SENATE SUBSTITUTE

FOR

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 38

JOINT RESOLUTION

Submitting to the qualified voters of Missouri, an amendment repealing sections 2, 3, and 7 of article III of the Constitution of Missouri, and adopting three new sections in lieu thereof relating to regulating the legislature to limit the influence of partisan or other special interests.

BE IT RESOLVED BY THE SENATE, THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES CON-CURRING THEREIN:

That at the next general election to be held in the state of 1 2 Missouri, on Tuesday next following the first Monday in November, 3 2020, or at a special election to be called by the governor for that purpose, there is hereby submitted to the qualified voters of this state, for adoption or rejection, the following amendment to article III of the Constitution of the state of Missouri: 6 Section A. Sections 2, 3, and 7 article III, Constitution 7 of Missouri, are repealed and three new sections adopted in lieu 8 thereof, to be known as sections 2, 3, and 7, to read as follows: 9 10 Section 2. (a) After December 6, 2018, no person serving as a member of or employed by the general assembly shall act or 11 serve as a paid lobbyist, register as a paid lobbyist, or solicit 12 13 prospective employers or clients to represent as a paid lobbyist 14 during the time of such service until the expiration of two 15 calendar years after the conclusion of the session of the general 16 assembly in which the member or employee last served and where 17 such service was after December 6, 2018.

No person serving as a member of or employed by the general assembly shall accept directly or indirectly a gift of any tangible or intangible item, service, or thing of value from any paid lobbyist or lobbyist principal [in excess of five dollars per occurrence]. This Article shall not prevent candidates for the general assembly, including candidates for reelection, or candidates for offices within the senate or house from accepting campaign contributions consistent with this Article and applicable campaign finance law. Nothing in this section shall prevent individuals from receiving gifts, family support or anything of value from those related to them within the fourth degree by blood or marriage. [The dollar limitations of this section shall be increased or decreased each year by the percentage of increase or decrease from the end of the previous calendar year of the Consumer Price Index, or successor index as published by the U.S. Department of Labor, or its successor agency, and rounded to the nearest dollar amount.]

1

2

3

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

26

27

- unlimited campaign contributions to candidates for the general assembly, nor any law that circumvents the contribution limits contained in this Constitution. In addition to other campaign contribution limitations or restrictions provided for by law, the amount of contributions made to or accepted by any candidate or candidate committee from any person other than the candidate in any one election for the general assembly shall not exceed the following:
- (1) To elect an individual to the office of state senator, two thousand [five] four hundred dollars; and

(2) To elect an individual to the office of state representative, [two] one thousand nine hundred dollars.

The contribution limits and other restrictions of this section shall also apply to any person exploring a candidacy for [a public office listed in this subsection] the office of state representative or state senator.

For purposes of this subsection, "base year amount" shall be the contribution limits prescribed in this section. Contribution limits set forth herein shall be adjusted on the first day of January in each even-numbered year hereafter by multiplying the base year amount by the cumulative Consumer Price Index and rounded to the nearest dollar amount, for all years after 2018.

No contribution to a candidate for legislative office shall be made or accepted, directly or indirectly, in a fictitious name, in the name of another person, or by or through another person in such a manner as to, or with the intent to, conceal the identity of the actual source of the contribution. There shall be a rebuttable presumption that a contribution to a candidate for public office is made or accepted with the intent to circumvent the limitations on contributions imposed in this section when a contribution is received from a committee or organization that is primarily funded by a single person, individual, or other committee that has already reached its contribution limit under any law relating to contribution limitations. A committee or organization shall be deemed to be primarily funded by a single person, individual, or other committee when the committee or organization receives more than fifty percent of its annual funding from that single person,

1 individual, or other committee.

