Center for State Policy and Leadership

2015 Annual Report

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On the cover:
Illinois State Capitol floor
UIS Campus Relations Photo, by Shannon O'Brien

A STATE IN FLUX

In 1958, more than three-fourths of people responding to a national poll said they could trust the federal government all or most of the time. Last year, a Pew Research poll found the percentage who trust the federal level had dropped to 19 percent, the lowest ever. Survey data show that trust in federal officials has been declining since the 1970s, except for a short-lived uptick in the aftermath of 9/11.

Data on trust in state and local government has not been collected as consistently but, when obtained, has generally revealed a more favorable public view. Perhaps because of greater proximity, people feel they can have more influence over the trustworthiness of their state and local officials. A 2013 poll by Gallup found that 62 percent and 72 percent of the public trust their state government and local government, respectively. However, and this is a big however, there were some dramatic exceptions to the norm. Illinois was the worst. It occupied the low end of the trust scale for state governments at just 28 percent, better than the percentage who trust the federal government but not by much.

In Illinois' case, one is tempted to see the state's trust problem as rooted in its enduring familiarity with political corruption. To be sure, this speaks a truth and makes for a compelling story. But, corruption can't be the whole story. It's too simple and convenient. The state's "trust deficit," a term used by Governor Bruce Rauner in his first State of the State address in February 2015, probably stems as much, maybe even more, from some of the same forces that, arguably, have driven down trust in the federal government during the past half century.

We live in an increasingly divided, diverse, and complex society that makes resolving public issues more difficult. And yet, that reality doesn't stop people from expecting government to perform. "Citizens are more interested in results than reform," wrote the national Volcker panel on civic trust in 1999. It's not surprising that failure to solve public problems – like Illinois' massive budget deficit and anemic economy or the terrorist threat internationally – erodes citizen confidence in government. The 40-year trend in one salient public problem, rising income inequality, of which there is more in Illinois than in most states, strongly correlates with the growing trust deficit. Indeed, the widening gap between the rich and everyone else parallels a loss of confidence over the past four decades in all manner of prominent institutions, ranging from government to the news media to marriage.

People have also become less trusting in one another, as evidenced by trends in the response to the social capital questions on the General Social Survey (GSS) administered every two years by the National Opinion Research Center. In updating an earlier study of youth answers on the GSS, which showed declining levels of social trust and rising levels of materialism between 1976 and 1995, John Transue, a UIS political science professor with a part-time appointment in the Center for State Policy and Leadership, found in the 1996-2005 period that young people continued to be more materialistic and less trusting of others.

Doing Good

Ray Alvarez

"Working with the Illinois Innocence Project has provided me with an excellent opportunity," says University of Illinois undergraduate Ray Alvarez, "to gain legal experience working with passionate and experienced attorneys, and having the unique honor to work on cases and witness an exoneration." Pursuing a double major in political science and legal studies, with a minor in international studies, Alvarez did a university-sponsored internship with the Project in the fall of 2015. Since then, he has continued volunteering his help with evaluating cases of prison inmates who have asked the Project for assistance and with developing the Project's new initiative focused on helping innocent Latino prisoners. In January 2016, Alvarez got to watch Teshome Campbell, incarcerated 18 years for a crime he didn't commit, leave Danville Correctional Center a free man. Alvarez hopes to go to law school and get a master's in business administration after he graduates from UIS in spring 2016.

Institutions and Consequences

Institutions are the stable, often taken-for-granted rules that structure relations among people. State government is institutional; it sets rules for many kinds of interactions and, by and large, changes those rules reluctantly. People need institutions. As philosopher George Klubertanz once put it, "The problems of living are too involved to be resolved all over again each time they come up." Institutions are a key source of predictability in human affairs, and people generally prefer predictability to unpredictability. You may not like waiting in line at the DMV, but because you know that's likely to happen, you can plan your visit accordingly. It's predictable.

When faith in existing institutions falls far and long enough, uncertainty increases commensurately. Growing uncertainty makes people more open to the entreaties of individuals and groups with grand visions for re-establishing the order of things. The rise of Donald Trump and Ted Cruz on the right and Bernie Sanders on the left in the race for the Presidency point to the

emotional willingness of substantial portions of the populus to buy into new systems of certainty and predictability.

Perhaps not that different was the willingness of a majority of Illinois voters in 2014 to elect as Governor, for the first time in the state's nearly 200-year history, a person with no prior experience in public service or politics. Candidate Rauner promised to "shake up Springfield" by imposing business discipline on a seemingly disordered, spendthrift state government and by making the hard choices that people who see politics as a career cannot. People act on the basis of what they know and not on the basis of what they don't know. During his campaign for Governor but evermore clearly during his first year in office, Rauner's reliance on what he learned from more than three decades in private equity came to the fore.

His business career focused on buying or buying into existing businesses in relatively healthy industries, trying to make them more profitable through reducing costs, restructuring, and changing management, and then eventually selling them all or in part, hopefully for a profit. In private equity, there are really only two sides – those on the purchasing side of a deal and those on the selling side of a deal, and nearly everything at stake is measured in dollars and cents. Negotiating compromises among multiple competing, more or less equal interests with varied objectives, some measurable, some not so measurable– the messy essence of public policymaking in a democracy – is not part of the private equity mental model. Further, in private equity, if a deal can't be made to happen, the purchasing party usually walks away and goes looking for another deal. In public policymaking, if negotiations break down, the public problem that brought people to the table doesn't disappear just because agreement is elusive. Rauner's election might be reasonably seen as testing the hypothesis that a highly successful, modern moneyman used to winning deals may be better able to right the sinking ship of state than someone with a political resume used to compromising.

In his first year in office, the Governor's strategy emphasized both cost-cutting and an array of policy changes – called the "turn-around agenda" – designed to restructure the Illinois economy by making it friendlier to business owners and to restructure Illinois politics by making it less friendly to Democratic party control. In other words, the turn-around agenda called for changing some of the more important institutional rules of how economics and politics work in Illinois. In pursuit of this new regime, there was scant evidence during 2015 of thinking how to put majority coalitions together to support one aspect of the plan or another. That may change as the Governor learns more about how to govern in a political, rather than a business, context.

The result was a year-long stalemate with virtually no forward movement on either the budget for fiscal year 2016 or the Governor's turn-around agenda. The Democrats in the legislature resisted the Governor's insistence that action on the first be contingent on meaningful progress with the second. Not giving in became the watchword of both political parties.

"There is nothing more difficult to take in hand, more perilous to conduct, or more uncertain in its success," wrote Machiavelli, "then to take the lead in the introduction of a new order of things." The state of Illinois has serious financial, economic, and social problems. Of that there can be no doubt. The people elected Bruce Rauner to take the lead in solving those problems. His initial strategy of trying to create a "new order of things" has yet to produce results. Whether it will eventually is unknown, of course. And yet, while the people may want certainty, there is jeopardy in encouraging their belief that a definitive solution for what ails Illinois lies at hand. As political theorist John Dunn notes, "[In a modern democracy,] there are no solutions, just better and worse things to do and say and feel."

The context just sketched is important to understanding the work of the Center for State Policy and Leadership in the past year. The prospect of losing all or a large part of state funding for public higher education loomed as an existential threat to the university and the Center throughout 2015. At the same time, the change in Administration and the resulting political stalemate with the legislature directly affected the Center, since so much of its work is tied to government in one way or another. The year represented a test of the Center's ability to make a difference in the ways that it has historically made a difference. In this annual report, we look at how key institutions in Illinois were shaped by policy and politics this past year and how the Center responded. There were many successes, but also challenges that will likely continue to require the Center to think and act anew in the period ahead.

NPR Illinois

WUIS public radio and *Illinois Issues* magazine officially became NPR Illinois last fall. The consolidation under one name completes a process that began in 2014, when the staff of the radio station and magazine were brought together in one location. The merger, creating a larger and more robust approach to public journalism on-air and online, responds to the rapid changes that are redefining the delivery of news. Within NPR Illinois, *Illinois Issues* remains the place for in-depth reporting and analysis of Illinois policy and politics.

From left to right, *Illinois Issues* editor Jamey Dunn with NPR Illinois Advisory Board members Kathleen Dunn (no relation) and George Van Dusen, Mayor of Skokie.

PUBLIC OPINION

In a democratic republic, the people are sovereign, and they use their sovereignty at first to create a constitution – the core set of rules by which they choose to be governed. Once the constitution is established, the people's sovereignty is expressed in two main ways: through the vote and through the exercise of their freedom of expression.

A Collaborative Project between the Community Foundation for the Land of Lincoln, United Way of Central Illinois, and UIS' Center for State Policy & Leadership

The Center has long sought to support the sovereignty of Illinois citizens by providing voters with information to help them understand how and how well they are being governed and by creating opportunities for them to register their views on important public business. Both lines of activity aim to preserve and enhance the institution of public opinion – the basic, taken-for-granted principle that in a free society what citizens believe and think matters. As Abraham Lincoln said, "Public opinion in this country is everything." There are good examples from 2015 of the Center's efforts both to inform public opinion and to solicit it, as the political context changed with a new Governor and a defiant legislature.

Initial Conditions

A complex, dynamic system is a system with too many variables and interactions among them to predict how it will behave or change over time. Politics is a good example. In trying to understand how dynamic systems operate, scientists have identified something called "dependence on initial conditions." It captures the idea that a system's initial conditions, which usually cover only a small amount of ground, may, without intending to, determine the long-term fate of the whole system.

Applying this idea to the present situation, the conditions Governor Rauner, along with the legislature, created in his first months in office may turn out to have set direction for his enitre term and perhaps beyond, even though neither he nor the legislature may want that to be the case. For evidence of this possibility, consider that Illinois is still living through, and likely will for some time, the effects of Rod Blagojevich's first years in office. Consequently, looking at some key developments in the first half of 2015 that were covered by our journalists at NPR Illinois (WUIS public radio and *Illinois Issues* magazine) may reveal something important about the future.

"'I just wanna save our state,' Bruce Rauner says in a matter-of-fact tone," is how Amanda Vinicky began her January 1, 2015 *Illinois Issues* story sizing up what the incoming Governor might do. Salvation, a familiar trope in politics, conjures images of dire circumstances and the need for sacrifice to get things back on track. Vinicky noted that Rauner's wealth and lack of desire for a political career could give him the freedom to force sacrifices and not worry much about whose interests he hurts in in the process. "Rauner's relationship with Cullerton [Senate President John Cullerton] and Madigan [House Speaker Michael Madigan] is rooted in mud," wrote Vinicky. "He continually attacked them as corrupt failures in campaign ads."

Young Leadership


Grant Snyder

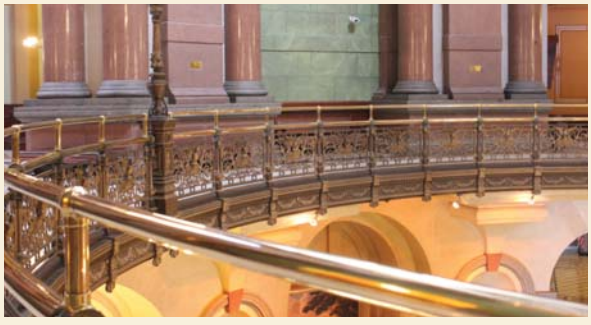
Grant Snyder is an Illinois Legislative Staff Intern working on the research and appropriations staff for the Illinois House Democrats. A University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign (UIUC) graduate in political science and history and former AmeriCorp volunteer in Davenport, Iowa, Snyder says that the internship has allowed him "to gain a much deeper understanding of Illinois statutes." He has spent much of his time analyzing the fiscal and political effects of proposed legislation. One specific bill he worked on would mandate public schools to provide daily physical education. "To complete my analysis of this bill," explains Snyder, "I reached out to the submitting representative to find out what interest groups were proponents and determined how the legislation would affect the broader school waiver process."

