

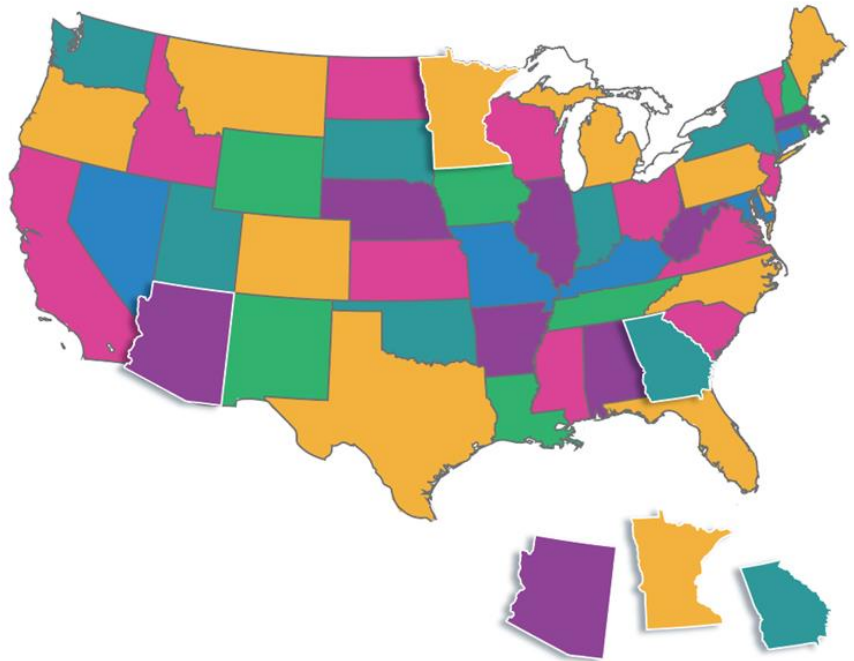
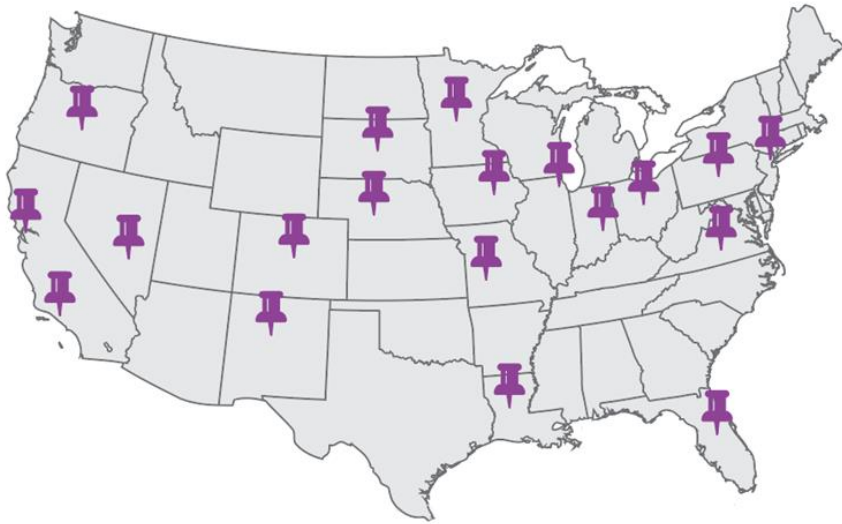


# Missouri State Power Audit

September 2018

Presented by Kirk Noden and Tammy Thomas Miles

Building governing power in states requires  
a **radical change in approach.**



# Application of the Framework

Using the Changing States Framework as a tool to make this shift both **for practitioners and for funders.**

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Performed in-person, video interviews with **25–30 leaders per state.**

Up-to-date state level research of conditions: **demography, economy, politics, geography.**

Additional research in three of the six arenas: **electoral, judicial, and corporate.**

Analysis of **in-state capacity**, as well as **strategic opportunities and considerations.**

## Conditions for Change



Demography



Economy



Politics



Geography

## Capacities for Change



Robust  
Organizational  
Landscape



Alliances  
and Networks



Leadership  
Ladders and  
Lattices



Resource  
Base



Base  
Building

## Arenas of Change



Electoral



Legislative



Judicial



Administrative



Cultural



Corporate

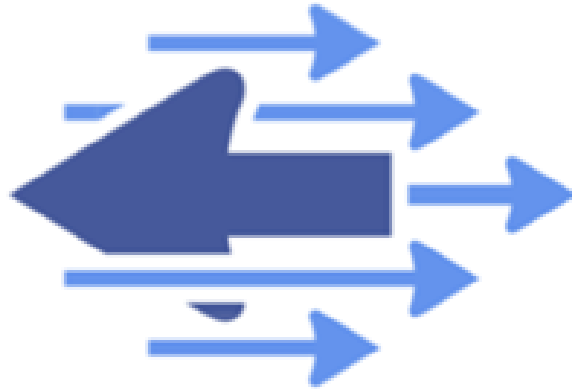
# Missouri

*We need to build power that starts to dismantle the St. Louis and Kansas City versus everybody else, that we are finding ways to actually get unlikely people to be in the same room, black people and white farmers in a room recognizing that you might not live in the same zip code, but you are still tied, your destiny is still tied to each other.*

