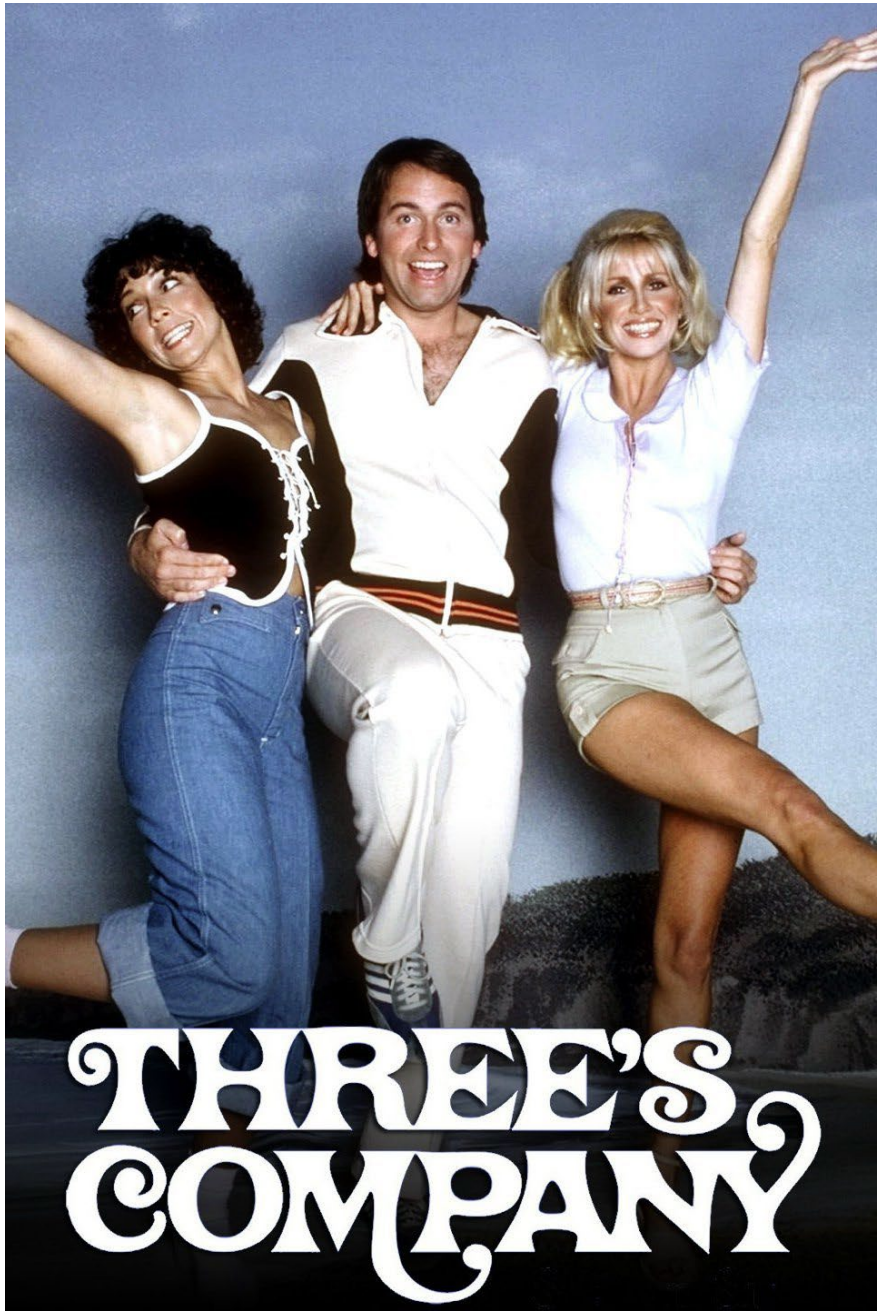
The Trifecta and You

Bradley Peterson, CGMC Executive Director

July 26, 2023

pandora
SiriusXM

THE THREE MUSKETEERS
Image © 2009 Francesco Francavilla - www.francescofrancavilla.com


THREE'S COMPANY

Miller

Clicker instructions

1. Enter vevox.app on your device
2. Enter session ID **137-064-111**
3. Select “join session”

Polling instructions are also included in your packet!

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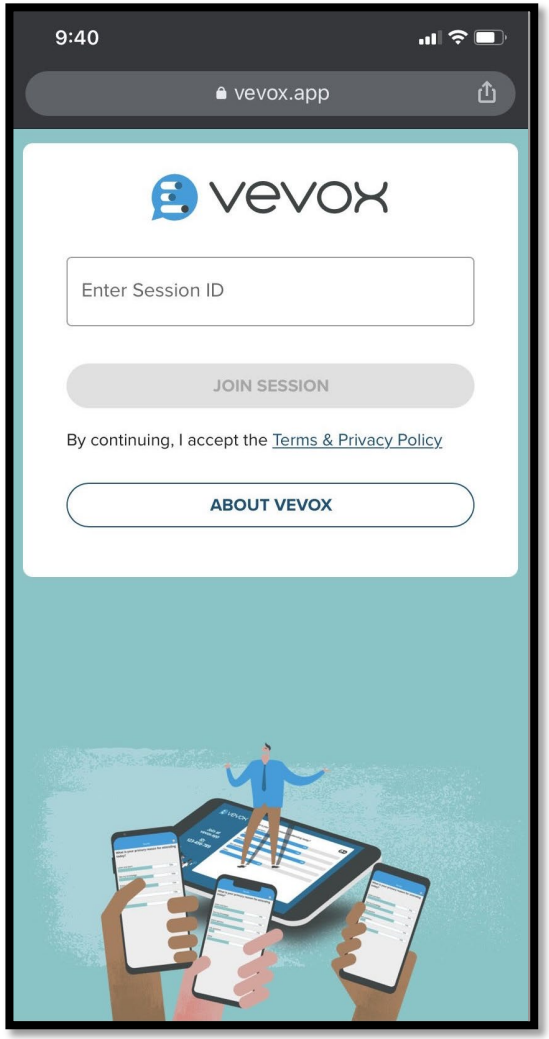
Audience Engagement