- (e) In no circumstance shall a candidate be found to have violated limits on acceptance of contributions if the Missouri ethics commission, its successor agency, or a court determines that a candidate has taken no action to indicate acceptance of or acquiescence to the making of an expenditure that is deemed a contribution pursuant to this section.
 - (f) No candidate shall accept contributions from any federal political action committee unless the committee has filed the same financial disclosure reports that would be required of a Missouri political action committee.
 - Section 3. (a) [There is hereby established the post of "Nonpartisan State Demographer". The nonpartisan state demographer shall acquire appropriate information to develop procedures in preparation for drawing legislative redistricting maps on the basis of each federal census for presentation to the house apportionment commission and the senatorial apportionment commission.
 - through the following process. First, state residents may apply for selection to the state auditor using an application developed by the state auditor to determine an applicant's qualifications and expertise relevant to the position. Second, the state auditor shall deliver to the majority leader and minority leader of the senate a list of at least three applicants with sufficient expertise and qualifications, as determined by the state auditor, to perform the duties of the nonpartisan state demographer.
- 28 Third, if the majority leader and minority leader of the senate

together agree that a specific applicant should be selected to be 1 2 the nonpartisan state demographer, that applicant shall be selected and the selection process shall cease. Fourth, if the 3 majority leader and minority leader of the senate cannot together 5 agree on an applicant, they may each remove a number of 6 applicants on the state auditor's list equal to one-third of the 7 total number of applicants on that list, rounded down to the next 8 integer, and the state auditor shall then conduct a random 9 lottery of the applicants remaining after removal to select the 10 nonpartisan state demographer. The state auditor shall prescribe a time frame and deadlines for this application and selection 11 12 process that both encourages numerous qualified applicants and 13 avoids delay in selection. The nonpartisan state demographer 14 shall serve a term of five years and may be reappointed. To be 15 eligible for the nonpartisan state demographer position, an 16 individual shall not have served in a partisan, elected position 17 for four years prior to the appointment. The nonpartisan state 18 demographer shall be disqualified from holding office as a member 19 of the general assembly for four years following the date of the 20 presentation of his or her most recent legislative redistricting 21 map to the house apportionment commission or the senatorial 22 apportionment commission.

(c) 1 The house of representatives shall consist of one hundred sixty-three members elected at each general election and [apportioned] redistricted as provided in this section.

23

24

25

26

27

28

[(1)] (b) [Within ten days after the population of this state is reported to the President for each decennial census of the United States or, in the event that a reapportionment has

2 days after such a ruling has been made, the nonpartisan state

been invalidated by a court of competent jurisdiction, within ten

- 3 demographer] The house independent bipartisan citizens commission
- shall [begin the preparation of legislative districting plans and 4
- 5 maps] redistrict the house of representatives using the following
- methods, listed in order of priority: 6

- 7 [a.] (1) Districts shall be [established on the basis of 8 total] as nearly equal as practicable in population[.
- 9 Legislative districts shall each have a total population as
- nearly equal as practicable to the ideal population for such 10
- 11 districts, determined by dividing the number of districts to be
- 12 established into the total population of the state reported in
- the federal decennial census], and shall be drawn on the basis of 13
- 14 one person, one vote. Districts are as nearly equal as
- practicable in population if no district deviates by more than 15
- one percent from the ideal population of the district, as 16
- 17 measured by dividing the number of districts into the statewide
- population data being used, except that a district may deviate by 18
- 19 up to three percent if necessary to follow political subdivision
- 20 lines consistent with subdivision (4) of this subsection;
- 21 [b.] (2) Districts shall be established in a manner so as 22 to comply with all requirements of the United States Constitution 23 and applicable federal laws, including, but not limited to, the 24 Voting Rights Act of 1965 (as amended). [Notwithstanding any other provision of this Article, districts shall not be drawn 25 26 with the intent or result of denying or abridging the equal
- 27 opportunity of racial or language minorities to participate in
- 28 the political process or diminishing their ability to elect

representatives of their choice, whether by themselves or by voting in concert with other persons.] The following principles shall take precedence over any other part of this constitution:

no district shall be drawn in a manner which results in a denial or abridgment of the right of any citizen of the United States to vote on account of race or color; and no district shall be drawn such that members of any community of citizens protected by the preceding clause have less opportunity than other members of the electorate to participate in the political process and to elect representatives of their choice;

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

To this end, the nonpartisan state demographer shall calculate the average electoral performance of the two parties receiving the most votes in the three preceding elections for governor, for United States Senate, and for President of the United States. This index shall be defined as the total votes received by each party in the three preceding elections for governor, for United States Senate, and for President of the United States, divided by the total votes cast for both parties in these elections. Using this index, the nonpartisan state demographer shall calculate the total number of wasted votes for each party, summing across all of the districts in the plan.

