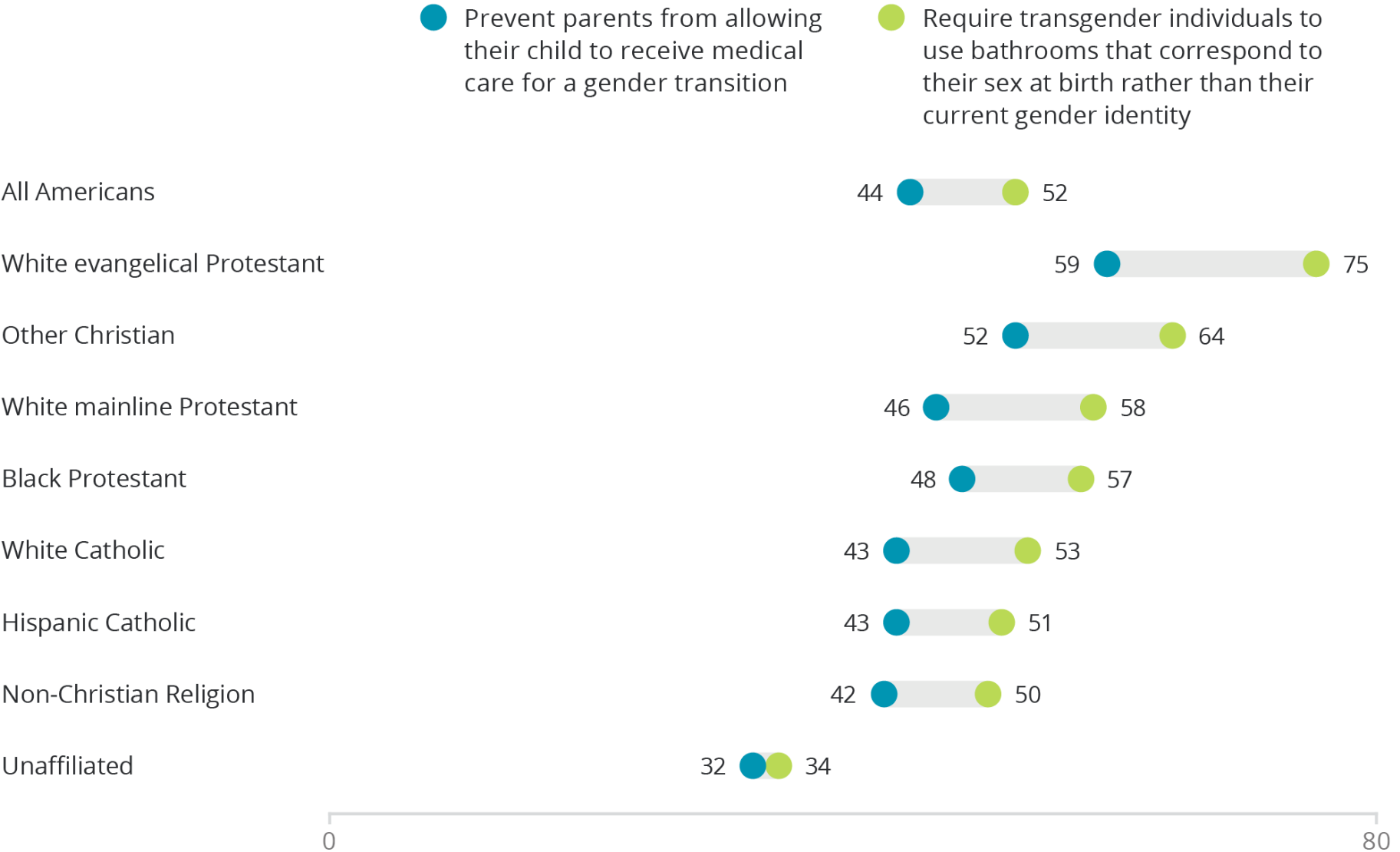


Anti-LBGTQ Laws

- Democrats filibustered to hold off a vote on a plan to restrict transgender health care for minors.
- The bill would block gender-affirming care for transgender minors, including puberty blockers, hormone therapy, and surgeries.
- Would prohibit physicians and other health care providers from knowingly providing “gender transition procedures” to individuals younger than 18.
- Providers also wouldn’t be allowed to knowingly refer minors to other clinics that provide gender-affirming care without risking disciplinary action from a state licensing entity or disciplinary review board.

FIGURE 3. White Evangelical Protestants Most Likely to Favor Anti-Transgender Legislation

Percent who favor laws that:



Source: PRRI 2022 American Values Survey.

State Legislature

- The Senate debated a bill that regarding public schools that includes:
- Language prohibiting schools from telling teachers to "personally adopt, adhere to, or profess a position or viewpoint" that would espouse beliefs such as people of one race or ethnicity being superior to another. Districts could be held liable through legal action if they are found to have allegedly violated this measure;
- A "Parents' Bill of Rights" and accountability portal, which would require schools to make materials used in curriculum and professional development public online;
- Requirements for the state's education department to develop a "patriotic and civics training program." Teachers who complete the training would receive a one-time \$3,000 bonus.
- Another GOP bill would ban school staff from discussing gender identity or sexual orientation with students and would ban CRT.

K-12 Schools

- The House passed a bill to allow students to transfer to school districts where they don't live
- Allows districts to limit the number of students transferring out to 3% of the district's previous year's enrollment.
- Districts wouldn't be required to accept students.
- State aid schools receive would transfer with the student to the nonresident school, but local revenue sources would not go to the new district.
- The legislation creates an \$80 million "Parent Public School Choice Fund" to cover special education and transportation costs.
- The proposal now moves to the Senate for consideration, where similar legislation has died in 2021 and 2022.

Control of SLPD

- The House has given first-round approval to legislation that would take away local control of the St. Louis Police Department and put it under a state-appointed board of police commissioners.
- If passed, beginning on Aug. 28 the board would assume control of the PD. The governor would appoint 4 members to the board. They would serve along with the mayor of St. Louis, who now oversees the department.
- Currently, only the KCPD is under a state Board of Police Commissioners.
- In 2012, Missouri voters approved a measure that would return control of the police department to St. Louis. The measure went into effect in 2013 and marked the first time in over 150 years that the mayor's office had authority over the department.
- St. Louis would still be responsible for funding its police department under the proposed legislation.