Describe the 2023 legislative session in one word:

Enter Text and Press Send

Join: **vevox.app** ID: **137-064-111**

COALITION OF GREATER MN CITIES

What outcome from the 2023 legislative session are you most excited about?

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1. LGA increase
2. Bonding bill
3. New housing dollars
4. New transportation dollars
5. Public safety aid
6. Walz checks
7. Lead pipes

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Was the 2023 DFL trifecta good for Greater Minnesota?

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1. Yes
2. No

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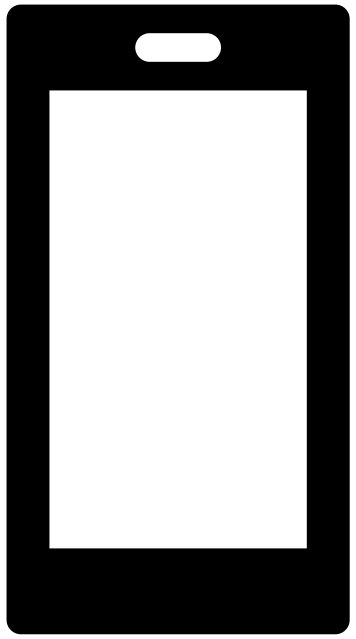
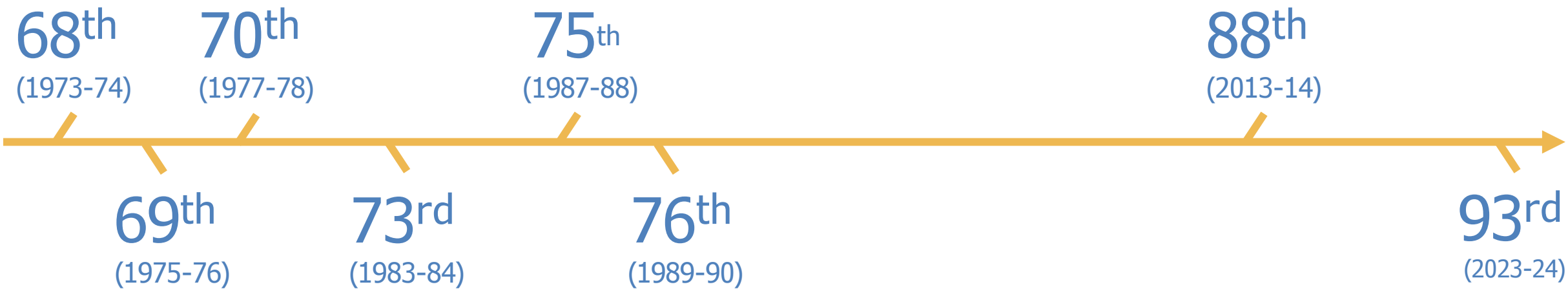


Keep your device around for future polling questions!

Part 1: A tale of two “trifectas”

COALITION OF GREATER MN CITIES

In the last 50 years, there have been 8 legislative sessions where one party controlled the House, Senate and Governor's office:



DFL trifecta in the 88th legislature (2013-2014)

- First trifecta in Minnesota since 1990
- 2012 elections saw 36 states under one-party control
  - New push from national political operatives: with federal government in gridlock, aim for victory at state level
- DFL with comfortable majorities in both chambers
  - 39-28 in Senate
  - 73-61 in House
- Democrat victory hailed as “blueprint” for liberals in other states

Despite 2012 victory, DFL can't hang on…

- Democrats in Minnesota have struggled to turn out voters in midterm elections – 2014 was no exception
- Mining becomes increasingly contentious issue for Iron Range voters
- Republican candidates redouble efforts after frustrating sessions with little power

	2015-2016	2017-2018	2019-2020	2021-2022
Governor	DFL	DFL	DFL	DFL
House	Rep.	Rep.	DFL	DFL
Senate	DFL	Rep.	Rep.	Rep.

…until 2022 elections

- Widely predicted that GOP would hold Senate, flip House from DFL
- Everyone was wrong!
  - Redistricting
  - Candidate quality
  - Voter turnout
  - Repercussions from January 6th
  - DFL advantage in $$ and organizing
- Also intervening: decade-long buildup of progressive energy and backlash to Trump

The DFL caucus has changed over the last decade:

