November 2018 Election Results

On November 6, voters decided 156 ballot propositions across 37 states, approving 69% of them. These propositions consisted of 83 legislative proposals, 62 citizen initiatives, 2 popular referendums, 7 commission proposals, 1 constitutionally required advisory measure, and 1 constitutionally required question on whether to call a constitutional convention.

The overall approval rate was down slightly from 2016 and identical to 2014. The number of approved initiatives — 32 for the year — is less than the 47 approved in 2016, but greater than the 16 approved in 2014. The initiative approval rate of 50% was well above the historical norm of 41%. For more information on initiative trends, see IRI Report on Initiative Use (1904-2018).

This report lists every state-level ballot proposition in 2018. Compared to the first version of the report, election outcome information has been updated to reflect official returns, and some errors have been corrected. For additional information on ballot measures, see ballotpedia.org.

Multistate Issues

Every year, some issues appear on the ballot in multiple states. Some of the more prominent multistate issues in 2018 were:

Marijuana Legalization


Missouri, Oklahoma (in a June election), and Utah also took a step toward legalization in 2018, by approving proposals to allow medical use of marijuana. Marijuana remains illegal under federal law, but so far states representing more than one-quarter of the country’s population have decriminalized it within their borders.

Health Care Medicaid Expansion

The Affordable Care Act (often called “Obamacare”) contained a provision permitting states to expand Medicaid eligibility to persons with incomes up to 138% of the federal poverty rate, with the federal government covering up to 90% of the cost. Elected officials in some states chose not to avail their states of this opportunity. In 2017, Maine voters used an initiative to override their government and directly approved expansion of Medicaid in their state. In 2018, voters in Idaho, Nebraska, and...
Utah did the same, using initiatives to force their states to expand Medicaid eligibility. Montana voters rejected a similar proposal that would have funded the expansion with a tobacco tax increase. These outcomes underscore the initiative’s traditional function of allowing voters to override their elected officials on specific issues, allowing policy change without having to replace sitting legislators.

Election Reform

Elected officials face an inherent conflict of interest when considering laws related to elections since those laws may affect their future electoral prospects. For this reason, citizens have often turned to the initiative process to bring about electoral reforms that sitting officials are unwilling to advance. The most pronounced historical example of this was the term limits movement in the 1990s that imposed limited terms on state legislators across the country.

In 2018, four states (Colorado, Michigan, Missouri, Utah) approved ballot propositions that created nonpartisan or bipartisan redistricting commissions, or otherwise reduced the influence of the legislature in drawing district lines. In one of the highest profile campaigns of the year, Florida voters approved Amendment 4 that restored voting rights to an estimated 1.5 million felons. Other states also took actions to make voting easier: Maryland and Michigan approved same-day registration, and Nevada provided for automatic registration at the department of motor vehicles. Some states moved in the opposite direction: Arkansas and North Carolina approved measures requiring presentation of a photo ID to vote.

Bond Issues

Many states require voter approval in order to issue bonds, and voters usually approve such proposals. There were 17 bond issues across six states on November, requesting a total of $25 billion. Surprisingly, voters turned down three of the four largest requests. California voters said “no” to an $8.877 billion proposal for water projects. Colorado voters declined to approve a $6 billion issue of revenue anticipation bonds for transportation projects (perhaps because they disapproved of the sales tax hike that would have funded the debt) and they also turned down a $3.5 billion issue of general obligation bonds, also for transportation projects. The largest approved amounts were two California proposals, $4 billion for home loans to veterans and $1.5 billion for children’s hospitals.
STATE-BY-STATE LIST

STATE-BY-STATE LIST OF BALLOT PROPOSITIONS ON NOVEMBER 8

The remainder of this report contains a complete list of state-level propositions for 2018. An “initiative” is a citizen-sponsored law placed on the ballot by petition. A “referendum” is a proposal to repeal an existing law placed on the ballot by petition (also called a “popular referendum” or a “veto referendum”). “Legislative” measures were placed on the ballot by the legislature. The official returns are indicated with the percent in favor followed by the percent opposed.