- 1 "Wasted votes" are votes cast for a losing candidate or for a
- 2 winning candidate in excess of the fifty percent threshold needed
- 3 for victory. In any plan of apportionment and map of the
- 4 proposed districts submitted to the respective apportionment
- 5 commission, the nonpartisan state demographer shall ensure the
- 6 difference between the two parties' total wasted votes, divided
- 7 by the total votes cast for the two parties, is as close to zero
- 8 as practicable.
- 9 To promote competitiveness, the nonpartisan state
- demographer shall use the electoral performance index to simulate
- elections in which the hypothetical statewide vote shifts by one
- 12 percent, two percent, three percent, four percent, and five
- percent in favor of each party. The vote in each individual
- 14 district shall be assumed to shift by the same amount as the
- 15 statewide vote. The nonpartisan state demographer shall ensure
- 16 that, in each of these simulated elections, the difference
- between the two parties' total wasted votes, divided by the total
- 18 votes cast for the two parties, is as close to zero as
- 19 practicable;
- c.] (3) Subject to the requirements of [paragraphs a. and
- 21 b. of this subdivision] subdivisions (1) and (2) of this
- subsection, districts shall be composed of contiguous territory
- 23 <u>as compact as may be</u>. Areas which meet only at the points of
- 24 adjoining corners are not contiguous. In general, compact
- districts are those which are square, rectangular, or hexagonal
- 26 in shape to the extent permitted by natural or political
- 27 boundaries;
- [d.] (4) To the extent consistent with [paragraphs a. to c.

of this subdivision, district boundaries shall coincide with the 1 2 boundaries of political subdivisions of the state. The number of counties and cities divided among more than one district shall be 3 as small as possible. When there is a choice between dividing 4 5 local political subdivisions, the more populous subdivisions 6 shall be divided before the less populous, but this preference 7 shall not apply to a legislative district boundary drawn along a 8 county line which passes through a city that lies in more than 9 one county] subdivisions (1) to (3) of this subsection, 10 communities shall be preserved. Districts shall satisfy this 11 requirement if district lines follow political subdivision lines 12 to the extent possible, using the following criteria, in order of 13 priority. First, each county shall wholly contain as many 14 districts as its population allows. Second, if a county wholly 15 contains one or more districts, the remaining population shall be wholly joined in a single district made up of population from 16 outside the county. If a county does not wholly contain a 17 18 district, then no more than two segments of a county shall be combined with an adjoining county. Third, split counties and 19 20 county segments, defined as any part of the county that is in a 21 district not wholly within that county, shall each be as few as 22 possible. Fourth, as few municipal lines shall be crossed as 23 possible;

[e. Preference shall be that districts are compact in form, but the standards established by paragraphs a. to d. of this subdivision take precedence over compactness where a conflict arises between compactness and these standards. In general, compact districts are those which are square, rectangular, or

24

25

26

27

- hexagonal in shape to the extent permitted by natural or
 political boundaries.]
- 3 [(2)] (c) Within sixty days after the population of this state is reported to the President for each decennial census of 4 5 the United States or, in the event that a [reapportionment] redistricting plan has been invalidated by a court of competent 6 7 jurisdiction, within sixty days that such a ruling has been made, 8 the state committee and the congressional district [committee] committees of each of the two political parties casting the 9 10 highest vote for governor at the last preceding general election 11 shall meet and the members of [the] each committee shall nominate, by a majority vote of the elected members of the 12 13 committee present, provided that a majority of the elected 14 members is present, [two] members of their party, residents in that district, in the case of a congressional district committee, 15 16 as nominees for [reapportionment commissioners] the house 17 independent bipartisan citizens commission. [Neither] No party shall select more than one nominee from any one state legislative 18 19 district. The congressional district committees shall each 20 submit to the governor their list of two elected nominees. The 2.1 state committees shall each submit to the governor their list of 22 five elected nominees. Within thirty days thereafter, the governor shall appoint a house independent bipartisan citizens 23 24 commission consisting of one [name] nominee from each list 25 submitted by each congressional district committee and two nominees from each list submitted by each state committee to 26 27 [reapportion] redistrict the state into one hundred and 28 sixty-three representative districts and to establish the numbers

and boundaries of said districts. No person shall be appointed

to both the house independent bipartisan citizens commission and

the senate independent bipartisan citizens commission during the

same redistricting cycle.

