

STATELINE MIDWEST



MIDWEST

THE COUNCIL OF STATE GOVERNMENTS | MIDWESTERN OFFICE
VOLUME 33 | ISSUE 4 | 2024

NEW LAWS REFLECT STATES' MOVE TO CONSOLIDATE EARLY LEARNING AND CARE

Goal is to end fragmented system, better integrate programs that serve families and providers

by Derek Cantù (dcantu@cs.org)

For years, a common target of government reform advocates has been “siloing,” when a lack of inter-agency planning and communication results in redundancies and inefficiencies, as well as frustration among citizens.

A case in point: an often-fractured approach to delivering and overseeing the services that the families of young children need.

“Right now, if a day care center wants to set up shop, it must work with one state agency to get licensed, another to receive workforce support, and a third to get funding,” Kansas Gov. Laura Kelly said in her State of the State address at the start of the year.

“There are too many barriers, too many portals, too much hassle. We need to fix it.”

Other policy leaders have observed similar governance problems in their

states, at a time when they are looking to expand the capacity and quality of early-childhood care and learning opportunities — a policy goal that has been identified as crucial to addressing everything from workforce shortages to young people’s readiness for K-12 success.

“Families are not getting the services that they need because they are not sure where to go to or what they’re entitled to,” says Illinois Rep. Joyce Mason, chair of the House Child Care Accessibility & Early Childhood Education Committee.

In her state, and across much of the region, a push is under way to end the siloing and create a governance model that works better for families, early-childhood providers and other stakeholders.

The result has been a mix of executive actions by governors, legislative proposals and laws, many of which are creating new stand-

alone state agencies that consolidate programming and regulatory oversight of early-childhood education.

STATES CREATING NEW STAND-ALONE AGENCIES

Last year, Minnesota legislators (as part of a larger effort to break up certain divisions within the Department of Human Services) created the Department of Children, Youth and Families (SF 2995).

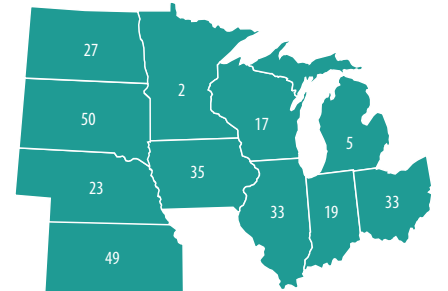
According to *The Minnesota Star Tribune*, in addition to gaining administrative authority over child care licensing and certain early-childhood education programs, the department will oversee foster care and adoption programs and the juvenile justice system.

More broadly, it will improve the coordination of services while “elevating children and families in policy and budget decisions,” according to a March 2024 report from Minnesota Management and Budget.

In Michigan, the Department of Lifelong Education, Advancement and Potential was established in July 2023 with the signing of an executive order by Gov. Gretchen Whitmer.

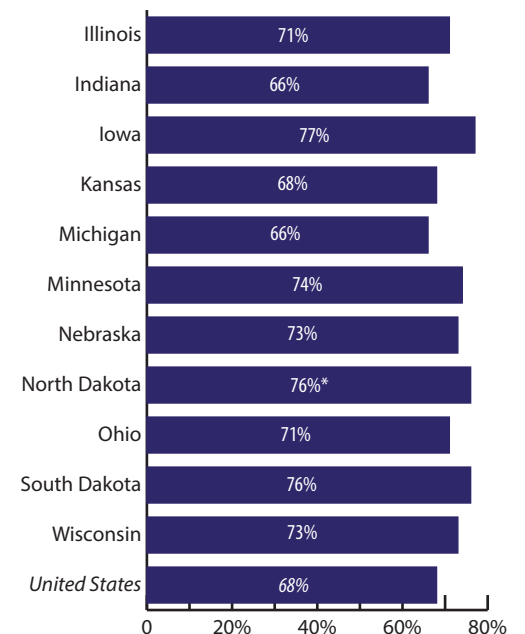
As the department’s name suggests, its work is not just limited to early childhood education and child care programming. Mobilizing and delivering education resources for all ages, from

EFFICIENCY, INTEGRATION OF STATE EARLY CARE AND EDUCATION SYSTEMS: WHERE MIDWEST STATES RANKED ON STUDY BY BIPARTISAN POLICY CENTER*



*The study was released in January 2023. Some states, including Illinois and Ohio, finished with same scores and U.S. ranking.

% OF CHILDREN UNDER AGE 6 WITH ALL AVAILABLE PARENTS IN THE LABOR FORCE (2022)



*The percentage in North Dakota is for the year 2019.

Source: Annie E. Casey Foundation, KIDS COUNT Data Center (analysis of U.S. Census Bureau data)



“Families are not getting the services that they need because they are not sure where to go or what they are entitled to.”

Illinois Rep. Joyce Mason

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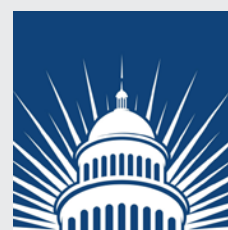
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GOAL OF RECENT STATE-LED INITIATIVES IS TO REMOVE BARRIERS TO WORKFORCE PARTICIPATION

Identify a top workforce challenge in your community, and we'll provide you with the funding to address it. That is the idea behind **North Dakota's** \$15 million Regional Workforce Impact Program, first created by legislators during a special session in 2021 (SB 2345) and now providing grants across eight distinct workforce planning regions of the state.

One common theme during the first two rounds of grant funding: the need for more child care. A majority of state-financed projects under the program (the state requires a 25 percent local match), and about three-quarters of the total dollars, is for the construction of new or the expansion of existing child care centers. This investment is on top of other new spending in North Dakota to expand access to child care, including the \$66 million appropriated under last year's HB 1540.

It also reflects a broader trend in workforce policy in the Midwest. States are looking at more than just the traditional strategies of job training, educational attainment, out-of-state recruitment and upskilling; they're also trying to eliminate barriers to workforce participation.

Child care has topped the list of priorities, with funding in this area often being directly linked to workforce issues. In **Iowa**, for instance, the state is now offering grants to businesses that offer or expand child care options as a benefit to their employees.

In **Wisconsin**, a Workforce Innovation Grant Program has funded several regional collaborations to address barriers that limit a person's opportunity to participate in workforce training or to secure and hold a job. Grants have gone to local transportation projects that help individuals get to and from work, home and a child care center through the use of micro-transit services, volunteer drivers, local taxi companies and a FlexRide program in the Milwaukee area. The program also has made infrastructure investments to allow for the construction of an affordable-housing complex for workers near a major employer in northern Wisconsin.

In early 2023, the **Michigan** Legislature passed a measure (SB 7) that included \$15 million to launch the Barrier Removal and Employment Success Expansion Grant program. Designed to help low-income workers, the program's wrap-around services range from transportation, child care and housing supports, to help with the purchase of work tools and equipment or legal services to expunge criminal records.

The workforce programs in Michigan, North Dakota and Wisconsin have been supported by the American Rescue Plan Act's Coronavirus State and Local Fiscal Recovery Fund. Whether they continue will depend on decisions made by state legislatures and governors.

Workforce Innovation and Transformation is the CSG Midwestern Legislative Conference Chair's Initiative of Ohio Sen. Bill Reineke. In support of this initiative, a series of articles on this topic are appearing this year in Stateline Midwest.

#S ON BARRIERS TO LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION: AUGUST 2024*

137,000	# OF INDIVIDUALS WHO REPORTED WANTING TO WORK BUT CITED FAMILY RESPONSIBILITIES AS A BARRIER
640,000	# OF INDIVIDUALS WHO REPORTED WANTING TO WORK BUT CITED CHILD CARE, TRANSPORTATION OR "OTHER" BARRIERS
121,000	# OF INDIVIDUALS WHO REPORTED WANTING TO WORK BUT CITED ILL HEALTH OR A DISABILITY AS A BARRIER

*These numbers come from the U.S. Census Bureau Current Population Survey. They are based on answers given by people who said they want a job but had not searched for work within the past four weeks. They were asked the reason for not searching for work.



WISCONSIN JOINS LIST OF MIDWEST STATES WITH GUARANTEED-ADMISSION POLICY FOR QUALIFYING STUDENTS

Starting with the class of 2026, **Wisconsin** graduates in the top 5 percent of their high school class will be guaranteed admission to the University of Wisconsin-Madison, while those in the top 10 percent are assured a spot at other schools in the UW system.

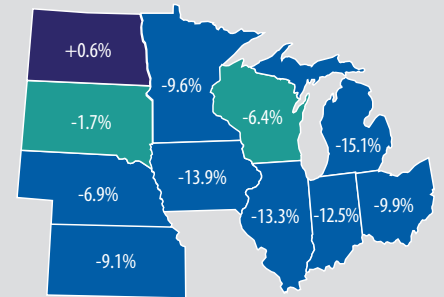
"Guaranteed admission" or "general acceptance" is fairly common in the Midwest, though these policies often are established by boards of regents. In contrast, Wisconsin's new guarantee comes from this year's passage of SB 367, a measure that also requires high schools to provide rankings of their high school classes (rankings as of the end of 11th grade for each class). Guaranteed admission applies as well to National Merit Scholarship finalists and home-schooled students with ACT scores at or above the 90th percentile (a score in the 98th percentile is required for automatic admission to UW-Madison).

In **Illinois**, automatic admission to most in-state public colleges and universities is granted to first-time freshmen who graduate in the top 10 percent of their high school class and who achieve the required SAT or ACT scores. This four-year pilot program began in 2020-2021 (HB 26 of 2019). Legislators in Illinois more recently guaranteed admission to the state's universities for qualifying students in the community college system (HB 3760 of 2023). The policy applies to students who have earned 36 transferable semester hours in community college with a grade-point average of at least 3.0.

The goals of guaranteed admission include helping students continue their education, keeping them in the state, and boosting enrollment at public universities. A 2022 study by the Education Commission of the States identified several other states in the Midwest — **Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska** and **South Dakota** — as having guaranteed-admission policies. The criteria for students to qualify varies from state to state. Iowa, for instance, has a Regent Admission Index that scores applicants based on composite ACT scores, cumulative grade-point average, and the number of completed high school core courses.

Mirroring national trends, undergraduate enrollment increased in most Midwestern states between spring 2023 and spring 2024, with **Indiana** being the lone exception in this region, according to the National Student Clearinghouse Research Center. However, enrollment remains down compared to five years ago in every Midwestern state except **North Dakota** (see map).