*-Missouri Leader*



# Missouri Power Audit: Conditions

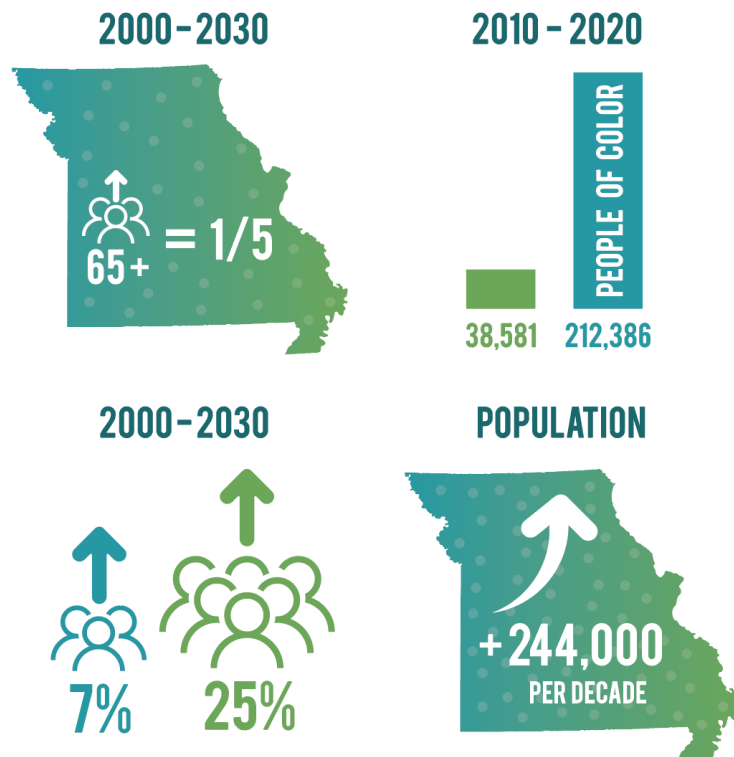


# Understanding Missouri Conditions: Demography

**Grow older, on average.** By 2030, persons over age 65 will make up more than one-fifth of all Missourians. Senior citizens are expected to increase 87% between 2000 and 2030, when there are projected to be 1.4 million seniors.

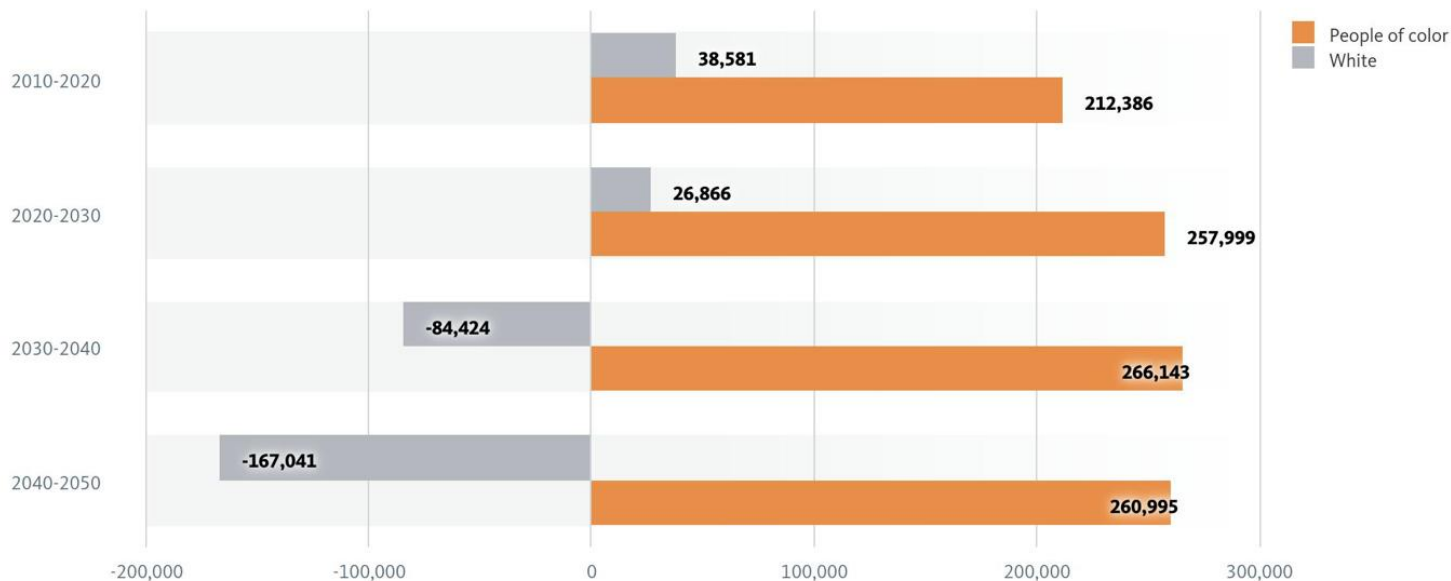
**Growth Anchored by People of Color:** In the next 30 years, People of Color in MO will increase by 783,000 while the state is projected to lose 234,000 white residents over the same time period. This does not rise to the level of demographic tipping point.

**Maintain its population with limited growth and immigration.** Natural change is expected to add an average of 244,000 Missourians per decade. Moreover, net migration (those migrating in compared to those migrating out) is expected to increase by 139,000 persons every 10 years.