Disparaging people whose support you need to advance your agenda fits awkwardly in the standard political playbook. As former Republican Governor Jim Edgar told Vinicky, "Trust is probably the most important to get things done in Springfield." Substituting power for trust can be dangerous. "It is power, the opportunity to acquire power after power and to sustain monopoly of power," says philosopher Annette Baier, "that is a proven corrupter of trustworthiness."

Though Rauner came into the governorship as a non-politician, his early behavior seemed to show him prone to the same tendency toward inconsistency and self-contradiction with which many a politician is familiar. "The original Rauner, made for Republican primary voters, was an angry, union-busting conservative," observed Brian Mackey in a February 1, 2015 *Illinois Issues* piece. "The…night of his triumph, a new…Rauner emerged…with calls for a state government that's not only competitive, but compassionate." Rauner also, noted Mackey, claimed that he would not take money for the transition from people doing business with government. Yet, substantial funds

were donated by groups that invest heavily in lobbying Illinois government for favorable laws and regulations. In this same vein, mention might also be made of the fact that Diana Rauner, the Governor's wife, leads the Ounce of Prevention Fund. In 2015, the "Ounce" received nearly a fourth of its budget from the state. Most of this had the feel of being business as usual in Illinois.

Illinois' Third House



Amanda Vinicky / WUIS / NPR Illinois

"As the policy environment gets more nooks and cranies – often put there by lobbyists able to stick them into giant bills that overload mere mortal lawmakers – the need for knowledge increases," observed Phillip Wallach, an analyst for the Brookings Institution, last April. Brookings is a venerable Washington, DC think tank, and Wallach was talking about the growing ranks of lobbyists pressing their various cases in the nation's capital. But he could just as well have been writing about Illinois, arguably one of the most lobbyist-heavy states in the country. The *Quad-City Times* reported in May 2015 that, with the arrival of the new gubernatorial administration, the number of registered lobbyists had increased to 1,733 from 1,700 the year before. There were 1,973 known lobbying organizations, a big jump from the 1,763 that existed five years earlier. Exploring how the change of Governors might also change the line-up of power players, NPR Illinois' Amanda Vinicky wrote in May 2015 that while "Rauner seems to disdain the lobbying profession,…lobbyists say his staff has been accommodating and open to meetings." Government and lobbying do not necessarily grow in lockstep. "You could even say," noted Vinicky, "that Rauner's 'shake-up' – and its reliance on deep budget cuts – has increased, not diminished, lobbyists' influence."

Only a few days after Mackey's article, Rauner gave his first State of the State speech. The address, while not resolving all the contradictions and inconsistencies of the campaign trail and first days in office, did make clear where the Governor wants to take the state. "Rauner didn't just deliver a big speech…," reported Amanda Vinicky on *Illinois Edition*. "He produced a full manifesto, complete with calls for an upheaval of Illinois' labor laws, changes to the constitution, a property tax freeze, and the hiring of more prison guards." The new Governor used the speech to articulate his turn-around agenda. He asked for legislative term limits and changing the way legislative districts are drawn to reduce the influence of political parties. Sharp words urging specific changes to curb union power, a traditional Democrat constituency, rankled organized labor but pleased many Republican legislators. As is his wont, Speaker Madigan took the speech in stride. He emphasized how the Governor's "strong views…. will [now] be before the legislature. And they'll be disposed of by the legislature. Some favorably, and some not favorably. That's the American democratic process." The Speaker urged the Governor, though, to give first priority to the budget.

Riding the Crisis

The Governor's turn-around agenda stems from the premise that the problems afflicting the state are, in large part, a function of longstanding Democratic Party control of much of government. Illinois already faced a serious fiscal crisis when Rauner got elected. His demand that action on the budget only come after action on his turn-around agenda, with its direct attack on Democrat interests, seemed to be a way of intensifying the crisis. And that, in fact, may have been his intent.

The Governor told the *Chicago Tribune* editorial board in April 2015, "Crisis creates opportunity. Crisis creates leverage for change." Fomenting or deepening a crisis in order to foster the conditions needed for change is a well-read page in the manual of revolutionary thought. Historically, it's been associated chiefly with socialist and Marxist thinking. But, as the political right has become more energized during the past twenty years, no one should be surprised to see the practical use of crisis as a tool for conservative change.

Each month after the Governor's State of the State address, there lived among the political cognoscenti in Illinois an expectation that Rauner's aggressive stance would ease toward compromise with the legislature or that Speaker Madigan and President Cullerton would yield. But, it never happened. A public opinion poll in the spring showed that 40 percent of people approved of the Governor's job and 36 percent disapproved. By the fall, the Governor's approval rating had dropped to 32 percent and his disapproval rating had jumped to 50 percent. What Rauner thought about his poll numbers privately is unknown. Publicly, he remained unswayed. He continued to use his wealth and that of his well-to-do allies to retain the fidelity of fellow Republicans and to fund negative advertising directed at Democrats. As former Republican legislator Jim Nowlan told reporter Kevin McDermott for a story in *Illinois Issues* in early July, "Rauner is applying his money… because, as a political novice with little history and few loyalists in Springfield, money is what he has. 'Money, rather than persuasion, becomes a commodity in this struggle for power and influence.'"

The influence of money in politics is hardly news. The efforts of a sitting Governor to use his own wealth as a tool of persuasion is something of a novelty. But, it's not a marked deviation from the role that wealthy interests have generally come to play in American politics. Whether this influence is good for democracy, however, is another matter.

There is rigorous evidence for thinking that economic elites have acquired an outsized role in public policymaking. A recent study

Labor History

Pullman administration building

In 1984, factory workers who built railcars went on strike over wage cuts by the Chicago-based Pullman Company. It was one of the most devastating labor actions in American history, stopping rail traffic in most of the United States west of Detroit. George Pullman, who designed and built the rail sleeping car named after him, founded a company town for his workers on Chicago's southside. Today, what's left of the town stands as the Pullman State Historic Site.

Kelsey Townsend

In 2015, Kelsey Townsend, a Graduate Public Service Intern with the Illinois Environmental Protection Agency conducted an investigation to see whether past operations at the Pullman Site have contaminated the property, whether clean-up is warranted, and if so, how much it might cost. Further investigation is underway to pin down the cost of clean-up before the site is open to the public.

by political scientists Martin Gilens and Benjamin Page, examining some 1800 policy issues between 1981 and 2002, found that the policy preferences of economic elites, like Governor Rauner, and average citizens are often similar. However, economic elites have substantial influence over actual policy choices, while average citizens have very little. In other words, when the preferences of economic elites and average citizens diverge, economic elites have usually prevailed. No group in the electorate has nearly as much influence as those with a lot of money, according to Gilens' and Page's research.

Polling that Informs

The political advantage enjoyed by the well-to-do is all the more reason for cultivating mechanisms to obtain input on public matters from the broader public. The state budget impasse threatened to disrupt public opinion surveys the Center has conducted for state agencies the past several years. An initial proposal by the Governor to end funding for the smoking Quitline operated by the American Lung Association of Illinois for the Illinois Department of Public Health would have meant no annual survey by the Center's Survey Research Office (SRO) to evaluate the program's effectiveness. But, funding was eventually restored to the Quitline, making it possible to carry out the survey. While two long-time surveys that SRO does for the Illinois Department of Transportation (IDOT) were not in financial jeopardy, since they're paid for with federal money, the transition to a new Administration and new leadership at IDOT added, for a time, new uncertainty about if and when the surveys could proceed.

The Illinois Tobacco Quitline is a telephone service that people can call to help them quit using tobacco products. The SRO survey asks users of the Quitline to evaluate their experience. The 2015 survey found, as all surveys have since the evaluations began in 2012, that users give the Quitline fairly high marks. Eighty percent of those who responded to the survey said they were either very satisfied or somewhat satisfied. The results were similar for a question asking them to evaluate the Quitline's usefulness. Some 41 percent reported using tobacco less than four times a day after calling the Quitline compared to 12 percent who said they used tobacco that infrequently before calling. A third of respondents said they were not using tobacco at all currently. Quitting was more likely for those with higher incomes and more education, indicating a need to continue to work on ways to improve results for those with less income and education.

Bill Miller Public Affairs Reporting Hall of Fame

A journalist who covered the aftermath of Khmer Rouge rule in Cambodia, another who wrote about the collapse of the Hyatt Regency Hotel skywalk in Kansas City, and a third who has devoted his career to reporting on farm policy were the 2015 inductees into the Bill Miller Public Affairs Reporting Hall of Fame. The Hall of Fame honors graduates of UIS' Public Affairs Reporting (PAR) program who have made distinguished contributions to journalism. A graduate of the PAR class of 1974, Robert Secter, who now reports on politics for the *Chicago Tribune*, was a foreign correspondent for the *Los Angeles Times* when the Khmer Rouge were ousted in Cambodia. Deborah Peterson, a graduate of the 1978 PAR class, is an editorial page writer for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, who was a member of the *Kansas City Star* team that won a Pulitzer Prize for its coverage of the 1981 hotel bridge collapse that killed more than 100 people. A 1975 graduate, Chuck Abbott was a long-time farm policy reporter for *Reuters* and *UPI*'s farm editor, who now writes and edits for the Washington, DC based Food and Environment Network.

2013 Bill Miller Public Affairs Reporting Hall of Fame Inductees (from left) Chuck Abbott, Deborah Peterson, Bob Sector

Since 2002, SRO has surveyed the Illinois public on their drinking while driving behaviors and, in particular, their awareness of efforts the state has made to deter it. In the 2015 survey, between a third and half of respondents, depending on the time of year, reported seeing a roadside safety check. Awareness of the "Click It or Ticket" campaign, the most widely recognized message, was at 92 percent, more than twice the level of awareness when the campaign began in 2002. "Friends don't let friends drive drunk" was at 77.8 percent awareness, a dip from the 89 percent level it reached in June 2002, its first year. The other campaign with a high awareness level was "You drink and drive. You lose." About 71 percent of respondents said they knew about it, compared to 55 percent awareness in June 2002 when it first began. More than two-thirds of those responding to the survey indicated that they think new social media campaigns to deter young adults from drinking and driving like "The Driving Dead," a takeoff on *The Walking Dead* TV series, are effective.

The other survey SRO conducts annually for IDOT asks Illinois travelers for their opinions of IDOT and the different types of work it does to build and maintain Illinois' transportation system. In 2015, over 80 percent of respondents rated the overall job IDOT does as good or fair. When they were asked about trusting IDOT to do what is right, more than 70 percent indicated they could trust the agency about always or most of the time. This seems to run contrary to the generally low trust people have in Illinois government. The behavior of IDOT's employees also earned good marks. Beliefs in the importance of IDOT to the local economy were positive, as well. Sixty-one percent of respondents said that IDOT was very important to their economy. This was the highest level since the first of these surveys in 2001 and almost double the level in the 2005 survey.

THE ECONOMY

Governor Rauner has brought to his role a businessman's mindset about the economy. In his 2015 State of the State address, he used the word competitive or related terms twelve times. His most recent State of the State remarks bumped that up to thirteen. By contrast, Pat Quinn did not talk about being competitive in his State of the State speeches, nor did the idea get emphasized by Rod Blagojevich during his years in office. "Our top priority must be making Illinois competitive again," said Rauner. He then went on to list the changes the state needs to make to keep the other states around it from continuing to "kick our tails."

The institution of competitive, free market capitalism, while very familiar to us, is a relatively recent human invention. It was only in the 17th century that capitalism gained sufficient popular acceptance in the West as a way to organize economies. For hundreds of years before that, love of money was regarded as contrary to virtue. Kingdoms fought wars, and people sought value through honor rather than the free exchange of goods and services. As social scientist Albert Hirschman has convincingly argued, capitalism – the competition among self-interested economic actors – emerged as the main solution for how to channel human passion onto a less violent and more constructive path.