% CHANGE IN UNDERGRADUATE ENROLLMENT: SPRING 2024 COMPARED TO SPRING 2019



- Enrollment decline bigger than U.S. percentage change of -6.5%
- Enrollment decline smaller than U.S. percentage change of -6.5%
- Enrollment grew

Source: National Student Clearinghouse Research Center

GOAL OF NEW TAX CREDIT, GRANTS IN KANSAS IS TO END SUBMINIMUM WAGES PAID TO DISABLED WORKERS

Kansas is hoping a new tax credit and grant program encourage employers to employ disabled workers and pay them at least the minimum wage.

This year's passage of SB 15 marks one of the latest moves by states as they re-examine a federal policy established under the 86-year-old Fair Labor Standards Act. Under this law, companies are permitted to pay qualified disabled workers a subminimum wage by securing a "14(c)" certificate. This name refers to a section of the law that carves out an exemption to the act's minimum-wage requirement. The exemption was designed to open employment to workers with qualifying disabilities who otherwise have little access to work.

However, legislators across the country have been considering measures to end the practice in their states. According to the Association of People Supporting Employment First, between 2015 and 2023, laws were passed in at least 15 states to end or phase out the subminimum wage and to prevent the issuance of new 14(c) certificates.

No Midwestern states have enacted an outright ban. Opponents of ending the 14(c) option argue that it will close job opportunities for individuals with disabilities or limit the benefits they receive from federal programs. Federal-level bans have been introduced but not advanced.

Kansas' SB 15 lays out an alternative approach. First, it expands a state income tax credit for goods and services purchased from qualified businesses that employ disabled workers and that pay those workers at least the minimum wage. Second, the Sheltered Workshop Transition Grant Program aims to help employers transition away from paying workers with disabilities a subminimum wage.

Bills to phase out the subminimum wage advanced from their chambers of origin this year in **Illinois** (HB 793) and **Minnesota** (HF 4392), but then stalled. Legislation calling for a five-year phase-out of the subminimum wage also has been introduced in **Ohio** (HB 427). In 2021, Illinois Gov. JB Pritzker signed an executive order requiring state contractors and subcontractors to pay "no less than" the applicable local (if higher) or state minimum wage. The order applies to a state program that encourages the purchasing of "products and services produced and provided by persons with significant disabilities."

According to *The Minnesota Star Tribune*, as part of the 2023-24 biennial budget, Minnesota legislators included more than \$5 million in grants to help employers begin shifting away from use of the subminimum wage.

OF 14(C) PROGRAMS AND SUB-MINIMUM WAGE WORKERS, SEPTEMBER 2024

State	# of programs	# of workers
Illinois	62	2,954
Indiana	21	827
Iowa	5	180
Kansas	16	684
Michigan	13	726
Minnesota	56	3,495
Nebraska	4	101
North Dakota	9	175
Ohio	45	3,043
South Dakota	3	65
Wisconsin	49	2,654

Source: U.S. Department of Labor

NEED FOR MORE CHILD CARE, EARLY LEARNING OPTIONS IS DRIVING STATE-LEVEL REFORMS

» CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

preschool to postsecondary and beyond, falls under its mission.

"If we're recruiting adults to come back to school under programs like Michigan Reconnect, what are we doing at the same time about [their] children who count on them for caregiving?" says Michelle Richard, deputy director of higher education in the new department.

Having all of those services housed within a single agency, she adds, better reflects how people's lives intersect with the work of multiple state programs.

This administrative consolidation, Richard adds, should help the state as it seeks to fund universal prekindergarten for all 4-year-olds by 2027.

"When we're thinking about that planning work here [at the department], we're not thinking about, 'Our pre-K team needs to lead this work,'" Richard explains.

"Maybe that's true, but they need to be surrounded by a team that says, 'If we do this, what does that mean for child care? If we do this, how are we collaborating with Head Start? How are we using child care licensing rules to help jump-start pre-K classrooms?'"

'SMART START' IN ILLINOIS

Michigan's change in governance is somewhat unique compared to other states in the region.

Administrative consolidation came about in less than five months and was purely the result of an executive order. (Note: The constitutionality of this order has been questioned by some opponents, particularly as it pertains to the authority and duties of the State Board of Education.)

In contrast, advocates in Illinois and Kansas called for a two-year transition period, and the governors sought consolidation through legislative action.

And in both of these states, calls for new stand-alone agencies came as the result of findings from bipartisan task forces.

Between 2019 and 2021, a governor-established commission in Illinois focused on ideas for ensuring equitable funding and outcomes for children during the pivotal early learning years.

The commission noted in its final report that the state had a long way to go to reach these policy goals. For example, it found that kindergarten readiness varied distinctly across racial and ethnic lines.

Additionally, in 2019, "only 20 percent of low-income children and 29 percent of all Illinois children demonstrated full readiness across language/literacy, math, and social-emotional domains when they entered kindergarten."

Gov. JB Pritzker and legislators have since launched a multi-year appropriations plan known as "Smart Start." Along with more funding for home visiting programs, Smart Start grants are used to increase wages in the child care sector and to add preschool seats in Illinois communities identified as "preschool deserts."

The commission's final report also proposed the creation of a Department of Early Childhood. Pritzker embraced the idea and passed an executive order to kick-start work on the transition.

He sought legislative action as well, and SB 1 became law in June.

Rep. Mason, one of the bill's chief co-sponsors, says that in addition to helping families navigate and find the early-childhood services available to them, the new department will allow existing state agencies to prioritize their core missions.

For example, child care licensing authority is being taken away from the Illinois Department of Children and Family Services, an agency that has often faced bipartisan scrutiny over child safety and neglect-related deaths.

Removing this authority from DCFS will not only mean more of a focus on child well-being within that agency, Mason says, but also an opportunity for the state to modernize licensing in child care.

"If you are going to work in an early-childhood center and you are going to make, say, \$17 an hour, and now you're being told you have to wait up to two months for us to get the background check back ... that's not realistic, because the next day you could get hired at Target for the same or more money," Mason says.

MORE COMMUNITY OUTREACH

This recent focus on governance issues in early childhood also has led to other proposals in Illinois.

Rep. Jackie Haas has been part of a working group in her caucus looking at ways to make it easier for women to become the owners of child care businesses and to fill needs in their communities.

"What we were hearing from some of our constituents [and chambers of commerce] was they didn't know how

to open up their own centers," says Haas.

"[DCFS holds] all of the orientations in field office sites, and they're all in-person, with no virtual training. We looked at how we could possibly expand where they're doing these so that it would cover more geography in the state."

These conversations led Haas to sponsor HB 4059, which was signed into law in August and requires the state to hold orientations at least twice a year, offer virtual meeting options, and make them made available in languages other than English.

Regarding SB 1 and creation of the new stand-alone agency, Haas says she is optimistic that it could lead to "some strides for improvement in early childhood education."

But she also believes policymakers should critically evaluate the eventual size of the department's workforce "before we look at completely lateral transfers."

Mason and other SB 1 supporters have made clear the intent is for no state employees to lose their jobs at the end of the transition period. For positions that are deemed redundant, Mason says, the plan will be to retrain people and perhaps rotate out some staff currently working in high-turnover divisions, such as casework.

GG Weisenfeld of the National Institute for Early Education Research says one caveat about agency consolidation is that the end result is not always a leaner

workforce or completely streamlined operations.

"People have the assumption, 'Oh, if I just consolidate programs, I can get rid of people,' and you really can't," Weisenfeld says.

"You still need people to run programs, you need people to coordinate, you need people to figure out how all these funding streams are going to blend in or braid."

'OVER 900 SLOTS SHORT'

Last year, Gov. Kelly created the Kansas Early Childhood Transition Task Force, whose work and findings led to her proposed Office of Early Childhood.

Despite Kansas being the first state in the country to create a Children's Trust Fund way back in 1980, the task force (using data from 2018 to 2020) found that 44 percent of the state's residents live in a child care desert, only 8 percent of families can afford infant care, and 38 percent of 3- to 5-year olds are not enrolled in a pre-K program.

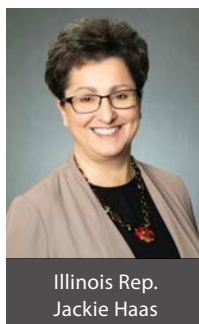
Additionally, a 2023 report from the Bipartisan Policy Center ranked Kansas 49th among states in a study assessing the efficiency and effectiveness of coordination of state early childhood systems.

Throughout the spring session, plans for this new Office of Early Childhood evolved several times before culminating in the language of SB 96. When this bill entered conference committee for

% OF CHILDREN ENROLLED IN STATE PREKINDERGARTEN (2022-23)		
State	4-year-olds	3-year-olds
Illinois	34%	23%
Indiana	*	*
Iowa	67%	6%
Kansas	45%	22%
Michigan	34%	0%
Minnesota	11%	1%
Nebraska	34%	16%
North Dakota	5%	0%
Ohio	11%	2%
South Dakota	*	*
Wisconsin	63%	0.1%
United States	35%	7%

* In Indiana and South Dakota, children were not enrolled in programs that met the National Institute for Early Education Research's definition of "state prekindergarten." The institute defines state prekindergarten as initiatives that are funded and directed by the state to support group learning experiences for preschool-age children.

Source: National Institute for Early Education Research, "The State of Preschool 2023"



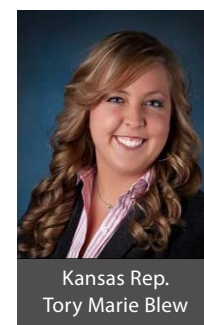
Illinois Rep. Jackie Haas

CHILD CARE ARRANGEMENTS USED BY U.S. WORKING MOTHERS WITH YOUNG CHILDREN (SURVEYS FROM 2022 AND 2023)*

44%	% THAT REPORTED USING A CHILD CARE FACILITY (INCLUDES CENTERS, SCHOOL-BASED CARE, PRESCHOOLS, HEAD START, ETC.)
39%	% THAT REPORTED USING CARE PROVIDED BY A RELATIVE
18%	% THAT REPORTED USING CARE PROVIDED BY A NON-RELATIVE (FRIEND, NEIGHBOR, HOME-BASED PROVIDER, ETC.)
21%	% THAT REPORTED "NONE," LIKELY MEANING PARENTS PROVIDED ALL CARE FOR THEIR CHILDREN

* From survey that asked respondents this question: "In the last seven days, did your household use any of the following individuals or arrangements to look after the children in the household?"

Source: Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago study based on U.S. Census Bureau's "Household Pulse Survey"



Kansas Rep. Tory Marie Blew

amendments, Rep. Tory Marie Blew became one of the chief negotiators.

Like the governor, Blew believes having a one-stop shop for early-childhood education could lead to better coordination. However, that doesn't mean the Legislature and the governor's office were in complete lockstep.

For example, one sticking point was whether to provide more flexibility to child care centers on their staff-pupil ratios.

