

THE STATE OF BIPARTISANSHIP

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# Welcome

Welcome to the inaugural "The State of Bipartisanship" report produced by Majority in the Middle.

Majority in the Middle is a 501(c)3 non-profit organization giving those in the political middle a place to gather outside the extremes, elevating voices of people who are modeling behavior we want to see, and working on ways to bring a little more civility and a little less partisanship to our politics.

Majority in the Middle works to elevate elected representatives who embrace working with others to find solutions, and to identify and encourage structural changes in governing that will remove barriers to such cooperation.

Understanding that you can't manage what you don't measure, this report is designed to analyze bipartisan bill authorship as one important reflection of effective collaboration. This effort will begin identifying places where cooperation happens, elevating the people who are leading the way, and collecting replicable ideas to cultivate a healthier political environment -- in St. Paul and in state capitols across the country.

Note: this report has been edited since it's initial publication, to correct an error in the data. Pages that have changed are marked with an asterisk. We apologize for the error.

# **Executive Summary**

In the current political environment, everywhere from DC to state capitols across the country, bipartisanship is rarely on display.

Binary red-vs-blue narratives lead Minnesotans to believe that legislators are irreparably segregated along party lines. This report shows that's not entirely true.

Bipartisanship is difficult to measure, as it's highly qualitative, subjective, and relationship-based. We have chosen one quantitative measure we believe provides an illustration of some of the work that goes on at the State Capitol: bill authorship.

Legislators who are collaborating with colleagues across the aisle should get credit for the work they're doing. This report, a first of its kind in Minnesota, uncovers where that credit is due.

Even though some lawmakers actually face backlash over their bipartisan work, we know there are many constituents who not only applaud those efforts, they expect it.

The bottom line: there is some bipartisanship at work in Minnesota, and there is room for improvement.

# A subset of statistics from the report

#### Committees (details p. 20-71)

Senate committees that heard the most bills with minority chief authors:

- Transportation 49%
- Taxes 37%
- Capital Investment 24%

Senate committees that heard the most bipartisan\* bills:

- Human Services 73%
- Agriculture, Broadband, & Rural Development 43%
- Higher Education; Jobs and Economic Development;
   Education Finance all 42%

House committees that heard the most bills with minority chief authors:

- Veterans and Military Affairs Finance and Policy 44%
- Capital Investment 29%
- Legacy Finance; Taxes both 16%

House committees that heard the most bipartisan\* bills:

- Veterans and Military Affairs Finance and Policy 56%
- Human Services Finance 39%
- Agriculture Finance and Policy 38%

\*bipartisan bills = at least one author from each party

# A subset of statistics from the report

#### Individual Legislators (details p. 72-108)

- 66 Senators had bipartisan co-authors on at least one bill they carried as the chief author
- Ten Republican Senators and 11 Republican House members had DFL chief authors on at least 50% of the bills they signed onto as co-authors
- Seven Republican and seven DFL members in the House chief-authored as many or more bills with cosigners of the opposite party than they did with just members of their own party.
- Two Republican House members had bipartisan co-authors on 100% of the bills they carried as the chief author that they carried with others

# Introduction and Background



# Bipartisanship is difficult - in theory and in execution

In the current political environment, everywhere from DC to state capitols across the country, bipartisanship is rarely on display.

The prevailing binary left-versus-right narrative has been adopted by everyone from news media and political analysts to campaign managers and candidates.

This lack of bipartisanship can be seen as the most obvious example of the harms caused when elected officials can't set aside differences of any kind in order to focus on the well-being of the communities and people they represent.

It seems we are a country divided, and everyone participating in our politics has become irreparably partisan. Or have they?

Experience tells us bipartisanship is punished as often as it's lauded. Much like good sportsmanship, bipartisanship is an attitude that Americans value - but often only in theory, and not nearly as much as we value winning.

But winning a campaign and governing are two different functions of politics. Governing is where politicians should put aside differences and focus on working with their colleagues to serve the people they represent. We wish it were as easy in practice as it sounds, and we also acknowledge that legislators do face structural impediments to working across the aisle.

# Minnesota state government is an ideal subject for a study of bipartisanship

In Minnesota, majorities in the House and Senate, and the occupant of the Governor's office, have been held by members of different parties in all but three of the last 30\* years.

This split control of government is a recipe for forced bipartisanship - every idea that becomes law must be vetted and approved by more than one party. While it might be more frustrating for politicians, it is a more accurate representation of how every other worker in the state must approach their job.

The capitol is the only workplace where actively discounting the opinions of co-workers that belong to a different political party is accepted as normal operating procedure. We know this is common practice, and it is also true that not all legislators operate that way.

# A Trifecta in 2023

Minnesota lawmakers headed into the 2023 session with a DFL\* trifecta -- the Governor and both legislative majorities -- giving rise to questions about how the session would function.

When one party has enough members to pass most bills without a single vote from the opposite side of the aisle, and with Minnesota's winner-take-all legislative structure that guarantees absolute control with the narrowest of margins, could bipartisanship even happen?

For years, legislators representing the two major parties had something in common: no matter which side was in the minority, the common complaint was that they were not allowed to participate in policymaking in a meaningful way.

Members of the majority usually fill all the leadership roles, they hold an oversized proportion of seats on committees, and they decide the agenda - including which bills are heard publicly\*\* or not. For all practical purposes, the most significant negotiations are conducted and decisions are made in the majority's caucus room.

Bipartisan participation and the role the minority plays in that process is often difficult to pin down. Some believe the role of the minority party is to obstruct progress and the majority party has no obligation to involve the minority party. Others believe members of the majority and minority parties, both, should be involved in crafting legislation and reflecting the opinions of all the people they represent.

For bipartisanship to work in a legislature, the majority caucus needs to make space for minority participation, and the minority party needs to take the opportunity to work together. Both parties must come to the table in good faith. Unfortunately, this seems to happen less than it ideally would.

Bipartisanship is difficult to measure. Like other concepts that are highly relationship-based, it is complicated and subjective. Bipartisanship can be about something as personal as tone, or something as organizational as sharing power. The same person acting in a bipartisan manner in one context, and completely partisan in another - often on the same day, or in the same meeting - would not be unusual at the capitol.

# Bipartisanship is nuanced

We wanted to answer the question: "Can members of the minority party actually get bills heard?

Throughout our information-gathering, other questions popped up; we realized that instead of just answering a yesor-no question, more nuance and information should be included. This led us to a different way to evaluate individual bills.

To illustrate the *total authorship* of bills, we created two graphs for each committee: one showing bill hearings classified by the party affiliation of the chief author - red or blue - and one showing the same bills that takes total authorship into account.

As you'll see, including shades of purple to represent the proportions of red *and* blue authors paints a very different picture. We believe it is a better illustration of the influence and participation by members of each of the political parties - especially when, in this era of omnibus bills - the red-blue divide is often more stark when it comes to final votes.

# Why we created this report

Surfacing hidden bipartisanship and elevating examples of bipartisan behavior are part of the organizational mission of Majority in the Middle.

It's a fact that the cooperation and collaboration happening at the capitol doesn't often get public attention - the fight does. Dueling talking points, outrageous floor speeches and social media skirmishes get much more attention than policy and relationships. As an organization, we'll do what we can to shine more light on the bipartisanship that is happening.

An ugly truth we contend with: not every legislator wants attention for their bipartisan work and not every legislator would find bipartisanship to be an electoral benefit in their district.

We would argue that any bipartisanship, no matter how small, is still important. Why? Every legislator, even those who run unopposed, have people in their district who didn't vote for them. Representing all the citizens in the district, not just the ones who voted in favor of them, is their duty.

# What this report is not

Although comparisons will naturally occur, this report is not an effort to shame, or to adjudicate who is best or worst.

Bipartisanship is complicated. Bill authorship is just one measure. As authoring public policy is an essential part of every legislator's job, it is an important measure.

There are many ways a legislator can work across the aisle that are not captured in this report. The omission of other measures should not reflect the value of that work as lesser or not important. It is our position that any efforts by legislators to cross the aisle and build relationships should be celebrated.

It was our desire to ensure this report is objective and defendable, so efforts that are more subjectively measured were not included. We are exploring opportunities to expand the scope of the report in future years and will do so if resources allow.

# Total Bill Introductions and Hearings



# Can members of the minority party get their bills heard?

In a word, yes, but that yes comes with nuance. In the 2023 legislative session....

- There were 3,363 bills introduced in the Senate, and hearings were granted to 289 bills by Republican chief authors. Bills chief-authored by a member of the minority party represented 19% of the bills heard in the Senate.
- There were 3,342 bills introduced in the House, and hearings were granted to 144 bills by Republican chief authors. Bills chief-authored by a member of the minority party represented 11% of the bills heard in the House.

# **Total Bill Introductions & Hearings**

#### Minnesota Senate

3,363 bills were introduced.

- 2,109 (63%) bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 1,255 (37%) bills had a chief author from the minority party.

1,494 of those bills received one or more hearings in a committee

- 1,206 (81%) had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 289 (19%) had a chief author from the minority party.

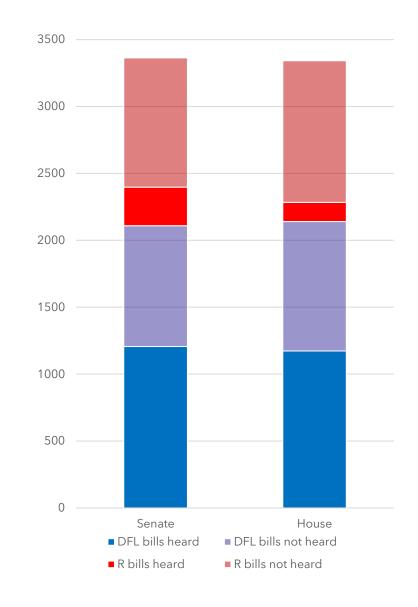
#### **Minnesota House of Representatives**

3,342 bills were introduced.

- 2,140 (64%) bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 1,202 (36%) bills had a chief author from the minority party.

1,317 of those bills received one or more hearings in a committee

- 1,173 (89%) had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 144 (11%) had a chief author from the minority party.



# Partisan Breakdown of Bills Introduced

#### **Minnesota Senate**

3,363 bills were introduced.

• 1,349 bills were authored by only one member (639 by a sole Republican; 710 by a sole DFLer)

#### Of the bills with two or more authors:

- 768 bills (38%) had 100% majority authorship,
- 339 bills (17%) had 100% minority authorship, and
- 908 bills (45%) that were heard had at least one author of each party.

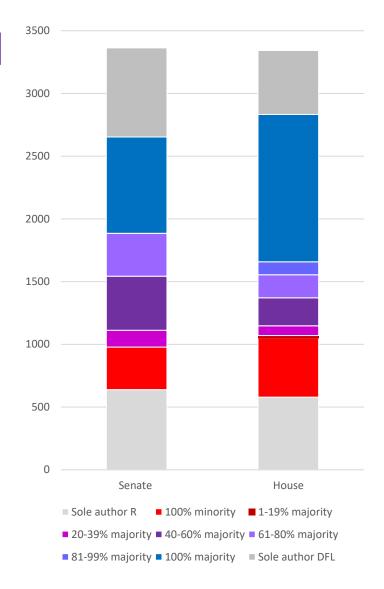
#### **Minnesota House of Representatives**

3,342 bills were introduced.

• 1,089 bills were authored by only one member (579 by a sole Republican; 510 by a sole DFLer)

#### Of the bills with two or more authors:

- 1,176 bills (52%) had 100% majority authorship,
- 470 bills (21%) had 100% minority authorship, and
- 607 bills (27%) that were heard had at least one author of each party.



# Committee Hearings



# **Committee Hearings**

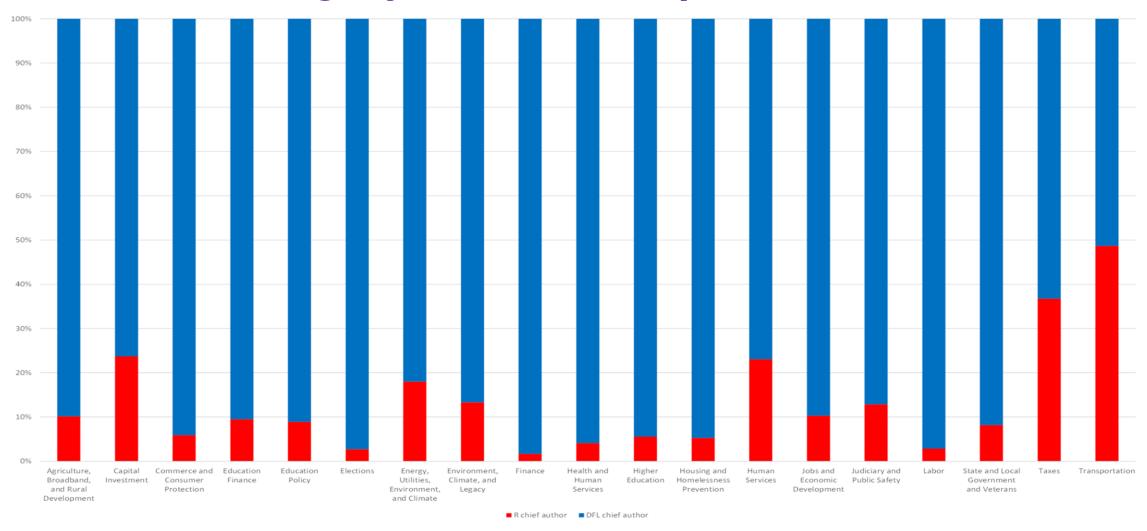
This section of the report examines the authorship of bills that received a hearing in a committee during the 2023 regular session.

When a bill is labeled as DFL or Republican based on the party identity of the chief author, a binary picture emerges. But bills in Minnesota have more participation beyond the chief author. A Senate bill can have up to five total authors, a House bill can have up to thirty-five. Party affiliation of the co-authors matters as well, because a minority member is unlikely to put their name on a bill they – and their constituents – would see as "too extreme."

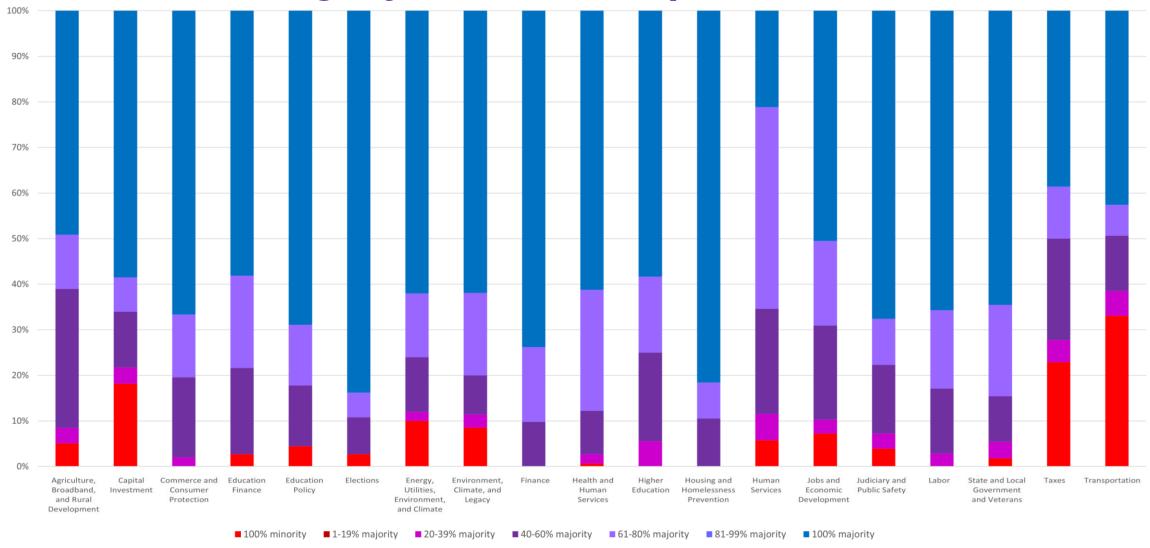
To illustrate total authorship, we created two graphs for each committee: one showing bill hearings classified by the party affiliation of the chief author - red or blue - and one showing the same bills, with total authorship taken into account.

As you'll see, including shades of purple to represent the proportions of red *and* blue authors paints a very different picture. We believe it is a better illustration of the influence and participation by members of each of the political parties - especially when, in this era of omnibus bills - the red-blue divide is often more stark when it comes to final votes.

# **Senate Bill Hearings By Chief Authorship**



# **Senate Bill Hearings By Total Authorship**



# Agriculture, Broadband, & Rural Development

#### Committee Members - 9 total: 5 DFL, 4 R

Committee Chair Sen. Aric Putnam, DFL Committee Vice Chair Sen. Robert Kupec, DFL Republican Lead Sen. Torrey Westrom, R

Sen. Bruce Anderson, R

Sen. Gary Dahms, R

Sen. Gene Dornick, R

Sen. Heather Gustafson, DFL

Sen. Mary Kunesh, DFL

Sen. Judy Seeberger, DFL

#### 89 bills were referred to the committee:

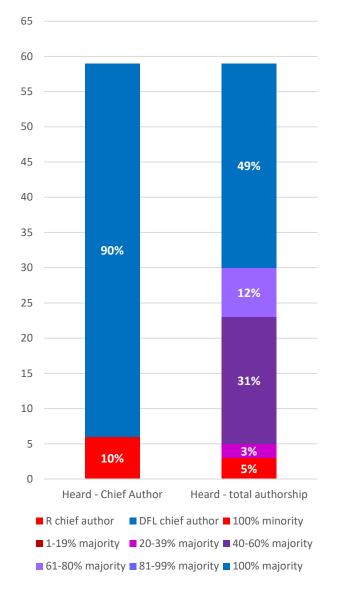
- 72 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 17 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

# 59 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 53 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 6 had a chief author from the minority party.

# Of the 59 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 29 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 3 bills had 100% minority authorship, and
- 27 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



# **Capital Investment**

Committee Members - 11 total: 6 DFL, 5 R

Committee Chair Sen. Sandra Pappas, DFL Committee Vice Chair Sen. Susan Pha, DFL Republican Lead Sen. Karin Housley, R

Sen. D. Scott Dibble, DFL

Sen. Nick Frentz, DFL

Sen. John Jasinski, R

Sen. Zaynab Mohamed, DFL

Sen. Carla Nelson, R

Sen. Eric Pratt, R

Sen. Jordan Rasmusson, R

Sen. Tou Xiong, DFL

#### 614 bills were referred to the committee:

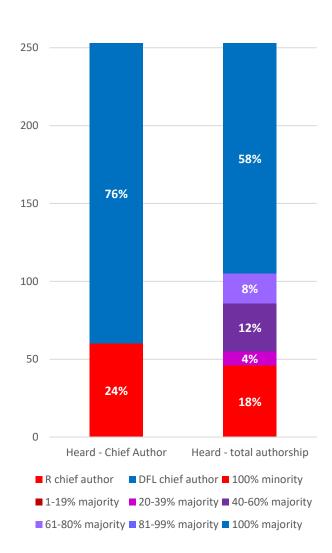
- 344 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 270 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

# 253 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 193 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 60 had a chief author from the minority party.

# Of the 253 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 148 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 46 bills had 100% minority authorship, and
- 59 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



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### **Commerce and Consumer Protection**

#### Committee Members - 10 total: 6 DFL, 4 R

Committee Chair Sen. D. Matt Klein, DFL Committee Vice Chair Sen. Judy Seeberger, DFL Republican Lead Sen. Gary Dahms, R

Sen. Zach Duckworth, R

Sen. Nick Frentz, DFL

Sen. Jeff Howe, R

Sen. Ron Latz, DFL

Sen. Jordan Rasmusson, R

Sen. Melissa Wiklund, DFL

Sen. Tou Xiong, DFL

#### 116 bills were referred to the committee:

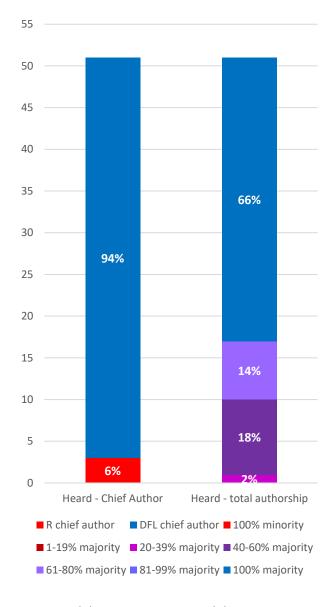
- 88 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 28 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

# 51 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 48 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 3 had a chief author from the minority party.