St. Louis Circuit Attorney Kim Gardner

- The House passed a bill that would allow the governor to appoint a special prosecutor to address crimes in cities that meet a homicide case threshold.
- Currently, only St. Louis meets that threshold; the bill is widely seen as targeting Kim Gardner.
- She is facing an attempt from Andrew Bailey to remove her from office.
- The bill bars the board from decreasing the annual salary of members of the police force and requires an increase in salary of \$7,000 as of July 1, 2024.

St. Louis Circuit Attorney Kim Gardner

- Concerns about understaffing, declining help, extending timelines for those awaiting trial,
- Gardner's chief trial assistant Marvin Teer abruptly resigned from her office last week.
- State law allows the circuit attorney to hire special prosecutors to help handle the workload. Gardner could also lean on the U.S. Attorney's Office to help handle some violent crimes that involve federal crimes, or she could bring in part-time prosecutors.
- Hired a Harvard law professor to represent her in a suit seeking her removal from office.
- Michael Downey of the Webster Groves-based Downey law firm will also be representing Gardner. He said he expects to file 3 pleadings in response to the attorney general's complaint by midnight.

St. Louis Circuit Attorney Kim Gardner

- Recent polling:
- 2/3 of respondents said they disapproved of Gardner's performance, including 60% of Democrats and 61% of progressives.
- Black voters: 46% approving and 43% disapproving.
- Just over half of those surveyed also said they supported a lawsuit filed by AG Andrew Bailey to remove Gardner from office.
- 67% of those polled said city leaders' top priority should be reducing crime.

Missouri Election Administration

- Jay Ashcroft last week announced that he was ending Missouri's membership in the Electronic Registration Information Center, a nonprofit, interstate organization tasked with helping states maintain accurate voting rolls.
- ERIC is a multi-state partnership that experts across the political spectrum say is the only reliable, secure way for states to share voter registration data with each other.
- It allows states to use and share government data from election offices, the DMV and the SSA to eliminate dead voters from the rolls, find the few people in federal elections who vote twice, and register voters when they move.
- Trump recently called on all Republican-led states to “immediately pull out of ERIC, the terrible Voter Registration System that ‘pumps the rolls’ for Democrats and does nothing to clean them up.”

Initiative Petition Process in Missouri

Petitions proposing statutory changes must be signed by 5% of legal voters in 6 of the 8 congressional districts. Petitions proposing constitutional changes must be signed by 8% of legal voters in 6 of the 8 congressional districts.

| Congressional District | Gubernatorial Votes Cast in 2016 | 5% for Statutory Change | 8% for Constitutional Change |
|------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1st | 319,649 | 15,983 | 25,572 |
| 2nd | 422,866 | 21,144 | 33,830 |
| 3rd | 379,936 | 18,997 | 30,395 |
| 4th | 338,786 | 16,940 | 27,103 |
| 5th | 326,951 | 16,348 | 26,157 |
| 6th | 357,579 | 17,879 | 28,607 |
| 7th | 343,171 | 17,159 | 27,454 |
| 8th | 316,324 | 15,817 | 25,306 |

#MOLEG INITIATIVE PETITION BILLS

**HJR
43**

- Increases the threshold for passage of constitutional amendments from a simple majority to 60%
- Statutory initiatives would pass with a simple majority
- Defines "eligible voters" as only US citizens and residents of Missouri
- Requires the Secretary of State to provide voters in each Congressional district with a period in which to review and comment upon all initiative petitions proposing amendments to the Constitution

**HJR
30**

Would require proposed constitutional amendments to receive not just a majority of votes cast statewide (the rule now) but also prevail in a majority of state legislative districts.

**HJR
18**

Would increase number of signatures required to place a proposed constitutional amendment on the ballot, limiting them only during a general election, and would increase the threshold for passage from a simple majority to a 2/3 majority.

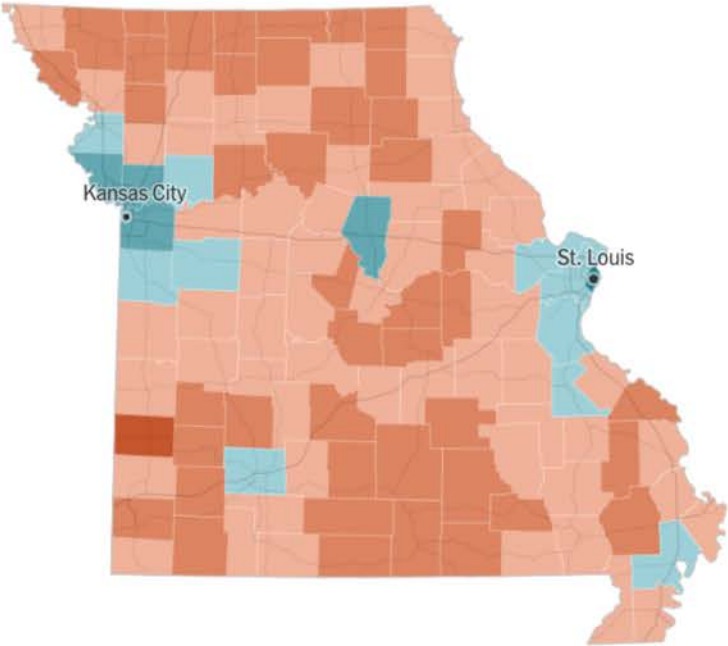
**HJR
24 &
25**

Increases the threshold for passage of a constitutional amendment to require a majority of all registered voters in the state. Currently, measures pass by a majority of votes cast.

| | | | |
|---|--|------------------------------|-------------------|
| Latest results from 59m ago | | >95% OF VOTES IN <div></div> | |
| Answer | | Votes | Pct. |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes | | 1,089,326 | 53.1% <div></div> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> No | | 961,909 | 46.9 <div></div> |
| Total reported | | 2,051,235 | |

Results by county

| County | Yes | No | Total votes | % In |
|------------------|-----|-----|-------------|------|
| St. Louis County | 59% | 41% | 365,349 | >95% |
| Jackson | 68 | 32 | 215,003 | >95% |
| St. Charles | 55 | 45 | 149,351 | >95% |
| Greene | 52 | 48 | 97,228 | >95% |
| Clay | 61 | 39 | 86,959 | >95% |
| St. Louis City | 73 | 27 | 82,796 | >95% |



Vote share

Size of lead

States where abortion is on the ballot this year

Select each state for details.