If any [of the congressional committees] <u>committee</u> fails to submit a list within such time, the governor shall appoint a member of his <u>or her</u> own choice [from that district and] from the political party of the committee failing to [make the appointment] <u>submit a list, provided that in the case of a congressional district committee failing to submit a list, the person appointed to the commission by the governor shall reside in the congressional district of such committee.</u>

Members of the commission shall be disqualified from holding office as members of the general assembly for four years following the date of the filing by the commission of its final [statement of apportionment] redistricting plan.

For the purposes of this Article, the term congressional district committee or congressional district refers to the congressional district committee or the congressional district from which a congressman was last elected, or, in the event members of congress from this state have been elected at large, the term congressional district committee refers to those persons who last served as the congressional district committee for those districts from which congressmen were last elected, and the term congressional district refers to those districts from which congressmen were last elected. Any action pursuant to this section by the congressional district committee shall take place only at duly called meetings, shall be recorded in their official

minutes and only members present in person shall be permitted to vote.

- Within six months after the population of this state is reported to the President for each decennial census of the United States or, in the event that a reapportionment has been invalidated by a court of competent jurisdiction, within six months after such a ruling has been made, the nonpartisan state demographer shall make public and file with the secretary of state and with the house apportionment commission a tentative plan of apportionment and map of the proposed districts, as well as all demographic and partisan data used in the creation of the plan and map.]
 - (d) The commissioners so selected shall, [within ten days of receiving the tentative plan of apportionment and map of the proposed districts,] on the fifteenth day, excluding Sundays and state holidays, after all members have been appointed, meet in the capitol building and proceed to organize by electing from their number a chairman, vice chairman and secretary. The commission shall adopt an agenda establishing at least three hearing dates on which hearings open to the public shall be held to hear objections or testimony from interested persons. A copy of the agenda shall be filed with the clerk of the house of representatives within twenty-four hours after its adoption. Executive meetings may be scheduled and held as often as the commission deems advisable.

[The commission may make changes to the tentative plan of apportionment and map of the proposed districts received from the nonpartisan state demographer provided that such changes are

consistent with this section and approved by a vote of at least seven-tenths of the commissioners. If no changes are made or approved as provided for in this subsection, the tentative plan of apportionment and map of proposed districts shall become final. Not later than two months of receiving the tentative plan of apportionment and map of the proposed districts, the commission shall file with the secretary of state a final statement of the numbers and the boundaries of the districts together with a map of the districts.]

- (e) Not later than five months after the appointment of the commission, the commission shall file with the secretary of state a tentative redistricting plan and map of the proposed districts and during the ensuing fifteen days shall hold such public hearings as may be necessary to hear objections or testimony of interested persons. The commission shall make public the tentative redistricting plan and map of the proposed districts, as well as all demographic and partisan data used in the creation of the plan and map.
- (f) Not later than six months after the appointment of the commission, the commission shall file with the secretary of state a final statement of the numbers and the boundaries of the districts together with a map of the districts, and no statement shall be valid unless approved by at least seven-tenths of the members.
- (g) After the final statement is filed, members of the house of representatives shall be elected according to such districts until a new redistricting plan is made as provided in this section, except that if the final statement is not filed

- within six months of the time fixed for the appointment of the commission, the commission shall stand discharged and the house of representatives shall be redistricted using the same methods and criteria as described in subsection (b) of this section by a commission of six members appointed from among the judges of the appellate courts of the state of Missouri by the state supreme court, a majority of whom shall sign and file its redistricting plan and map with the secretary of state within ninety days of the date of the discharge of the house independent bipartisan citizens commission. The judicial commission shall make public the tentative redistricting plan and map of the proposed districts, as well as all demographic and partisan data used in the creation of the plan and map. Thereafter, members of the house of representatives shall be elected according to such districts until a redistricting plan is made as provided in this section.
 - (h) Each member of the commission shall receive as compensation fifteen dollars a day for each day the commission is in session but not more than one thousand dollars, and, in addition, shall be reimbursed for his <u>or her</u> actual and necessary expenses incurred while serving as a member of the commission.
 - (i) No [reapportionment] redistricting plan shall be subject to the referendum.