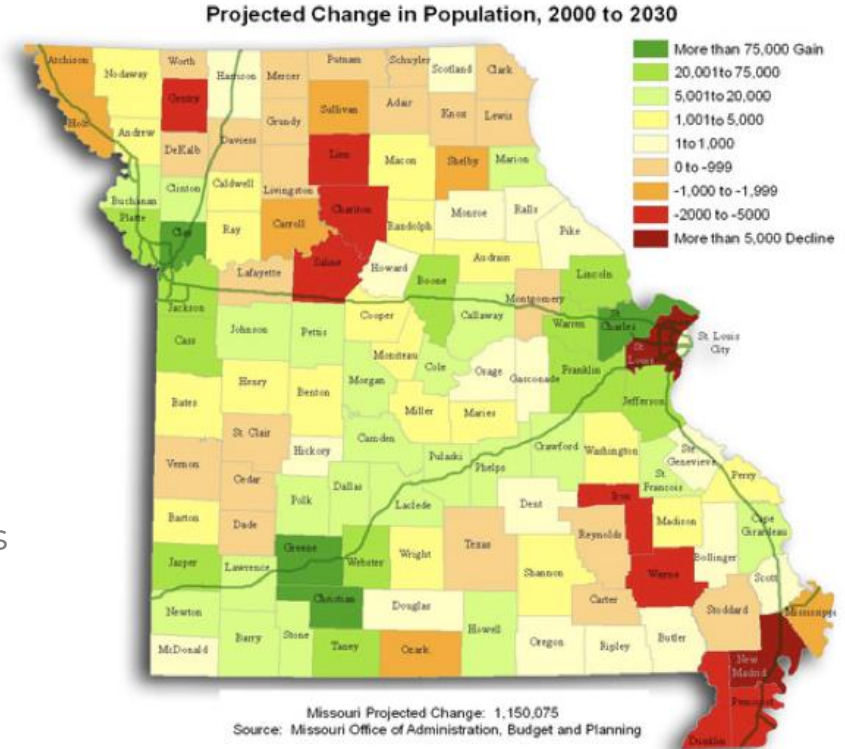
# Understanding Missouri Conditions: Demography

Change in population by race: Missouri, 2010-2050



# Understanding Missouri Conditions: Geography

1. Population is becoming **more concentrated in the suburbs** and exurbs.
1. 25% of the population lives in **Rural Communities**, and its decreasing.
1. **Major Metro Areas are bi-State**, local markets share consumer and worker pools