In the free market, people and organizations compete against one another for economic gain. Competition at this level is not perfect, as the example of rising income inequality demonstrates. Yet, by and large, it works well enough, compared to the alternatives, to be perceived as worth sustaining. The case for competition between and among states is not as clear cut, however.

While individuals and firms control most of what they need to control, such as their skills and time, in order to compete, states have limited means of managing their economies. The nation can print money, change interest rates, enter into trade deals with other countries, impose tariffs on imports, and so on, but none of these tools is available to states. The tools to which states have access, such as taxes, infrastructure investment, and education, can have important effects, but larger macroeconomic forces shaping the national and global economies are apt to be more influential. Put simply, states can compete economically with one another, but there is reason to doubt the results will be as large as politicians often suggest or citizens may want.

Technological Competition

The Center's Office of Electronic Media (OEM) has been helping to increase awareness of the University of Illinois' efforts to develop and commercialize new technologies. In 2015, OEM worked with the University of Illinois Office of the Vice President for Research to produce a video demonstrating a new technology, invented by UIUC faculty, to analyze and diagnose ear passages. The device, being produced by a university spinoff company called Photonicare, uses sonar technology to see into the middle ear without surgery, providing better data for patient treatment decisions.

Ryan M. Nolan, Director of Clinical Development & Co-founder of Photonicare holds PhotoniCare's ClearView imager device.

Leaving Illinois

Governor Rauner argued in his State of the State address that people are leaving Illinois in large numbers, and the main reason is the state is too costly to do business in. Taxes that are higher than neighboring states, the high costs imposed on the public and private sectors by labor unions, and too much government regulation and bureaucracy are, he said, making the state uncompetitive.

Curious to see whether people are leaving Illinois to the degree stipulated by the Governor, NPR Illinois' Bill Wheelhouse looked into the numbers for a June 2015 story. "Rauner mentioned that over the past dozen years 250,000 people picked up and moved out of Illinois," reported Wheelhouse. "That is correct. However, people also moved into the state and were born here [during that time]." There was a net population loss only in 2014. Otherwise, in recent years population has grown modestly. Wheelhouse, whose story recently won an Associated Press award, went on to point out how most states in the Midwest and Northeast have been losing people to states in the south and southwest. So, the problem of population loss is not limited to Illinois, making it a more challenging basis on which to compete.

Why do people move out of a state? A 2014 report by the Center for Budget and Policy Priorities (CBPP), a liberal Washington DC think tank, pointed out that around two-thirds of Americans, and this applies to Illinois as well, live in the state where they were born. Most people who relocate do so for job or family reasons. Taxes tend not to be a major driver. The cost driver that appears to matter most, said the CPBB, is the cost of housing, of which property taxes is one but not the main component. Mortgages and rents are more important.

These findings resonate with results from the *2015 Sangamon County Citizens' Survey* conducted by SRO. The survey asked county residents whether they have considered moving away and, if so, why. A third of respondents indicated they'd given thought to relocating, and the main reason was for more or better job opportunities. Moving for personal reasons, such as family needs, was the second most frequently cited reason. Taxes did not specifically come up.

What about business exits? In 2012, the Center conducted a study on business entries into and exits from Illinois. The research found that between 2002 and 2012, businesses moved into and out of Illinois on average at about the same rate. From 2008, when the Great Recession kicked in, through 2011, more businesses entered Illinois than left, and then the pattern reversed in 2012. When businesses were asked why they relocated to Illinois, their top three reasons were land availability, transportation systems, and access to skilled labor. For businesses that left, the top reason was uncertainty about the fiscal condition of state and local governments, followed by taxes. When departed businesses were asked about the conditions that were better in their current location outside Illinois, the most important was land availability and land cost. In sum, costs obviously matter to business location decisions, but businesses tend to make their decisions based on a variety of costs, of which taxes is only one.

The Costs of Doing Business

Still, taxes are one of the costs that businesses have to consider. So, the natural question is how much do taxes affect a state's business climate. Political scientists Soledad Artiz Prillaman and Kenneth J. Meier reported in 2014 on a study they did which looked at the effects of taxes and other factors on economic performance for all states between 1997 and 2005. They found that the level of business tax collections, contrary to expectation, was positively related to economic growth and the rate of employment. The authors suggested that lowering taxes may, indeed, attract businesses, but the types of businesses attracted (for example, small employers with few employees) may not generate growth. In contrast to the positive association of business taxes with growth, the Prillaman and Meier research found that tax collections from individuals appeared to have the opposite effect. Higher taxes on individuals reduce the money people have available for consumption, a primary driver of growth.

A 2013 study by Jed Kolko, David Neumark, and Marisol Cuellar Mejia of different indexes that measure state business climates showed that state economies grew faster when there was less spending on welfare and transfer payments and more uniform and simpler business tax structures (e.g., limited use of special purpose business tax credits). This last conclusion suggests that businesses may be more sensitive to tax simplicity and certainty than to tax levels.

The importance of certainty was echoed in observations from Moody's Analytics that Charles N. Wheeler III, director of the public affairs reporting program at UIS, discussed in his

Reducing Inequality


Gary Reinbold

In an article to be published in 2016 in the *Journal of Policy Practice*, UIS public administration professor Gary Reinbold shows that different ways of estimating the effect of existing U.S. tax and transfer programs on income inequality produce different results and policy implications. One set of his estimates for 2012 has the programs reducing inequality between 14.8 percent and 20.3 percent, while with another set the range of reduction is between 10.3 percent and 49.4 percent. Reinbold argues that two policy options would be effective in reducing inequality further and may be politically feasible: expanding the popular Earned Income Tax Credit and reducing tax deductions for high-income taxpayers.

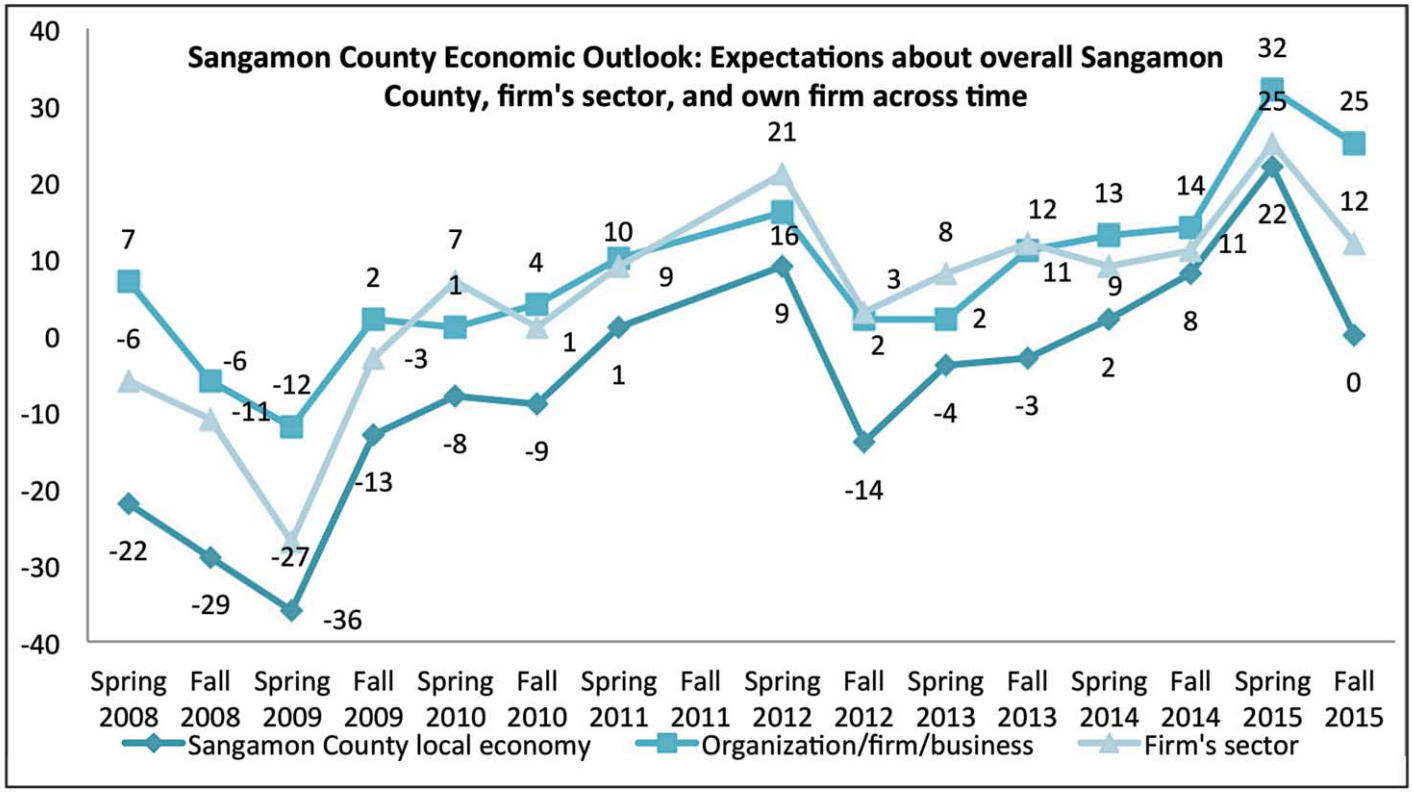
March 1, 2015 article for *Illinois Issues*. Wheeler quoted Moody's as saying that "Illinois' business climate outshines its regional rivals," noting that business costs "in the state are only marginally higher than they are nationally." Illinois' strengths lie, for example, in its pool of highly skilled workers, strong universities, money for investment, and transportation. Moody's said the biggest threat to economic growth is the state's unbalanced budget and longstanding political inability to take the corrective fiscal steps necessary. In a story for NPR Illinois in June, reporter Brian Mackey quoted U. S. Senator Dick Durbin saying "There's a lot of talk by Democrats and Republicans about creating a positive business climate… Shut[ting] down state government [because of no budget] is not a positive business climate."

Wheeler's article also pointed to Moody's comments on the Governor's interest in establishing right-to-work zones in the state. While right-to-work laws may reduce business costs in the short-run by curbing union power, Moody's said, those positive effects "can diminish over time because of downward pressure on incomes." Right-to-work laws have been extensively studied since the 1980s. There is evidence that self-employment has increased and bankruptcies have declined in states with right-to-work laws, but capital formation and employment rates appear to have been unaffected, and, as Moody's noted, income and wages have tended to decline. Whether right-to-work laws are a contributing factor, it is worth pointing out in this context that the business startup rate nationally, and Illinois is no exception, has been decreasing since the early 1980s.

The Local Mood

The Sangamon County Citizens' Survey mentioned above occurred last spring as the stalemate between the Governor and the legislature began to solidify. While the survey did not ask people what they think of right-to-work or labor unions, it did solicit perceptions of economic conditions. County residents reported being "slightly less pessimistic" about their personal and local economic conditions than they were the year before.

That modestly upbeat mood matched responses by employers to similar questions in last spring's *County Economic Outlook Survey*, which SRO does every spring and fall for the Greater Springfield Chamber of Commerce. Notably, the fall outlook survey six months later, by which point the state budget impasse had hardened considerably, showed a clear downturn in optimism about local economic conditions. A majority of employers said the failure of the state to pass a budget was affecting them negatively. When asked how much of a burden various laws are, workers compensation and unemployment insurance – two items on Rauner's turn-around agenda – were at the top of the list, well above any other regulatory area. Regulations associated with unions were regarded as burdensome by just under a third of employers who responded to the survey.



PUBLIC SERVICE

One of the reasons UIS came into being nearly fifty years ago as Sangamon State University was to be a help to state government by educating and training people for public service. The expectation was that an educational institution situated in the state capital would teach the higher order and critical thinking skills and knowledge of issues needed by public officials in a time of rapid change and growing complexity.