Republican lawmakers, who favor increasing ratios for certain age groups, argue it could open more slots in child care centers and thereby expand access.

"Just in my county alone, which is a rural county, we're over 900 slots short," Blew says.

Kelly, a Democrat, and others argued that increasing the number of children or infants per staffer could jeopardize safety.

The compromise: Any increases to staff-pupil ratios would need to come via administrative rulemaking, not a change in statute.

Other notable changes made in conference committee included allowing

non-family members to watch children for longer periods of time, expanding the definition of "day care facility" to include youth out-of-school or "drop-in" programs, and the formation of a five-year pilot program to waive certain licensing requirements and to increase child care facility and drop-in program capacities.

SB 96 did not receive a final vote in the Senate before legislators adjourned.

The overarching idea of having a stand-alone agency for early childhood, though, remains a top priority of Kelly's. It likely will be considered again next session.

AGRICULTURE & RURAL AFFAIRS

Four Midwest states refine laws on foreign ownership of farmland; result is bans on foreign-adversary purchases, new state-level enforcement

by Rebecca Leis (rleis@csg.org)

Who owns the land where our nation's food is being produced? Should there be limits or bans on foreign ownership?

A wave of legislative activity since 2021 shows that lawmakers continue to grapple with these questions, even in states where restrictions of some kind already were in place.

This year, for example, new laws are taking effect in South Dakota, Indiana, Iowa and Nebraska. In each of these states, legislators refined statutory language on how foreign ownership is reported and/or further defined who cannot own this land.

Absent any federal-level bans, it's left to the states to decide when to prohibit, when to provide exceptions, and when to outright allow foreign ownership.

Many of the new laws change this balance in some way. They also are putting a greater emphasis on state-level data collection and enforcement.

KNOW MORE TO DO MORE

South Dakota Sen. Erin Tobin says HB 1231, signed into law in March, reflects a demand among legislators and constituents to know more.

"[We want] a better idea of what issues exist," she says, noting the link between ownership of agricultural land and the issues of food security and national security.

That is why much of HB 1231 focuses on data collection, public reporting and state-level enforcement.

To date, states have largely relied on provisions in the U.S. Agricultural Foreign Investment Disclosure Act (AFIDA). This federal law does not prohibit foreign ownership, but requires "foreign persons" to report their interests in agricultural land.

"Foreign persons" are defined as individuals who are not citizens or lawful permanent U.S. residents. That definition and the law's reporting requirements also extend to: a) entities organized or having their principal place of business outside the United States; b) foreign governments; and c) certain domestic legal entities and those that are more than 50 percent foreign-owned.

"While foreign entities are required to report ownership, it's easy to fall through the cracks," Tobin says.

In a January 2024 report, the U.S. Government Accountability Office found that while the U.S. Department of Agriculture collects the required foreign ownership data, the "processes to collect, track and report key information are flawed."

Further, the GAO notes, data about foreign purchases were not shared in a timely manner, and faulty verification processes resulted in errors.

South Dakota's new law (of which Tobin was a prime sponsor) mandates that foreign purchasers submit a copy of their AFIDA filing to the state's Department of Agriculture.

The department, in turn, is required to refer evidence of non-compliance to the state attorney general's office for investigation and enforcement of the new state law.

Every year, South Dakota's secretary of state must release an annual report on foreign ownership of agricultural land to the public.

Under HB 1231, Tobin and other legislators also tightened the definition of "prohibited entities."

For the first time, South Dakota now flatly bans people, organizations and governments from China, Cuba, Iran, Korea, Russia and Venezuela from owning agricultural land in South Dakota.

Foreign entities, individuals and governments from non-prohibited countries can own up to 160 acres. They may lease agricultural land without restraint.

INDIANA CLOSURES LOOPHOLES

Until recently, Indiana had permitted foreign ownership of agricultural land. That changed in 2022, under a law (SB 288) that prohibited foreign entities from acquiring an interest in agricultural land used for crop farming or timber production.

Still, Rep. Mike Aylesworth says, the law had too many loopholes and exceptions, and had no provisions to outright prevent purchases by foreign adversaries.

Now, under this year's HB 1183 (signed into law in March), farmland cannot be purchased or leased by governments, entities and individuals (but not dual citizens) from foreign-adversary countries, as designated by the U.S. Department of Commerce.

This list of prohibited countries largely mirrors the one in South Dakota.

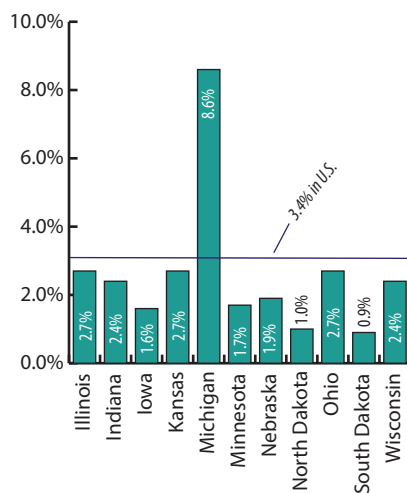
Under HB 1183, Aylesworth says, prohibited business entities include those wholly owned, headquartered in, or having a majority of stock held by foreign adversaries. The law also prevents prohibited persons from acquiring leases as well as mineral, water or riparian rights on agricultural land.

Have constituents expressed concerns about missing an economic opportunity to sell to potential buyers because of the law?

No, Aylesworth says, adding that support was widespread in town halls and committee hearings.

"There wasn't any pushback; I even got some applause," he says. The bill passed with near-unanimous legislative support.

% OF AGRICULTURAL LAND THAT IS FOREIGN-OWNED



Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture

This year, too, Iowa's SF 2204 and Nebraska's LB 1301 passed without a single "no" vote (see sidebar article for details on these laws).

BEHIND THE RECENT TREND

Foreign ownership is a small portion of the nation's privately held agricultural land. In the Midwest, 2.3 percent of this land is owned by foreign entities, according to the USDA. China-based entities, for instance, own only 1,781 acres of the region's 353 million acres of agricultural land.

So what is behind all of this recent legislative activity?

Several potential factors have been cited. For one, the not-so-distant COVID-19 pandemic disrupted food supply chains, particularly impacting meat and feed producers, and raised awareness about the importance of domestic food security.

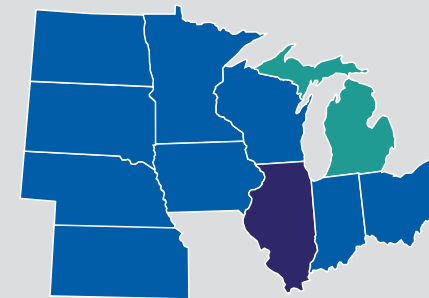
Additionally, recent reports of China-based groups buying land in Texas and North Dakota near military installations captured considerable attention. (Some of the new laws ban or restrict purchases near sensitive military areas.)

Another explanation is the increased demand on agricultural land. It is used to produce ethanol, and a growing number of renewable projects are being sited in rural areas. According to the American Farmland Trust, tracts also continue to be taken out of production due to urban development.

These trends in land use shift mindsets: When agricultural land is thought of as a finite, less-abundant natural resource, understanding who owns it and what it is used for becomes increasingly important.

Rebecca Leis is CSG Midwest staff liaison to the Midwestern Legislative Conference Agriculture & Rural Affairs Committee. Saskatchewan MLA Steven Bonk and Kansas Sen. Marci Francisco serve as committee co-chairs. North Dakota Rep. Paul Thomas is the vice chair.

STATE LAWS IN MIDWEST ON FOREIGN OWNERSHIP OF AGRICULTURAL LAND (AS OF AUGUST 2024)



- State forbids or limits foreign acquisition/ownership in some way; state also has reporting requirements
- State expressly allows for foreign investment; state has reporting requirements for foreign owners
- State law expressly allows for foreign investment; state does not have reporting requirements

Source: The National Agricultural Law Center

OVERVIEW OF NEW LAWS ON FOREIGN OWNERSHIP OF AGRICULTURAL LAND

INDIANA | HB 1183

- Eliminates all exceptions to a state ban on purchases or leasing of land by citizens, entities and governments of a federally designated foreign adversary
- Prohibition (see above) extends to acquisition of mineral, water or riparian rights
- Establishes state investigatory and enforcement procedures

IOWA | SF 2204

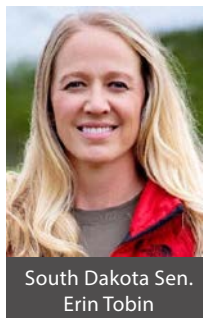
- Requires foreign owners of agricultural land to register with the secretary of state and provide information on their identity and planned use of land
- Secretary of state must provide reports on foreign ownership
- Establishes investigatory and enforcement procedures, including penalties of up to 25 percent of property's value and/or \$10,000 per violation

NEBRASKA | LB 1301

- Refines/modernizes existing law restricting foreign ownership
- Adds language to prevent purchases from "restricted entities" (based on U.S. sanctions lists)
- Establishes investigatory and enforcement procedures, including divestment with additional penalties of up to \$50,000 that apply to restricted entities

SOUTH DAKOTA | HB 1231

- Bans ownership by persons, entities and governments from six different nations: China, Cuba, Iran, North Korea, Russia and Venezuela
- Foreign adversaries may lease up to 320 acres for contract feeding of livestock
- Non-resident aliens (from non-foreign adversaries) must divest if they acquire more than 160 acres of land
- Establishes state-level reporting requirements as well as investigatory and enforcement procedures



South Dakota Sen. Erin Tobin



Indiana Rep. Mike Aylesworth

ENERGY & ENVIRONMENT

Laws in states such as Minnesota, along with a new federal drinking water standard, mark latest efforts to end threat of ‘forever chemicals’

by Jon Davis (jdavis@csq.org)

The class of “forever chemicals” known by the acronym PFAS is the focus of a new federal drinking water standard as well as a wave of recent state legislation calling for partial or comprehensive bans on their use in commercial products.

Minnesota is in that vanguard of states.

In 2023, it became the third U.S. state, and first in the Midwest, to enact a phased ban on the manufacture and sale of commercial products containing “intentionally added” PFAS. Maine and Washington were the first two states with comprehensive bans — under laws from 2021 and 2022, respectively.

Such prohibitions are the latest state legislative development on PFAS reflecting a growing attempt to undo a Gordian knot almost a century in the tying.

Invented in the 1930s, per- and polyfluoroalkyl substances feature a very strong molecular bond between fluorine and carbon that both repels water and oils and doesn’t break down over time.

Those two qualities are the reason PFAS became so commonplace in packaging, clothing, firefighting foams, and a host of household products (carpeting, cookware, cosmetics and dental floss, among many others). These chemicals also have myriad medical and industrial uses.