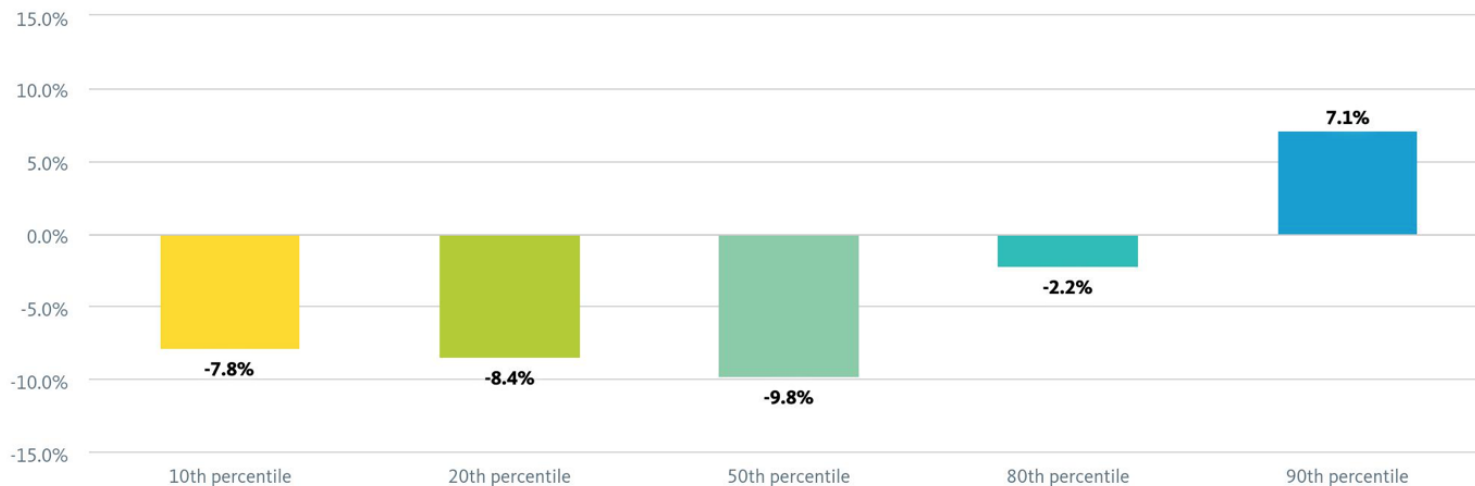




# Missouri Conditions:

## Economy

Earned income growth for full-time wage and salary workers: Missouri, 1980-2015

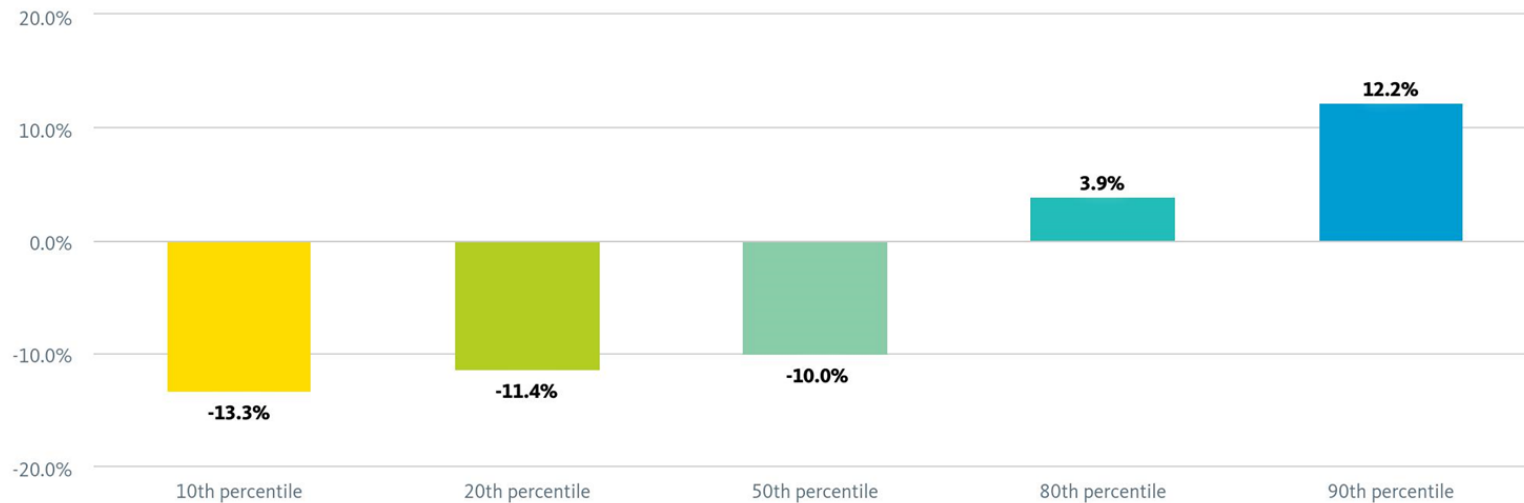


IPUMS

PolicyLink/PERE National Equity Atlas, [www.nationalequityatlas.org](http://www.nationalequityatlas.org)

# Missouri Conditions: Economy

Earned income growth for full-time wage and salary workers: St. Louis, MO-IL Metro Area, 1980-2015

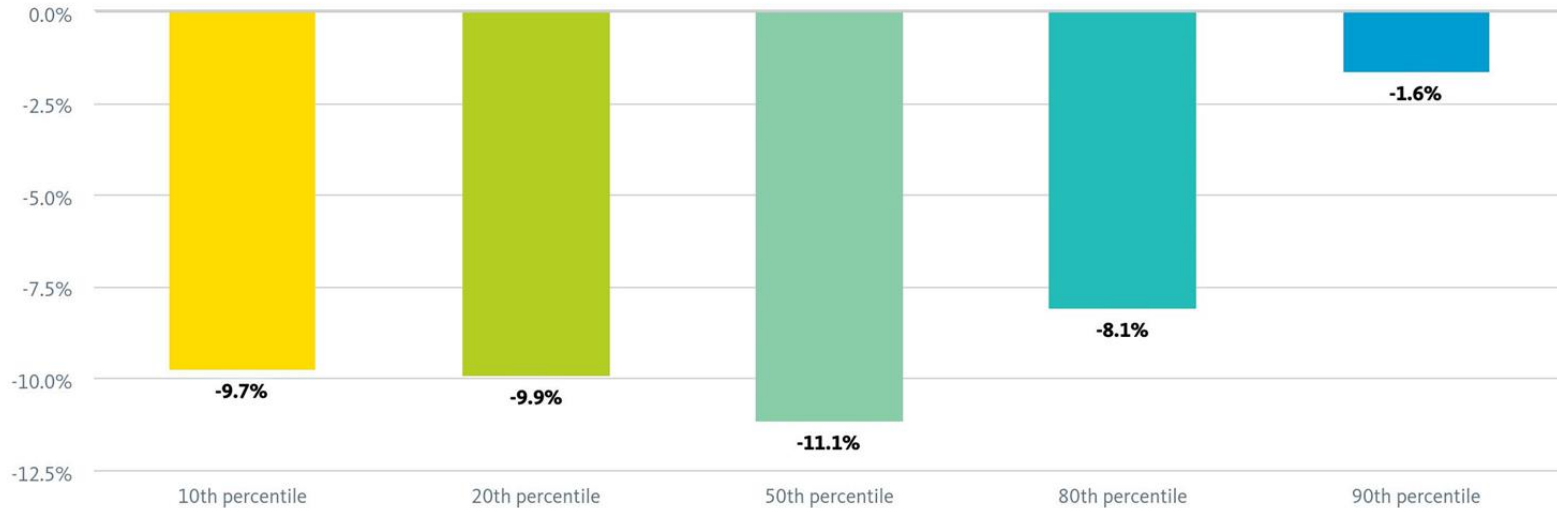


IPUMS

PolicyLink/PERE National Equity Atlas, [www.nationalequityatlas.org](http://www.nationalequityatlas.org)

# Missouri Conditions: Economy

Earned income growth for full-time wage and salary workers: Springfield, MO Metro Area, 1980-2015



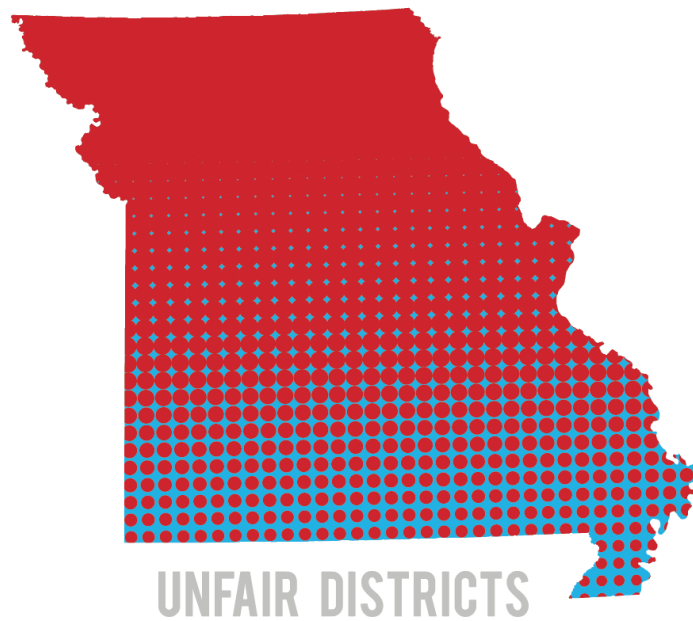
# Missouri Conditions: Economy

Median hourly wage by race/ethnicity: Missouri, 1980-2015



# Missouri Conditions: Political

- Is Missouri a **Swing State**?
- Structural Barriers are **undermining representation, connection, and accountability** between voters and state legislature
- **7 of every 8 legislative districts** (87% of total) are now completely safe for one party or the other