# Of the 51 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 34 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 0 bills had 100% minority authorship, and
- 17 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



## **Education Finance**

#### Committee Members - 10 total: 6 DFL, 4 R

Committee Chair Sen. Mary Kunesh, DFL Committee Vice Chair Sen. Heather Gustafson, DFL Republican Lead Sen. Jason Rarick, R

Sen. Steve Cwodzinski, DFL

Sen. Robert Farnsworth, R

Sen. Michael Kreun, R

Sen. Eric Lucero, R

Sen. Erin Maye Quade, DFL

Sen. Clare Oumou Verbeten, DFL

Sen. Bonnie Westlin, DFL

#### 152 bills were referred to the committee:

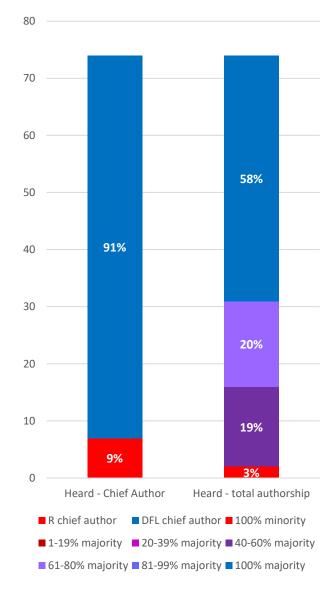
- 128 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 24 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

# 74 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 67 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 7 had a chief author from the minority party.

# Of the 74 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 43 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 2 bills had 100% minority authorship, and
- 29 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



# **Education Policy**

#### Committee Members - 10 total: 6 DFL, 4 R

Committee Chair Sen. Steve Cwodzinski, DFL Committee Vice Chair Sen. Erin Maye Quade, DFL Republican Lead Sen. Julia Coleman, R

Sen. Jim Abeler, R

Sen. Liz Boldon, DFL

Sen. Zach Duckworth, R

Sen. Grant Hauschild, DFL

Sen. Mary Kunesh, DFL

Sen. Alice Mann, DFL

Sen. Nathan Wesenberg, R

#### 128 bills were referred to the committee:

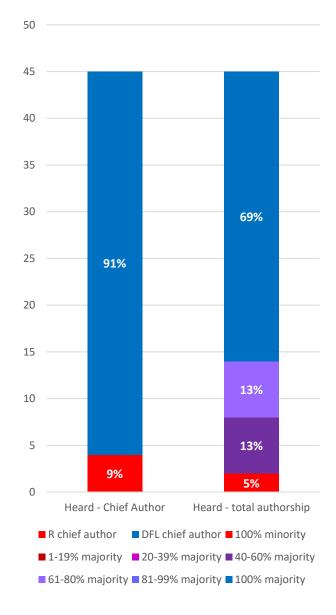
- 81 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 47 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

# 45 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 41 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 4 had a chief author from the minority party.

# Of the 45 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 31 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 2 bills had 100% minority authorship, and
- 12 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



## **Elections**

#### Committee Members - 14 total: 8 DFL, 6 R

Committee Chair Sen. Jim Carlson, DFL Committee Vice Chair Sen. Bonnie Westlin, DFL Republican Lead Sen. Mark Koran, R

Sen. Bruce Anderson, R

Sen. Calvin Bahr, R

Sen. Liz Boldon, DFL

Sen. Steve Cwodzinski, DFL

Sen. Gene Dornick, R

Sen. Warren Limmer, R

Sen. John Marty, DFL

Sen. Andrew Mathews, R

Sen. Nicole Mitchell, DFL

Sen. Lindsey Port, DFL

Sen. Ann Rest, DFL

#### 78 bills were referred to the committee:

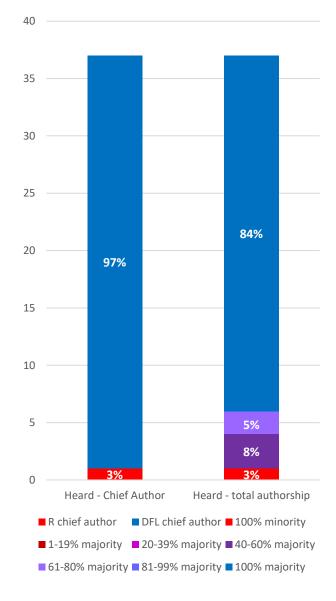
- 48bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 30 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

# 37 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 36 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 1 had a chief author from the minority party.

# Of the 37 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 31 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 1 bill had 100% minority authorship, and
- 5 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



# **Energy, Utilities, Environment, and Climate**

Committee Members - 14 total: 8 DFL, 6 R

Committee Chair Sen. Nick Frentz, DFL Committee Vice Chair Sen. Tou Xiong, DFL Republican Lead Sen. Andrew Mathews, R

Sen. D. Scott Dibble, DFL

Sen. Steve Green, R

Sen. Glenn Gruenhagen, R

Sen. John Hoffman, DFL

Sen. Matt Klein, DFL

Sen. Eric Lucero, R

Sen. Jennifer McEwen, DFL

Sen. Nicole Mitchell, DFL

Sen. Lindsey Port, DFL

Sen. Jason Rarick, R

Sen. Bill Weber, R

#### 262 bills were referred to the committee:

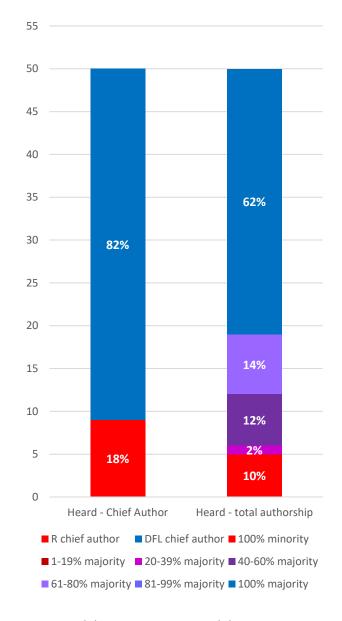
- 120 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 142 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

# 50 of those bills had received a hearing in the committee:

- 41 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 9 had a chief author from the minority party.

# Of the 50 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 31 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 5 bills had 100% minority authorship, and
- 14 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



# **Environment, Climate, and Legacy**

#### Committee Members - 10 total: 6 DFL, 4 R

Committee Chair Sen. Foung Hawj, DFL Committee Vice Chair Sen. Jennifer McEwen, DFL Republican Lead Sen. Justin Eichorn, R

Sen. Steve Green, R

Sen. Grant Hauschild, DFL

Sen. John Hoffman, DFL

Sen. Mary Kunesh, DFL

Sen. Andrew Lang, R

Sen. Kelly Morrison, DFL

Sen. Nathan Wesenberg, R

#### 256 bills were referred to the committee:

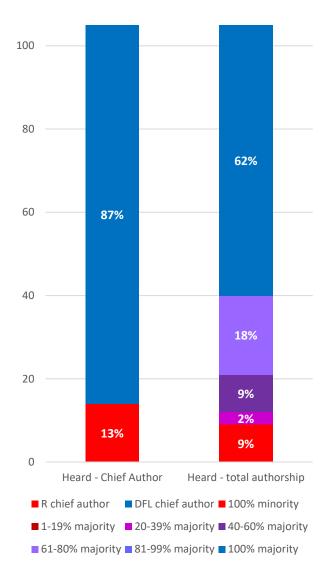
- 180 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 76 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

# 105 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 91 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 14 had a chief author from the minority party.

# Of the 105 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 65 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 9 bills had 100% minority authorship, and
- 31 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



## **Finance**

#### Committee Members - 12 total: 7 DFL, 5 R

Committee Chair Sen. John Marty, DFL Committee Vice Chair Sen. Nick Frentz, DFL Republican Lead Sen. Eric Pratt, R

Sen. Bobby Joe Champion, DFL

Sen. Gary Dahms, R

Sen. Rich Draheim, R

Sen. Justin Eichorn, R

Sen. Zaynab Mohamed, DFL

Sen. Erin Murphy, DFL

Sen. Sandra Pappas, DFL

Sen. Torrey Westrom, R

Sen. Melissa Wiklund, DFL

#### 133 bills were referred to the committee:

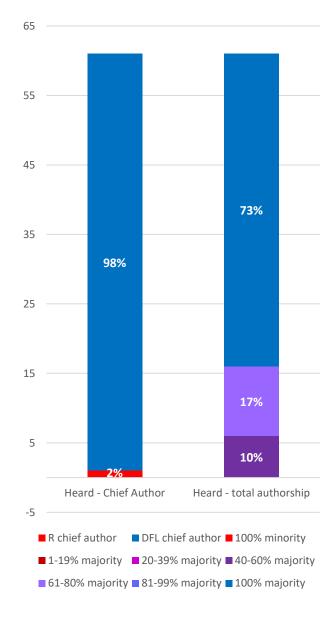
- 123 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 10 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

# 60 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 59 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 1 had a chief author from the minority party.

# Of the 60 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 44 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 0 bills had 100% minority authorship, and
- 16 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



## **Health and Human Services**

#### Committee Members - 9 total: 6 DFL, 3 R

Committee Chair Sen. Melissa Wiklund, DFL Committee Vice Chair Sen. Alice Mann, DFL Republican Lead Sen. Paul Utke, R

Sen. Jim Abler, R Sen. Liz Boldon, DFL

Sen. John Hoffman, DFL

Sen. Robert Kupec, DFL

Sen. Bill Lieske, R

Sen. Kelly Morrison, DFL

#### 382 bills were referred to the committee:

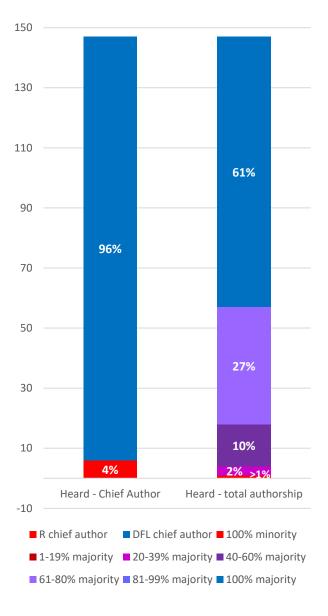
- 290 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 92 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

# 147 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 141 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 6 had a chief author from the minority party.

# Of the 147 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 90 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 1 bill had 100% minority authorship, and
- 56 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



# **Higher Education**

Committee Members - 8 total: 5 DFL, 3 R

Committee Chair Sen. Omar Fateh, DFL Committee Vice Chair Sen. Aric Putnam, DFL Republican Lead Sen. Zach Duckworth, R

Sen. Robert Farnsworth, R

Sen. Robert Kupec, DFL

Sen. Erin Murphy, DFL

Sen. Clare Oumou Verbeten, DFL

Sen. Jason Rarick, R

#### 65 bills were referred to the committee:

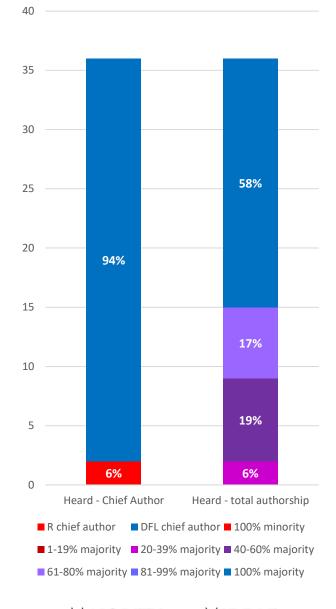
- 48 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 17 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

# 36 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 34 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 2 had a chief author from the minority party.

# Of the 36 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 21 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 0 bills had 100% minority authorship, and
- 15 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



# **Housing & Homelessness Prevention**

Committee Members - 8 total: 5 DFL, 3 R

Committee Chair Sen. Lindsey Port, DFL Committee Vice Chair Sen. Liz Boldon, DFL Republican Lead Sen. Eric Lucero, R

Sen. Rich Draheim, R Sen. Karin Housley, R

Sen. Zaynab Mohamed, DFL

Sen. Susan Pha, DFL Sen. Ann Rest, DFL

#### 82 bills were referred to the committee:

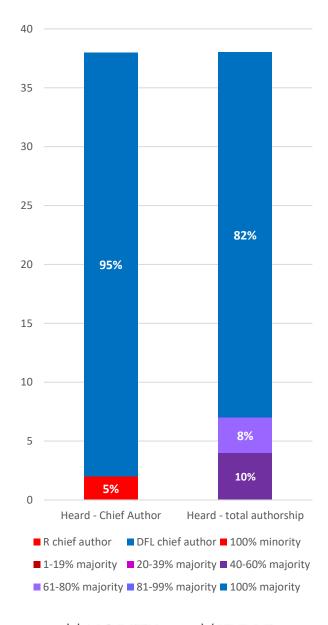
- 75 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 7 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

# 38 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 36 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 2 had a chief author from the minority party.

# Of the 38 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 31 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 0 bills had 100% minority authorship, and
- 7 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



### **Human Services**

#### Committee Members - 10 total: 6 DFL, 4 R

Committee Chair Sen. John Hoffman, DFL Committee Vice Chair Sen. Omar Fateh, DFL Republican Lead Sen. Jim Abeler, R

Sen. Alice Mann, DFL

Sen. Andrew Matthews, R

Sen. Erin Maye Quade, DFL

Sen. Nicole Mitchell, DFL

Sen. Jordan Rasmusson, R

Sen. Paul Utke, R

Sen. Melissa Wiklund, DFL

#### 112 bills were referred to the committee:

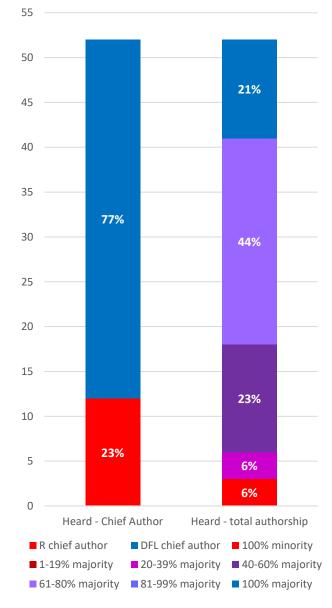
- 85 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 27 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

# 52 of those bills had received a hearing in the committee:

- 40 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 12 had a chief author from the minority party.

# Of the 52 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 11 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 3 bills had 100% minority authorship, and
- 38 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



## **Jobs and Economic Development**

#### Committee Members - 9 total: 5 DFL, 4 R

Committee Chair Sen. Bobby Joe Champion, DFL Committee Vice Chair Sen. Zaynab Mohamed, DFL Republican Lead Sen. Rich Draheim, R

Sen. Heather Gustafson, DFL

Sen. Foung Hawj, DFL

Sen. Karin Housley, R

Sen. Carla Nelson, R

Sen. Eric Pratt, R

Sen. Aric Putnam, DFL

#### 148 bills were referred to the committee:

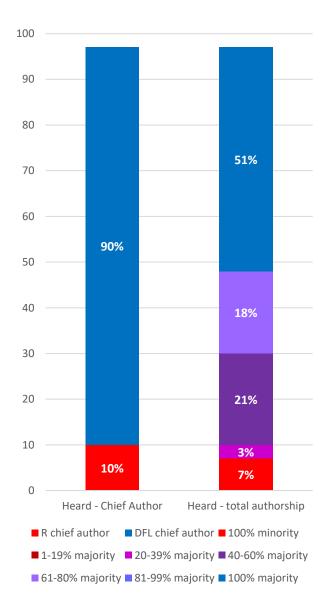
- 125 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 23 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

## 97 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 87 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 10 had a chief author from the minority party.

## Of the 97 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 49 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 7 bills had 100% minority authorship, and
- 41 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



# **Judiciary and Public Safety**

#### Committee Members - 10 total: 6 DFL, 4 R

Committee Chair Sen. Ron Latz, DFL Committee Vice Chair Sen. Clare Oumou Verbeten, DFL Republican Lead Sen. Warren Limmer, R

Sen. Jim Carlson, DFL Sen. Justin Eichorn, R Sen. Jeff Howe, R

Sen. Michael Kreun, R

Sen. Sandy Pappas, DFL

Sen. Judy Seeberger, DFL Sen. Bonnie Westlin, DFL

#### 457 bills were referred to the committee:

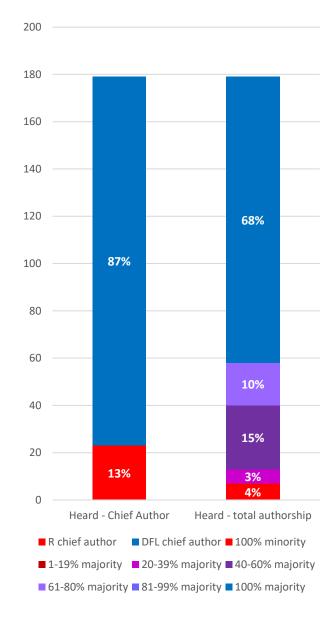
- 309 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 148 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

## 179 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 156 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 23 had a chief author from the minority party.

## Of the 179 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 121 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 7 bills had 100% minority authorship, and
- 51 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



## Labor

#### Committee Members - 10 total: 6 DFL, 4 R

Committee Chair Sen. Jennifer McEwen, DFL Committee Vice Chair Sen. Grant Hauschild, DFL Republican Lead Sen. Gene Dornick, R

Sen. Glenn Gruenhagen, R

Sen. Robert Kupec, DFL

Sen. Bill Lieske, R

Sen. John Marty, DFL

Sen. Clare Oumou Verbeten, DFL

Sen. Sandra Pappas, DFL

Sen. Nathan Wesenberg, R

#### 56 bills were referred to the committee:

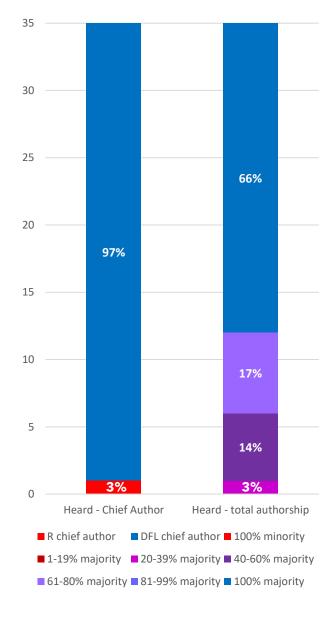
- 41 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 15 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

## 35 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 34 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 1 had a chief author from the minority party.

## Of the 35 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 23 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 0 bills had 100% minority authorship, and
- 12 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



## State & Local Government and Veterans

Committee Members - 14 total: 8 DFL, 6 R

Committee Chair Sen. Erin Murphy, DFL Committee Vice Chair Sen. Nicole Mitchell, DFL Republican Lead Sen. Bruce Anderson, R

Sen. Calvin Bahr, R

Sen. Jim Carlson, DFL

Sen. Steve Cwodzinski, DFL

Sen. Steve Drazkowski, R

Sen. Omar Fateh, DFL

Sen. Heather Gustafson, DFL

Sen. John Jasinski, R

Sen. Mark Koran, R

Sen. Andrew Lang, R

Sen. Erin Maye Quade, DFL

Sen. Kelly Morrison, DFL

#### 296 bills were referred to the committee:

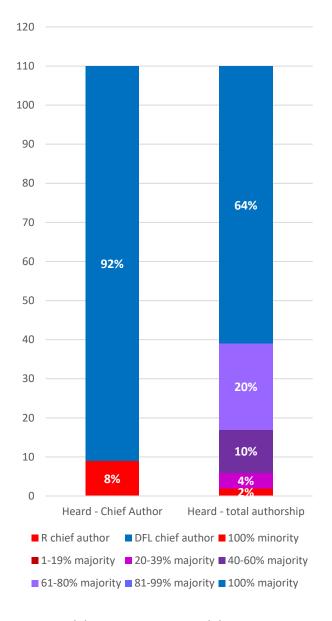
- 191 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 105 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

## 110 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 101 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 9 had a chief author from the minority party.

