North Dakota and Minnesota are establishing and funding state-level offices, while Saskatchewan is pursuing more autonomy under Canada’s economic immigrants’ system.

“A state office [creates] a focus of expertise that a small, local business could use.”

North Dakota Sen. Tim Mathern

**STATE WILL HELP BUSINESSES FIND, RETAIN ‘FOREIGN LABOR’**

North Dakota’s new Office of Legal Immigration is embedded within the state’s Department of Commerce and staffed by two full-time employees (with funding for contract work as well). Before this kind of designated team was in place, inquiries from businesses about how to obtain immigrant workers or how to navigate federal rules were handled by department staff in an ad hoc fashion.

“It’s a little bit of a phone tree that gets started,” Katie Ralston Howe, the department’s workforce director, said in a legislative committee hearing prior to passage of SB 2142. “It’s not helpful to businesses, and it’s not helpful to us either.”

Although the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services does have field offices to answer these questions, Sen. Tim Mathern says local employers don’t always find the assistance they need — not to mention that the closest office is in Minneapolis.

**FIND, RETAIN ‘FOREIGN LABOR’**

STATE WILL HELP BUSINESSES FIND, RETAIN ‘FOREIGN LABOR’

Above share for U.S.: 17.1% of nation’s workforce was foreign born in 2021

Below share for U.S.: 17.1% of nation’s workforce was foreign born in 2021

* The term “immigrants,” or “foreign born,” refers to people residing in the United States who were not U.S. citizens at birth. This population includes naturalized citizens, lawful permanent residents, certain nonimmigrants, individuals admitted under refuge or asylum status, and people illegally residing in the United States. The percentages for North Dakota and South Dakota are based on pooled U.S. data from 2017 to 2021.

Source: Migration Policy Institute (using data from the American Community Survey)

**MEMBER OR PARTICIPATING STATES IN OFFICE OF NEW AMERICANS STATE NETWORK**

The American Immigration Council supports this network to provide a forum for state leaders on issues related to immigrant and refugee integration into the workforce and economy.

**INSIDE THIS ISSUE**

- **Capital Closeup**
  - The single subject rule in state constitutions, and why it was at the center of two big court cases in 2023 in Nebraska and North Dakota

- **CSG Midwest Policy Briefs**
  - Criminal Justice & Public Safety: Two laws in the Midwest now ban deception by law enforcement when interrogating juveniles
  - Energy & Environment: Michigan is the latest state in the region with a 100 percent clean energy goal or standard

- **MLC Chair’s Initiative**
  - States are partnering with local farmers to help stock the shelves of food banks and pantries

- **Question of the Month**
  - For property to be subject to civil asset forfeiture, do any Midwestern states require a criminal conviction?

- **CSG Midwest News**
  - Leadership profiles and perspectives from two state senate majority leaders from the Midwest

- **BILLD News & Alumni Notes**
  - Q & A with BILLD graduates: What are the characteristics of effective leadership and policymaking in the legislative arena?
“We have some very large employers who are very astute about [hiring immigrant labor],” explains Mathern, author of SB 40. “They hire the attorneys, they hire other people to work the federal process. “But small employers do not have that ability. A state office [creates] a focus of expertise that a small, local business couldn’t use.” The initial concept for this office was to address workforce needs in the health care sector. In an effort to get the bill passed, however, the scope of the measure was expanded to include all industry sectors, thus helping secure support from other business groups.

The final version of SB 2142 calls for a state office to implement a statewide strategy to support businesses in recruiting and retaining immigrant and refugee workers. The office is also tasked with helping communities in North Dakota develop immigration integration plans. Over the next two years, the state will appropriate $485,000 to fund the work of the office and track its progress. By 2025, the legislature wants a fee-based structure in place to help fund the office. Mathern stresses his motivation for creating such an office was also humanitarian-based, wanting to make it easier for people fleeing oppression and violence to be able to settle in North Dakota for the long term. “We don’t just want a worker; we want the family, we want their children, we want their descendents,” he says.

**MINNESOTA ESTABLISHES OFFICE OF NEW AMERICANS**

Until legislative action this year, Minnesota’s Office of New Americans (ONA) was only a temporary entity, but as part of this year’s SF 3035, legislators established the office in statute and provided state funding. “Immigration, in my mind, should be very boring. … It should be, What are the demographic needs and workforce needs?” asks Minnesota Rep. Sandra Feist, who also works as an immigration attorney. “Nonetheless, it’s a very emotional, polarizing topic. Advocates can also explicitly about an immigration-related issue can be politically challenging.” Early in the year, she introduced a stand-alone bill (HF 330) to make the ONA permanent; that measure ultimately rolled into the omnibus SF 3035. Under the new law, the office will create a strategy “to foster and promote immigrant and refugee inclusion in Minnesota so as to improve economic mobility, enhance civic participation, and improve receiving communities’ openness to immigrants and refugees.”

According to American Community Survey data, immigrants made up 8.5 percent of the state’s population in 2018 and 10.8 percent of its workforce in 2021. After Illinois, these are the highest percentages in the Midwest. Feist describes the workforce-related purpose of the ONA as creating a network among stakeholders to address issues relating to, for example, professional licensure, language barriers, and improving access to economic development grants. Minnesota’s ONA also will continue collaborating with on-the-ground partners such as the Neighborhood Development Center, a Twin Cities-based operation whose services include entrepreneur training and business incubators, and “ethnic councils” that provide supports for specific demographic groups. “What I see [the ONA] doing is taking a lot of efforts that are going on at the city level, at the ethnically council level, at the charitable level, and bringing all of those threads together and creating a systematic way forward,” Feist says.

**SASKATCHEWAN SEEKS MORE CONTROL OF PROCESSES**

North of the U.S.-Canada border, provincial leaders are seeking greater autonomy over management of parts of that country’s immigrant system, a change being sought to help them address workforce challenges. In terms of skilled-worker immigration, there currently are two pathways to obtain permanent resident status in Canada beyond the federal Express Entry route. One of them is the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP), under which provinces are allotted a certain number of immigrants they can nominate for visas in a single year. In this system, applicants earn points based on their language abilities, previous job experiences, postsecondary education, available finances and other factors. Qualified nominees with high enough scores are then eligible to have their names selected in draws throughout the year.

Another point of entry is immigrating through Quebec, which has a system separate from the PNP and sole responsibility for the selection of “economic immigrants” (those aren’t refugees or sponsored by a family) destined to that province. In July 2022, a group of immigration-related ministers from Alberta, Manitoba, Ontario and Saskatchewan sent a letter to Canada’s Minister of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship seeking changes to the current system. “Provinces best know their local economies,” the letter said, noting the challenge of addressing “unprecedented labour shortages.” “We need the flexibility to respond to the rapidly evolving needs of specific areas and communities, with a flexible system that we can adapt to changing economic and humanitarian needs.”

In Saskatchewan, the province’s proposed Immigration Accord, modeled in part after Quebec’s existing system, calls for an agreement with the government of Canada that would allow for a greater number of immigrant nominees. That number would be based on the province’s population as a percentage of the whole country, and allow Saskatchewan to exceed this total by 5 percent “for demographic reasons.”

Also under the proposed accord, Saskatchewan would gain sole authority over the selection of economic immigrants to the province, while still recognizing Canada’s authority to determine foreign admission standards and managing a shared responsibility to reuniting families and promoting multiculturalism. “Some immigration leaders said earlier this year that they were continuing to negotiate with the Canadian government over the proposed accord. They also hailed the federal government’s decision to increase Saskatchewan’s allotment of immigrant nominees via the current PNP. That number will reach 8,500 by 2025, an increase of 42 percent from three years earlier.”

“Saskatchewan is seeing record-high population growth numbers, and immigration to the province has played a significant role in that.” Saskatchewan Immigration and Career Training Minister Jeremy Harrison said in March. More recently, the CBC reported that the province was launching a pilot program that will reserve 10 percent of its PNP nominations for applicants from eight specific countries. “Immigrants from these countries are most likely to retain permanent residency and stay in Saskatchewan over the long term, provincial officials said. Critics argue it will disproportionately reduce the chances of entry for individuals from non-select countries and harkens back to a restrictive, pre-1967 approach to immigration.”

