

Supplementary Appendix

All or Nothing: Voting on Multiple Provision Ballot Measures

Contents

A Survey Details	1
A.1 Research Ethics Statement:	1
A.2 Sample Composition	2
A.3 Ballot Measure Prompts:	4
A.4 Political Sophistication Questions:	7
A.5 Demographic Survey Questions:	8
A.6 Dependent Variables By Treatment	11
B Supplemental Analyses	11
B.1 Support for Ballot Measures	11
B.2 Alternative Support Table Specification	13
B.3 Conditions of Negativity Bias: Full Regression Results	13
B.4 Alternative Weighting Schemes	14
B.5 Support By Respondent Race	16
B.6 Support For Election Reform By Partisan Identity	19
B.7 Ballot News Coverage:	20
B.8 Direct Democracy in the Missouri Context	21

A Survey Details

A.1 Research Ethics Statement:

Recruitment:

The administration and recruitment of our study were conducted by the survey firm Qualtrics from July 2022 until August 2022. The firm used vendors to source the panel. Panelists received a survey invite from the panel vendor (through email, text, app, etc.) with the time commitment and compensation amount. The larger survey panel in which our sample was embedded was sampled to be demographically representative of Missouri's general population, with an over-sampling of likely voters. Respondents were not given specific details regarding the survey until they decided to participate to avoid self-selection bias. Participants could start or stop the survey at any time, opt out of the survey at any point, and receive no penalty. All panelist participated in the survey online. [Figure A1](#) displays an example recruit notification for a Qualtrics survey.

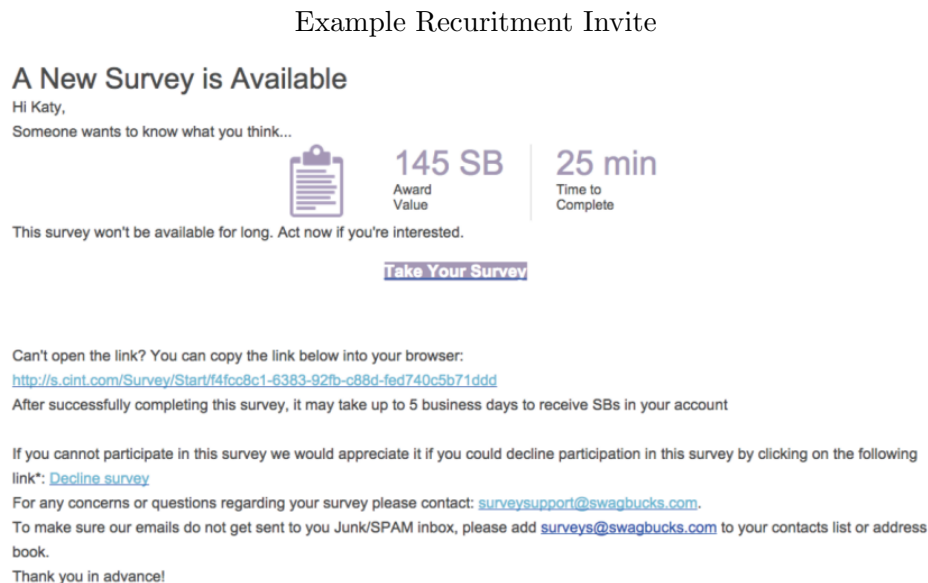


Figure A1: **Please note:** this is an example invite potential participants received, and not the specific one used for this survey.

Consent:

Before beginning the survey, all respondents were presented with an informed consent agreement. This agreement disclosed the purpose of the survey, the types of questions asked, our university, the length of the survey, and the anonymity of their responses. Respondents were also provided an email contact for our research team as well as the email and phone contact for our university's Human Research Protection Office.

Compensation:

Qualtrics does not compensate participants directly, rather they pay their respective vendor for each panel participant's response. These vendors then compensate participants directly. Each panel vendor used by Qualtrics had their own compensation agreement with their panelists for taking the survey (i.e., gift cards, cash, airline miles, etc.). Each participant received between \$4-6

in compensation for their participation. Regardless of how long it took respondents to complete the survey, they were compensated for the projected survey time of 15 minutes. The average respondent completed the survey in less than 10 minutes.

Deception:

Our study and the larger survey in which it was embedded did not engage in any form of deception.

Confidentiality:

All survey data were anonymized, and only aggregate levels of the responses were presented within the results of this letter.

Harm and Impact:

The risks to respondents were minimal as they were presented with hypothetical ballot measures and asked for their support of the measures. The ballot measures covered common policy issues often discussed within online forums, televised news programs, and local newspapers.

IRB Approval:

Our study received IRB approval from our university on July 5th, 2022.

Preregistration:

Our study was not preregistered.

A.2 Sample Composition

In Table [A1](#) we provide the composition of our survey sample compared to Missouri’s general population, general voters, and primary voters. We generated statistics for Missouri’s general and primary voters using a commercial voter file provided by L2. Our survey was targeted to be demographically representative of Missouri’s 2022 general population and was conducted as part of a survey of likely voters within the state of Missouri. In Table [A3](#), we also provide the balance between our treatment and control conditions. We find no evidence that our treatment and control groups statistically differ across covariates.

Table A1: Detailed Survey Composition

Characteristic	Sample	State	General Voters	Primary Voters
Race:				
White	80.66	80.08	81.00	82.03
Black	12.37	12.34	6.26	6.38
Other	7.77	7.56	12.74	11.78
Gender:				
Women	53.02	51.04	52.79	51.33
Men	44.80	48.95	46.40	47.96
Age:				
18-34	31.61	28.43	15.89	11.31
35-55	33.42	32.17	32.72	29.36
55+	34.86	39.39	51.37	59.32
Education				
Less than HS	4.97	8.61	3.99	3.67
Highschool	31.79	30.52	29.50	30.47
Some College+	63.23	60.86	66.49	65.85

Note: General and Primary voter demographics were generated using a commercial voter file provided by the company L2.