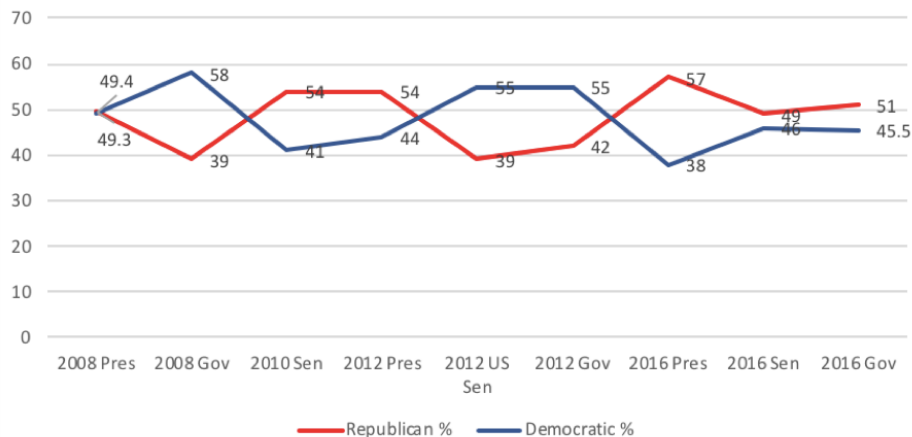


# Missouri Conditions:

## Political

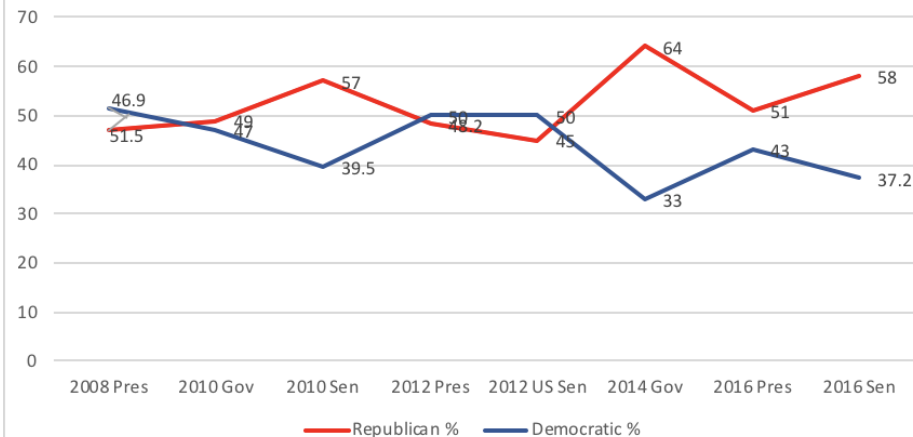
### Missouri

Vote Margin By Percent  
Statewide Races



### Ohio

Vote Margin By Percent  
Statewide Races

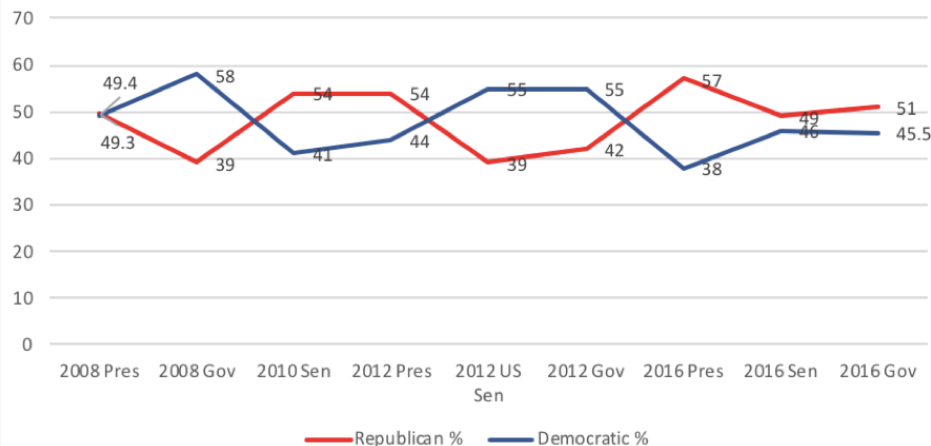


# Missouri Conditions:

## Political

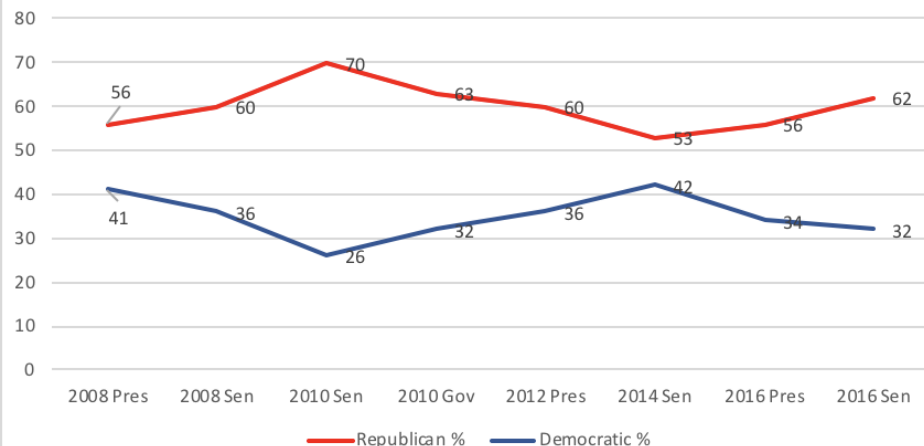
### Missouri

Vote Margin By Percent  
Statewid Races



### Kansas

Vote Margin By Percent  
Statewid Races



# Missouri Conditions: Political

## **Headwinds:**

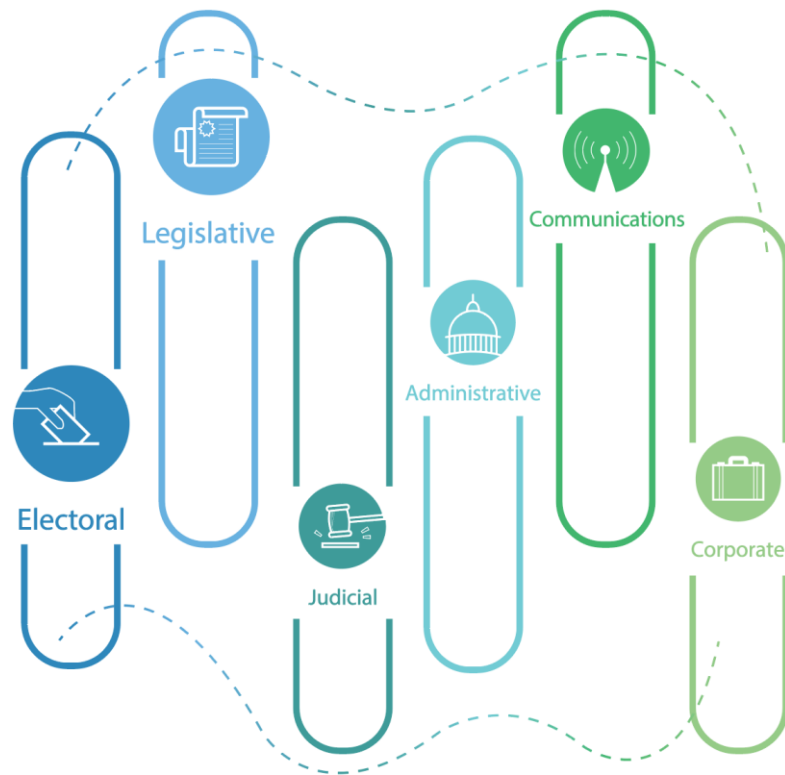
- ⇒ Gerrymandering/ Unfair Districts
- ⇒ No Contribution Limits
- ⇒ Voter Suppression
- ⇒ Slow Demographic Change



# Contest for power in and across all arenas

We are contesting effectively when we are:

- Aware of **power constructs**;
- Able to **disrupt, replace, and realign power** toward a progressive alternative; and
- Clear on interplays/connections among arenas and **navigate opportunities and choices**.

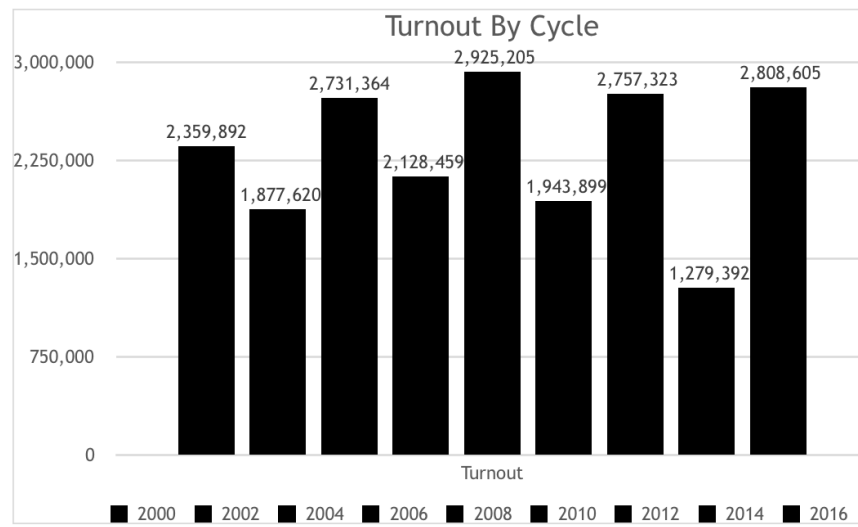


# Missouri Arenas: Electoral

One prediction of 2018 **drop off** for Missouri Rising American Electorate voters, **younger voters, voters of color and unmarried women**, will be **39.5%** or **531,392** voters.

In St. Louis city, where nearly half the population is African-American, voter turnout was **67.6 percent in 2016**, compared to 74 percent in 2012 and **83 percent in 2008**.

A staggering **46,000 Black Missourians who voted in 2012 did not turn out in 2016** — more than 10% of the Black electorate



# Missouri Arenas: Electoral



**Raise Up Missouri** would raise the state minimum wage from \$7.85/hour to \$8.60 in 2019 and then \$.85 per year thereafter until it is **\$12 in 2023**

**Clean Missouri** would create more **fair** and competitive state **legislative districts**; strengthen **contribution limits** for legislative candidates; enact **strong lobbyist gift limits** and revolving-door reforms; **ensure transparency** in the General Assembly.