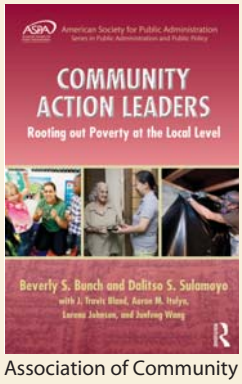
The balkanization of politics into special interests and deep ideological divisions and the seeming impenetrability of modern administrative bureaucracies may suggest, to some, that preparing people for public service hasn't been particularly effective. The Pew Research study that found the vast majority of people don't have much trust in the federal government, also found a majority saying ordinary Americans could do a better job solving problems than the political class. If Illinoisans were asked the question, they would probably agree, given their currently low trust in state government. At the same time, however, the Pew study showed that, while individuals say they have confidence in their own abilities, they don't have confidence in their fellow citizens to make political decisions. Perhaps the widespread loss of confidence over the past forty years in many institutions, including government, represents, at its core, a more general loss of faith in society and a greater feeling that individuals have to depend on themselves.

Education for public service has so far not been effective in preventing the loss of confidence, but it may be a key to reversing the trend or at least holding the line. At a time when people have doubts about the possibility of the public or collective good, government bears the main responsibility for proving otherwise – for showing that a political community, such as the state of Illinois, can still function as a community. And this depends on the capabilities of the members of that community. When things seem to be going well in society, taking these public service capabilities for granted is perhaps forgivable. Not so when the problems seem insurmountable. Then, making sure people in government are equipped appropriately for serving the public good becomes a primary obligation.

Working for Government

Illinois has one of the smallest governments for its population size in the country, according to data compiled by *Governing* magazine. In 2012, Illinois ranked 47th nationally, with 202 state and local employees (excluding education) for every 10,000 residents. The national average was 247. Illinois shared a low ranking with other states in the Midwest, including Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin. Focusing just on noneducation employees of state government, *Governing* found that Illinois shed nearly 20,000 workers between 2002 and 2012. The jobs cut did not reduce state spending proportionately, since some of the work these people did was likely contracted out to the private sector.

Leading through Action



In 2015, a group of researchers at UIS and the Illinois Association of Community Acton Agencies completed the manuscript for a book that will be published by Routledge in 2016 on the leadership of community action agencies. *Community Action Leaders: Rooting Out Poverty at the Local Level* has been written by UIS public administration professor Beverly Bunch, who has a part-time appointment in the Center, and Dalitso Sulamoyo, executive director of the Illinois Association of Community Action Agencies, along with UIS public administration faculty members J. Travis Bland, and Junfeng Wang, the Center's Lorena Johnson, and Aaron Itulya, a former graduate assistant in the Center who now is an investigator for the Illinois Labor Relations Board. Drawing on responses to a survey of and interviews with local community action leaders in six Midwestern states, the book examines leaders' perceptions of their major roles and responsibilities, how they guide their staff in pursuit of the community action mission, how they demonstrate accountability to stakeholders, and what they are doing to diversify revenues in this age of more limited federal funding. The book is part of the American Society for Public Administration Book Series in Public Administration and Public Policy.

In a survey in 2010, Gallup found that 35 percent of Americans would prefer to work for government, while 59 percent said they would rather work for business. Specific data for Illinois were not collected, but the survey did show the Midwest region had the lowest percentage of people preferring government work at 28 percent. At 42 percent, the South was the region with the highest percentage. The difference may be at least partly explained by the different tendencies of the political cultures of the Midwest and the South.

Much of the Midwest, including Illinois, is said to favor a more individualistic political culture. In an individualistic culture, people look out for themselves and their own interests, and bargaining for advantage is common. The collective good, as something more than the aggregation of individual interests, has limited influence. A cultural emphasis on self-dealing may provide some insight into why Illinois has been prone to political corruption. By comparison, the South is thought to embody mainly a traditional political culture, which prefers society to be hierarchically organized and governed. In this culture, being a member of the governing class is a sign of elevated status.

Illinois' fairly small public workforce and the seemingly limited interest of its people in public employment contrasts with conditions that prevailed when trust in government was higher. In a study of the Detroit area in 1954, which may at least roughly

compare to Illinois, researchers found people preferred public over private employment nearly two to one. The prestige of working for government was particularly strong among people who had not attended college. Then, of course, only a small portion of the population went to college. The disinclination of the college educated toward public service employment finds an interesting parallel in more recent evidence. An analysis of data from the General Social Survey between 1989 and 1998 found that the college educated, of which there were many more by this point in time, were more likely than any other group to hold than to prefer a public job. The analysis also revealed diminishing levels of interest in public service employment among young adults.

Solving a Public Problem


Darrah Dunlap

As part of water conservation, there is growing interest in harvesting rainwater for human consumption and related uses. In Illinois, water harvesting projects require approval from the Illinois Department of Public Health (IDPH). Darrah Dunlap has been spending her time as a Graduate Public Service Intern (GPSI) at IDPH as the lead contributor to an effort to study the public health implications of water harvesting practices. Says Dunlap, who has been working on her UIS master's degree: "My role in the effort is to analyze the water treatment components related to microbiological and chemical water quality and to evaluate possible sensitivities in the affected human populations. Treatment equipment and population dynamics help determine the conditions for approval by the Department. To help with my evaluation, my GPSI supervisor, a licensed professional engineer, trained me to read and understand engineering plans to evaluate the effectiveness of proposed treatment systems. It's helped greatly with my ability to identify areas in treatment systems that pose a risk to public health."

The limited interest of the college educated and young in public service could pose a serious problem in filling the ranks of state government in the foreseeable future. This is a problem regardless of one's perspective on the appropriate size of government. An investigation by Lorena Johnson, director of the Certified Public Manager Program of Illinois in the Center's Institute for Legal, Legislative, and Policy Studies, found that at the federal and state levels, retirement-eligible employees constitute a large share of the public workforce. Even if members of this group stay around longer because they find the work meaningful or need the income, most will eventually retire in the not-too-distant future. Who will replace them is unclear. There is no indication that Illinois government is giving the matter much thought amidst the host of other problems it faces. Indeed, many of these same problems may actually be making public service employment less attractive.

Unsettling Times

At the top of the list of potential disincentives to seek public employment is the state's inability to adopt a budget. Lack of agreement on a budget creates uncertainty about the direction in which the state is headed. In forecasting for *Illinois Issues* last February what the Governor's budget proposal would likely contain, Charles N. Wheeler III said that it was "certain to include draconian cuts" in most areas of state spending. "The math is unforgiving," Wheeler observed; "all the rest of state government could be zero-funded next year and Rauner would still have to cut from education and/or human services." Since that was unlikely to happen, Wheeler predicted "the deepest cuts – ever – in the public's most cherished programs."

The Governor's budget did, in fact, propose deep cuts, but their implementation was largely forestalled by the deadlock between Rauner and the legislature. While the deadlock persisted (and still persists at this writing), court orders and side deals allowed most spending to go forward (key exceptions being social services and higher education). Significant widespread cuts may yet prove necessary, however. The lack of additional revenue on the immediate horizon casts serious doubt on the ability of the state to honor all of the funding commitments it has made.

People interested in public service work might also be discouraged by the netherworld of uncertainty into which the state's pension funds have been pitched. Illinois has the worst funded pension system in the county, with mounting liabilities and not nearly enough revenue to cover obligations. In a column for *Illinois Issues* in June, Wheeler described reactions to the state Supreme Court's decision rejecting the 2013 law that cut pension benefits for public workers. "Public employee unions and retired workers," wrote Wheeler, "saluted the justices for affirming the clear constitutional language that….[retirement] benefits shall not be diminished or impaired." The ruling threw the issue back to the Governor and the legislature. Wheeler pointed out that the state's retirement system has been underfunded for most of its existence. In other words, both Republicans and Democrats have had a hand in creating the problem. The question now was whether the Governor and lawmakers "decide to face the challenge forthrightly rather than pursue constitutionally-dubious schemes to cut benefits."

The Governor's efforts to severely circumscribe the role of public employee unions in the state might also dim the appeal of government work for some people. While Illinois' state government workforce is relatively small per capita, it is one of the most heavily unionized in the country. By one estimate, around 90 percent of the employees of the six statewide elected officials belong to a union. Union membership likely appeals to people motivated by a strong desire for economic security. This motivation links to the social benefit unions provide of protecting middle class incomes at a time of growing income inequality. On the other hand, people may leave or be deterred from

entering unionized public employment because they see limited opportunities to be creative and to rise up the ladder on the basis of merit.

Increasing Government Efficiency


Carrie Walberg-Reed

Carrie Walberg Reed is a Graduate Public Service Intern in the Illinois Department of Transportation (IDOT). When asked about her work in the Bureau of Business Services, here's how she explains it: "I've been involved in the implementation and facilitation of two different training programs. One of those trainings, which is an online presentation that I developed, on information security, is required to be taken by all new employees. I have also helped with revisions and development of several departmental policies, orders, and manuals. One of the highlights of the internships has been traveling to different IDOT offices to conduct business process analyses for a computer software program to help the agency make the move to an electronic records management system."

NPR Illinois' Brian Mackey spent time in 2015 looking into the context for the Governor's proposals to trim the wings of public employee unions. The development of state employee unions in Illinois has been enabled by both parties, explained Mackey in an April story in *Illinois Issues*. Democratic Gov. Dan Walker used an executive order in the 1970s to launch collective bargaining for state workers. That was followed by passage of an authorizing law signed by Walker's successor, Republican Governor Jim Thompson. Although public sector unions, such as the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, welcomed the move back then, according to Mackey, professional groups representing state employees were comfortable with the pre-collective bargaining status quo.

In an October follow-up to his April article, Mackey described the Governor's labor agenda and the challenges to it. "[The Governor's] plan [of making action on the budget contingent on adoption of labor reforms] imagined Democrats could be prodded into turning against unions," said Mackey. "But a close examination of all the changes Rauner is demanding…show why Democrats have so far refused to relent, and they say they never will." For public sector unions, the changes included greatly reducing the scope for collective bargaining, prohibiting union political contributions, and ending fair share dues for state workers. In addition to the potentially adverse effects of the Governor's proposals on union members' well-being, the plan would undermine the strong political alliance between labor and Democrats. Citing data from a recent book on the labor movement, Mackey noted that the partisan gap in union support between Democrats and Republicans nationally was more than 50 percentage points.

Putting Reality in Perspective

The evidently limited appeal of state employment to the college-educated and young, Illinois' individualistic political culture, and the conflict between the current Governor and legislature over union power all seem to paint a rather grim picture for public service work. But, it's important to keep in mind that these realities, despite their influence, only represent tendencies. And tendencies, by their nature, can be changed. A large shift in attitudes about public sector employment is probably not in the cards for now. However, it's always possible to nudge perspectives in one direction or another. While the state itself has to take the main responsibility for this, a public university, like UIS, can do its part by continuing to use its intellectual resources to support the development of a capable public workforce.

The Center's contribution to building public capability lies with its internship and training programs. If, in the final analysis, producing results for people is what government must do to earn the public's support, then the odds of getting there are higher if public employees are well-equipped for their jobs than if they are not.

Since 1974, when it began, the Center's Graduate Public Service Internship (GPSI) program has placed some 2,500 graduate students in paid internships with state agencies and other organizations. Historically, GPSI has been a major pipeline into full-time employment with state government after students graduate. For example, Rance Carpenter, the current director of the program, started out as a GPSI intern and went from there into a career with the Illinois Department on Aging before retiring from the state in 2011. Stories of this sort can be found throughout the career service ranks of Illinois state government.

In 2015, GPSI placed 249 students in internships with 19 state agencies and two other organizations. This represented a drop from the 305 placements in 2014, as uncertainty about the state budget made some agencies pull back. Interns came from most of the graduate programs offered by UIS, indicating the variety of needs state agencies have for talent. The 249 interns were supervised by 217 managers and technical experts, representing a fairly large swath of the state's public service leadership.