Table A2: Covariate Balance Between Experiment Groups

Characteristic	Control	Treatment	Δ	p-value
Race:				
White	0.791	0.783	0.008	0.757
Black	0.112	0.118	-0.006	0.769
Other	0.022	0.029	-0.007	0.442
Gender:				
Women	0.532	0.528	0.004	0.882
Men	0.449	0.447	0.003	0.925
Age:				
Age 18-34	0.329	0.306	0.023	0.413
Age 35-55	0.339	0.329	0.010	0.718
Age 55+	0.332	0.365	-0.033	0.248
Education				
Less than HS	0.047	0.052	-0.006	0.673
Highschool	0.310	0.325	-0.015	0.592
Some College+	0.643	0.622	0.021	0.479
Miscellaneous				
Total Count:	553	554	-	-

Note: Differences were calculated using Welch Two Sample t-tests. We find no significant differences between our treatment and control groups.

A.3 Ballot Measure Prompts:

In Figure A2, Figure A3, and Figure A4 we provide the ballot measure prompts for our survey experiment. Below each prompt we provide both our treatment and control questions asked directly following each prompt. We randomized the order of the ballot components within the treatment questions to avoid question ordering effects.

Figure A2: Election Security Measure Prompt

A potential ballot measure asks:

" Do you want to amend the Missouri Constitution to:

- require votes to be counted by hand not by machines;
- require all ballots to be paper ballots;
- require a state-issued ID or driver license to vote;
- permit early voting no more than fourteen days prior to election;
- allow observers inside and outside polling stations to take pictures;
- allow the state General Assembly to adjust or void any vote totals it determines appropriate in presidential elections; and
- create the crime of treason against persons for voter fraud, failure to report results timely and certain poll worker actions?

State and local governments estimate ongoing costs of at least \$24 million per election, but the total cost is unknown. Local governments estimate savings of at least \$80,000 annually and at least \$42,000 for each general election in a presidential election year. State governmental entities estimate no savings. "

Control: How much do you support or oppose this measure?
(Strongly Oppose - Strongly Support 4pt Likert scale)

Treatment: How much do you support or oppose each aspect of this measure?
(Each Strongly Oppose - Strongly Support 4pt Likert scale)

1. Prohibit the use of machines to tabulate votes.
2. Require government issued voter identification
3. Limit early voting to no more than 14 days before an election
4. Allow for poll observers
5. Allow the state legislature to adjust or void vote totals
6. Make voter fraud a crime of treason

Figure A3: Marijuana Measure Prompt

A potential ballot measure asks:

"Do you want to amend the Missouri Constitution to:

- remove state prohibitions on purchasing, possessing, consuming, using, delivering, manufacturing, and selling marijuana for personal use for adults over the age of twenty-one;
- require a registration card for personal cultivation with prescribed limits;
- allow persons with certain marijuana-related non-violent offenses to petition for release from incarceration or parole and probation and have records expunged;
- establish a lottery selection process to award licenses and certificates;
- issue equally distributed licenses to each congressional district; and
- impose a six percent tax on the retail price of marijuana to benefit various programs?

State governmental entities estimate initial costs of \$3.1 million, initial revenues of at least \$7.9 million, annual costs of \$5.5 million, and annual revenues of at least \$40.8 million. Local governments are estimated to have annual costs of at least \$35,000 and annual revenues of at least \$13.8 million."

Control: How much do you support or oppose this measure?
(Strongly Oppose - Strongly Support 4pt Likert scale)

Treatment: How much do you support or oppose each aspect of this measure?
(Each Strongly Oppose - Strongly Support 4pt Likert scale)

1. Legalize the use of marijuana for adults 21 years or older
2. Require a registration card for personal cultivation with prescribed limits;
3. Allow individuals convicted of non-violent crimes to petition for their release from incarceration and/or have their record expunged
4. Establish a lottery selection process to award licenses and certificates
5. Issue equally distributed licenses to each congressional district
6. Impose a 6% tax on the sale of marijuana

Figure A4: Election Reform Measure Prompt

A potential ballot measure asks:

"Do you want to amend the Missouri Constitution to:

- make primary elections for statewide office, Missouri General Assembly and United States Congress open elections in which all candidates appear on a single ballot;
- establish ranked-choice voting, also known as instant-runoff voting, for general elections, in which voters can rank the four candidates that succeeded from the primaries; and
- require that each voting machine can produce an individual, permanent paper record for each vote cast that the voter can inspect and that must be preserved for use in an election audit.

State and local governmental entities estimate costs of \$2.7 million to at least \$5.2 million in one-time costs, and ongoing costs of at least \$27,000 annually, \$170,000 each primary election, \$152,000 each general election, and \$117,000 for all other elections. State and local governmental entities estimate no savings."

Control: How much do you support or oppose this measure?
(Strongly Oppose - Strongly Support 4pt Likert scale)

Treatment: How much do you support or oppose each aspect of this measure?
(Each Strongly Oppose - Strongly Support 4pt Likert scale)

1. Make primary elections for statewide office, Missouri General Assembly and United States Congress open elections in which all candidates appear on a single ballot
2. Establish ranked-choice voting, also known as instant-runoff voting, for general elections, in which voters can rank the four candidates that succeeded from the primaries
3. Require that each voting machine can produce an individual, permanent paper record for each vote cast that the voter can inspect and that must be preserved for use in an election audit

A.4 Political Sophistication Questions:

Below we provide the four question battery used to generate a political sophistication score for each of respondents. An individual's level of political sophistication is total number of questions answered correctly.

US Senate: For how many years is a United States Senator elected—that is, how many years are there in one full term of office for a U.S. Senator?
(Choices 1 through 10)

Supreme Court: What job or political office does John Roberts now hold?
(4 Choices)

Filibuster: A filibuster in the U.S. Senate can be used to prevent legislation from coming to a vote. How many votes are needed to end a filibuster?