**We Are Missouri** repealed **corporate-sponsored Right to Work** legislation passed by the legislature in 2017

# Missouri Snapshot: Electoral Arena

Electoral strategy must be **in service of power building**, not the other way around.

## Chart of Contested in 2018:



State Auditor Race



Statewide Ballot Initiatives  
Minimum Wage and Clean Elections



6 State Legislative Districts

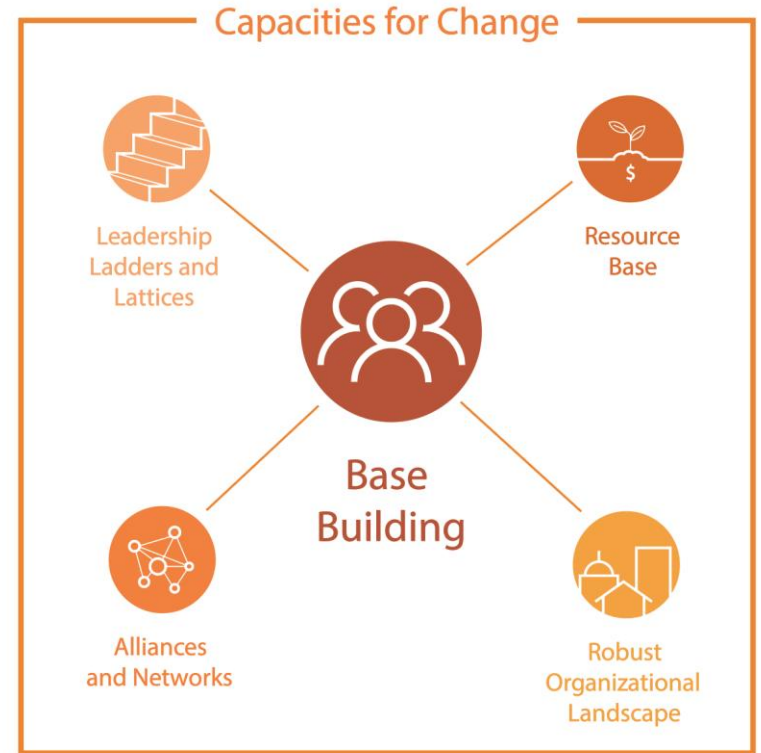


1 US Senate Races

# Missouri Capacities :

Toplines:

- **5 Core Capacities:** Base Building, Alliances and Networks, Leadership Ladders and Lattices, Resource Base, Robust Organizational Landscape
- **Base Building** is at the ecosystem's center.
- Full **ecosystem** depends on the collective strength of these capacities



# Missouri Snapshot: Capacities

**The way in which  
we contest matters.**

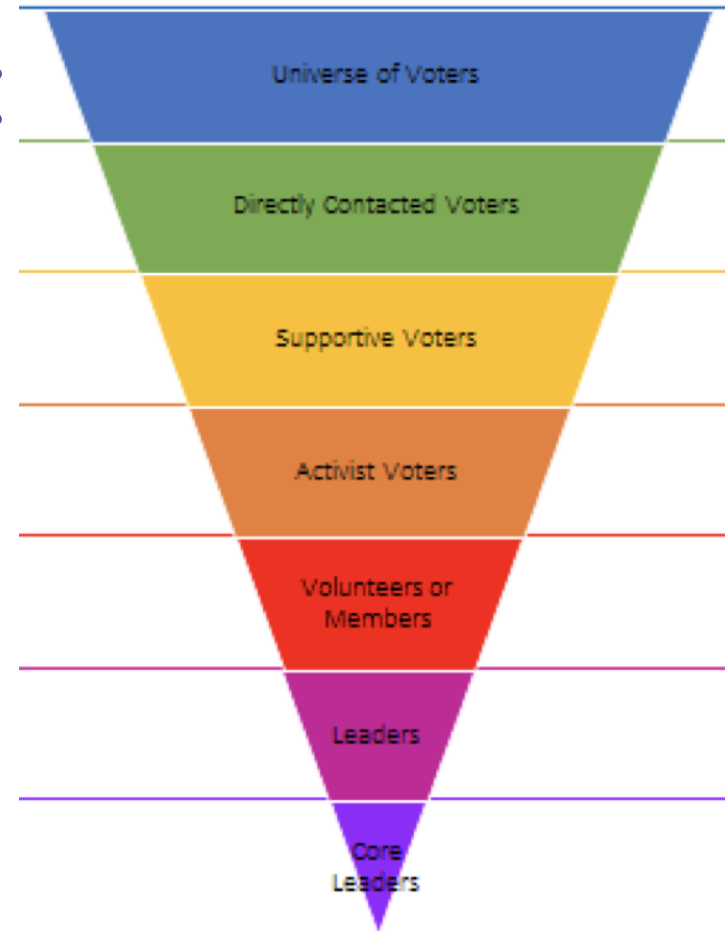
Deploying our  
strategies must  
advance our path  
to governance **AND**  
**build the capacity**  
**of our ecosystem.**

		Existing Capacities	Moving Toward Governing
Base Building	Building	MO Jobs with Justice, MO Faith Voices, MO Rural Crisis Center, Organization for Black Struggle, Missourians Organizing for Reform and Empowerment, Action St. Louis, MCU,, NARAL, Sierra Club, Planned Parenthood, NAACP, MORE2.	Breadth of Groups but not depth of organizing and membership. Strengthen organizing in communities of color, young people, expand rural and suburban organizing.
Resource Base	Influencing	Philanthropy for Systemic Change, Shared Roots Project, national funders such as OSF and Wellspring	Identifying, enlisting additional state and national donors and philanthropy, funding directly to states, limiting national intermediaries
Robust Organizational Landscape	Influencing	Organizing, base building, legal advocacy, data and analytics, electoral vehicles	Communications and messaging, leadership pipelines, research and policy in service to base
Alliances and Networks	Building	MOVE and MOVE Action	Hubs beyond likely allies, and alliances beyond electorally-centered goals
Leadership Lattices	Forming	Leaders in key roles	Get to scale, build calvary ready for governance.