 Measures supported by **abortion rights opponents**  Measures supported by **abortion rights advocates**

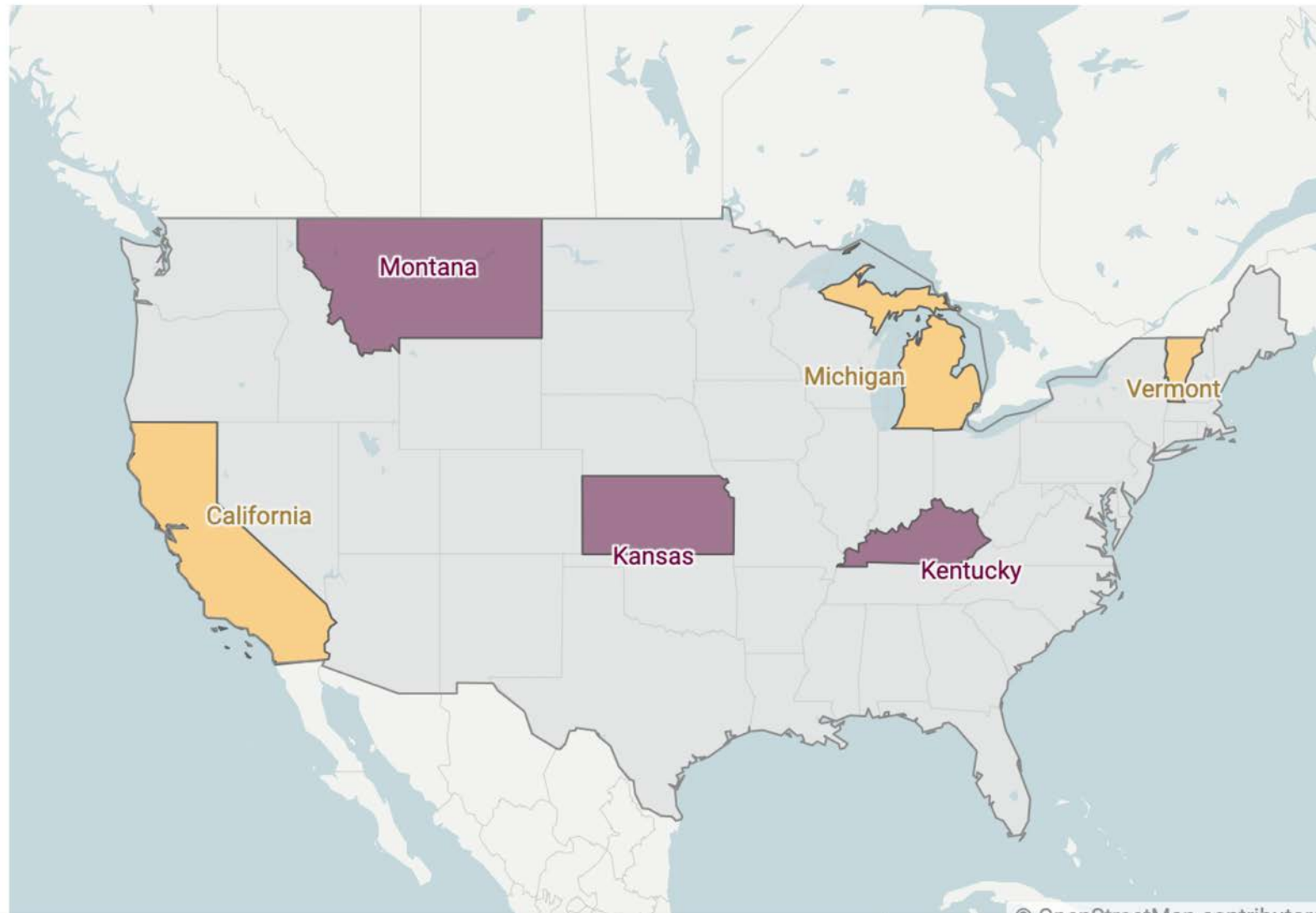
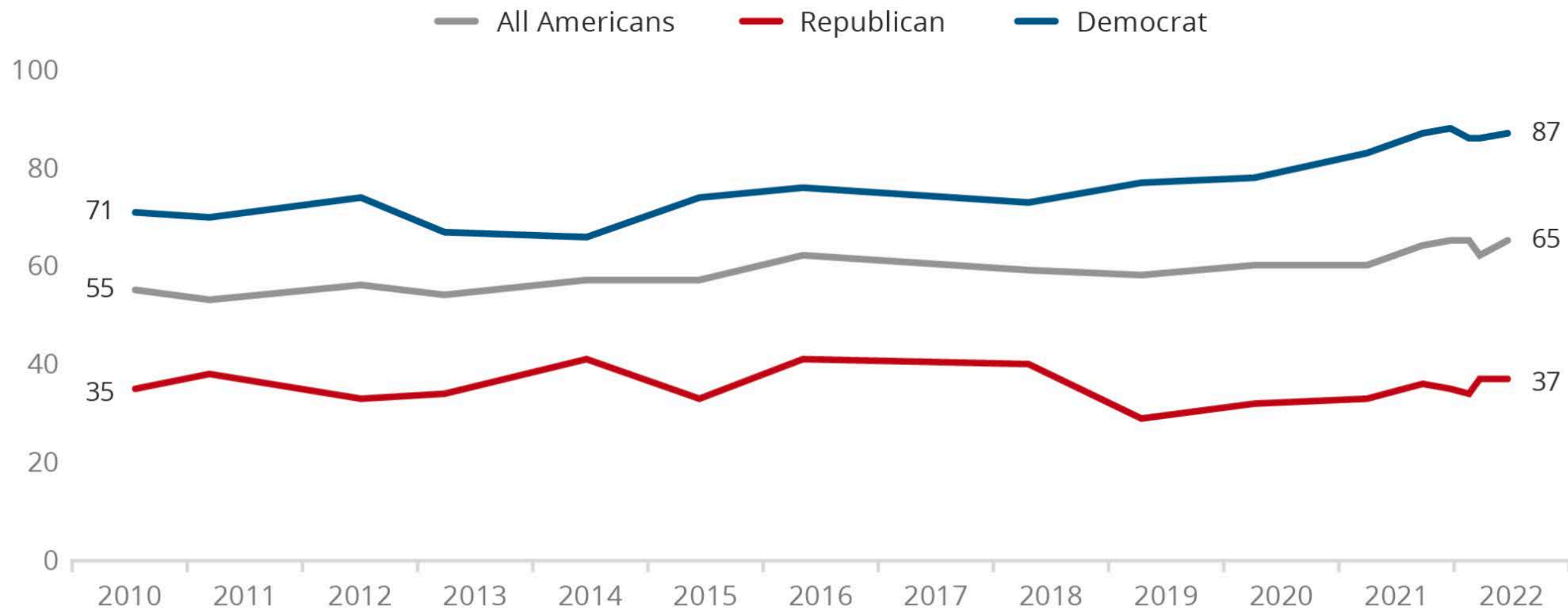