(4 Choices)

Current Political Events: Ontario declared a state of emergency after truck drivers parked their rigs in the middle of intersections in Canadian cities, blocking traffic, and, in some places, bringing daily life and business to a standstill to protest what?

(4 Choices)

A.5 Demographic Survey Questions:

Below we provide the demographic questions used to performed the analysis within the paper. Some responses were recoded in the analysis for ease of interpretation.

Gender: How would you describe your gender?

(Converted to binary categories)

1. Man
2. Woman
3. Other
4. Prefer not to say

Education: What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you received?

(Converted to 1-7 scale)

1. Less than high school degree
2. High school graduate (high school diploma including GED)
3. Some college, but no degree
4. Associate's degree (2-year)
5. Bachelor's degree (4-year)
6. Master's degree
7. Doctoral degree (PhD)
8. Professional degree (JD, MD)

Race: What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you received?

(Converted to binary categories)

1. White, non-Hispanic
2. Black, or African American, non-Hispanic
3. Asian
4. American Indian, Native American, or Alaska Native

5. Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
6. Hispanic, Latino, or Latinx
7. Other

Income: What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you received?
(Converted to 1-7 scale)

1. Less than \$20,000
2. \$20,000-\$39,999
3. \$40,000-\$59,999
4. \$60,000-\$79,999
5. \$80,000-\$99,999
6. \$100,000-\$149,999
7. \$150,000 or more

Party Id: Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, Republican, Independent, or what?
(Converted to binary indicators)

1. Democrat
2. Republican
3. Independent
4. No preference
5. Other

Party Id Importance: Regardless of whether you identify as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else, how important is that party identification to you?
(Converted to 1-4 scale)

1. Very important
2. Moderately important
3. Slightly important
4. Not very important

Ideology: How would you describe yourself in ideological terms?
(Converted to 1-7 scale)

1. Very liberal
2. Liberal
3. Slightly liberal

4. Moderate
5. Slightly conservative
6. Conservative
7. Very conservative
8. Not sure

Media Consumption: Generally speaking, how closely do you follow politics (on TV, radio, newspapers, on the Internet, or elsewhere)?
(Converted to 1-4 scale)

1. Very closely
2. Fairly closely
3. Not very closely
4. Not at all

A.6 Dependent Variables By Treatment

Table A3: Dependent Variable Between Experiment Groups

Variable	Control (C) or Treatment (T)	Mean	SD
Overall Support:			
Election Security	C	2.68	0.95
Marijuana	C	2.82	0.99
Election Reform	C	2.73	0.90
Composite Support:			
Election Security	T	2.73	0.69
Marijuana	T	2.88	0.62
Election Reform	T	2.95	0.71
Election Security:			
Prohibit Voting Machines	T	2.45	1.07
Require Voter ID	T	3.12	1.00
Limit Early Voting	T	2.90	1.00
Allow Poll Observers	T	2.9	1.01
Adjust Vote Totals	T	2.04	1.06
Voter Fraud Treason	T	2.96	1.03
Marijuana:			
Legalization	T	2.93	1.10
Cultivation Registration	T	2.98	0.96
Expunge Records	T	2.91	0.99
License Lottery	T	2.58	1.00
License Cong. Dist. Equally	T	2.95	0.91
Sales Tax	T	2.97	1.03
Election Reform:			
Open Primaries	T	3.01	0.93
Ranked Choice Elections	T	2.72	0.96
Paper Record	T	3.11	0.92

Note: Composite measures of support are the average support for each measure’s individual provisions.

B Supplemental Analyses

B.1 Support for Ballot Measures

In the following section, we briefly describe the level of support for the ballot measures within our sample. Table B1 shows the support and opposition towards each of the three proposed

ballot measures in our survey: election security, marijuana legalization and election reform.¹ The dichotomies are a result of grouping the Likert scales for slightly support and strongly support together, as well as slightly oppose and strongly oppose together. We do so for the full sample in the first table, and then by party identification in the second and third tables.

Table B1: Support for Three Ballot Measures

Ballot Measure	Oppose	Support
<u>Full Sample:</u>		
Election Security	38.0	61.9
Marijuana	34.1	65.9
Election Reform	36.8	63.2
<u>Republicans:</u>		
Election Security	25.2	74.7
Marijuana	40.2	59.8
Election Reform	35.6	64.4
<u>Democrats:</u>		
Election Security	45.0	55.0
Marijuana	24.8	75.1
Election Reform	37.3	62.7

Note: The table only includes respondents who provided their overall support for a ballot measure. A respondent is in support of a measure if they answer ‘slightly support’ or ‘strongly support’ and in opposition if they answer ‘slightly oppose’ or ‘strongly oppose’.

Overall, our results show that all three of the measures garnered more support than opposition. If we are to take “slight support” as indicative of a supportive vote, then all three ballot measures would have passed were they to have been included on the 2022 primary election ballot.² The only measure to meet the requirements for inclusion on the general election ballot several months later was marijuana legalization. While the measure passed, it did so with less support than our sample suggests, 53.1% (1,089,017 votes) relative to our 65.9%. Weighting the results to match expected primary and general election results move support for each of the three measures down only slightly to 62.63%, 64.39% and 60.29%, respectively for primary voters, and down to 62.59%, 63.95% and 59.58%, respectively for general election voters.³

Breaking the sample down by partisanship, we find familiar patterns of support. Democrats were most supportive of marijuana, Republicans of election security, both at about 75% support. Most importantly for our subsequent analyses, Republicans and Democrats were closest in their levels of support for election reform, at 64% and 63%, respectively. The issue did not carry the same partisan divide as election security and marijuana legalization. Thus, our three ballot measures do a good job of providing some partisan variance, with one issue favorable to each party and opposed

1. In Table B2 within the Appendix, we provide a table disaggregated across all levels of support and opposition.

2. We did not specifically ask how the respondents’ would have “voted” on such a ballot.

3. We generated population weights using a commercial voter file provided by L2.

by the other, and one with similar partisan support.