**NEW LAW ACCELERATES CREDENTIALING PROCESS**

Saskatchewan, meanwhile, also has been changing some of its own, province-specific policies. “A workforce development bill passed last year by the Saskatchewan Legislative Assembly (Bill 81) includes provisions to simplify and accelerate the credentialing process for skilled workers relocating to Saskatchewan from other provinces or countries.” By reducing barriers that prevent new arrivals from working in their profession, Government of Saskatchewan officials told CSG Midwest, the province can help “maximize the benefits of immigration.” Part of the province’s new efforts includes legislation of a Local Health and Fair Registration Practices Office, which officials say “will provide navigation and financial support to newcomers looking to work in regulated occupations.” Additionally, the office will work with professional regulatory bodies “to speed up and streamline foreign qualification recognition pathways.”

**# OF INDIVIDUALS OBTAINING PERMANENT RESIDENT STATUS IN THE MIDWEST, BY STATE WHERE RESIDENT RESIDES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Total # in FY 2022</th>
<th>% change: FY 2022 vs. FY 2016</th>
<th>% change: FY 2021 vs. FY 2016</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>34,551</td>
<td>-20.0%</td>
<td>-39.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td>8,681</td>
<td>-12.7%</td>
<td>-27.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>4,737</td>
<td>-10.6%</td>
<td>-34.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas</td>
<td>4,449</td>
<td>-22.1%</td>
<td>-40.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>16,881</td>
<td>-25.2%</td>
<td>-38.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>9,762</td>
<td>-37.4%</td>
<td>-43.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebraska</td>
<td>3,755</td>
<td>-33.6%</td>
<td>-48.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Dakota</td>
<td>1,164</td>
<td>-27.0%</td>
<td>-37.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>18,057</td>
<td>+4.7%</td>
<td>-30.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Dakota</td>
<td>685</td>
<td>-44.4%</td>
<td>-44.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>6,109</td>
<td>-14.1%</td>
<td>-29.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>1,018,349</td>
<td>-14.0%</td>
<td>-37.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**# OF IMMIGRANT WORKERS ALLOCATED TO PROVINCES THROUGH GOVERNMENT OF CANADA’S PROVINCIAL NOMINATE PROGRAM**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>2022</th>
<th>2023</th>
<th>2024</th>
<th>2025</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alberta</td>
<td></td>
<td>6,500</td>
<td>9,750</td>
<td>10,140</td>
<td>10,849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manitoba</td>
<td></td>
<td>6,325</td>
<td>9,500</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td></td>
<td>9,790</td>
<td>16,500</td>
<td>17,000**</td>
<td>18,361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saskatchewan</td>
<td></td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>7,250</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>8,500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Provincial permanent resident status means an individual has been granted the right to live permanently in the United States. In 2021, in most Midwestern states, the two leading countries of birth for individuals attaining this status were Mexico and India (not always in that order). There were a few outliers, for example, for Filipinos followed by India for North Dakota, and India for Ohio followed by China.**

Source: U.S. Department of Homeland Security

---

**STARELINES MIDWEST | NOVEMBER/DECEMBER 2023**
IN THE MIDWEST, EVERY STATE CONSTITUTION HAS A ‘SINGLE SUBJECT’ RULE, WHICH WAS AT THE CENTER OF TWO BIG CASES THIS YEAR IN NEBRASKA AND NORTH DAKOTA

by Tim Anderson (tanderson@csg.org)

The language in state constitutions is sometimes as old as the documents themselves: No bill or law shall "embrace" or "contain" more than a single subject. Every state in the Midwest, and 43 of the 50 U.S. states, has some version of this single-subject rule, a constitutional provision adopted by states to prevent legislative mischief and "logrolling" and to control the powers of special interests, says David Schultz, a political science professor at Hamline University who also teaches law at the University of Minnesota. It remains as relevant as a provision that can be used to maintain transparency and accountability," he says. But is it being used? That depends on the state. In Minnesota, Schultz says, the single-subject rule has been "de facto dead" for a quarter-century. However, two closely watched cases in the Midwest in 2023 were based on claims that state legislatures had violated the single-subject rule — one, a challenge to a new law on abortion and gender-affirming care in Nebraska; and the second, a Supreme Court ruling in North Dakota that struck down an omnibus bill (mostly on state government operations and spending).

NEBRASKA’S ‘CHRISTMAS TREE’ SESSION, SINGLE-SUBJECT CASE

The lawsuit in Nebraska was filed near the end of an unusual 2023 session in that state. First, there was an extended filibuster from opponents of proposals to overhaul most abortions after 12 weeks of pregnancy and to ban gender-transition surgeries for individuals 18 and under. In states where the single-subject rule does apply to both legislative actions and citizen-initiated measures, it leaves open the possibility of "outcome-driven decisions" by judges — overturning a legislative action they don’t like by applying a narrow interpretation of "single subject," or uphold a law by taking a broader view. Second, the functioning of legislatures may suffer under a narrowly interpreted single-subject rule. "As we see with the increasing difficulties of Congress getting anything done, we want to make sure there is some room for compromise," Briffault says. "Part of that may involve stapling unrelated things together to get a majority to get things through. It may be the way deals have to beget done."
CRIMINAL JUSTICE & PUBLIC SAFETY

Should deception be allowed in police interrogation of juveniles? The question is being raised in legislatures; two Midwest states ban the practice

by Amanda Seidel and Derek Cantu

S
ome states in the Midwest, and across the country, are re-evaluating whether law enforcement officials should be allowed to purposely present false information to detained minors during an interrogation in order to, for example, solicit a “confession.”

“Don’t lie to children” is a powerful message,” says Steven Drizin, a clinical professor of law at Northwestern University and co-director of the Center on Wrongful Convictions. “Children, like most adults, are deferential to authority figures. And that is especially so in the interrogation room.”

According to the Innocence Project, among cases that ended in exoneration between 1989 and 2019 due to DNA testing, 29 percent involved a false confession. Thirty-one percent of the false confessors were 18 years old or younger at the time of arrest.

“Decoy statements, deceptive interrogation tactics lead to false confessions and injustice for both the persons who falsely confess as well as the victims of the crime because the true assailant is not brought to justice,” Nebraska Sen. John Cavanaugh says. He sponsored LB 135 in 2023, a year in which “anti-deception” measures were introduced in Nebraska and three other Midwestern legislatures (see map).

INDIANA: NO FALSE FACTS, NOTIFY PARENT/GUARDIAN

Passed unanimously by the Indiana General Assembly, SB 415 includes two main provisions involving the interrogation of juveniles.

First, it aims to stop law enforcement and school resource officers from knowingly offering false facts about evidence or making false statements about possible leniency to detained individuals younger than 18 years old. Statements, including confessions, made by a young person under these circumstances are now inadmissible in criminal or juvenile proceedings against the person. Second, SB 415 requires law enforcement to make a “reasonable attempt” to notify a child’s parent, guardian or emergency contact when the young person has been arrested or taken into custody for a crime committed at a school or at a school-sponsored activity.

There are certain exceptions to this second requirement — for example, if the juvenile is emancipated, or if a medical emergency or student safety are involved.

“I don’t believe that law enforcement frequently engages in providing false information to children,” Sen. Rodney Pol said following the passage of his bill. “Yet any time it does happen, it’s harmful to children, their families, and the justice system. … This bill seeks to stop those confessions and build more trust.”

At least two other bills have been introduced this year in Midwestern legislatures: Michigan’s HB 4636 and Nebraska’s LB 135. Drizin says his measure remains alive for the 2024 session.

In Minnesota, the 2021/22 session would have made admissions, confessions or statements inadmissible in all instances where law enforcement uses deceptive tactics — no matter the age of the person being interrogated.

In all three states, these bills did not advance out of committee in 2023.

ILLINOIS: NO CONFESSIONS VIA ‘KNOWING DECEPTION’

According to Drizin, Indiana joined eight other U.S. states that have changed their laws in recent years to prevent intentionally deceptive tactics by law enforcement when interrogating minors.

The first state to pass such a law was Illinois. The final version of SB 2122, signed into law in 2021, received unanimous approval in the House and Senate. Under the law, a confession by a juvenile, whether oral or written, is inadmissible in a criminal proceeding in most circumstances if it was “procured through the knowing use of deception.”

“This is not only a criminal justice reform bill that has bipartisan sponsorship support but, equally important, has strong support from our law enforcement partners,” Rep. Justin Slaughter, the bill’s chief sponsor, said on the House floor as SB 2122 moved through the Illinois General Assembly.

