

CENTER FOR STATE POLICY AND LEADERSHIP



Politics and Ethics in Illinois

Proceedings
of the
2003
Public Policy
SUMMIT

July 30, 2003

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Sponsored by
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FOREWORD

In April, 2002, a far-reaching federal indictment charged former Gov. George Ryan's political campaign committee and his former top aide with widespread corruption during Ryan's tenure as secretary of state. The charges included using state employees and state resources for political campaign work, all on the taxpayer's dime, then shredding records and lying to a federal grand jury in an attempted cover-up.

Illinoisans are long accustomed to the public trust being compromised by political figures at all levels, from constitutional officers, legislators – even Supreme Court justices – all the way down to village officials. The 2002 charges, however, marked the first time a political campaign committee had been indicted for racketeering, not just in Illinois, but anywhere in the nation. The charge implied an ongoing, systematic pattern of corruption, rather than just a bad apple or two in an otherwise healthy political environment.

Indeed, defense lawyers argued that what had occurred was no crime, but simply politics as usual in Illinois, a long-accepted part of the state's political culture. Could such an assertion be true? Is there something in the water, as it were, that makes Illinois and its citizens more susceptible to and accepting of corruption in public life?

If Illinois' political culture does have a high tolerance level for official chicanery, what might be the cost, not just in dollars and cents, but also to the public trust and confidence in government leaders? If the cost is too high, might the latest scandal energize concerned citizens to demand change, and if so, which specific reforms might be most effective in promoting ethical behavior?

To examine these questions, the Center for State Policy and Leadership organized a public policy summit on "Politics and Ethics in Illinois: Past, Present, and Future." The summit brought together a diverse group of experts – former elected officials and others with state government leadership experience, public policy activists, and scholars, with a keynote address by former U.S. Appellate Judge Abner J. Mikva – to share their expertise and to develop options for change. The speakers included Cynthia Canary, Howard Carroll, David Kenney, Mike

Lawrence, Howard Peters, Kent Redfield, Alan Rosenthal, and Richard Schuldt (see speakers' biographies on the following pages).

We hope this transcript of the summit proceedings will bring to a broader audience the insights and ideas its participants shared, thereby encouraging an ongoing discussion of ethics in government and politics by the citizens of Illinois.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

KEYNOTE

Illinois has a long history of political corruption, former U.S. Appellate Court Judge Abner J. Mikva noted in the keynote address, and its citizens at times seem to take perverse pleasure in recounting the exploits of past scoundrels.

The state's record of official misdoing stems in part from its multiplicity of governmental units, Mikva said, many intended to function in a complex system of checks-and-balances. But the plethora of government bodies makes it difficult for citizens to monitor what public officials and their underlings are doing, he said.

To engender more accountability, Mikva proposed recentralizing government – cutting the number of special use districts, reducing the number of elected executive branch officials at both the state and the local levels, and appointing – rather than electing – judges.

PUBLIC OPINION

Illinois citizens appear ready for reform, according to an opinion survey conducted in conjunction with the summit. Some 80 percent thought corruption was widespread and should be a source of great concern; almost three-quarters of respondents agreed change is needed in how politics is practiced in Illinois.

The survey found that most respondents believed a wide range of activities – from government employees doing political work on taxpayers' time to special interests winning support for legislation through campaign contributions – to be improper, but occurring.

Nine out of ten said the public has tolerated too much wrongdoing in the past, while 70 percent said law enforcement officials tended to overlook such official misconduct.

Relatively few – just 22 percent – blamed “the system” for forcing corrupt behavior; instead, almost 70 percent said wrongdoing resulted from individual ethical lapses by public officials or government workers.

ROUNDTABLE

In a free-wheeling discussion, a panel of political leaders, reform activists and academics examined politics and ethics in Illinois, including why the state seems more ethically-challenged than most, the costs public corruption imposes on its citizenry, and possible reforms that might bring about more ethical behavior by elected officials and government workers.

Among the points raised:

- Most public officials and state and local employees are hard-working, well-intentioned men and women. Their service is overshadowed, however, by the “bad apples,” the high-profile cases of public corruption that capture the media spotlight.
- The perception of widespread public corruption engenders cynicism among citizens, who respond by disengaging from civic life, for example by not voting.
- Illinois’ political culture is quite different from that of states sometimes regarded as models of good government, such as Minnesota or Wisconsin. For reasons going back to the state’s earliest days and reflecting its settlement patterns, politics in Illinois is seen as a business, in which personal interests are pursued, jobs and contracts are more valued than ideology, and winning is all-important.
- While changing a deeply-entrenched political culture is difficult, Illinois now may be ripe for reform because of the most recent scandals.
- Ethics laws and rules of conduct are important means to promote ethical behavior, but they need to reflect common sense and clearly delineate what constitute violations to be effective.
- Equally important, an elected leader must set a culture of ethics in his or her office, by personal example, by hiring senior aides who will not tolerate impropriety, and by establishing a strong internal policing operation, so that every employee knows he or she will be held accountable.
- Wrongdoers should be prosecuted more vigorously, a chore that realistically will fall more to federal prosecutors, usually independent of local politics, than to county state’s attorneys, who tend to place a higher priority on prosecuting violent felonies.
- Specific reform proposals earned varying degrees of support from panel members. A broad consensus would prohibit public officials from accepting gifts. All supported full

disclosure of campaign contributions and would bar their use for anything other than costs associated with the recipient's campaign. But panelists split on limiting contributions, with those favoring arguing limits would cut down the influence of special interests, while those opposing contending limits would make it more difficult for candidates of limited personal means to seek office.

- Citizens share a responsibility to help change the political culture by becoming more engaged in civic life and by demanding higher ethical standards of their elected officials.

Biographies of the Speakers



JUDGE ABNER J. MIKVA

The keynote speaker for this evening's Policy Summit has been a leader in all three branches of government. His current appointment as Visiting Professor of Law at the University of Chicago caps a distinguished career of public service that began in 1956 with election to the Illinois House of Representatives. He was named "Best Freshman Legislator" by Statehouse reporters in that year, and he rose to become Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee. Among many achievements for the citizens of Illinois, he enacted reforms in the state's criminal and mental health codes.

He won election to five terms in the United State House of Representatives. Following his congressional service he resumed a legal career with appointment by President Jimmy Carter to the Federal Appeals Court. He became Chief Judge on the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit in 1991. He served as White House Counsel from October 1, 1994 to November 1, 1995.

Judge Mikva graduated from the University of Chicago Law School, clerked for Supreme Court Justice Sherman Minton, and practiced labor law with Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg.

Judge Mikva is the author of *Ethics in Government: Not an Oxymoron* and coauthor of the political science textbook *The American Congress: The First Branch*. He has taught at Northwestern University, Georgetown University, the University of Pennsylvania, Duke University, American University, the University of Illinois and New York University.

Judge Mikva was awarded the Paul H. Douglas Ethics in Government Award through the University of Illinois and the Alumni Medal of the University of Chicago. He was recently elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

ROUNDTABLE PARTICIPANTS



Cynthia Canary

CYNTHIA CANARY is Director of the Illinois Campaign for Political Reform (ICPR), a nonpartisan education and advocacy project that addresses the impact of money on Illinois politics and government. ICPR conducts research related to ethics, voter participation and accountability of public officials. Canary is a past Executive Director of the League of Woman Voters of Illinois and served on the Simon-Stratton Task Force on Campaign Finance Reform. She has been a member of the Civic Engagement Task Force, the Illinois Channel Advisory Board, the Chicago Bar Association Special Committee on Judicial Campaign Finance Reform, and the American Bar Association Commission on Public Financing of Judicial Campaigns. She currently serves on the boards of the Annixter Center and the League of Women Voters of Chicago, and as president of the Mikva Challenge Grant Foundation. Canary received a B.A. degree in political science from Hampshire College and did graduate work at Georgetown University.



Howard W. Carroll

HOWARD W. CARROLL is a partner in the Chicago area law firm of Carroll and Sain. He retired from the Illinois Senate in 1999, after serving twenty-six years, including six as Assistant Minority Leader. Senator Carroll is an expert in state finance and public health care issues. He chaired the Senate Appropriations Committee and Budget Conference Committee for sixteen years, the longest serving chair in Illinois history. He served on the Illinois Economic and Fiscal Commission from 1977 to 1993. He created and sponsored numerous pieces of legislation, including the Illinois Comprehensive Health Care Act (CHIP), the Enterprise Zones Act, Tax Incremental Financing Act, the Crime Victims Compensation Act and the Hate Crime Act. From 1971 to 1973 he served in the Illinois House of Representatives. He represented the 50th Ward as Democratic Committeeman for twenty years and was Treasurer of the Cook County and Chicago Democratic Central Committees. He is a Professor on the Complementary Faculty of the Rush University College of Health Sciences. He is on the Board of Directors of the Jewish Federation of Metropolitan Chicago and chair of its Government Affairs Committee. Senator Carroll was recently honored with the lifetime Merit Award of the Decalogue Society of Lawyers. He received the B.A. degree in Business Administration from Roosevelt University and the J.D. degree from De Paul University.



David Kenney

DAVID KENNEY is an Emeritus Professor of Political Science at Southern Illinois University at Carbondale. In the midst of a busy teaching and administrative career at SIU, he took on increasingly prominent roles in state government. He was elected a delegate to the Sixth Illinois Constitutional Convention in 1969, and wrote about those experiences in *Roll Call* and *Making a Modern Constitution*. He served in the administration of Governor Jim Thompson as Director of the Illinois Department of Conservation and founding Director of the Illinois Historic Preservation Agency. He is the author of the standard textbook *Basic Illinois Government: A Systematic Explanation* and a biography of Illinois Governor William G. Stratton, *A Political Passage*. Kenney's most recent work is *An Uncertain Tradition*, a study of the forty-seven persons who have represented Illinois in the U.S. Senate. He received the Ph.D. degree from the University of Illinois in Political Science.



Mike Lawrence

MIKE LAWRENCE is Associate Director of the Public Policy Institute of Southern Illinois University. He also teaches in both the political science and journalism departments. Lawrence is one of two non-judges who serve on the Illinois Courts Commission, which decides cases in which disciplinary charges have been brought against judges. Lawrence was press secretary and senior policy adviser to Governor Jim Edgar for nearly a decade. A working journalist for twenty-five years, he specialized in Illinois state government and politics. He was managing editor and editorial page editor of the *Quad-City Times* and wrote a political column that was syndicated to more than forty newspapers. Lawrence capped his newspaper career with the *Chicago Sun-Times* as the chief of its state capital bureau. He now writes a column for the commentary page of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. He received the B.A. degree from Knox College, which awarded him an honorary Doctor of Laws degree in 1998.



Howard A. Peters III

HOWARD A. PETERS III is Vice President of Advocacy and Government Relations for the Illinois Hospital Association, his first venture into the private sector after a 28-year career in public service. In 1997 he was named founding Secretary of the Illinois Department of Human Services, which centralized the state's social service programs in

mental health, employment, welfare, and youth services. Previously he was Deputy Chief of Staff to Governor Jim Edgar, with responsibility for public safety, human services, and government agencies. Peters served as Director of the Illinois Department of Corrections following more than twenty years of service at the state's adult and juvenile facilities. He holds a B.A. degree in Political Science from Tennessee State University and an M.A. in Guidance and Educational Psychology from Southern Illinois University at Carbondale. He studied at the John F. Kennedy School of Government and is currently enrolled in the Public Administration doctoral program at the University of Illinois at Springfield.



Kent Redfield

KENT REDFIELD is a Professor of Political Studies at the University of Illinois at Springfield and a research fellow with the Institute for Legislative Studies of the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Center for Governmental Studies. He also directs the Sunshine Project, a campaign finance research project funded by the Joyce Foundation. He directed the Illinois Legislative Staff Intern Program for twenty years before stepping down in 1999. Prior to joining UIS, Redfield was a member of the research/ appropriations staff for the Speaker of the Illinois General Assembly. Among many publications on state politics and finance, he is the author of *Cash Clout: Political Money in Illinois Legislative Elections*, *Money Counts: How Dollars Dominate Illinois Politics*; he is also a co-author of *Lawmaking in Illinois* and a contributor to the *Almanac of Illinois Politics*. Redfield earned a B.A. degree in Political Science from the University of Utah and an M.A. and Ph.D. in political science from the University of Washington.



Alan Rosenthal

ALAN ROSENTHAL is Professor of Public Policy and Political Science at the Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University. He served as Director of the Institute from 1974 to 1994. He chaired the New Jersey Ad Hoc Commission on Legislative Ethics and Campaign Finance, appointed in 1990. In 1992 and 2001 he was selected as the independent member and became chair of the New Jersey Congressional Redistricting Commission. For those accomplishments he received the Governor's Award for Public Service. Rosenthal has been a frequent consultant and project director for studies of legislative ethics and organization throughout the country. He is working with the National Conference of State Legislatures, the American Political Science Association, and the Center for Civic Education on the development of a new public perspective on representative democracy. He is the author of *The Decline of Representative Democracy*, *The Third House:*

Lobbyists and Lobbying in the States, *Drawing the Line: Legislative Ethics in the States*, and *The Ethics Process in State Legislatures*. His most recent writing project is *The Job of the Legislature*, based on his close observation of lawmaking in five states. He is a recipient of the Charles E. Merriam Award of the American Political Science Association, which honors significant contributions to the art of government through the application of social science research. His Ph.D. is from Princeton University.



Richard G. Schuldt

RICHARD G. SCHULDT is Director of the Survey Research Office of the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Center for Governmental Studies at the University of Illinois at Springfield. He designs and directs survey research projects for a variety of state and local government agencies and non-profit organizations. Schuldt is co-principal investigator of "The Illinois Political Ethics Survey," conducted in conjunction with tonight's Policy Summit. Recently, he was co-principal investigator of the Illinois Civic Engagement Project. He has taught courses in methodology and statistics at UIS. He obtained the B.A. degree from Knox College before completing a master's degree and all coursework for a doctorate in Political Science at Tulane University. Prior to assuming his current position in 1984, he taught at Knox College and Illinois College.



Charles N. Wheeler III

CHARLES N. WHEELER III, tonight's moderator, is Associate Professor and Director of the Public Affairs Reporting Program at the University of Illinois at Springfield. A native of Joliet, he came to UIS in 1993, following a 24-year career at the *Chicago Sun-Times*. Wheeler covered state government and politics for the *Sun-Times*, beginning with the Sixth Illinois Constitutional Convention in 1970. For the last nineteen years of his *Sun-Times* tenure, he was assigned to the paper's Statehouse bureau, and he was elected to sixteen consecutive one-year terms as president of the Illinois Legislative Correspondents Association. He writes a popular monthly column for *Illinois Issues* magazine, and he is a regular panelist on the "State Week in Review" program of WUIS-WIPA Radio. Before his journalism career, he served three years as a U.S. Peace Corps volunteer in the Republic of Panama. Wheeler majored in English at St. Mary's College of Winona, Minnesota, and received a master's degree in journalism from the Medill School of Journalism at Northwestern University.

PROCEEDINGS

Chancellor Richard Ringeisen: Good evening. Welcome to the University of Illinois at Springfield. Tonight we are pleased to present the first public policy summit organized by our Abraham Lincoln Presidential Center for Governmental Studies – the second major event this year dealing with important, present-day issues. The theme for tonight’s summit is “Politics and Ethics in Illinois: Past, Present, and Future.”

This important and timely topic for our state, and the distinguished speakers we have assembled, exemplify the high quality of the new initiatives of our UIS Lincoln Presidential Center. We created the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Center for Government Studies last year to be a world class policy center affiliated with the new Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum, which would use the legacy of Abraham Lincoln to examine today’s issues.

Like the first Lincoln Legacy Lecture we held last November, tonight's policy summit represents one of the new major public events that the center sponsors, and you will be seeing many of those. The touchstone for the center's events is the legacy of Abraham Lincoln's leadership. Tonight we reflect on his legacy as it pertains to the importance of policy debate in a democracy, and on ethics and morality – cornerstones of the 16th President's leadership.

The center this year has been under the very able leadership of Dr. Ernest Cowles as its interim director. At this time it is my pleasure to introduce Ernie to you, who will introduce tonight's keynote speaker.

Dr. Ernest Cowles: Good evening everyone. We are honored this evening to have with us a number of distinguished speakers to discuss the topic of politics and ethics in Illinois. We are especially fortunate to have Judge Abner Mikva, who will be leading off with keynote remarks on the roots of the political culture that we have in Illinois today.

Abner Joseph Mikva has had a long and distinguished career spanning all three branches of government at both the state and federal levels. He was a state legislator, a five-term Congressman from Illinois, Chief Judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit, and White House Counsel for President Bill Clinton. He has also served as law professor at the University of Illinois, and is now at the University of Chicago. A Wisconsin native, he graduated from the University of Chicago Law School, clerked for Supreme Court

Justice Sherman Minton, then returned to Chicago to practice labor law with Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg. In 1956, he ran for the Illinois House as a Democrat against the Democratic machine and won. He was named "Best Freshman Legislator" by the Statehouse reporters. He fought for fair housing and against corruption in the state welfare system. As Chair of the House Judiciary Committee he wrote sweeping reforms of the state criminal code and of the state's mental health facilities. He moved from Springfield to Washington and became a leader in the U.S. House of Representatives on key committees. In 1979 President Jimmy Carter nominated him for the Federal Appeals Court of the District of Columbia, a seat of judicial power second only to the Supreme Court.

Judge Mikva is the author of "Ethics in Government, Not An Oxymoron." His many awards include the "Paul Douglas Ethics in Government Award" presented by the University of Illinois Institute of Government and Public Affairs. I'm sure you will agree that we could not have chosen a more fitting keynote speaker for this evening. The title of Judge Mikva's address is: "Do We Still Not Want 'Nobody Nobody Sent?'" For those of you who are new to Illinois politics or under the age of 40, I'll let Judge Mikva explain what that means. Let me just say for a young college fellow nobody wanted, his perseverance and belief that the good that "good government" can do has led him to become one of Illinois' most distinguished leaders. It is my honor to present Judge Abner Mikva.

Judge Abner Mikva: Thank you very much for that generous introduction. Chancellor, distinguished audience, let me tell you how good it is to be back in Springfield. This is where I started my political career and there is something very special about this place as far as I'm concerned. It still reminds me that legislative arenas do resemble sausage factories but, for all that, I'm glad I started out at this sausage factory instead of some others.