The purpose of GPSI is to give graduate students hands-on, practical training in public service and professional-level work. Interns have an opportunity to make a real difference in the performance of the agencies where they work, all while learning the ropes under the guidance of an experienced mentor. The winners of the 2015 awards for academic and professional excellence by an intern and leadership excellence by a supervisor offer convincing illustrations of GPSI's value to interns, state agencies, and the university.

The Brian T. Milbrandt Memorial Intern Award went to Kaitlin Hollenbeck, an intern with the Illinois Environmental Protection Agency. In nominating Hollenbeck for the award, Tara Lambert,


Shannon O'Brien, UIS Campus Relations

Kaitlin Hollenbeck

her supervisor, wrote: "Katie has been an integral part of implementing a new program that will allow for greater public, animal, and environmental safety regarding harmful algal blooms. [She] coordinated meetings, conducted complaint sampling and follow-up, ran tests to determine qualitative concentrations, interpreted results, presented/explained results to applicable parties, researched programmatic and implementation aspects of other states, [etc.]." Lambert went on to complement Hollenbeck on her positive outlook, initiative, and social skills, indicating that technical expertise is not the only preparation necessary for public service work in a democracy.

More Pressing and Complex

"Already in this new century, it is clear the challenges we face are more pressing and complex." These are the opening words of a study the Center carried out in 2015 of the feasibility of establishing a new Institute for Public Service that would be dedicated to developing outstanding public service professionals. The threefold aim of the proposed Institute would be to improve existing public service capacity in Illinois through education and training public and nonprofit employees, cultivate the next generation through leadership experiences for graduate, undergraduate, and high school students, and improve knowledge and understanding of contemporary issues within the broader public through direct engagement. "The Institute for Public Service would advance UIS' commitment to 'leadership lived' by striving to increase the importance and role of public service as a pathway to solving the problems of the 21st Century," explains the Center's Lorena Johnson, who chaired the committee that conducted the feasibility study.

The 2015 Supervisor's Annual Sagarika Madala Memorial Award for Exemplary Leadership was given to Claudia Nash, Genetics Program Administrator with the Illinois Department of Public Health. Nash was nominated by intern Nitika Sharma, who said: "Claudia has a lot of faith in her interns, and she has given me multiple projects. I am a professional dentist from India and always wanted to work in public health with a dental aspect. She not only helped me get involved with the oral health department but also gave me challenging projects in newborn screening. Claudia is a good listener, cares for her interns, and makes sure we get projects related to our career goals." Sharma noted that Nash has been working for the public health department for thirty years, a compelling example of dedication to public service.


Claudia Nash and Rance Carpenter

The Illinois Legislative Staff Intern Program (ILSIP), the main vehicle for placing college educated interns with the Illinois General Assembly, was started more than fifty years ago and has been administered by UIS almost since the university opened in the early 1970s. Like GPSI, ILSIP interns get practical experience doing professional work in a governmental setting, in this case the legislature, which means work of a more political kind. The program has produced a number of highly accomplished public servants and civic leaders. Former Republican Governor Jim Edgar and former Auditor General Bill Holland were ILSIP interns, as was retired federal judge Wayne Anderson. Democrat Cheri Bustos, a graduate of UIS' Public Affairs Reporting program who now represents the 12th district of Illinois in the U.S. House of Representatives, was an intern in the class of 1983-1984.

In fiscal year 2015, ILSIP placed 24 interns with the Democratic and Republican staffs in the Illinois House and Senate and with the Legislative Research Unit. This cohort came with degrees from 20 different colleges and universities, eleven in Illinois and nine outside the state. Illinois State University produced the largest number of interns at four, followed by UIS at two. The current cohort of 23 legislative interns, which started in the fall of 2015, includes five from UIS and five from the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign.

The GPSI and ILSIP programs have held up well in providing meaningful public service experience at a time when government work otherwise seems not to be drawing sufficient interest from young college graduates. The materialism among young people that John Transue's research documents is consistent with evidence over the past decade of large numbers of graduates from prestigious universities seeking careers in finance and consulting. For example, nearly 50 percent of Princeton University's 2006 graduating class went into finance. At Princeton and other Ivy League institutions the numbers have come down more recently, but finance and management consulting still attract relatively large numbers of the "best and brightest."

Young adults, precisely because they are young, can more readily adapt to their environments than other adults. If the environment places more value on public service, more of the young and college-educated are likely to gravitate to that line of work. Programs like GPSI and ILSIP, because of the excellence they represent, keep the worthiness of public service alive as a possibility. They maintain a space in the environment for devotion to the common good as a career path.

Lincoln & Voting Rights

In his opening remarks to the 13th Annual Lincoln Legacy Lectures presented by the Center on October 15, 2015, Dr. Michael Burlingame, Chancellor Naomi B. Lynn Distinguished Chair in Lincoln Studies at UIS, recounted the evolution in Lincoln's views on black suffrage and his admiration for black leaders like Frederick Douglass. The 2015 lectures focused on the timely topic of Lincoln and voting rights. At the conclusion of the Civil War, noted Burlingame, Lincoln publicly endorsed voting rights for black men who were literate and those who had served as Union soldiers. Following Burlingame, Dr. Michael Vorenberg of Brown University examined the consensus at the end of the Civil War on the relation of freedom and voting rights with the passage of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the U.S. Constitution abolishing slavery and securing citizenship and voting rights for freed men. Bringing in a contemporary view, Dr. Ronald Keith Gaddie, President's Associates Presidential Professor of Political Science at the University of Oklahoma, described the implementation of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the realignment of Southern politics that followed, and the diminution of voting rights in recent years. A link to the video of the lectures can be found at the Center's website: www.uis.edu/cspl/.

JUSTICE

The most fundamental judgment that can be made of any political system or government is whether it is just. The Declaration of Independence asserts in its first sentence (a long one) that securing the rights to equality and liberty, a function of justice, is "the reason" governments are created. The U.S. Constitution, after calling for union, makes establishing justice the first responsibility of the new government. Even the initial words of the Russian constitution focus on establishing "human rights and freedoms," the essence of justice. The Illinois Constitution does not give first mention to justice – that goes to providing for safety and welfare and maintaining an orderly, representative government – but justice comes a few words later as an important theme.

Justice pervades nearly all debate in our public policy and politics, often as a subtext rather than the main point. While economics frequently dominates domestic politics, the underlying concerns are almost always rooted in questions of justice. Levels of taxation perceived to be unfair, minimum wages perceived to be unjustly low, regulatory burdens perceived to be undeserved – all put into question whether current arrangements are just. Contention over public spending priorities is, at heart, a dispute over how to allocate limited resources in a just way. Consider one recent example. As NPR Illinois' Amanda Vinicky reported in April last year, Governor Rauner's decision to extend a tax credit for business while cutting social services for the poor evoked ire from Democrats and advocates who argued the tradeoff was unjust.

While nearly everything government does can be viewed through the lens of justice, those things that are principally and explicitly about justice may be the best measure of whether a government, such as the United States' or Illinois', is honoring its constitutional commitments. How a government deals with violations of justice and protecting people's basic rights under a Constitution says a great deal about its effectiveness in assuring a just society overall.

Policing and Race

As is now well-known, in August of 2014, Michael Brown, a young black man, was shot dead by white policeman Darren Wilson on a street in Ferguson, Missouri, a suburb of St. Louis. Since then, a series of deaths of black citizens at the hands of the police and other acts of police aggression against minorities have put racism back on the public agenda in a prominent way. Included among these was the shooting death of teenager Laquan McDonald by Chicago police in fall of 2014. For more than a year afterward, law enforcement withheld from the public a police video of the shooting, which seemed to plainly show that McDonald posed no threat. The apparent stonewalling by authorities in Chicago, explained Amanda Vinicky in December, led to a strong push in 2015 by black legislators for policies to improve police competence and accountability, some of which became law. Not since the Los Angeles riots following the police beating of Rodney King in 1992 has racism galvanized such public attention.

A 2015 Pew Research poll found that half of Americans think racism is a big problem in the United States. That was up from the third who said this in 2010. While Democrats were more likely than Republicans to see racism as a big problem, 61 percent to 41 percent, the increase among Republicans since 2010

The Charleston Massacre

On September 8, 2015, nearly 200 UIS students and community members attended a panel discussion on campus about the Charleston Massacre. The Charleston Massacre occurred on June 17, 2015, when a young white man entered the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in downtown Charleston, South Carolina and shot to death nine African Americans. Part of UIS' Engaged Citizenship Common Experience speaker series, the panel was moderated by Ty Dooley, a professor of public administration at UIS, and included comments from Sundiata Keita Cha-Jua, a UIUC history professor, Chad Williams, a professor of African American Studies at Brandies University in Massachusetts, and Ashley Howard, a professor at Loyola University in New Orleans. The panelists focused not just on the massacre in Charleston, but how that tragic event connects to America's history of slave resistance, racial violence and terrorism, the AME church, and the Confederate flag. As panelist Howard observed, "Racism is alive and present…but it looks different [today than in the past]…The heinousness of [the Charleston Massacre] obscures the more subtle ways in which racism is taking place."

was striking – 24 percentage points. That concerns about race relations are growing was further evident in a Gallup Poll last summer, where nine percent of people named racism as the most important problem facing the country. It was third on the list of most important problems, just behind the economy and dissatisfaction with government, each at 13 percent. During the height of the civil rights movement in the 1960s, racism was cited as the top problem by more than half of Americans.

The Pew poll also showed that worries about race relations are not just based in general anxiety or fear. Rather, six in ten people said that continuing changes are needed to "assure that blacks have equal rights to whites." That represented an increase from the five in ten who said this in 2014. A lot of the concern expressed in the Pew poll, of course, focused on police departments, which most people said have not been treating races equally.

The mistreatment of racial minorities by the criminal justice system is a serious problem with tragic consequences. But it would be a mistake to regard it in isolation. It is a piece of a larger picture of the ways in which unjust discrimination continues to characterize the experience of minorities in Illinois and the United States. Data published in 2015 revealed that Chicago has been for years and remains one of the most racially segregated cities in the country. Indeed, high levels of racial segregation typify most cities in Illinois. Urban racial segregation is more pronounced in the Midwest generally than it is in most other parts of the nation, including the South. Segregation reinforces differences; it perpetuates disadvantage and makes the communication and relationship-building necessary to solve problems in a democracy more difficult.

Race and Education

Among the areas where racial disparities continue to interfere with progress is education, the principal avenue through which minorities have been able to access a better life in the United States. In a series of reports in August 2015, Dusty Rhodes, education desk reporter for NPR Illinois, took a close look at differences in school discipline between black and white students in Springfield.

Not dissimilar from the black experience in the criminal justice system, Rhodes found that black students were disproportionately subject to school discipline. "The data for Springfield high schools and the four largest middle schools show a pattern," she wrote. "Black students receive both in-school and out-of-school discipline at much higher rates than white students." The examination also indicated that black students were more likely than white students to be disciplined for violations that tend to be identified more subjectively, like disrespect and loitering, than those that are more concrete, such as smoking and vandalism. Subjective judgments, by their very nature, are more prone to bias. Rhodes' series wrapped up with a nod to Governor Rauner for signing into law legislation designed to make school discipline less harsh and more rational. "The [new] law," said Rhodes, "is widely considered the most sweeping effort in the nation to rein in punitive school discipline practices that have pushed disproportionate numbers of African American students out of school."