Alabama

All measures were constitutional amendments placed on the ballot by the legislature.

- **Amendment 1.** Allows display of 10 Commandments on public property. APPROVED 72-28
- **Amendment 2.** Abortion. Declares that the state constitution does not contain a right to abortion. APPROVED 59-41
- **Amendment 3.** University trustees. Removes 70-year age limit; removes superintendent of education from membership. APPROVED 60-40
- **Amendment 4.** Legislative seats. Changes procedures for filling vacancies. APPROVED 66-34

Alaska

- **Ballot Measure 1.** Increases protection for salmon habitats (initiative statute). FAILED 38-62

Arizona

Props 125, 126, and 127 were constitutional amendments; 125 was proposed by the legislature and the others by initiative. Prop 305 was a referendum on SB 1431. Prop 306 was a legislative proposal to amend an initiative statute (Prop 200 in 1998)

- **Prop 125.** Public pensions. Allows legislature to limit growth of benefits. APPROVED 52-48
- **Prop 126.** Prohibits new taxes on services performed by state. APPROVED 64-36
- **Prop 127.** Renewable energy. Requires 50% of electricity to come from renewable sources. FAILED 31-69
- **Prop 305.** Disabled students. Extends program allowing disabled student to receive grant from state instead of attending public schools. FAILED 35-65
- **Prop 306.** Campaign funds. Prohibits candidates from donating publicly provided campaign funds to parties. APPROVED 56-44

Arkansas

Issue 2 was a legislative constitutional amendment. Issue 4 was an initiative constitutional amendment. Issue 5 was an initiative statute. Issues 1 and 3 were on the ballot but their votes were not counted by court order.

- **Issue 2.** Requires photo ID to vote. APPROVED 80-20
- **Issue 4.** Casinos. Requires state to issue four specific casino licenses. APPROVED 54-46
- **Issue 5.** Minimum wage increase from $8.50 to $11.00 per hour. APPROVED 68-32

California

Props 1, 2, and 7 were legislative proposals; the rest were initiatives. Prop 6 was a constitutional amendment, Prop 5 was both an amendment and a statute; the rest were statutes.

- **Prop 1.** $4 billion bond issue for veterans homes. APPROVED 56-44
- **Prop 2.** Budget transfers. Allows money to be transferred from mental health services fund to supportive housing program. APPROVED 63-37
- **Prop 3.** $8.877 billion bond issue for water projects. FAILED 49-51

Alabama - California
STATE-BY-STATE LIST (CONTINUED)

- Prop 4. $1.5 billion bond issue for childrens hospitals. APPROVED 63-37
- Prop 5. Property tax assessments. Revises process for persons 55 and older to transfer tax assessments. FAILED 40-60
- Prop 6. Gas taxes. Repeals 2017 increase; requires voter approval of new taxes. FAILED 43-57
- Prop 7. Allows permanent daylight saving time. APPROVED 60-40
- Prop 8. Regulates prices of kidney dialysis clinics. FAILED 40-60
- Prop 10. Rent control. Allows local governments to regulate rental prices. FAILED 41-59
- Prop 11. Ambulances. Ambulance employees remain on call during breaks. APPROVED 60-40
- Prop 12. Farm animals. Prohibits confinement in “cruel manner”. APPROVED 63-37

Colorado
Amendments A, V-Z were proposed by the legislature; Amendments 73-75 were initiatives. Props 109-112 were initiative statutes. Amendments require 55% approval.
- Amendment V. Legislators. Reduces age requirement from 25 to 21 years. FAILED 36-64
- Amendment W. Alters ballot design for judicial elections. FAILED 54-46
- Amendment X. Changes definition of industrial hemp. APPROVED 61-39
- Amendment Y. Bipartisan redistricting commission for Congress. APPROVED 71-29
- Amendment Z. Bipartisan redistricting commission for state legislature. APPROVED 71-29
- Amendment A. Prohibits involuntary servitude as punishment for crime. APPROVED 66-34
- Amendment 73. Taxes and schools. Increases personal and corporate income taxes; increases spending on public schools. FAILED 46-54
- Amendment 74. Requires compensation for regulatory takings. FAILED 46-54
- Amendment 75. Campaign finance. Allows candidates to raise more money if competitors self-fund over a certain amount. FAILED 34-66
- Prop 109. $3.5 billion bond issue for roads and bridges. FAILED 39-61
- Prop 110. Sales tax increase. Increases sales tax by 2.9%; authorizes $6 billion in revenue anticipation bonds. FAILED 41-59
- Prop 111. Payday lending. Reduces maximum rate to 36%. APPROVED 77-23
- Prop 112. Fracking. Places limits on new developments near buildings. FAILED 45-55