B.2 Alternative Support Table Specification

In Table B2 we present support for each member disaggregated between individuals who slightly support and strongly support each measure. While individuals are overall supportive of the measures, the majority only slightly support each measure.

Table B2: Disaggregated Support and Opposition for Three Ballot Measures

Ballout Measure	Strongly Oppose	Slightly Oppose	Slightly Support	Strongly Support
<u>Survey:</u>				
Election Security	14.08	24.00	41.52	20.40
Marijuana	13.00	21.12	36.28	29.60
Election Reform	10.29	26.53	42.41	20.75
<u>Republicans:</u>				
Election Security	4.02	21.26	48.85	25.86
Marijuana	14.94	25.29	36.78	22.99
Election Reform	12.64	22.99	47.13	17.24
<u>Democrats:</u>				
Election Security	18.68	25.26	38.16	17.89
Marijuana	12.11	19.21	36.05	32.63
Election Reform	9.21	28.16	40.26	22.37

Note: The table only includes respondents who provided their overall not composite support for a ballot measure.

B.3 Conditions of Negativity Bias: Full Regression Results

In Table B3 we provide the full regression results for our analysis of the conditions for negativity bias. In addition to the ordered logistic regression models for each measure’s overall score, we also provide ordinary least squares models for each measure’s composite scores.

Table B3: Comparison of Covariate Influence on Ballot Support

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Election Security		Marijuana		Election Reform	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Education	-0.033 (0.054)	-0.040* (0.018)	-0.022 (0.055)	-0.017 (0.017)	0.123* (0.055)	0.013 (0.019)
Political Sophistication	-0.164* (0.068)	-0.034 (0.023)	-0.086 (0.067)	-0.001 (0.022)	-0.146* (0.067)	-0.035 (0.025)
Media Consumption	0.332* (0.104)	0.019 (0.036)	0.396* (0.101)	0.091* (0.034)	0.142 (0.102)	0.123* (0.040)
Republican	0.699* (0.174)	0.407* (0.060)	-0.520* (0.171)	-0.200* (0.057)	-0.199 (0.173)	-0.044 (0.066)
Ideology	0.093 (0.082)	0.071* (0.028)	-0.242* (0.083)	-0.044 (0.026)	-0.036 (0.081)	-0.001 (0.030)
Party Id Importance	0.130 (0.081)	0.131* (0.028)	-0.070 (0.079)	0.053* (0.027)	0.100 (0.080)	0.014 (0.031)
Constant		2.280* (0.146)		2.732* (0.137)		2.615* (0.160)
Score Type	Overall	Composite	Overall	Composite	Overall	Composite
Model Type	OLR	OLS	OLR	OLS	OLR	OLS
Observations	554	553	554	553	554	553
AIC	1423.678	-	1445.452	-	1415.254	-
Adjusted R ²	-	0.139	-	0.053	-	0.018

*p<0.05

The table above presents the results of a series of regressions with standard errors presented within parentheses. Each regression highlights the covariate influence on both overall and composite scores of support for each ballot measure.

B.4 Alternative Weighting Schemes

In our paper, we utilize an equally weighted composite score as our synthetic measure of ballot support. However, this approach represents just one of many schemas that individuals could adopt when evaluating a ballot measure. Individuals may weight certain components differently based on any number of factors, ranging from the content itself to their perceived importance of individual elements. In the interest of simplicity and testability, we opt to utilize an equal weighting schema as it offers a straightforward null hypothesis that, when rejected, may help illuminate which alternative schemas emerge systematically across respondents.

In Figure B1, we present the main results from Figure 2 in the paper’s main body using alternative weighting schemes. The first set of schemas weights the most preferred component of each measure twice, then three times as much as all other components. The second set provides the inverse, with the least preferred component receiving greater weight. We also include the overall ballot support from our control group and the equally weighted composite score presented in the paper’s main body. Consistent with our primary findings, individuals’ overall support for the ranked choice voting measure aligns more closely with a schema that weights their least preferred component (the implementation of ranked choice elections) three times more heavily than other measure components. While we observe evidence that individuals assign slightly increased weight to their least preferred components in the Election Security and Marijuana measures, such extreme

negative weighting appears unique to the Ranked Choice measure.