## Of the 110 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 71 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 2 bills had 100% minority authorship, and
- 37 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



## **Taxes**

#### Committee Members - 10 total: 6 DFL, 4 R

Committee Chair Sen. Ann Rest, DFL Committee Vice Chair Sen. Matt Klein, DFL Republican Lead Sen. Bill Weber, R

Sen. D. Scott Dibble, DFL

Sen. Steve Drazkowski, R

Sen. Kari Dziedzic, DFL

Sen. Grant Hauschild, DFL

Sen. Jeremy Miller, R

Sen. Carla Nelson, R

Sen. Aric Putnam, DFL

#### 353 bills were referred to the committee:

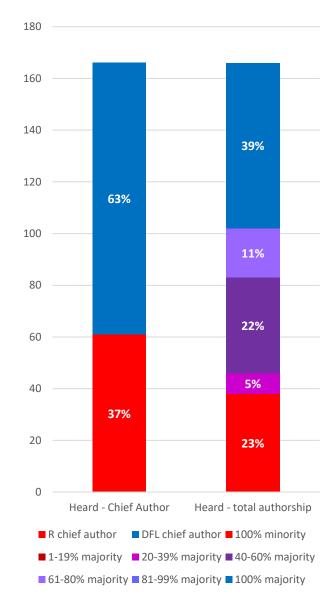
- 163 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 190 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

## 166 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 105 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 61 had a chief author from the minority party.

## Of the 166 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 64 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 38 bills had 100% minority authorship, and
- 64 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



## **Transportation**

#### Committee Members - 10 total: 6 DFL, 4 R

Committee Chair Sen. D. Scott Dibble, DFL Committee Vice Chair Sen. Kelly Morrison, DFL Republican Lead Sen. John Jasinski, R

Sen. Jim Carlson, DFL Sen. Julie Coleman, R Sen. Foung Hawj, DFL Sen. Jeff Howe, R Sen. Andrew Lang, R Sen. Jennifer McEwen, DFL Sen. Lindsey Port, DFL

#### 265 bills were referred to the committee:

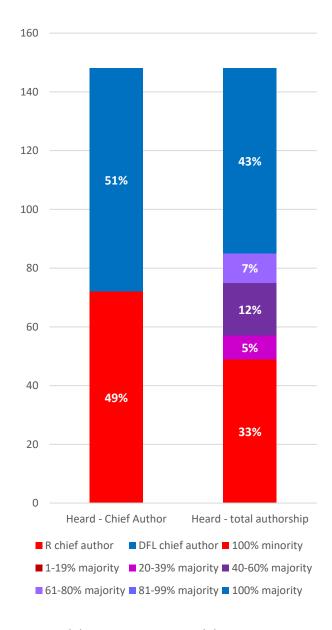
- 122 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 143 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

## 148 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

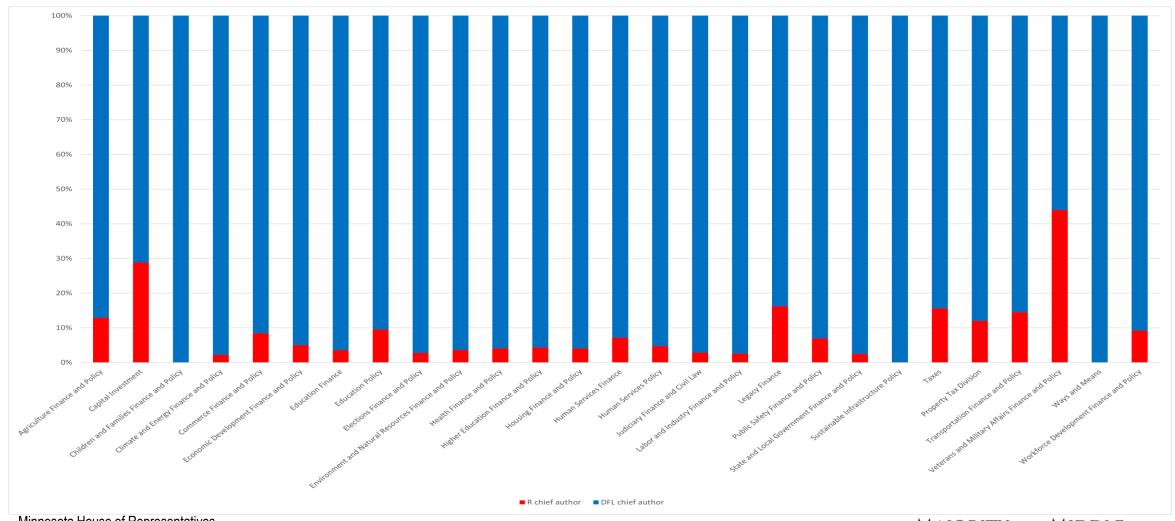
- 76 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 72 had a chief author from the minority party.

## Of the 148 bills that were heard in the committee:

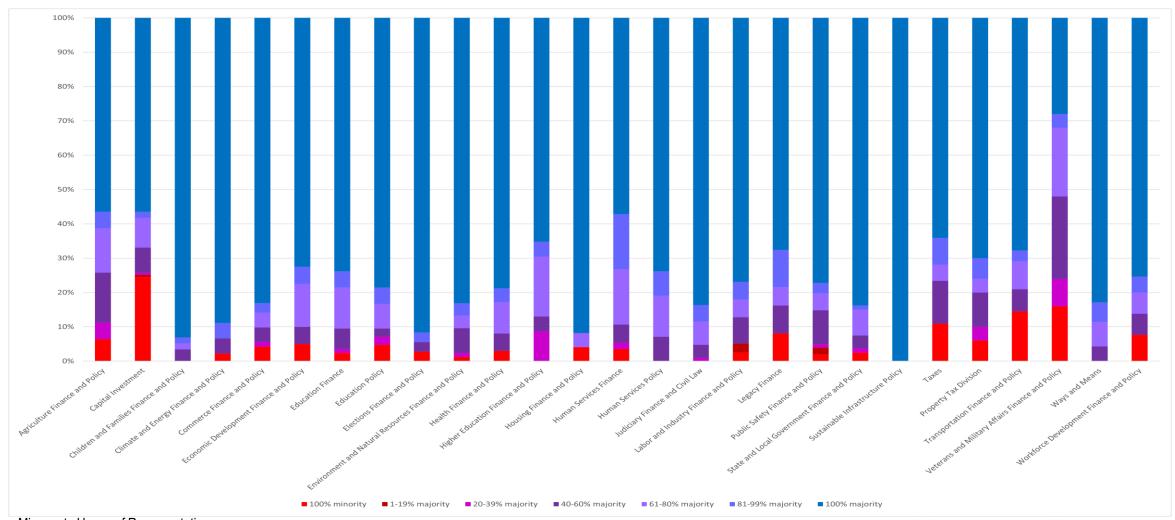
- 63 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 49 bills had 100% minority authorship, and
- 36 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



# **House Bill Hearings By Chief Authorship**



## **House Bill Hearings By Total Authorship**



# **Agriculture Finance and Policy**

#### Committee Members - 13 total: 8 DFL, 5 R

Committee Chair Rep. Samantha Vang, DFL Committee Vice Chair Rep. Kristi Pursell, DFL Republican Lead Rep. Paul Anderson, R

Rep. John Burkel, R

Rep. Ethan Cha, DFL

Rep. Luke Frederick, DFL

Rep. Rick Hansen, DFL

Rep. Bobbie Harder R

Rep. Steven Jacob, R

Rep. Nathan Nelson, R

Rep. Lucy Rehm, DFL

Rep. Samantha Sencer-Mura, DFL

Rep. Brad Tabke, DFL

#### 102 bills were referred to the committee:

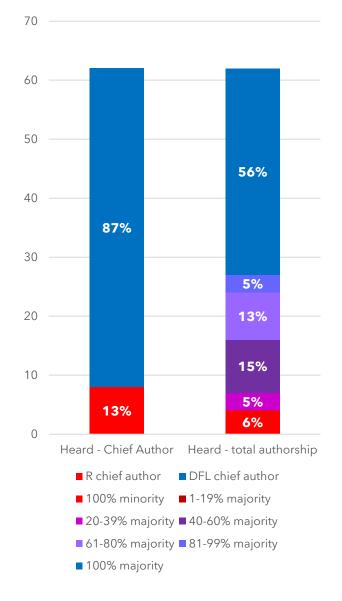
- 77 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 25 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

## 62 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 54 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 8 had a chief author from the minority party.

## Of the 62 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 35 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 4 bills had 100% minority authorship, and
- 23 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



# **Capital Investment**

#### Committee Members - 17 total: 10 DFL, 7 R

Committee Chair Rep. Fue Lee, DFL Committee Vice Chair Rep. Liz Reyer, DFL Republican Lead Rep. Dean Urdahl, R

Rep. Ned Carroll, DFL

Rep. Marj Fogelman, R

Rep. Mary Franson, R

Rep. Matt Grossell, R

Rep. Rick Hansen, DFL

Rep. Samakab Hussein, DFL

Rep. Alicia Kozlowski, DFL

Rep. Leon Lillie, DFL

Rep. Andrew Myers, R

Rep. Gene Pelowski, DFL

Rep. Roger Skraba, R

Rep. Nolan West, R

Rep. Dan Wolgamott, DFL

Rep. Jay Xiong, DFL

Minnesota House of Representatives Committee Hearing Detail – 2023 Regular Session

#### 639 bills were referred to the committee:

- 330 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 309 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

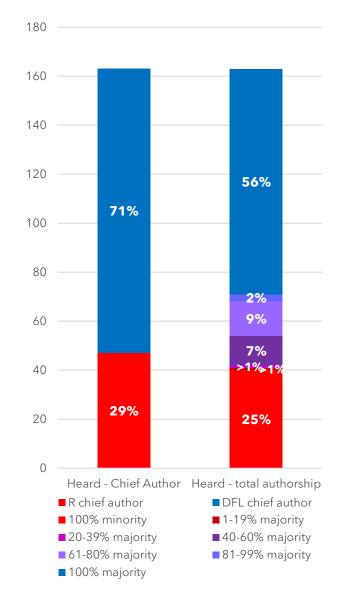
## 163 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 116 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 47 had a chief author from the minority party.

## Of the 163 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 92 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 40 bills had 100% minority authorship, and
- 31 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.

(\*Note – 2 of these bills were informational hearings of bills that hadn't been officially referred to the committee. They did have hearings, so we included them in this analysis.)



## **Children and Families Finance and Policy**

#### Committee Members - 15 total: 9 DFL, 6 R

Committee Chair Rep. Dave Pinto, DFL Committee Vice Chair Rep. Heather Keeler, DFL Republican Lead

Rep. Matt Bliss, R

Rep. Brian Daniels, R

Rep. Nathan Coulter, DFL

Rep. Ben Davis, R

Rep. Jessica Hanson, DFL

Rep. Amanda Hemmingsen-Jaeger, DFL

Rep. Kim Hicks, DFL

Rep. Walter Hudson, R

Rep. Carlie Kotyza-Witthuhn, DFL

Rep. Liz Lee, DFL

Rep. Nathan Nelson, R

Rep. María Isa Pérez-Vega, DFL

Rep. Natalie Zeleznikar, R

#### 88 bills were referred to the committee:

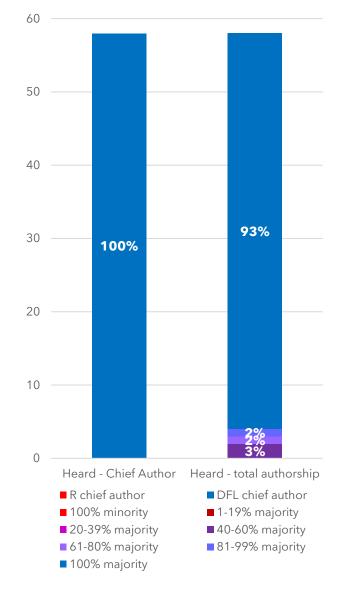
- 82 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 6 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

## 58 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 58 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 0 had a chief author from the minority party.

## Of the 58 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 54 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 0 bills had 100% minority authorship, and
- 4 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



## **Climate and Energy Finance and Policy**

Committee Members - 17 total: 10 DFL, 7 R

Committee Chair Rep. Patty Acomb, DFL Committee Vice Chair Rep. Larry Kraft, DFL Republican Lead Rep. Chris Swedzinski, R

Rep. Pam Altendorf, R

Rep. Robert Bierman, DFL

Rep. Ned Carroll, DFL

Rep. Ben Davis, R

Rep. Pat Garofalo, R

Rep. Amanda Hemmingsen-Jaeger, DFL

Rep. Athena Hollins, DFL

Rep. Frank Hornstein, DFL

Rep. Spencer Igo, R

Rep. Shane Mekeland, R

Rep. Jerry Newton, DFL

Rep. Marion (O'Neill) Rarick, R

Rep. Lucy Rehm, DFL

Rep. Zack Stephenson, DFL

83 bills were referred to the committee:

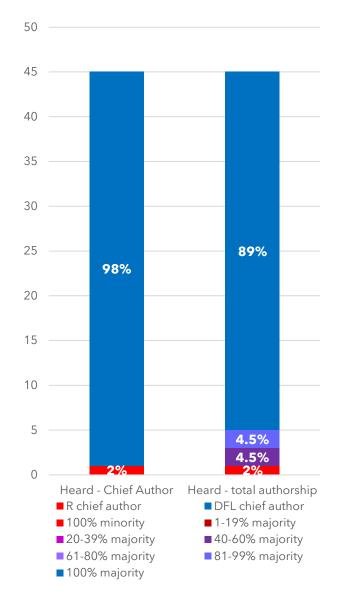
- 63 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 20 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

45 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 44 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 1 had a chief author from the minority party.

Of the 58 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 40 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 1 bill had 100% minority authorship, and
- 4 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



## **Commerce Finance and Policy**

#### Committee Members - 17 total: 10 DFL, 7 R

Committee Chair Rep. Zack Stephenson, DFL Committee Vice Chair Rep. Carlie Kotyza-Witthuhn, DFL Republican Lead Rep. Tim O'Driscoll, R

Rep. Robert Bierman, DFL

Rep. Ethan Cha, DFL

Rep. Kurt Daudt, R

Rep. Jeff Dotseth, R

Rep. Mike Freiberg, DFL

Rep. Ginny Klevorn, DFL

Rep. Erin Koegel, DFL

Rep. Larry Kraft, DFL

Rep. Tina Liebling, DFL

Rep. Anne Neu Brindley, R

Rep. Harry Niska, R

Rep. Bernie Perryman, R

Rep. Brian Pfarr, R

Rep. Brad Tabke, DFL

148 bills were referred to the committee:

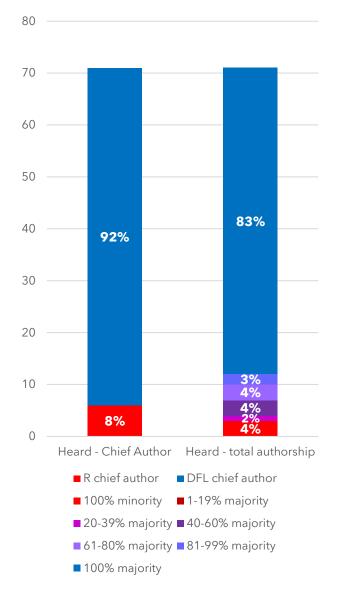
- 117 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 31 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

71 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 65 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 6 had a chief author from the minority party.

Of the 58 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 59 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 3 bills had 100% minority authorship, and
- 9 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



## **Economic Development Policy**

#### Committee Members - 13 total: 8 DFL, 5 R

Committee Chair Rep. Hodan Hassan, DFL Committee Vice Chair Rep. Jessica Hanson, DFL Republican Lead Rep. Jon Koznick, R

Rep. Sandra Feist, DFL

Rep. Spencer Igo, R

Rep. Carlie Kotyza-Witthuhn, DFL

Rep. Alicia Kozlowski, DFL

Rep. Bernie Perryman, R

Rep. Ruth Richardson, DFL

Rep. Joe Schomacker, R

Rep. Andy Smith, DFL

Rep. Mike Wiener, R

Rep. Jay Xiong, DFL

#### 64 bills were referred to the committee:

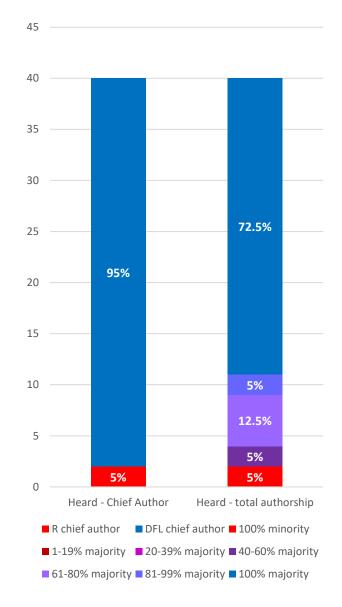
- 54 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 10 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

## 40 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 38 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 2 had a chief author from the minority party.

## Of the 40 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 29 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 2 bills had 100% minority authorship, and
- 9 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



## **Education Finance**

#### Committee Members - 19 total: 11 DFL, 8 R

Committee Chair

Rep. Cheryl Youakim, DFL

Committee Vice Chair

Rep. Mary Frances Clardy, DFL

Republican Lead

Rep. Ron Kresha, R

Rep. Pam Altendorf, R

Rep. Patti Anderson, R

Rep. Ben Bakeberg, R

Rep. Peggy Bennett, R

Rep. Heather Edelson, DFL

Rep. Emma Greenman, DFL

Rep. Josiah Hill, DFL

Rep. Shane Hudella, R

Rep. Sydney Jordan, DFL

Rep. Krista Knudsen, R

Rep. María Isa Pérez-Vega, DFL

Rep. Laurie Pryor, DFL

Rep. Kristi Pursell, DFL

Rep. Lucy Rehm, DFL

Rep. Samantha Sencer-Mura, DFL

Rep. Nolan West, R

Minnesota House of Representatives Committee Hearing Detail – 2023 Regular Session

#### 141 bills were referred to the committee:

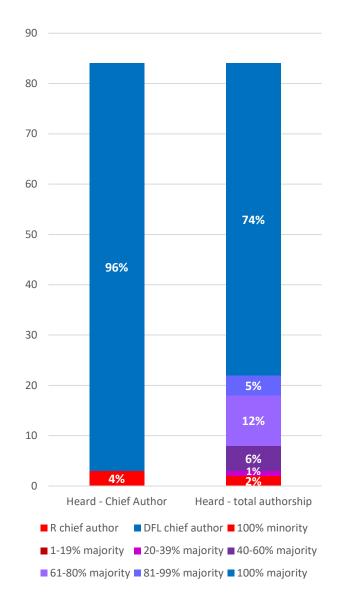
- 120 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 21 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

## 84 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 81 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 3 had a chief author from the minority party.

## Of the 84 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 62 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 2 bills had 100% minority authorship, and
- 20 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



## **Education Policy**

#### Committee Members - 13 total: 8 DFL, 5 R

Committee Chair Rep. Laurie Pryor, DFL Committee Vice Chair Rep. Josiah Hill, DFL Republican Lead Rep. Peggy Bennett, R

Rep. Ben Bakeberg, R

Rep. Kaela Berg, DFL

Rep. Sandra Feist, DFL

Rep. Cedrick Frazier, DFL

Rep. Heather Keeler, DFL

Rep. Krista Knudsen, R

Rep. Liz Lee, DFL

Rep. Patricia Mueller, R

Rep. Dean Urdahl, R

Rep. Cheryl Youakim, DFL

#### 136 bills were referred to the committee:

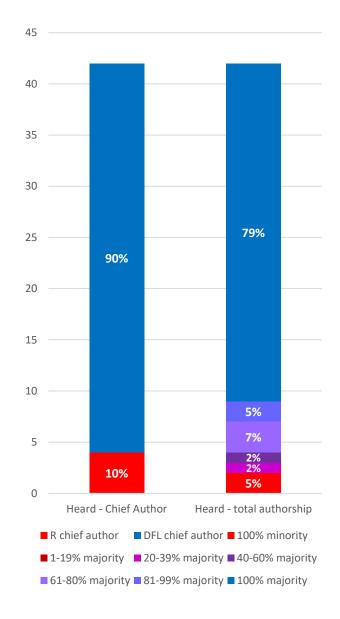
- 81 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 55 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

## 42 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 38 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 4 had a chief author from the minority party.