Well let me tell you the story. The nice thing about having been around as long as I have is I can recycle old stories because there are people under 40 who haven't heard them. I was a law student, a young law student, at the University of Chicago and, as Ernie told you, I grew up in Wisconsin. But I had been warned that, coming to Chicago, I could forget about any nascent political ambitions I had; this was a closed party, closed machine. But it was 1948 and Adlai Stevenson was running for Governor and Paul Douglas was running for Senator and that didn't square with this notion that I'd heard about machine politics. One night, on the way home from

law school, I passed by the 8th Ward regular Democratic headquarters. Timothy O'Sullivan, the ward committeeman's name was painted on the front window, and they had signs for Stevenson and Douglas in the window. I walked in and I said, "Hi, I'm Abner Mikva. I'd like to volunteer to work for Stevenson and Douglas." And the quintessential Chicago ward committeeman took the cigar out of his mouth and looked at me and said, "Who sent you, kid?" and I said, "Nobody sent me." And that's when he came up with the line that's become my trademark: "We don't want nobody nobody sent." That was the beginning of my political career in Chicago.

Actually there are two other parts of the story that are interesting in light of tonight's topic. After he told me that I had come under the wrong auspices, he said, "Besides we ain't got any jobs." I told him I didn't want a job and he said, "Well, we sure as hell don't want anybody that don't want no job." But he was curious. He said, "How come you don't want a job?" I explained that I was a student at the University of Chicago Law School and at that point he bit down firmly on the cigar and said, "Well, we sure as hell don't want anybody from that left-wing place." The Schachman decree and its effect on patronage and the movement of the University of Chicago on the political spectrum have suggested maybe I ought to apply again, but, on the other hand, I just don't find the candidates out there as attractive as Adlai Stevenson and Paul Douglas appeared to me in 1948. But enough of shaggy committeeman stories.

Is political involvement easier and more attractive than it was 55 years ago? I answered part of that question quite easily – no. Only the very most faithful of the party faithful get turned on by candidates and their campaigns. The voter turnout has made that pretty clear. While there isn't the closed party machine structure to try to penetrate that was here when I first came in '48, the unattractiveness of the process and its candidates makes the ease of entry somewhat irrelevant. Besides which, I think what dismays me even more is I have a feeling that most political candidates and most political officeholders just aren't having the kind of fun that I had when I started out in Springfield many years ago.

Is the problem unique to Illinois? Not really. But it's far worse here. The BGA [Better Government Association] survey that I think some of you have seen or will see indicates that we are pretty far down on the list when it comes to political ethics. Wisconsin is number one and we're down there in the 40's, I think. The reasons why are cultural and political. First of all, I have to say that Illinoisans have a weird pride in their history of political corruption. I mean it. You sit a few Illinois voters down to talk about government and government officials. They

won't spend much time talking about the ones they like. That wouldn't take long anyway. After trashing a few of the incumbent officials they start to reminisce about the past burglars and they immediately go to some of the great names of Illinois history. I am talking about the Abraham Lincolns and Adlai Stevensons and Paul Douglasses and Richard Ogilvies, to speak only of the dead not on your tintype. Very quickly we are on to "Shoebox Paul Powell" and "Rinkydink Hannah" and "Bathhouse John Kaufman." Almost a bragging contest begins as to who knew or who can remember the most outrageous tales of sin and corruption. Now why is that? I admit that it is not unique to Illinois. President John F. Kennedy bragged about his ancestor who had gone to jail during his tenure as Mayor of Boston. Indeed President Kennedy named his boat the "Honey Fitz" after that ancestor. But the problem is more widespread in Illinois. Maybe we've had more burglars that we can brag about. Not being an Illinois native I've always felt a little out of things when the bragging rights started. I couldn't claim kinship to any of the Illinois burglars, and somehow bragging that I had an immigrant uncle who had been arrested in Milwaukee for public urination didn't seem to quite cut it.

But it is more than that the pickings are so rich. I think that Illinois government produced so many scandals and scandalous figures because the government structure was so porous and hard to control. Other states have dichotomies between their urban centers and their rural areas, but none like Illinois. When I was in the legislature, the Rockford representatives – Rockford, for those of you who don't know northern Illinois, is on the Wisconsin border and is north of Chicago, but they referred to themselves as Downstaters to make sure they wouldn't be misidentified with Chicago. When we had the at-large election for the legislature in 1964, the Illinois Agricultural Association wrote a survey of all of the incumbent legislators who were running and they said that my voting record was reasonably favorable to farmer interests but I was from the City of Chicago and therefore they couldn't really endorse me.

The porous nature of government in part stems from that population dichotomy, but it goes beyond it. In 1990 there were 6,677 units of local government, including 102 counties, 1,283 municipalities, 1,434 townships, 2,107 special districts, and 951 school districts, and that doesn't include all of the state agencies or offices, many of which are very hard to know about or to find out about. The plethora abounds, it confounds, it astounds, and it is as hard as hell to dislodge.

Let me tell a couple of war stories about what happened when I was at the state level. I came to Springfield as a freshman legislator in 1957, and we had something called the Illinois Spanish-American War Veterans Commission. Now there were two Spanish-American War veterans still alive living in Illinois in 1957 and the sum of \$20,000 a year – a lot of money in those days – was appropriated to the commission to pay the salaries of the chairman and the vice chairman of the commission. None of the money went to either of the veterans, and nobody, at least that I asked, knew who the commission officials were or what they did. First I straightforwardly tried to abolish the commission and spend the appropriation on schools or some other triviality like that. That effort failed. Then I thought I'd get cute, and I proposed to divide up the appropriation between the two veterans. That at least sounded to me like it would do some good. That too failed, although there were strong suggestions that maybe they should add \$20,000 to the appropriation and take my amendment. I left the legislature ten years later; the commission was intact. As far as I know it may still be there.

Then there was the effort to make our colt inspectors bipartisan. We had a budding horse/colt industry in Illinois and we had inspectors to make sure the colts were thoroughbreds. They'd been appointed by the state administration in the usual Illinois manner. There was apparently great concern that Republican colts were getting inspected by Democratic inspectors during the Kerner administration. It was proposed to add some inspectors to make sure that no political bias would corrupt the breeding. It was only after vigorous effort that we defeated that proposal to set up bipartisan colt inspectors. Now those are small stories. They involve small amounts of money. But they illustrate how entrenched this multiplicity is and how anonymously it functions.

But the county and local miasma is much worse. 102 counties. Now that's not the largest number of counties of any state but it is enough to make county government almost invisible on the big political screen. Some of you may remember: when a newly-minted Chicago candidate was put up to run for the governorship, he was asked what he was going to do about the problems in Van Buren County. He earnestly assured the questioner that he was going to look seriously at those problems in Van Buren County and make sure that the governor did something about them. Well, all of you, the cognoscenti, know that we don't have a Van Buren County in Illinois. It was the first step of that candidate in a long and unsuccessful campaign for governor.

Then there are the special use districts, some performing very essential services, like the sanitary districts and the park districts, but almost all of them set up in the first place as an excuse to get around the borrowing limits that we have in our constitutions and that the legislature passes, or to disguise and confuse control – and almost always inefficient to the max. We have mosquito abatement districts in Illinois, for instance. One in Chicago runs as far as 47th street, and no further. The problem is that no one has taught the mosquitoes not to fly north of 47th street. But more than the inefficiency, and more than the duplication, there is the corruption that just abounds when you have that kind of multiplicity and lack of accountability.

Two of my favorite observers of the state scene, Sam Gove and Jim Nowlan, described it in their book, *Illinois Politics and Government* thusly: They said "With so many governments, public oversight is necessarily limited, and lines of authority are blurred between one local government and another. As a result, feather bedding, favoritism and contract awards and other forms of corruption have surfaced repeatedly among local governments in Illinois. As far back as 1928 officials at the Chicago Area Metropolitan Sanitary looted the public tills from payroll padding, phony expense accounts, nepotism, mismanagement and improper favors among other malpractices. As recently as 1994, the daughter of a former Chicago alderman admitted to taking paychecks without actually working for three separate local governments – the Cook County Clerk's Office, the Cook County Sheriff's Office, and the City Council's Finance Committee." Now the interesting thing about Sam Gove's and Jim Nowlan's writing is you could change the dates and repeat that for any period in Illinois history probably up to and including yesterday.

Pretty soon it's going to sound like I'm bragging about Illinois corruption, so I'll stop with the examples. How do we change the culture? In the first place we ought to recognize that people really don't like getting fleeced. They favor multiplicity because they think they are setting up watchdogs to watch the dogs of government. Unfortunately all the dogs end up eating very heartily at the public trough, and they do very little barking. So people don't really know whom to blame. Therefore I would like to go back to one of my earliest and least successful crusades. We need to re-centralize government in Illinois. We need to get rid of many of the units of government that we have altogether, such as townships, and bring the ones that we do need to maintain under the control and responsibility of a unit of government that survives. So whether it's mosquito control or sewage, we need less pluralism and more accountability.

We need a major push for a short ballot in Illinois. We should elect the chief executives of the various units of government, the state, the city, the county, that are really essential to governance, and then we should stop. Do we need an attorney general? Sure we need an attorney general. Do we need to elect one? No. I'd just as soon see him or her appointed by the governor, confirmed by the Senate perhaps, and have the governor responsible for what the attorney general does or doesn't do. And the same is true of all of the other state offices that we have, the treasurer, the secretary of state, the comptroller, the clerks, all of them.

The federal model is a good one. Even though there is considerable waste in the federal animal, there is far less corruption at the federal level, even though the institutions are so much larger and the number of employees so much larger, the capacity for corruption is even larger, but nevertheless it just doesn't happen. I think we need more accountability, similar to what the president has. He is responsible for whatever happens in the federal government. Parenthetically, I would do away with the election of judges as well. As long as I am getting out all of my unpopular crusades, let me add that one. I think the federal model works much better there too. The notion that the people really have a say as to who the judges are, especially in the populous areas like Chicago and Rockford where the number of names on the judicial ballot is so large is one of the great myths of our democracy, and it costs us very, very dearly. Scandals like Greylord have happened, and they will continue to happen as long as judges get elected really anonymously, because people haven't a clue as to who it is they are voting for.

One of my favorite stories that I can recycle is about the lawyer who got up to address a jury that was being empanelled in Cook County. For those of you who have sat on juries you understand that, before you are allowed to go into the jury box, the lawyers are allowed to quiz you. It's called *voire dire*, a nice, fancy Latin term. The lawyers get a chance to try a part of their case but also to find out if the prospective jurors have any bias or prejudice. This one lawyer got up and said, "Now Madame, I want to ask you a few questions." He addressed this to a very determined woman who had marched into the jury box with a very angry look on her face. He said, "Now Madame, my name is Abner Mikva, the attorney for the plaintiff. Do you know me?" And she glared at him and she said, "Sure I do, you are a crook." Well he was a little bit taken aback. He thought he'd spread the glory around. He said, "Well, over there sits Larry Hansen. He's the attorney for the defendant. Do you know him?" And she glared at Mr. Hansen and said, "Of course I do, he's a crook too." At that point the judge called a short recess and beckoned both

lawyers up to the bench and whispered to them, "If either one of you asks whether she knows me or not, I'll hold you both in contempt of court!"

We're going to have that kind of cynical attitude among the voters as long as they continue to think they have something to say about judges when in fact they are voting for names that they know nothing about and couldn't possibly know anything about when they go into the voting booth. Is this notion of a short ballot and centralized responsibility at all imminent or popular? Absolutely not. I don't know a candidate who would dare to run on the radical notion of electing only the governor and the legislative branch, for a reduced number of government units, who would advocate putting all of those separate responsibilities under a single executive. It's convenient to blame the Chicago Park District for canceling the lease at Meigs Field, even if the district is appointed by the Mayor of Chicago and it was his idea to close the field in the first place. It's convenient to blame the county assessor for a tax increase even though he makes none of the decisions that cause those increases.

It took us 100 years to get a new constitution in Illinois, which cleaned up some of the morasses that have plagued our government. Wisely or unwisely, the convention decided not to do much about the decentralization that has overwhelmed any hopes for accountability and decided not to take on the short ballot controversy. It may take another hundred years to get those causes on the table. In the meantime, it's more fun to tell stories about the excesses of Paul Powell than to do something about the problems. I should be careful about pushing this theme anyway. Some time ago I wrote about the problem and I urged Illinoisans to talk more about their heroes rather than their villains. Since I confessed I couldn't think up too many heroes, I pulled a name out of the historical hat and argued that people should talk more about the last Chief Justice of the United States that came from Illinois, Melville Fuller. Well, I hadn't done my homework. The late Irving Hilliard, whom some of you remember, of the *St. Louis Post Dispatch* and a prominent political historian in Illinois, wrote me and told me that Mel Fuller, "Little Mel" as he was known in political circles, was an unsavory character on the Illinois scene. He had served some time in the legislature, and there was considerable discussion about whether he should have served some time in the penitentiary as well. The appointment to the Supreme Court headed off the possibility of his being indicted, according to Hilliard. I never could verify the last part of that story, although when I looked, it did appear that Mel Fuller had not done

much as Chief Justice of the United States as far as his jurisprudence is concerned. So it really is easier to tell stories about Paul Powell than it is to add to the hero short-list.

I close with that great story of a prime minister who was answering questions in the well of the House of Parliament. The back benchers kept yelling at him, "Reform! Reform! Reform!" Finally he grew impatient and said, "Reform? Reform? Don't talk to me about reform. Things are bad enough as they are!" Thank you very much.

Cowles: Thank you Judge Mikva. We appreciate your sharing your stories and your insights with us. You have provided a great starting point for tonight's discussion and we're really glad that you're joining our panel.

But first we are going to have an opportunity to hear what Illinois citizens think about ethics in state government and politics. Our Survey Research Office has worked hard this month to complete a statewide survey to gauge public opinion on the subject of this evening's policy summit. Richard Schuldt, director of our Survey Research Office, promised that we would get the first glimpse of the findings tonight. At this time I am pleased to introduce Dick Schuldt to present the highlights of the survey's results.

Richard Schuldt: As Ernie said, I am here to present our findings on the "Illinois Political Ethics Survey: What the People Think." It was conducted by the UIS Survey Research Office, which is a unit of the Lincoln Presidential Center for Governmental Studies.

Just as a brief introduction, we interviewed over 400 randomly selected households. The respondents are representative of the state demographically. The telephone survey interviewing was conducted April 8th through April 25th. Yes we just ended at one o'clock last Friday and we have results tonight. It was an average length of 37 minutes. Don't worry we won't be covering all the findings tonight! It has a sampling error of under plus or minus five percent at the 95 percent confidence level.

Again, these are selected findings; I pulled them out because they were most related to ethics and corruption in Illinois. First of all, some general opinions about Illinois state government. We asked people, "Which of the following do you most agree with? First, "I am proud of many things about state government in Illinois"; secondly, "There is not much about Illinois state government I am proud of." As you can see [Figure 1], it's about split, 44 percent

to 46 percent, so not too positive a finding. It's not totally negative and not totally positive. We asked respondents, "How much change is needed in how we govern and practice politics in Illinois?" As you see [Figure 2] about half said we need some changes, but another 22 percent said we need big changes. So we had 72 percent that said we either need big or some changes. Only 1 out of 10 said we don't need much. Now we did follow up on a question. We said, "What kinds of changes did you have in mind?" It's an open-ended question; we're still coding, but I have looked them over and, in addition to such topics as, "doing things about the budget," and "education," and "the economy and jobs," – the kinds of big issues that we see out there today – the topic of accountability was brought up by several of the respondents.

We also asked a question which we thought would be interesting, given our interest in the practical consequences or implications of our findings for state government: "If you had a son or daughter in their 20's, and they wanted to pursue a career in state government, would you encourage them or discourage them?" Perhaps more positive than you might think, given what we've heard, six out of ten said that they would encourage their son or daughter to pursue a career, while about 20 percent said they would discourage them [Figure 3].

When we got down to some questions about corruption and ethics, we asked two different kinds of questions. We asked some general survey opinion questions, but we wanted to do something a little bit different, and we wanted to present respondents with some practical, specific scenarios and ask them some questions about those. First of all, some of the scenarios related to the state government hiring process. We asked people, "Suppose you wanted to get a job in state government and suppose you had the recommendation of your party, precinct or ward committeeman. Should that give you special consideration in hiring?" Seventy (70) percent said no, it should not [Figure 4]. Then we said, "Suppose you gave time or money to a party or candidate. Should that give you special consideration?" Over 80 percent said it should not [Figure 4]. Then we said, "Okay, suppose you are doing the hiring. One candidate is very qualified, but you know nothing about his or her politics. The other candidate is acceptable, but not quite as qualified, but they have done political work for your party or candidate. Who would you hire?" Almost eight out of ten said they would hire the very qualified candidate [Figure 5]. On the other hand, when we asked, "Who do you think gets hired most often?" we see a mirror image of the findings. Over 80 percent said it is the acceptable candidate who had done the political work that gets hired most of the time [Figure 5].

We had four what we call "state worker" scenarios. In the first, assume you are a state worker. A supervisor asks you to buy \$100 worth of campaign fundraising tickets for your agency head. In the next, the supervisor asks you to do campaign work, first during non-work time, next, during work-time. And finally, the supervisor asks you to use office resources to work on a campaign. The question sequence for each of these scenarios – first we presented the scenario and then we'd say – "Would doing the activity help you get a raise or a promotion in your job?" Then, "Would *not* doing the activity hurt you in keeping your job or getting a raise or promotion?" Then, "Would you do the activity?" "How often do you think the activity occurs?" and "Do you think the activity is proper, comes with the job, or is improper?" And for those who said "improper," we said, "Would you report the behavior of your supervisor?"

Well, let's look at some findings here. When we said, "Do you think the following scenarios would help you in your job?" you see that over 50 percent said buying tickets, if they did it, would help them in their job in getting a raise or promotion, but more, over 70 percent, said doing each of the other ones would help them [Figure 6]. In terms of "Would it hurt you?" basically we have the same results for campaigning off work-time and on-time, and using office resources, but for buying tickets, more said it would hurt them if they didn't do it than said it would help them if they did [Figure 7].

"Would you do the activity?" Let's focus on those. At the bottom here we have the legend [Figure 8]. At the furthest left we have those that said "Yes, definitely I'd do it," then "I would probably do it," then "I would probably not do it," and over at the right hand side, "No, I would not do it." In each of these, let's look at the percent that said they would do it. Thirty percent said that yes, they would go ahead and buy the tickets. A little bit more, a third, said they would use office resources, and about 30 percent said they would do the campaign work either off time or on time. For two of these you have more saying no than yes, but for a couple of them, let's see, it's fairly close. Both of the campaign items here are pretty close in terms of whether they would do it and not do it.