“As it relates to prosecutors probing the voluntariness of confessions, we lowered the burden-of-proof standard to make that easier for them.”

“Secondly, we limited what qualifies as an inadmissible statement. We wanted to clarify that a statement made by the minor that incriminates someone else would still be admissible, even if deception was used.”

At the time, Illinois Rep. Curtis Tarver said these new protections for young people should also be extended to adults with limited cognitive abilities, arguing that this population is just as vulnerable to deceptive coercion.

“I don’t know that a 35-year-old who is essentially functioning with a mindset of a 14-year-old should have deception used on him or her in any manner that’s different because they’re not 18 or under,” he said. Two years later, Tarver’s HB 3253 was signed into law. It takes effect in 2024 and bars the use of deceptive tactics in interrogations of individuals of any age with a “severe or profound intellectual disability.”

MIRANDA RIGHTS: CLEAR LANGUAGE FOR CHILDREN

Along with these anti-deception measures, Drizin says clearer explanations to young people of their Miranda rights can help avoid miscommunication with law enforcement.

Children and adolescents have a harder time than adults in understanding and exercising these rights than adults, he adds, especially under stressful conditions.

“Making the language of the rights more simple and understandable [could help], or requiring that children explain back to law enforcement officers what they understand and after they’ve given their rights,” he says.

In states such as Maryland, California, and Washington, Drizin notes, a consultation with an attorney is required before minors can waive their Miranda rights.

Seven years ago, Illinois SB 2370 began requiring that an attorney be present for an interrogation of individuals 15 and younger in murder or sex-offense cases, that interrogations of juveniles be videotaped, and that officers use a simpler version of the Miranda warning in interactions with young people.

Officers must now say this to young people: “You have the right to get help from a lawyer; if you cannot pay for a lawyer, the court will get you one for free.”

They must then ask the juvenile two questions: “Do you want to have a lawyer?” and “Do you want to talk to me?”

Without the use of this language, statements made by the juvenile become inadmissible.

Amanda Seidel is CSG Midwest staff liaison to the Midwest Legislative Conference Criminal Justice and Public Safety Committee. She can be reached at asedel@csg.org. Nebraska Sen. John Cavanaugh and Wisconsin Sen. Jesse James serve as committee co-chairs. Ohio Sen. Michele Reynolds is the vice chair.

Examples of state laws that aim to protect young people during police interrogations, interactions

- Prohibit confessions or admissions from being used against a child under a certain age
- Establish a right for minors, which cannot be waived, to consult with legal counsel prior to interrogation
- Require interrogations to be electronically or video recorded
- Bar law enforcement from knowingly using deception
- Require the presence of a parent/guardian or attorney
- Require the use of Miranda warnings that help children better understand their rights

Legislative activity to ban use of deceptive/false statements by law enforcement when interrogating juveniles in custody

- Law enacted in 2021
- Law enacted in 2023
- Bills introduced in 2023 (Minnesota’s bill covers all interrogations, regardless of age of person in custody)
- No bill introductions found for 2023

TOTAL # OF EXONERATIONS IN MIDWESTERN STATES SINCE 1899

(AS OF SEPT. 27, 2023)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>532</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebraska</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* An exoneration occurs when a person who has been convicted of a crime is официально cleared after new evidence of innocence for that crime becomes available.

As of 2020, 12 percent of these cases in the U.S. involved an exonerated defendant who had previously, and falsely, confessed. There were a total of 211 cases with defendants who were under 18 at the time of the crime. Thirty-six percent of those exonerated defendants had falsely confessed. In comparison, a total of 2,189 cases involved defendants over 18 at the time of the crime, 10 percent of those defendants had falsely confessed.

Source: The National Registry of Exonerations

Source: CSG Midwest research
After legislative action in Michigan in late 2023, five Midwestern states now have some type of 100% clean energy goal or standard in place.

by Jon Davis (jdavis@csj.org)

A mong an early-November blizzard of clean-energy-related bills approved by Michigan legislators is one requiring utilities to generate 100 percent of their electricity from carbon-free sources by 2040.

Signed by Gov. Gretchen Whitmer, SB 271 makes Michigan the third Midwestern state to set a 100 percent clean energy standard or goal in statutory stone (joining Illinois and Minnesota) and the 17th in the nation to do so.

Four other states, including Wisconsin, have executive orders from governors declaring a 100 percent clean energy goal. In a fifth Midwestern state, Nebraska, this goal comes from the largest publicly owned utilities.

SB 271 also sets a statewide energy storage requirement of 2.5 gigawatts of utility-scale battery capacity by 2030 to store wind and solar power. The new law is part of a five-bill package with policy provisions that align with a September 2020 executive order from Whitmer calling for a completely carbon-neutral state economy by 2050.

Other provisions will likely be part of legislation in 2024, says Sen. Sam Singh, the main sponsor of SB 271.

“We wanted to be able to codify a lot of those ideas [in Whitmer’s order],” Singh says. “A lot of states have begun the process of working toward 100 percent clean energy; this provides stronger guidelines to our utilities and a more-aggressive timeline.”

That timeline includes an interim benchmark of 80 percent clean energy-sourced electricity by 2035. To meet the storage goal, utilities must petition the Michigan Public Service Commission by the end of 2029 for approval to build storage facilities, as well as provide plans to build them.

Each utility’s share of the statewide storage capacity total will be based on its annual average contribution to Michigan’s in-state electric load.

FROM THE RPS TO THE CLEAN ENERGY STANDARD

Forty years ago, Iowa adopted the nation’s first renewable portfolio standard. Since then, a majority of U.S. states have established an RPS of some kind; these laws require utilities to get a certain percentage of electricity from renewable sources.

Today, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio and Wisconsin are among the states with an RPS. The percentage target can vary widely from state to state (see map).

Adoption of a 100 percent clean energy goal or standard, with interim benchmarks, has been a more recent trend.

• Illinois SB 2408 of 2021 includes interim benchmarks of 40 percent by 2020 and 50 percent by 2040, with a goal of reaching 100 percent clean energy by 2050. It also directs the Illinois Commerce Commission to establish energy storage goals for all utilities serving more than 200,000 customers. The storage goals must be met by 2032.

• Minnesota’s SF 4 sets an interim benchmark of 80 percent by 2030 while also gradually raising the RPS to 55 percent by 2035. By 2040, electric utilities must get 100 percent of the electricity they sell from carbon-free sources, according to the Clean Energy States Alliance. (Minnesota does not have storage requirements.)

A SIGNAL TO ENERGY MARKETS

Setting clean energy goals or standards in law is important because they give clear direction to utilities and energy developers, says Warren Leon, executive director of the Clean Energy States Alliance. A law is more permanent than an executive order, he adds, signaling to energy markets that your state has stability in its renewable sector.

In Michigan, the two largest utilities already had been working to meet self-set clean energy goals, but legislators still saw a need for action.

“We can’t leave things to hope and wishes,” says Sen. Sean McCann, chair of the Senate Energy and Environment Committee, noting that legal standards help ensure that the energy transition happens.

Singh agrees, and adds that Michigan’s law provides flexibility. The Public Service Commission can review and extend deadlines if it determines that circumstances warranted a delay. Meanwhile, a separate, but related, policy change in Michigan will result in a big change in the siting of wind, solar and energy storage facilities.

The recently enacted HB 5120 shifts siting authority for these projects from local governments to the state-level Public Service Commission; it also bars local jurisdictions from imposing requirements more restrictive than those in state law.

“This was a strong sense that we needed to review our siting process—and treat renewable energy infrastructure the same as other critical energy infrastructure such as pipelines, Singh says. (Illinois legislators passed a similar siting law, HB 4412, in early 2023.)

WHAT IS CLEAN ENERGY?

The definition of clean energy varies from state to state, Leon says, but its definitions generally fit within a framework of decarbonization. Illinois, Michigan and Minnesota count nuclear power as clean energy. Michigan’s new law also includes natural gas if this power source is coupled with an effective system for capturing and storing carbon dioxide.

“We say we want to help you learn from other states, we want to help you learn about best practices, we want to help you be successful,” Leon says, “but it’s your decision on how to proceed.”

Of all Midwestern states, Illinois and South Dakota have the shortest path to 100 percent clean energy — if it is defined as not carbon-based and includes sources such as nuclear and hydro power (see table).