Connecticut
Both measures were constitutional amendments from the legislature.
- Question 1. Restricts special transportation fund to be used only for transportation projects. APPROVED 87-13
- Question 2. Requires 2/3 legislative vote to transfer state properties to nonstate entities. APPROVED 85-15

Florida
Amendments 1, 2, and 5 were legislative proposals; 3 and 4 were initiatives; the others were from a constitutional revision commission. Approval requires 60% votes in favor.
- Amendment 1. Increases homestead property tax exemption. FAILED 58-42
- Amendment 2. Makes permanent current temporary 10% limit on nonhomestead property assessments. APPROVED 67-33
- Amendment 3. Requires voter approval for casino gambling. APPROVED 71-29
STATE-BY-STATE LIST (CONTINUED)

- Amendment 4. Restores voting rights to convicted felons. APPROVED 65-35
- Amendment 5. Requires legislative supermajority to raise state taxes or fees. APPROVED 66-34
- Amendment 7. Miscellaneous. Requires supermajority for university trustees to raise fees; provides benefits to survivors of first responders and military members; more. APPROVED 66-34
- Amendment 9. Prohibits offshore oil drilling; prohibits indoor vaping; more. APPROVED 69-31
- Amendment 10. Miscellaneous. Requires existence of department of veterans affairs; creates office of domestic security; changes legislature start date; more. APPROVED 63-37
- Amendment 11. Deletes obsolete language regarding discrimination. APPROVED 62-38
- Amendment 12. Lobbying. Expands current restrictions. APPROVED 79-21
- Amendment 13. Phases out commercial dog racing. APPROVED 69-31

Georgia
All measures were placed on the ballot by the legislature. “Referendums” were statutory proposals.
- Constitutional Amendment 1. Sales tax revenue. Allows tax revenue from sporting goods sales to used for conservation. APPROVED 83-17
- Constitutional Amendment 2. Creates statewide business court. APPROVED 69-31
- Constitutional Amendment 4. Crime victims. Expands their rights. APPROVED 81-19
- Constitutional Amendment 5. Allows school districts to call county sales tax referendums. APPROVED 71-29
- Referendum A. Property taxes. Exemption for persons in certain cities. APPROVED 57-43
- Referendum B. Property taxes. Exemption for homes for mentally disabled. APPROVED 77-23

Hawaii
The constitutional convention question was required by the state constitution every 10 years. The other proposition was a legislative constitutional amendment.
- Constitutional Convention Question. Calls constitutional convention. FAILED 26-74
- Proposed Amendment. Property tax surcharge on investment properties. FAILED 30-70

Idaho
Both measures were initiative statutes.
- Prop 1. Authorizes horse racing. FAILED 46-54
- Prop 2. Expands Medicaid eligibility. APPROVED 61-39

Indiana
- Public Question 1. Requires balanced state budget, actuarially sound funding of pensions (legislative amendment.) APPROVED 71-29

Kentucky
STATE-BY-STATE LIST (CONTINUED)

Louisiana
All six propositions were constitutional amendments placed on the ballot by the legislature.
- Amendment 1. Prohibits felons from holding office for 5 years. APPROVED 75-25
- Amendment 2. Requires unanimous jury verdict in noncapital felony cases. APPROVED 64-36
- Amendment 3. Allows political subdivisions to donate to each other. APPROVED 56-44
- Amendment 4. Prohibits transportation fund being used for traffic control. APPROVED 56-44
- Amendment 5. Extends property tax exemption for properties in trust. APPROVED 72-28
- Amendment 6. Requires large property tax assessment increases to be phased in over 4 years. APPROVED 58-42