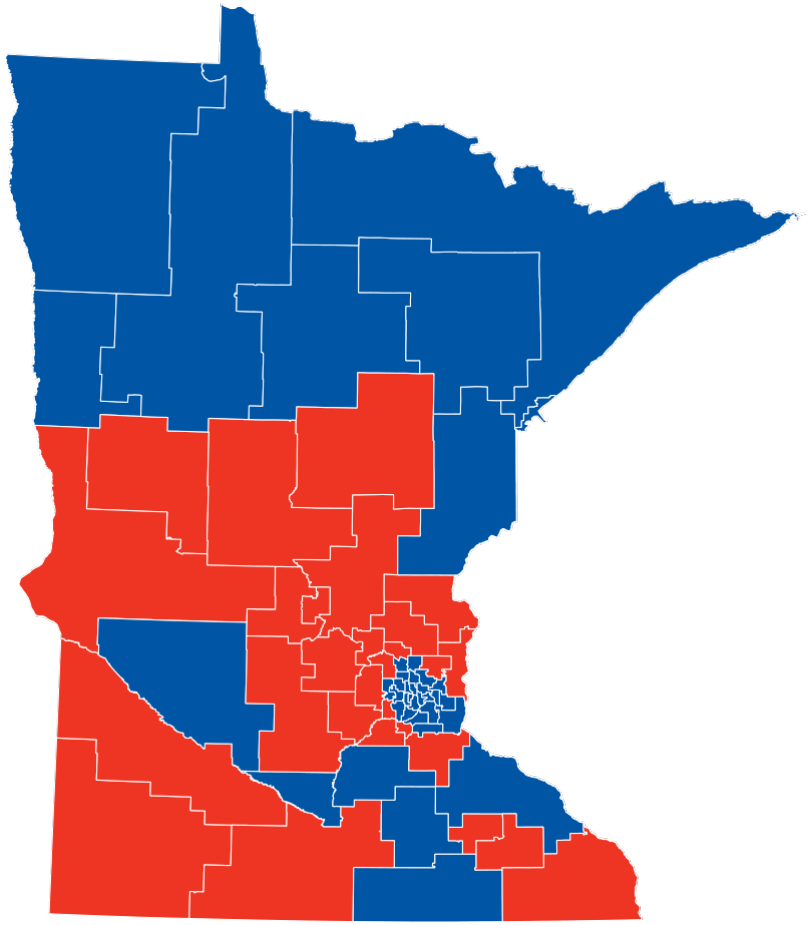
2013-2014 DFL Legislative Caucus

- **11-seat** Senate majority, **12-seat** House majority
- **25%** were first-term legislators
- Median number of terms = **4**
- **7.14%** self-identified minority
- **38%** were women
- Median age = **56**
- **64%** were from metro

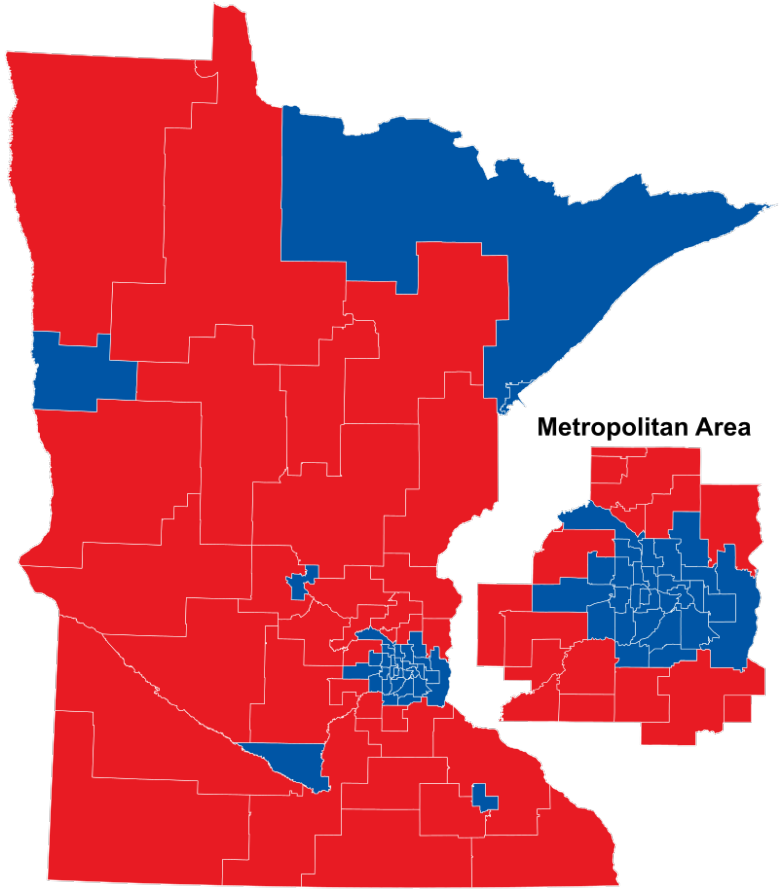
2023-2024 DFL Legislative Caucus

- **1-seat** Senate majority, **7-seat** House majority
- **26%** are first-term legislators
- Median number of terms = **3**
- **28.85%** self-identified minority
- **53%** are women
- Median age = **46**
- **81%** are from metro