Jon Davis is CSG Midwest staff liaison to the Midwestern Legislative Conference Energy & Environment Committee. He can be reached at jdavis@csj.org. Illinois Sen. Laura Elliman and Indiana Rep. Ethan Manning serve as committee co-chairs. Ohio Rep. Sharon Ray is the vice-chair.

** Iowa has a legacy RPS; Kansas repealed its RPS in 2015.
** A renewable portfolio standard (RPS) is a binding requirement for retail electric suppliers to purchase a minimum percentage of generation from eligible sources of renewable energy. Clean energy standards are similar to an RPS, but the target is based on a broader set of eligible technologies, they may or may not have defined implementation/ enforcement mechanisms.
** There was a strong sense that we needed to review our siting process and treat renewable energy infrastructure the same as other critical energy infrastructure such as pipelines, etc.

NEW DIRECTION ON ENERGY POLICY: OVERVIEW OF OTHER RECENTLY ENACTED LAWS IN MICHIGAN

- SB 273 increases the state standard for energy waste reduction/efficiency; it is now 1.5% of electricity sales from the previous year and 0.875% of natural gas sales from the previous year.
- SB 377 allows farmers to use land for solar projects without jeopardizing state income tax credits under Michigan’s land and open space preservation program.
- SB 502 requires the Michigan public service commission to approve financial incentives for utilities to sign power purchase agreements with third parties for clean energy or energy storage.
- SB 319 creates a community and worker economic transition office to help workers and communities shift from fossil fuels to renewable energy resources.

100% CLEAN ENERGY GOALS OR STANDARDS IN MIDWEST AS OF NOVEMBER 2023

- 100% standard for utilities established in state statute
- 100% goal established in state statute
- 100% goal set in executive order
- 100% goal adopted by utilities serving vast majority of state’s electric customers (all Nebraska utilities are publicly owned)

Source: Clean Energy States Alliance

% OF ELECTRICITY GENERATION IN MIDWESTERN STATES BY FUEL TYPE* (2022)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Coal and natural gas</th>
<th>Nuclear</th>
<th>Wind and solar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>52.6%</td>
<td>13.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td>87.2%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>32.5%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>65.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas</td>
<td>37.6%</td>
<td>14.4%</td>
<td>47.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>65.0%</td>
<td>22.8%</td>
<td>9.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>44.2%</td>
<td>24.7%</td>
<td>27.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebraska</td>
<td>51.0%</td>
<td>14.0%</td>
<td>31.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Dakota</td>
<td>58.1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>36.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>82.9%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Dakota**</td>
<td>15.6%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>55.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>72.6%</td>
<td>16.4%</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>59.5%</td>
<td>16.2%</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Percentages are rounded. Other sources of electrical generation in the Midwest include hydro, biomass, wind and other fossil fuel types.

** Electric is 29.2% of South Dakota’s electrical generation.

Source: U.S. Department of Energy

** Clean Energy States Alliance
Family losses of land and wealth are part of nation’s history; protecting future generations is among the goals of new laws on heirs’ property

by Becky Leis

E

mil Dievendorf’s legislative district includes the urban center of Lansing as well as many acres of farmland surrounding Michigan’s capital city. Among the issues the first-term lawmaker has hoped to unite the state’s constituents, regardless of where they live, is an interest in helping families hold on to land as it passes from one generation to the next.

That includes the preservation of family farms across her district and the state. Earlier this year, Dievendorf introduced HB 4924, a bill that aims to improve the process of property transfers as well as provide new protections for heirs.

“Many folks would be assumed to be on different sides of the political conversation and when it comes to this, they aren’t,” explains Dievendorf, “because we’re recognizing what happens over hundreds of years when you are not able to pass on the results of your work.”

If HB 4924 becomes law, Michigan would join two other states in the Midwest, Iowa and Illinois, that have made similar statutory changes in recent years.

In all, 21 U.S. states have adopted the Uniform Partition of Heirs Property Act (or measures “substantially similar”) since the nonprofit Uniform Law Commission drafted the model legislation in 2010.

WHAT IS HEIRS’ PROPERTY?

When a landowner dies without a will, the land passes to his or her heirs according to state law. When there are multiple heirs, they all become owners of an undivided interest in land as “tenants-in-common.”

After several generations of land being passed without a will, it will be possible (and common) for land to be owned by many individuals. In some instances, there may be as many as 80 owners of a single tract of land.

Unanimous decision-making on the property is required by the tenants-in-common. Additionally, each tenant-in-common has the right to seek partition from the court in one of two ways:

1) request the physical division of the land into smaller parcels, known as partition in-kind; or, if that is not possible, 2) partition by a court-ordered sale.

When the Uniform Law Commission drafted the legislation, it described flaws within the current system this way:

“Tenants-in-common are vulnerable because any individual tenant can force a partition. Too often, real estate speculators acquire a small share of heirs’ property in order to file a partition

action and force a sale. Using this tactic, an investor can acquire the entire parcel for a price well below its fair market value and deprive a family’s inherited wealth in the process.”

The Uniform Partition of Heirs Property Act aims to preserve generational land wealth — whether that land is a city lot or a farm family. “The act doesn’t change a state’s inheritance laws, it changes the processes,” says Rusty Rumley, an attorney with the National Agricultural Law Center. For example, it requires notice, a court-ordered independent appraisal of the property’s value, and a right of first refusal, thus allowing co-tenants to buy out the party seeking partition.

Perhaps most importantly, Rumley says, the act requires an open-market commercial sale rather than auction if the co-tenants cannot come to an agreement.

Traditionally, court-ordered sales are completed via an auction. Often, though, the bidders are the speculators or investors who initially requested the partition, so as a result, they have been able to purchase the land for less than the market value.

FARMLAND COMPLICATIONS

Across the Midwest, an estimated 1.24 million acres of land is being held as heirs’ property, according to a 2023 study in the U.S. Journal of Rural Social Sciences. The assessed value of that land is estimated at a little more than $3 billion.

These numbers could rise as more property, particularly farmland, is transferred to the next generation. (More than one-third of the nation’s farmers are age 65 or older.)

While most farmers have estate plans, a significant number of them do not. Even if there is a plan, complications can lead to land being classified as heirs’ property.

“Any language (whether in a formal estate plan or following the laws of intestacy) that creates a tenancy-in-common ends up as heirs’ property unless those heirs do something proactively to address the issue,” Rumley explains, “such as buying other siblings out or putting the property in a trust.”

Farming land held as heirs’ property is difficult.

Lending agencies will not use heirs’ property as collateral for purposes of issuing financing because the title is considered “clouded.” Without such financing options, investments in farm operations, such as purchasing new land or more equipment, may not be feasible.

Additionally, until passage of the 2018 farm bill, there had been no way for heirs’ property owners to get a farm number, which is necessary to secure federal crop insurance and lending.

That 2018 update was critical, Rep. Dievendorf says. Now, heirs’ property owners can get a farm number, and it is easier if they farm in a state that has adopted the Uniform Partition of Heirs Property Act. It’s one of the reasons Dievendorf is pushing for the passage of HB 4924 in Michigan.

Still, complications remain for heirs. As a result, those who wish to farm may be pushed out of the industry, forced to sell, or rent the land rather than farm it themselves.

GENERATIONAL CHANGE

Of all the reasons for introducing the Uniform Partition of Heirs Property Act, Dievendorf says, the most compelling to her was the nation’s history of stripping property from generations of Black and Indigenous Americans, partly through the use of inheritance laws.

Between the end of slavery and 1910, African American farmers acquired 16 million acres of land. Over the next 100 years, their land ownership fell to less than 3 million acres.

David Dietrich, as co-chair of the American Bar Association’s Property Preservation Task Force, described the ramifications of heirs’ property law as “the worst problem you never heard of.”

Mavis Gragg, a leading expert on heirs’ property, explains that for many years, African American farmers “intentionally would pass ownership through intestate succession” and “forgo having wills that you have to file with the county clerk.”

That’s because it was safer if ownership was obscure.

Heirs’ property has impacted indigenous land ownership as well. The 1887 Dawes Act permitted the allotment of Native American reservations. Individual members were allowed to own individual parcels, but they were subject to state inheritance laws. Because Native Americans were not legally permitted to use wills to transfer land until 1910, a significant amount of these allotments became heirs’ property.

Fast-forward to today, and legislators such as Dievendorf are looking for a way to ensure future generations don’t unfairly lose their land or wealth.