But as a 2021 study from the National Institutes of Health notes, concerns began to be raised at the turn of this century about the impacts of these “forever chemicals” — their presence in soil and waterways, their tendency to accumulate in organisms, and their possible toxicity in humans.

MINNESOTA BAN BEGINS TO TAKE EFFECT IN 2025

Bill Kramer, vice president of the public policy consultancy firm MultiState, says state legislatures began focusing on PFAS last decade.

Among the first wave of legislative responses: ban PFAS-containing firefighting foams, require testing of drinking water, and set maximum contaminant levels (a legally enforceable standard) in drinking water and groundwater.

In the Midwest, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio and Wisconsin restricted the use of firefighting foams with intentionally added PFAS for training or testing purposes. Illinois, which also bans the incineration of PFAS, is phasing out foams with PFAS starting in 2025.

More recently, Kramer says, policymakers have focused on consumer products, as seen in two common strategies:

- 1) reporting requirements to identify products that contain intentionally added PFAS, and
- 2) outright bans on the use of PFAS in specific products or product categories, including packaging,

“[States] start with food containers and firefighting foam; those are two popular areas [for product-related bans],” Kramer says.

Less common are comprehensive PFAS prohibitions such as Minnesota’s.

Under HF 2310, the PFAS ban covers carpets or rugs, cleaning products, cookware, cosmetics, dental floss, fabric treatments, juvenile and menstruation products, textile furnishings, ski wax, and upholstered furniture.

The prohibition on these classes of products containing “intentionally added” PFAS takes effect in 2025. Seven years later, it expands to all products unless the Minnesota Pollution Control Agency determines PFAS use is “currently unavoidable.”

Starting in 2026, too, the manufacturers of products that contain intentionally added PFAS must submit reports to the state.

“We have a long way to go to get PFAS out of our daily lives, but this bill puts us on the right path,” Minnesota Rep. Jeff Brand, author of the original legislation, said after it became law.

The PFAS provisions in HF 2310 were dubbed Amara’s Law, named in honor of a woman whom Brand says died of a rare, terminal form of liver cancer caused by PFAS.

Another part of the Minnesota law bans the manufacture, sale and use of PFAS from certain firefighting foams as of this year, except at terminals and oil refineries. These facilities must phase out PFAS use by 2026.

DELAYS IN MAINE; REVIEW PROCESS IN WASHINGTON

Maine’s 2021 law initially set 2030 as the target by which products with intentionally added PFAS would be banned from sale or manufacture. It also required manufacturers to report products for sale with intentionally added PFAS starting in 2023. The reporting deadline was delayed to 2025, however, because regulations weren’t ready in time.

Following negotiations between business and environmental groups to provide more time to comply with the law’s goals, Maine this year adopted significant changes: LD 1537 sets a longer phase-out schedule and changes language in the reporting requirement from “intentionally added” to “currently unavoidable use.”

Several products also are now exempt from the ban, including firefighting foam and medical devices or veterinary products regulated by federal agencies.

Washington’s 2022 law is different, Kramer says, because it authorizes the state Department of Ecology to create a regular process for determining “priority” chemical classes for review.

Part of that review is deciding whether to regulate those chemicals, and how, as well as identifying their presence in consumer products.

PFAS were among the first chemical class to be reviewed. Restrictions have since been proposed for aftermarket stain- and water-resistant treatments,

carpets and rugs in 2025, and for indoor furniture in 2026.

ACTIVITY IN THE MIDWEST

Will other states begin enacting comprehensive bans such as the ones in Minnesota, Maine and Washington?

In August, New Hampshire Gov. Chris Sununu signed into law a new PFAS ban. Legislation was also under consideration in at least three Midwestern states this year, but none of the bills had advanced past the committee stage as of September. (Sessions in Illinois and Wisconsin have ended.)

- Illinois’ SB 88 calls for a phased ban to begin taking effect in 2025.

- Michigan’s HB 5657 would ban the use of “intentionally added” PFAS in all household products by 2027, minus a determination that the use of PFAS is “currently unavoidable.”

- AB 1194/SB 1093 in Wisconsin would ban “intentionally added” PFAS from food packaging, cleaning products, cosmetics and textile furnishings by 2028, and from all products by 2034. There would be exemptions for “unavoidable use.”

Illinois SB 3360 is part of the other recent legislative trend noted by Kramer: a push for more reporting and understanding of what products contain PFAS. The measure would authorize Illinois’ participation in an interstate safe-chemicals clearinghouse, and products with intentionally added PFAS would need to be registered with the state.

“That would at least allow the ability to know who is adding PFAS to their products,” says the bill’s sponsor, Illinois Sen. Laura Ellman. “Right now, nobody really knows.”



Illinois Sen. Laura Ellman

EPA SETS NEW STANDARDS

The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency in April released new national standards for PFAS in drinking water and designated two PFAS (PFOA and PFOS) as hazardous substances under the federal “Superfund” law.

This designation means that leaks, spills and other releases of PFOA and PFOS must be reported to the EPA. Sellers of contaminated property must now both disclose the contamination and guarantee it’s been cleaned up or will be in the future. The drinking water standard will require PFAS monitoring, and potential remediation, by local water utilities (see table for details).

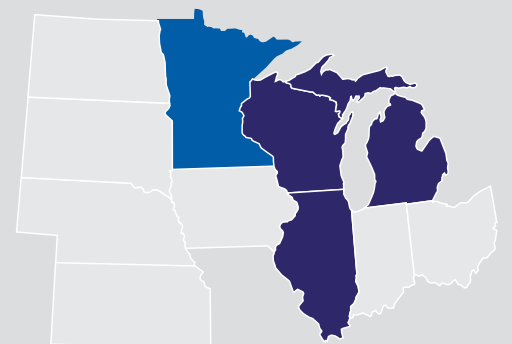
Jon Davis is CSG Midwest’s staff liaison to the Midwestern Legislative Conference Energy & Environment Committee. Illinois Sen. Laura Ellman and Indiana Rep. Ethan Manning serve as committee co-chairs. Ohio Rep. Sharon Ray is the vice chair.

U.S. ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY’S NEW DRINKING WATER STANDARD FOR PFAS

4 PARTS PER TRILLION	THE LEGALLY ENFORCEABLE MAXIMUM CONTAMINANT LEVEL FOR PFOS AND PFOA CHEMICALS IN DRINKING WATER
10 PARTS PER TRILLION	THE LEGALLY ENFORCEABLE MAXIMUM CONTAMINANT LEVEL FOR PFNA, PFHXS AND “GEN X” CHEMICALS IN DRINKING WATER
3	# OF YEARS FOR LOCAL WATER UTILITIES TO COMPLETE INITIAL PFAS MONITORING
5	# OF YEARS FOR LOCAL WATER UTILITIES TO IMPLEMENT SOLUTIONS IF PFAS IS ABOVE MAXIMUM LEVELS
\$9 BILLION	INFRASTRUCTURE INVESTMENT & JOBS ACT FUNDING FOR COMMUNITIES TO ADDRESS PFAS, OTHER CONTAMINANTS IN DRINKING WATER
14,735	ESTIMATED # OF PFAS CHEMICALS, PER THE EPA’S “COMPTOX” CHEMICALS DASHBOARD



LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITY IN MIDWEST ON PFAS AND CONSUMER PRODUCTS, 2023 AND 2024



- **Law enacted:** Phased, comprehensive ban on use of PFAS in consumer products

- **Bill(s) introduced:** Phased, comprehensive ban on use of PFAS in consumer products

Note: A 50-state legislative tracker from Safer States lists several other PFAS-related bills in the Midwest.

That includes Indiana’s HB 1219, a bill signed into law establishing a biomonitoring pilot program to test 1,000 current or former firefighters for PFAS in their blood and to determine health impacts.

Additionally, bills were introduced in Iowa (but not passed) related to PFAS in firefighting foam and the testing of PFAS in wastewater.

Illinois and Minnesota are among the U.S. states that already ban the sale of firefighting foam containing PFAS.

Sources for map: Safer States, MultiState and CSG Midwest research

HEALTH & HUMAN SERVICES

New state laws take multipronged approach to medical debt: prevent it, erase it or help those struggling to pay outstanding medical bills

by Tim Anderson (*tanderson@cs.org*)

Over the course of her 20-plus years as a registered nurse, Liz Boldon says she has cared for countless patients with more than just a health recovery on their minds.

They also worry about economic well-being.

"You hope they can be focused on healing and rest and getting well," she says, "but you also see how they and their families get overwhelmed and preoccupied with the bills that are coming.

"And that concern about costs can impact the choices they make about care."

Her experiences as a nurse inform Boldon's work as a Minnesota legislator, including efforts to reshape laws in a way that provide relief for individuals who find themselves in medical debt.

Most recently, she served as a chief author of Minnesota's Debt Fairness Act, a wide-ranging new law (SF 4097) that took effect in October.

Among the many statutory changes: banning medical debt from being reported to credit bureaus; preventing providers from withholding medically necessary care due to unpaid bills; and ending the automatic transfer of medical debt to a patient's spouse (a creditor retains a claim against a decedent's estate).

The act also extends wage garnishment protections and establishes new income-based garnishment levels. Under previous law, garnishment was capped at a flat rate of 25 percent of a person's wages. Now, the limit may be as low as 10 percent for individuals with lower earnings.

"Medical debt isn't like other debt," Sen. Boldon says. "It's not something you choose. It's something that happens to you, oftentimes unexpectedly."

She adds that the new law in Minnesota seeks to strike a balance. On the one hand, provide relief for those who need it; on the other, recognize that individuals should pay their debts and that medical providers should get what they are owed.

She notes as an example Minnesota's new prohibition on withholding medically necessary care. As a condition of providing treatment, providers can require patients to enroll in a payment plan for any outstanding medical debt.

According to Boldon, the final bill was the result of many hours of

collaboration and negotiation; during the months of legislative session, a full room of stakeholders would often meet on early Monday and Friday mornings to resolve disagreements.

"There was some push on our part, certainly, but it was carefully negotiated, and we landed in a place that I would say everybody is OK with," she says.

'PENNIES ON THE DOLLAR'

Minnesota is one of several U.S. states with new laws on medical debt. Other examples from the Midwest this year include Illinois (HB 5290) and Michigan (HB 4437) dedicating state funds for programs to erase some residents' medical debt.



Minnesota Sen. Liz Boldon

The Illinois expenditure is \$10 million, and lawmakers there say it will erase about \$1 billion in debt. Michigan is spending \$4.5 million and the amount of relief is estimated at \$450 million.