Maine
Question 1 was an initiative statute; the others were legislative statutes.
- Question 1. Increases income tax; creates universal home care program. FAILED 37-63
- Question 2. $30 million bond issue for water treatment. APPROVED 55-45
- Question 3. $106 million bond issue for transportation projects. APPROVED 68-32
- Question 4. $49 million bond issue for state universities. APPROVED 54-46
- Question 5. $15 million bond issue for community colleges. APPROVED 65-35

Maryland
Both questions were legislative constitutional amendments.
- Question 1. Dedicates video lottery revenue to education. APPROVED 89-11
- Question 2. Provides for same-day voter registration. APPROVED 68-31

Massachusetts
Questions 1 and 2 were initiative statutes. Question 3 was a referendum on SB 2407.
- Question 1. Limits number of hospital patients per registered nurse. FAILED 30-70
- Question 2. Creates citizen commission to advocate for campaign finance amendment to U. S. Constitution. APPROVED 71-29
- Question 3. To approve or repeal law making gender identity a protected category in public accommodations. APPROVED 68-32

Michigan
All three proposals were initiatives; 18-1 was a statute, the other two were amendments.
- Proposal 18-1. Legalizes marijuana. APPROVED 56-44
- Proposal 18-2. Creates citizen commission to redistrict. APPROVED 61-39
- Proposal 18-3. Authorizes election-day registration, no-reason absentee voting, straight-ticket voting. APPROVED 67-33

Missouri
Amendments 1-3 were initiatives. Amendment 4 was a legislative proposal. Propositions B and C were initiative statutes. Proposition D was a legislative statute.
- Amendment 1. Redistricting, campaigns, lobbying. Assigns redistricting to state demographer; limits campaign contributions; limits lobbying; sunshine law for legislature. APPROVED 62-38
- Amendment 2. Allows medical marijuana with 4% sales tax. APPROVED 66-34
STATE-BY-STATE LIST (CONTINUED)

- Amendment 3. Allows medical marijuana with 15% sales tax. FAILED 32-68
- Amendment 4. Allows advertising of bingo games. APPROVED 52-48
- Prop B. Increases minimum wage to $12. APPROVED 62-38
- Prop C. Allows medical marijuana with 2% sales tax. FAILED 44-56
- Prop D. Increases gas tax. FAILED 46-54

Montana
LR-128 and LR-129 were legislative statutes. I-185 and I-186 were initiative statutes.
- LR-128. Extend 6-mill property tax increase for universities. APPROVED 63-37
- LR-129. Prohibits ballot collection by nongovernment individuals. APPROVED 63-37
- I-185. Increases tobacco tax by $2 per pack. FAILED 47-53
- I-186. Limits new hard rock mines. FAILED 44-56

Nebraska
- Initiative 427. Health care. Statute increasing Medicaid eligibility. APPROVED 54-46

Nevada
Questions 1 and 2 were legislative proposals; the rest were initiatives. Questions 2 and 5 were statutes; the rest were constitutional amendments. The state requires popular approval in two consecutive elections for initiated constitutional amendments.
- Question 1. Crime victims. Expands their rights. APPROVED 61-39
- Question 2. Sales tax exemption for feminine hygiene products. APPROVED 56-44
- Question 3. Electricity. Allows consumers to choose their provider, prohibits monopolies. FAILED 33-67
- Question 4. Sales tax. Exemption for medical equipment. APPROVED 67-33 [Second vote in favor, became part of constitution.]
- Question 5. Automatic voter registration at DMV. APPROVED 60-40
- Question 6. Electricity. Requires utilities to provide 50% of power from renewable sources. APPROVED 59-41 [First vote in favor, second vote required in 2020.]