2012 vs. 2022 election results by Senate district

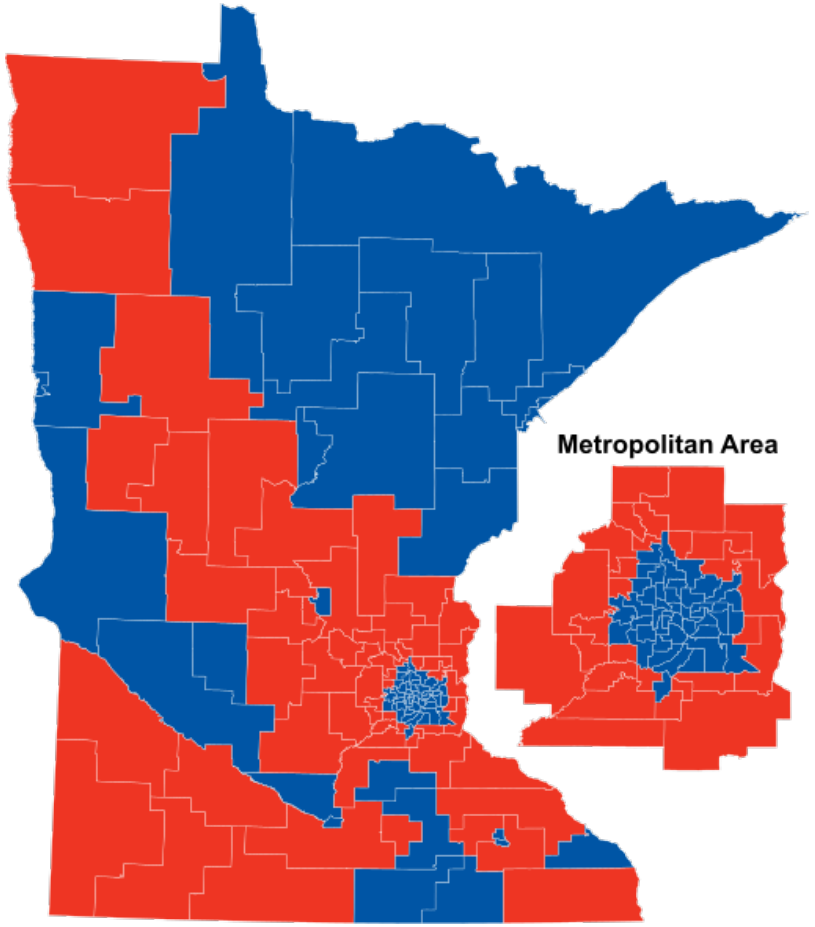


2012 election results

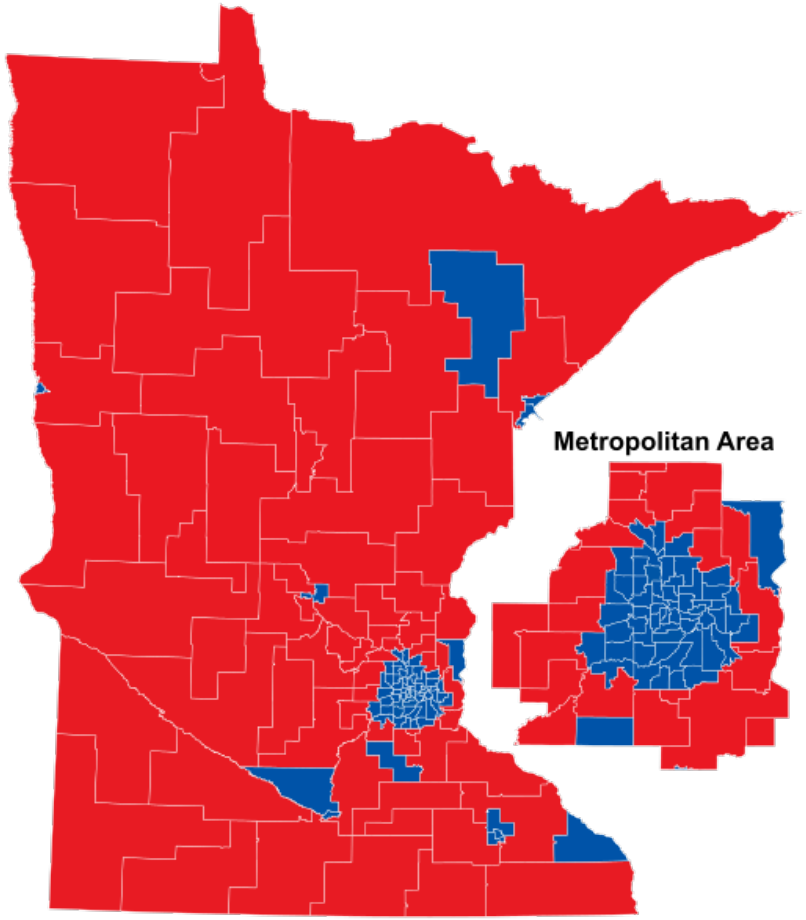


2022 election results

2012 vs. 2022 election results by House district



2012 election results



2022 election results

Key House committee chairs

2013-2014

Taxes
Chair: Ann Lenczewski
From: Bloomington
Age: 53
Term: 8th

Ways and Means
Chair: Lyndon Carlson Sr.
From: Crystal
Age: 73
Term: 21st

2023-2024

Taxes
Chair: Aisha Gomez
From: Minneapolis
Age: 42
Term: 3rd

Ways and Means
Chair: Liz Olson
From: Duluth
Age: 41
Term: 4th

Key House committee chairs

2013-2014

Capital Investment
Chair: Alice Hausman
From: St. Paul
Age: 71
Term: 13th

Jobs
Chair: Tim Mahoney
From: St. Paul
Age: 60
Term: 8th

2023-2024

Capital Investment
Chair: Fue Lee
From: Minneapolis
Age: 31
Term: 4th

Jobs
Chair: Hodan Hassan
From: Minneapolis
Age: 41
Term: 3rd

Part 2: Legislating under the trifecta

COALITION OF GREATER MN CITIES

Rate the legislature's performance during the 2023 legislative session:

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COALITION OF GREATER MN CITIES

Setting the stage for the 2023 session

- 71 new members elected in 2022
  - Many first-time committee chairs
- 93rd legislature is most diverse in Minnesota history
  - First Black Senate President
  - First trans and nonbinary legislators
  - First woman of color to lead House GOP Caucus
  - Most-ever people of color, LGBTQ+ people, and women serving as lawmakers
- First “normal” session since pandemic
  - Activity is mostly in-person
- Record $17.6 billion budget surplus

What drives the trifecta?