FIGURE 1.1 Support for Abortion Legality, 2010-2022, by Party Affiliation

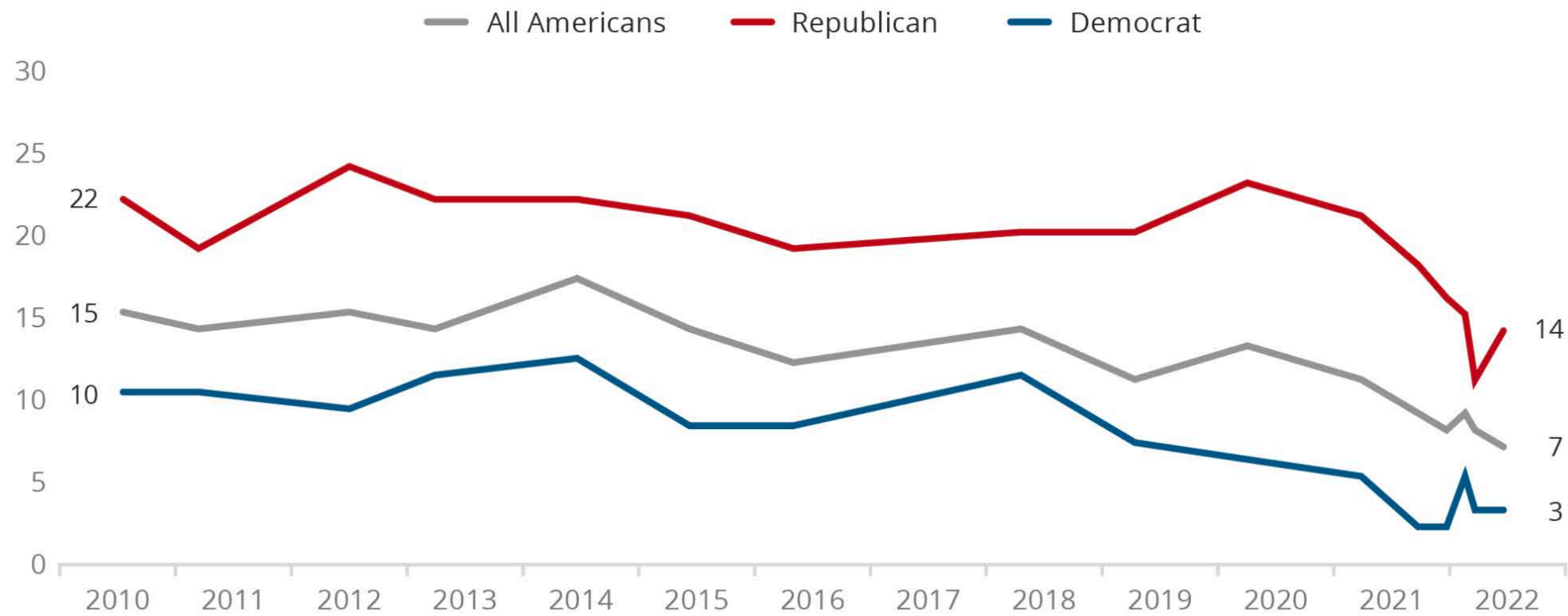
Percent who say abortion should be legal in most or all cases:



Source: PRRI 2010-2022 Surveys.

FIGURE 1.2 Abortion Illegality in All Cases, 2010-2022, by Party Affiliation

Percent who say abortion should be illegal in all cases:



Source: PRRI 2010-2022 Surveys.

Abortion

- On average, there are 8.7 people in a state who think abortion should be legal in all or most cases for every one who thinks it should be illegal. In states that voted for Trump in 2020, the average ratio is 5.6 to 1.
- Only 12% of Americans say Congress should pass a national law banning abortion and 53% say Congress should pass a law preserving the right to abortion.
 - Nearly equal numbers of Republicans say Congress should ban abortion (22%) as say it should preserve a right to abortion (21%).
- 1 in 4 Americans say they'll only vote for a candidate who shares their views on abortion—29% of women, 22% of men
 - Candidates' abortion stance matters more to young women with 34% of those ages 18-29 and 32% of those ages 30-49 expressing this position.

FIGURE 1.5 Abortion Legality, by State

Percent who say abortion should be *legal* in most or all cases:

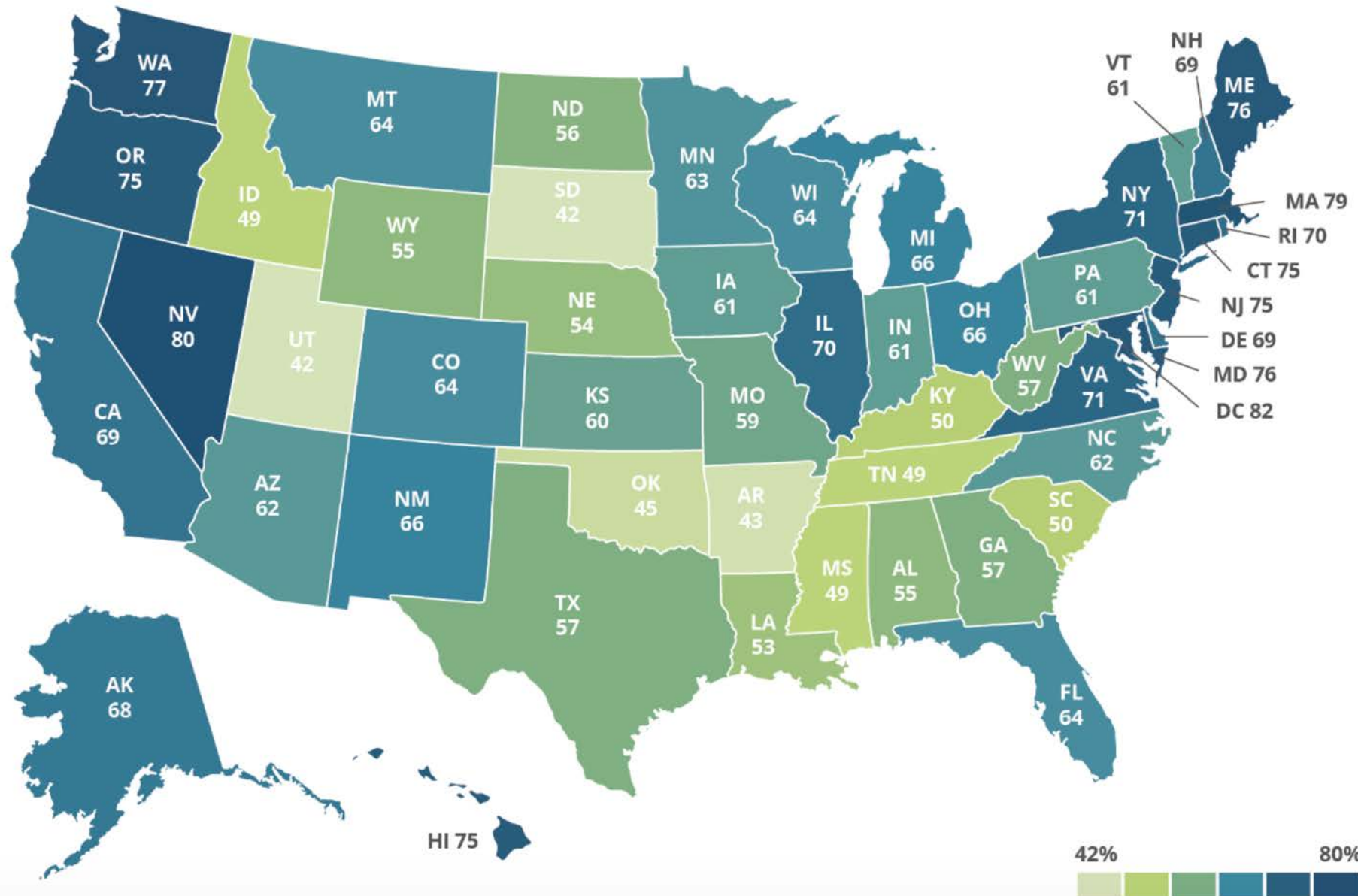
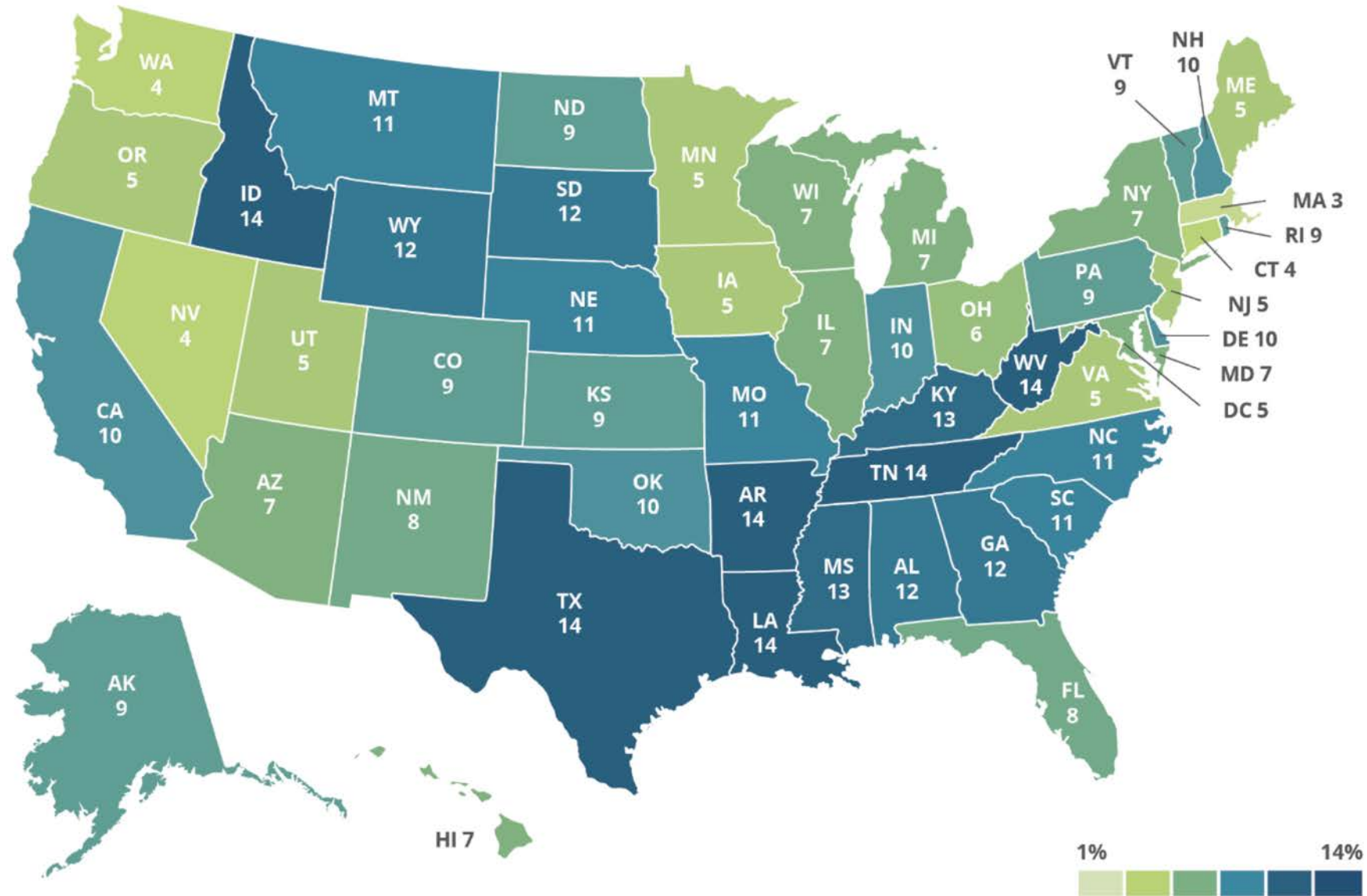