"Over time, the value of the medical debt that [providers] hold goes down, so if it's not been paid off in a couple of years, it's kind of just this portfolio

of debt that they're holding. They're not getting any money off of it," says Maanasa Kona, explaining why these "pennies on the dollar" purchases of the debt can be made.

Kona, an assistant research professor at the Georgetown University Health Policy Institute's Center on Health Insurance Reforms, says the recent spike in legislative activity on medical debt is the result of a "perfect storm" in the health care marketplace. Rising costs of medical services are colliding with increased cost-sharing demands on consumers.

"We've seen increases in deductibles, copays and patient responsibilities the last few years," Kona says. "So you're just seeing more cases of medical debt, especially among people who are insured and who theoretically should not be facing something like this."

A February 2024 study from the Kaiser Family Foundation details the prevalence of medical debt. Researchers found that 6 percent of U.S. adults have more than \$1,000 in medical debt and 1 percent more than \$10,000. In all, an estimated 8 percent of adult Americans have some type of medical debt, usually \$2,000 or more.

Kona says states have been pursuing a mix of new laws. Some measures seek to prevent individuals from going into medical debt in the first place, others help those already in it (see sidebar checklist for examples).

"Generally speaking, the more systemic and upstream the solutions are, the more likely you are going to create long-term, sustainable change," she says.

One "upstream" policy lever for a state is to require more of hospitals and their financial assistance programs. First, establish statutory rules ensuring that lower-income

individuals are eligible for free or discounted care. Second, make sure hospitals have a straightforward enrollment process.

Under a new Illinois law (HB 2719 of 2023), more patients will be automatically screened for eligibility, and hospitals must pursue cost-reducing options before taking collection actions against a patient.

According to a 2023 Commonwealth Fund study authored by Kona, other actions by states include limiting the interest that can be charged on medical debt, requiring hospitals to establish monthly payment plans (as an alternative to sending unpaid bills to debt collectors), and setting income-based limits on these plans.

'KNOW WHAT THE PRICE IS'

Medical debt also has been part of the conversation this year in Ohio over transparency, or the current lack of it, in hospital pricing. Under HB 49, hospitals would be required to maintain a consumer-friendly, publicly available list of their charges for various non-emergency services.

Ohio Rep. Ron Ferguson, a primary sponsor of the bill, says a federal rule on hospital pricing transparency has lacked enforcement and compliance.

States, he believes, can fill the void. "In order to breed competition, we need to know what the price of something is," Ferguson says.

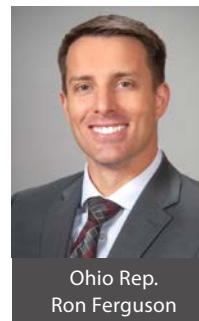
And under the House-passed version of HB 49, hospitals could not collect on medical debt unless they are in compliance with the state-level transparency rules.

"Obviously, people can't do price shopping in emergencies," Ferguson says. "But when you are in a situation where you can actually do some price shopping, certainly you're going to be in less debt if you're paying a cheaper price.

"And sometimes people end up getting billed for things that they weren't really fully aware were part of a process or a procedure."

The Senate passed a different version of HB 49 in June 2024. Among the differences was removal of the language on medical debt collection.

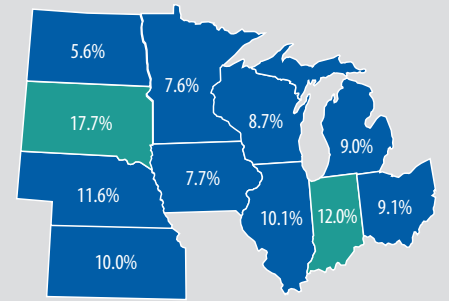
According to Ferguson, the biggest point of disagreement is that the Senate version would allow hospitals to publish estimates, rather than actual prices.



Ohio Rep. Ron Ferguson

Tim Anderson is CSG Midwest staff liaison to the Midwestern Legislative Conference Health & Human Services Committee. Kansas Rep. Susan Concannon and Illinois Sen. Julie Morrison serve as committee co-chairs. South Dakota Rep. Taylor Rehfeldt is the vice chair.

ESTIMATES ON SHARE OF ADULTS WITH MEDICAL DEBT (AVERAGED FOR YEARS 2019, 2020 AND 2021)



- Share is not statistically different from national annual average, 8.6%
- Share is statistically higher than national annual average, 8.6%

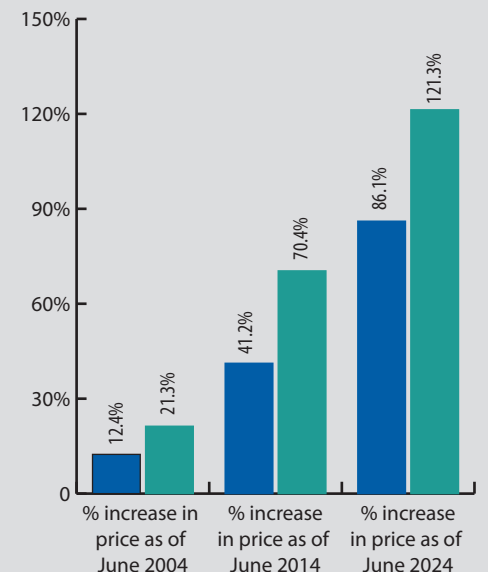
Source: Kaiser Family Foundation analysis of the U.S. Census Bureau's "Survey of Income and Program Participation"

EXAMPLES OF STATE STRATEGIES ON MEDICAL DEBT

- ✓ **Illinois and Michigan** are using state funds to purchase and erase the medical debt of some residents.
- ✓ **Illinois, Minnesota and Ohio** exceed federal rules on what is required of hospitals regarding financial assistance programs for low-income people.
- ✓ States such as **Illinois, Indiana and Minnesota** have "community benefit" standards for nonprofit hospitals; these benefits often include financial assistance for low-income patients. Illinois has a minimum spend requirement for nonprofit hospitals. Minnesota's law extends to for-profit hospitals.
- ✓ **Illinois and Minnesota** are among the U.S. states that do one or more of the following: 1) require hospitals to offer payment plans; 2) set state-imposed limits on monthly payments or on the interest that can be charged to people; and 3) limit reporting to credit agencies on a person's medical debt.
- ✓ **Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota and Wisconsin** exceed federal protections regarding how much of a person's wages can be garnished in order to pay off medical debt.
- ✓ **Illinois, Iowa, Ohio and South Dakota** exceed federal law on protections related to home liens or foreclosures.

Sources: Commonwealth Fund report "State Protections Against Medical Debt: A Look at Policies Across the U.S." (September 2023) and CSG Midwest research

CHANGE IN PRICES SINCE JANUARY 2020: CUMULATIVE % INCREASES IN MEDICAL CARE SERVICES COMPARED TO ALL GOODS AND SERVICES



- All goods and services
- Medical care services

Source: Kaiser Family Foundation analysis of U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics' Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers



VOTERS' TURN: 27 MEASURES ON BALLOT IN 8 MIDWEST STATES

A look at proposals on abortion, taxes, redistricting, elections and marijuana

1 ABORTION POLICY AT STAKE IN TWO STATES

Nebraska and South Dakota are among 10 U.S. states with ballot measures on abortion. According to the Kaiser Family Foundation, all but one of these proposed constitutional amendments seeks to protect abortion rights.

The one exception is a measure in Nebraska that would enshrine in the state Constitution a law passed by the Legislature in 2023 (LB 574). It prohibits most abortions after the first trimester, with exceptions for medical emergencies or for pregnancies caused by sexual assault or incest. A competing proposal in Nebraska would establish a right to abortion until fetal viability.

In South Dakota, most abortions are banned under a law that took effect after the U.S. Supreme Court's 2022 *Dobbs* decision. The only exception is if a medical provider determines the procedure is "necessary to preserve the life of a pregnant female."

Under this year's proposed constitutional amendment, a state-level ban would be allowed only for the third trimester of a pregnancy, and it would need to have exceptions to protect the health and life of a pregnant woman. During the first trimester of a pregnancy, South Dakota women would have a complete right to abortion. Any state-level regulation during the second trimester would need to be "reasonably related to the physical health of the women."

Abortion-related ballot measures already have been voted on in three Midwestern states since the *Dobbs* decision. Kansans rejected a legislatively referred constitutional amendment stating there was no right to an abortion in the state Constitution. Voters in Michigan and Ohio included the right to an abortion in their state constitutions.

Property tax relief was a common

2 TAX BATTLES IN NORTH DAKOTA, SOUTH DAKOTA

theme this year in the Midwest's legislatures, and the subject of special sessions held in Kansas and Nebraska.

In November, North Dakotans will decide whether to take a much further-reaching step — elimination of the property tax. A citizen-initiated constitutional amendment would "prohibit the state government and all local taxing entities from assessing a property tax on real or personal property."

The Legislative Assembly would be constitutionally obligated to find a way of replacing this revenue for local governments, estimated to be a biennial total of \$3.15 billion.

According to the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, the property tax accounted for 10.0 percent of total state and local revenue in North Dakota in 2021. For other Midwestern states, it accounts for an even greater percentage, ranging from 10.4 percent in Indiana to 20.4 percent in Illinois.

Voters in South Dakota, meanwhile, face a decision about the future of the sales tax on food. Most states in the Midwest do not levy such taxes, with the lone exceptions being South Dakota, Kansas (the food tax is being phased out there) and Illinois (food is taxed at a lower rate, 1 percent, and the tax will be eliminated in 2026).

South Dakota's citizen-initiated statute would ban the state from collecting sales and use taxes "on anything sold for human consumption, except alcoholic beverages and prepared food."

Legislative fiscal analysts have pegged the impact on state revenues at anywhere between \$133.6 million and \$646.43 million, depending on how "human consumption" is interpreted.

3 REDISTRICTING ON BALLOT IN OHIO AGAIN

Prior to the last round of decennial redistricting, voters in Ohio and Michigan approved ballot measures that changed the process for redrawing legislative and congressional lines.

In Ohio, the pair of legislatively referred constitutional amendments (from 2015 and 2018) included provisions that aimed to encourage bipartisanship and prevent gerrymandering. However, the General Assembly and a commission of elected officials retained control of the process.

In contrast, Michigan's citizen-initiated constitutional amendment (from 2018) created an independent redistricting commission, whose members cannot be legislators or other elected officials.

In 2024, redistricting is once again on the ballot in Ohio. This time, though, it's in the form of a citizen-initiated constitutional amendment calling for creation of a Michigan-style, nonpolitician commission.

In the Midwest's nine other states, redistricting remains in the hands of state legislatures and governors (unless an impasse or legal challenge leads to intervention by the courts).