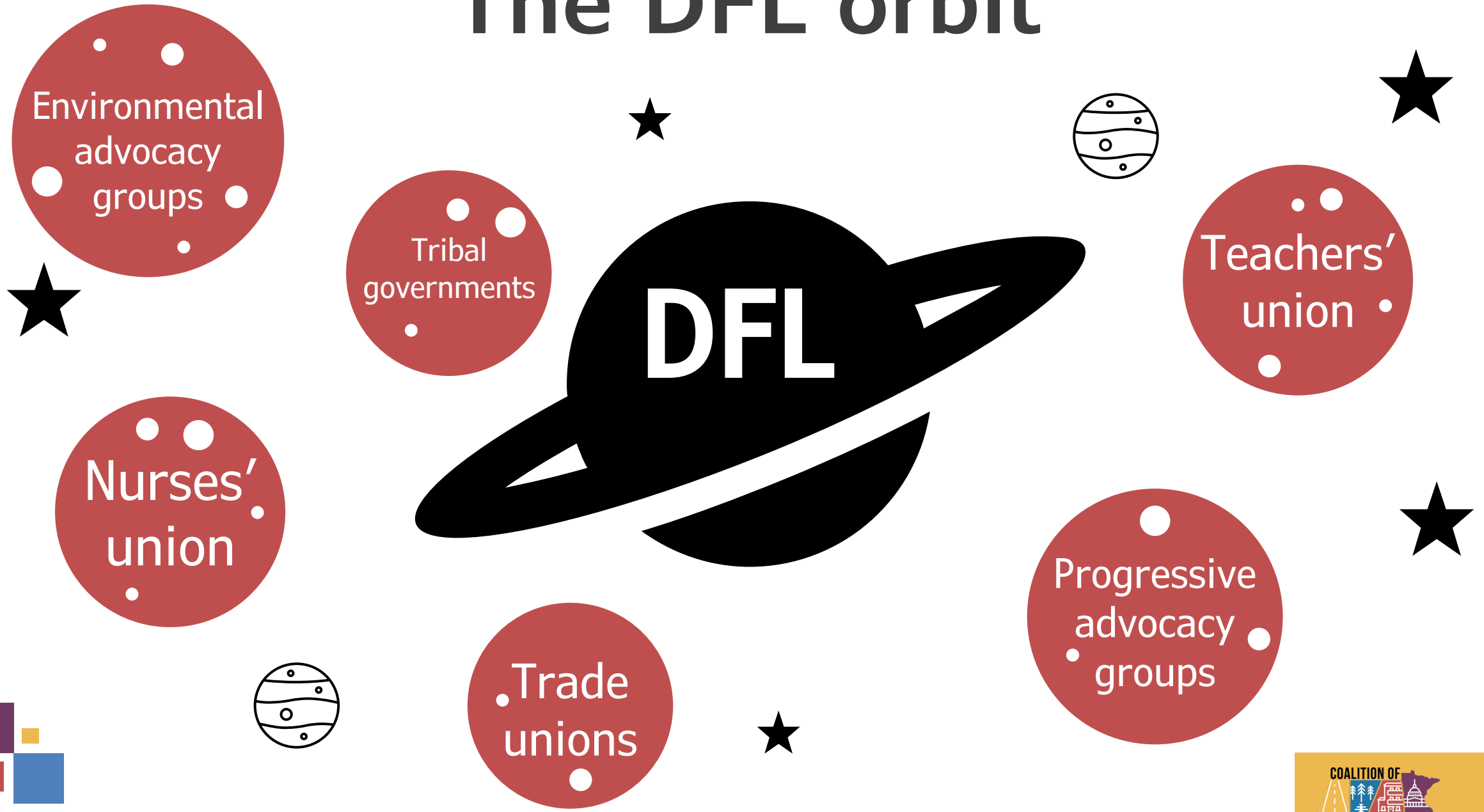
Issues in central focus

- Equity
- Inequality
- LGBTQ+ rights
- Climate & environment
- Racial justice

On the DFL agenda in 2023:

- Free school meals
- 100% clean energy by 2040
- “Drivers Licenses for All”
- Cannabis legalization
- Gun control
- Walz checks
- Child tax credits
- Fully funding education
- Abortion protections
- Paid family and medical leave
- Lead pipes
- Public safety aid

The DFL orbit



Session began at breakneck speed:

- DFL tackled big policy ideas while waiting for February budget forecast
- Four bills sent to Walz by end of January
- DFL leadership announced joint budget targets early
- By March, 30-40% more bill introductions and committee actions each week than previous years

Newly empowered Minnesota Democrats pledge to move swiftly

BY STEVE KARNOWSKI
Published 1:51 PM CDT, January 4, 2023

MN Legislature charges ahead on quick-strike bills

Brian Bakst St. Paul January 9, 2023 4:00 AM

'Record productivity is our aim': DFLers hit the gas on top issues

Dana Ferguson St. Paul January 30, 2023 4:00 AM

Minnesota Democrats' trifecta moving quickly to advance agenda

By CHRISTOPHER MAGAN | cmagan@pioneerpress.com | Pioneer Press
PUBLISHED: February 5, 2023 at 5:13 a.m. | UPDATED: February 6, 2023 at 4:57 p.m.