Continuing the theme, a November *Illinois Issues* essay by John Diamond of the University of Wisconsin-Madison and Amanda Lewis of University of Illinois Chicago summarized results of a five-year study they did of the racial achievement gap in a successful suburban high school. They noted there were racial gaps in school performance even after controlling for class and in well-resourced, legally desegregated schools like the one they observed. Also, black and white students from the same social class worked equally as hard. What Diamond and Lewis found was that the school they studied segregated itself internally. It separated whites from blacks and Latinos, with lower expectations for the black and Latino groups. These differences were reinforced by white majorities on the school board and in parent-teacher organizations. "School districts wanting to change policy in order to narrow achievement gaps," said Diamond and Lewis, "will need to convince a wide range of stakeholders…to work together to get the larger community to buy into the common interest of everyone doing well."

The Great Emancipator


Thinkstock photo

Abraham Lincoln was known as the Great Emancipator, the President who freed the slaves. Perhaps no other white person in American history is so strongly connected to the cause of racial justice than the 16th President. And perhaps no cause so clearly defines what made Lincoln great. The significance of Lincoln and his Presidency spurred the formation of the Lincoln Legal Papers project in 1985. The project later became the Papers of Abraham Lincoln, with the goal of locating, digitizing, transcribing, and annotating everything written to or by Lincoln during his lifetime. UIS is a co-sponsor of the project and the employer of most of its staff.

In 2015, the failure to enact a state budget put the continued existence of the Papers of Abraham Lincoln in doubt. With no state funding to count on, the Project had to lay off four of its employees. As the editors of the *New York Times* recently put it: "One of the most ambitious research projects on Abraham Lincoln ever attempted is being threatened by an absurd and intractable political and budget morass in the Illinois statehouse."

Despite the threat to their continued employment, the staff of the Papers of Abraham Lincoln maintained in 2015 the high levels of productivity and quality for which they are well known. They boosted the number of documents that have been located to 103,522, with annotations of 806 documents and legislative histories for 2,681 documents. Two of the staff published books. Routledge put out *Mary Lincoln; Southern Girl, Northern Woman* by Stacy Pratt McDermott, the Papers assistant director and associate editor. Ed Bradley, who works from the Papers location at the National Archives in Washington, DC, authored "*We Never Retreat": Filibustering Expeditions into Spanish Texas, 1812-1822*, published by Texas A&M Press. Papers staff, most of whom are Ph.D. historians, also made notable contributions to history journals, blogs, and book reviews in 2015.

Justice Redeemed

The National Registry of Exonerations maintained by the University of Michigan Law School shows that there have been 1,751 exonerations of the innocent since 1989 when records started being kept. Nearly half of these have been black, even though the black share of the U.S. population is about 14 percent.

While blacks have suffered disproportionately from unjust conviction and imprisonment, the prospect that anyone is convicted in error and may, as a result, spend years in prison for a crime they didn't commit poses a telling challenge to the fairness and competence of the justice system. The Illinois Innocence Project, a unit of the Center, has since 2001 been one of the principal efforts in Illinois, a state with a high number of exonerations, to help the system correct its mistakes. The Project is one of only two in the country headquartered in an undergraduate institution, with large numbers of students participating in the work.

In 2015, the Project achieved two complete exonerations of innocent people – Christopher Abernathy, who had been wrongfully incarcerated for 29 years, and Angel Gonzalez, unjustly imprisoned for 21 years. Both were exonerated on the basis of DNA evidence, a result of a 2012 grant the Project received for DNA testing from the U.S. Department of Justice (USDOJ). The Abernathy and Gonzalez exonerations brought to eight the number of innocent people the Project had assisted in gaining release from prison. Exonerations happen infrequently because the justice system is generally not designed to admit and correct mistakes. 2015 was also the year that the Project attracted its highest number ever of student workers, with 26 undergraduates from several different disciplines assisting with the review of cases of potential innocence.


Angel Gonzalez (C) with Lauren Kaeseberg, IIP staff attorney (L) and Vanessa Potkin, senior staff attorney, Innocence Project (R), after receiving his Certificate Of Innocence in June 2015


Christopher Abernathy and Lauren Kaeseberg, Illinois Innocence Project Staff Attorney

This past fall the Project was awarded another two-year USDOJ DNA testing grant, the third grant of this type it has received since 2010. The grant will help to support a new initiative being launched to focus on innocent Latino inmates in Illinois prisons. The initiative is predicated on the fact that cultural and language differences are contributing to the wrongful conviction of Latinos as well as making it more difficult to identify them in prison. "The new grant," says John Hanlon, the Project's executive director, "will also support an effort to locate and provide assistance to innocent inmates who are in prison as a result of a guilty plea." Most criminal cases never go to court. They are, instead, settled through plea deals, in which admissions of guilt may be coerced or manipulated, given the pressures on the justice system to dispose of cases quickly.

Transgender Equality

This past summer the U.S. Supreme Court legalized same-sex marriage. The decision reverberated through society, both because of the swiftness with which it came to pass and uncertainty about how it would be implemented on the ground. The ruling also, if only indirectly, seemed to create room for beginning to address other related issues, such as the rights of those who identify as transgender.

In collaboration with Jason Pierceson, an associate professor of political science at UIS, the Center's Survey Research Office conducted a national survey in 2015 on attitudes toward transgender

people and policies that could affect them. Support for policies that favor transgender people was generally higher among respondents who are female, lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender (LGBT), and Democrats, and lower among whites, males, people who do not identify as LGBT, and Republicans. Younger respondents were more likely to say that they know or work with someone who is transgender. Some 60 percent of all those answering the survey said that transgender persons receive too much media attention, while only 12 percent said they do not receive enough.

Islamophobia

Rachel Otwell / WUIS

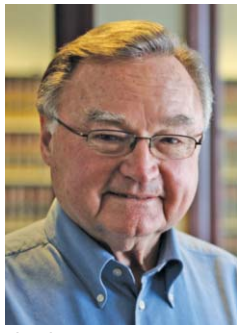
"Political rhetoric is helping fan the flames of Islamaphobia in the wake of violent acts by extremists," wrote NPR Illinois' Rachel Otwell for a two-part December series on Muslims in Springfield. She had in mind Presidential candidate Donald Trump's view that Muslims should not be allowed into the United States and Governor Bruce Rauner's milder request, on the heels of the Paris attacks, that Syrian refugees be barred from Illinois. Concern over an increasing number of hate crimes against Muslims in the U.S. and worries that more could be coming prompted an interfaith prayer vigil with over 200 people at Springfield's mosque on December 13th. "The Springfield Islamic Society's previous mosque," reported Otwell, "was set on fire in the wake of a terrorist attack on American soil." This was in 1995, after the bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma City and before police determined that white American Timothy McVeigh was the perpetrator, not Muslim terrorists.

The Complexity of Justice

Racial disparities, wrongful convictions, sexual politics – in these and many other ways the practice of justice, though central to the American ethos, is, and always has been, one of the most fraught and complex domains of human activity and choice. Courtrooms, which in Illinois may not be free of the influence of partisan politics, provide a good example of the inherent difficulties.

The April 2015 edition of *Illinois Issues* carried the second of a two-part series on the characteristics of trial and appellate judges in Illinois based on a 2012 statewide survey. The first part in 2014 looked at judges' demographic attributes, finding more diversity than in 1980, when a similar survey was done. The second part, as authors Suzanne Borland, assistant professor of legal studies at UIS, and Barbara Hayler, professor emerita of criminal justice at UIS, wrote, focused on how judges' think about the law and their role in it. Borland and Hayler found that both trial and appellate judges rated making impartial decisions as their most important responsibility. Judges gave their lowest marks to advancing social and economic justice, one of the primary responsibilities of government articulated in the Illinois Constitution. Both groups also emphasized the importance of adhering to precedent and providing prompt justice. Adherence to precedent and promptness, while well-established judicial values, may at times have the unintended consequence of reducing attention to the complex nuances of the specific cases judges hear.

Brian Mackey



Lloyd Karmeier

The potential for the courts to be politicized grabbed headlines in the failed attempt to defeat state Supreme Court Justice Lloyd Karmeier in his bid for re-election. In Illinois, supreme, appellate, and circuit court judges are initially chosen in partisan elections, and then must subject themselves to uncontested retention elections to secure additional terms. "No justice of the Illinois Supreme Court has lost a retention election," observed NPR Illinois' Brian Mackey in February 2015, "since the system was put in place 50 years ago. [But] Justice Lloyd Karmeier came close." Karmeier's retention was opposed by a group of trial attorneys who argued that he had accepted campaign donations from State Farm Insurance and Philip Morris after joining majority court decisions overturning multimillion dollar judgments against the two companies. "While the lawyers who claim Karmeier's campaign was funded by State Farm and/or Philip Morris have yet to prove that in court," wrote Mackey, "it is true that Karmeier has been the beneficiary of large sums of money whose origins are difficult to trace." Even Karmeier acknowledged to Mackey that judges raising campaign money creates the appearance, as it does with other elected officials, that favors may be done in return.

How courts operate is strongly influenced as well by the sentencing laws of the state. Amidst the sharp ideological divide currently defining American politics, sentencing is one area where conservatives and liberals are beginning to find common ground. Members of both groups have expressed concern about the high public costs of incarceration and sentencing policies that may contribute to the problem through unnecessarily long sentences or imprisonment of low-risk offenders. In a year otherwise lacking in substantial policy accomplishments, it was noteworthy that Governor Rauner took an aggressive stand on the need for sentencing reform to reduce both prison overcrowding and recidivism. As reported by Brian Mackey in March 2015, the Governor created a new commission to formulate recommendations with the goal of reducing the prison population by 25 percent in 10 years. It's not the only group recently created to tackle the problem, noted Mackey. In all cases, the challenge will likely be the same one Rauner has faced in most other areas – the need to work out compromises among competing interests.

Lincoln's Funeral

The Center conducted a scholarly symposium on April 30, 2015 as UIS' formal contribution to the commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the funeral of Abraham Lincoln. The symposium, "Mourning Father Abraham: Lincoln's Assassination and the Public's Response," featured prize-winning authors: Louis P. Masur, distinguished professor of American studies and history at Rutgers University, Martha Hodes, professor of history at New York University, and Michael Burlingame, Chancellor Naomi B. Lynn Distinguished Chair in Lincoln Studies at UIS, who delivered opening remarks and moderated. Masur, drawing from his recent book *Lincoln's Last Speech* by Oxford University Press, focused on the path to Reconstruction Lincoln saw, including his call for black suffrage. In her presentation, Hodes, the author of *Mourning Lincoln* by Yale University Press, described the wide range of responses to Lincoln's death she found in the diaries and letters of ordinary people – northerners and southerners, white and black, soldiers and civilians, men and women. An overflow audience of 651 attended the event at UIS, plus more viewed the program through 94 connections to the live webcast. A link to the video of the symposium can be found at the Center's website: www.uis.edu/cspl/.

Louis Masur, Michael Burlingame and Martha Hodes listen as Chancellor Koch welcomes the audience to the Symposium, "Mourning Father Abraham" on April 30, 2015.

EDUCATION

The 2015 state budget battle, which continues in 2016, produced a schizophrenic response on the topic of public education. On the one hand, while the Governor and the legislature refused to agree on a budget, they relatively quickly came to terms on funding for PreK and K-12 education. On the other, as already noted above, public higher education ended the calendar year with no help at all. Since a post-secondary credential is now considered necessary for just about any form of middle-class employment, refusing to invest in higher education, while funding most other aspects of state government, including PreK-12, represented a troubling turn of events in governing Illinois.

Compared, say, to fifty years ago, the education of children today is significantly more complex and multifaceted. The educational continuum has been extended in both directions. Broad access to education after high school became part of official policy in the 1970s and 80s. Providing access to early childhood education before kindergarten first occurred with the establishment of the federal Head Start program in the 1960s for low-income children, but it took another thirty years before preschool development became an important objective for state governments. Along the way, many other public programs and services have arisen to protect and nurture children – often, although not always, in alliance with their parents – in ways beyond the scope of formal schooling. These efforts focus, like Head Start, mainly on children from less advantaged circumstances, who are more apt to have difficulty succeeding without help.