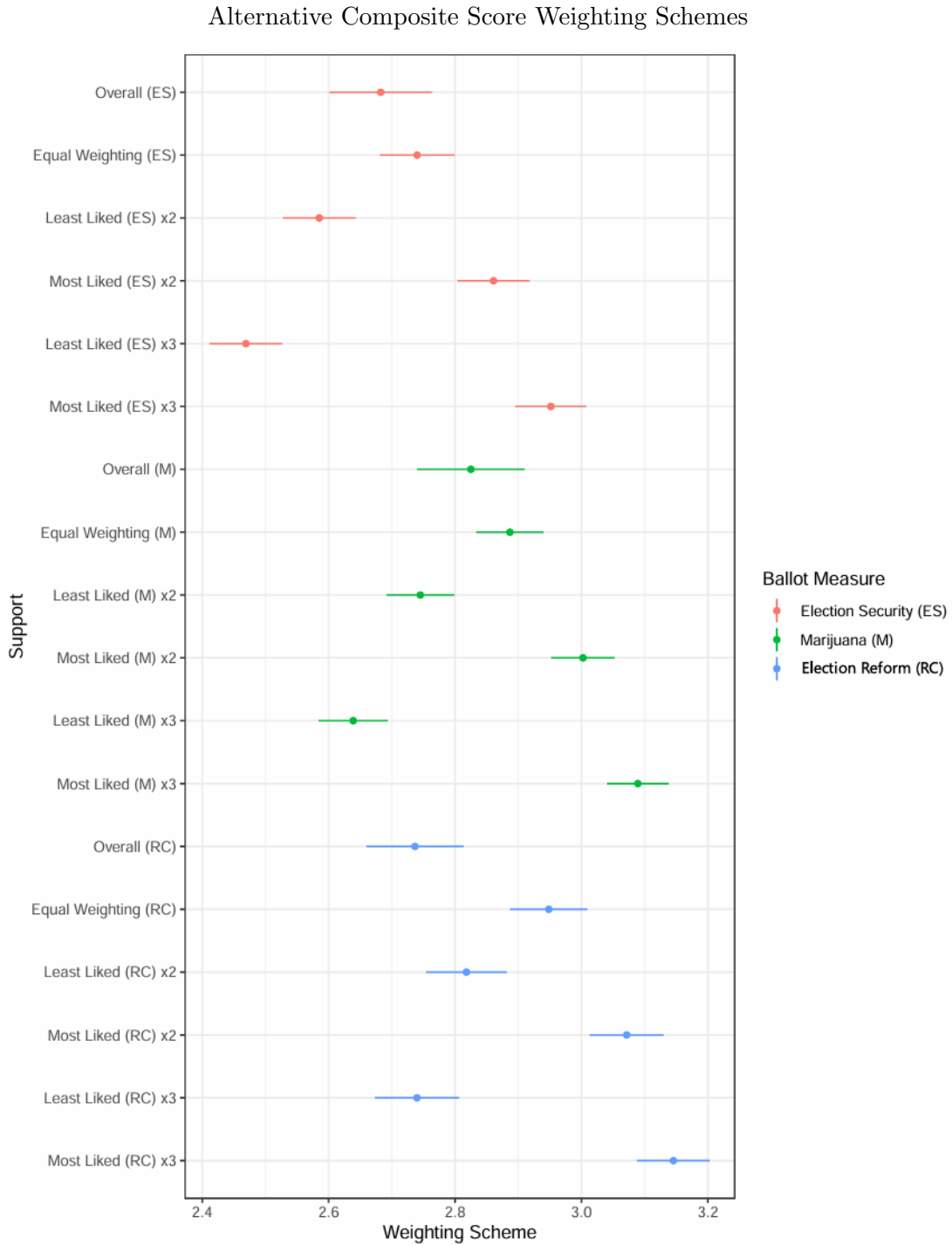


Figure B1: Alternative weighting schemes for the composite ballot measure support scores. Results include 95% Bonferroni corrected confidence intervals.

B.5 Support By Respondent Race

In an important study in this context Glaser (2002) explores the effect of voting on a checklist ballot of specific projects versus a ballot with an omnibus measure. Using a survey experiment that randomizes assignment to the projects vs the omnibus he finds less support for an overall proposal on school district improvements than for some of the features in it—an effect that is greater among whites than blacks in his sample of Mississippians in 1999. We similarly find a greater effect among whites in our experiments, though we caution against reading too much into this difference given the small number of blacks in our sample, 127 (11%).

Differences in Average Support By Ballot Measure and Treatment Group For White Respondents