NEWS MINNESOTA

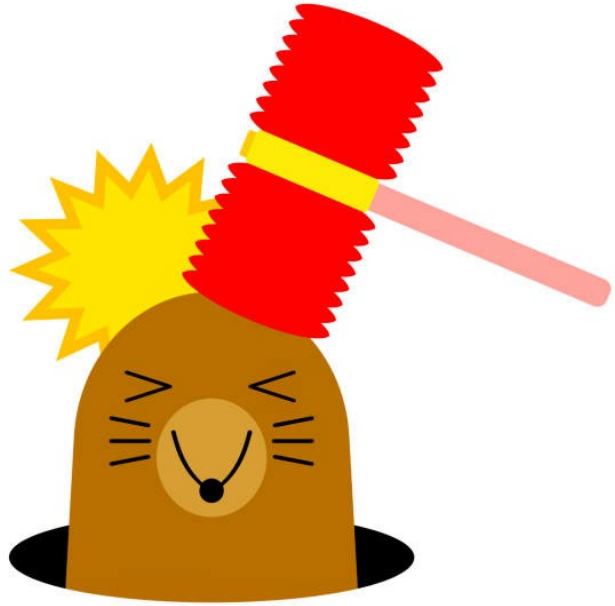
With DFL trifecta, bills race to Minnesota governor's desk

By Alex Derosier
February 20, 2023 at 5:36 PM

COALITION OF GREATER MN CITIES

Realities of trifecta governance

- Less time spent in committee on any individual bill
  - 6,705 total bills introduced between the House and Senate
  - 76 bills sent to Walz by end of session
- Less experienced bill authors
- Outside groups play BIG role
- Significant coordination between the House and Senate
- Greater MN legislators overworked and overwhelmed
- Whack-a-mole



DFL trifecta = significant challenges for Greater MN

- Very few rural legislators in the majority
  - Only 20% of the DFL caucus from outside Metro
  - 2 in 20 Senate committee chairs and 2 in 29 House committee chairs were from Greater MN
  - Key committee chairs are mostly from Metro, often newer legislators
- GOP minority with more Greater MN representation had very little influence
  - No backstop for potentially harmful proposals
- CGMC left with very few go-to people
  - Sen. Hauschild, Sen. Frentz, Rep. Liselgard, Rep. Brand

CGMC played defense for Greater Minnesota

Public Facilities Authority funding

Cash "bonding" bill

Cumulative impacts

Greenhouse gas vs. transportation safety

MPCA Citizen's Board

Paid Family and Medical Leave

Rate Governor Walz's performance during the 2023 legislative session:

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What about Governor Walz?

- In some ways was in lockstep with DFL
  - Let House and Senate lead
- Other times, Walz and his commissioners intervened on behalf of Greater MN
  - Changes to PFA funding
  - Greenhouse gas provisions in transportation bill
- Vetoed first bill at end of session
- Walz and key Commissioners will be an important resource for Greater MN going forward

Rate the Republican's efficacy as a minority party:

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What about the GOP?

- Always difficult being in the minority
- Virtually no leverage
- Lots of frustration

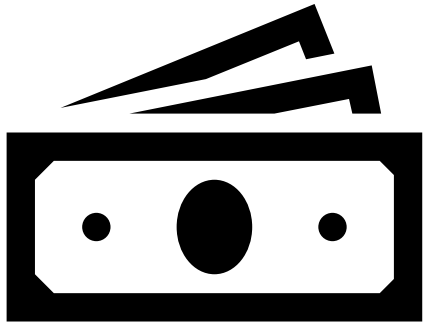
STRATEGY?

- Complain
- Delay
- Amendments

MESSAGE?

- "Partisan"
- "Out of touch"
- "Extreme"
- "Not listening"
- "Overreach"

Some things worked in our favor!



Sheer quantity of money available

$18 billion surplus plus billions in new taxes and fees = plenty of money to go around

Little/no pushback on shared priorities

LGA formula changes, lead pipes, transportation funding and child care

Key relationships with key people

Years of work forming relationships with Governor, Commissioners, committee chairs and other allies paid off

What were we able to accomplish?

Local Government Aid

- $80M LGA appropriation increase
- LGA formula update

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Transportation

- $195M for Corridors of Commerce
- Ongoing, dedicated funding for small and large city streets

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Economic Development

- $10M in bonding for BDPI
- $13M for DEED Child Care Grants
- $7M for Initiative Foundations for child care efforts