New Hampshire
Both measures were legislative constitutional amendments.
- CA Question 1. Gives taxpayers standing to petition courts about legality of government spending. APPROVED 83-17
- CA Question 2. Declares a right to live free of government intrusion. APPROVED 81-19

New Jersey
- Public Question 1. $500 million bond issue for schools (legislative statute). APPROVED 54-46

New Mexico
All measures were placed on the ballot by the legislature.
- Constitutional Amendment 1. Legislature may provide appellate jurisdiction. APPROVED 58-42
- Constitutional Amendment 2. Creates independent state ethics commission. APPROVED 75-25
- Bond Question A. $10.77 million bond issue for senior citizen facilities. APPROVED 71-29

Missouri - New Mexico
STATE-BY-STATE LIST (CONTINUED)

- Bond Question B. $12.876 million bond issue for libraries. APPROVED 69-31
- Bond Question C. $6.137 million bond issue for school buses. APPROVED 69-31
- Bond Question D. $136.23 million bond issue for higher education. APPROVED 66-34

North Carolina
All six amendments were placed on the ballot by the legislature.
- Constitutional Amendment. Declares right to hunt and fish. APPROVED 57-43
- Constitutional Amendment. Crime victims. Expands their rights. APPROVED 62-38
- Constitutional Amendment. Income tax. Reduces maximum personal income tax rate from 10% to 7%. APPROVED 57-43
- Constitutional Amendment. Requires photo ID to vote. APPROVED 55-45
- Constitutional Amendment. Judicial nominations. Allow legislature to set of pool candidates from which governor nominates. FAILED 33-67
- Constitutional Amendment. State ethics/elections board. Reduces governor’s power to appoint members, shifts power to legislature. FAILED 38-62

North Dakota
- Initiated Constitutional Measure 1. Establishes state ethics commission. APPROVED 54-46
- Initiated Constitutional Measure 2. Prohibits non-citizens from voting. APPROVED 66-34
- Initiated Statutory Measure 3. Legalizes marijuana. FAILED 41-59
- Initiated Statutory Measure 4. Gives first responders free personalized license plates and free entry to state parks. APPROVED 64-36

Ohio
- Issue 1. Reduces penalties for drug possession (initiative amendment). FAILED 37-63

Oklahoma
All five proposals were constitutional amendments. SQ 793 was an initiative and the rest were legislative proposals.
- State Question 793. Optometrists. Allows them to practice in retail stores. FAILED 49.8-50.2
- State Question 794. Crime victims. Expands their rights. APPROVED 78-22
- State Question 798. To elect governor and lieutenant governor on single ticket. FAILED 46-54
- State Question 800. Creates budget stabilization fund. FAILED 43-57
- State Question 801. School property tax revenue. Allows use for operations, not just facilities. FAILED 49.6-50.4

Oregon
Measure 102 was a legislative constitutional amendment. Measure 105 was an initiative statute. The other three were initiative amendments.
- Measure 102. Allows local governments bonds for affordable housing. APPROVED 57-43
- Measure 103. Prohibits sales tax on groceries. FAILED 43-57
- Measure 104. Requires 3/5 legislative vote to increase taxes and fees. FAILED 35-65
- Measure 105. Repeals state and local sanctuary laws (pertaining to immigrants). FAILED 37-63
- Measure 106. Prohibits public funding of abortion. FAILED 36-64
Rhode Island
All three bond proposals were placed on the ballot by the legislature.
- Question 1. $250 million bond issue for school buildings. APPROVED 77-23
- Question 2. $70 million bond issue for higher education. APPROVED 59-41
- Question 3. $47.3 million bond issue for clean water, coastal protection, public access. APPROVED 79-21

South Carolina
- Constitutional Amendment Question. Makes state superintendent of education appointed instead of elected (legislative proposal). FAILED 40-60

South Dakota
Amendment W was an initiative; X and Z were legislative proposals. Measures 24 and 25 were statutes.
- Constitutional Amendment W. Campaigns and lobbying. Reduces campaign contribution limits; prohibits contributions by corporations and unions; restricts lobbying; replaces government accountability board; limits I&R approval to simple majority. FAILED 45-55
- Constitutional Amendment X. Requires 55% instead of 50%+1 to approve amendments. FAILED 46-54
- Constitutional Amendment Z. Limits constitutional amendments to single subject. APPROVED 62-38
- Initiated Measure 24. Prohibits out-of-state contributions to ballot measure campaigns. APPROVED 56-44
- Initiated Measure 25. Increases tobacco taxes. FAILED 45-55