"How often does it happen?" As you can see, the public thinks this happens quite frequently [Figure 9]. About half think a supervisor asking you to use office resources, doing campaign on work time, and buying tickets occur quite a lot. And 60 percent said asking somebody to campaign off work-time happens a lot. "What do you think of this?" Well, as you

can see, a majority [52%] thinks asking somebody to campaign off work-time is not proper and two-thirds, or almost two-thirds, say that the rest of them are not proper behavior [Figure 10].

We had two scenarios having to do with a state worker who's an inspector. In the first one, the supervisor wants you as a state worker to ask businesses to contribute to a campaign. In the next one, the supervisor suggests that you write up good inspection reports for contributors. Well, "Do you think this would help you or hurt you if you did this?" We have high percentages, from 70 to 80 percent, that said yes, if you do it, it's going to help you and if you don't, it's going to hurt you [Figure 11]. "Would you do the activity?" 63 to 66 percent said that they might not do it. But we might note that 27 percent said yes, they would go ahead and ask businesses for contributions and one out of five said they would write good inspection reports if they were asked to [Figure 12]. How often does it happen? You can see it's about split between those who say it happens a lot or it happens some, but 80 percent say either a lot or some [Figure 13]. What do they think of this? Three quarters think both of these are improper behavior [Figure 14].

Next, we switch the scenarios. We said to the respondent, now you are a business owner and you are to be inspected by a state inspector. The inspector comes and suggests you might want to contribute to a campaign. And in the next one, the state inspector actually asks you for cash. "Do you think it's going to help you or hurt you get a good inspection report or pass the inspection?" You can see 70 percent or more said if they do the activity, it's going to help them and if they don't, it's going to hurt them [Figure 15]. "Would you do the activity?" Almost half said they would not make a contribution, but over a quarter said they would [Figure 16]. Three quarters said they wouldn't give cash but 15 percent said they would [Figure 16]. "How often does it happen?" Eighty percent say businesses asked to make a contribution happens either a lot or some, about equally divided, 40 percent each [Figure 17]. Thirty percent said asking businesses for cash happens a lot and another almost 40 percent said it happens some of the time [Figure 17]. For all of these scenarios, by the way, if you add up "a lot" and "some," it's about 80 percent, except for this one, it's about two-thirds for giving cash. "What do they think of this?" Three-quarters say asking a business to make a contribution is improper and almost nine out of ten, 86 percent, said asking for cash is improper [Figure 18]. This [Figure 19] gives the percent that said they would actually report the improper activity – and I've converted this to the percent of all respondents. If we say, what percent of the respondents would report the fact that

they were asked to buy tickets to a fundraiser? It's about three out of ten – about the same number who would report being asked to campaign during off hours. That jumps to about 40 percent for campaigning during work hours and using office resources on a campaign. It jumps to about 50 to 55 percent for, as an inspector, you would report a supervisor asking you to request contributions and asking you to write good reports. As a business owner, if you were asked for a contribution to a campaign, 50 percent said they would report it, and it jumps to two-thirds if they were actually asked for cash.

We had a few legislative scenarios in there as well. We used a little bit shorter sequence in the follow up questions. We said, "You are still a small business owner here and you'd like to see a law passed that would help out your business. To influence legislators it is suggested that you contribute to campaign funds, take legislators out to dinner, and do favors, like getting them sporting event tickets or summer jobs for their kids. Do you think this is going to help you get their vote? And if you don't do it, do you think it's going to hurt you get their vote?" You can see that for contributing and taking them out to dinner, about 60 percent say yes, if I do it, it's going to help get their vote [Figure 20]. That jumps to 73 percent for doing favors. In each case, the percent that said it's going to hurt if I don't do it is about 10 to 20 percentage points less than the percentage that said it would help. "Would you do the activity?" Almost 40 percent would contribute to the campaigns and take legislators out to dinner, and just over a quarter said that they would do favors [Figure 21]. In terms of those who would not, a third said they would not contribute; over 40 percent said they would not take legislators out to dinner and almost half said they would not do favors for legislators [Figure 21]. "What do you think of this?" About half think it's improper to give contributions to influence legislators and about the same said it's improper to take them out to dinner [Figure 22]. It jumps to 60 percent for doing favors for legislators to influence their votes.

We had a whole series of agree-disagree questions that we don't have time to go into about people's role in government and the role of parties: "Is Illinois controlled by a small group of people?" "Are politicians honest?" "Do political leaders work for the good of the state?" We don't have time to present all of the findings but I want to focus on those that specifically relate to corruption. In terms of concern about corruption and the extent to which corruption is a problem, here note we have "agree" and then "disagree" gets split into "disagree" and then "strongly disagree." We said, "Do you agree or disagree with, "Corruption is not a big problem

in Illinois, it's just a few bad apples?" Fairly close: 50 percent disagree with that compared to 41 percent who agree [Figure 23]. Then when we said, "Do you agree or disagree with, "Some corruption is only to be expected?" Half agree with that and almost as many disagree with that [Figure 23]. So, some quite close opinions there. But here is one that is not as close. We said, "Do you agree or disagree with the statement, "The corruption issue may be a big deal in Springfield, but it doesn't really affect the average Illinois citizen?" Almost 8 out of 10 disagree or strongly disagree with this [Figure 24]. Only fewer than 20 percent agree. So almost 80 percent disagree that corruption doesn't affect the average citizen in Illinois. Then we said, "Is corruption in state government something we should be concerned about or should we accept it the way it is, just because it's there, and if we should be concerned, how concerned should we be?" As you see, almost 8 out of 10 said we should be very concerned about corruption in Illinois [Figure 25].

How much corruption is there? One standard question that political scientists have used for a long time in their series of trust in government questions is this question, "How many people running the state government are 'a little crooked'?" Forty-three percent say "quite a few" [Figure 26]. About as many say "not very many." And fewer than 10 percent say "hardly any." We asked the question, "How widespread is corruption in Illinois state government and politics?" Almost three out of ten said it's "very widespread" [Figure 27]. Almost half said it's "somewhat widespread" [Figure 27]. And almost one fifth said it's "limited" or "hardly exists at all." "How much corruption is there in Illinois state government compared to the federal government, most states, and your local community?" As you see, just about a quarter, comparing to the federal government and most states, say we have more in Illinois [Figure 28]. But 56 - 57 percent say it's about the same amount. So pretty similar results for the federal government and most states. But when it comes to "your local community," almost four out of ten said there is more corruption at the state level than exists in their local community. An equal percentage said it's about the same; 17 percent said it's less. Then, in comparison to business we said, "When it comes to dishonesty and lack of ethics, is there more in state government than exists in business, about the same, or less?" As you see, 28 percent said there is more lack of honesty and lack of ethics in Illinois state government; 58 percent said there is the same [Figure 28].

Now you'll note I put "local community" up here. You know what table is coming up next. We have to look at this by region of the state. Here we do find Chicago respondents were

the least likely to say there exists more corruption at the state level than exists in their local community [Figure 29]. Lot of surprise there. But you do note, for the percent that said less corruption exists at the state level, it doesn't really differ that much by region. Chicago is just a little bit more than the suburbs and north central. You notice the southern Illinois respondents are right in between.

“Compared to usual, corruption in Illinois state government in the last eight years or so has been”: 51 percent say it's been more, with 28 percent saying a lot more and 23 percent somewhat more [Figure 30]. About four out of ten say it's about the same as it's always been. Only one percent said it's been less.

Causes of corruption and enforcement. We asked respondents if they agreed or disagreed with: "We have tolerated too much corruption in Illinois over the years"; and "Law enforcement has tended to look the other way when it comes to corruption." You can see almost 90 percent think we've tolerated too much corruption in Illinois over the years [Figure 31]. And almost 70 percent say law enforcement has tended to look the other way when it comes to enforcement. One question – I put the wording up here because we spent some time on this – we wanted to see if people thought corruption is the result of the system or the individuals in it. So we asked, "Do you think that corruption in Illinois state government and politics is mostly the result of a system that forces people to engage in unethical behavior or do you think it is mostly caused by the individual politicians and officials who violate laws and rules?" By far people say it's individuals [69%] and not the system [22%] [Figure 32].

So, we get some complexity of public opinion here in our survey. In the specific scenario questions, many respondents see frequent situations in which employees seem to have incentives to engage in "improper behavior" or behavior they see as improper. But yet when we asked this question about the cause, almost 70 percent of the respondents blame the individuals not the system that "forces" behavior. One implication here to perhaps resolve this is that respondents think that state workers are expected to behave in an ethical manner. In this environment they are not "forced" to act improperly. We asked, "What should happen to government employees found guilty of corruption? Should they be punished severely or should they not be punished severely because they just got caught doing something that everybody else does?" Almost 90 percent say violators should be punished severely [Figure 33].

Now when we look at a cross-sectional survey like this we talk about relationships. It sometimes implies causality but we really can't say one thing is causing another. But it is striking when you look at the opinions of those who think corruption is very widespread, versus those who think it's somewhat widespread, versus those who think it's limited. You can see here on this pride in state government question, half of those who think corruption is limited say, "I am proud of many things in state government," but it declines ten percentage points if people think it's widespread at all [Figure 34]. Similarly, when we ask, "Would you encourage your child in their twenties to pursue a career in state government?" eight out of 10 who think corruption is limited would do that. It drops 20 percentage points if they think that corruption is at all widespread [Figure 35]. Even more striking, looking at the percent of people that said they would trust state government to do what is right always or most of the time, 63 percent of those who think corruption is limited said that. That drops to 36 percent if they think corruption is somewhat widespread and down to 22 percent if they think it is very widespread [Figure 36].

I'm not going to go into this but we see big relationships here for opinions like "Illinois is run by a few big interests," "Illinois public officials don't care much about what people like you think" and, for efficiency, "State government wastes a lot of money" [Figure 37]. And a couple more. All of those are related to the degree to which people perceive corruption exists.

We'll end on some reforms. Six out of 10 believe that changes in laws can help reduce corruption. So we asked about 10 different types of reforms. We asked, "Do you think this will help reduce corruption a lot, some or not much?" And the top four were: protect workers who report unethical behavior [67%], and I might note the fourth one was having a hotline to report unethical behavior [Figure 38]. That goes with that emphasis on individual workers that we saw. Sixty-six percent said it would help a lot to take politics out of hiring for most government positions, and 62% said getting law enforcement to do a better job enforcing. Actually, when we asked an open-ended question about what kinds of reforms do you want, it's enforcing the laws, enforcing the laws, stricter punishments, enforcing the laws, comes up over and over again. Fifty-six percent said it would help a lot to have an inspector general to investigate, 55% said getting average citizens to attend more, and almost as many said getting the media to attend more [Figure 39]. Finally, 51% said limiting campaign contributions would help a lot; 49% said having an ethics board; and 46% said requiring ethical behavior training [Figure 40]. At first that [only 46%] might seem a little bit contradictory since they blame individual workers, but I think

a lot of the respondents believe, rightly or wrongly, that these state workers should know what's proper or improper to begin with. But they are probably unaware of all of the nuances that do go into ethics training.

We will be posting more results on our website, which is: **sro.uis.edu** – no “www” there. Please look for those. So you have seen some of what the public has perceived and thought about corruption and ethics in Illinois, and we'll soon be turning to our panel to see what they have to say.

Cowles: Thank you, Dick. That's great information for our panel to consider. The second half of our program tonight will be a discussion that's moderated by Professor Charles Wheeler. He is director of the Public Affairs Reporting Program at UIS. Charlie has spent his career observing Illinois state government and politics. He was a reporter for the *Chicago Sun-Times* for many years and he was Statehouse bureau chief. Charlie is one of the most respected voices in the media. His monthly column appears in *Illinois Issues* magazine. And his weekly radio commentary and analysis on WUIS' “State Week in Review” provide citizens of Illinois with an informed, insightful and fair picture of their state government in action. At this time we will take a brief, five minute break to allow the panel to assemble here.

Charles Wheeler: As Ernie said, I am Charlie Wheeler, director of the Public Affairs Reporting Program at the University of Illinois at Springfield. Before I came here ten years ago I had the very great fortune to be a reporter for the *Chicago Sun-Times* for 24 years, most of that time here in Springfield covering the Illinois General Assembly, state government, and in that role I had the opportunity to report on many of the people who are on our panel tonight. This is not going to be some kind of a formal lecture. It's going to be a freewheeling discussion among our panelists. It's going to be the kind of informal bull-session that reporters and elected officials and political junkies love to have all the time and we're hoping that we will be able to share it with you all.

Now I think Judge Mikva and Dick Schuldt certainly have raised some very provocative issues for us, and we are fortunate to have an exceptional panel like this to kick these ideas around. So let me introduce the panelists beginning with Judge Mikva, who gave us that great introductory keynote. As an aside, one of the early pleasurable assignments I had at the *Sun-*

Times, was covering the congressional campaign of Judge Mikva when the powers that be, the Democratic Party, had redistricted him out of his existing district, forcing him to move north and run in Evanston. Next to Judge Mikva we have Cindy Canary who is the Director of the Illinois Campaign for Political Reform. She's a past Executive Director of the Illinois League of Women Voters, and she is a veteran champion of ethical government. Next to her we have Howard Peters who now is the Vice President of Advocacy and Governmental Relations for the Illinois Hospital Association. Howard has had a long career in government service. He has moved up through the ranks at the Department of Corrections to become at one point Director. He then was a Deputy Chief of Staff to former Governor Jim Edgar. And he was also the founding Secretary of the Department of Human Services where one of the major challenges, and I think one of the more enjoyable experiences, was implementing welfare reform in Illinois. Next to Howard is Professor David Kenney. I have covered Professor Kenney for many, many years: a distinguished author, political science Professor Emeritus at Southern Illinois University at Carbondale. Dr. Kenney left the academy for hands-on experience in government and politics as a delegate to the sixth Illinois Constitutional Convention where we first met, and later he became the Director of the Illinois Department of Conservation and also of the Illinois Historic Preservation Agency.

Turning to the other side of the table and starting here at the point, we have Professor Alan Rosenthal, a Professor of Political Science at the Eagleton Institute at Rutgers University. He is an expert on legislatures throughout the country, how they behave, what makes them tick and their history. We are very thankful that he is able to join us for this discussion. Next to Professor Rosenthal is Mike Lawrence, who is now the Associate Director of the Public Policy Institute at Southern Illinois University at Carbondale. He is a former Press Secretary and Senior Policy Advisor to Governor Jim Edgar, 25-year veteran journalist and part of that included an all-too brief stint as my colleague with the *Chicago Sun-Times*. And Mike, it's good to have you here. Next to Mike is Senator Howard Carroll, another long-time associate, who for 26 years was a member of the Illinois Senate after moving up from a two-year stint in the Illinois House. He went to the House of Lords. He was a 20-year Chairman of the 50th Ward Democratic Committee in Chicago, and he was the legislative budget expert for most of his tenure in the legislature. And he was a very good source; I'll thank you publicly for that.

Howard Carroll: Not "Deep Throat," though, right?

Wheeler: No. No. And our last panelist is Kent Redfield, Professor of Political Studies at the University of Illinois at Springfield, who cut his teeth as a staff member back when Howie was a freshman in the Statehouse. He is probably the foremost expert in Illinois on how campaigns raise and spend money. So I think we are in for an interesting discussion with this distinguished group of panelists.

Now we don't want to have them hog all of the attention tonight, so we would like to invite you to participate as well. When you came in the room, in the programs you received there was a card that permits you to ask questions of the different panelists. So at some point a little later in the program, I will ask that you pass the cards to the end of the row and there will be people there to pick them up and bring them forward. I will try to work as many of your questions into our conversation as possible.

One of the perks of being the moderator is that I get to ask the first question, and so here is the first question. It's kind of general and I hope you all jump in on it. We have heard Judge Mikva talk about his experiences starting out as an idealistic, young college volunteer and running afoul of the political system that seems, at that time, not to want people that "nobody sent." More recently, just a few weeks ago, we saw the racketeering conviction of a political campaign organization, a very strong political organization, and the guy who was in charge of it. And in between there has been a long line of Illinois state officials in the executive branch from governor on down, in the legislature, and even in the Supreme Court, who have either been convicted of or had to resign because of questions about their ethics. So my question is, Is this merely a collection of bad apples? Are these just individuals, as the respondents in Dick Schuldt's survey seem to suggest, or is there something about the way we practice politics in Illinois, something in our political culture itself, that lends itself to producing these kinds of outcomes that the people, according to the survey, find so disturbing? So I will throw that out and ask our panelists to jump in. Who would like to start us off?

Howard Peters: I'll jump. You know someone wrote a book, in fact, periodically it comes out, and the title of it is *Mostly Good and Competent Men*, and what it is about is various governors, and I think that the title of that book is really a matter for people who stand for office and people who work in the public administration in general. I think they are mostly good men and women. And mostly well-intended. I do think that there are some things about the system that can be

improved, and we can talk about that, that might give them a better climate or environment in which to work, but I think that it is unfortunate that once there is a conviction and all of the publicity that we've had of late about what happened in the Secretary of State's Office, the presumption is that most of the people are out to somehow do something untoward, and I don't happen to believe that to be the case.

Carroll: Charlie, also I think, one corrupt government employee or government official is two too many. But they are really no different than mirroring the rest of society. Look at what happened at Enron. Look at what happened at WorldCom. Look at what happened at City Group, Solomon Smith Barney, with Grubman. There was corruption that was there because certain people are going to be corrupt. And you know, not to trivialize it at all, but is there any office in any corporation anywhere in America where somebody didn't take a personal list and make a copy of it on the fax machine or send it on a fax machine or make a xerox? Now is that a terrible crime? Absolutely not. No comparison to the type of crimes we've seen. But everybody in private industry has also seen somebody that they said really shouldn't have been doing what they were doing. We shouldn't tolerate it anywhere. It's worse when it's in government. But the question in my mind isn't what happened but why did it happen and how can you limit it as much as possible. There will always be good people in government. Ab Mikva didn't get elected because he was a bad person. I don't think I did either. And I don't think most of the members of the General Assembly or the executive branch or the courts are bad people or corrupt people. And the same is true in private industry. How do you weed out those who are before they do too much damage I think is the real question we've got to look at.