“(It) closes a loophole that absolutely should not have exist[ed],” says Dievendorf, adding that by making a change in the law, a state can show “that property equity is not just for the present generation, but for future generations.”

by Becky Leis

C S G M I D W E S T  P O L I C Y B R I E F

ESTIMATED AMOUNT OF LAND IN HEIRS’ PROPERTY AND VALUE OF THAT LAND

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th># of acres</th>
<th>Assessed value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>233,400</td>
<td>$213 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td>164,358</td>
<td>$416 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>205,310</td>
<td>$403 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas</td>
<td>160,331</td>
<td>$20 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>35,246</td>
<td>$166 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>26,546</td>
<td>$267 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebraska</td>
<td>135,270</td>
<td>$325 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Dakota</td>
<td>182,205</td>
<td>$75 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>68,374</td>
<td>$180 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Dakota</td>
<td>162,418</td>
<td>$303 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>48,991</td>
<td>$637 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arizona</td>
<td>1.2 million</td>
<td>$3.0 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>9.2 million</td>
<td>$50.8 billion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Journal of Rural Social Sciences, “How Much Heirs’ Property is There? Using Light Box Data to Estimate Heirs’ Property Extent in the U.S.” (2023)


1910

16 Million Acres operated by African American farmers

14% Farms operated by African American farmers

TODAY

Under 3 Million Acres operated by African American farmers

1.5% Farms operated by African American farmers

Graph from Vermont Law School Center for Agriculture and Food Systems

Debby Leis is CSG Midwest staff liaison to the Midwestern Legislative Conference Agriculture and Rural Affairs Committee. She can be reached at rjenis@csg.org.
T
he Midwest is known globally as the U.S. region that feeds the world. But how can state policy serve as a catalyst for farmers to be able to feed their neighbors, especially those individuals living in food-insecure households?

One part of the answer can be the creation of food-bank programs that build stronger links between in-state farmers and food banks. Michigan has the oldest farm-to-food-bank program in the nation, and states such as Minnesota (Farm to Food Shelf) and Ohio (the Agricultural Clearance Program) have these initiatives as well. Now, as of this year’s HB 2879, Illinois is joining these states.

“Establishing this kind of program has been on our radar for many years and it was a U.S. Department of Agriculture grant that allowed us to show that it could work,” explains Steve Ericson, executive director of Feeding Illinois, the state's association of food banks.

“We created pilot programs and model agreements [with farmers] to start building out those relationships, and that helped us convince the state.”

During the two years of the USDA pilot program, nearly 2.5 million pounds of food were donated by Illinois farmers. Legislators have now appropriated $2 million to expand the reach of the program, which will require a dollar-for-dollar match from food banks. These state dollars will help farmers use the food banks as secondary markets for “excess” or “surplus” products that otherwise would have gone to waste.

“To get more food, we’re going to have to pay something for it,” Ericson says. “We can’t expect farmers just to continually give us everything. We needed to find a way to meet in the middle.”

That “middle” will be reimbursing Illinois farmers for the expense of harvesting, packaging and transporting the food (their picking and pack-out costs). This kind of “surplus purchasing” is one acquisition model commonly used in farm-to-food-bank programs; another is to negotiate prices and enter into pre-season agreements with participating farmers, according to a University of Illinois study done for Feeding America.

Some states, including Iowa, reimbursed farmers for their donations to food banks and pantries via a tax credit.

BIG FUNDING BOOST IN MICHIGAN

This year, Michigan legislators deepened the state’s commitment to the long-standing Michigan Agricultural Surplus System; the new budget appropriates $12 million for the program, compared to $2 million a year earlier.

Under this program, Michigan’s Food Bank Council uses a state grant to purchase fresh, local produce that is of high quality but “cosmetically challenged” (also sometimes called “ugly”). The council’s executive director, Phil Knight, says the program also allows for the acquisition of eggs and dairy. The council distributes the purchased products among Michigan’s seven food banks, using a formula based on the number of people living in poverty in each food-bank territory.

Michigan Sen. Roger Victory says another role for states is to invest in infrastructure (cold storage, local processing, etc.). In his home state, for example, state grants are going to build facilities that can store and freeze the fresh fruits and vegetables grown in the spring, summer and fall months, but are needed by local families year-round.

In Illinois, HB 2879 includes grant funding for capital projects that build the capacity to store fresh food and transport it to underserved communities.

Michigan Sen. Roger Victory chose “Food Security: Feeding the Future” as his CSG Midwest Legislative Conference Chair’s Initiative for 2023. A series of articles have appeared in Stateline Midwest in support of this initiative.

question of the month

For property to be subject to civil asset forfeiture, do any Midwestern states require a criminal conviction?

Over the past decade, every state in this region has changed its laws on civil asset forfeiture, a process that allows for the seizure and permanent taking of property that is related to a criminal offense. In some states, these changes have included adding some kind of criminal conviction requirement for the property to be subject to forfeiture.

Without such language, the process in most states is related to outcomes in a criminal case. That’s because the property, not an individual, is the subject of the case in a civil proceeding. The standard of proof in those proceedings is lower than “beyond a reasonable doubt,” with one of two standards applied in the Midwestern states: “preponderance of the evidence” or “clear and convincing” (see map).

The addition of a criminal conviction requirement has been part of a broader trend in legislatures that aim to better protect property owners. In the Midwest, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, North Dakota, Ohio and Wisconsin are among the states where such a prerequisite has been added to statute.

However, this criminal conviction requirement sometimes only applies in certain types of forfeiture actions. For example, one approach is for states to require a criminal conviction only in cases involving property or proceeds valued at a certain statutory defined amount: under $5,000 in Iowa (SF 446 of 2017), $50,000 or under in Michigan (SB 2, HB 4001 and HB 5002 of 2019), and under $15,000 in Ohio. (This was the amount set under HF 347 of 2017, the threshold changes based on inflation).

The Institute of Justice, which has backed STATELINE MIDWEST | NOVEMBER/DECEMBER 2023 7

9

7

10

10
PROFILE: NORTH DAKOTA SENATE MAJORITY LEADER DAVID HOGUE

Joining the Senate 15 years ago after decades of military service, his belief in focusing on ‘policy, not personalities’ helps define his legislative, leadership style

by Tim Anderson (tanderson@csg.org)

I didn’t take long for David Hogue to get involved in one of the most important long-term decisions facing the North Dakota Legislative Assembly. The year was 2009, Hogue was a first-year legislator, and his home state was just beginning to experience the Bakken boom oil. What should North Dakota do with additional state revenue coming in from oil and gas leases? The year prior, voters had rejected the Legislative Assembly’s plan to create an Oil Tax Trust Fund, and some veteran lawmakers took that as a signal not to pursue the idea again. Hogue, though, believed the idea was too good to give up on. Take advantage of the Bakken boom to create a permanent source of revenue for future generations of North Dakotans. Not wanting his state to pass on a chance to build a legacy, he agreed to lead a conference committee that would take a second crack at establishing a constitutional trust fund. “We went into committee, addressed some of the flaws and concerns of voters, and wrote what today is our Legacy Fund,” Hogue says. North Dakotans approved the plan one year later, ensuring that 30 percent of the fund’s principal can be deposited into the fund and that the money could not be touched one year later, ensuring that 30 percent of the fund’s principal can be deposited into the fund and that the money could not be touched any given biennium, no more than 15 percent of the fund’s principal can be drawn down by the legislature, and any such spending requires a two-thirds vote in the House and Senate. “That fund’s value is now approaching $10 billion,” Hogue says. Quite a legacy indeed. He also says that early experience in office taught him enduring lessons about the legislative process, particularly the value of lawmakers being committed to working through differences and hearing multiple perspectives via a deliberative committee process. “That’s where the people’s work gets done,” Hogue says. One of his goals now as a leader is to foster that kind of atmosphere. Not long after joining the Senate, Hogue began holding leadership positions in the 47-member chamber, and after the elections of 2022, his colleagues chose him as majority leader. He has now spent well over a decade in the legislature, and Hogue’s service to the state and country dates back much further. As a young man, he enlisted for six years in the U.S. Army Reserves; next, he joined the North Dakota National Guard. “I figured I would be with the Guard for another six years, but the thing of it is, I enjoyed it so much and thought it was such a fantastic organization that I ended up serving for 25 years,” says Hogue, who was deployed to Afghanistan in the mid-2000s. He retired as colonel in 2009, the same year he joined the Legislative Assembly. All the while, he also has been an attorney working in private practice. In an interview with CSG Midwest, Hogue discussed his views on legislating and leadership. Here are excerpts.