FIGURE 1.6 Abortion Legality, by State

Percent who say abortion should be *illegal* in all cases:

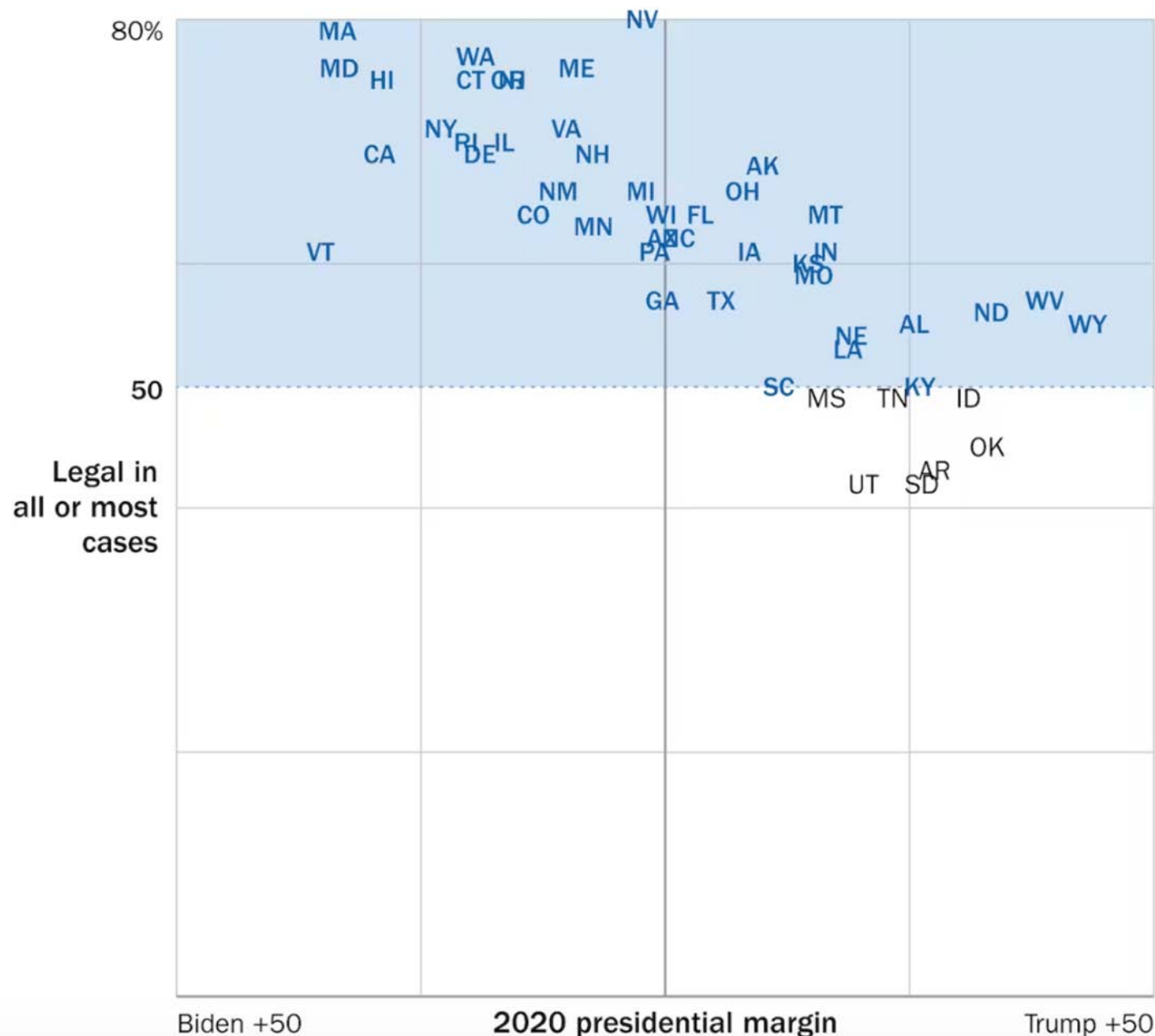


Source: PRRI 2022 American Values Atlas

Support for legal abortion correlates to presidential vote, even more than it does to the state's white evangelical Protestant population. But even in the most Trump-friendly states, most people support access to legal abortion.

Only in 7 of the 25 states Trump won in 2020 does less than half of the population support abortion access; in two others, exactly half do.