Cindi Canary: I think I would agree with Senator Carroll. I would say that I think we put a higher level of confidence in our government officials. So I'm not sure I think the corporate/government parallel quite fits. And those individuals who have been indicted and convicted, I think those are bad apples, and you are always going to have some bad apples in any large organization. All the same we've got a system that's very porous, that's got lots of problems, and I think that it's really incumbent on us to start looking at that system and making sure, as you said, that we're nipping things in the bud before they're huge scandals that go to the U.S. Attorneys Office.

Carroll: One of the questions, by the way, that wasn't asked in the survey, if they ever do another one, is "Would *you* ask an elected official for a favor, and would you expect it to be done?" Okay? Because if you look at the survey, the further away the elected official was from the person who was asked the question, the more corrupt they were. You know there have been other surveys before: "Is *your* alderman, is *your* mayor (and I don't mean Karen), is *your* (I know she was back there – there she is, okay), is *your* legislator corrupt?" "Oh no, mine is great. But the legislature is corrupt. The city council is corrupt. All of municipal government is corrupt." If they know you, usually they know that you are probably not, you generally are not. It's when they don't know you.

Alan Rosenthal: Let me just say, and I must start out by saying, there are only two places that I could be invited to be on an ethics panel. One is Illinois and the other is Louisiana!

Canary: Welcome!

Rosenthal: I don't get many invitations.

Carroll: That's because you are from New Jersey, right?

Rosenthal: That's because I'm from New Jersey, yeah. I subscribe wholly to the bad apple theory. But I also subscribe to the systemic problem theory. It may be that some states, I mean, you don't have this what you've had in Illinois, or what we've had in New Jersey, going on in Vermont, or in North Dakota, or in some other places. So, there really are differences and I think it makes sense to try to figure it out. Now I'm not sure even if you figure it out that you can do a heck of a lot about it. I was thinking about Ab's suggestions that we take elections away from the people and just give them the governor instead of all of the votes they have to cast now. I think that would be a little difficult to accomplish in what is a nation that is becoming more democratic, not less democratic.

Mikva: But part of the reason I decided I was going to talk about that old idea even though I recognize it's not imminent is that one of the difficulties is that when we have a scandal like the one Cindi just referred to of sending a very high state official to, convicting him, indicting and convicting a whole political apparatus, is that those are the times when we do go to reforms, and unfortunately frequently we reform by making the situation worse than it was. Some of you are old enough to remember the Hodge scandal where Orville Hodge took a million dollars of public funds. One of the problems is that we reformed that situation by getting rid of his office and creating three new ones instead. Now I frankly wonder whether we have more accountability than we had then, and I thought that you just can't, you know there is going to be some reform, at least let's not make it worse by adding some more new elected offices that people don't have a clue as to what they are doing.

You mentioned that some of the states are better. I was very proud when I saw that BGA report and saw that Wisconsin was at the top of the list as far as meeting all of the, as far as measuring up to ethical guidelines, and I don't think it's the water supply. We both use Lake Michigan, it can't be the water, but I think one of the reasons has to do with the place we're holding this meeting tonight. I think it's very significant that the University of Wisconsin is in Madison. I think that legislatures and universities are good for each other and I'm glad that UIS is here and I'm glad that this institute is here and I hope that it recognizes that one of its major responsibilities is just to keep prodding and pushing and asking the legislators why they are doing what they are doing and aren't there better ways of doing it. I think that that is the only way you are going to get the system to improve because unfortunately if we rely on popular opinion there is a tendency to use the popular opinion that comes out of a scandal as I say to just, make things worse.

Lawrence: I believe there needs to be some reforms in the system. For example, one reform would be to bar state employees from soliciting campaign contributions. I just think a lot of the problems that have come up through the years go right to the heart of that issue. And by that I mean soliciting those contributions at any time, any place, anywhere, from any one. I think it should be a flat out bar on solicitation. I also favor a shorter ballot for increased accountability and I would say I would favor a sharp reduction in the number of taxing districts and particularly special taxing districts in the state. In my experience the reform of the system is part of the

answer, and sometimes I think it's oversold. We pass laws and we say, "Okay, that takes care of the problem."

I really think at the heart of ethics in state government, at the very heart, is the culture that an elected official sets in the office. How does an elected official establish that culture? First of all, by behaving properly himself or herself. By hiring senior staff people who are going to be outraged by impropriety, who will have the focus on doing what's right. Now, quite honestly I served on the staff of a governor and staff people come from all different perspectives and I'm not suggesting that a governor ought to have a litmus test that everybody on his or her staff have this ethics as a strong priority. But there need to be some people on that staff who are going to say, "Look, this would be wrong, this *is* wrong," and speak up. I also think it's important that you have a strong internal policing operation. That's part of establishing the right culture. I think there was a tell tale sign and pretty damning in the Secretary of State's Office that has drawn the kind of attention that we have seen in that administration. The internal policing operation was effectively dismantled and gutted. When you do that, you are asking for trouble, and maybe in the worst of interpretations you are saying it's okay if we do have trouble. I just think it's crucial that you have that internal policing operation and the elected official and the senior staff have to back that internal policing operation because there are pressures not to back it. I mean you have a campaign worker who has been very helpful in the campaign. The campaign worker goes astray and is caught. And so the argument becomes, "Well, so and so, look at how loyal he has been. You know he worked precincts for you. He raised money for you." But in the end you've got to have the elected official and people around the elected official who are going to say, "That person wasn't loyal to you when that person went astray." And you've got to have that.

Redfield: Well I guess I take maybe a little bit of a minority opinion on the bad apple argument. One of the things that bothered me the most about the Safe Roads investigation was the total lack of moral conscience anywhere in those people that were testifying. And we had people who were coming up and saying, "It really bothered me that people were committing multiple felonies around me," or "Gee, I felt really bad about that." There were no profiles in courage. Nobody walked the plank. I think that comes from – some of those people were my students. Now I hope they didn't learn that from me! I think they took cues from the people and the system as they learned it. I remember as a young staffer starting off in the General Assembly and I think if the

idea is that it's a wink and a nod, that the most important thing is to win. I think if you don't have ethics up there at the front and from the people that are leading it, then the people that are down at the bottom end of the food chain, they're watching what other people do. And the people that were hauling paper across the street, which was, if you think about it, it's like sticking up a liquor store in terms of taking property, they didn't learn that, that wasn't their own initiative. They learned that because that was okay, and because the most important thing was to win. You have to get changes in the way we think about politics in Illinois. I'm all for more laws. I'm all for changes. But you have to change the culture.

Wheeler: Doesn't that go back to what Michael said though about having, from the very top, the recognition or the insistence that people realize that there are bright lines that they don't cross over?

Canary: I think it does. I think that you need to start from a position of you can't completely, nor should you, legislate ethics. You can't sit down and draw up a code of laws for every circumstance that might occur. I think what we don't have in Illinois are some of those bright line tests. And we do need those on the books. We need to start putting in place the systems, the lines, you know when you cross this line, this *is* a law that you have violated. And we need those systems so that you have somewhere to go if you *know* something is going on. So we need those kind of preventative things. But ethics, I agree, it needs to be leadership from the top. We need to have a code if you will, a sense of what kind of state we want to be. And it should be aspirational. This should be a goal. And so when we kind of think of our state I think that we should be putting out a broader vision of the kind of elected officials we want, the kind of public employees, and the way that we want those employees to be treated in the work place. Not that we're gonna shake 'em down but that we're going to recognize their talents and use them, work with their talents.

Peters: I don't disagree at all but I do think that whether it's a law or whether it's a stated principles, we ought to have stated principles of ethics. The things we have decided we will not do or that we will do. And I think that any organization, whether it's a state agency or whether it's the executive branch, or some legislative subgroup, having stated, written, out loud for

people to see that "We will not do the following." And a part of the statement of ethics needs to include an obligation not just to *be* honest, but to expose dishonesty. One of the things that was very interesting about some of the survey was how often people said, "I wouldn't say anything about it if I was aware of it." If we look at the worst scandals that we've had, it wasn't that much of it was a secret. Many, many people knew. And many people who said, "I'm not going to be involved in that. That's wrong," weren't willing to report it to anyone or say anything. So part of the question becomes, how do we create an expectation that we are kind of all watchdogs and that we have an obligation and the related and necessary protections to expose wrongdoing?

Carroll: But there's got to be a logical set of guidelines, whether it's statutory or just by fiefdom of the agency. The more that we have done as government to create illogical tests of ethics, the more people not only ignore them but the public even says that's kind of silly. For example we could not have had a member of Congress, Ab could not have had dinner with us if he were a member of Congress. Under the new ethics laws a member of Congress is not allowed to *sit* and have dinner. That's how they passed the law. They also said they can *stand* at a cocktail party – for real, this is true – they cannot sit at a cocktail party. They also can't have a knife. Now that I can understand! But they can eat with a fork or with their hands. That I also understand! But that's not to me very logical. If we could have dinner with you tonight before speaking to talk about what we're going to talk about.

Rosenthal: But it's a slippery slope. Once you start enacting law, particularly gift laws, no cup of coffee laws, making exceptions, I mean it is a very slippery slope. And yet there's got to be law. And you've got to recognize that – and the more law there is, the more people are going to trip up, and the more cases of "corruption" there are going to be.

Mikva: That's part of the problem. I think sometimes we pass laws without thinking about their consequences.

Rosenthal: We just want to get out of it and go on.

Mikva: Yeah, and again there is a scandal and so we pass a law saying, “We won't let you have dinner” and “You can't go to a golf tournament. You can go to a fishing tournament, but you can't go to a golf tournament.”

Peters: Well I'm for that.

Carroll: You must be a lousy golfer then.

Mikva: And I think that, I don't know who, Cindy or somebody said, or maybe it was Mike: It really starts at the top.

Carroll: Right. Mike.

Mikva: The person who had the most influence on me, I never, I worked for his elections but I never worked on his staff, was Paul Douglas. And some of the things he did were kind of Mickey Mouse when you think about them, You couldn't give or let anybody on staff receive a gift of more than five dollars. Now that was kind of silly, so if somebody gave you a \$6.50 wa--, but it had its impact because everybody understood that not only you couldn't do it, but the guy up on top wasn't doing it, therefore you didn't need a whole ethics law it simply wasn't, you couldn't corrupt Paul Douglas and woe be to anybody who tried to corrupt him or corrupt anybody on his staff. It just was a fact of life.

Peters: I do agree with my friend Mike Lawrence that it begins at the top, but it doesn't stop at the top. It has to be pushed down through the organization and Mike was willing to say one of the things that we ought not do is require public employees to solicit campaign contributions. I'm willing to say a couple of other things, and one of them is this gift question. I'm willing to say, having been a public official for awhile, that I see no reasons why we should allow public officials to accept any gifts of any kind for any reason. When you think about it there is no particular reason why someone ought to give me a gift as a public official. Because the only reason, or at the heart of giving me a gift, whether it's a little thing or a big thing, is to have an impact on me that maybe they, if they should have it, they should have it without the gift.

Rosenthal: Maybe they just like you.

Peters: But because the person has stood for office or been appointed to office, they will have to wait until they are out of office to get the gifts from people who like them. I really do think that's an important thing.

Mikva: You are absolutely right. But one of the problems is when you try to put that into law. You're right. You should not as a public official accept gifts. And you know what a gift is and you know the difference. But should it apply to a dinner like the one we had tonight?

Peters: I say yes . . .

Carroll: No, Howard, that's illogical and I'll tell you why. Go ahead.

Peters: It should not, I didn't let you finish your sentence. No it should not apply to a dinner like we had tonight because it's a public dinner and a gathering of a group of people.

Carroll: Right.

Rosenthal: You can craft a law that makes sense. It is possible. There are no-cup-of-coffee laws out there in other states, some of which make sense and some of which don't. For example, South Carolina has a pretty good law and it has helped to change the culture in South Carolina. Just that one signal. You're on your own. You don't take gifts. You don't take dinners. Now there's an exception and it's a wise exception. There is an exception for receptions to which the entire membership of a committee, of a caucus, or of the legislature is invited. So in other words you are not cutting off communications they have with constituents or constituent groups. Sure they're lobbied at receptions, and they eat and they can sit down and eat, and use a knife. In Minnesota they have a law that doesn't permit going to receptions and consequently there's much less contact that members have, particularly when they are in St. Paul, with constituents who come down. So you can craft a law.

Peters: And I profoundly agree. Now that we've fixed the gift law, no gifts. I think that when you talk about contributions – I'm, by the way, not at all in favor of campaign reforms that limit who can give how much money to candidates because I think all that does is disadvantage people who are not wealthy. But I do believe that first we ought to have limits on what campaign money can be spent for and it should really only be spent to help get the receiver elected. Some states like Illinois have campaign contribution laws, once you get the money, it's hard to figure out what you can't do with it.

Canary: Absolutely.

Peters: And I think that that's where some problems become because if I can do anything with it as though it's my own money, it's a gift. So I think we ought to separate what campaign contribution monies can do and make it behave and look like something other than a gift.

Carroll: A couple of times you know that was tried.

Wheeler: In Illinois I think you can use campaign money even after you have passed on to the other side. Correct, Kent?

Canary: If you got it before 1998.

Carroll: Well you then you had the court that knocked out some of the changes; because the court knocked it out.

Redfield: It still is the case. But you can't do it for personal use but your campaign can spend it.

Wheeler: For your funeral expenses.

Redfield: Yeah. We had a political campaign that buried a candidate.

David Kenney: It's very difficult often to separate what you do to get elected and you know, what you don't do to get elected. There are many, many ways to influence voters and it's awfully hard to define them by statute.

Carroll: Let me give you another example, please, as a member that to me was totally illogical at the time and finally everybody stopped. We were supposed to pay for phone calls that we made on the state phone that were not for state purposes. Except when you get a list of phone calls and you are returning these calls to people you don't know, how do you know until after you've made the call whether it's a constituent, or it doesn't even have to be a constituent who wants to ask me a question or explain to me how to vote. So now after I've made the call to some solicitor from an insurance company, I'm supposed to pay the charge because they called me and left a number, that was silly, okay? Now, should there be a record of long-distance or something like that, if you're calling your kids, fine. And that's where you should be chastised if you didn't pay that phone bill. But to say that every call I made at the time was for government business, when I couldn't have known if it was for government business when I made the call, was silly. Let me give you one more example. Trips. I was invited down to the southern Illinois area at one time, when I was on a task force for the future of Illinois, to see a coal mine or to go to a prison and see it. Now, I don't think either of those I would have seen on my own accord, hopefully not the prison, but definitely not the coal mine.

Wheeler: Certainly not in the 50th Ward.

Carroll: Not in my ward. In my ward we don't even have coal bins anymore, you know. And, we may have some people who went down there but, the idea was for whoever would have taken me there, in this case it was the government, but if somebody would have invited me there to teach me something that would be helpful to me as a member of the General Assembly. Is that wrong? Is that a bribe to me or is that a gift?

Peters: No.

Carroll: Okay, but where's the line, and that's the hard part as Alan pointed out, between that and somebody says, you know I'd like you to see a play in New York.

Canary: It's hard but it's not impossible. A lot of this is common sense. I think one of the problems we fall into is, when we talk about this, we talk so much about the exceptions or the holes we might fall into. Yes it's hard to tell what's campaign money from what's not, but I would put out there that spending 95,000 dollars on Bulls tickets perhaps is not real important campaign money, you know. There are all kinds of exceptions. Especially the last couple of years.

Carroll: This year you'd never be able to spend 95,000 dollars on Bulls tickets!

Canary: In fact it probably doesn't show good leadership in general, but we won't talk about that! (laughs) I think we do get really bogged down in the exceptions and I think that there are ways to write some clean laws to set some parameters on meals, on gifts, on whatnot, and to be sensitive to the unintended consequences. Another thing I think we should think about when we talk about ethics is not just being punitive, but what can we put in place that's preventative? And that, I think, should be our fundamental charge.

Redfield: But when we passed the gift ban, and it's currently what, a hundred dollars? A hundred dollars. I mean that's quintessential Illinois political culture, because we said you cannot take anything of value of more than a hundred dollars, except that there is an exemption for food and beverages consumed on the premises, which says if I, you're a legislator, I send you a hundred dollar bottle of wine and a twenty-five dollar frozen lobster tail, I've violated the law. But if I take you to a restaurant and buy you a lobster dinner and a hundred dollar bottle of wine, that fits under the exemption. Now you would not have passed the gift ban in the Illinois General Assembly without an exemption for food and beverages consumed on premises. But it still. . .

Rosenthal: It sounds like members of the Illinois General Assembly don't want to give up their gifts.

Redfield: Well, I think it's either, you either do a bright line, I mean, it may be goofy what Minnesota does, or Wisconsin, but they live with it. And I have lobbyist friends who understand the difference between lobbying in Illinois and lobbying in Wisconsin, but we want to be half-pregnant. We want to have ethics without having ethics.

Mikva: But that goes back to the culture thing. I don't know what you do about that. My first election, I was from the University of Chicago, I had a lot of University faculty supporting me, and after the election was over, I beat the machine, I was so excited about it, and one of my strong supporters called me up and said "Ab, can you take care of some tickets for me?" And I was shocked and I, at first I thought he was talking about some sporting tickets, and then I realized, no, he was talking about Chicago parking tickets. And mainly because I was so stunned, I didn't know what else to say, I said sure, send them over, I'll pay them. (laughs)

Carroll: And you 'd pay them from campaign funds.

Mikva: He was so embarrassed about the fact that I would pay them that he didn't ask anymore. But that is part of the culture. People, otherwise respectable people think that these political favors just go with the territory, and if they have been helpful – I would love to see some of the in-depth answers to that poll about how people felt about their asking for favors and at what level is it important enough would they ask a political official to hire their kid for the summer.

Wheeler: Well let me ask, because Howie you were ward committeeman and Howard, you ran a couple of departments. Dave, so did you. How often was it that you received requests from legislators, for example, "I have this constituent who needs work. Can you take care of him?" Or you as a committeeman, how often did your constituents come to you and say, "Can you help me with this..."

Carroll: Two nights and one Saturday a week.

Wheeler: How did you handle that?

Carroll: I called people like Howard... (laughs)... and Dave... or Mike's boss and said "Hey, I need some jobs for people."

Peters: And you get requests from everywhere and everyone. Not just people who have some kind of political connection, but people want summer jobs for their kids or for themselves, and they want work and so they ask the people that they think might be able to help them. Now the question we're pushing on is this one: Does this panel believe that there are no spoils which go to the victor?

Wheeler: Good question.

Kenney: Well the victor deserves the spoils of setting policy. Now when you say, is that the kind of spoils you had in mind?

Carroll: I doubt it. (laughs)

Wheeler: My guess is that there are a lot of Democratic party officials out there who would not define it that way, particularly now that they have a governor for the first time in 26 years.