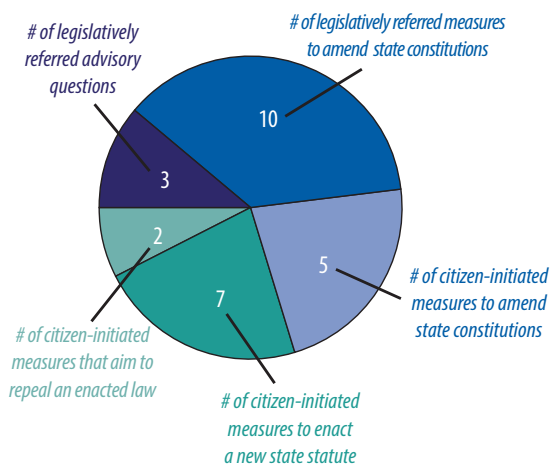
Redistricting reform has been the subject of multiple U.S. state ballot measures in recent years. However, over the last decade, it has only appeared on the ballot in one other Midwestern state, South Dakota. In 2016, voters there rejected a commission-style approach. Elections law and voting are the

4 END OF PARTY PRIMARIES IN SOUTH DAKOTA?

subjects of ballot measures in three Midwestern states.

The legislatively referred measures in Iowa and Wisconsin seek constitutional language prohibiting state and local

NOVEMBER 2024 BALLOT MEASURES IN MIDWEST



Sources: Ballotpedia and CSG Midwest research

governments from allowing noncitizens to vote.

The Iowa measure also would give 17-year-olds the constitutional right to participate in primary elections, if they will turn 18 by the general election. Legislators first expanded this right under a 2017 law.

South Dakota's elections-related measure would abolish party primaries in races for U.S. Congress, state Legislature, the governor and county offices. Instead, in the election for each of these offices, candidates would compete in a single, open primary. The top vote-getters, regardless of party, then move on: the top two candidates for a race in which one person is to be elected in the general election, and the top four candidates when two are to be elected in the general election.

According to Ballotpedia, South Dakota is one of eight states (no others in the Midwest) with November ballot measures to establish nonpartisan primaries and/or ranked-choice voting.

Nebraska is the only Midwestern state with any kind of nonpartisan primary system for state-level races. It's used there for elections to the nonpartisan Unicameral Legislature.

5 CONTINUED PUSH TO LEGALIZE MARIJUANA

Over the last six years, the adult use of recreational marijuana has been legalized in four Midwestern states: Illinois (2019) and Minnesota (2023) through legislative action, Ohio (2023) and Michigan (2018) through direct votes of the citizens.

Legalization measures are on the ballot this November in North Dakota and South Dakota, in the form of citizen-initiated state statutes. These two states already allow for the medical use of marijuana as the result of previous voter-approved measures.

A medical cannabis program would be established in Nebraska under two proposals before voters: one to legalize medical cannabis, a second creating a state commission to oversee and regulate its use.

Article written by CSG Midwest director of policy and research Tim Anderson. He can be reached at tanderson@cs.org.

STATE-BY-STATE OVERVIEW OF WHAT IS ON THE BALLOT IN NOVEMBER



ILLINOIS

- Three legislatively referred advisory questions on 1) raising the income tax; 2) requiring health coverage for in vitro fertilization; and 3) establishing civil penalties for interfering with election workers



INDIANA

- One legislatively referred constitutional amendment to remove the school superintendent from the line of gubernatorial succession



IOWA

- Two legislatively referred constitutional amendments on 1) prohibiting noncitizens from voting; and 2) clarifying the gubernatorial line of succession



MINNESOTA

- One legislatively referred constitutional amendment to continue using lottery-derived revenue to fund environment and natural resources projects



NEBRASKA

- Two citizen-initiated constitutional amendments on abortion
- Three citizen-initiated state statutes to 1) legalize medical marijuana; 2) regulate medical marijuana; and 3) ensure workers can earn paid sick time
- One citizen-initiated measure to repeal a law providing tax credits for donations to private school scholarship programs



NORTH DAKOTA

- Three legislatively referred constitutional amendments to 1) change language describing people with disabilities; 2) alter rules on citizen-initiated constitutional amendments; and 3) establish new rules on transfers from the Legacy Fund
- Two citizen-initiated constitutional amendments to 1) eliminate the property tax; and 2) legalize the recreational use of marijuana



OHIO

- One citizen-initiated constitutional amendment to create a nonpolitician redistricting commission



SOUTH DAKOTA

- Two legislatively referred constitutional amendments to 1) use gender-neutral terms in references to officeholders; and 2) authorize a work requirement for certain Medicaid enrollees
- One citizen-initiated constitutional amendment to provide a right to an abortion
- Three citizen-initiated state statutes to 1) establish nonpartisan primaries; 2) end the food sales tax; and 3) legalize the recreational use of marijuana
- One citizen-initiated measure to repeal a law on carbon pipelines



WISCONSIN

- One legislatively referred constitutional amendment to prohibit voting by noncitizens



PROFILE: MINNESOTA HOUSE MINORITY LEADER LISA DEMUTH

From involved parent to top state leader, her life has changed quite a bit in the 17 years since she began asking this question about elective office: ‘Why not me?’

by Rebecca Leis (rleis@csg.org)

Lisa Demuth got the call six years ago from longtime Minnesota legislator Jeff Howe.

“Have you ever thought about running for a seat in the Minnesota House?” he asked.

Her immediate answer: “Nope, never crossed my mind.”

But then Demuth asked a question of herself, one that had brought her to public service in the first place.

“Why not me?”

The year was 2007, and an article in her local newspaper noted that the school board had more open seats than candidates. Demuth clipped the article and set at it her husband’s place at dinner, thinking he could fill one of those openings. He instead turned the question back at her: “Why don’t you run?”

“I didn’t have a reason why I couldn’t; I just had never thought of it,” she says. “So I checked into it and started to think about it.”

“I didn’t want to do it to be an elected official. But I cared about my community. Two of my kids had graduated. Two were still in the district, and it mattered to me how our kids are educated.”

That led Demuth to launch a successful write-in campaign for school board.

Eleven years later, many of the same reasons led to her to say “yes” to Howe and the chance to seek a seat in the Minnesota Legislature: her faith, conversations with family, a sense of community responsibility, and that always-lingering question of “Why not me?”

First elected in 2018, Demuth ascended to the top position in the Republican House Caucus in late 2022.

In an interview with CSG Midwest, the Minnesota House minority leader shared her perspective on leadership and policymaking. Here are excerpts, with questions and answers lightly edited for clarity and brevity.

Q In just four years, you went from new legislator to top legislative leader, and it happened during a tumultuous period in your state’s history. How do you look back at that time, and why did you choose to pursue leadership?

A I had one year under my belt before COVID. During that time, I kept my head down and worked hard on my committees to learn from my constituents and colleagues. The



BIO-SKETCH: MINNESOTA REP. LISA DEMUTH

- ✓ elected House minority leader in November 2022; previously served as assistant minority leader
- ✓ first elected to the Minnesota House in 2018
- ✓ is a small-business owner who served 11 years on her local school board
- ✓ lives in the central Minnesota town of Cold Spring; she and her husband, Nick, have four adult children and six grandchildren
- ✓ is a 2021 graduate of CSG Midwest’s Bowhay Institute for Legislative Leadership Development (BILLD)

“Work hard for the people I’m serving, learn what you can, and stay true to yourself.”

— Words from a letter that Rep. Demuth wrote to herself as an incoming freshman legislator, and that she says still hold true today

turmoil of COVID was one thing, but the unrest following George Floyd’s death was personal for me.

A lot of my colleagues didn’t even know I was biracial. I had never brought it up because I don’t do identity politics. They didn’t know my connection to that area. Although I was born in my rural legislative district, from the time I was in seventh grade to 11th grade, we lived on 31st and Elliot, which is just blocks away from the site of George Floyd’s death.

I was able to say, “I see this a little bit from the middle.” Because I hadn’t led with identity politics, they [my caucus members] had already gotten to know me and were more willing to listen to my perspective. That opened the door for a discussion that was beautiful.

I was deeply frustrated by the state’s failed response to the unrest as I watched the city burn. I no longer had connections in the neighborhood, but that feeling of frustration, even though I was an elected official, motivated me to run for caucus leadership.

Q Having the rather unique perspective of living in both urban and rural communities, how has that shaped your leadership style?

A I think one of the things about the urban-rural divide is that we’re often not willing to listen. Yes, you can go out and tour [other parts of the state], but did you listen to what people are saying and try to take that in and understand it as you form your own ideas?

I believe in a leadership style that is very collaborative. I want to hear from everybody, even if that means things take a little bit longer. I know I don’t have all the answers, whether that’s in my business, in my home, or in the legislature.

We have 64 members in our caucus. I want to hear from all of them.

Q What have you learned about how to be successful as a legislator?

A I just came across a letter that I had to write myself during freshman orientation — in December 2018, right before we took office. There were 40 freshmen, and they had us all write a letter to ourselves, kind of in that old-school way. And then they gave the letter back to us the last week or the last month of session.

In re-reading it, I felt really shocked. The letter had stayed so true. It said to work hard for the people I’m serving, learn what you can, and stay true to yourself.

Q You are leading a Republican caucus at a time of full Democratic control of the Minnesota Legislature and governor’s office. How do you measure success for your caucus?

A I was interviewed by the *Star Tribune*, in November of 2022, right before I became leader, and I had said at the time that success would be

signified by staying unified as a caucus and gaining a majority [in the fall 2024 elections].

Even during really challenging times, we stayed true and stayed tight as a caucus. Obviously, we were playing a lot of defense these past two years.

But our members learned all they could about each topic. They dug in and did the research. That allowed us to form our decisions and our responses accordingly — whether that was amendments on the floor, introducing our own bills that we wanted to carry, or making our case to the public.

Q What do you see as some of the challenges for the Legislature to address, both over the near and longer term?

A We have a budget deficit looming in two to three years. That will inform the next five to seven years. Minnesota is one of the highest-taxed states, and with the pressures put on businesses over the last two years — with new sick and safe time and paid family leave [laws] — we’ll have to find ways to reel in spending.

Make Minnesota a place that people can afford to live their lives. That doesn’t mean cutting programming; it just means being smarter about how we spend our funds and having accountability.

Let’s have accountability and transparency in government agencies, because then we’re going to find maybe we’re shortchanging here or we could do better to serve people with spending money there.

PROFILE: NORTH DAKOTA HOUSE MINORITY LEADER ZAC ISTA



He always wanted to be in public office, and now lives the childhood dream in a legislature where he has found paths to policy success while in the 'super-minority'

by Tim Anderson (tanderson@csg.org)

When he sets foot in the North Dakota Capitol, Zac Ista knows he is exactly where he wants to be, doing what he has long aspired to do.