## Of the 42 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 33 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 2 bills had 100% minority authorship, and
- 7 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



## **Elections Finance and Policy**

#### Committee Members - 13 total: 8 DFL, 5 R

Committee Chair Rep. Mike Freiberg, DFL Committee Vice Chair Rep. Emma Greenman, DFL Republican Lead Rep. Paul Torkelson, R

Rep. Esther Agbaje, DFL

Rep. Pam Altendorf, R

Rep. Kristin Bahner, DFL

Rep. Matt Bliss, R

Rep. Nathan Coulter, DFL

Rep. Ben Davis, R

Rep. Luke Frederick, DFL

Rep. Kristi Pursell, DFL

Rep. Duane Quam, R

Rep. Zack Stephenson, DFL

#### 74 bills were referred to the committee:

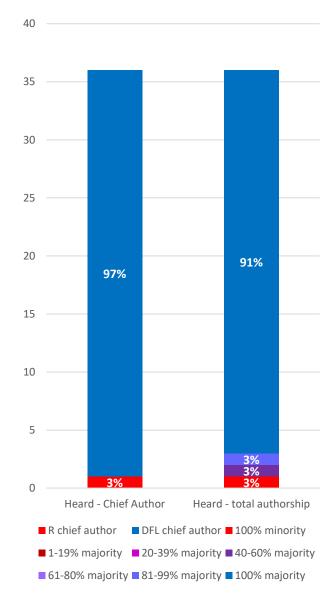
- 47 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 27 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

## 36 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 35 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 1 had a chief author from the minority party.

## Of the 36 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 33 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 1 bill had 100% minority authorship, and
- 2 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



## **Environment & Natural Resources Finance & Policy**

Committee Members - 16 total: 10 DFL, 6 R

Committee Chair Rep. Rick Hansen, DFL Committee Vice Chair Rep. Sydney Jordan, DFL Republican Lead Rep. Josh Heintzeman, R

Rep. Jeff Brand, DFL

Rep. John Burkel, R

Rep. Heather Edelson, DFL

Rep. Leigh Finke, DFL

Rep. Peter Fischer, DFL

Rep. Dawn Gillman, R

Rep. Steven Jacob, R

Rep. Fue Lee, DFL

Rep. Dave Lislegard, DFL

Rep. Kristi Pursell, DFL

Rep. Isaac Schultz, R

Rep. Roger Skraba, R

Rep. Samantha Vang, DFL

#### 191 bills were referred to the committee:

- 124 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 67 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

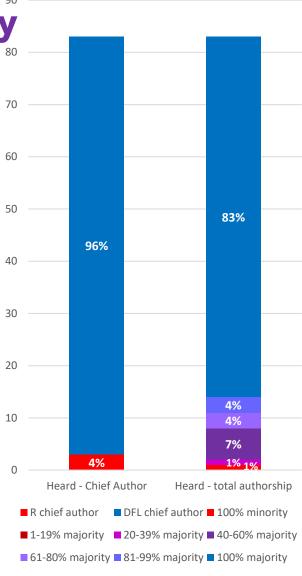
## 83 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 80 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 3 had a chief author from the minority party.

## Of the 83 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 69 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 1 bill had 100% minority authorship, and
- 13 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.

(Note -1 of these bills was an informational hearing of a bill that hadn't been officially referred to the committee. They did have a hearing, so we included it in this analysis.)



# **Health Finance and Policy**

#### Committee Members - 19 total: 11 DFL, 8 R

Committee Chair

Rep. Tina Liebling, DFL

Committee Vice Chair

Rep. Robert Bierman, DFL

Republican Lead

Rep. Joe Schomacker, R

Rep. Patty Acomb, DFL

Rep. Jeff Backer, R

Rep. Kristin Bahner, DFL

Rep. Ned Carroll, DFL

Rep. Steve Elkins, DFL

Rep. Peter Fischer, DFL

Rep. Amanda Hemmingsen-Jaeger, DFL

Rep. Kaohly Vang Her, DFL

Rep. Debra Kiel, R

Rep. Tom Murphy, R

Rep. Danny Nadeau, R

Rep. Anne Neu Brindley, R

Rep. Bernie Perryman, R

Rep. Duane Quam, R

Rep. Liz Reyer, DFL

Rep. Andy Smith, DFL

256 bills were referred to the committee:

- 205 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 51 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

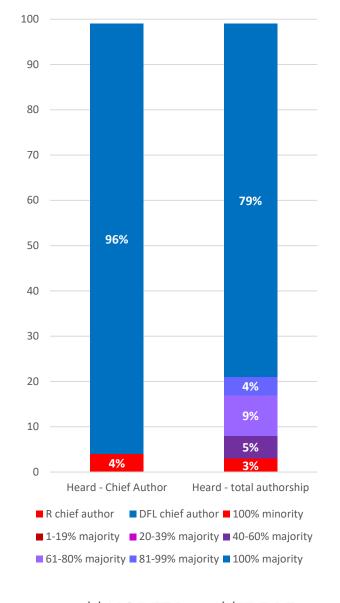
98 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 94 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 4 had a chief author from the minority party.

Of the 98 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 77 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 3 bills had 100% minority authorship, and
- 18 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.

(Note – 1 of these bills was an informational hearing of a bill that hadn't been officially referred to the committee. It did have a hearing, so we included it in this analysis.)



# **Higher Education Finance and Policy**

#### Committee Members - 13 total: 8 DFL, 5 R

Committee Chair
Rep. Gene Pelowski, DFL
Committee Vice Chair
Rep. Dan Wolgamott, DFL
Republican Lead
Rep. Marion (O'Neill) Rarick, R

Rep. Nathan Coulter, DFL

Rep. Greg Davids, R

Rep. Jessica Hanson, DFL

Rep. Kim Hicks, DFL

Rep. Ginny Klevorn, DFL

Rep. Joe McDonald, R

Rep. Mohamud Noor, DFL

Rep. Kristin Robbins, R

Rep. Peggy Scott, R

Rep. Samantha Vang, DFL

#### 56 bills were referred to the committee:

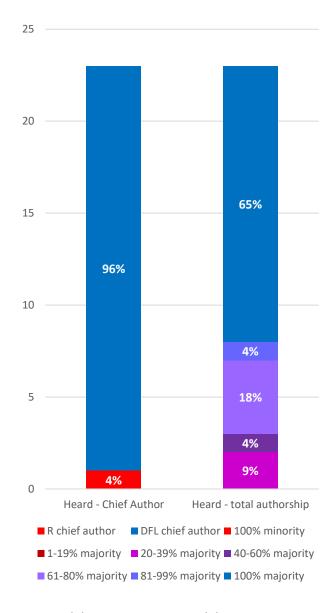
- 52 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 4 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

## 23 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 22 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 1 had a chief author from the minority party.

## Of the 23 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 15 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 0 bills had 100% minority authorship, and
- 8 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



# **Housing Finance and Policy**

#### Committee Members - 13 total: 8 DFL, 5 R

Committee Chair Rep. Michael Howard, DFL Committee Vice Chair Rep. Esther Agbaje, DFL Republican Lead Rep. Brian Johnson, R

Rep. Ethan Cha, DFL

Rep. Jeff Dotseth, R

Rep. Hodan Hassan, DFL

Rep. Samakab Hussein, DFL

Rep. Alicia Kozlowski, DFL

Rep. Andrew Myers, R

Rep. Jim Nash, R

Rep. Matt Norris, DFL

Rep. María Isa Pérez-Vega, DFL

Rep. John Petersburg, R

#### 76 bills were referred to the committee:

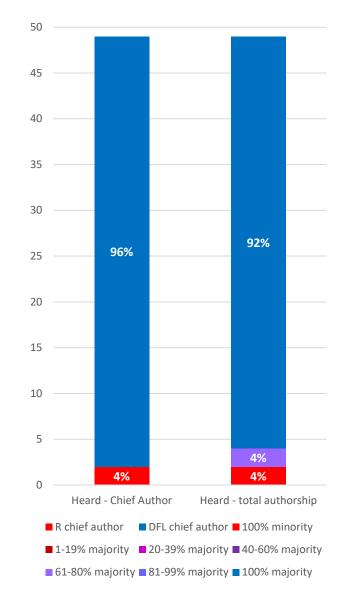
- 71 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 5 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

## 49 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 47 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 2 had a chief author from the minority party.

## Of the 49 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 45 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 2 bills had 100% minority authorship, and
- 2 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



## **Human Services Finance**

Committee Members - 15 total: 9 DFL, 6 R

Committee Chair Rep. Mohamud Noor, DFL Committee Vice Chair Rep. Kristin Bahner, DFL Republican Lead Rep. Anne Neu Brindley, R

Rep. Dave Baker, R

Rep. Mary Frances Clardy, DFL

Rep. Peter Fischer, DFL

Rep. Mary Franson, R

Rep. Dawn Gillman, R

Rep. Kim Hicks, DFL

Rep. Heather Keeler, DFL

Rep. Carlie Kotyza-Witthuhn, DFL

Rep. Laurie Pryor, DFL

Rep. Duane Quam, R

Rep. Liz Reyer, DFL

Rep. Natalie Zeleznikar, R

#### 92 bills were referred to the committee:

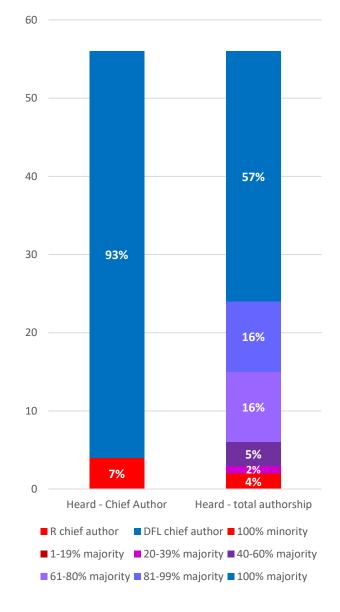
- 80 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 12 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

## 56 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 52 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 4 had a chief author from the minority party.

## Of the 56 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 32 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 2 bills had 100% minority authorship, and
- 22 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



# **Human Services Policy**

Committee Members - 13 total: 8 DFL, 5 R

Committee Chair Rep. Peter Fischer, DFL Committee Vice Chair Rep. Luke Frederick, DFL Republican Lead Rep. Debra Kiel, R

Rep. Jeff Backer, R

Rep. Dave Baker, R

Rep. Brion Curran, DFL

Rep. Heather Edelson, DFL

Rep. Elliot Engen, R

Rep. Leigh Finke, DFL

Rep. Jessica Hanson, DFL

Rep. Kim Hicks, DFL

Rep. Mohamud Noor, DFL

Rep. Paul Novotny, R

#### 56 bills were referred to the committee:

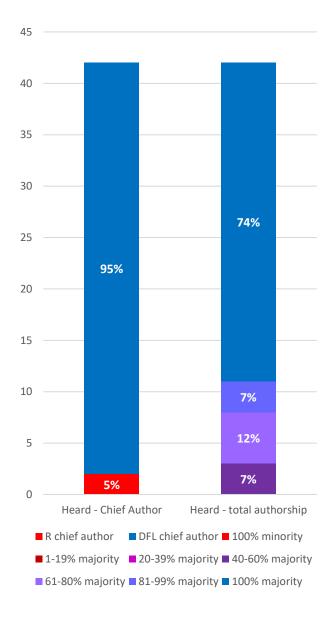
- 52 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 4 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

## 42 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 40 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 2 had a chief author from the minority party.

## Of the 42 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 31 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 0 bills had 100% minority authorship, and
- 11 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



## **Judiciary Finance and Civil Law**

#### Committee Members - 13 total: 8 DFL, 5 R

Committee Chair
Rep. Jamie Becker-Finn, DFL
Committee Vice Chair
Rep. Cedrick Frazier, DFL
Republican Lead
Rep. Peggy Scott, R

Rep. Ned Carroll, DFL

Rep. Brion Curran, DFL

Rep. Sandra Feist, DFL

Rep. Leigh Finke, DFL

Rep. Luke Frederick, DFL

Rep. Matt Grossell, R

Rep. Brian Johnson, R

Rep. Kelly Moller, DFL

Rep. Harry Niska, R

Rep. Mark Wiens, R

#### 188 bills were referred to the committee:

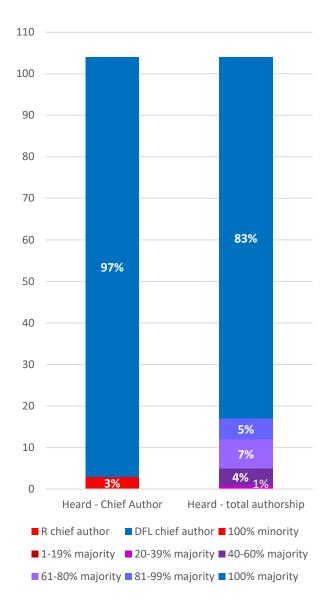
- 145 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 43 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

## 104 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 101 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 3 had a chief author from the minority party.

## Of the 104 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 87 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 0 bills had 100% minority authorship, and
- 17 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



## **Labor and Industry Finance and Policy**

Committee Members - 13 total: 8 DFL, 5 R

Committee Chair Rep. Michael Nelson, DFL Committee Vice Chair Rep. Kaela Berg, DFL Republican Lead Rep. Joe McDonald, R

Rep. Brian Daniels, R

Rep. Emma Greenman, DFL

Rep. Josiah Hill, DFL

Rep. Samakab Hussein, DFL

Rep. Sydney Jordan, DFL

Rep. Alicia Kozlowski, DFL

Rep. Shane Mekeland, R

Rep. Andrew Myers, R

Rep. Isaac Schultz, R

Rep. Dan Wolgamott, DFL

#### 63 bills were referred to the committee:

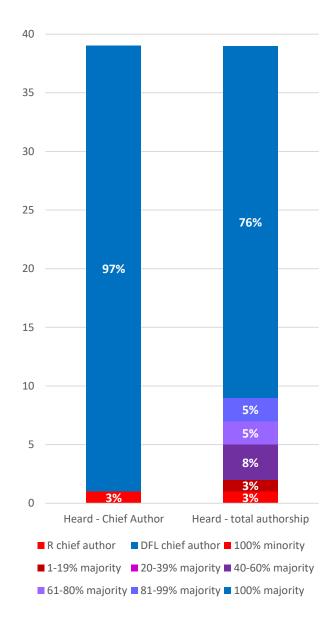
- 49 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 14 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

## 39 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 38 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 1 had a chief author from the minority party.

## Of the 39 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 30 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 1 bill had 100% minority authorship, and
- 8 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



## **Legacy Finance**

#### Committee Members - 11 total: 7 DFL, 4 R

Committee Chair Rep. Leon Lillie, DFL Committee Vice Chair Rep. Samakab Hussein, DFL Republican Lead Rep. Jeff Backer, R

Rep. Ethan Cha, DFL

Rep. Leigh Finke, DFL

Rep. Josh Heintzeman, R

Rep. Kaohly Vang Her, DFL

Rep. Fue Lee, DFL

Rep. Brian Pfarr, R

Rep. Roger Skraba, R

Rep. Samantha Vang, DFL

#### 70 bills were referred to the committee:

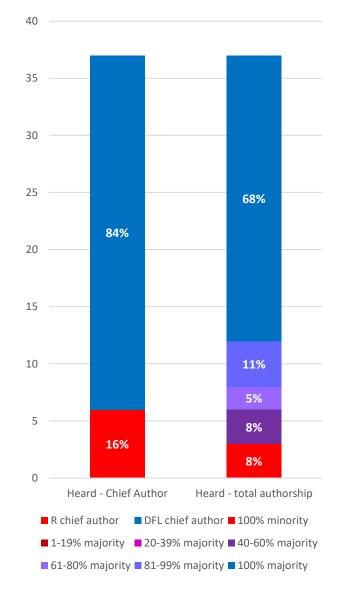
- 54 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 16 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

## 37 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 31 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 6 had a chief author from the minority party.

## Of the 37 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 25 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 3 bill had 100% minority authorship, and
- 9 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



## **Property Tax Division**

Committee Members - 13 total: 8 DFL, 5 R

Committee Chair
Rep. Dave Lislegard, DFL
Committee Vice Chair
Rep. Liz Lee, DFL
Republican Lead
Rep. Duane Quam, R

Rep. Paul Anderson, R

Rep. John Burkel, R

Rep. Nathan Coulter, DFL

Rep. Steve Elkins, DFL

Rep. Pat Garofalo, R

Rep. Aisha Gomez, DFL

Rep. Athena Hollins, DFL

Rep. John Huot, DFL

Rep. Michael Nelson, DFL

Rep. Tim O'Driscoll, R

#### 51 bills were referred to the committee:

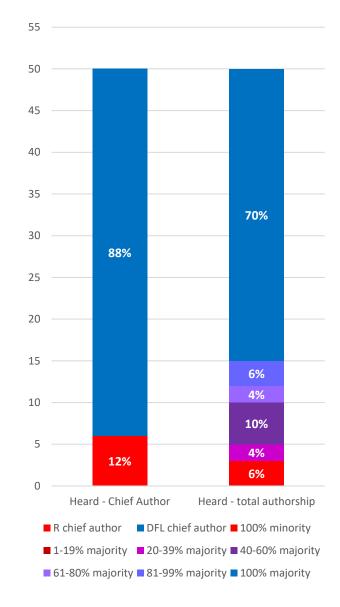
- 44 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 7 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

## 50 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 44 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 6 had a chief author from the minority party.

## Of the 50 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 35 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 3 bills had 100% minority authorship, and
- 12 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



## **Public Safety Finance and Policy**

#### Committee Members - 15 total: 9 DFL, 6 R

Committee Chair Rep. Kelly Moller, DFL Committee Vice Chair Rep. Sandra Feist, DFL Republican Lead Rep. Paul Novotny, R

Rep. Jamie Becker-Finn, DFL

Rep. Brion Curran, DFL

Rep. Elliot Engen, R

Rep. Cedrick Frazier, DFL

Rep. Matt Grossell, R

Rep. Athena Hollins, DFL

Rep. Walter Hudson, R

Rep. John Huot, DFL

Rep. Patricia Mueller, R

Rep. Dave Pinto, DFL

Rep. Brad Tabke, DFL

Rep. Jeff Witte, R

#### 256 bills were referred to the committee:

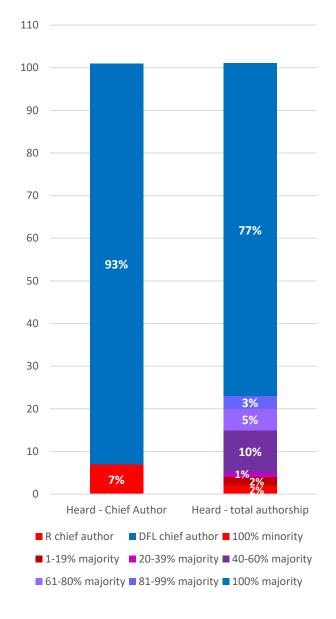
- 160 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 96 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

## 101 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 94 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 7 had a chief author from the minority party.