Carroll: Also though Dave, for real, does not an elected official have a right to have the people who will be implementing the policy be people who are loyal to that public official, particularly not loyal to the opponent of that public official, because the policy will never get carried out. Now, how far down the line does that go, is a different issue and I think it depends upon the nature of the office and the nature of the business of that office. For a comptroller to be worried about someone who cuts a check, I wouldn't be overly concerned that that needed to be a political appointee, but the federal government with, you know, anybody who says to the contrary notwithstanding, there's a two-tier system, in the books. There's the government appointees and there's the political appointees and in every cabinet there is this whole list of people in, who come in either one system or the other.

Mikva: Maybe that's Alan's point. It is very sharply defined --

Carroll: Right, it can be done.

Mikva: - - everybody knows who they are, they know who the political secretary, assistant secretary is

Carroll: Sure. Here we know too, it's everybody.

Rosenthal: Well you take legislators. If a legislator is asked by a constituent, "Help my daughter get a job," the legislator is going to call you.

Carroll: Absolutely.

Rosenthal: But you've got to make the decision on the basis of qualifications. The legislator, I think, properly calls you. But if the legislator pressures you, that is improper.

Carroll: Right.

Peters: See I absolutely agree and I think that's the distinction that needs to be made. There is nothing unethical about saying "Here is a constituent that I have in my community," or "Here's someone I met in a grocery store that I was impressed by and I'd like to know if you can help them." I find nothing improper about that. The improper thing would be to take it to the next level to say, in some form, "You must hire. You must promote."

Lawrence: I'd like to make a comment on this issue of hiring. You know, earlier I supported Judge Mikva's view that we need to enhance accountability by shortening the ballot. I really believe, the longer I've been around, the key is enhancing accountability. We can sit here, and I'm not discouraging this talk, but a lot of the discussion we've had shows the difficulty. I think there are some things where you can have bright lines on, I think a lot of times it is a matter of judgment. But I really believe, and you know I get a gasp out of M.P.A. classes at S.I.U. when I suggest this, but I really believe that an elected official ought to be able to hire and fire at every level. The reason I say that is that I believe the elected official ought to be accountable. He ought

to be, or she, held accountable. Now if that is something I believe and I think it's important, how do you tell an elected official, "Well, yeah, but at this level you've got to have this person, because this person is coded, or because of a Supreme Court decision you can't get at them. Here's the problem with that, and usually this discussion gets down to, well the policy positions, they ought to, the elected official ought to have it. But if I go into the Secretary of State's Office, whose picture is on the wall? Jessie White, right? And if some clerk treats me in a surly manner, or is dilly-dallying around and we have a long line, who am I going to blame? The guy whose picture is on the wall. And yet, that guy has virtually no control over that clerk. I mean if that guy wants to fire the clerk, even go that far, we all know what the Secretary of State has to go through to do that. So I bring this up, primarily to emphasize that when you are talking about accountability, you may also be talking about undoing some of the reforms that we've already done.

Carroll: And if that clerk took five dollars from somebody, forgetting about how far the scandal went this last time, if that clerk took five dollars, who's the one who is going to get blamed when the press finds out. It's going to be Jessie and not the clerk, and he had no power over him.

Wheeler: Let me jump in here for a moment. I said earlier that we hoped that you in the audience would have been inspired to have some questions by the discussion so far and I think that is probably true. So if you do have questions, if you would pass them to the ends of the aisle. We have volunteer helpers out there who collect them, and we'll see if we can't get some of them in.

Kenney: Charles, while we are waiting for those questions to come forward,

Wheeler: Well no, you guys just keep going.

Kenney: It seems to me that we have been skating over the surface in a lot of what we've said. We speak about political culture but we perhaps don't recognize that our political culture is very deep-seated. It isn't changed easily and it ordinarily isn't changed by passing a statute or a rule. It depends on such things as the time of settlement, the ethnic nature of the settlement, whether the

first settlers came from the south or New England. All of those factors which lie dozens or scores of years in the past determine what our political culture is going to be and it's difficult to change, and you don't change it by making a few rules no matter how carefully you write them. That's not political culture that's changed. You don't change it that easily.

Wheeler: How would you change it then? I think

Kenney: Aha. I wish I knew.

Carroll: The next conference, right? They get the people to come back.

Canary: You are very definitely right and I think that's a big factor of why we are different than say, Minnesota or Wisconsin. We don't have that kind of populist tradition and all of that. But at the same time I think one of the reasons maybe we're gathered here today is that we are at a moment in time in Illinois. We're in a moment in time where the populace if you will is saying ethics is an issue. I forget what the number was, it was like 80 percent of the people surveyed said "This is something we're really concerned about." And clearly in the last election it was something that we saw as the theme. In some races we saw candidates trying to "out-ethics" one another. And the reason is, because it's polling, because they're perceiving, whether it's a shift in our political culture or if it's a blip, that a nerve has been struck by all that's gone on in license-for-bribes. I think also the growing size of campaign contributions and on and on and on.

Lawrence: Let me react to that for a minute. For one thing I'd be curious whether, on the poll, whether there was any effort to have respondents rank issues like the economy, education, ethics. That might be interesting to see where the public places ethics compared to some other issues that people might be concerned about. The other thing is there *was* accountability in the last election. Now they couldn't take it out on the official who set the wrong culture in his office, so they took it out on the guy who had the same last name and the same political party. Basically the whole party. So you know one could argue, and remember, I'm for changing some laws, but there *was* accountability and the voters exacted that. But one of the reasons I think why in those areas where changes in laws might be worthwhile, one of the reasons is you don't have a big

grassroots effort. Legislators don't get all sorts of calls saying "We don't want you taking gifts and if you don't pass a law to bar yourself from taking gifts we are going to take you out of office." If they got those calls they would change the law, and they would pass a law like that. So, to what extent is the public responsible?

Canary: I think the public – Mike, I'm so glad you brought this up --

Lawrence: Good.

Canary: I personally think the public should take a long look in the mirror and put a lot of this blame on their shoulders. What the public does, they don't call up and say, "Senator Redfield, you're a scoundrel and I want you to go change the laws." What they do is they stop voting. The public loses confidence and they walk away from the process. And we're seeing that in the numbers, in turnout, over and over again, and I think that it is kind of a vicious circle. We have a public who is *very* disengaged, who doesn't contact legislators, who often doesn't contact legislators on issues of education or health care or human services, or things that are of incredible importance, and are *far* less likely to call and say, "I want you to be honest and accountable and respect my will." So I think it's a big public problem.

Redfield: It is the responsibility of people that care though, to organize, to inform, to try and take the opportunities that are there. I mean we have a gift ban because we had an MSI scandal. We got rid of personal use, people taking campaign money and buying houses, because we made it a public issue that Frank Savickus became the poster child, retired from office two years before the end of his term and moved to Florida and spent 200 thousand dollars out of his campaign fund to pay his country club dues. Nobody wanted to be associated with Frank Savickus and so we got rid of personal use. And when we wanted campaign limits, they said "Oh, well let's just put it on the Internet." And now we have the best electronic disclosure system in the country. Not because – that was the booby prize for not really dealing with campaign finance reform. So you have to take your opportunities when they come.

Rosenthal: So you're changing the law but are you really getting at the culture?

Redfield: Over time, yeah.

Rosenthal: Maybe over time you will. I think some law does. I think some of these gift bans have changed the capital culture, not the entire state culture, but things are done differently in capitals. It changes.

Carroll: Most of the people vote and most of the people call a legislator when they are *against* something, not for it. And that's very unfortunate. It's hard to get people to come out because they *like* somebody who is running. They always come out when they *don't* like somebody who is running. And that's one of the reasons you see the lower participation is people are just too happy staying at home. Television has taken away from any kind of contact with their neighbors and everything else, and there's a whole culture that's evolved about that. But how do we get people to go in and say: "Okay, let's pay attention," and "Gee, I like that person." He may not be the most wild-eyed of whatever side, but they do a decent job, I want to come out and support them. And usually, again, that's not what you see, and you probably don't see it in the polling either. I know that's always what happens in the results is, "Who do you hate this time?" And that's who you're going to vote against.

Wheeler: And that gives an opening for a question here. This questioner says, "We enjoy bragging about our scoundrels. That implies part of the problem might be a low expectation on the part of the electorate." So in line with what you were saying, what are some ways that we can get the electorate to expect more from their elected officials? That their elected officials will be honest, fair and professional?

Mikva: You know, David Kenney touched on something that maybe is just too complicated for us to even scratch the surface on tonight, but it's true that places like Wisconsin and Minnesota have a – ancestors came from social democratic states. They were very upbeat about the importance of being involved in government. And even in the little farm towns of Minnesota and Wisconsin, you have tremendous turnout in elections. And that I can understand, there's almost an inherited culture that came with the territory. Then you look at a state like California, which probably has more of a ragtag population than New Jersey. It just, it has every mix of people.

Carroll: Nobody was born there.

Mikva: It has all kinds of things in it that should lead to sin and corruption. And yet, incredibly, every time you look at any measuring sticks of how their government is running, how people feel about their state government, their involvement in state government, it's much higher and much better than in Illinois or New Jersey.

Peters: And that would lead me to conclude that on this subject of ethics, I'd spend less time concerned about the culture and more time concerned about the conduct of the people who are involved in the process and the extent to which we ought to take measures to inset better conduct is what I think we ought to concern ourselves with. I don't particularly care how we got to where we are as much as what kind of conduct do we want to encourage and prohibit to get us to where we need to be.

Wheeler: Well this questioner suggests that the survey results show that something like 60 percent of the people think that there should be more prosecution of corrupt politicians. The question is, why do you think there is not more prosecution? It was directed at first to Judge Mikva but I think you could all answer it. In line with what Howard said, is that an effective way to raise the expectations and the conduct?

Mikva: I'm a hard nose. I think when a public official is caught with his hand in the cookie jar you *should* throw the book at him, including, I've always thought one of the penalties I wish the legislature would impose and they've tried to do it in the city of Chicago and it has some constitutional challenges being put to it. I think that they should be barred for life from holding any kind of public office if they have been convicted of even the *mildest* crime involving misuse of their public office. I'm all for it. I don't know how you would do it though. I like the idea of an inspector general. I like the idea of a separate enforcement process within the Attorney General's Office and maybe within each of the state offices. But I do agree with the questioner that one of the ways of -- first of all, enforcement ought to be a deterrent, and I think nothing gets a politicians attention as much as knowing that somebody sitting next to him has gone to jail and will be barred for life --

Carroll: But one of the things in the survey was they won't call in and complain when they know something bad had happened, something corrupt had happened.

Rosenthal: They worry about whistle-blowers.

Peters: Let me go way out on a limb here, in terms of the answer to that question. The question was, "Why do you think there aren't more prosecutions?" Well maybe because there really aren't as many corrupt people as we might think there are.

Carroll: Right.

Kenney: I agree with that very much, Howard.

Peters: And I profoundly agree that corrupt people ought to be prosecuted, but the notion that everybody's doing it is just a lie. It's an excuse for those who are doing it.

Kenney: I agree with Howard when he said that corruption is the exception to the rule. But a moment ago the question was asked, "How does the public tell their legislators they want them to be more ethical?" The answer to that is for the voters, the public to be more ethical themselves. The representative often simply mirrors the ethical quality of the public. If the public has low expectations, that's what they'll get.

Rosenthal: I disagree. I think people in public life have an obligation to be leaders and to represent their people better and to be more ethical. And I think the standards in government are and should be much higher than the standards anywhere else. And that's perfectly proper. Let me just say the survey that you took here, if you had conducted that survey probably in 40 out of the 50 states you would have gotten similar results because people are pissed off. They are cyn -- you'd get the same results in Utah -- (laughs). They are cynical --

Carroll: Both people in Utah would be upset.

Rosenthal: No. You'd get those results whether they are deserved or not. And I'm not saying you don't deserve them in Illinois. You might. But in many states, this is, people are cynical. They don't think public officials care. They see the egregious cases because they're reported on. They generalize not from their legislator who they vote for and who they like, but they generalize from the legislators who get into trouble, from Toricelli of New Jersey or your Governor Ryan. That's how they generalize. I asked the question a couple of years ago in New Jersey on a public opinion poll, and there were no scandals around this time so there was no reason for people to be very negative: "What percentage of legislators in Trenton do you think take bribes?" They could have answered anywhere from zero percent to a hundred percent take bribes. And one third of the respondents answered that anywhere from 50 to 100 percent of legislators took bribes. Now that doesn't mean that 50 to 100 percent of legislators take bribes. First of all, they're not worth bribing (laughs). I mean all you want to do is bribe the speaker and the president of the senate. But they wouldn't take them and they wouldn't be offered them. But this is the notion that people have.

Lawrence: Are there laws in New Jersey against taking bribes?

Rosenthal: Yes there are.

Lawrence: I assume there are and yet those laws have been passed and people still have that same view --

Carroll: Alan, but like you said before too, and I said it before, ask them about their own, "Nooo, they would never take a bribe, they're good --

Mikva: The most successful political button I ever remember was the one that we wore, "Re-elect a Congressman." It was sent out by both national committees. Because you just wore your button, "Re-elect a Congressman." And everybody assumed they were talking to you.

Redfield: Charlie, let me suggest though that one of the most important decisions that voters will make about dealing with corruption in Illinois is going to be who they elect to the U.S. Senate

next November in the 2004 election because that person is going to have a big role in who picks the U.S. Attorney. It is just a fact of life in Illinois that you're not going to get a lot of prosecutions or investigations of political corruption or problems of patronage hiring done by states attorneys. There's no percentage in it. Do you want to go out and investigate your county board or do you want to solve that horrendous murder that took place down the street. Political corruption cases take *huge* resources, they take a lot of time. One of the functions of how often we discover corruption in Illinois is how aggressive the U.S. Attorney's office is in terms of pursuing those cases. So part of the reason is -- The last time we prosecuted someone for political corruption in Sangamon County was probably poor old Wanda Brandstetter, the ERA lobbyist back in the late 1970s for putting on a card that she'd give Gary Hannig a fifteen hundred dollar campaign contribution --

Lawrence: Norb Swanson.

Redfield: Norb Swanson, that's right. So you're just not going to get it at, states attorneys are not going to do political corruption cases.

Mikva: Kent, you raise an interesting question. Now Senator Fitzgerald used up an awful lot of political capital to get a U.S. attorney. He made a bigger thing of it being from out of state than I thought was necessary. I think there are some honest lawyers inside Illinois that he could have found. But the point is he made a high profile issue out of appointing an incorruptible, vigorous U.S. attorney and I frankly think he did a pretty good job in both instances. How much political mileage did he get out of that?

Redfield: Not much.

Mikva: Minus. Minus. His own party was mad at him and of course the Democrats aren't giving him a lot of credit. So you're asking a politician, a senator, to swim upstream and I'm always amazed that we've had as many good U.S. Attorneys as we've had, considering the fact it is absolutely an issue without any political traction whatsoever.

Wheeler: Let me pass the microphone for a moment here to Dick Schuldt who has some answers to those questions we've asked about what else might have been uncovered by the survey.

Schuldt: Yes, a couple of questions have come up and one Mike Lawrence raised and that was the relative importance of political corruption compared to other issues. While we didn't exactly address that in closed-ended questions, we did start out the survey, the state government section, we said, "What are the most important issues do you think are facing state government?" And corruption doesn't come up that much. I don't have an exact number for you but it is probably five, six, seven percent of the time. And more important was the budget situation, obviously, and along with education, jobs and the economy, those were probably the top three. Then we said, "What changes do you want? Do you want big changes or some changes in Illinois government?" And again, about seven percent of the people talked about corruption. So it doesn't come up that much. But it is very salient because when we asked people, "Can you name anybody that's been convicted or accused of corruption?" two-thirds of the people could name somebody. And some it did go back to Paul Powell –

Rosenthal: But they couldn't name their congressman.

Schuldt: Yeah.

Carroll: Which meant they didn't think he was corrupt.

Redfield: That may have been their congressman.

Schuldt: Well about 75 percent of them probably named the same person or events. The other thing is the public is a little less generalizable on this stuff. Some of these agree-disagree questions we couldn't get into, we did ask some positive statements, so it's not all negative. For instance, we said, "Do you agree or disagree with: 'Most people who work for state government are committed to good government.'" 63 % agree and 26 % disagree. "Political leaders in Illinois generally work to do what is good for the citizens of the state." 51% agree, 40% disagree. And "People who run for office want to use power to make life better for citizens."

49% agree, 42% disagree. I think, well, there's a big disagree percent but more are agreeing with that, so it's not all negative towards Illinois government.

Wheeler: Thank you Dick.

Carroll: And what was their issue on the budget, since that's something I always played with?

Schuldt: They just pointed to the fact that we have budgetary problems.

Carroll: "Lower taxes and spend more."

Schuldt: Actually a lot of people talked about lower taxes but generally we said just identify the issue, and because our focus was something else, we didn't pursue that.

Carroll: But again, it will go back to: "Take away everybody else's money but what I need." Let me give one example if I can unless you've got to go to some questions.

Wheeler: No, I was going to say as someone who ran the budget operation on the legislative side, you've probably got lots of examples.

Carroll: The one I loved was when we cut out of a budget \$80,000 for an owl vomit study. Not something that most of us thought was critical for the operation of government. There was someone in the Bloomington area who wanted to study the migration patterns of owls. (I learned more than I wanted to.) You do that apparently by studying the owl vomit. So I took it out in the Senate. Five House members came to me and said, "How could you do this? This affects a constituent." And I said to them, "You go back on the floor of the House and put in an amendment to put it back." Now nobody is going to vote to put *in* \$80,000 but their answer was "My God, it was in the budget to begin with. My constituent's entitled to it because it appeared in the budget book." I said, "I'm sorry but at this point you've got to go fight for it" and so it never came back. But think about it: five legislators were impacted by an \$80,000 study to study the migration pattern of owls by studying their vomit. Now to me it's one of the most

ridiculous things I've ever heard but that's what happened to those constituents, that was the most important thing that that constituent wanted and we were taking it away from that person.

Wheeler: I think you see that in a lot of different issues too. Look at school funding where legislators will want to see the print-out of whose districts benefit and whose don't.

Carroll: Absolutely. But that's what they're here for, to protect their districts. And I didn't blame by the way those five legislators because they're here to protect their district. Same thing – why would I vote for a school funding formula that hurt my district. Now maybe it's better for the state that it hurt my district, because my district has the resources to do it but you know survival comes first and it was Adlai Stevenson the second who you worked for who said that “A politician thinks of the next election while a statesman thinks of the next generation.” I've always said that I think the definition is slightly different and that is: A statesman is a retired politician who can now tell the truth.