"I just always remember wanting to be in public office," he says. "A lot of little boys and girls grow up wanting to be a rock star or playing center field for their favorite baseball team. That wasn't me."

Ista says his mom still jokes with him about the assessment that he took for the start of kindergarten. The young Ista easily rattled off the names of the governor (George Sinner) and U.S. president (Ronald Reagan), while showing "no earthly idea about where my thumb was on my hand."

Once in school, he became a voracious reader of the school's weekly magazines that taught him about the nation's elected leaders and political system. While still an undergraduate student at North Dakota State University, in 2006, Ista ran for a seat in the legislature.

"I finished fourth out of four," Ista says about the unsuccessful first election.

Many years went by and life changes occurred for Ista between that first race and when his childhood dream of elective office became a reality. He got married, moved to Washington, D.C., for law school and the start of his legal career, and came home to North Dakota with his wife, Leah, to raise a family.

Then, in 2020, Ista was appointed to fill a vacancy in the House. He won election to that seat two years later, and since April 2023, Ista has served as minority leader.

"I still have that sense of awe of being able to serve," he says, "to be one of only 141 trusted by folks to go to Bismarck and do the people's work."

During an interview with CSG Midwest, Ista reflected on living that dream of public service, on leadership, and on strategies for the minority party. Here are excerpts, with questions and answers lightly edited for clarity and brevity.

Q You've talked about the privilege of being in public office. Do you have an example of legislative work that exemplifies this opportunity to serve?

A Shortly after I took office, we lost a young police officer by the name of Cody Holte, who was killed in the line of duty. It was such a tragedy. You kind of feel helpless in that situation because we know there is no state policy that we can pass to keep officers safe in all instances.

So I looked around to see what other states had done, and noticed many had a policy that says if an officer is killed in the line of duty, the officer's spouse



North Dakota Rep. Zac Ista discusses a law granting health care coverage to the families of police officers who die in the line of duty. Ista sponsored HB 1435 in response to the death of Grand Forks police officer Cody Holte. Also pictured at this 2021 press conference are Gov. Doug Burgum, then-Attorney General Wayne Stenehjem, Sen. Curt Kreun, and then-Grand Forks Police Chief Mark Nelson.

BIO-SKETCH: NORTH DAKOTA REP. ZAC ISTA

- ✓ became minority leader in April 2023; first appointed to the North Dakota House in 2020 and won election in 2022
- ✓ an attorney who currently serves as legal counsel for a local hospital and who previously worked as an assistant state's attorney for Grand Forks County
- ✓ 2021 graduate of the CSG Midwest Bowhay Institute for Legislative Leadership Development (BILLD) and 2023 recipient of the CSG 20 Under 40 Leadership Award
- ✓ has a bachelor's degree in education from North Dakota State University and a law degree from American University's Washington College of Law
- ✓ resides in Grand Forks with his wife, Leah, and their two children

"What makes one legislator more successful than another is a willingness to be out in the open, go sit in a different spot in the chamber, go talk to somebody that may have very different views than you."

and children can remain on the health insurance plan that the officer was on.

I was able to work with Republicans in my town, Republicans across the state, and we came together and passed a law which now says that for any officers killed tragically in the line of duty, their families aren't going to have to worry about the cost of health insurance. It was incredibly humbling to be a part of that.

Q Of the 141 members of the legislature, only 16 were Democrats this biennium. Is there room to make a difference on policy while in the super-minority?

A Yeah, absolutely. One of the great features of our system in North Dakota is that any bill that is filed by a legislator both gets a committee hearing and an up-or-down vote on the floor of the chamber in which it was introduced. So that really does allow folks, regardless of party or faction, to get a full hearing on the good ideas they might have.

Q What are other ways that you can make a difference while at such a partisan disadvantage?

A First, and most important, our role is to pass good public policy. Sometimes that means partnering across the aisle, sometimes it means bringing your own bills. Just in the 2023 session, over 50 bills and resolutions introduced by Democrats were signed into law.

The second role I think we have is to make what we might think is bad policy a little bit better. It's not as satisfying to

dig into the particulars of a bill that we disagree with, but if you bring your own personal and professional experiences to bear, you can maybe navigate some landmines in that bill to make sure it is implemented in the fairest way possible.

And then the third role is if you're not able to reach consensus or to make a bad bill a little less bad, then you have to stick up for your values and for the folks that you're representing. Compromise without compromising our foundational values.

Q What have you found to be the attributes of effective legislators?

A I think what makes one legislator more successful than another is a willingness to be out in the open, go sit in a different spot in the chamber, go talk to somebody that may have very different views than you. Really work on breaking down on some of those barriers through communication.

That kind of openness helps you enjoy the job more and be more effective at it.

I also think it helps to be mindful of the fact that our votes on issues don't necessarily reflect our personal relationships. So on the one hand, we can't just go along to get along because you develop friendships with people. You were elected to stand up for your values and your community's values. But at the end of the day, that doesn't mean we can't have a cup of coffee together and find out where we do have common ground.

You need to have good relationships if you want to get anything done. And we're also a workplace. You want to have cordial, friendly relationships with your co-workers.

Q What are some examples of how you've seen those relationships be built?

A During my first session, all of the first-year legislators decided to have a regular dinner, and I happened to be the only Democrat that was a freshman. I look back at that as one of my best memories — six, seven, eight of us, from across the political spectrum, would get together. We learned about each other's families, about what motivated us. And you learn there's so much more that brings us together than separates us, and that helps in the heated times of a legislative session.

Q North Dakota recently has joined the list of U.S. states with legislative term limits. What is being done to prepare for this new era?

A We've been doing a lot of work on this. One of the risks is that power goes away from the legislative branch, the people's branch, as the legislature bleeds expertise from members being termed out.

And when you compare North Dakota to state legislatures across the country, we rank as one of the lowest, if not the lowest, staffed legislatures. We need to make sure that we have the necessary, permanent staff resources to help us analyze the policies we've enacted to see if they're working well. We've also been intentional about building up future leaders in terms of committees, and in terms of chamber leadership.

CRITICAL MINERALS AND THE MIDWEST: BINATIONAL WORKSHOP BEING HELD IN NOVEMBER FOR REGION'S LEGISLATORS

During a two-day event led by two policy committees of The Council of State Governments' Midwestern Legislative Conference, state and provincial legislators will explore binational policies, investments and partnerships that address the increased need for critical minerals.

The event is being held Nov. 14-15 in Chicago.

Legislators interested in taking part in the workshop can visit csgmidwest.org or contact CSG Midwest senior program manager Mitch Arvidson: marvidson@csg.org or 630.925.1922.

Legislators do not have to be members of the two MLC committees, Energy and Environment and Midwest-Canada Relations, to attend. However, the number of participants and travel scholarships is limited. Registration is being accepted on a first-come, first-served basis.



CSG Midwest is holding the workshop in collaboration with the Consulate General of Canada in Chicago. This event reflects the importance of addressing issues related to critical-minerals mining, production, processing and supply chains in this region.

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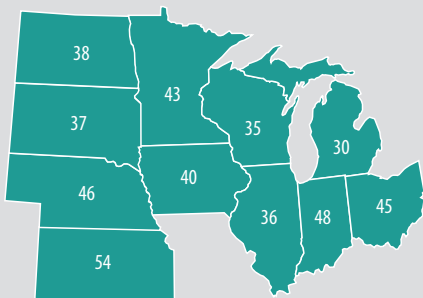
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CSG IS LEADING RESOURCE FOR HELP, INFORMATION ON INTERSTATE COMPACTS

The use of interstate compacts dates back to the nation's founding, and these legally binding agreements continue to serve as a mechanism to solve common problems. Helping states lead the way: The Council of State Governments' National Center for Interstate Compacts. The nation's only technical assistance provider on these agreements, the center offers compact-related education, development and administrative services. Earlier this year, the center relaunched its national database, which is available at compacts.csg.org.

Interstate compacts touch many issue areas. Some of the uses include reducing burdens for military families, simplifying occupational licensure for workers, solving boundary disputes, managing shared natural resources, and improving resilience to natural disasters.

OF INTERSTATE COMPACTS OF WHICH THE STATE IS A MEMBER



Source: National Center for Interstate Compacts

BIPARTISAN MIX OF STATE, PROVINCIAL LEGISLATORS CHOSEN TO GUIDE WORK OF GREAT LAKES CAUCUS

A new leadership team is in place to lead the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Legislative Caucus, the bipartisan, binational group that allows for regional collaboration and actions to protect and restore the region's water resources.

Starting next year, Illinois Sen. Laura Fine will serve as caucus chair and Indiana Rep. David Abbott as vice chair. They were elected to these positions in September at the 2024 GLLC Annual Meeting in Duluth, Minn. Along with these two officers, the caucus has an Executive Committee of legislators to oversee and guide its work. Officers and committee members are chosen for two-year terms.

ABOUT THIS YEAR'S MEETING

The election of the new legislative leadership team was one of several actions taken by the GLLC at its Annual Meeting. Participating legislators also adopted policy recommendations on climate resiliency and passed a resolution to study large water withdrawals from within the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence River Basin.

On the meeting's first day, the group visited the Duluth Seaway Port Authority and toured the shores of Lake Superior with researchers from the University of Minnesota's Large Lakes Observatory. On the second day, participants heard presentations on flood resilience, the Fond du Lac Band of Lake Superior Chippewa's water program, green infrastructure, the Great Lakes compact, the management of plastic waste, international science collaboration on the Great Lakes, and Minnesota's implementation of recently enacted PFAS regulations.

GLLC leadership also participated in a tree planting in partnership with the Great Lakes St. Lawrence Governors and Premiers and the city of Duluth as part of the Regional Tree Initiative. The goal of the initiative is to plant 250 million trees in the Great Lakes region by 2033.

GREAT LAKES LEADERSHIP



Pictured at this year's Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Legislative Caucus Meeting are some of the current and/or recently elected members of the GLLC Executive Committee.

Front row, from left: Minnesota Sen. Mary Kunesch, Minnesota Sen. Ann Rest, Illinois Sen. Laura Fine and Quebec MNA Marie-Belle Gendron

Back row, from left: Ontario MPP Jennifer French, Wisconsin Sen. Andre Jacque, Michigan Rep. Rachel Hood, Ohio Sen. Paula Hicks-Hudson, Indiana Rep. David Abbott, Wisconsin Rep. Lisa Subeck, Illinois Sen. Laura Ellman, Wisconsin Rep. Deb Andraca and Illinois Rep. Robyn Gabel

Kunesch, Rest, Fine, Gendron, French, Jacque, Hicks-Hudson, Abbott, Ellman, Andraca and Gabel will be part of the 2025-'26 GLLC Executive Committee as members or ex officio members. Other members (not pictured) include Indiana Sen. Ed Charbonneau (ex officio), Pennsylvania Sen. Daniel Laughlin (member) and Michigan Rep. Jenn Hill. Some spots on this committee, too, remain to be filled.