## Of the 101 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 78 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 2 bills had 100% minority authorship, and
- 21 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



## **State & Local Government Finance and Policy**

#### Committee Members - 13 total: 8 DFL, 5 R

Committee Chair Rep. Ginny Klevorn, DFL Committee Vice Chair Rep. John Huot, DFL Republican Lead Rep. Jim Nash, R

Rep. Kristin Bahner, DFL

Rep. Kaela Berg, DFL

Rep. Mike Freiberg, DFL

Rep. Rick Hansen, DFL

Rep. Bobbie Harder, R

Rep. Kaohly Vang Her, DFL

Rep. Jim Joy, R

Rep. Jon Koznick, R

Rep. Danny Nadeau, R

Rep. Jerry Newton, DFL

#### 227 bills were referred to the committee:

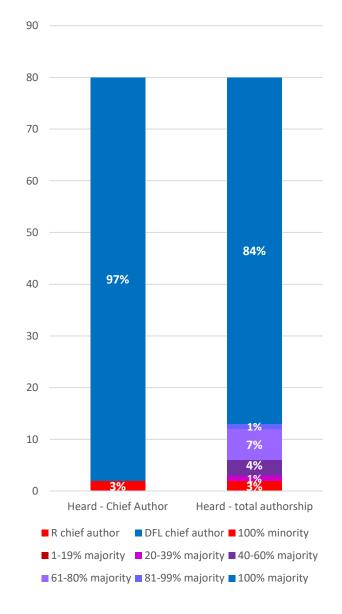
- 159 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 68 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

## 80 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 78 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 2 had a chief author from the minority party.

## Of the 80 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 67 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 2 bills had 100% minority authorship, and
- 11 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



## **Sustainable Infrastructure Policy**

Committee Members - 13 total: 8 DFL, 5 R

Committee Chair Rep. Erin Koegel, DFL Committee Vice Chair Rep. Brion Curran, DFL Republican Lead Rep. Mary Franson, R

Rep. Patty Acomb, DFL

Rep. Paul Anderson, R

Rep. Mary Frances Clardy, DFL

Rep. Dawn Gillman, R

Rep. Frank Hornstein, DFL

Rep. Spencer Igo, R

Rep. Larry Kraft, DFL

Rep. Lucy Rehm, DFL

Rep. Isaac Schultz, R

Rep. Andy Smith, DFL

#### 13 bills were referred to the committee:

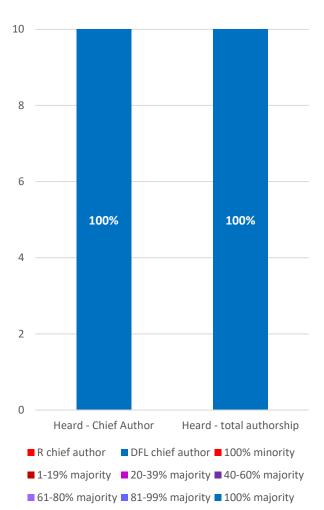
- 12 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 1 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

## 10 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 10 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 0 had a chief author from the minority party.

## Of the 58 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 10 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 0 bills had 100% minority authorship, and
- 0 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



12

### **Taxes**

#### Committee Members - 21 total: 12 DFL, 9 R

Committee Chair Rep. Aisha Gomez, DFL Committee Vice Chair Rep. Matt Norris, DFL Republican Lead Rep. Greg Davids, R

Rep. Esther Agbaje, DFL

Rep. Patti Anderson, R

Rep. Jeff Brand, DFL

Rep. Steve Elkins, DFL

Rep. Michael Howard, DFL

Rep. Jim Joy, R

Rep. Jon Koznick, R

Rep. Liz Lee, DFL

Rep. Dave Lislegard, DFL

Rep. Bjorn Olson, R

Rep. Liz Olson, DFL

Rep. Dave Pinto, DFL

Rep. Kristin Robbins, R

Rep. Andy Smith, DFL

Rep. Chris Swedzinski, DFL

Rep. Mike Wiener, R

Rep. Jeff Witte, R

Rep. Cheryl Youakim, DFL

#### 375 bills were referred to the committee:

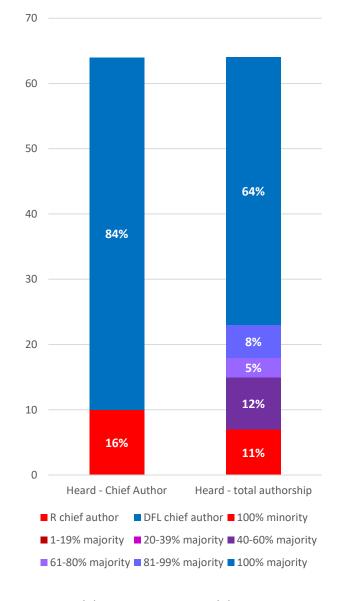
- 176 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 199 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

## 64 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 54 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 10 had a chief author from the minority party.

## Of the 64 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 41 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 7 bills had 100% minority authorship, and
- 16 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



## **Transportation Finance and Policy**

Committee Members - 15 total: 9 DFL, 6 R

Committee Chair Rep. Frank Hornstein, DFL Committee Vice Chair Rep. Brad Tabke, DFL Republican Lead Rep. John Petersburg, R

Rep. Jeff Brand, DFL

Rep. Steve Elkins, DFL

Rep. Marj Fogelman, R

Rep. Shane Hudella, R

Rep. Erin Koegel, DFL

Rep. Larry Kraft, DFL

Rep. Tom Murphy, R

Rep. Michael Nelson, DFL

Rep. Matt Norris, DFL

Rep. Bjorn Olson, R

Rep. Samantha Sencer-Mura, DFL

Rep. Nolan West, R

#### 249 bills were referred to the committee:

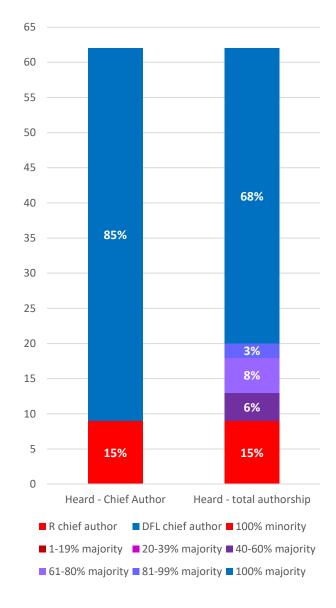
- 136 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 113 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

## 62 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 53 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 9 had a chief author from the minority party.

## Of the 62 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 42 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 9 bills had 100% minority authorship, and
- 11 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



## **Veterans and Military Affairs Finance and Policy**

30

#### Committee Members - 12 total: 7 DFL, 5 R

Committee Chair Rep. Jerry Newton, DFL Committee Vice Chair Rep. Steve Elkins, DFL Republican Lead Rep. Matt Bliss, R

Rep. Peggy Bennett, R

Rep. Mary Frances Clardy, DFL

Rep. Nathan Coulter, DFL

Rep. Emma Greenman, DFL

Rep. Shane Hudella, R

Rep. Dave Lislegard, DFL

Rep. Matt Norris, DFL

Rep. Bjorn Olson, R

Rep. Mark Wiens, R

#### 28 bills were referred to the committee:

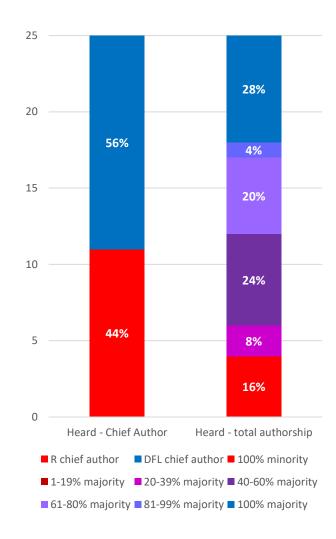
- 16 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 12 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

## 25 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 14 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 11 had a chief author from the minority party.

## Of the 25 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 7 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 4 bills had 100% minority authorship, and
- 14 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



## **Ways and Means**

Committee Members - 28 total: 18 DFL, 10 R

Committee Chair Rep. Liz Olson, DFL Committee Vice Chair Rep. Heather Edelson, DFL Republican Lead Rep. Pat Garofalo, R

Rep. Patty Acomb, DFL

Rep. Esther Agbaje, DFL

Rep. Jamie Becker-Finn, DFL

Rep. Mike Freiberg, DFL

Rep. Aisha Gomez, DFL

Rep. Hodan Hassan, DFL

Rep. Josh Heintzeman, R

Rep. Frank Hornstein, DFL

Rep. Michael Howard, DFL

Rep. Ginny Klevorn, DFL

Rep. Ron Kresha, R

Rep. Tina Liebling, DFL

Rep. Leon Lillie, DFL

Rep. Kelly Moller, DFL

Rep. Jim Nash, R

Rep. Mohamud Noor, DFL

Rep. Paul Novotny, R

Rep. Marion (O'Neill) Rarick, R

Rep. Gene Pelowski, Jr., DFL

Rep. John Petersburg, R

Rep. Brian Pfarr, DFL

Rep. Dave Pinto, DFL

Rep. Joe Schomacker, R

Rep. Peggy Scott, R

Rep. Cheryl Youakim, DFL

#### 145 bills were referred to the committee:

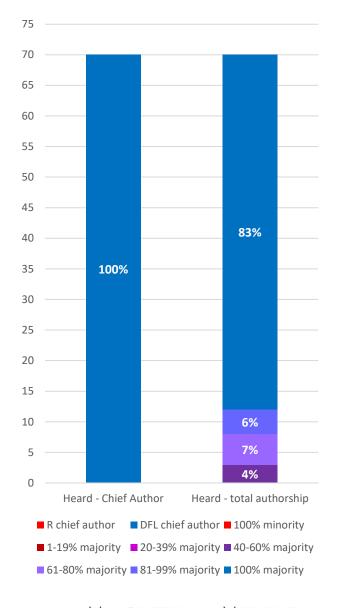
- 143 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 2 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

## 70 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 70 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 0 had a chief author from the minority party.

## Of the 70 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 58 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 0 bills had 100% minority authorship, and
- 12 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



# **Workforce Development Finance and Policy**

Committee Members - 13 total: 8 DFL, 5 R

Committee Chair Rep. Jay Xiong, DFL Committee Vice Chair Rep. Jeff Brand, DFL Republican Lead Rep. Dave Baker, R

Rep. Jamie Becker-Finn, DFL

Rep. Cedrick Frazier, DFL

Rep. Bobbie Harder, R

Rep. Hodan Hassan, DFL

Rep. Amanda Hemmingsen-Jaeger, DFL

Rep. Nathan Nelson, R

Rep. Liz Reyer, DFL

Rep. Samantha Sencer-Mura, DFL

Rep. Mark Wiens, R

Rep. Natalie Zeleznikar, R

#### 86 bills were referred to the committee:

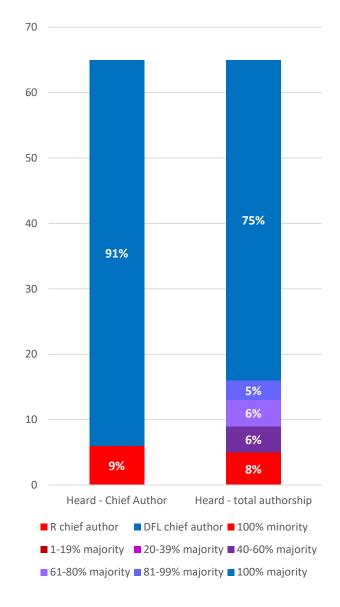
- 74 bills had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 12 bills had a chief author from the minority party.

## 65 of those bills received a hearing in the committee:

- 59 had a chief author from the majority party, and
- 6 had a chief author from the minority party.

## Of the 65 bills that were heard in the committee:

- 49 bills had 100% majority authorship,
- 5 bills had 100% minority authorship, and
- 11 bills that were heard had at least one author of each party.



# Individual Legislators



# How do individual legislators influence bipartisanship?

Unlike most roles at the legislature that are based on seniority and hierarchy, individual legislators have enormous agency and power to create and cultivate bipartisan support for bills.

They do this by actively including colleagues across the aisle on their own bills, as well as signing on to bills authored by others.

These connections may be built on shared interests, from practical similarities of districts (e.g., shared county or school districts, similar industrial base) to personal (relationships, similar personal or family stories, professional interests, legislative interests). Based on these commonalities, members can actively work to build these connections and collaborate on legislation.

Ultimately, legislators are free agents with election certificates.

Ideally, individuals will recognize and use that agency to build trust within their caucus while also building and nurturing relationships across the aisle - as well as down the hallway with members the other legislative body. Every bill in the House needs a Senate companion and vice versa, so bicameral relationships are important.

Members who serve in the 17 "split" senate districts -- where the Representative and Senator are of different parties -- have a built-in opportunity to create bicameral bipartisan relationships just by working on legislation that affects their district.

# Senate and House: not equal playing fields

There are key structural realities between the two bodies in the Minnesota legislature that may contribute to partisan differences.

The Senate is a smaller group of people (67 versus 134), which makes the Senate a bit more personal. With fewer colleagues in total, it can be harder to dismiss others on a purely partisan basis.

Members of the House of Representatives are elected every two years, while Senators are on a 4-4-2 cycle.\*

The consistent two-year election cycle may lead House members to be in perpetual campaign mode, feeling pushed to seek media coverage, and/or to be more extreme in policies, statements and social media.

For this reason, it's important for constituents who care about cooperation and collaboration to regularly engage with their elected officials to communicate those values.

\*In election years ending in 0, Senators serve for a two-year term to accommodate the redistricting process done in conjunction with the decennial census.

# Outside factors also shape bill authorship

While legislators have some agency and choice in which bills to carry or sign onto, there are additional outside factors that influence the partisan makeup of bill authors/co-authors.

Local projects, particularly those that have to do with infrastructure needs, are often non/bipartisan. The party makeup of the delegation that represents that area can influence the partisanship of the bill. For instance, communities represented entirely by members of the same party will have that reflected in more seemingly partisan bills. In split districts, the opposite might be true.

Bills being driven by individuals or groups outside the legislature are typically first "shopped" to members of the majority for chief authorship.

## Bill authorship by individual legislators

For each member of the legislature, we did two calculations.

First, the proportion of co-authors from either party included on bills for which legislators are chief author\*, and therefore in charge of.

Second, how frequently legislators signed onto bills as a co-author that were carried by members of their own party versus those bills carried by members across the aisle.

The individual information is presented as a percentage, instead of by a numerical count. Different legislators have different preferences on the number of bills they carry and/or sign onto, and sometimes their bill load is affected by other roles in the legislature.

As a reminder, it is our position that bipartisan cooperation is nuanced, and bill authorship is just one piece. There are many ways a legislator can work across the aisle that are not captured in this report.

\*Our analysis subtracted out bills for which the legislator was the sole author. Including party identification for those bills seemed to paint an overly partisan picture of the entire dataset. Those bills are still included, but show as grey, instead of red, blue, or purple.

# Top-level findings from individual statistics in the Senate

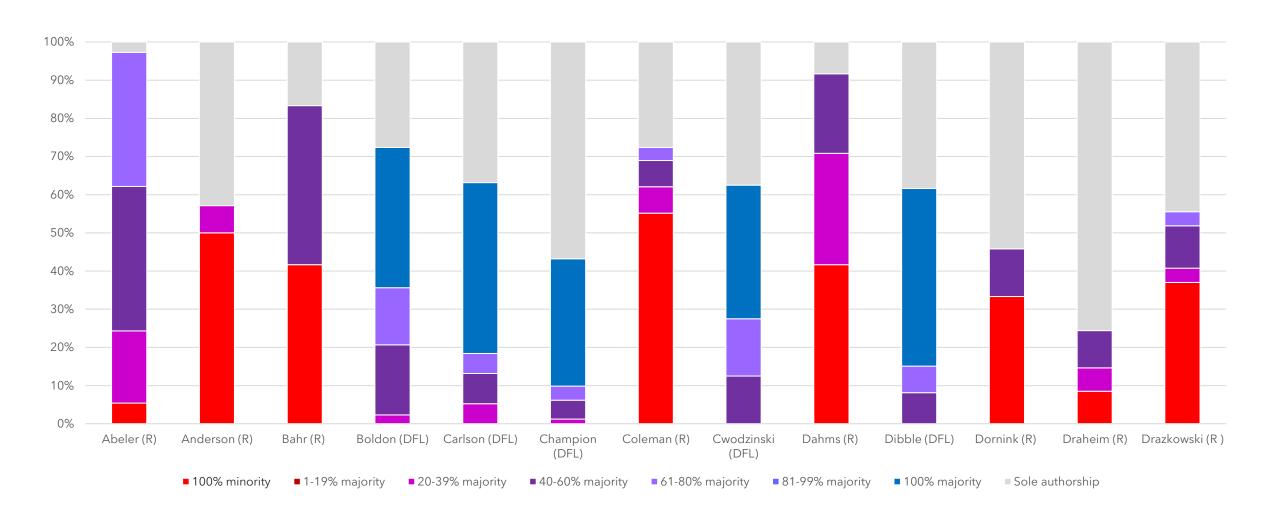
Partisanship - within this analysis - is slightly less stark in the Senate than in the House.

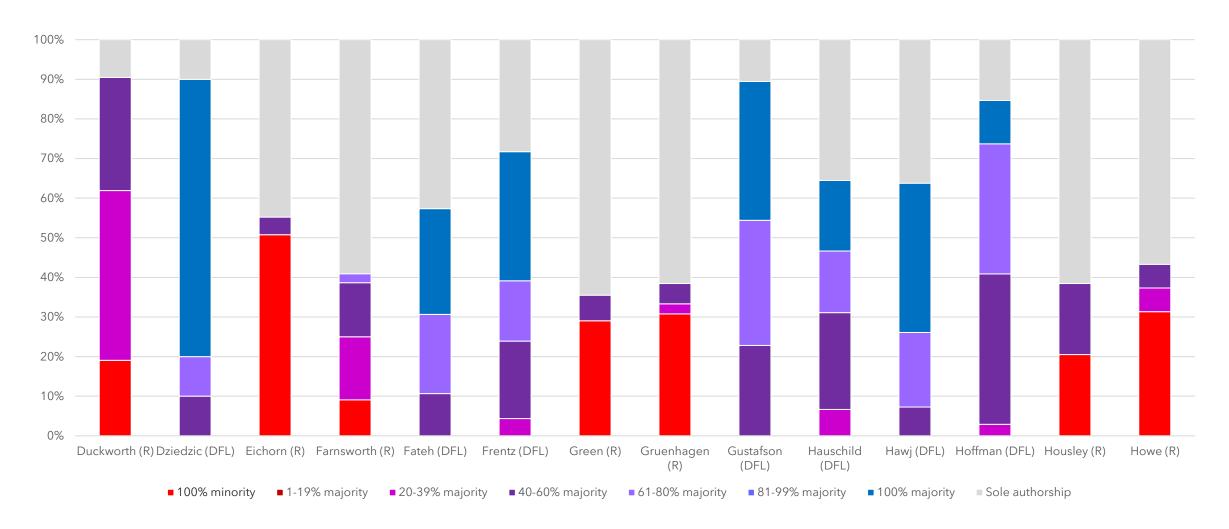
Senate individual cosigned bills

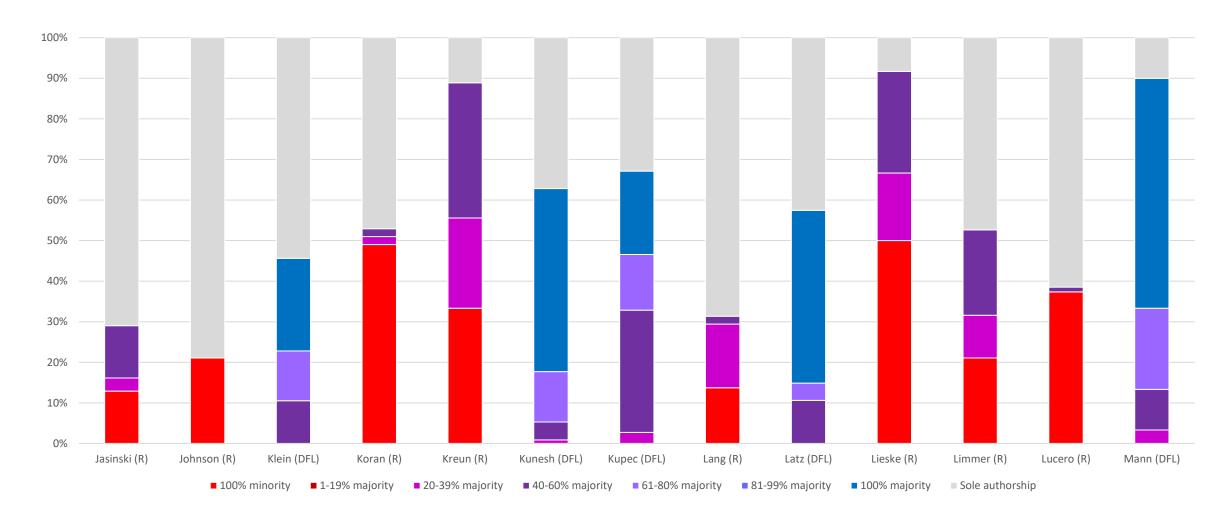
• Ten Republican senators had DFL chief authors on at least 50% of the bills they signed onto.