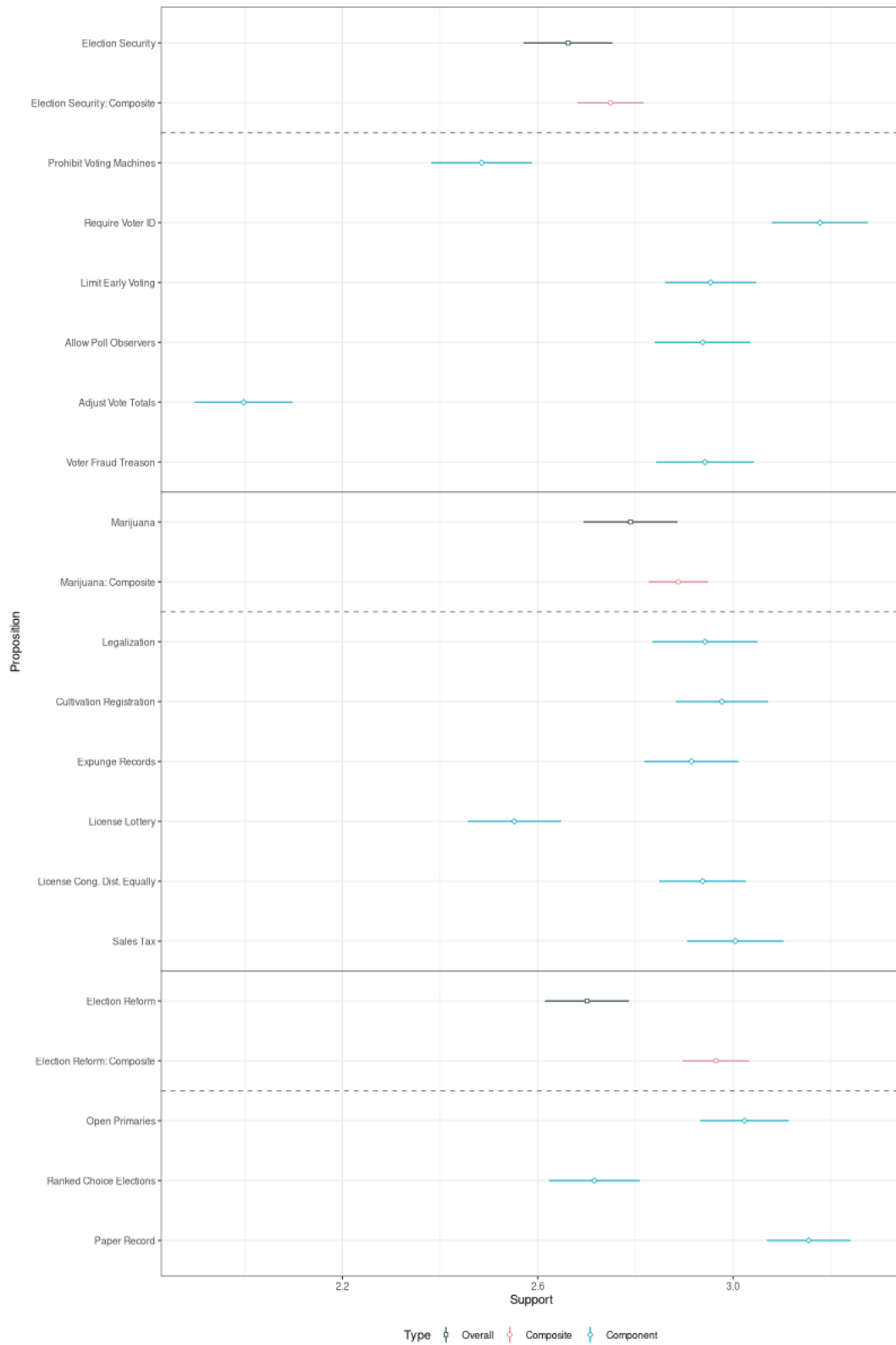


Figure B2: Results include 95% Bonferroni corrected confidence intervals. Composite support scores are the average of a measure’s component support scores.

Differences in Average Support By Ballot Measure and Treatment Group For Black Respondents

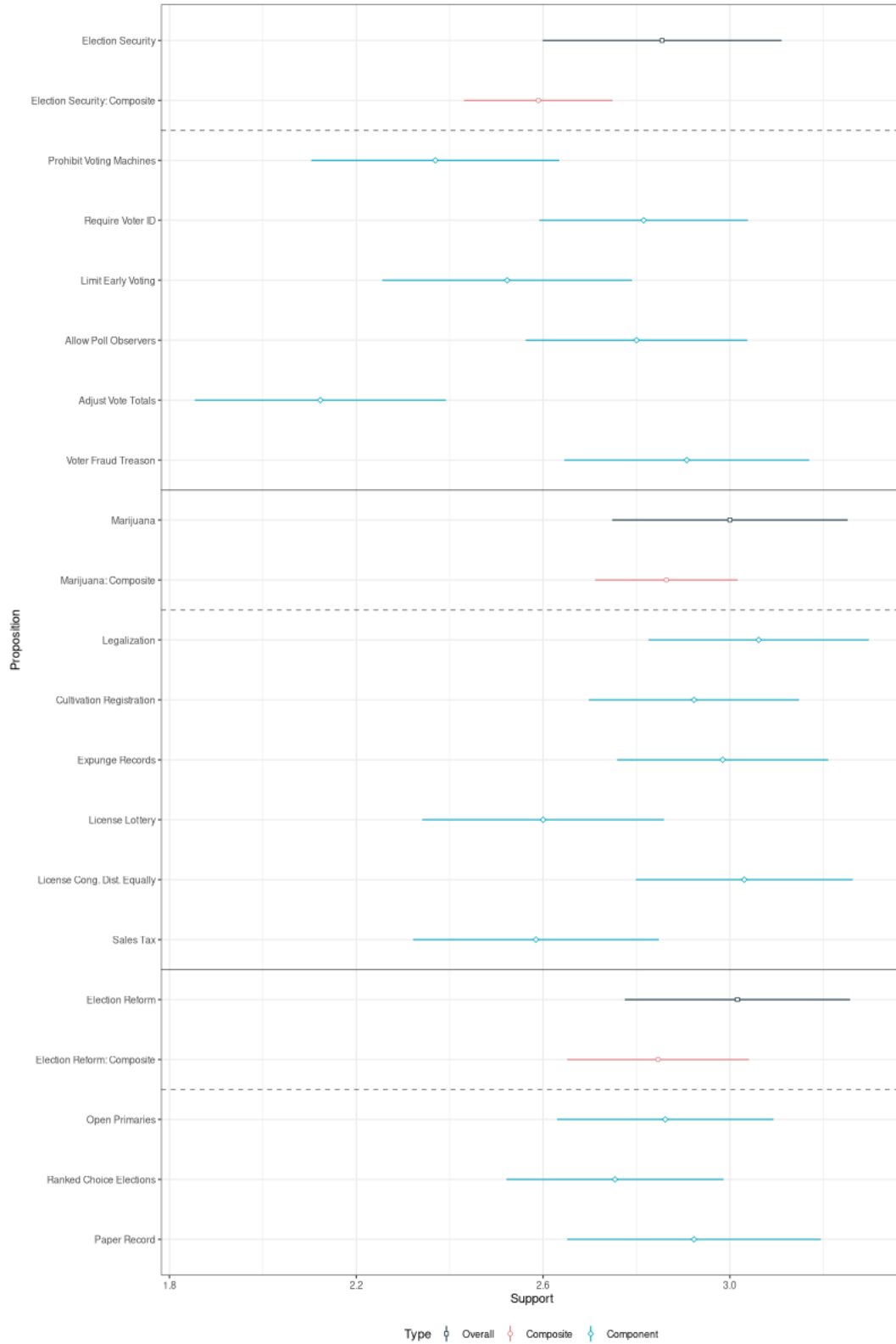


Figure B3: Results include 95% Bonferroni corrected confidence intervals. Composite support scores are the average of a measure’s component support scores.