# Missouri Capacities: Base Building

Understanding the depth and breadth of organizational:

1. Membership
2. Leadership development
3. Constituencies and geography
4. Ability to grow and move a base consistently over time.



# Missouri Capacities: Black Led Organizing

## Strengths

- The values around criminal justice, restorative justice and racial justice are aligned amongst Black led organizations.
- The defeat of 27-year incumbent Bob McCulloch, and the election of Kim Gardner as Prosecutor and Vernon Betts as Sheriff in St. Louis City were both firsts for African Americans and are products of Black organizing.
- There are emerging Black leaders politicized by Ferguson taking new leadership roles.
- Resilience





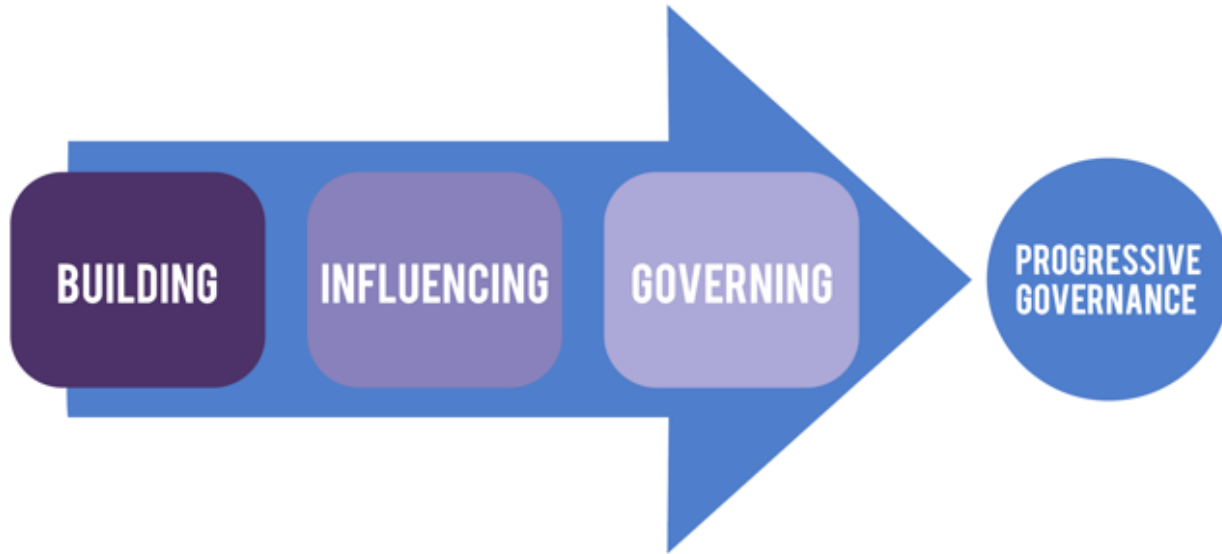
# Missouri Capacities: Black Led Organizing

## **Gaps**

- Black led organizations continue to be marginally funded or unfunded, have minimal staff and rely heavily on volunteer resources. Resources raised, ie. money, people, materials, etc. that came in during the Ferguson uprising did not address the infrastructure vacuum.
- Black led organizations understand the need to turn out the Black vote but feel that many Black voters do not truly feel represented, their issues aren't prioritized
- MO needs black led organizations that can work across the state and in cities and towns outside of St. Louis. In particular, investments in Kansas City and the Bootheel are needed.
- Limited leadership pipelines for Black leaders

# Missouri Capacities:

## Initial Recommendations



# Missouri:

## Recommendations

### **# 1: Increase Base Building Capacity**

Scale up or incubate new organizations to organize:

- (1) Black and other people of color communities,
- (2) youth,
- (3) seniors,
- (4) suburban/exurban regions
- (5) people living in small towns.

Missouri's strengths is that it has core of base building groups that are "shovel ready" and can be scaled up.

# Missouri:

## Recommendations

### **#2: Strengthen Emerging State Tables and Technical Assistance**

Centralized technical support can encourage alignment among groups and allow organizations to focus on their core organizing mission. Investments in these “hubs” can impact many groups at once and the economies of scale allow more senior, experienced staff to engage with groups.

# Missouri:

## Recommendations

### **#3 Develop Leadership Pipelines Across the Missouri Ecosystem**

Missouri needs something beyond this that is intentional, methodical, and reaches across the entire ecosystem.

The state needs dedicated staff focused on talent development and recruitment with a particular focus on people of color, strategies for retention, and an approach that follows talent as it moves through the ecosystem from community organizations to labor to philanthropy to politics to policy groups.

# Missouri: Emerging Recommendations

Democratic participation must have three (interrelated) characteristics: it must be **powerful**, **possible**, and **probable**. Put another way, in order to succeed, participation has to make a difference (powerful), people have to be able to participate (possible), and they have to want to participate (probable).

-Hahrie Han

A Program Review of the Promoting Electoral Reform and Democratic Participation  
(PERDP) Initiative of the Ford Foundation

# Missouri Power Audit

## CHANGING STATES

BUILDING POWER ON THE  
FRONTLINES: *MISSOURI*

CREATED IN PARTNERSHIP WITH  
THE USC PROGRAM FOR  
ENVIRONMENTAL AND REGIONAL EQUITY