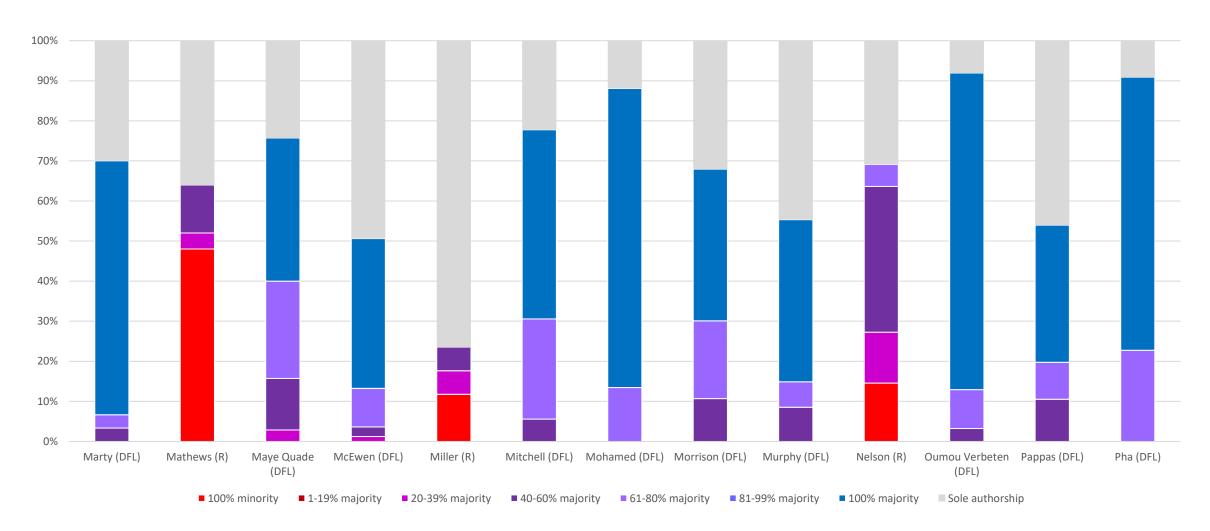
Senate individual chief authored bills

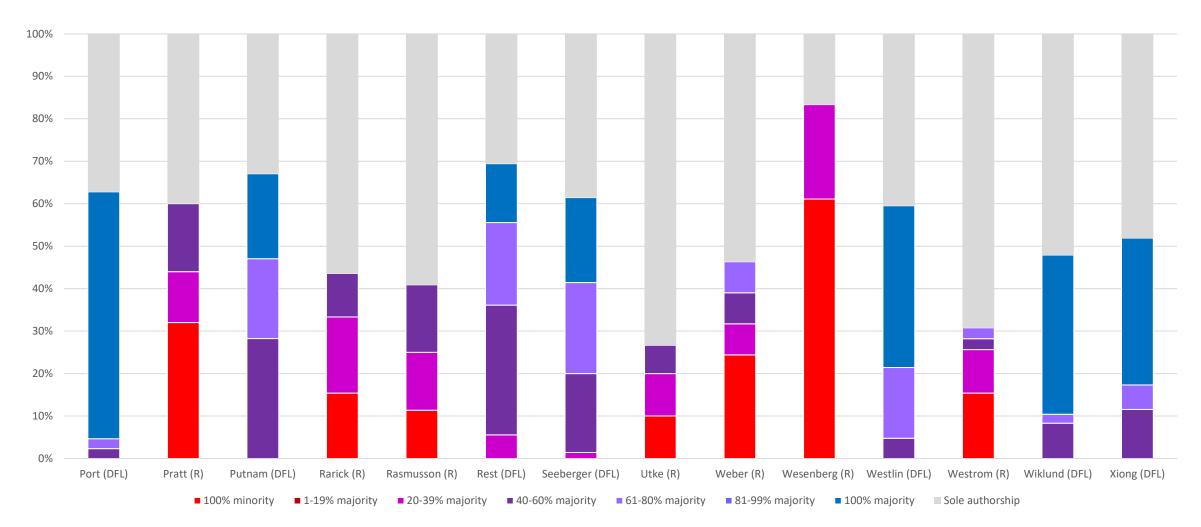
• Almost every member of the Senate had at least one member of the opposite party signed onto the bills they carried as the chief author.

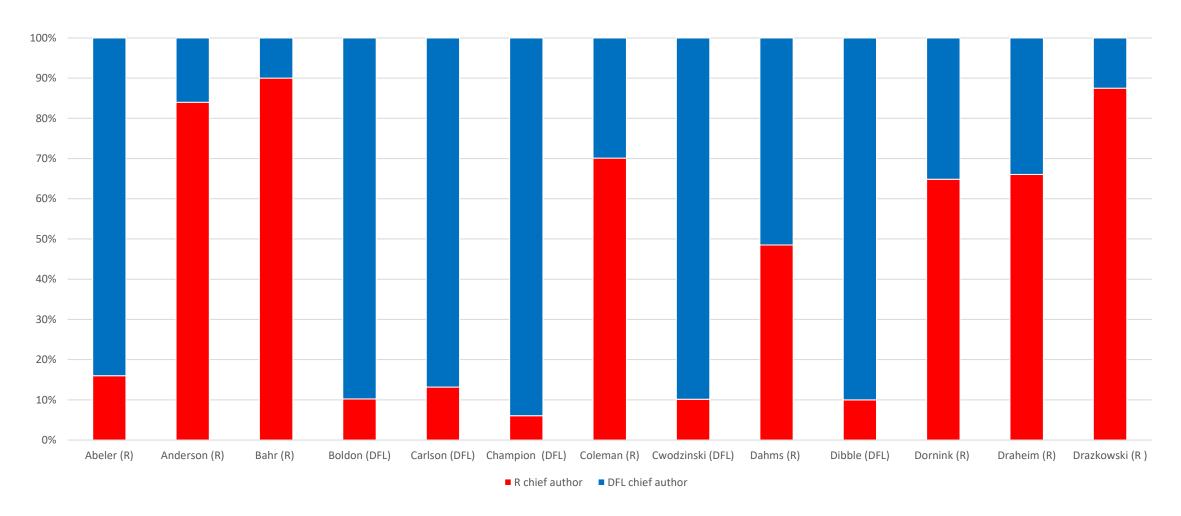


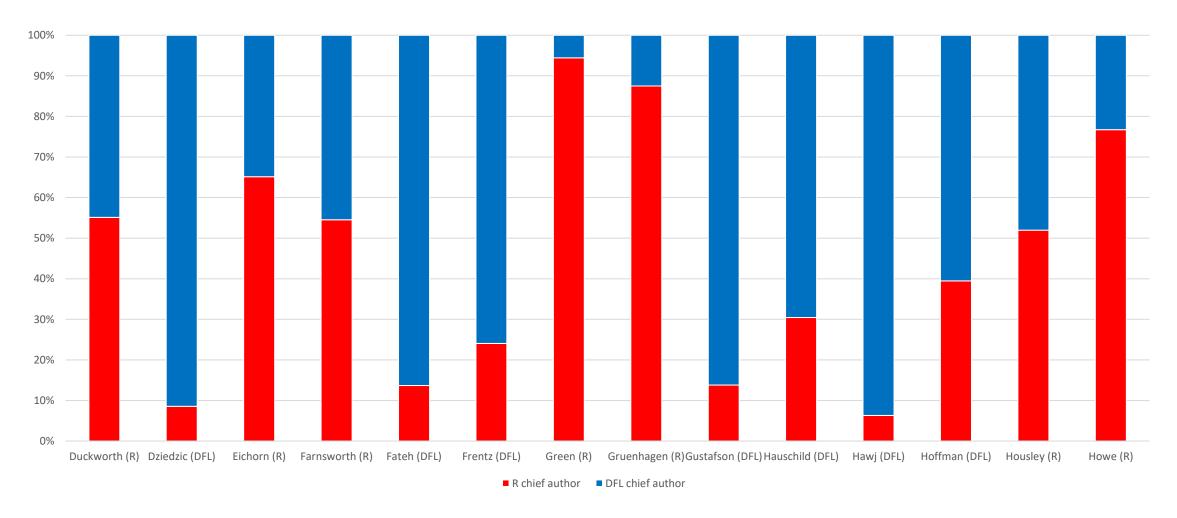


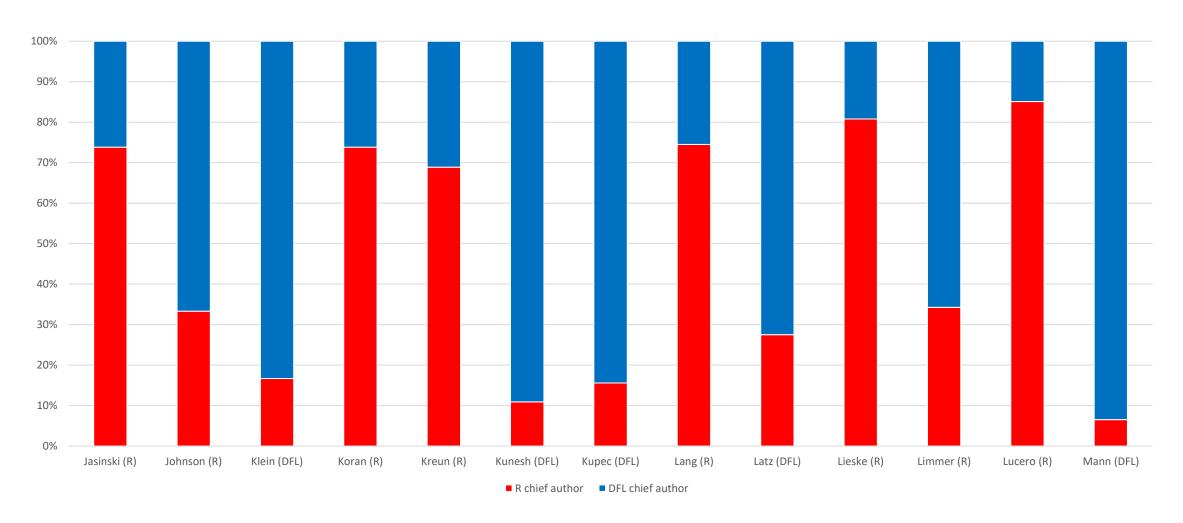


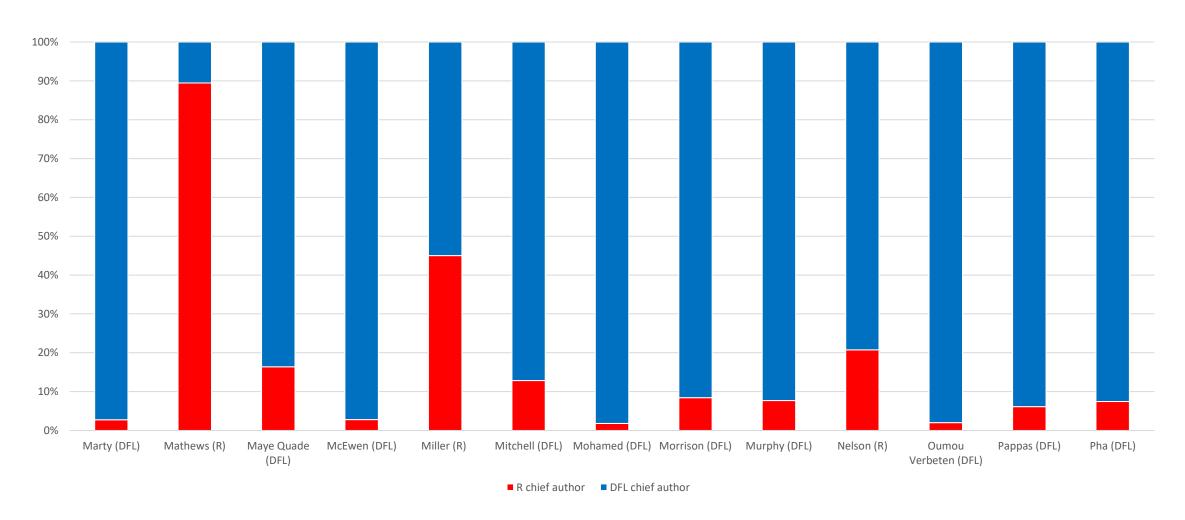


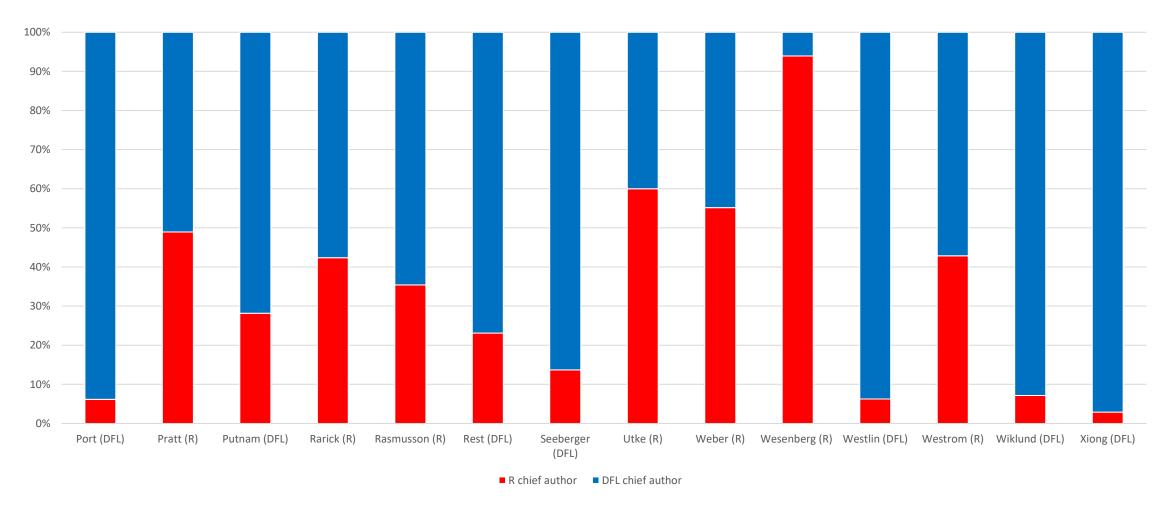












# Top-level findings from individual statistics in the House

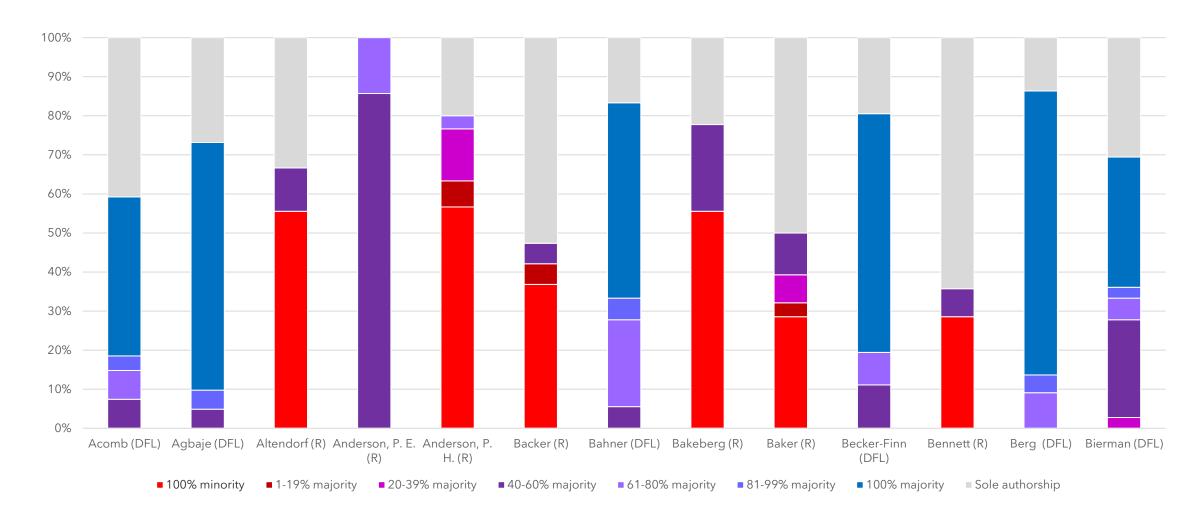
Partisanship - within this analysis - is more stark in the House than the Senate.

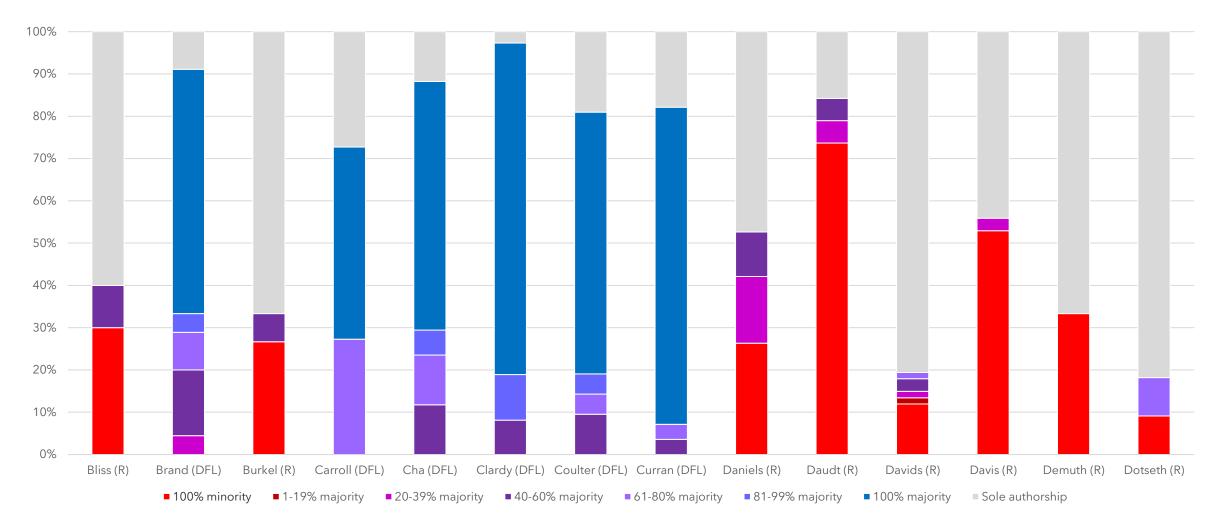
#### House individual cosigned bills

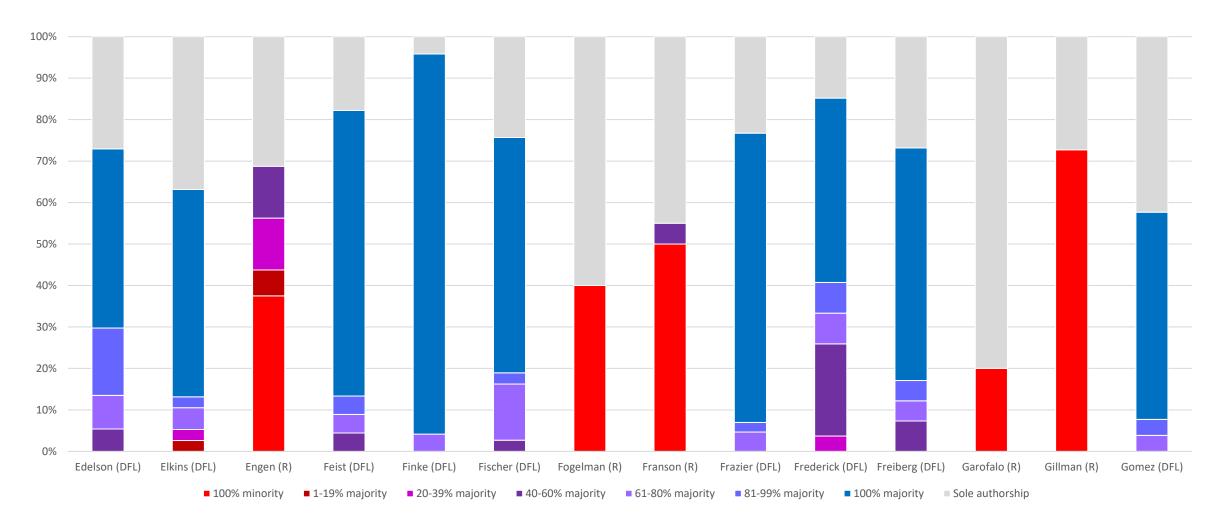
- 11 Republican representatives had DFL chief authors on at least 50% of the bills they signed onto.
- 22 DFL members and two Republican members only signed onto bills chief-authored by a member of their same party.