Wheeler: That raises an interesting issue I think, the fact that individual legislators are there to represent their district and represent their constituents --

Carroll: And yet represent the state.

Wheeler: Yes and how does that impact upon an executive officer say a governor or someone who is running a state agency who has to take a *statewide* view of things? How do you reconcile doing things that maybe you'd rather not in terms of approving a project in someone's district because you need his vote on an important piece of legislation. Mike, I know you've been through this drill a lot of times.

Lawrence: Well, you know, it's not an ideal world and there are various expectations of a governor. One expectation is for the governor to operate the office honestly but another expectation is for the governor to be effective. And in the process there are judgments that are made all the time. And, again, I go back to the elected official, the culture that is set, the judgments that are made. The governor may prefer a project somewhere else over one he or she

may approve but in the whole scheme of things the governor has to look at what am I trying to get done here, to weigh various priorities and to make a decision based on that. So, again these decisions in government are *not* made in a vacuum. That still does not excuse improper behavior by any official but many times it's not a question of what's proper or improper, it's really a decision based on priorities. Also, if Governor Edgar could have gotten his comprehensive school funding proposal through by approving some projects for legislators who would go on board, he would have done it. It would have been there. Now, would he have bribed legislators in a real sense with projects that were just terrible, that's another matter, that's where the judgments come in. But a lot of times it may not be the perfect project from the governor's view but, short of some real scam, he may decide, well, to this legislator it's important and my school funding proposal is important to me.

Carroll: And who knows better what –

Peters: Those are legitimate tensions that have to act themselves out in the process. If I represent a district, my responsibility really is to the people of that district. I shouldn't act *against* the interests of the state but I certainly have to act *in* the interests of the people in my district and sometimes there are tensions between those two issues and there have to be compromises and give and take. There's no ethical problem there as long as what I'm asking for is something that is legitimate and I believe is good for my district. And that the reason you are willing to compromise with me is because what you are after is something you believe is in the best interest of the state and not in your personal interest or not in my personal interest.

Carroll: And often who knows better what's best for a district than the person who's most locally elected. They may have a much better feel.

Peters: Well actually it's usually the director of the state agency.

Carroll: That's because you were a director of a state agency! But those of us who remember Sam Vadalabene used to say that the topography of his district was below sea level because of all the concrete he got poured in building SIU Edwardsville, and the Vadalabene bike path and the

Vadalabene overpass, and Vadalabene tree path and everything else. But that's what he did for his district.

Kenney: I think we've gotten away from ethics and more into legislative statesmanship, legislative know-how.

Wheeler: Although I think there will be some people who look at some of the spending decisions that were made in recent years, some of the projects that were approved, and question whether that was entirely ethical or not.

Rosenthal: We've talked about legislation. We've talked about no-cup-of-coffee laws. I think every conversation always brings up or ends up on the need for education. I think there really is a need, not to lobby legislators, not to get the public to call legislators, not a grass roots campaign. I really think there is a need for education over time to try to instill in legislators – and I would say this about *any* state, not just about Illinois – not ethics, not ethics rules, but an orientation toward ethics so that ethics is a consideration, it is something they take seriously. You can't do that by passing a law. Legislators don't take law seriously, they *pass* laws –

Carroll: We don't follow them, we pass them –

Rosenthal: And that's fine. That's their job to pass laws. This university is situated to provide that kind of education. But then I have to ask a question: Can you get any legislators to *submit* to any kind of ethics discussions? A discussion like *this* is for legislators, not for us.

Redfield: Let me demure a little on the law and maybe even start a fight with Howard. Let's talk about money in politics. Howard said we don't want contribution limits because it advantages people that have money in terms of individuals. But if we don't have any contribution limits in Illinois, then there's no limit on what a legislative leader or a governor can ask of a corporation or an association as the price of admission. There're lots of interest groups in this state that would like to have, oh say, \$10,000 contribution limits, not because they think

that would do anything for competition, but that would put a ceiling on how much money that people can ask them for.

Carroll: Are you willing to go to public financing of campaigns? That's the only other solution. I sponsored it.

Redfield: No I think you can do some things that would make the system better. I think giving money used to be a plus in Illinois. Now I think not giving money is a disadvantage. The reason politicians are so willing to spend campaign contributions on anything that they want, and why the public doesn't get upset, is that we allow corporations to give directly. So if I'm a politician, I take money from SBC, and I buy Bears tickets, or throw a big Christmas party, I'm spending SBC's money, big deal. If I ban corporations from giving money directly, which most states do and the federal government does, if it's Chris Mooney's contribution, or Peggy Boyer's contribution, if it's their money and I'm buying Bulls tickets, then that's a different issue. So I think we can do some things in terms of the role of money that would limit some of the unethical behavior. It wouldn't eliminate it.

Peters: If you really were trying to pass what you just said in legislation, you really would be starting a fight with me because I just happen to think that's not correct. What we generally see in campaign contribution reform really all it is is a limitation on what *citizens* can get from other citizens to stand for office. And so anything that says Beverly Peters can only ask a limited number of people for a limited amount so she can stand for office, I oppose. On the other hand I'm in favor of every nickel she gets from every source being subject to disclosure. I'm also in favor of how she spends the money being controlled in ways that we presently do not control the money. You shouldn't be able to treat it as personal money. You should *only* be able to use it for the purpose intended. The purpose intended was to stand for office. So I'm not interested in disadvantaging citizens because, as I suggested earlier, that only advantages people who have money because the Supreme Court has said, if you can finance your own campaign, you can spend as much of it as you like.

Redfield: I agree with you on expenditures but I don't agree – I don't want to disadvantage citizens. I want to disadvantage corporations. People vote, people should give money, that's great. Corporations don't vote. Corporations shouldn't give money.

Carroll: It's the cost of the media and everything else --

Mikva: Kent, that's a place, that's just getting back to where we were. When I was in the legislature, there was still a common law doctrine in Illinois which said that a corporation was acting *ultra virus*, outside of its charter, if it gave money to a political campaign. I somewhat obviously influenced the Supreme Court to change that but we're worse off today than we were 40 years ago as far as that's concerned. I still see no reason why a corporation should be allowed to give money to a political campaign. There's only one reason they're doing it and that's because they're trying to --

Carroll: What about a union?

Mikva: Same thing with a union. A union and a corporation should not be allowed to give money to a political – they're bribing --

Carroll: Israel has an interesting way of doing things by the way because I think half the problem is the cost of campaigning.

Peters: Businesses have legitimate political interests and so why shouldn't they be able to pursue their legitimate business political interests.

Mikva: Their interest is set forth in the charter. And it doesn't say anything in any charter I've ever seen that says we're going to try to influence the behavior of the Illinois legislature even on subjects that are part of our business.

Peters: The problem with that, however, is one law could put me out of business. One change, one act of a group of legislators could put me out of business.

Canary: We should remember that Illinois is a really freakish place when we talk about campaign contributions and there are 40 other states and the federal government that have contribution limits, that prohibit direct contributions from corporations and a number that do from unions as well. So this is not unworkable, undoable or foreign. Yes campaigns cost a lot. The point I'd like to make, and I know that a lot of people have different feelings, such as Mike Lawrence, about contribution limits – I strongly support them – and one thing I'd like to point us at and get us to reflect on, in recent years, how often it has been *money in politics* at the heart of these scandals.

Carroll: But it's also because of the *cost* of campaigning. We've got to go to the root of the evil. What I started to say, I didn't know this until very recently, in Israel, the parties are not allowed to advertise on television except for at a certain point, I think maybe it's the last two weeks, maybe it's three times during that period. There's a time set aside on television, where there's an hour, I could be wrong on the time, and every political party gets "x" amount of time based on their last election results to air a free ad. The party has to pay for producing the ad but the time is free. Every party gets it and the citizenry watches this to see what people are saying. And that may be done five or six times toward the end of a campaign. No one's allowed to spend anything else on television. You take away the cost of television - -

Peters: Our problem is, we're not going to do that. We're going to continue to charge for television. We're not going to confiscate that service from them. So campaigns are going to continue to cost a great deal of money --

Carroll: An exorbitant amount --

Peters: -- and therefore don't put the cart before the horse and start limiting what citizens can ask other citizens to do on behalf of their candidacy before you stop it from costing so much money to run.

Canary: I don't know why you're ready to throw in the wastebasket the idea of doing some free airtime work. This is not something that we are *never* going to do. It's just something that is

difficult, it's hard, it's hard to do. It will take a long time. I wouldn't mark a date on my calendar but –

Peters: But I'm 57 –

Carroll: You should live so long, right?

Canary: Well you look like you're in really good health.

Carroll: You could actually make it part of their license to use the public airwaves.

Canary: Exactly. There is legislation that's been introduced.

Carroll: It's not going to happen because they'll lobby against it. And people will be afraid of not getting endorsed by media.

Canary: Reform is difficult.

Rosenthal: Money is always going to be spent on campaigns as long as the stakes are high and as long as politics is competitive. It's always occurred to me that people running for office – and I'm a political scientist, so this should *never* have occurred to me – but it's occurred to me that they want to win. I don't regard that as aberrational. I think in order to win, money is going to be spent. If the candidates don't spend it, and the parties don't spend it, then the various interest groups are going to spend it. They're going to spend it in one way or another because it's a very competitive political system and we've got parties that are offering different choices and we've got candidates – and it's all spent, at the legislative level, it's all spent in Illinois maybe in a dozen districts in the targeted races. At the state level, practically every state is competitive for statewide office, so state campaigns are very expensive and obviously presidential -- . So I don't know how you can limit money. You've got to live with it and you've got to live with the imperfection of living with it.

Canary: What I would say Alan is that I would prefer to live with the imperfection of limiting it. We're looking at a system in this state where candidates are given \$500,000 contributions. We need to get a handle on it.

Carroll: I must have retired too soon.

Mikva: It's not a static problem Alan. You say it's always been that way. This has gotten so much worse than it was when I started in politics or when Howard started in politics. I would not *think* of running today.

Rosenthal: The system's gotten more competitive.

Mikva: No, no, no.

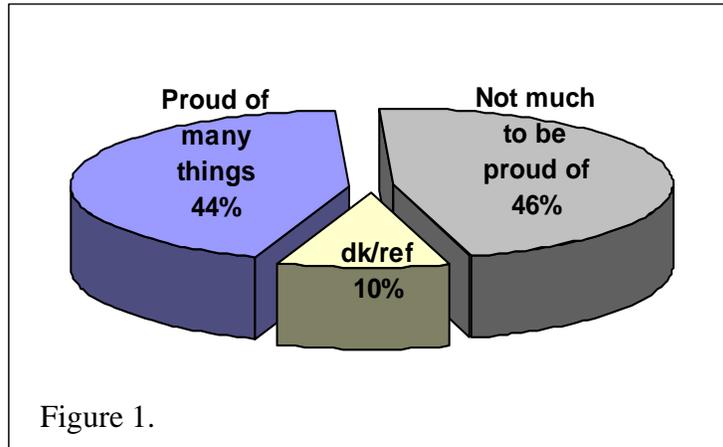
Canary: No, no.

Carroll: No, too much power is in the hands of the leaders.

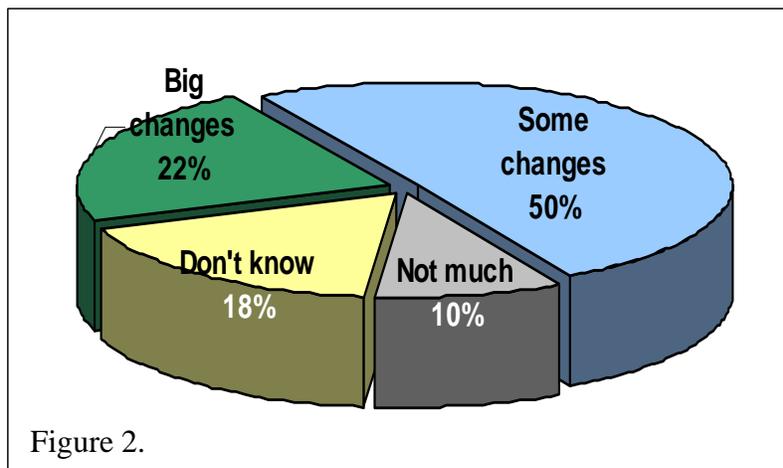
Mikva: Absolutely wrong. I wouldn't consider, if you could spell it out all the same way, I would not even *think* of running for public office on today's financing levels –

Wheeler: I'm going to have to jump in at this point because I sense that this discussion could go on until Howard is 58 so -- But unfortunately we have to end for this evening. I want to thank our panel, our distinguished guests for being here. Thank Judge Mikva, in particular, for the keynote. And, also, I think you should give yourself a round of applause. I thank you all for coming. I'm sorry we couldn't get to more questions but I hope that, if nothing else, you drew from this evening was the fact that, as engaged citizens, part of the responsibility for changing the culture, improving the quality of our government rests on your shoulders. To me that is one of the messages we can all take home with us. And, again, thank you for your participation.

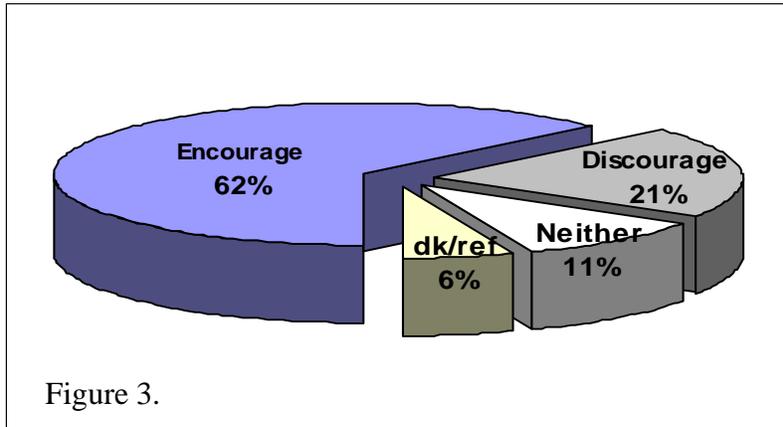
Pride in Illinois state govt: *which agree with most?*



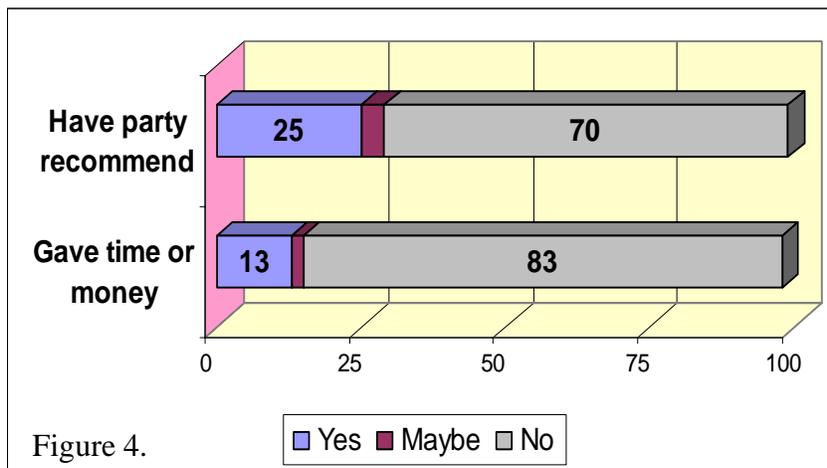
How much change is needed in how we govern and practice politics in Illinois?



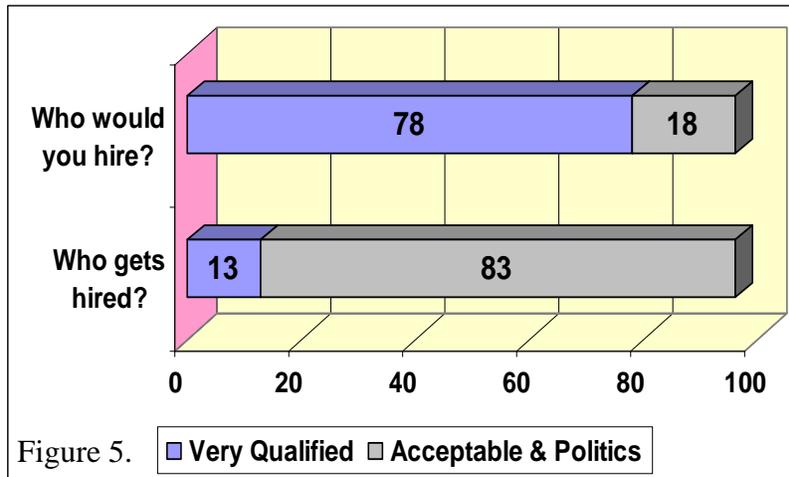
If had son/daughter in 20s and they wanted to pursue a career in state govt, would you encourage or discourage them?



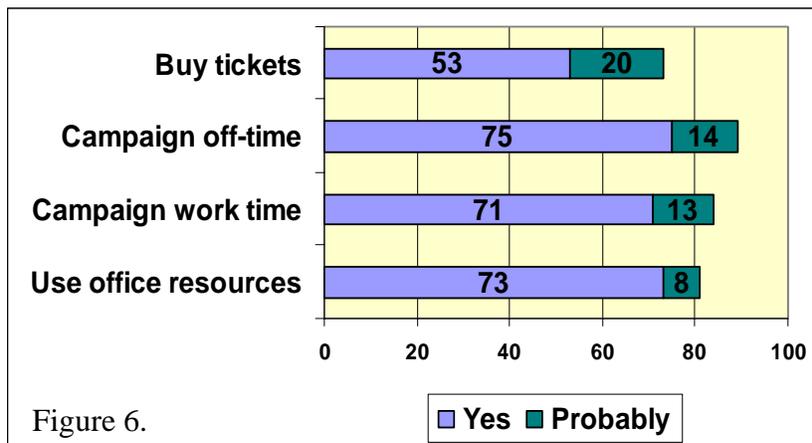
Scenarios: Should you get special consideration in hiring because ... ?