Q: You’ve been in the Senate for 15 years. Based on your observations over that time, what makes for an effective legislator?
A: I honestly think the most effective legislators are the ones who go about their work quietly. You won’t see their names often on bills, but they’re encouraging others and providing the sort of collateral support that just about every bill needs. Those are the people who are making things happen. You can get a lot done if you’re not worried about who gets the credit.

Q: You’ve talked about the value of deliberative policymaking. How do you try to prioritize that as a leader?
A: One way is to make sure, as legislators and as leaders, that we’re squarely focused on the actual policy, not the personalities. Sometimes those two things can get commingled, and we want to try and avoid that. Things go pretty fast here in North Dakota. We have only an 80-day session to get things done. That means long hours; sometimes it’s going to get contentious. But if we stay focused on the policy, I’ve always found it to be helpful.

Q: You’re leading a large, supermajority caucus, 43 members from across the state who fall along different parts of the political spectrum. How do you go about managing differences?
A: Number one, make it clear that we will always expect to have respectful, civil discourse. Part of that goes back to not personalizing our differences on policy. The other thing we try to do, as a caucus, is meet informally, off the Capitol grounds, where we can in a social setting, have discussions about our differences, and just sort of see where everybody’s at. We want to get to a place where everybody has respect for the fact that we’re not always going to agree, and let the votes fall where they do.

Q: What are some leadership strategies that you’ve found to be effective?
A: All of our caucus members are passionate about issues; that’s why they got involved. So I try to leverage that. Encourage and empower them to become opinion leaders in the areas where their passions lie. I have tasked them with being the caucus leader on that particular issue. I think that encourages them to be as informed as they can and to keep us informed as a caucus and as a legislature. That helps make good policy.

Q: Your state takes pride in having a “citizen legislature.” You meet in session for only 80 days, once every two years. Are you a believer in having that kind of part-time legislature?
A: Yeah, I’m a big-time believer in it. One of the things, with that 80-day constitutional limit put in place by our founders, it’s like anything else — having that kind of deadline tends to concentrate the mind well. If you don’t give people or legislative assemblies deadlines, you tend to get more wrangling. I think, maybe more partisanship and divisiveness. It’s not that we’re not political, but I don’t think nearly as much as other legislative bodies where it’s your job, it’s your livelihood. In that situation, I think there is a greater chance of you spending an inordinate amount of time focused on politics.

THE MOST EFFECTIVE LEGISLATORS ARE THE ONES WHO GO ABOUT THEIR WORK QUIETLY. ... THEY’RE ENCOURAGING OTHERS AND PROVIDING THE SORT OF COLLABORATIVE SUPPORT THAT JUST ABOUT EVERY BILL NEEDS.

David Hogue’s military and public service has taken him around the world, and last year, it took him to center stage at the North Dakota State Fair. He and other state leaders showed livestock at the fair under the tutelage of award-winning 4-H youths. Hogue (second from right) is pictured here holding his victory banner. — ‘Grand Champion Sheep Showman’.

BIO-SKETCH: NORTH DAKOTA SENATOR DAVID HOGUE

✓ chosen Senate majority leader in late 2022
✓ previously held posts of majority caucus leader and Senate president pro tempore
✓ has been a member of the North Dakota Senate since 2009
✓ devoted many years to military service, including in the U.S. Army Reserves and 25 years in the North Dakota National Guard, where he served a tour of duty in Afghanistan and retired with the rank of colonel
✓ is a lawyer in private practice at the firm Pringle & Herigstad, P.C.
✓ is a graduate of the North Dakota School of Law who once served as a law clerk for the then-chief justice of the state Supreme Court
✓ he and his wife, Paula, have two children: Marshall and Megan

Bio-sketch:
David Hogue’s military and public service has taken him around the world, and last year, it took him to center stage at the North Dakota State Fair. He and other state leaders showed livestock at the fair under the tutelage of award-winning 4-H youths. Hogue (second from right) is pictured here holding his victory banner — ‘Grand Champion Sheep Showman’. He has now spent well over a decade in the legislature, and Hogue’s service to the state and country dates back much further. As a young man, he enlisted for six years in the U.S. Army Reserves; next, he joined the North Dakota National Guard. “I figured I would be with the Guard for another six years, but the thing of it is, I enjoyed it so much and thought it was such a fantastic organization that I ended up serving for 25 years,” says Hogue, who was deployed to Afghanistan in the mid-2000s. He retired as colonel in 2009, the same year he joined the Legislative Assembly. All the while, he also has been an attorney working in private practice. In an interview with CSG Midwest, Hogue discussed his views on legislating and leadership. Here are excerpts.

Q: You’ve been in the Senate for 15 years. Based on your observations over that time, what makes for an effective legislator?
A: I honestly think the most effective legislators are the ones who go about their work quietly. You won’t see their names often on bills, but they’re encouraging others and providing the sort of collateral support that just about every bill needs. Those are the people who are making things happen. You can get a lot done if you’re not worried about who gets the credit.

Q: You’ve talked about the value of deliberative policymaking. How do you try to prioritize that as a leader?
A: One way is to make sure, as legislators and as leaders, that we’re squarely focused on the actual policy, not the personalities. Sometimes those two things can get commingled, and we want to try and avoid that. Things go pretty fast here in North Dakota. We have only an 80-day session to get things done. That means long hours; sometimes it’s going to get contentious. But if we stay focused on the policy, I’ve always found it to be helpful.

Q: You’re leading a large, supermajority caucus, 43 members from across the state who fall along different parts of the political spectrum. How do you go about managing differences?
A: Number one, make it clear that we will always expect to have respectful, civil discourse. Part of that goes back to not personalizing our differences on policy. The other thing we try to do, as a caucus, is meet informally, off the Capitol grounds, where we can in a social setting, have discussions about our differences, and just sort of see where everybody’s at. We want to get to a place where everybody has respect for the fact that we’re not always going to agree, and let the votes fall where they do.

Q: What are some leadership strategies that you’ve found to be effective?
A: All of our caucus members are passionate about issues; that’s why they got involved. So I try to leverage that. Encourage and empower them to become opinion leaders in the areas where their passions lie. I have tasked them with being the caucus leader on that particular issue. I think that encourages them to be as informed as they can and to keep us informed as a caucus and as a legislature. That helps make good policy.

Q: Your state takes pride in having a “citizen legislature.” You meet in session for only 80 days, once every two years. Are you a believer in having that kind of part-time legislature?
A: Yeah, I’m a big-time believer in it. One of the things, with that 80-day constitutional limit put in place by our founders, it’s like anything else — having that kind of deadline tends to concentrate the mind well. If you don’t give people or legislative assemblies deadlines, you tend to get more wrangling. I think, maybe more partisanship and divisiveness. It’s not that we’re not political, but I don’t think nearly as much as other legislative bodies where it’s your job, it’s your livelihood. In that situation, I think there is a greater chance of you spending an inordinate amount of time focused on politics.
PROFILE: MINNESOTA SENATE MAJORITY LEADER KARI DZIEDZIC

She looks back on momentous first session in top caucus post, and shares her perspective on keys to legislative success: listening and constituent relations

by Tim Anderson (tanderson@csg.org)

“[We] found out there was much more room for common ground, even though we were from very diverse regions of the state.”

NEW TITLE, SAME PHILOSOPHY

Dziedzic joined the state Senate in 2012, and many of her most treasured accomplishments cover a wide range of issues. What they share in common, she says, is that the idea for legislative action came from constituent services. The Minneapolis native used a similar approach in her first year as leader of the Senate DFL Caucus.

She was elected to the position by colleagues in late 2022, and at the time, the number being thrown around in Minnesota’s political circles was one, the size of the slim partisan advantage (34-33) that the DFL had entering a session where Democrats also controlled the House and governor’s office (the first such trifecta in a decade).

The caucus had no votes to spare, and a lengthy list of policy goals.

Dziedzic points to another number for helping keep the caucus together: 500,000, the number of doors knocked on by legislative candidates during the 2022 campaign.

“We listened to what voters were saying, saw what worked,” she says, “and then when we were having discussions on bills, we listened to each other.”

“We found out there was much more common ground, even though we were from very diverse regions of the state,” she said.