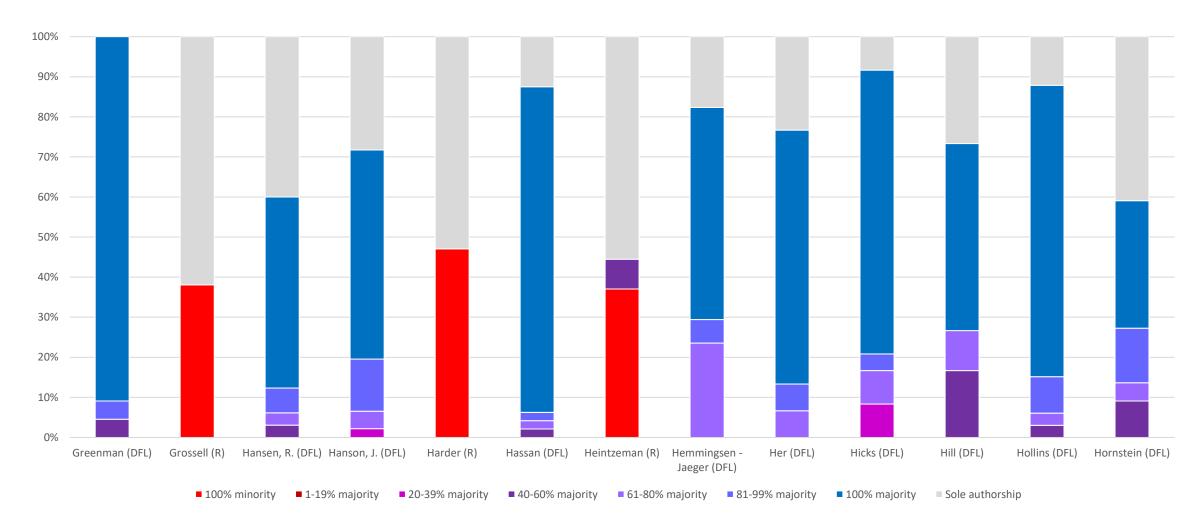
#### House individual chief authored bills

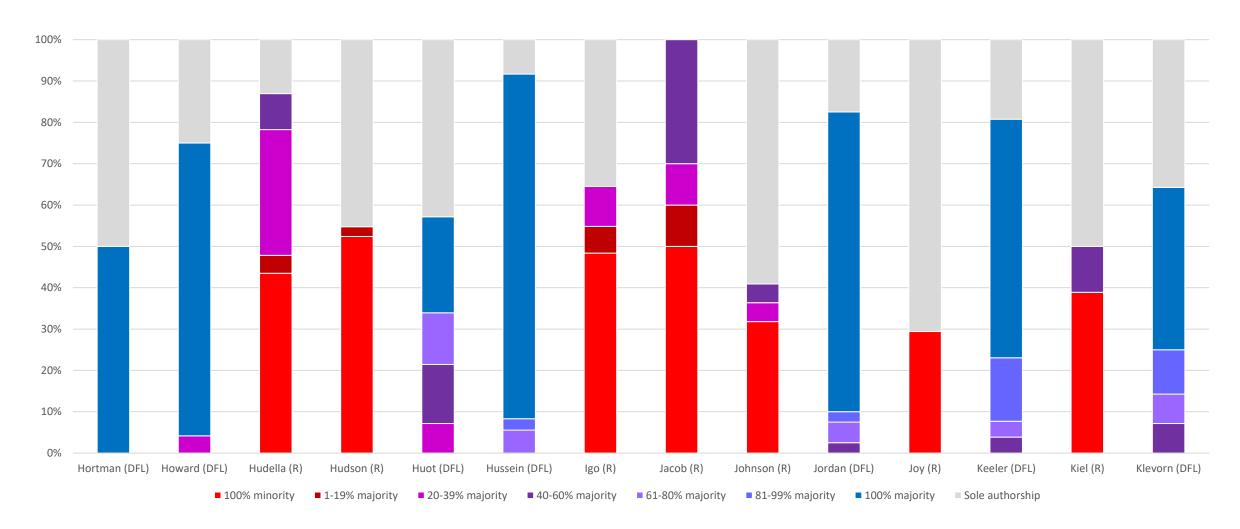
- Two Republican members had at least one member of each party on 100% of the bills they carried with others.
- 14 Republican and three DFL members only had bills they carried alone or with members of the same party.
- Seven Republican and seven DFL members carried as many or more bills with cosigners of the opposite party than they did with members of their own party.