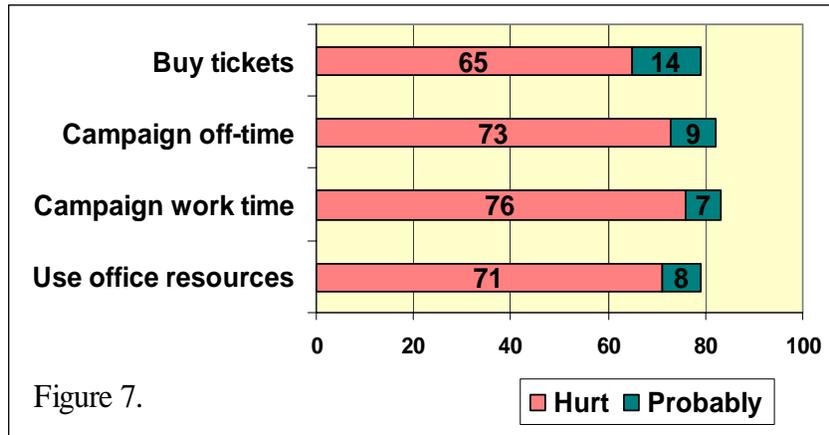
Hiring one of two candidates: very qualified vs. acceptable & political work



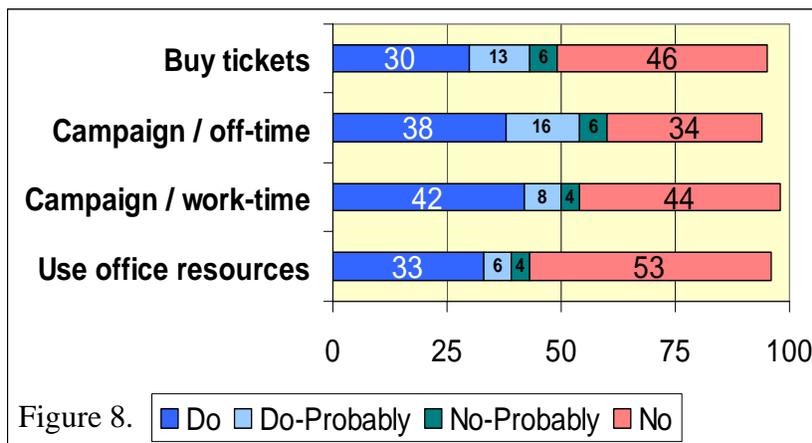
State worker campaign scenarios: if do, help you in job?



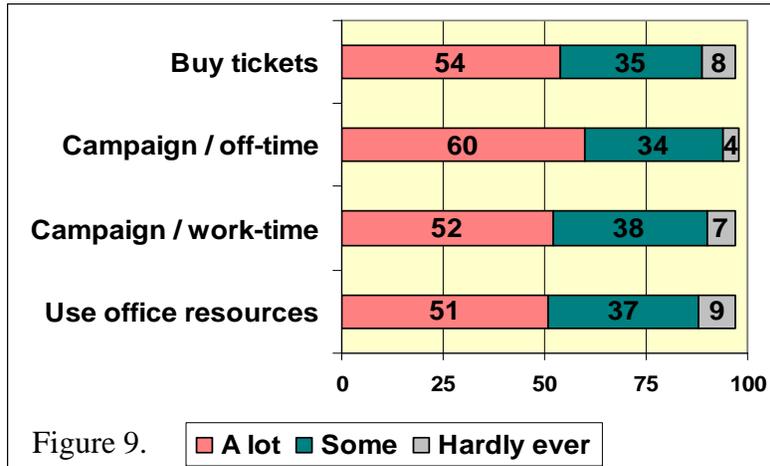
State worker campaign scenarios: *if not do, hurt you in job?*



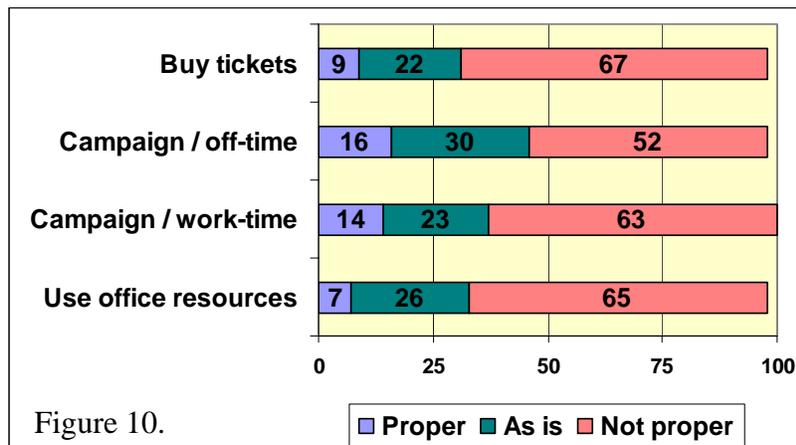
State worker campaign scenarios: *would you do the activity?*



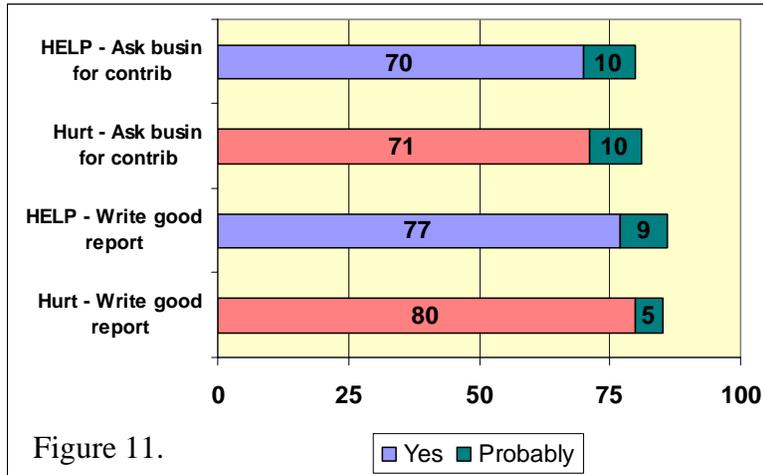
State worker campaign scenarios: *how often does it happen?*



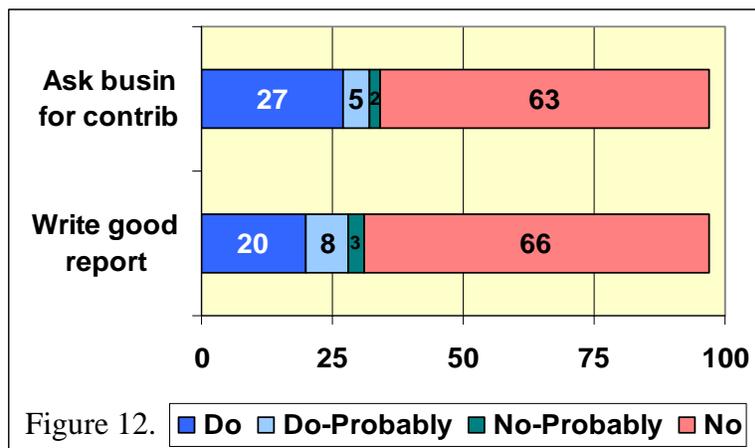
State worker campaign scenarios: *what think of this?*



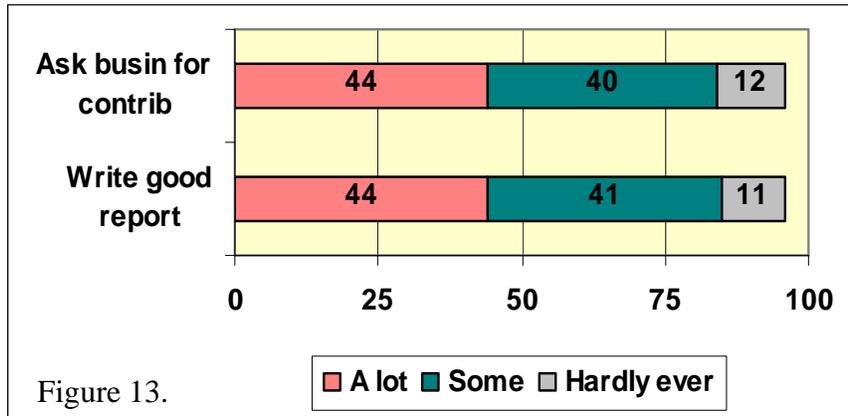
State worker inspector scenarios: *help or hurt you in job?*



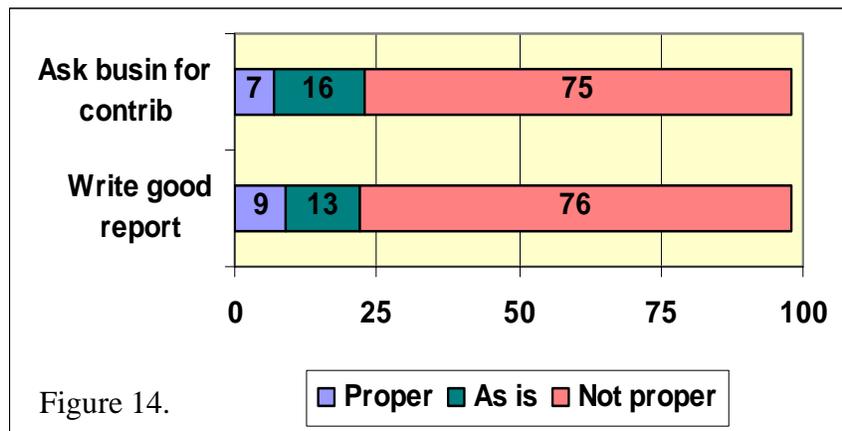
State worker inspector scenarios: *would you do the activity?*



State worker inspector scenarios: *how often does it happen?*



State worker inspector scenarios: *what think of this?*



Business owner inspection scenarios: *help or hurt?*

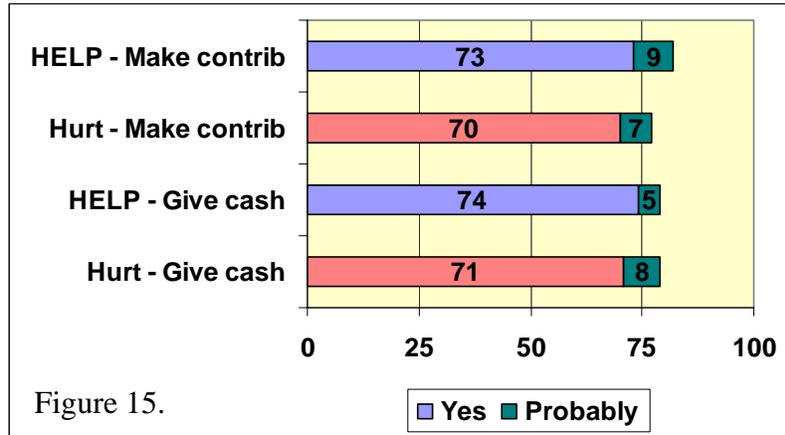


Figure 15.

Business owner inspection scenarios: *would you do the activity?*

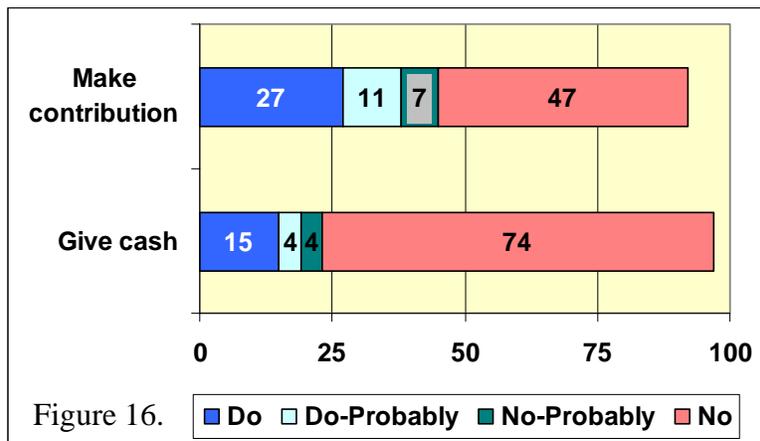
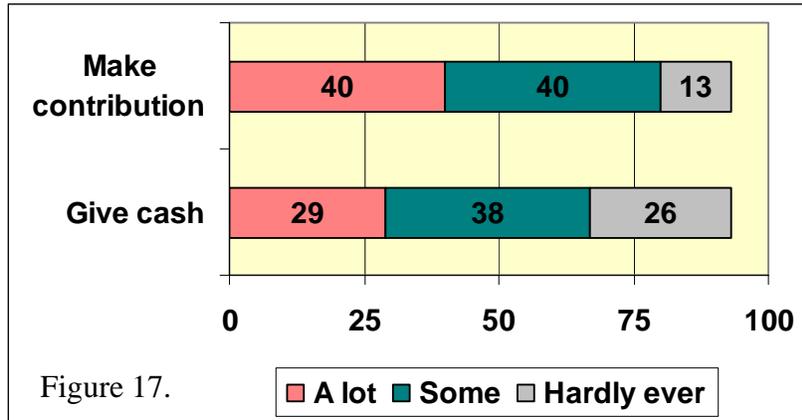
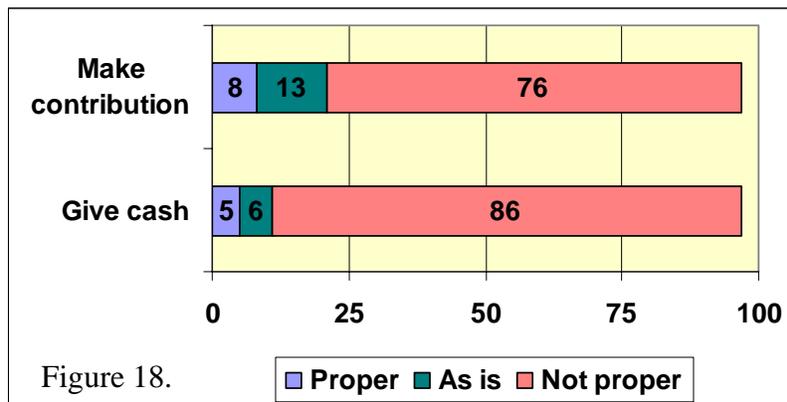


Figure 16.

Business owner inspection scenarios: *how often does it happen?*



Business owner inspection scenarios: *what think of this?*



Reporting “improper” activity ...

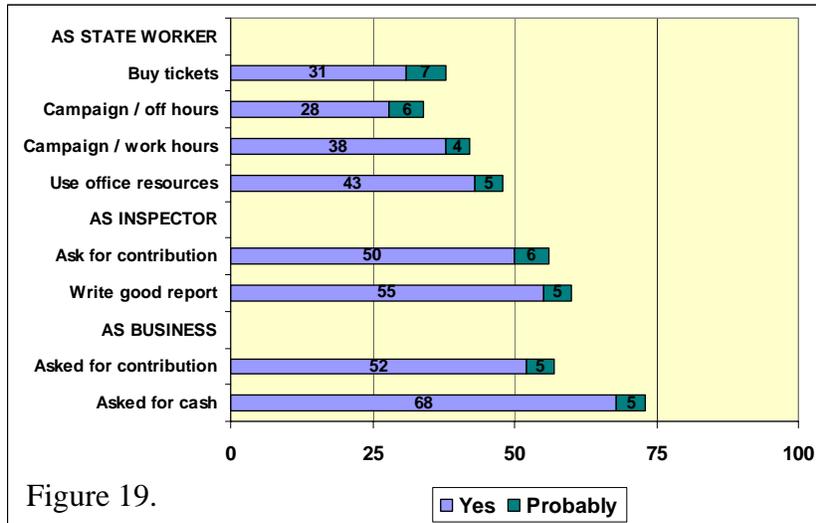


Figure 19.

Legislator scenarios: *help or hurt* in getting vote?

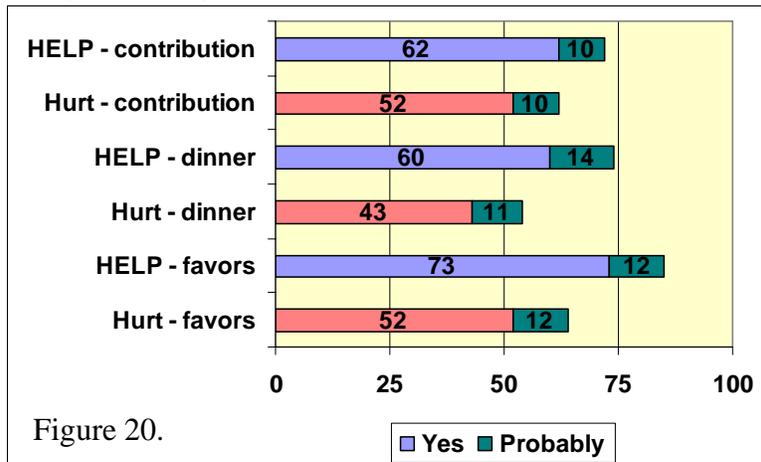
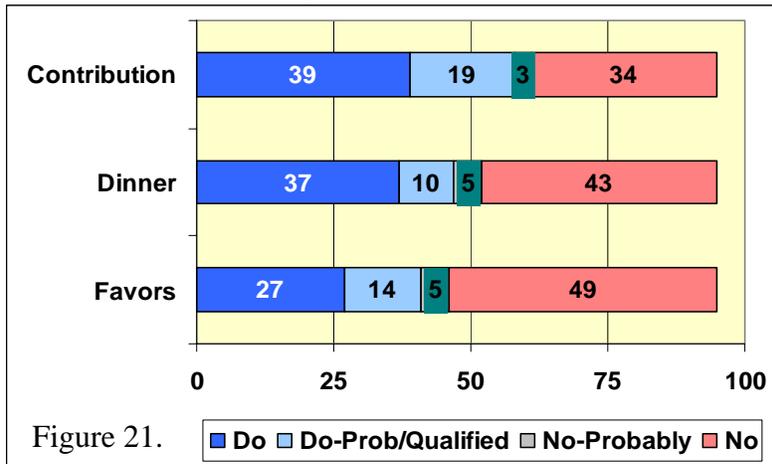
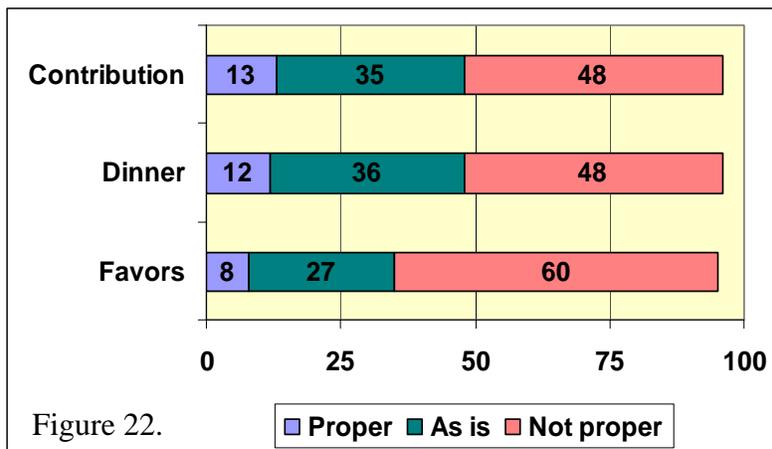


Figure 20.