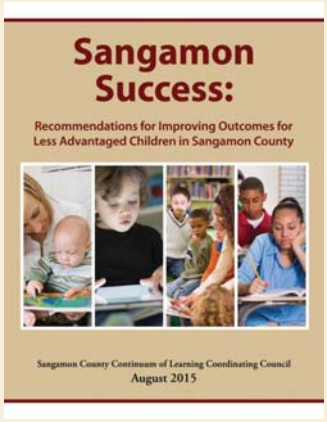
The overall result is an intricate, and not always coherent, arrangement of activities and interests, inside and outside schools. The arrangement is difficult to fully comprehend, and its behavior is difficult to predict. It is no surprise, in the face of this complexity, that Governor Rauner followed the lead of other governors in other states by recently forming a children's cabinet consisting of the heads of state agencies dealing with children. No other function of state government in modern times so consistently receives this sort of top-level attention – reflecting, perhaps, the belief that the development of young people is the single most important, substantive responsibility of a state.

Early Childhood

Research evidence has accumulated over time demonstrating that early childhood education, when high quality, can make a marked and enduring difference for disadvantaged children. In the absence of effective preschooling, young children who come from adverse environments are more likely than other children to enter kindergarten without the cognitive, self-control, and social skills they will need. Participation when they are three and four years old in a good preschool can help children learn those skills. Since this occurs early in life, when the brain is very plastic, the learning has a greater chance of becoming deeply rooted, with positive long-term effects.

The University of Chicago's James Heckman, a Nobel Laureate in Economics, has predicted that a high quality preschool can produce a 7 percent to 10 percent annual return on investment "based on increased school and career achievement as well as reduced costs in remedial education, health and criminal justice system expenditures." That's better than average stock market

Sangamon Success



"The education of young people should be the highest priority in Sangamon County." So begins the 2015 report titled *Sangamon Success*, from the Sangamon County Continuum of Learning, of which the Center is a member. The report is the result of a yearlong planning process in 2014 in which local education and child development experts used the evidence from research to recommend 25 ways in which the greater Springfield community can improve educational outcomes for its less advantaged children. The report was released to the community in October, emphasizing several top priorities that should be given attention sooner rather than later. The priorities place a strong focus on home visiting for young families, including adoption of the highly regarded Nurse-Family Partnership. The NFP has 30 years of research evidence backing up its claims that, by intervening with low-income, first-time mothers during their pregnancy and the first two years of their child's life, the lives of both mothers and children can be transformed for the long-run. Expanding high quality preschool offerings and effective mentoring programs for school-age children are also emphasized, along with expanding the career pathways available to youth. Initial funding to act on the priority recommendations has been provided by the Strategic Leadership Council of the Greater Springfield Chamber of Commerce, and support for specific priorities is emerging in the Land of Lincoln Community Foundation and United Way of Central Illinois.

returns. High quality includes three main components: positive relationships between teachers and children; an engaging, well-organized classroom; and instruction that teaches children to think. There is little evidence that preschool programs of less than high quality can produce the return on investment proponents like Heckman estimate.

Illinois was once a leader in early childhood education, but as the state's fiscal problems have mounted, its support for preschooling has eroded. "A recent national snapshot of state preschool programs shows Illinois' commitment to pre-K education has slipped in the wake of the Great Recession," wrote *Illinois Issues* editor Jamey Dunn last June. The national snapshot Dunn was referring to is the National Institute for Early Education Research's annual preschool yearbook that ranks states on a number of dimensions, including percentage of the child population with access to preschool and funding. In the early 2000s, Illinois was one of the top states in the country, noted Dunn, as it added more and more preschool capacity. But, coming out of the recession, the state started cutting back, reducing funding by 23 percent per preschool student between FY 2009 and FY 2014.

Performance of Illinois preschools has also been uneven. An evaluation for the Illinois State Board of Education in 2012 found that while children with low risk benefited in some ways, high risk children barely benefited at all. Early math skills, which have been shown in some research to be the most predictive of later educational success, actually declined for most groups of children. Gains were more likely in vocabulary skills and behavior, the evaluation showed.

In an effort to get the state back on track with its preschool commitment, Governor Rauner, whose wife runs the Ounce of Prevention Fund, a leading backer of early childhood development, has called for a substantial increase in preschool funding in his FY 2017 budget proposal. This comes on the heels of a fight waged in calendar 2015 over state funding for child care assistance for low-income families. In Illinois, child care centers are guided by the same early learning standards that preschools are. As NPR Illinois' Maureen McKinney reported in September, the Governor tried to dramatically reduce eligibility for the child care assistance program, which is relied on heavily by low-income parents who work or go to school. The outcry in response led to a partial reversal in the fall, with access to the program expanded, although not to the level that had existed before the Governor's policy change.

There is strong popular support for early education. The Atlantic magazine recently reported the results of a national survey it commissioned showing that "big majorities of Americans, across racial, partisan, and generational lines, support expanding access to preschool for more young children." This finding was echoed in the *Sangamon County Citizens' Survey* conducted by the Center's Survey Research Office in the spring of 2015. In that survey, over ninety percent of respondents said education for children three to five years old is either very or somewhat important. A large majority also supported doing more educationally for children younger than three.

Sangamon Success calls for improving the ability of preschools and child care providers to use data to enhance performance and for wider use of proven preschool math curricula.

School Funding

"[Illinois] holds the dubious distinction of having the most inequitable school funding formula in the nation," observed Dusty Rhodes in an April 2015 story for NPR Illinois. Public schools in Illinois rely heavily on property taxes to finance their operations, giving an advantage to wealthier communities where property taxes generate higher amounts of revenue per capita. State funding is supposed to help equalize the differences, Rhodes said, by giving "poor districts…enough money to provide kids with a basic education – called the 'foundation level.'" However, the state hasn't met the foundational level since 2011, with cuts in funding carried out so that every district experiences the same percentage loss. But, since poor districts get more state funding in absolute dollars than wealthier ones, the percentage reduction for them amounts to more money. In 2015, the legislature tried to move proposals to make the funding formula fairer but could not overcome opposition from legislators representing high property tax school districts.

There has been a long-running national debate about the relationship between school funding and student performance. Do more and better resources lead to higher achievement? Based on the latest evidence, the answer would seem to be "yes." A study released last November by researchers at Northwestern University and the University of California, Berkeley showed that school finance reforms around the country since 1990 have led to increases in spending in low-income school districts and that those increases have caused steady improvements in student achievement.

The difference between rich and poor schools in Illinois is also played out in a different financial way. On her Education Desk Blog in March 2015, Dusty Rhodes reported on the role of public school foundations, private entities that raise money to support school activities. "The first public school foundation in Illinois, and likely first in the country," explained Rhodes, "was established almost 40 years ago by Springfield District 186." The initial goal of school foundations was to generate money for things not fundable by the regular school budget. However, as funding for public schools has tightened, foundations have been turned to more often to help fill gaps. The result, suggested Rhodes, has been to reinforce "the disparity that exists between districts with high property values and those with lower values." The foundations for better-off schools are able to raise more money and do more with it than schools that are not as wealthy.

Behavioral Health

Research demonstrates that about half of the value of high quality preschool comes from its positive contribution to the social and emotional well-being of children. Protecting and enhancing the behavioral health of children has become an important objective in education. Children who cannot reliably control their behavior have difficulty concentrating, or who are depressed or anxious are unlikely to learn as well as those who are socially and emotionally healthy.

Since 2010, the Center's Institute for Legal, Legislative, and Policy Studies and Survey Research Office have been evaluating a Springfield initiative aimed at increasing children's access to behavioral health services. (The Institute and SRO have also been the evaluator since 2014 of a similar project in Quincy, Illinois.) Operated by Memorial Behavioral Health, Springfield's MOSAIC project has to date conducted more than 25,000 behavioral health screenings of local children through several public schools and three primary healthcare providers. Close to 2,000 children

UIS Child Protection Training Academy

Child Protection Training Academy Residential Simulation Lab

"Child welfare workers, on average, only remain with their organization between 2 and 4 years," says Betsy Goulet, a UIS public administration professor spearheading the development of a Child Protection Training Academy under the auspices of Illinois Department of Children and Family Services (DCFS) and the Center. The aim of the Academy is to reverse the early exit of child welfare staff by better equipping them for their roles through research-based training methods. UIS has converted the no-longer-in-use Perry House – a one-story bungalow that used to house the campus credit union – into a "residential simulation" lab that affords trainees the opportunity to learn their craft in a setting designed to mimic a family's actual home. Evidence shows that more realistic settings produce more accurate learning. The campus has also developed the props needed to re-create a courtroom setting, since child welfare workers often have to appear in court in situations where child abuse or neglect has been alleged. The partnership between DCFS and UIS began in 2014, when Goulet, a former child welfare worker and children's advocate, was contracted to help the state agency revamp its child protection staff training. Both the residential simulation lab and mock courtroom will also be available for use by UIS students taking courses in the campus' child maltreatment curriculum.

Mock Courtroom

have received treatment. Children needing treatment have been more likely to come from families with limited material and social resources, suggesting that MOSAIC is reaching families and children who may have been missed before.

An evaluation last spring comparing school-aged children who entered behavioral healthcare through MOSAIC with those who entered care in other ways found that MOSAIC was the better path in certain respects. MOSAIC clients, who were more likely to be male and African American, had participated in more therapy sessions and were more likely to contact a provider to cancel a therapy session than to just not show up. "No-shows" are a costly inefficiency in behavioral healthcare; client cancellations, compared to no-shows, indicate more engagement in treatment. The evaluation found high levels of satisfaction with the MOSAIC model among participating physicians, medical residents, and nurse practitioners. Also, the multiple stakeholder organizations involved in MOSAIC have consistently given positive ratings to the project's efforts to coordinate and lead local activities to improve children's use of behavioral health services. In 2016, the evaluation will look at the effects of MOSAIC on behavioral health and educational outcomes and degree of support for the model in Springfield public schools. MOSAIC has largely been funded by the Illinois Children's Healthcare Foundation based in Oak Brook.

Sustained foundation support has been essential, since MOSAIC has had to evolve in a climate of diminishing state support for mental health services. As *Illinois Issues*' Jamey Dunn reported in October, Illinois has been cutting funding for mental health programs over the past several years. Between 2009 and 2011 alone, $114 million was slashed from the state's mental health budget. "Providers say those cuts, along with the closure of psychiatric hospitals," said Dunn, "have left many parts of the state ill-equipped to help individuals in crisis needing in-patient care." Governor Rauner continued the trend by asking for further mental health funding cuts in his FY 2016 proposed budget.

Defunding Higher Education

For the Center, UIS, and, for that matter, all other parts of Illinois higher education, there was no stranger or more ominous turn of events in 2015 than the failure of the Governor and legislature to appropriate FY 2016 funds for colleges and universities. Public institutions received none of the usual appropriations to help defray the cost of their operation, and, perhaps even worse, students did not receive grants from the states' Monetary Assistance Program (MAP), the main source of tuition support in Illinois for economically needy students. Colleges and universities, by and large, fronted the cost of MAP grants, expecting the state to come through at some point with offsetting support, which never materialized. Institutions were able to rely on their other sources of revenue to provide the cash flow necessary to stay in business, although the net effect was simply to put off the day of reckoning.

Pay It Forward


James Mendez

The Illinois House and Senate have been trying to get funding appropriated for the Monetary Award Program (MAP). Helping with the effort has been Illinois Legislative Staff Intern James Mendez, who works on the Democratic staff for the Senate Higher Education and Appropriations Committees. When Senate Bill 2043, appropriating funds for MAP and community colleges, came up for debate on the Senate floor, members had in hand charts that Mendez prepared for them analyzing certain aspects of the legislation. A graduate of the University of Missouri-Columbia with a degree in history, Mendez served on student government there and worked on an initiative to improve retention and graduation rates of African American men. Mendez' commitment to the public good is evident in his desire to leave a positive legacy. "Last year's intern," he says, "left me a lot of great information. So, I'm working hard to pay it forward by making sure next year's intern will be equipped to succeed."