(j) Any action expressly or implicitly alleging that a redistricting plan violates this Constitution, federal law, or the United States Constitution shall be filed in the circuit court of Cole County and shall name the body that approved the challenged redistricting plan as a defendant. Only an eligible

Missouri voter who sustains an individual injury by virtue of residing in a district that exhibits the alleged violation, and whose injury is remedied by a differently drawn district, shall have standing. If the court renders a judgment in which it finds that a completed redistricting plan exhibits the alleged violation, its judgment shall adjust only those districts, and only those parts of district boundaries, necessary to bring the map into compliance. The supreme court shall have exclusive appellate jurisdiction upon the filing of a notice of appeal within ten days after the judgment has become final.

- Section 7. (a) [Within ten days after the population of this state is reported to the President for each decennial census of the United States or, in the event that a reapportionment has been invalidated by a court of competent jurisdiction, within ten days after such a ruling has been made, the nonpartisan state demographer authorized in Article III, Section 3 shall begin the preparation of senatorial districting plans and maps using the same methods and criteria as those required by Article III, Section 3 for the establishment of districts for the house of representatives.
- (b) I Within sixty days after the population of this state is reported to the President for each decennial census of the United States, or within sixty days after a [reapportionment] redistricting plan has been invalidated by a court of competent jurisdiction, the state committee and the congressional district committees of each of the two political parties casting the highest vote for governor at the last preceding general election shall[, at a committee meeting duly called, select by a vote of

the individual committee members, and thereafter submit to the 1 2 governor a list of ten persons, and] meet and the members of each 3 committee shall nominate, by a majority vote of the elected members of the committee present, provided that a majority of the 4 elected members is present, members of their party, residents in 5 6 that district, in the case of a congressional district committee, 7 as nominees for the senate independent bipartisan citizens 8 commission. No party shall select more than one nominee from any 9 one state legislative district. The congressional district 10 committees shall each submit to the governor their list of two 11 elected nominees. The state committees shall each submit to the 12 governor their list of five elected nominees. Within thirty days 13 thereafter the governor shall appoint a <u>senate independent</u> bipartisan citizens commission consisting of [ten members, five] 14 two nominees from each list submitted by each state committee and 15 16 one nominee from each list submitted by each congressional 17 district committee, to [reapportion] redistrict the thirty-four senatorial districts and to establish the numbers and boundaries 18 19 of said districts. No person shall be appointed to both the 20 house independent bipartisan citizens commission and the senate 21 independent bipartisan citizens commission during the same 22 redistricting cycle. 23 If [either of the party committees] any committee fails to 24 submit a list within such time, the governor shall appoint [five 25 members] a member of his or her own choice from the political 26 party of the committee [so] failing to [act] submit a list, 27 provided that in the case of a congressional district committee

failing to submit a list, the person appointed to the commission

by the governor shall reside in the congressional district of
such committee.

- Members of the commission shall be disqualified from holding office as members of the general assembly for four years following the date of the filing by the commission of its final [statement of apportionment] redistricting plan.
 - [(c) Within six months after the population of this state is reported to the President for each decennial census of the United States or in the event that a reapportionment has been invalidated by a court of competent jurisdiction, within six months after such a ruling has been made, the nonpartisan state demographer shall file with the secretary of state and with the senatorial apportionment commission a tentative plan of apportionment and map of the proposed districts.]
 - (b) The commissioners so selected shall [within ten days of receiving the tentative plan of apportionment and map of the proposed districts required by this subsection], on the fifteenth day, excluding Sundays and state holidays, after all members have been appointed, meet in the capitol building and proceed to organize by electing from their number a chairman, vice chairman and secretary. The commission shall adopt an agenda establishing at least three hearing dates on which hearings open to the public shall be held to hear objections or testimony from interested persons. A copy of the agenda shall be filed with the secretary of the senate within twenty-four hours after its adoption.