Q: Looking back at the 2023 session, what stands out in terms of how the Legislature went about its work?

A: I’ve been here for 12 years, and other people who have been here longer than me have also said this was the most collaborative session they’ve seen — whether that was from member to member in the Senate, or between the House and the Senate.

A lot of that was members taking their own initiative. Some of it was leadership driven, saying: “OK, you want to pass this, you have concerns. Have a conversation.” And they would go off on their own and try to work it out.

It was one member telling another member, “This is why this is important in my district.” Or, “Here’s my concern with your bill.” It wasn’t just, “I don’t like your bill.” It was “Here’s the language I need in this bill.”

Q: What about the role of bipartisanship in a state like yours, where a lot of attention had to be paid to keeping the slim partisan majority together? Was there room for legislative work across the aisle?

A: I think there always should be room for it. We found common ground to pass bonding bills this year, and even on bills where there were party-line votes on things like paid family leave or (legalized) recreational marijuana, there was a lot of input from Republicans who would say, “I can’t vote for the overall bill, but I want to see it work.” So they gave us suggestions that ended up in the final bill.

I’ve told the Democratic members who are on our committee chairs to reach out to the Republican members. Don’t assume they don’t have good amendments. If they’re willing to work with you, work with them.

Q: What were some of the policy changes enacted this past year that you think will have the greatest impact?

A: Some of what we did will have an immediate impact, others will take longer. Paid family leave, for example, is going to take a while to implement, but I think it will make a difference in people’s lives for generations to come. Because when parents can stay home with that newborn baby, or when somebody gets sick and has to stay home, they don’t lose their job. They don’t lose their house.

Then there are things like the North Star Promise, with the potential for free college tuition for a lot of students who struggle to figure out how to get money for college.

We also passed child care initiatives in seven different bills. A lot of those will take longer to implement. Some of them are grants to cities and areas to help build up the physical infrastructure; other bills are reducing the cost of child care. We also put a lot of money into affordable housing.

They’re all related, going back to those discussions we had with constituents and ourselves about how to help families and help local economies throughout the state.

BIO-SKETCH: MINNESOTA SEN. KARI DZIEDZIC

✓ chosen by her Minnesota Senate colleagues as majority leader in late 2022; first elected to the Senate in 2012

✓ served as executive assistant to U.S. Sen. Paul Wellstone of Minnesota

✓ worked as communications director for the Hennepin County attorney and later served as a policy aide for the Hennepin County Board

✓ born and raised in northeast Minneapolis, part of the district she now represents

✓ earned a degree in mechanical engineering from the University of Minnesota
CSG MIDWEST NEWS & EVENTS

CONNECT WITH CSG ON AN UPCOMING STATE VISIT OR BY USING OUR INDIVIDUALIZED RESEARCH SERVICES

Over the next few months, The Council of State Governments will be visiting every state capital in the Midwest where legislatures are in session. CSG Midwest meets with legislators, legislative staff and others to keep them updated on the organization’s products, services and upcoming meetings. These visits also help CSG Midwest get ideas and input on how to better serve states and members of the Midwestern Legislative Conference, which is composed of all legislators from this region.

As the beginning of sessions nears, CSG Midwest also reminds lawmakers to reach out to the organization if they need individualized research assistance.

For example, CSG Midwest has recently fielded questions on the use of Medicaid waivers to secure funding for mental health-related institutional care, trends and changes in public notice laws, state laws on child care quality, state and local statutes on rent control for commercial properties, and the availability of unemployment benefits for striking workers.

For each jurisdiction in this region, CSG Midwest has a staff person dedicated to handling these information requests and organizing the state visits. Please contact them if you need assistance or would like to connect with CSG.

• Illinois — Mitch Arvidson | marvidson@csg.org
• Indiana — Derek Canti | dcanti@csg.org
• Iowa — Derek Canti | dcanti@csg.org
• Kansas — Laura Kleweir | lkleejen@csg.org
• Michigan — Laura Kleweir | lkleejen@csg.org
• Minnesota — Becky Leis | rleis@csg.org
• Nebraska — Tom Anderson | tanderson@csg.org
• North Dakota — Tim Anderson | tanderson@csg.org
• Ohio — Amanda Seidel | aseidel@csg.org
• Saskatchewan — Ilene Grossman | igrossman@csg.org
• South Dakota — Jon Davis | jadavis@csg.org
• Wisconsin — Jon Davis | jadavis@csg.org
• Canadian affiliate provinces of Alberta, Manitoba and Ontario — Mitch Arvidson | marvidson@csg.org

CSG MIDWEST IS READY TO BRING POLICY WORKSHOPS AND PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT TRAINING TO THE REGION’S CAPITOLS IN 2024

Through its Under the Dome initiative, CSG’s Midwestern Legislative Conference has brought customized, in-state training to legislators across the region. This work will continue in 2024. Would you like to partner with CSG Midwest on programming to benefit your legislature, its members and legislative staff? If so, here is how Under the Dome works.

SELECT A TOPIC

Since the launch of Under the Dome, CSG staff has partnered with legislators on a mix of programming, either focused on a specific public policy or in an area of professional development.

The idea for an Under the Dome workshop comes from legislators in each state; CSG Midwest then develops and delivers the programming. In the area of professional development, for example, workshop topics include civil discourse, legislative oversight, ethics and civility, negotiation skills and conflict resolution.

Among the in-state policy sessions held to date via Under the Dome: options for states on mental health policy, Great Lakes protection, state budgets and economies, criminal justice reform, and strategies to promote entrepreneurship.

ENSURE BIPARTISAN BUY-IN

CSG’s Midwestern Legislative Conference is a nonpartisan, binational group of all legislators from 11 Midwestern states and the province of Saskatchewan. The provinces of Alberta, Manitoba and Ontario are affiliate members of the MLC. Members and affiliate members typically initiate an Under the Dome workshop.

Reflecting the MLC’s nonpartisan organizational structure and commitment, Under the Dome programming must get the bipartisan support of a state’s legislative leaders before it is brought to the capital. (In many cases, too, the ideas for programming come from the leaders themselves.) Please contact CSG Midwest director Laura Tomaka (ltomaka@csg.org or 630.925.1922) if you are interested in Under the Dome for 2024.

REGION’S LEGISLATORS GATHER FOR POLICY WORKSHOP

In November, legislators from across the Midwest took a deep dive into future workforce needs and opportunities in the energy sector, with a focus on the role of state policy.

The two-day event featured expert speakers, roundtable discussions among legislative participants, and site visits to two Chicago-area companies where apprentices are gaining work-based skills and earning money while in school. This learning opportunity was organized by two binational, interstate committees of CSG’s Midwestern Legislative Conference.

• Energy and Environment — led by Illinois Sen.

ENERGY POLICY FOCUS OF RECENT LEGISLATIVE STUDY TRIP

A bipartisan, delegation from CSG’s Midwestern Legislative Conference traveled to Germany this fall to learn about the country’s experiences in transforming energy policy and use.


CSG Midwest organized the trip as part of its staff support of the MLC and its commitment to helping Midwestern legislators with the chance to learn, collaborate and lead on public policy. International study trips are among the many services offered to the region’s legislators.

The Council of State Governments was founded in 1933 as a national, nonpartisan organization to assist and advance state government. The headquarters office, in Lexington, Ky., is responsible for a variety of national programs and services, including research, reference publications, innovations transfer, staffed legislative and interstate consulting services. The Midwest Office supports several groups of state officials, including the Midwestern Legislative Conference, an association of all legislators representing 11 states (Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota and Wisconsin) and the Canadian province of Saskatchewan. The provinces of Alberta, Manitoba and Ontario are MLC affiliate members.

Amanda Seidel | asseidel@csg.org
Laura Kliewer | lkleejen@csg.org
Jon Davis | jadavis@csg.org
Becky Leis | rleis@csg.org
Illinois Sen. Julie Morrison
Kansas Rep. Tobias Schmigelski
Minnesota Rep. Amanda Hennepen Angus
Ohio Sen. Bill Boren
Ontario MPP Catherine Fife
Alberta MLA Shane Getson		Earth Roswell
BILLD ALUMNI NOTES: GRADUATES HOLD KEY CSG LEADERSHIP POSTS

For many legislators, participation in the Bowhay Institute for Legislative Leadership Development marks the start of a long, meaningful connection with The Council of State Governments. For example, at the regional and national levels of CSG, BILLD graduates now hold top leadership positions, helping the nonpartisan, interbranch organization meet its mission of championing excellence in state government.