B.6 Support For Election Reform By Partisan Identity

In the body of our paper, we find that partisanship does not have a significant effect on respondents' overall support for our Election Reform measure. However, recent work highlights a growing partisan divide in support for ranked-choice voting, a key component of the measure and the component receiving the lowest approval ratings among respondents (Anthony et al. 2024; Gaines and Gimpel 2025). To reconcile our findings with this growing body of work, we break out support for our Election Reform measure across partisan identity in the figure below. While Republican respondents do appear to have a lower overall evaluation of ranked-choice voting in particular, the difference is not statistically significant. This null finding is likely attributable to the timing of our experiment rather than a meaningful contradiction with prior work. As Gaines and Gimpel (2025) highlight, ranked-choice voting was gaining adoption and popularity in 2022, but has since encountered steady resistance and increasingly clear partisan messaging

Differences in Average Support By Ballot Measure and Treatment Group By Partisan Identity

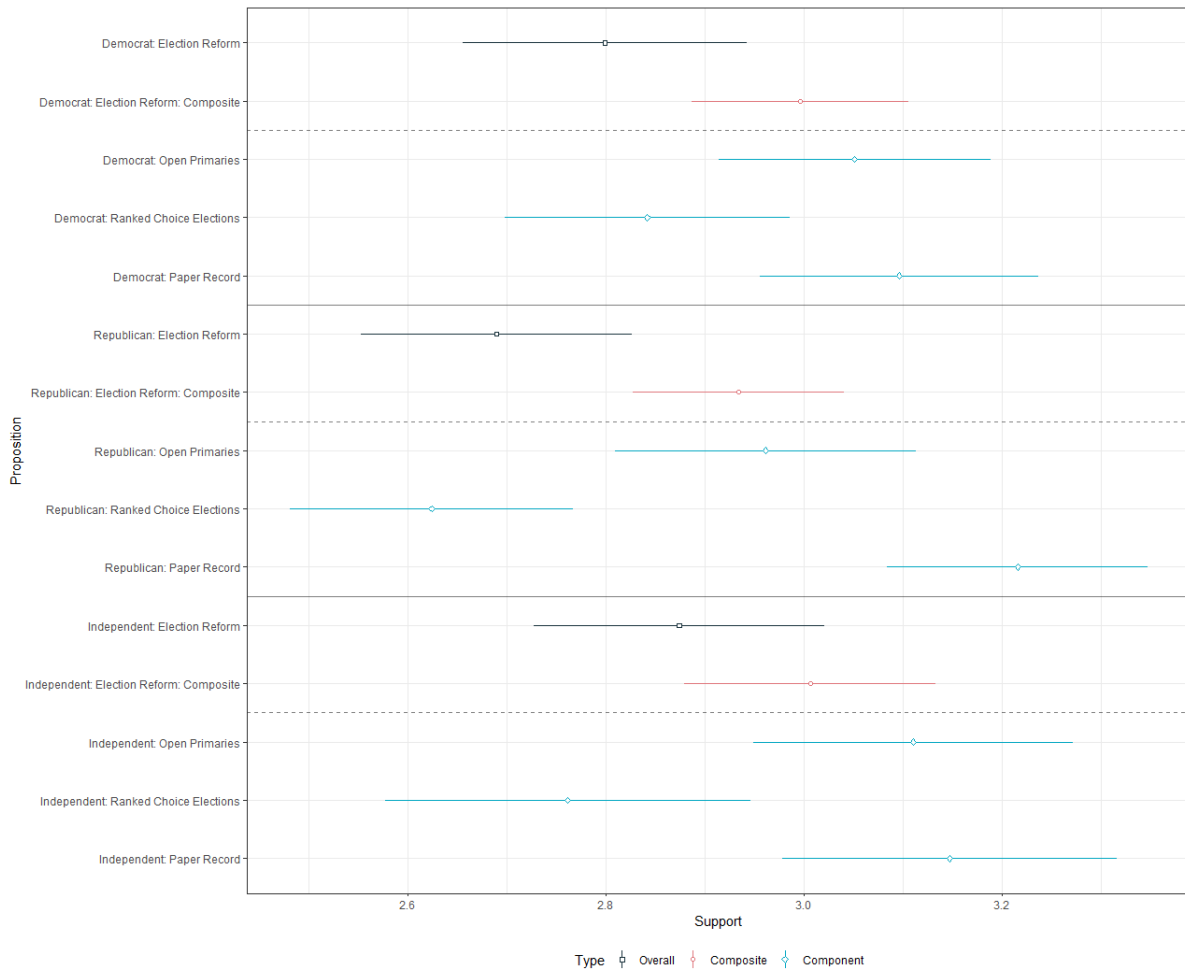


Figure B4: Results include 95% Bonferroni corrected confidence intervals. Composite support scores are the average of a measure's component support scores.

B.7 Ballot News Coverage:

Within the body of the paper, we claim that each of our ballot measures varies regarding news coverage, with our election security measure theoretically having the least. To evaluate this claim, we examine the news coverage from Missouri’s five most prominent newspapers and their websites.⁴ For each newspaper, we search both the title and content of all published articles from January 1st, 2022 until December 31st, 2022 for mentions of our ballot measures or their relevant policy areas. For example, for our election security measure, we searched for “Missouri Changes to Voting Procedures Initiative” and additional terms such as “poll watchers,” “election security,” and “voter id laws.” This process allows us to capture Missouri citizens’ broad exposure to each measure and its associated policy issues. We plot the monthly totals in Figure B5. As we theorized, both our election security and marijuana measures received consistently greater news coverage over the year. Interestingly, the election reform measure sometimes received as much coverage as our other measures but received less than half of the total coverage.