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Economic Development

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- $13M for DEED Child Care Grants
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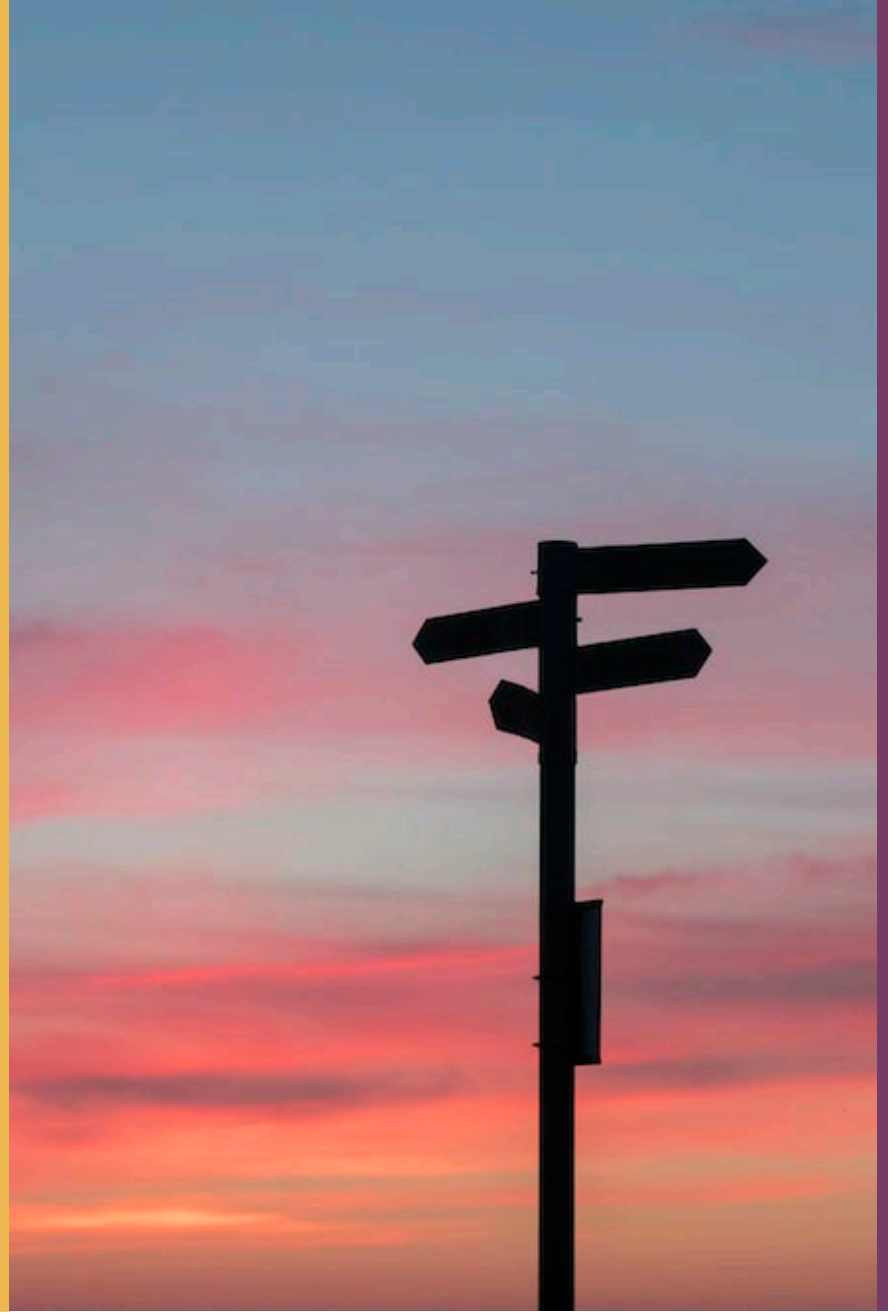
Housing

- $39M for Greater MN Workforce Housing Development fund
- $8M for Greater MN Housing Public Infrastructure Grants

Putting outcomes in perspective

- Our priorities were funded largely because of the quantity of money available rather than a commitment to funding Greater Minnesota programs
- Greater Minnesota received a fraction of the funding compared to the metro
- Regional balance = ongoing issue



Part 3: Looking ahead

COALITION OF GREATER MN CITIES

What to expect in 2024:

- Legislative session begins February 12
  - Traditional year for a bonding bill
  - Constitutional amendments?
  - Surplus spending?
  - Fixing issues from previous session
  - Policy, policy, policy!
- Minnesota House will be up for election in November 2024
- U.S. Presidential election

Do you think the DFL will retain control of the Minnesota House in the 2024 elections?

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1. Yes

0%

2. No

0%

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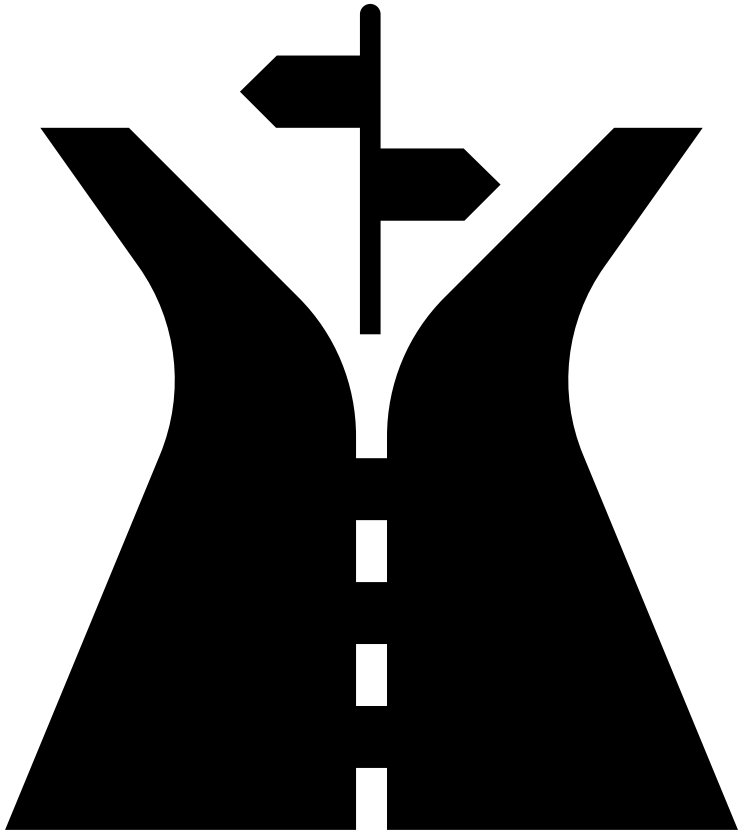
COALITION OF GREATER MN CITIES