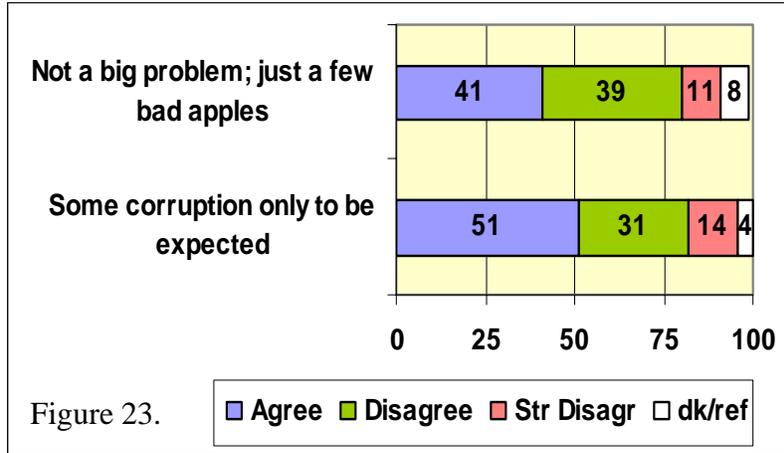
Legislator scenarios: *would you do the activity?*



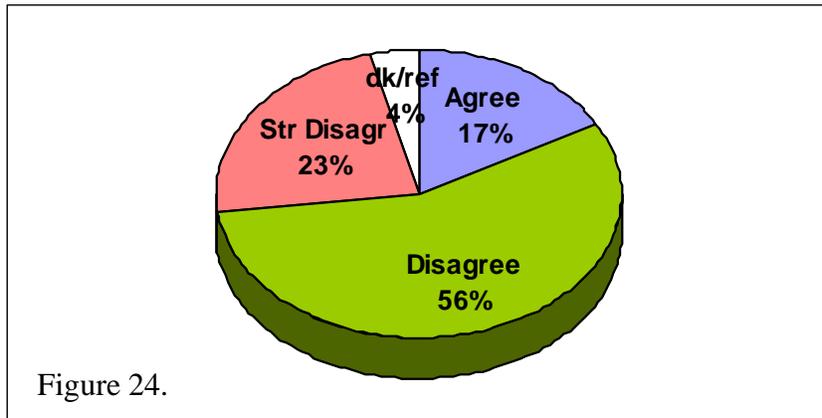
Legislator scenarios: *what think of this?*



Agree/disagree: two selected statements



Agree/disagree: Corruption issue may be a big deal in Springfield, but it doesn't really affect average Illinois citizen.



How concerned should we be about corruption in state govt?

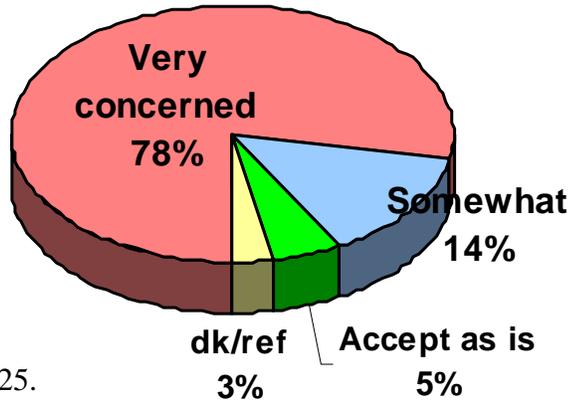


Figure 25.

How many running state govt are “a little crooked”?

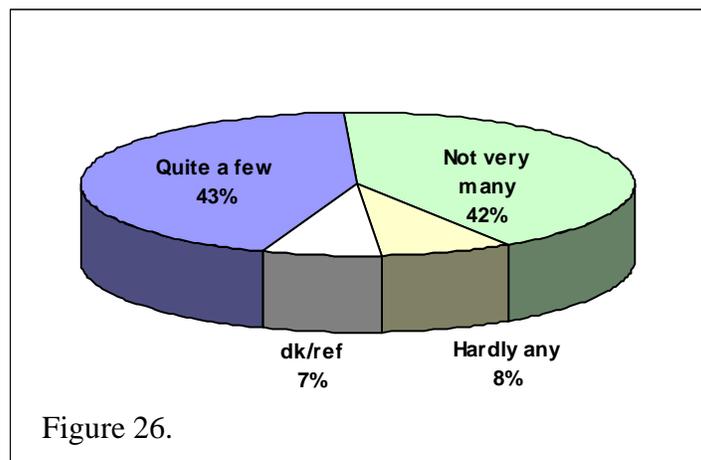


Figure 26.

How widespread is corruption in Illinois state govt and politics?

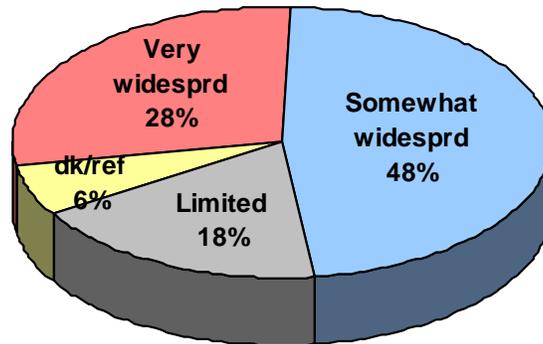


Figure 27.

*How much corruption in Illinois state govt, compared to ... **

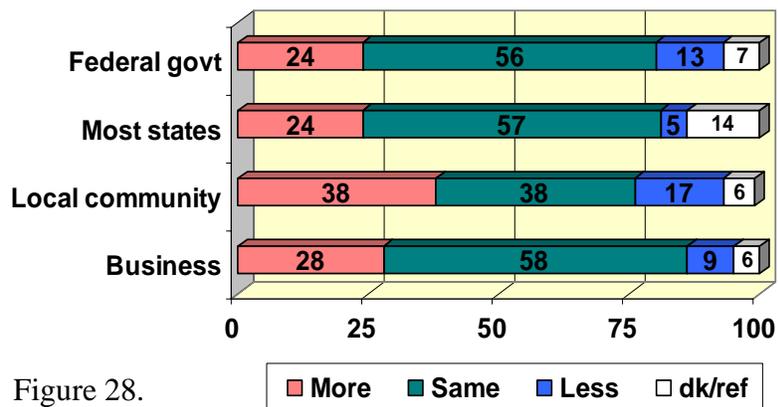
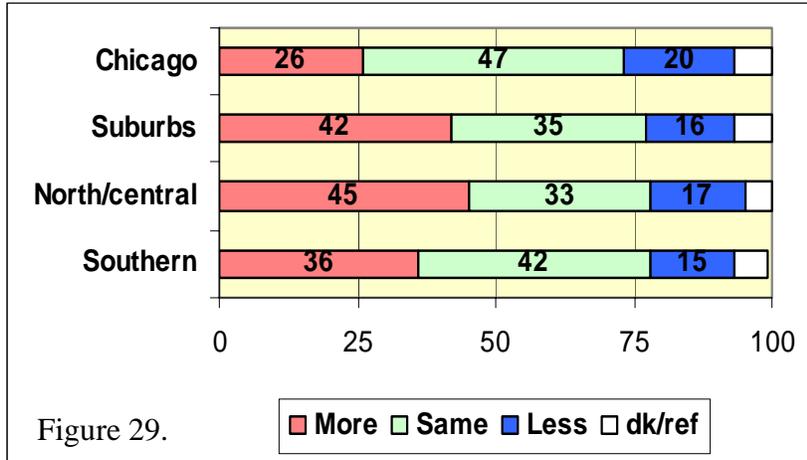


Figure 28.

**For business, question asked about dishonesty and lack of ethics.*

How does state corruption compare to local community -- by region ...



Compared to usual, corruption in Illinois state govt in last 8 yrs or so has been ...

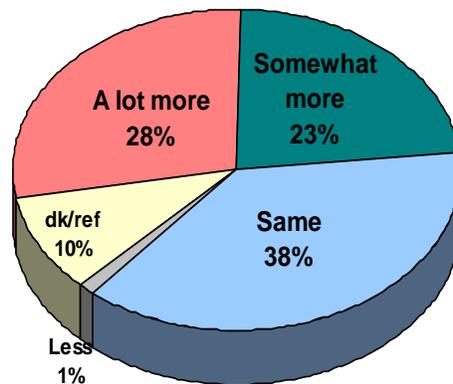
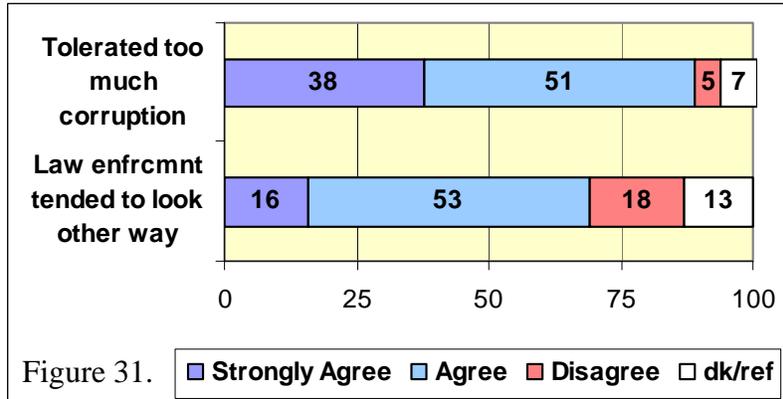
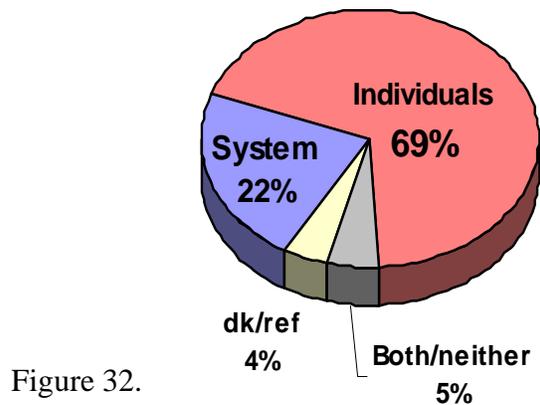


Figure 30.

Tolerance of corruption and enforcement of corruption laws



What is mostly the cause of corruption in Illinois government and politics?



What should happen to govt employees found guilty of corruption?

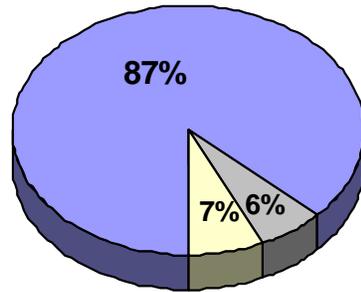


Figure 33.



Proud of state govt -- by how widespread is corruption?

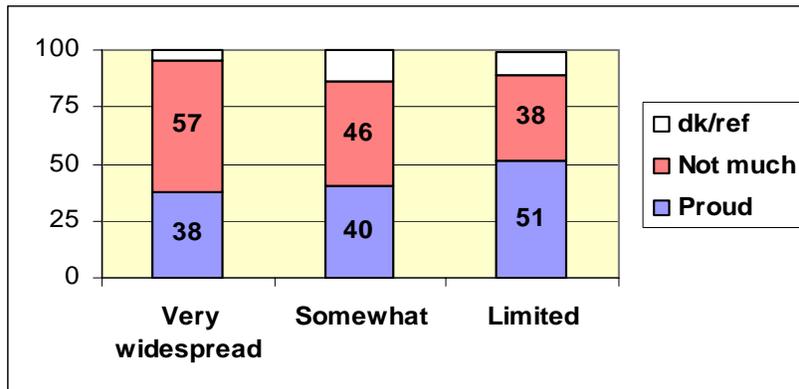


Figure 34.

Encourage child in 20s for career in state govt -- by how widespread is corruption?

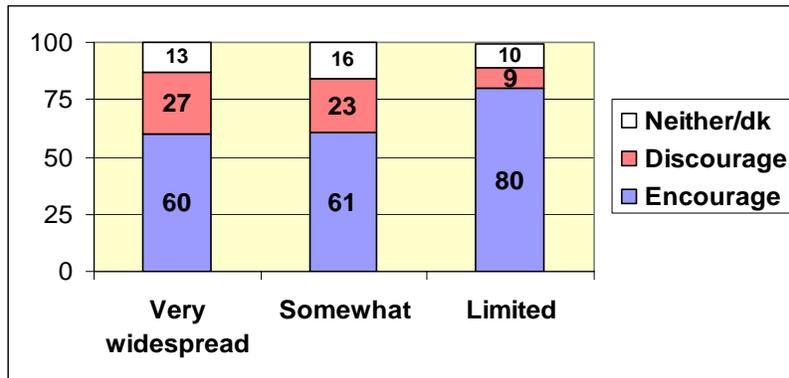


Figure 35.

How much of the time can you trust state govt to do what is right -- by how widespread is corruption?

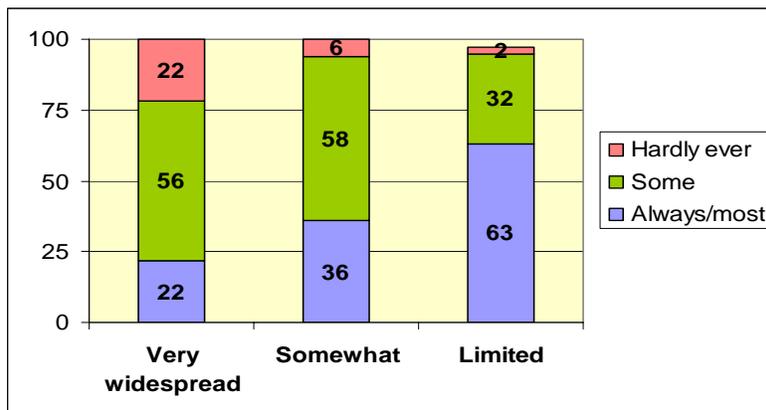


Figure 36.

Selected additional opinions by how much corruption people see in state govt ...

<i>How widespread is corruption? ...</i>	<i>Very</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Limited</i>
Illinois run by a few big interests.	90%	68%	46%
Agree: Illinois public officials don't care much about what people like you think.	89%	60%	30%
State govt wastes a lot of money.	79%	48%	31%
Agree: People like you don't have any say about what state govt does.	68%	42%	40%
State govt pays "not much" attention to what people think.	56%	31%	18%

Figure 37.

More than six of ten think the following can help reduce corruption "a lot" ...

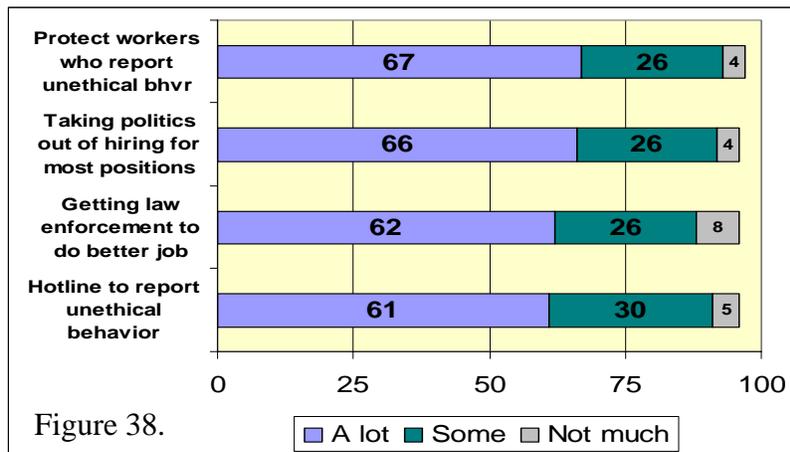


Figure 38.

More than half think the following can help reduce corruption “a lot” ...

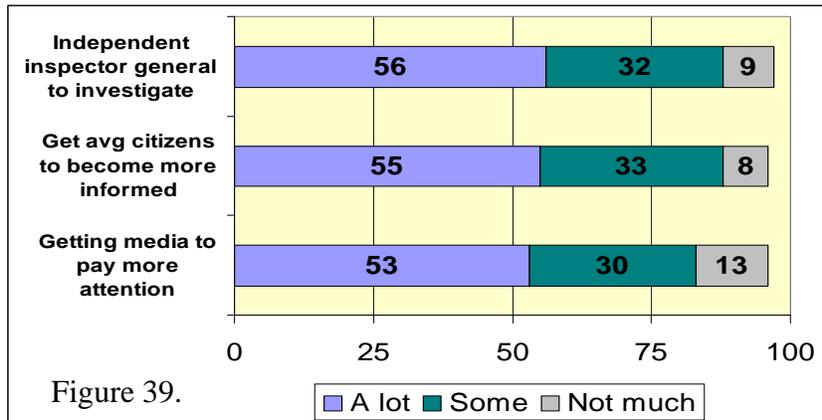


Figure 39.

About half or somewhat fewer think the following can help reduce corruption “a lot” ...

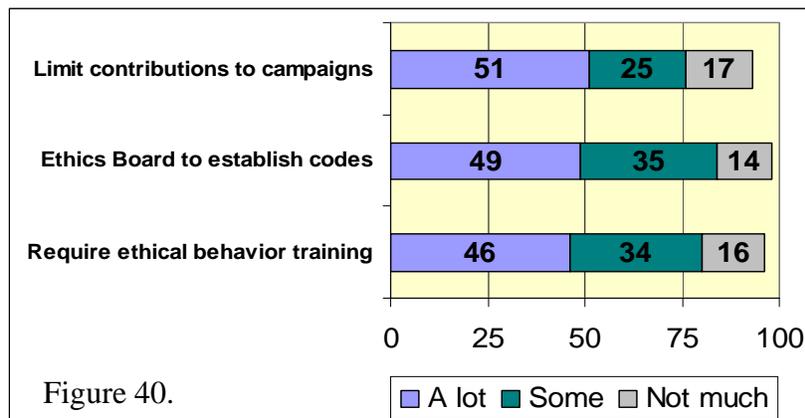


Figure 40.



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