HOW TO BE A PART OF THE GLLC

Every year, the caucus convenes lawmakers from across the basin as part of its overall mission: strengthening the role of state and provincial legislators in Great Lakes policymaking, protection, restoration and sustainable use. CSG Midwest provides staff support to the caucus. Membership is free and open to all legislators representing the Great Lakes' eight U.S. states and two Canadian provinces. Visit greatlakeslegislators.org for the GLLC membership page.

Thank you to these sponsors for their support of the 2024 GLLC Meeting



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CSG NATIONAL CONFERENCE KICKS OFF ON DEC. 4

As in past years, the National Conference of The Council of State Governments will give leaders from all three branches of government the chance to learn from one another as well as outside policy experts.

A wide range of issues will be covered at the meeting in New Orleans. Highlights include a series of events for state leaders on regulating and using artificial intelligence as well as sessions on youth mental health and legislative districting (the focus of initiatives led by Nevada Gov. Joe Lombardo, current CSG president, and Connecticut Rep. Kevin Ryan, current CSG national chair). CSG's Midwestern Legislative Conference Executive Committee will meet on Dec. 5.

Please visit csg.org to register or learn more about the conference.



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, suggested state legislation and interstate consulting services. The Midwestern 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.

BILLD ALUMNI NOTES: 7 GRADUATES ARE 2024 CSG TOLL FELLOWS

Congratulations to these seven alumni of the Bowhay Institute for Legislative Leadership Development who are part of this year's CSG Toll Fellows Class.

- Indiana Sen. **Scott Alexander**, BILLD Class of 2024
- Nebraska Sen. **John Fredrickson**, BILLD Class of 2023
- Ohio House Assistant Minority Leader **Dontavius Jarrells**, BILLD Class of 2022
- Michigan Rep. **Donavan McKinney**, BILLD Class of 2023
- Illinois Rep. **Anna Moeller**, BILLD Class of 2017, and co-chair of the CSG Midwestern Legislative Conference BILLD Steering Committee
- Ohio Sen. **Michele Reynolds**, BILLD Class of 2023
- Wisconsin Sen. **Kelda Roys**, BILLD Class of 2009

Along with the seven BILLD alumni, this year's Toll Fellows Class for the Midwest includes Minnesota Sen. Alice Mann and four leaders from the region's executive branches.

Named in honor of Henry Wolcott Toll, the Colorado state senator who founded The Council of State Governments in 1933, Toll Fellows is one of the nation's premier leadership development programs for state government officials.

Each year, a select group of the nation's top officials and emerging leaders from all three branches of state government take part in Toll's intensive five-day "leadership boot camp." Sessions are designed to stimulate personal assessment and growth, while providing priceless networking and relationship-building opportunities.

This year's Toll program included participation from 48 state officials and was held in September in Kentucky.



Front row (left to right): Indiana Securities Commissioner Marie Castetter; South Dakota Director of Workforce Development Kendra Ringstmeyer; Ohio House Assistant Minority Leader Dontavius Jarrells; and Illinois Rep. Anna Moeller

Middle row (left to right): Minnesota Sen. Alice Mann; Wisconsin Sen. Kelda Roys; Ohio Sen. Michele Reynolds; and Wisconsin Department of Safety and Professional Services Assistant Deputy Secretary Jennifer Garrett

Back row (left to right): Michigan Rep. Donovan McKinney; Minnesota Office of the Governor Deputy General Counsel and Director of Judicial Appointments Adam Miller; Nebraska Sen. John Fredrickson; and Indiana Sen. Scott Alexander

MORE THAN 1,000 SERVED: BILLD PROGRAM HITS MILESTONE WITH GRADUATION OF 2024 CLASS

Across the Midwest's 21 state legislative chambers, as well as the assemblies in four neighboring Canadian provinces, members from opposing parties and of varying backgrounds share a common experience through The Council of State Governments — participation in a premier leadership training program for legislators.

This year's five-day Bowhay Institute for Legislative Leadership Development was held in late August in Madison, Wis.

Legislators from every state in this region, plus those from Alberta, Manitoba and Ontario, took part in the 2024 program. (For this edition of *Stateline Midwest*, a special publication with biographical profiles of the new BILLD Fellows was mailed inside each printed copy of *Stateline Midwest*.)

A signature program of CSG's Midwestern Legislative Conference, BILLD has provided training to the region's legislators since 1995. With the graduation of this year's class, the program now counts more than 1,000 current and former lawmakers as graduates.

In that count are:

- Ten graduates currently serving as top caucus leaders in their states.
- Fifteen alumni who are currently serving or who have served in the U.S. Congress.
- Close to 150 graduates currently serving as the chair, vice chair or ranking member of legislative committees within their chamber.



At BILLD, participants often break into smaller groups for discussion and learning, including for this session on conflict management and collaboration in legislatures. Seated from left to right are Illinois Rep. Abdelnasser Rashid, Illinois Rep. Jackie Haas, Michigan Rep. Kimberly Edwards and Ohio Rep. Michele Grim. Standing is Naseem Khuri, facilitator of this BILLD session.

OVERVIEW OF BILLD CURRICULUM

This year's BILLD program featured:

- a roundtable discussion on legislative strategies led by current leaders in the region;
- training on communication, leadership style and competencies, ethics, bipartisan collaboration, negotiation and conflict resolution;
- featured speakers who provided their expertise on the region's state legislative institutions and how to build excellence in them, the interplay between the legislative and judicial branches, and the enduring legacy of principled political leadership; and
- policy sessions on the Midwest's labor force and economy, on the use of data and real-life situations to improve public safety outcomes, and on U.S.-Canada relations.

HOW TO BECOME A BILLD FELLOW NEXT YEAR

BILLD is designed for legislators in their first four years of service. Fellows are selected every year through a competitive application process overseen by a bipartisan group of state and provincial legislators — the CSG Midwestern Legislative Conference BILLD Steering Committee.

Applications for next year's BILLD program will be available later this year.

Thanks in part to the sponsorship of BILLD by generous foundations and corporations, there is no cost for legislators to take part in the training program. Travel stipends also are made available to participants.

Learn more at csgmidwest.org.



During a session at this year's BILLD program, four legislative leaders from the Midwest offer insights to the 2024 BILLD Class. Pictured from left to right are Wisconsin Senate President Pro Tem Patrick Testin, Kansas Senate Minority Leader Dinah Sykes, Minnesota House Minority Leader Lisa Demuth and Illinois House Majority Leader Robyn Gabel.

Moderating the discussion is longtime award-winning journalist and University of Wisconsin professor Adam Schrage, who also provided a keynote address at BILLD based on his book "The Principled Politician: The Story of Ralph Carr."

THE 2024 BILLD CLASS OF LEGISLATORS



Row 1: Rep. Kimberly Edwards (Mich.); Sen. Bonnie Westlin (Minn.); Rep. Liz Conmy (S.D.); Rep. Michele Grim (Ohio); and Rep. Joanna King (Ind.)

Row 2: Rep. Jackie Haas (Ill.); Rep. Mike McFall (Mich.); Rep. Patricia Mueller (Minn.); Rep. Mary Frances Clardy (Minn.); Sen. Zaynab Mohamed (Minn.); and Rep. Munira Abdullahi (Ohio)

Row 3: MPP Bhutla Karpoche (Ontario); Rep. Jennifer Conlin (Mich.); Rep. David Kull (S.D.); and Rep. Kady Wittman (S.D.)

Row 4: Rep. Dan Osman (Kan.); Rep. Melissa Oropeza (Kan.); Rep. Laura Williams (Kan.); Sen. Jeff Barta (N.D.); and Rep. Megan Srinivas (Iowa)

Row 5: Rep. Rodney Pol (Ind.); MLA Mike Moroz (Manitoba); Rep. Jason Goetz (Kan.); and Sen. Scott Alexander (Ind.)

Row 5: Rep. Joseph Aragona (Mich.); Rep. Abdelnasser Rashid (Ill.); Sen. Richard Holdcroft (Neb.); Sen. Teresa Ibach (Neb.); Rep. Clinton Anderson (Wis.); and Rep. Dennis Tipsword (Ill.)

Row 6: Rep. Deb Andraca (Wis.) and Rep. Jenna Jacobson (Wis.)

Row 7: MLA Shane Getson (Alberta); Rep. Steven Bradley (Iowa); Sen. Brian Chavez (Ohio); Rep. Jeremy Olson (N.D.); and Sen. Dave Rowley (Iowa)

Not pictured: Rep. Renee Pack (Ind.)

BILLD Steering Committee Officers | Co-Chairs: Illinois Rep. Anna Moeller and Iowa Sen. Amy Sinclair | Co-Vice Chairs: Michigan Rep. Ann Bollin and Kansas Rep. Jarrod Ousley

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

THE COUNCIL OF STATE GOVERNMENTS | MIDWESTERN OFFICE

CSG EVENTS

CSG Midwestern Legislative Conference Fall Webinar Series

Visit csgmidwest.org to find dates for this webinar series covering topics such as rural workforce development, criminal justice policy, energy and the environment, and improvements to child welfare systems.



Critical Minerals and the Midwest: A Workshop for Legislators

November 14-15, 2024 | Chicago, Illinois

Contact: Mitch Arvidson ~ marvidson@csg.org
630.925.1922 | csgmidwest.org



Midwest Interstate Passenger Rail Commission Annual Meeting

November 18-20, 2024 | St. Paul, Minnesota

Contact: Laura Kliewer ~ lkiewer@miprc.org
630.925.1922 | miprc.org



CSG National Conference

December 4-7, 2024 | New Orleans, Louisiana

Contact: registration@csg.org
859.244.8000 | csg.org

Midwestern Legislative Conference Annual Meeting

July 27-30, 2025 | Saskatoon, Saskatchewan

Contact: Jenny Chidlow ~ jchidlow@csg.org
630.925.1922 | csgmidwest.org



Bowhay Institute for Legislative Leadership Development

August 22-26, 2025 | Madison, Wisconsin
Applications will be available by early 2025

Contact: Mitch Arvidson ~ marvidson@csg.org
630.925.1922 | csgmidwest.org



STATELINE MIDWEST

Stateline Midwest is published by the Midwestern Office of
The Council of State Governments.

To order, call 630.925.1922

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Issue 4 | 2024

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