Most people in most states support legal abortion

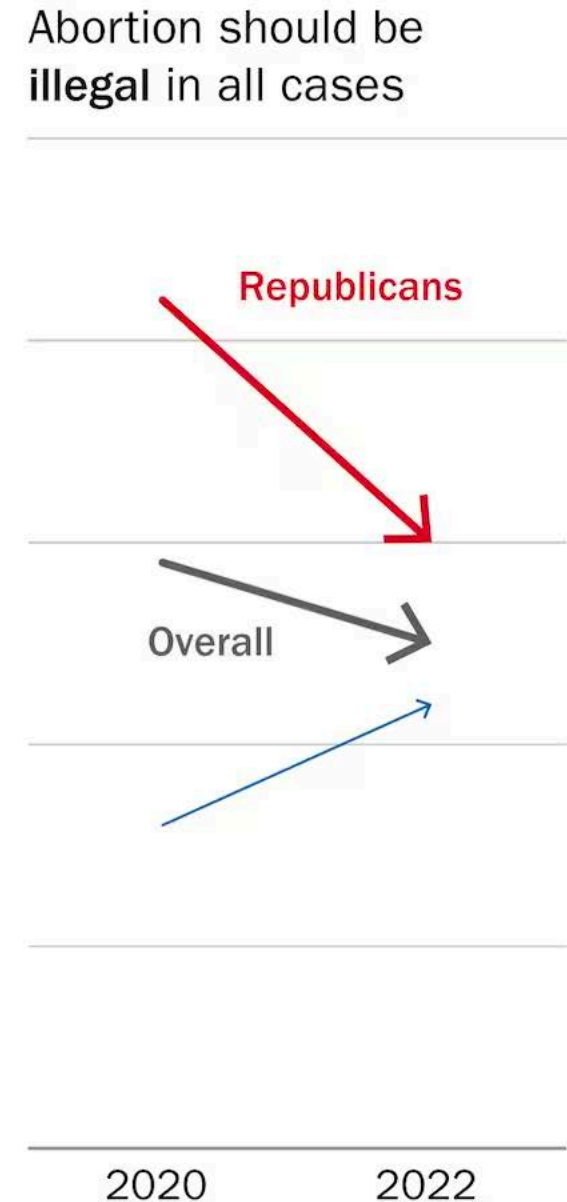
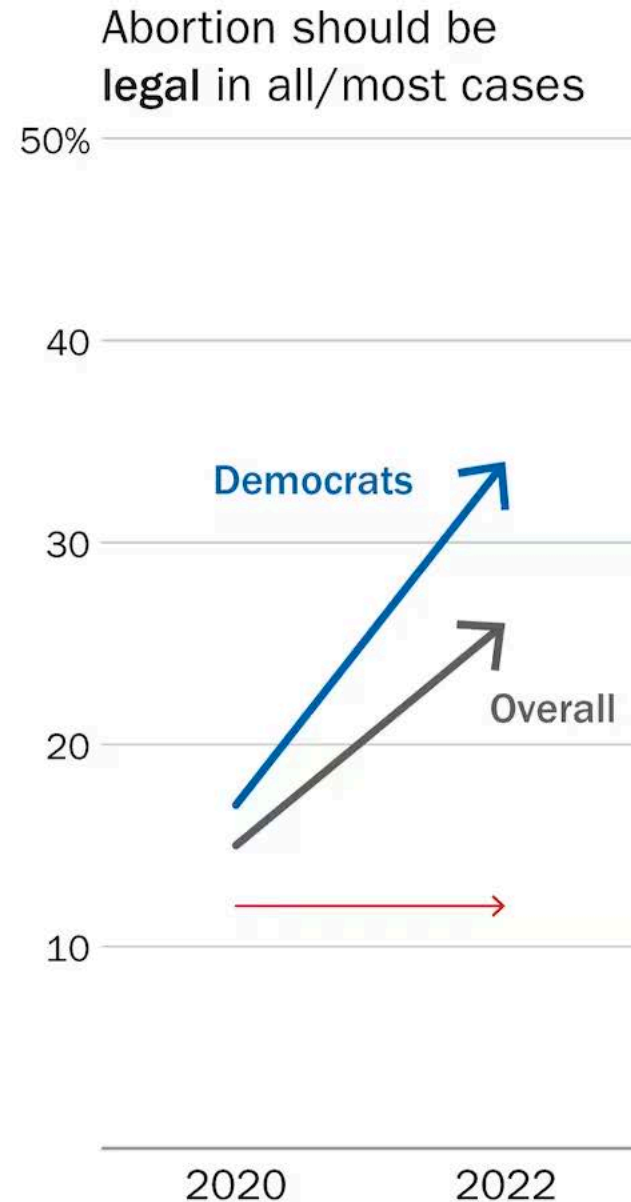


Source: PRRI

THE WASHINGTON POST

Will only vote for candidate sharing view on abortion

In 2020, those who opposed access to abortion were twice as likely to say it was an essential litmus test for candidates as those who supported abortion access. Now, both sides say it's an important consideration.



Source: PRRI

THE WASHINGTON POST

Most important issue in vote

Network exit poll

Abortion (27% of voters)

76%



| Issue | Percentage of voters | Percentage of voters who consider it the most important issue |
|-------------|----------------------|---|
| Abortion | 27% | 76% |
| Inflation | 31% | 28% |
| Crime | 11% | 41% |
| Immigration | 10% | 25% |
| Gun policy | 11% | 60% |

Inflation (31%)

28%

Crime (11%)

41%

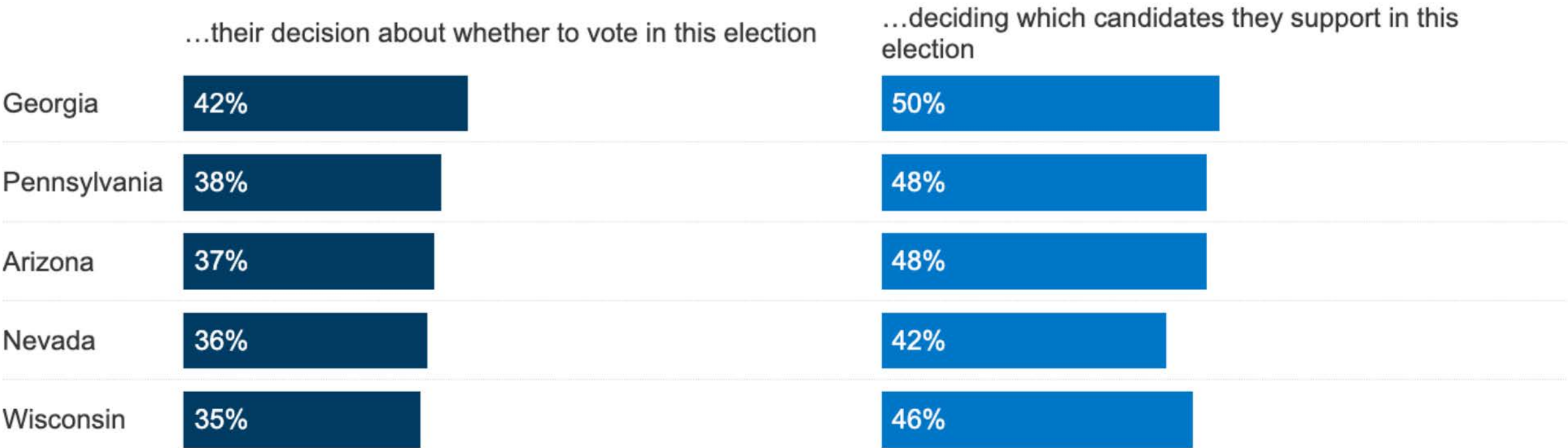
Immigration (10%)

25%

Gun policy (11%)