Utah
Amendments and the nonbinding question were legislative proposals. Propositions were legislative statutes.
- Amendment A. Property tax exemption for active duty time served outside state. APPROVED 79-21
- Amendment B. Property tax exemption for property leased by government. APPROVED 28-72
- Amendment C. Response to fiscal crisis. Requires governor to cut spending; allows legislature to call special session. APPROVED 63-37
- Nonbinding Opinion Question 1. Should the state increase gas tax by 10 cents per gallon? FAILED 35-65
- Prop 2. Legalizes medical marijuana. APPROVED 53-47
- Prop 3. Health care. Expands Medicaid coverage, increases sales tax. APPROVED 53-47
- Prop 4. Creates redistricting commission. APPROVED 50.3-49.7

Virginia
Both measures were constitutional amendments placed on ballot by legislature.
- Ballot Question 1. Property tax exemption for improvements in flood zones. APPROVED 71-29
- Ballot Question 2. Allows surviving spouses of military veterans to carry their property tax exemption to new residence. APPROVED 84-16
**Washington**

I-prefixed measures were initiative statutes. I-940 was an indirect initiative to the legislature; the legislature adopted and then immediately amended it. Court ruled such action was unconstitutional, and placed the original proposal on the ballot. The advisory vote was required by the constitution.

- I-1631. Taxes on fossil fuels and electricity with revenue to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. FAILED 43-57
- I-1634. Prohibits new taxes on food and beverages. APPROVED 56-44
- I-1639. Guns. Increases background checks to purchase. APPROVED 59-41
- I-940. Requires law enforcement to be trained in de-escalation. APPROVED 60-40
- Advisory Vote 19. Maintain or repeal tax on crude oil transported by pipeline. REPEAL 47-53

**West Virginia**

Both amendments were placed on the ballot by the legislature.

- Amendment 1. Abortion. Declares that the state constitution does not guarantee a right to abortion or require public funding. APPROVED 52-48
- Amendment 2. Allows legislature to reduce court budgets by 15%. APPROVED 72-28
Results from Pre-November Elections

Propositions Decided in Pre-November Elections

California (June 5)
All five propositions were placed on the ballot by the legislature. Prop 68 was a statute; the others were constitutional amendments.

- Prop 68. $4 billion bond issue for water and conservation projects. APPROVED 58-42
- Prop 69. Vehicle license fee revenue. Prevents diversion to pay off bonds; excludes transportation spending from state spending limits. APPROVED 81-19
- Prop 70. Cap-and-trade revenue. Dedicates revenue to reserve fund. FAILED 35-65
- Prop 71. Initiatives. Changes effective date to when election results are certified. APPROVED 78-22
- Prop 72. Property tax exemption for rain capture systems. APPROVED 85-15

Maine (June 12)
- Question 1. Ranked choice voting. Referendum to approve or repeal law delaying implementation of ranked choice voting. REPEALED 35-65

Missouri (August 8)
- Prop A. Unions. Referendum on law prohibiting closed shops. REPEALED 33-67

Ohio (May 8)
- Issue 1. Creates bipartisan redistricting commission (legislative amendment). APPROVED 75-25

Oklahoma (June 26)
- State Question 788. Legalizes medical marijuana (initiative statute). APPROVED 57-43

Oregon (January 23)
- Measure 101. Health care tax. Referendum on a law imposing temporary tax on insurance companies and hospitals to fund low-income health care. APPROVED (law was sustained) 62-38

South Dakota (June 5)
- Constitutional Amendment Y. Crime victims. Legislative amendment to previous law on crime victims rights, mainly technical in nature. APPROVED 80-20

Wisconsin (April 3)
- Question 1. Eliminates state treasurer (legislative amendment). FAILED 38-62

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Please direct media inquiries to Gilien Silsby, Director of Public Relations, (213) 740-9690 (office), (213) 500-8693 (cell), gsilsby@law.usc.edu.