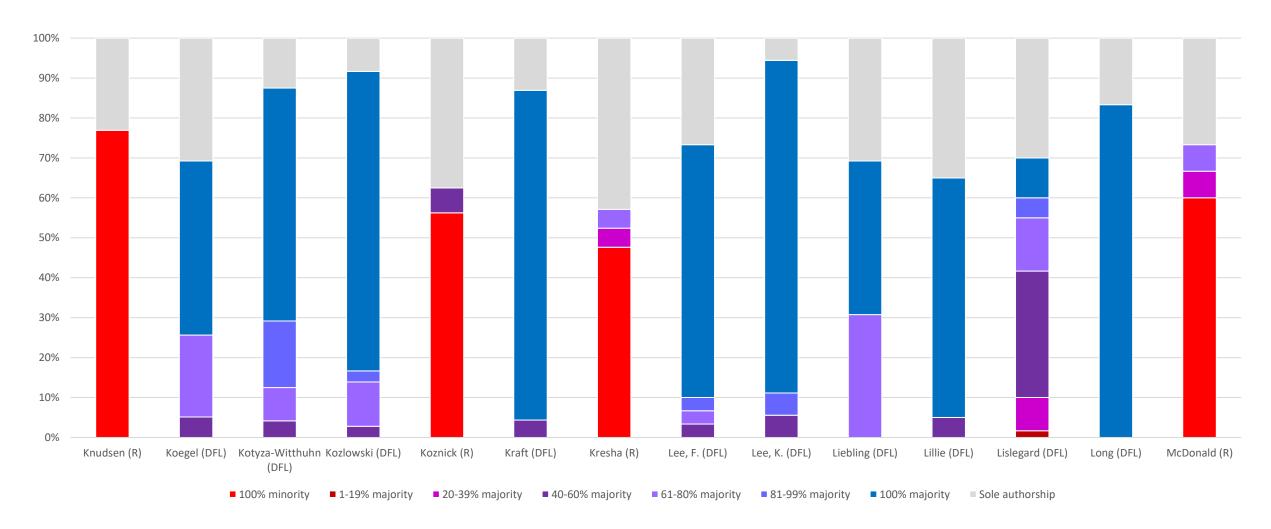


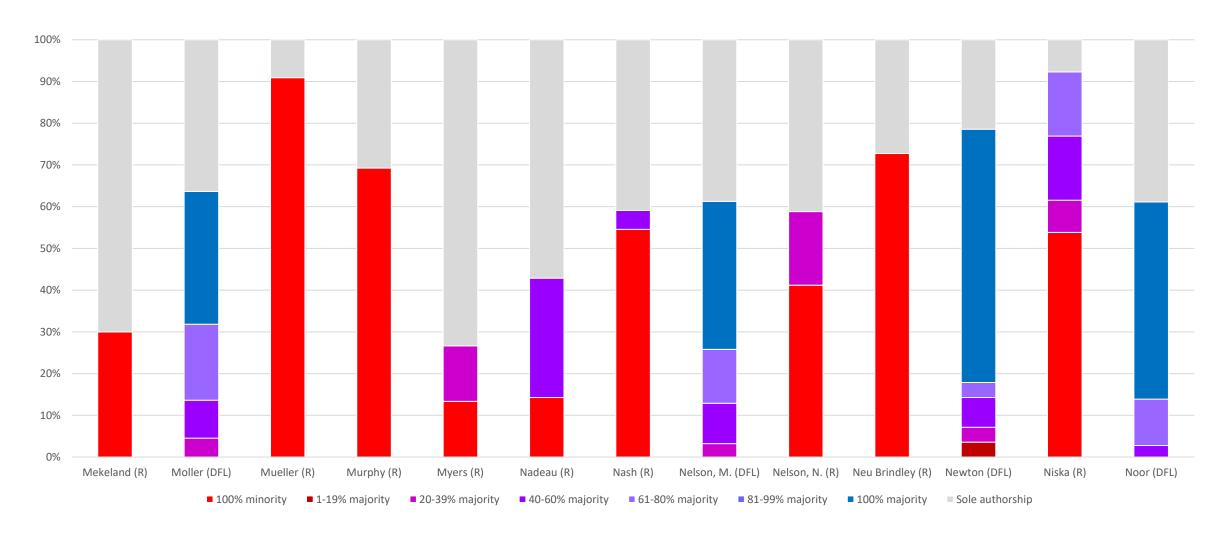


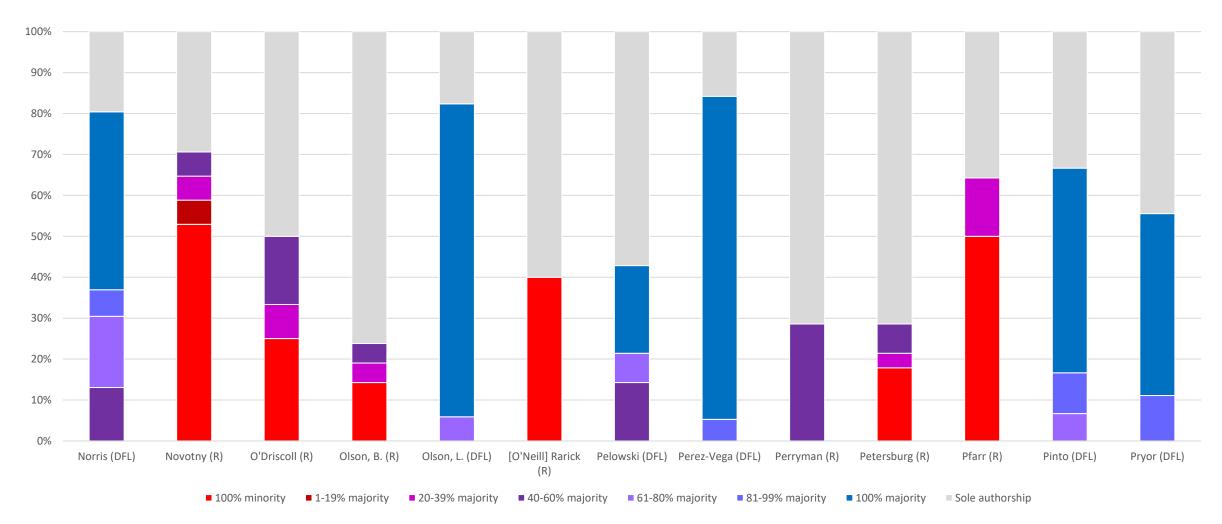


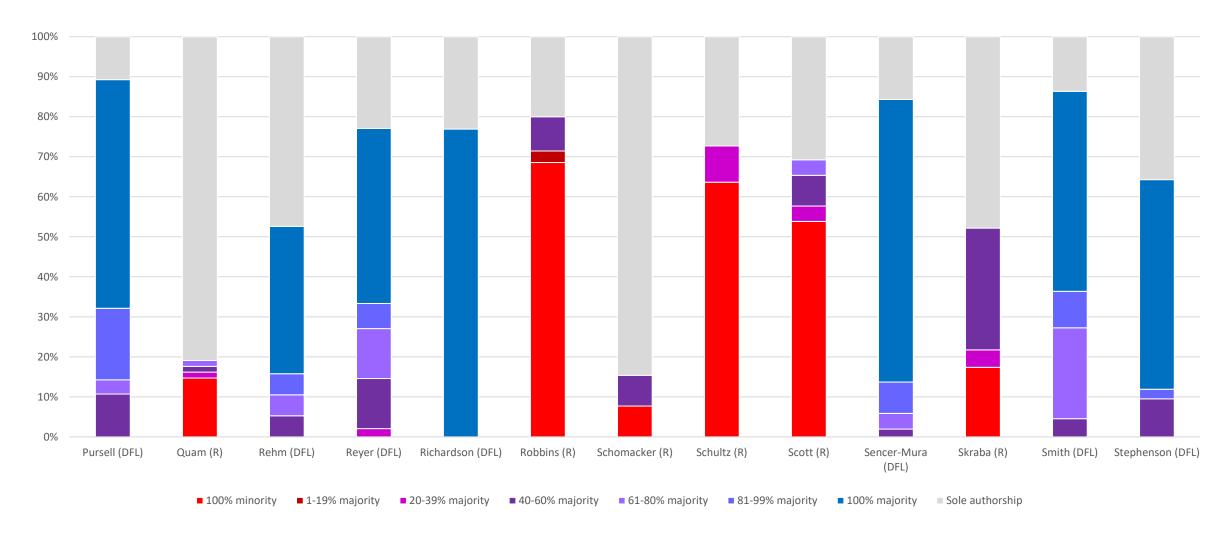


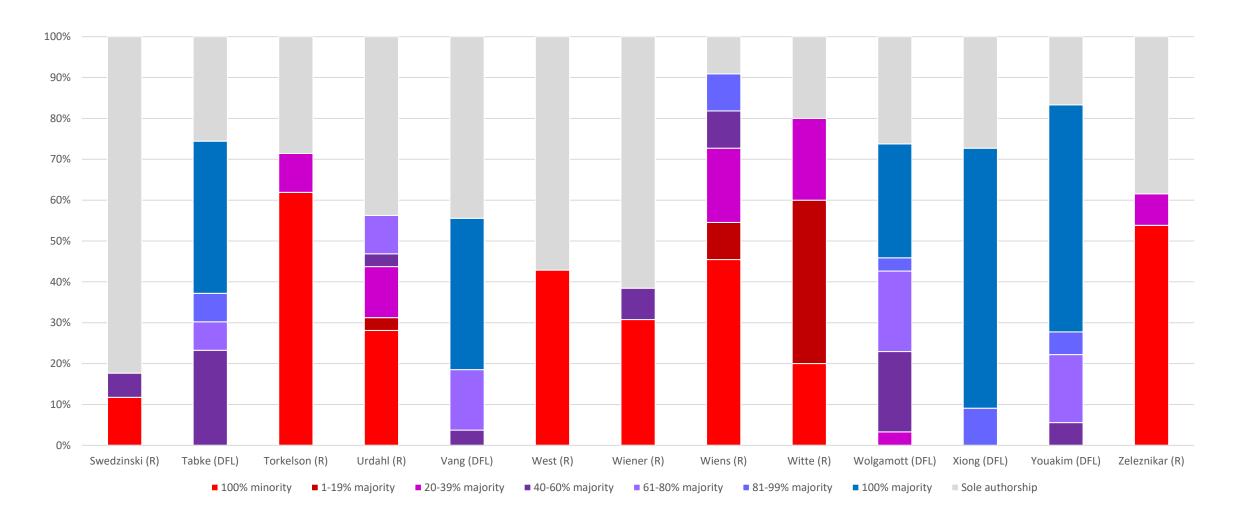


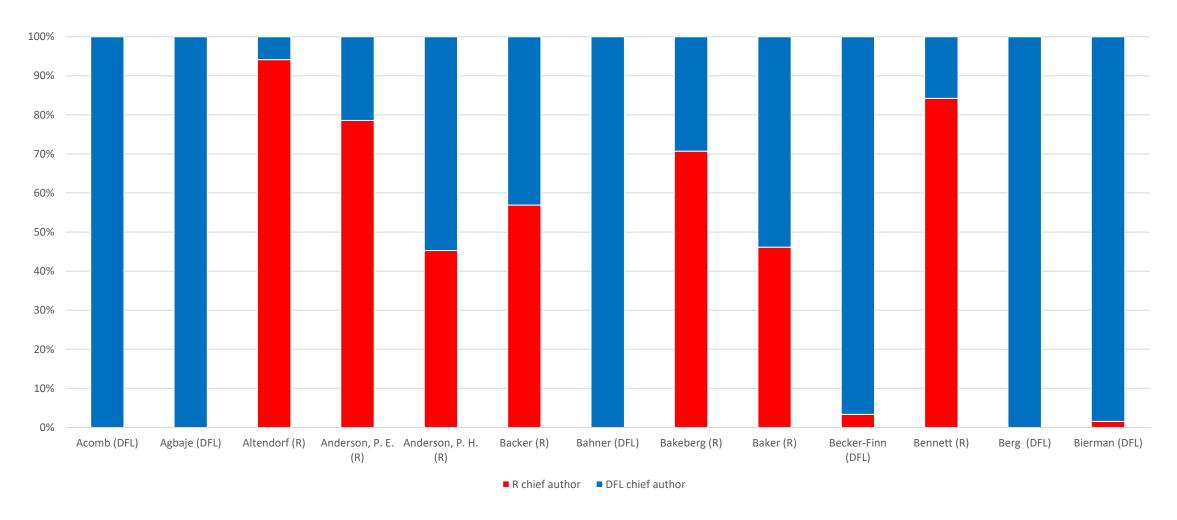


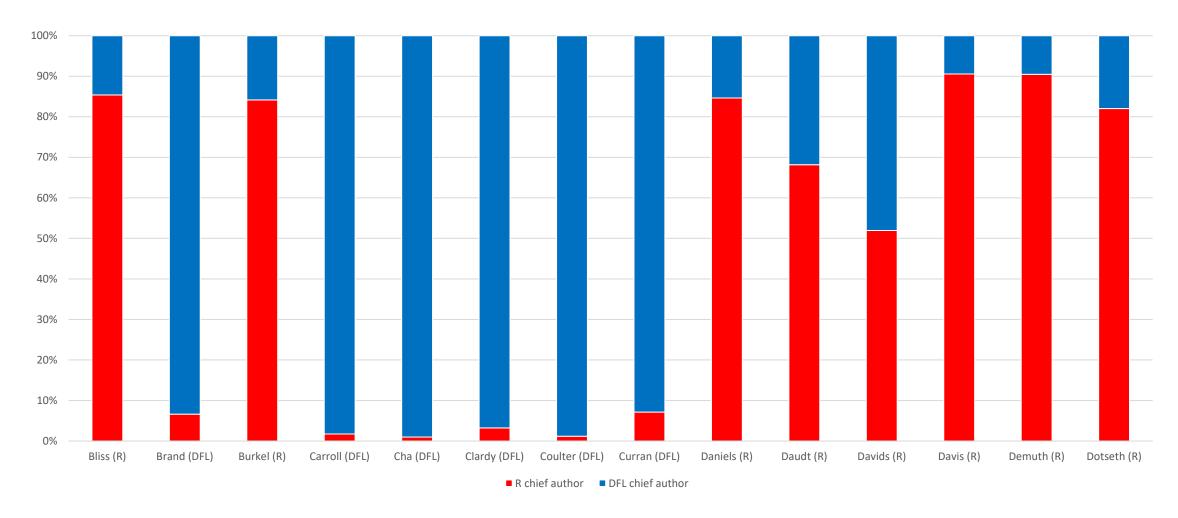


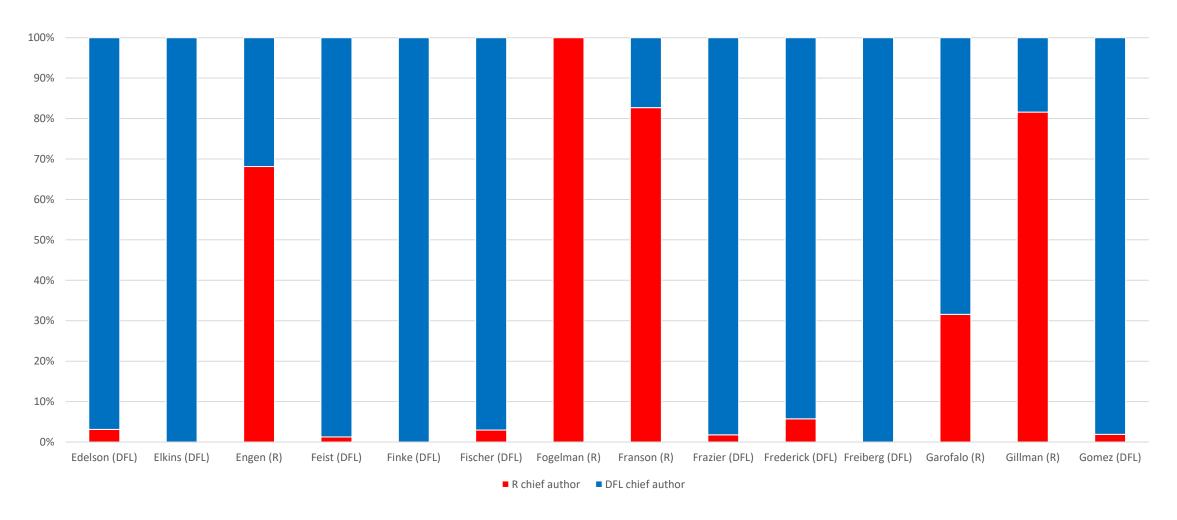


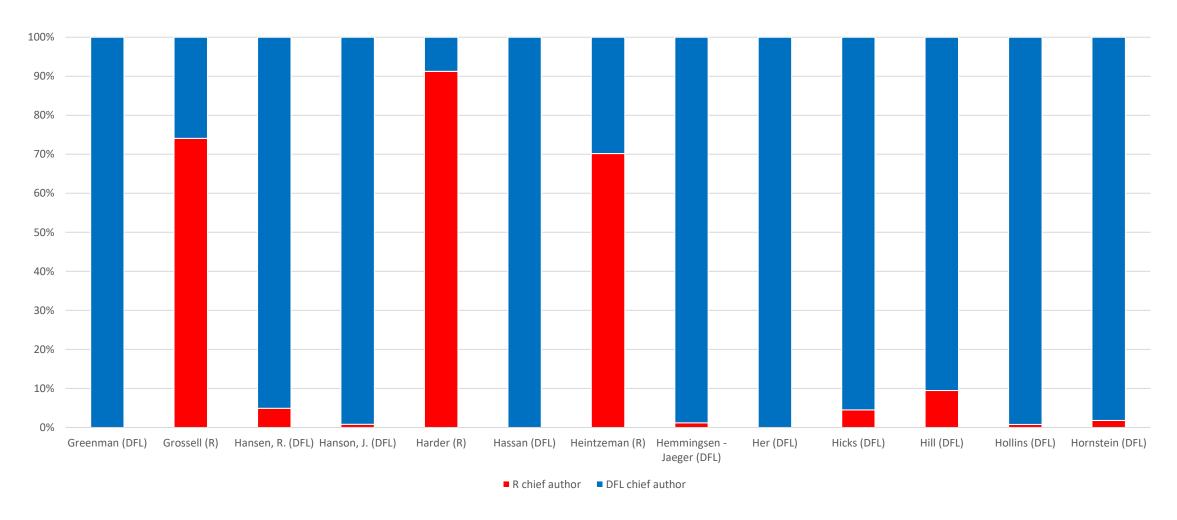


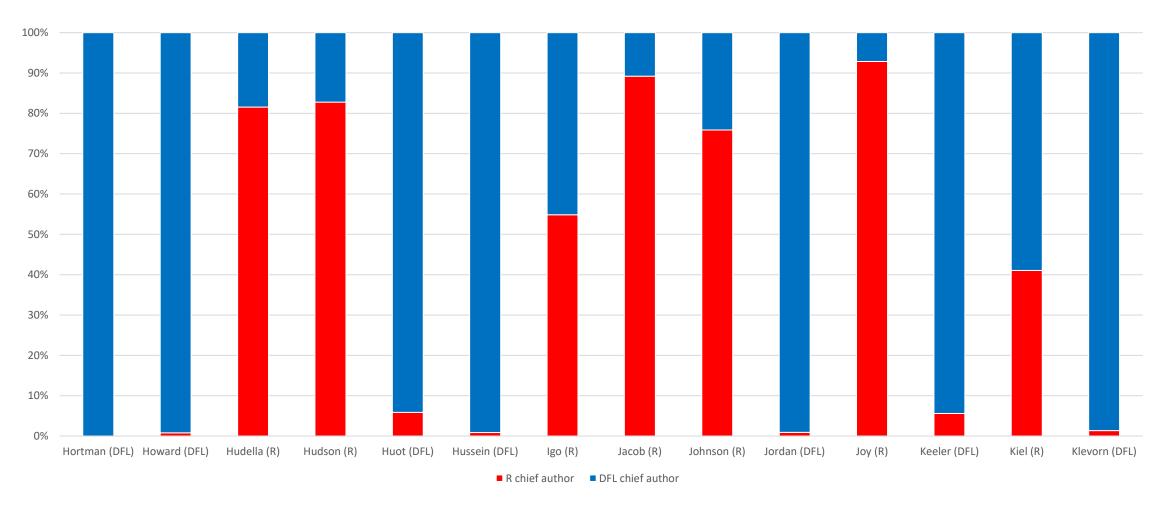


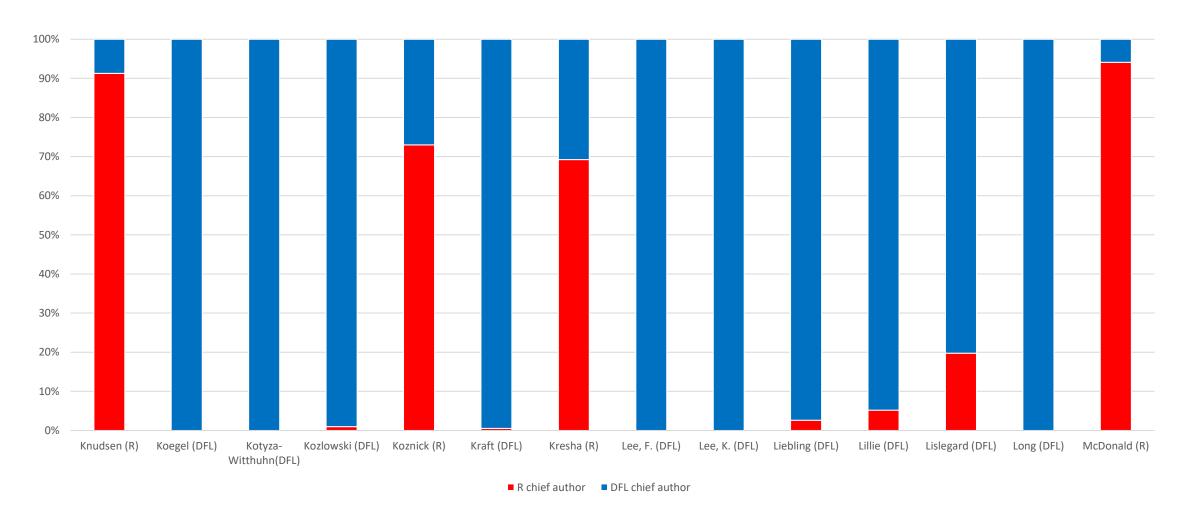


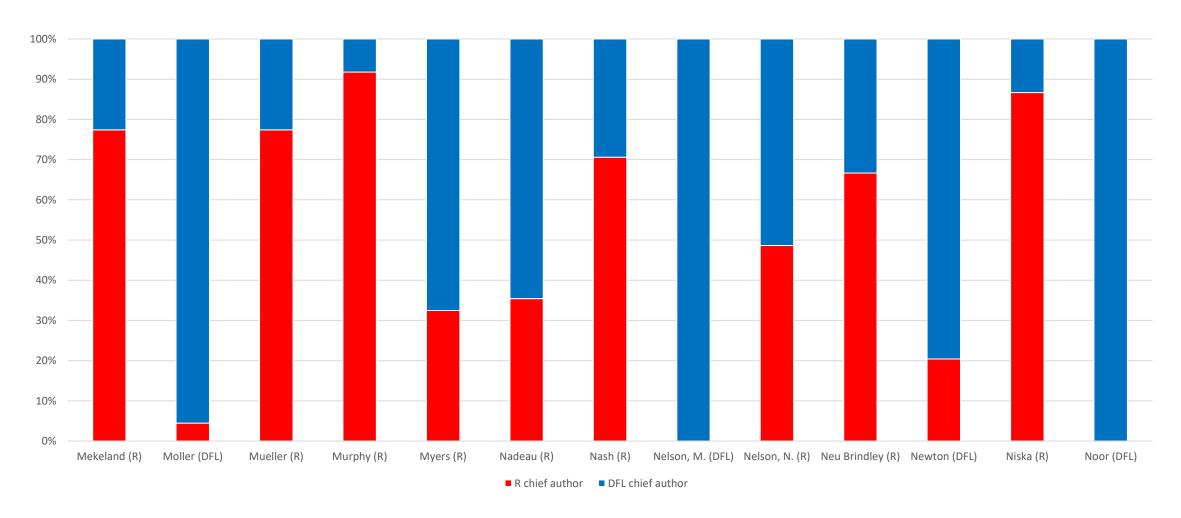


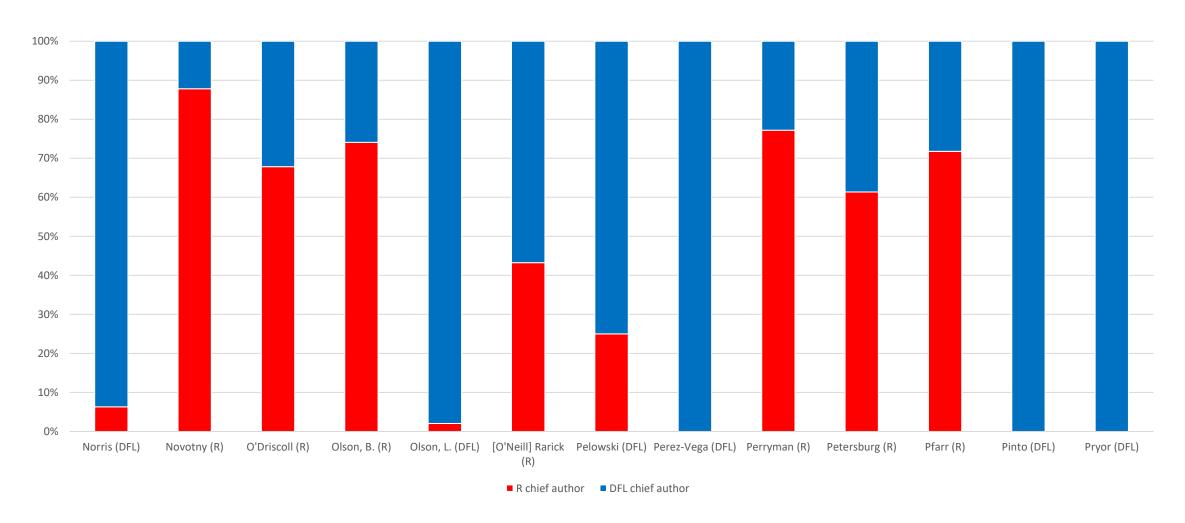


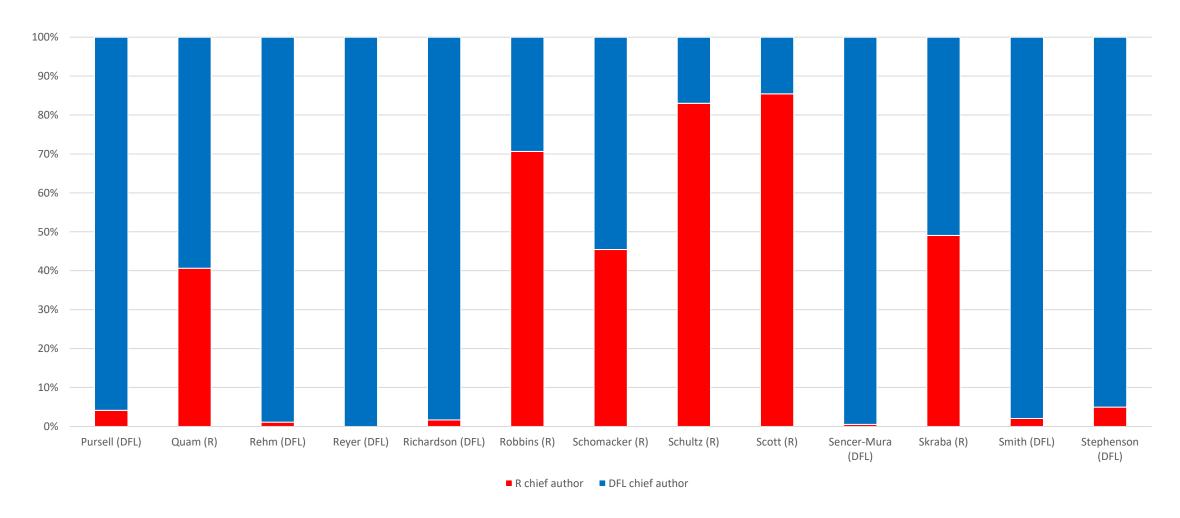


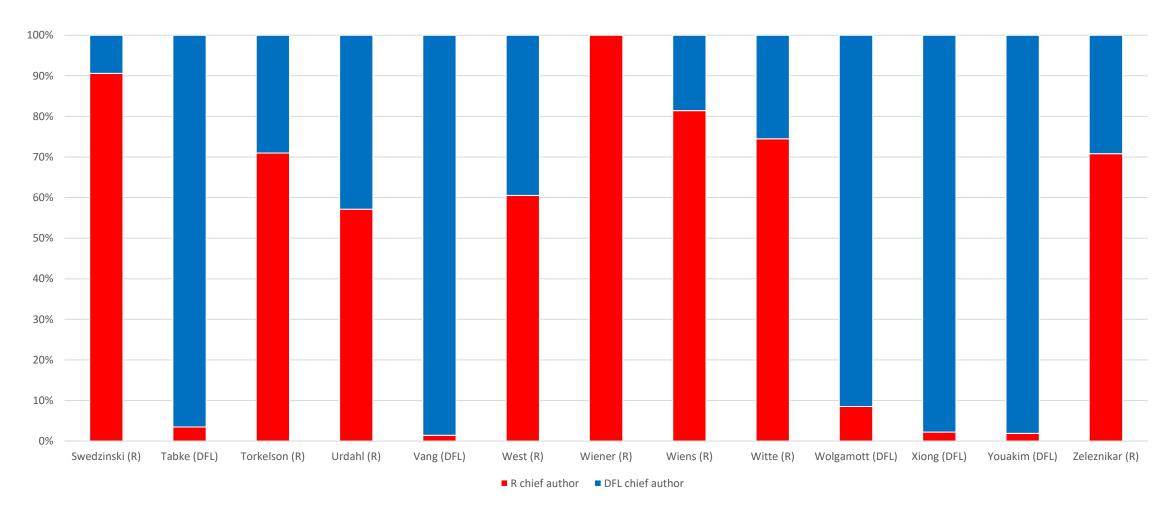












### Bills Heard vs. Bills Passed

There are two major questions that will likely be raised that we're not able to answer in this report: how the number of bills that received hearings compares to prior years, and what percentage of bills heard were enacted.

We consider this report as the start of a project, and plan to repeat the study in subsequent years.

Hearings are easily measured. The outcomes of individual bills, in this age of omnibus, is harder to track.

There are several paths for a bill to become a law: passed as a standalone bill, as a numbered amendment, or as part of an omnibus bill. Since similar language that is incorporated - especially in committee with author's amendments - isn't always identified and tracked by bill number, it is easy to lose track of which bills made it across the finish line. At this point we are not including this information in the report. We are exploring opportunities to expand the scope of the report in future years and will do so if resources allow.

### **Conclusions**

Is any of this meaningful enough to be significant? Proof of *any* bipartisanship could be framed by the majority as proof of bipartisan cooperation, but at the same time could framed by the minority party as small and insignificant. Or vice versa.

As the saying goes, what gets measured gets managed. By paying attention to the actual data - and frankly, by publishing it - we could be influencing future behavior, although there is currently no way to know in what way or by how much. It is our hope that in future years the proportion of bipartisan authorship of bills will increase, and legislators who engage in work across the aisle will be recognized by their constituents and the news media.

We hope this report will accomplish two things:

One, to give support and acknowledgement to those legislators who are working across the aisle. We see you and we thank you for work that often goes unnoticed and unappreciated. Keep it up.

Secondly, to the public: despite what you may see in the news, or on social media, or from political campaigns - not all politics is divisive. Not every legislator sees enemies on the other side of the aisle. If you look hard enough, you can see the good work that's being done behind the scenes. (And if bipartisan cooperation is something you care about, we encourage you to run for office. This work needs more champions.)

#### **Best Practices**

While researching this report, we identified some best practices and opportunities we would recommend for future sessions to increase cooperation and collaboration:

- The House Veterans Committee noted in its minutes that one bill was co-presented by a member of the majority party, and a member of the minority party. Encouraging bipartisan teams to co-present bills could give rise to more bipartisan efforts.
- The Senate Taxes chair instituted a new rule pledging not to hear bills with five authors of the same party. Four of the same party would be acceptable, if space was left for an author of another party.
- The seating arrangement of committee members in the Senate mixes members by party, which encourages relationship building, while the parties generally occupy opposite sides of the committee tables in the House. (It should be noted that individual committee members in the House do have the agency to "cross the aisle" and sit on the opposite side, while seats in Senate committees are assigned.)

## Methodology

Bill introductions and referrals as they apply to committees, and bill authors in the individual graphs are as of adjournment on May 22, 2023.

The bill authors in the committee graphs are authorship as of the hearing date. (If an author was added or removed the same day as a hearing, we took that change as of the hearing - whether or not the floor session happened before or after the committee meeting.)

Hearings in the Rules committees were not included in the report because bill referrals to those committees operate differently than the policy and finance committees.

Some bills were counted multiple times because of multiple hearings across committees.

The graphs illustrating Senate bills will not have any bills in the 1-19% or 81-99% categories, because of the mathematical limits of 5 bill authors or less. These categories only apply to House bills.

Committees and individual legislators are presented in alphabetical order. One House member got married during the interim and is identified with her former last name in parentheses for clarity. One House member resigned during the interim prior to the publication of this report. We left her information in the dataset.

Authorship is based on information contained on the Minnesota legislative website, which is populated by information from the Revisor's office, and the House and Senate staff.

Hearings information is based on information publicly published in committee minutes, bill status spreadsheets, and individual bill information on the Minnesota Legislature website.

These numbers should be viewed as a mid-term report. Since the Minnesota legislature operates in a two-year biennium, some of what you see in this report can and will change by the end of the 93rd legislature. Bills that did not pass by 2023 adjournment are still viable until the legislature adjourns sine die in 2024.

MAJORITY IN THE MIDDLE

## **Acknowledgements**

This report is a production of Majority in the Middle.

Shannon Watson and Kaleb McCulloch were responsible for data collection and analysis.

Aaron Cieslicki provided technical assistance in data collection.

Members of our Board of Directors assisted with proofreading and pre-publication reviews. Special thanks goes to those board members who are former legislators for sharing their experience and context.

While no legislative staff members participated directly in the production of this report, many participated indirectly, and we thank them for their work. The production of correct and timely committee minutes and agendas seem like a small thing, but they were integral to our understanding of what happened in rooms that we were not able to be in at the time.

For more information, media requests, or future sponsorship opportunities, contact Shannon Watson at shannon@majoritymiddle.com or 651-295-8515.