60%

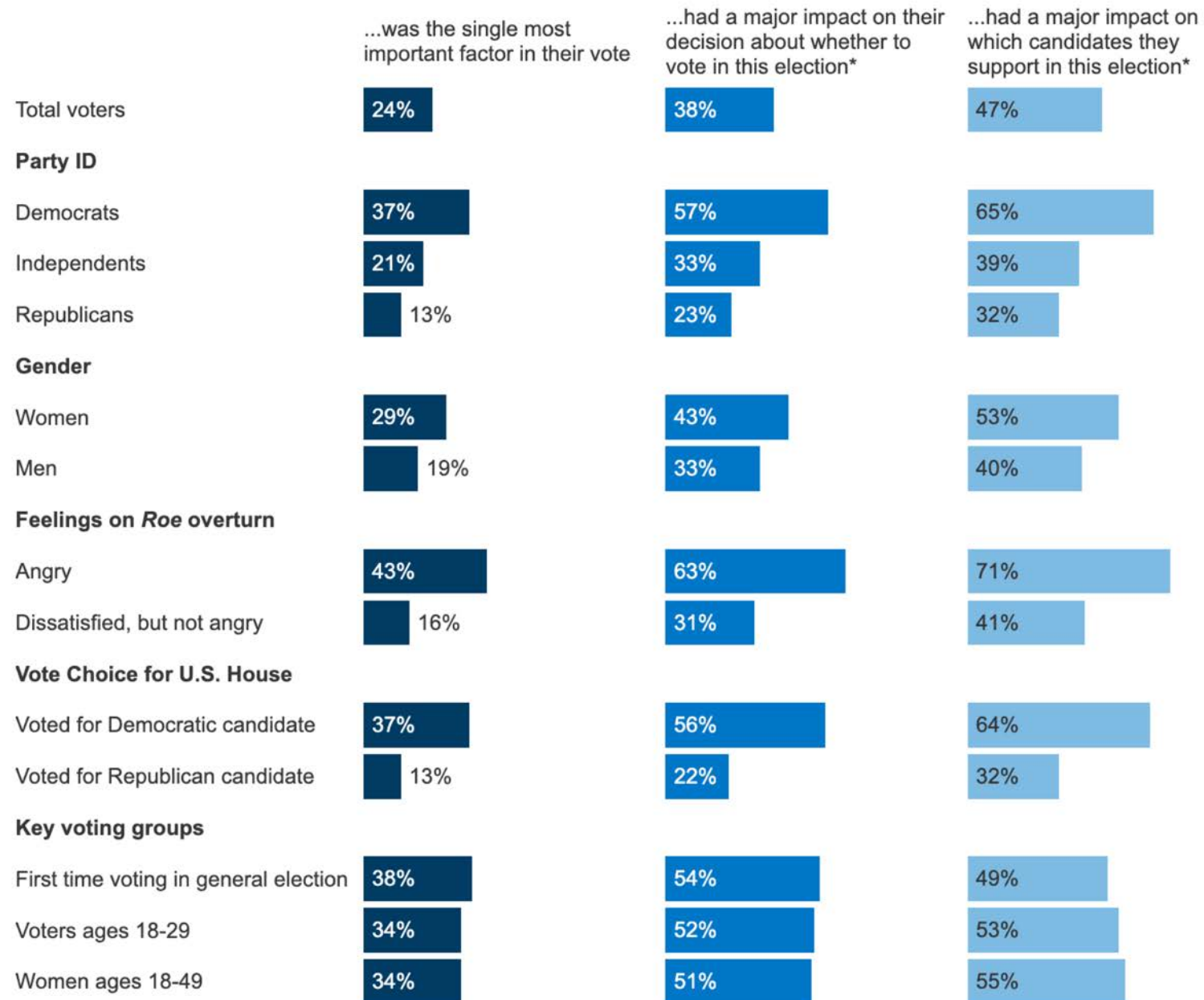
Percent of voters in each state who said the Supreme Court overturning *Roe v. Wade* had a **major impact** on...



NOTE: Asked of those who said the Supreme Court overturning *Roe v. Wade* was a factor in their vote. Percentages based on total voters.
SOURCE: KFF/AP supplemental health questions included in AP VoteCast (Oct. 31-Nov. 8, 2022) • [PNG](#)



Percent of voters who said the Supreme Court overturning *Roe v. Wade*...



NOTE: *Asked of those who said the Supreme Court overturning *Roe v. Wade* was a factor in their vote. Percentages based on total voters.
 SOURCE: KFF/AP supplemental health questions included in AP VoteCast (Oct. 31- Nov. 8, 2022) • [PNG](#)

Abortion Lawsuit

- If Judge Kacsmaryk halts access to mifepristone, patients would no longer be able to legally access the 2-step regimen at clinics, pharmacies, or through the mail.
 - Clinics could limit their offerings to surgical abortions or introduce a new medication abortion protocol that only uses misoprostol
 - A WaPo story based on 20 interviews with people who know Kacsmaryk revealed that he has been deeply opposed to abortion since his young adulthood.
- Misoprostol used on its own to perform abortions around the world, but it is less effective than the 2-step regimen and causes more cramping and bleeding.
- While Kacsmaryk could order the agency to start withdrawing its approval for the drug, the process is lengthy and requires hearings and FDA deliberations.
 - It would be unprecedented for a judge to order the FDA to remove a medication from the market despite opposition from the agency and the drug's manufacturer.
 - If the drug loses its official approval the FDA could allow it to stay on the market under a policy known as "enforcement discretion," which the FDA sometimes uses for products that don't pose safety concerns.
- However the judge rules, the case likely will be appealed to the conservative U.S. Court of Appeals for the 5th Circuit, and could eventually make its way to the Supreme Court.

Abortion

- Walgreens won't dispense abortion pills by mail to 20 red states — including Missouri.
- AG Andrew Bailey led the charge writing a letter to Walgreens and CVS, co-signed by 19 AGs. He argued distribution of abortion pills violated federal law that prohibits sending or receiving any drug via mail.
- While Walgreens was not distributing mifepristone in any state before the company's decision was made, it intended to do so after the FDA dropped a rule that prevented retail drug stores from carrying mifepristone.
- They also wrote to Rite Aid, Albertsons, Costco, Kroger and Walmart. Only Rite Aid actually distributes abortion pills.
- Bailey has also filed an amicus brief in a lawsuit that would remove access to abortion pills throughout the United States.
- The suit, filed in Texas by a consortium of anti-abortion groups, would reverse FDA approval of abortion pills — potentially removing access to all medication abortion.



Sarah Unsicker ✓

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I've been quietly talking to people about running for Attorney General for a while, but tonight I want to make it official—I'm looking at running for Missouri's Attorney General after I term out of the House next year.



Elad Gross 🇺🇸 @BigElad · Mar 8

Today, I'm launching an exploratory campaign for Attorney General of Missouri because I believe we deserve better.

If we can reach our goals by March 31, we'll get the real campaign started.

Sign up right now at Elad4MO.org