Newspaper Coverage of Ballot Measures and Associated Policy Issues

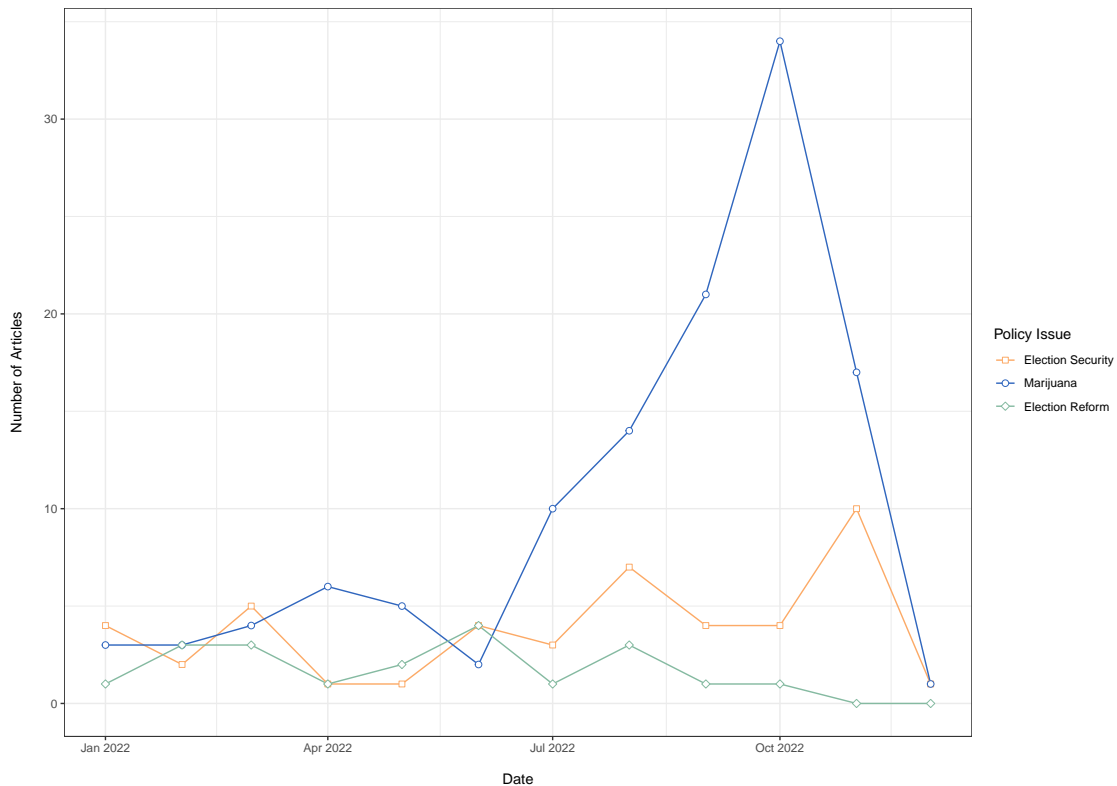


Figure B5: Monthly news coverage of policy issues from Missouri’s five largest newspapers.

4. The newspapers included within our sample are: The Kansas City Star (www.kansascity.com), St. Louis Post-Dispatch (www.stltoday.com), Springfield News-Leader (www.news-leader.com), St. Louis Business Journal (www.bizjournals.com/stlouis), and Riverfront Times (www.riverfronttimes.com)

B.8 Direct Democracy in the Missouri Context

The presence of ballot measures has shown no signs of slowing down. In fact, in 2020, there were at least 129 statewide ballot measures in 34 states, with a success rate of over 72%.⁵ In the midterm election year of 2022, 38 states decided on 140 measures with a success rate of 68.6%.⁶ It is therefore incumbent upon scholars to continue examining how individuals calculate their support for these continuously prevalent political instruments.

Our paper and experiment examine direct democracy within the context of Missouri. However, Missouri is one 26 states at the time of writing to offer citizens some form of direct democratic participation (NCSL 2025). Each of these states have their own laws and requirements that dictate how ballot measures make it to the ballot or the content that they may cover. These procedural differences raise the question of how well our findings generalize beyond Missouri. While no two states share identical procedures, we believe Missouri’s process is broadly representative of the ballot initiative process found across other states.

Missouri is one of the current 15 states that allow citizens to initiate a ballot measure for both a constitutional amendment and state statute, with the remaining 11 states only allowing one or the other (NCSL 2025). Each of these initiatives may only address a single issue area in the case of state statutes or address a single article in the case of constitutional amendments. Missouri is one of 16 states to employ this form of single-subject ruling for its initiatives. Despite this requirement, initiatives often still touch on multiple policy areas, as petitioners can frame each policy as a part of a broadly defined subject.⁷

When citizens submit an initiative, they must first submit their measure to the state for review. In Missouri, the attorney general, secretary of state, and state auditor draft the ballot title, summary, and fiscal impact statement, ensuring compliance with fair-ballot requirements—a process similar to that in about 21 other states (NCSL 2025).⁸ Exact procedures vary between states. States such as California and Ohio follow a similar procedure with their state offices crafting the ballot text for an initiative. Other states such as Wyoming and Florida require petitioners to create the ballot summary, which is then later approved by states offices. Finally some states such as Colorado utilize a non-partisan committee to evaluate initiatives and craft the appropriate titles and summaries.

To qualify for the ballot, petitioners must collect signatures equal to at least five percent of the votes cast for governor in two-thirds of Missouri’s congressional districts—with constitutional amendments requiring eight percent. This geographic signature requirement is not unique to Missouri. At the time of writing, 17 states impose similar requirements across counties, legislative districts, or congressional districts (NCSL 2025). Once an initiative reaches the ballot, it needs only a simple statewide majority to pass and takes effect immediately.

5. Accessed January 7, 2023, from https://ballotpedia.org/2020_ballot_measures.

6. Accessed January 7, 2023, from https://ballotpedia.org/2022_ballot_measures.

7. For example, in 2025 a Missouri judge found an upcoming initiative aimed at restricting access to abortions and gender affirming care still satisfied the state’s single subject rule when the provisions were framed under the topic of reproductive care (Spoerre 2025).

8. After receiving state certification, ballot language can and recently has been challenged in the courts (e.g., *McCarty v. Secretary of State*, No. SC100876 (Mo. 2025); *Fitz-James v. Hoskins*, No. 25AC-CC05427 (Mo. 2025)).