 Executive meetings may be scheduled and held as often as the commission deems advisable. [The commission may make changes to the tentative plan of apportionment and map of the proposed

- districts received from the nonpartisan state demographer
- 2 provided that such changes are consistent with this section and
- 3 the methods and criteria required by Section 3 of this Article
- 4 for the establishment of districts for the house of
- 5 representatives and approved by a vote of at least seven-tenths
- of the commissioners. If no changes are made or approved as
- 7 provided for in this subsection, the tentative plan of
- 8 apportionment and map of proposed districts shall become final.
- 9 Not later than two months after receiving the tentative plan of
- 10 apportionment and map of the proposed districts, the commission
- shall file with the secretary of state a final statement of the
- 12 numbers and the boundaries of the districts together with a map
- of the districts.]
- 14 (c) The senate independent bipartisan citizens commission
- shall redistrict the senate using the same methods and criteria
- as those required by subsection (b), section 3 of this article
- 17 for the redistricting of the house of representatives.
- 18 (d) Not later than five months after the appointment of the
- senate independent bipartisan citizens commission, the commission
- 20 shall file with the secretary of state a tentative redistricting
- 21 plan and map of the proposed districts and during the ensuing
- 22 fifteen days shall hold such public hearings as may be necessary
- 23 to hear objections or testimony of interested persons. The
- 24 commission shall make public the tentative redistricting plan and
- 25 map of the proposed districts, as well as all demographic and
- 26 partisan data used in the creation of the plan and map.
- (e) Not later than six months after the appointment of the
- 28 <u>commission</u>, the commission shall file with the secretary of state

- a final statement of the numbers and the boundaries of the

 districts together with a map of the districts, and no statement

 shall be valid unless approved by at least seven-tenths of the

 members.
- 5 (f) After the final statement is filed, senators shall be 6 elected according to such districts until a new redistricting 7 plan is made as provided in this section, except that if the 8 final statement is not filed within six months of the time fixed 9 for the appointment of the commission, the commission shall stand 10 discharged and the senate shall be redistricted using the same methods and criteria as described in subsection (b) of section 3 11 12 of this article by a commission of six members appointed from 13 among the judges of the appellate courts of the state of Missouri by the state supreme court, a majority of whom shall sign and 14 15 file its redistricting plan and map with the secretary of state 16 within ninety days of the date of the discharge of the senate 17 independent bipartisan citizens commission. The judicial 18 commission shall make public the tentative redistricting plan and map of the proposed districts, as well as all demographic and 19 20 partisan data used in the creation of the plan and map. 21 Thereafter, senators shall be elected according to such districts 22 until a redistricting plan is made as provided in this section.
 - (g) Each member of the commission shall receive as compensation fifteen dollars a day for each day the commission is in session, but not more than one thousand dollars, and, in addition, shall be reimbursed for his or her actual and necessary expenses incurred while serving as a member of the commission.

23

24

25

26

27

28

(h) No [reapportionment] redistricting plan shall be

1 subject to the referendum.

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

26

27

28

2 (i) Any action expressly or implicitly alleging that a 3 redistricting plan violates this Constitution, federal law, or 4 the United States Constitution shall be filed in the circuit 5 court of Cole County and shall name the body that approved the 6 challenged redistricting plan as a defendant. Only an eligible 7 Missouri voter who sustains an individual injury by virtue of 8 residing in a district that exhibits the alleged violation, and 9 whose injury is remedied by a differently drawn district, shall 10 have standing. If the court renders a judgment in which it finds that a completed redistricting plan exhibits the alleged 11 12 violation, its judgment shall adjust only those districts, and 13 only those parts of district boundaries, necessary to bring the 14 map into compliance. The supreme court shall have exclusive 15 appellate jurisdiction upon the filing of a notice of appeal 16 within ten days after the judgment has become final.

Section B. Pursuant to chapter 116, and other applicable constitutional provisions and laws of this state allowing the general assembly to adopt ballot language for the submission of this joint resolution to the voters of this state, the official summary statement of this resolution shall be as follows:

"Shall the Missouri Constitution be amended to:

- Ban all lobbyist gifts to legislators and their employees;
- Reduce legislative campaign contribution limits;
 and
- Create citizen-led independent bipartisan
 commissions to draw state legislative districts

1	based	on	one	person,	one	vote	e, mino	ority	voter
2	protec	ctic	n, o	compactne	ess,	and	other	crite	eria?"