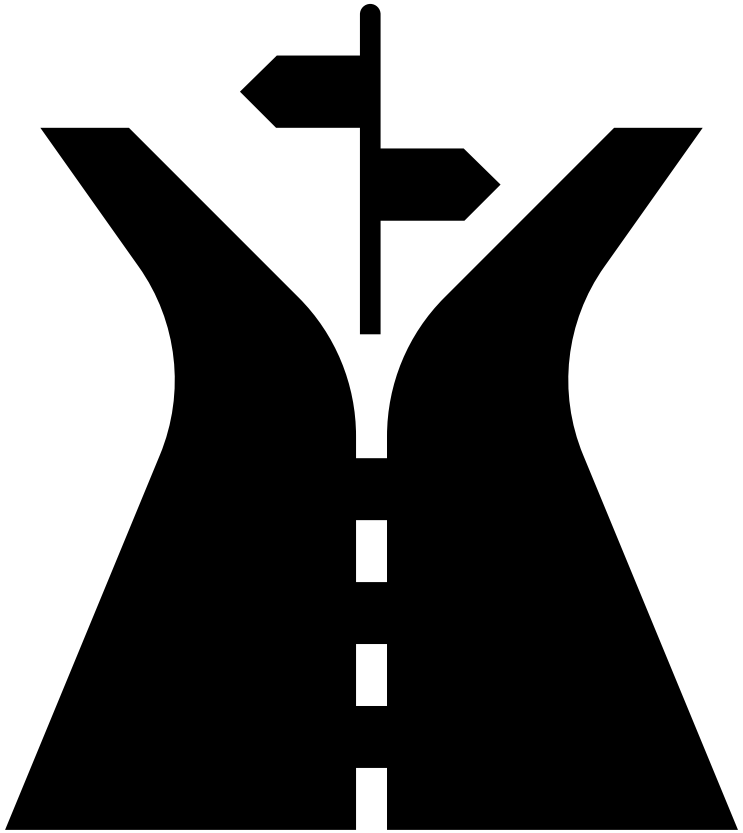
What is the path forward for Greater Minnesota?



What is the path forward for Greater Minnesota?

Working with the DFL

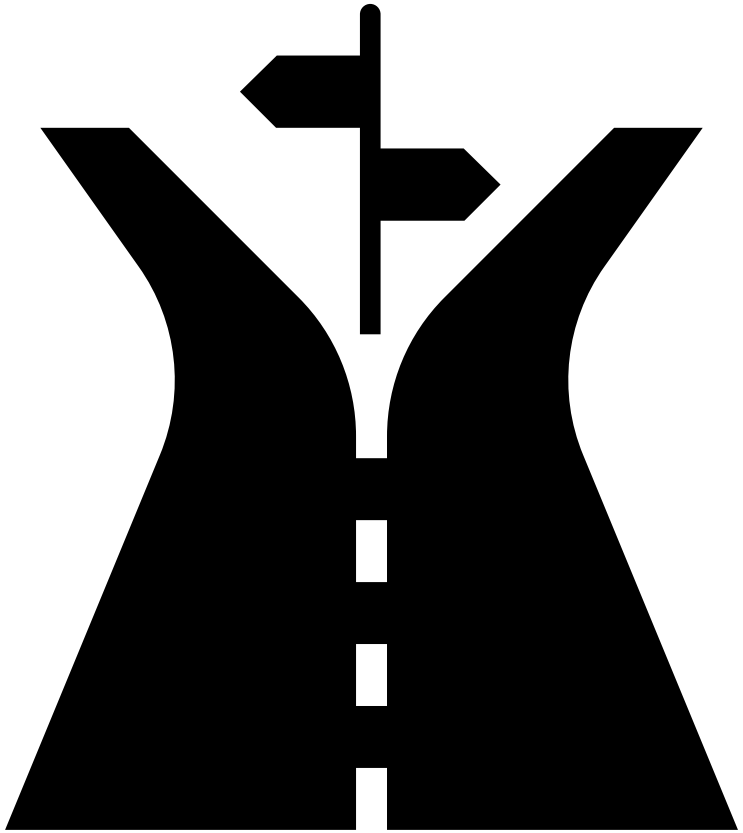
- Compartmentalize
- Focus on geographic balance
- Continue to cultivate key relationships
- Find common ground where possible



What is the path forward for Greater Minnesota?

Working with the DFL

- Compartmentalize
- Focus on geographic balance
- Continue to cultivate key relationships
- Find common ground where possible
- Hold accountable



Working with the GOP?

- Undisciplined strategy and message
- Need to further engage on issues important to their districts
- Strategic amendments
- Growing subset skeptical of CGMC key issues
- Unlikely to take House majority in 2024

Is Minnesota on the right track or the wrong track?

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1. Right track

2. Wrong track

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Questions?

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Thank you!

www.greatermncities.org

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