MIDWESTERN LEGISLATIVE CONFERENCE

In 2024, Ohio Sen. Bill Reineke (Class of 2016) will serve as chair of CSG’s binational, nonpartisan Midwestern Legislative Conference. Joining him on the MLCS’s four-officer team as second vice chair will be another BILLD graduate, Minnesota Sen. Mary Kunesh (Class of 2021). Additionally, 11 graduates serve as chairs or vice chairs of the MLCS’s six binational, interstate policy committees.

NATIONAL LEADERSHIP AT CSG

Illinois Sen. Elgie Sims (Class of 2014) is the new chair-elect of CSG. He is one of only a handful of U.S. state legislators and governors holding a CSG leadership position at the national level.

CSG JUSTICE CENTER

Sims also helps lead the work of the CSG Justice Center as a member of its Executive Committee. The center’s highly regarded work helps U.S. states develop strategies to increase public safety and strengthen communities.

GREAT LAKES LEGISLATIVE CAUCUS

Two other BILLD graduates serve on the center’s Advisory Board: Ohio Sen. Theresa Gavarrone (Class of 2017) and North Dakota Rep. Shannon Roers Jones (Class of 2017).

Q & A WITH FOUR BILLD ALUMS: THEIR VIEWS ON THE MOST IMPORTANT ATTRIBUTES OF EFFECTIVE LEGISLATORS AND LEGISLATIVE LEADERS

MINNESOTA REP. ESTHER AGBAJE | BILLD CLASS OF 2022

On why she values vision and communication in a legislative leader

appreciate a leader who has vision. This means that you have a clarity of purpose, and you know why you want to be a leader. A leader with a vision puts together achievable goals and tasks to make the vision a reality ... Leaders who understand their purpose are an inspiration to others and make it compelling to follow them. This is necessary in a legislative body that will be doing work that affects other people in the society, so a clear vision of how to make society better is necessary in a legislative leader.

(Another) one of the characteristics that is important to me in a legislative leader is communication. This is because it can foster an environment of trust and transparency. This doesn’t mean that every move is made public to their caucus or the entire body. What it means is that other legislators understand that something is being done and how they need to take an active or passive role. The part about engendering trust is important because with consistent and meaningful communication, people can feel heard and valued by their legislative leader. When leaders are good communicators, it’s easier to follow them because you have a sense of how they made decisions and what went into those decisions. Communication also goes a long way in motivating others.

KANSAS REP. TORY MARIE BLEW | BILLD CLASS OF 2019

On why big-picture leadership is critical

leaders should think about the caucus or body as a whole, not just themselves. For instance, maybe a slight majority of the caucus is interested in voting on a specific issue that will barely pass, but in the end, that vote could harm those legislators in swing districts, and that is not what is best for the caucus. Legislative leaders need to think about the whole state they represent, not just where their supporters are from.

On the most important characteristic of effective legislators

Be able to work with everyone — not just those within your caucus, but within the legislative body. By “work,” I mean the simple ability to have a conversation with your legislative peers, with them leaving the conversation knowing you value their input. I respect someone whom I can have a conversation with and walk away knowing that we can agree to disagree, and we’re still colleagues and friends in the end. It’s amazing how far asking someone, “How’s your family doing?” can really go.

NEBRASKA SEN. WENDY DEBOER | BILLD CLASS OF 2019

On what she values most in a legislative leader

most value curiosity. Someone who is willing to dive into a subject, who is open to learning new things and even changing their mind. I think this helps make better law, better democracy.

On how ‘putting your ego aside’ helps you become an effective legislator

that’s hard because ego was required to get you to the seat. But you have to put it aside to work together, not be obsessed with getting credit, to take the blows when you disappoint some folks, and to listen and realize when you were wrong.

INDIANA REP. JAKE TESHKA | BILLD CLASS OF 2022

On why “leaders, above all else, need to be honest”

honesty reflects a strong character and is the keystone to healthy relationships. Whether leading efforts to pass a new law or leading a caucus, you need to be transparent. This inspires others to be courageous and stand in truth. People respect honesty, even if they don’t agree with you.

On how adaptability and flexibility lead to legislative success

t be an effective legislator, one must be able to adjust on the fly. This adaptability and flexibility ensure that you have a seat at many tables, where important conversations take place and problems are solved. In order to get legislation passed, you have to meet other legislators and state representatives whose state they represent, so flexibility is required if you want to be an effective public servant. To make a difference, to drive innovative ideas and have a positive impact, we must be flexible and willing to adapt.


Through the Bowhay Institute for Legislative Leadership Development, or BILLD, CSG Midwest provides annual training on leadership and professional development for newer state and provincial legislators from this region. This page provides information related to the BILLD program, leadership development and legislative leadership. CSG’s Midwestern Legislative Conference BILLD Steering Committee — a bipartisan group of state and provincial legislators from the Midwest — oversees the program, including the annual selection of BILLD Fellows.

STATELINE MIDWEST | NOVEMBER/DECEMBER 2023
November/December 2023

The Council of State Governments, Midwestern Office
701 E. 22nd Street, Suite 110 | Lombard, IL 60148-5095
Phone: 630.925.1922 | Email: csgm@csg.org | csgmidwest.org

CSG Virtual Events & Web-Based Meetings
Visit csgmidwest.org, csg.org and csjusticecenter.org to find dates of upcoming webinars and view recordings of past webinars on public policy, professional development and leadership training.

Midwestern Legislative Conference Annual Meeting
July 21-24, 2024 | Columbus, Ohio
Contact: Jenny Chidlow – jchidlow@csg.org
630.925.1922 | csgmidwest.org

Bowhay Institute for Legislative Leadership Development
August 23-27, 2024 | Madison, Wisconsin
Deadline to apply: April 15, 2024
Contact: Amanda Seidel – aseidel@csg.org
630.925.1922 | csgmidwest.org

CSG Henry Toll Fellowship Program
September 5-10, 2024 | Lexington, Ky
Contact: Lena Patchcs
lpitches@csg.org
859.244.8000 | csg.org

Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Legislative Caucus Annual Meeting
September 9-10, 2024 | Duluth, Minnesota
Contact: Jessica Lienhardt – jlienhardt@csg.org
630.925.1922 | greatlakeslegislators.org

CSG National Conference
December 4-7, 2024 | New Orleans, Louisiana
Contact: membership@csg.org
859.244.8000 | csg.org

CSG Events
CSG National Conference
December 4-7, 2024 | New Orleans, Louisiana
Contact: membership@csg.org
859.244.8000 | csg.org

CSG Henry Toll Fellowship Program
September 5-10, 2024 | Lexington, Ky
Contact: Lena Patchcs
lpitches@csg.org
859.244.8000 | csg.org

CSG Events
CSG Midwest Office Staff
Laura A. Tomaka, Director
Tim Anderson, Director of Communications
Mitch Arvidson, Program Manager
Derek Cantù, Policy Analyst
Jenny Chidlow, Director of Operations
Jon Davis, Policy Analyst and Assistant Editor
Ilene K. Grossman, Assistant Director

CSG Henry Toll Fellowship Program
September 5-10, 2024 | Lexington, Ky
Contact: Lena Patchcs
lpitches@csg.org
859.244.8000 | csg.org

Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Legislative Caucus Annual Meeting
September 9-10, 2024 | Duluth, Minnesota
Contact: Jessica Lienhardt – jlienhardt@csg.org
630.925.1922 | greatlakeslegislators.org

CSG National Conference
December 4-7, 2024 | New Orleans, Louisiana
Contact: membership@csg.org
859.244.8000 | csg.org

Bowhay Institute for Legislative Leadership Development
August 23-27, 2024 | Madison, Wisconsin
Deadline to apply: April 15, 2024
Contact: Amanda Seidel – aseidel@csg.org
630.925.1922 | csgmidwest.org

Midwestern Legislative Conference Annual Meeting
July 21-24, 2024 | Columbus, Ohio
Contact: Jenny Chidlow – jchidlow@csg.org
630.925.1922 | csgmidwest.org

CSG Virtual Events & Web-Based Meetings
Visit csgmidwest.org, csg.org and csjusticecenter.org to find dates of upcoming webinars and view recordings of past webinars on public policy, professional development and leadership training.