The year began portentously enough, when Governor Rauner introduced his fiscal 2016 budget proposal in March with a one-third reduction in state appropriations for colleges and universities. At the time, the sparse language in the budget proposal gave no clear reason for the cut other than to meet a savings target. The underlying reasoning became clear enough a short time later when Rauner began talking publicly, as NPR Illinois' Amanda Vinicky reported, about the need for colleges and universities to "shrink their bureaucracy, their overhead, their layers of administration and inefficiency." This argument appeared to resonate, at some level, with simultaneous concerns from policymakers in both parties about a continuing series of what seemed like excessive payouts to departing university executives.

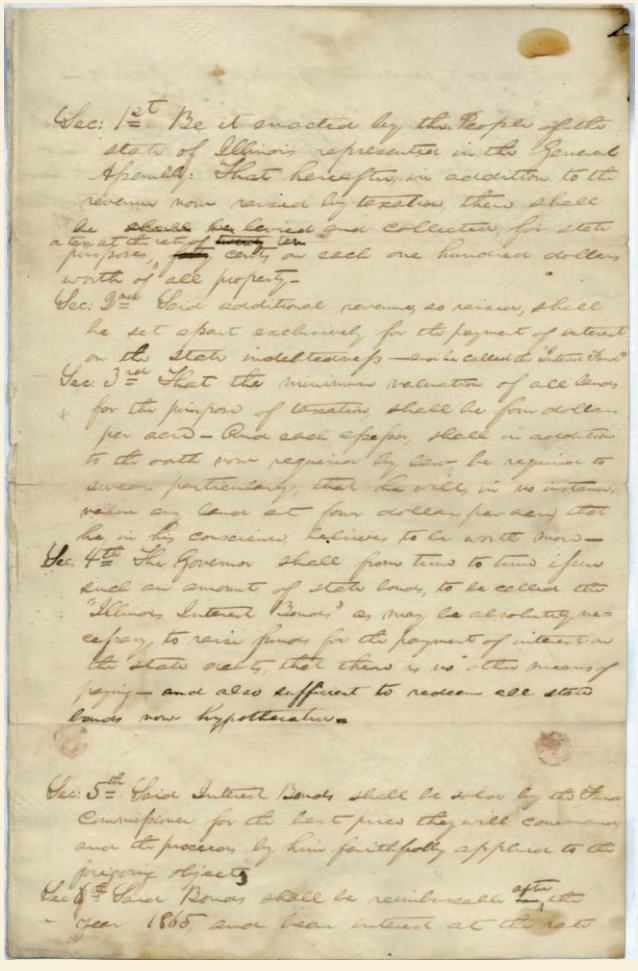
The complaint that universities spend too much on administration, ostensibly at the expense of student instruction, has dogged higher education for a while. However, the actual evidence supporting the contention is relatively thin. Mostly it comes from accounting data showing how costs are allocated across different institutional functions, including administration. But it is rare for the data to paint a clear and detailed picture of what an institution gets in return for its particular administrative expenditures. Administration itself is an oblique category that eludes easy definition, notwithstanding attempts by federal and state officials to pin it down over the years.

Whether or not university administration costs too much, some of the reasons for cost escalation are fairly clear and have generally received little public scrutiny. One driver is the cost of complying with external regulations. A recent study by Vanderbilt University found that the costs to American universities of complying with federal rules represented between 3 and 11 percent of total

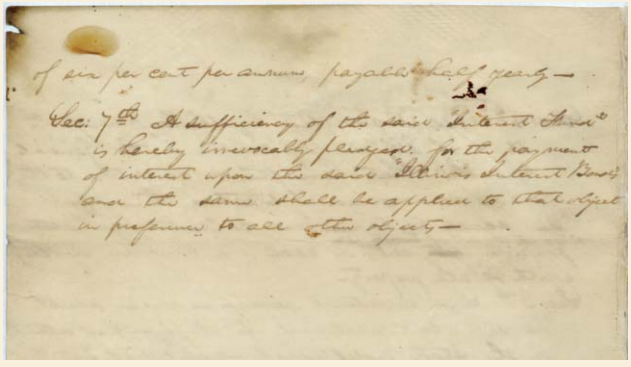
nonhospital institutional operating expenditures. In 2013-2014, the estimated aggregate cost of universities' federal compliance was in the range of $27 billion. Compliance with state rules, such as Public Law 51 in Illinois governing procurement, would represent additional administrative cost – new costs that were, essentially, ignored when the state law was enacted.

Another factor, harder to quantify, is the cost of broader access to public higher education. Broader access during the past 20-30 years has meant a wider range of students in terms of age, gender, race/ethnicity, with a wider range of abilities and needs. How to translate this wider range into educational effectiveness has been a challenge, as institutions test out possibilities, some of which work, some of which don't. The process is, by its nature, somewhat inefficient, generating administrative costs that could be avoided if increasing the number of educated people was not an important public policy objective.

Illinois is one of several states that has set an ambitious goal of higher education attainment for its citizens: 60 percent of working-age adults with a post-secondary credential by 2025. The current figure is around 43 percent. Illinois' rate of bachelor's degree or higher attainment is 31 percent, higher by 4-5 percentage points than all other Midwestern states, except Minnesota at 32 percent. The push to boost educational attainment recognizes that as the economy continues to evolve, a growing share of jobs providing a middle class lifestyle require skills that only formal education beyond high school can provide. The loss of funding for public higher education, long the principal avenue of educational opportunity for most Illinois residents, would undoubtedly compromise the ability of the state to meet the labor force needs of its economy down the road.



In December 1840, Abraham Lincoln wrote and introduced this "Bill to Provide for the Payment of Interest on the Public Debt." (*Image courtesy of the Illinois State Archives through the Papers of Abraham Lincoln*).



Internal Improvements and State Debt

In 1837, the Illinois General Assembly, led by Abraham Lincoln and the Whig majority, passed "An Act to Establish and Maintain a General System of Internal Improvements." Enacted in the spirit of Henry Clay's "American System," Lincoln and his fellow Whigs hoped to promote economic development through the transformation of the state's infrastructure. The state contracted for the construction of bridges, canals, roads, railroads, and other improvements, resulting in a massive debt that became increasingly acute for state finances as the Panic of 1837 and economic depression gripped the United States. In 1839, the state's financial position became so dire that the General Assembly, then controlled by the Democrats, enacted a host of bills to modify or dismantle the system of internal improvements. Between 1839 and 1841, the General Assembly considered scores of bills to handle the state debt incurred from the internal improvement program. Debate raged in the legislature between Abraham Lincoln and the Whigs, who wanted to preserve their system and restructure the debt, and Democrats, who wanted to dismantle the system, pay off the debt, and restore the state's credit.

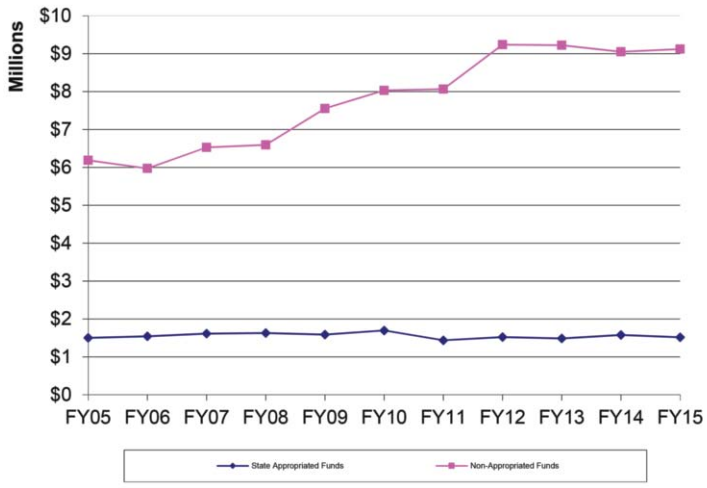
FINANCES

Center for State Policy and Leadership

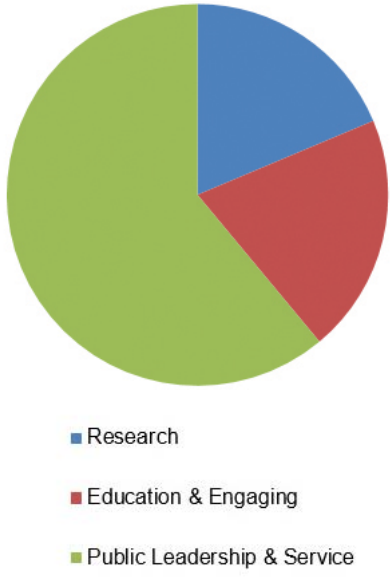
10 Year Appropriated vs. Non Appropriated Funding Comparison

	Appropriated		NonAppropriated		
	Dollars	Percentage	Dollars	Percentage	Ratio
FY05	$1,499,432	19.51%	$6,187,671	80.49%	$4.127
FY06	$1,539,425	20.49%	$5,973,025	79.51%	$3.880
FY07	$1,611,832	19.80%	$6,527,266	80.20%	$4.050
FY08	$1,626,041	19.78%	$6,594,690	80.22%	$4.056
FY09	$1,587,987	17.37%	$7,552,190	82.63%	$4.756
FY10	$1,696,478	17.44%	$8,028,639	82.56%	$4.733
FY11	$1,436,415	15.12%	$8,064,199	84.88%	$5.614
FY12	$1,519,559	14.12%	$9,239,001	85.88%	$6.080
FY13	$1,487,637	13.88%	$9,226,833	86.12%	$6.202
FY14	$1,577,118	14.84%	$9,052,428	85.16%	$5.740
FY15	$1,515,176	14.25%	$9,120,804	85.75%	$6.020

Graph of Appropriated vs. Non Appropriated



Income by Priority FY 2015



(About $2900 or 0.03% of the total income fell outside of these three functions.)

	Research	Education & Engaging	Public Leadership & Service	Undesignated	Total
Office of the Executive Director	$138,508.68	$73,370.14	$192,969.39	$5,735.66	$410,583.87
Papers of Abraham Lincoln	858,125.65	0.00	0.00	0.00	858,125.65
Inst. for Legal, Legislative & Policy Studies	705,020.97	523,754.75	1,890,244.15	0.00	3,119,019.87
Office of Graduate Intern Programs	0.00	0.00	4,120,795.57	0.00	4,120,795.57
Center Publications	0.00	360,599.08	0.00	0.00	360,599.08
Survey Research	282,331.28	0.00	0.00	0.00	282,331.28
Office of Electronic Media	0.00	0.00	284,940.23	0.00	284,940.23
WUIS/WIPA	0.00	1,199,584.77	0.00	0.00	1,199,584.77
Total	**1,983,986.58**	**2,157,208.74**	**6,488,949.34**	**5,735.66**	**$10,635,980.32**
	18.65%	20.28%	61.01%	0.05%	

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PUBLICATIONS

Bradley, E. A., (2015). *We Never Retreat: Filibustering Expeditions into Spanish Texas, 1812-1822*. Texas A&M Press.

Bunch, B. & Sulamoyo, D. with Bland, J.T., Itulya, A., Johnson, L. and Wang, J. (Forthcoming). *Community Action Leaders: Rooting Out Poverty at the Local Level*. New York: Routledge Press.

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Jones, M.L, Kirzinger A., & Ogbu, E. (2015). *The Potential Effect of the Ronald McDonald House Charities*. Prepared for Ronald McDonald House Charities of Central Illinois.

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SIU Ortho
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SIU School of Medicine
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Springfield Business Journal
Springfield Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union
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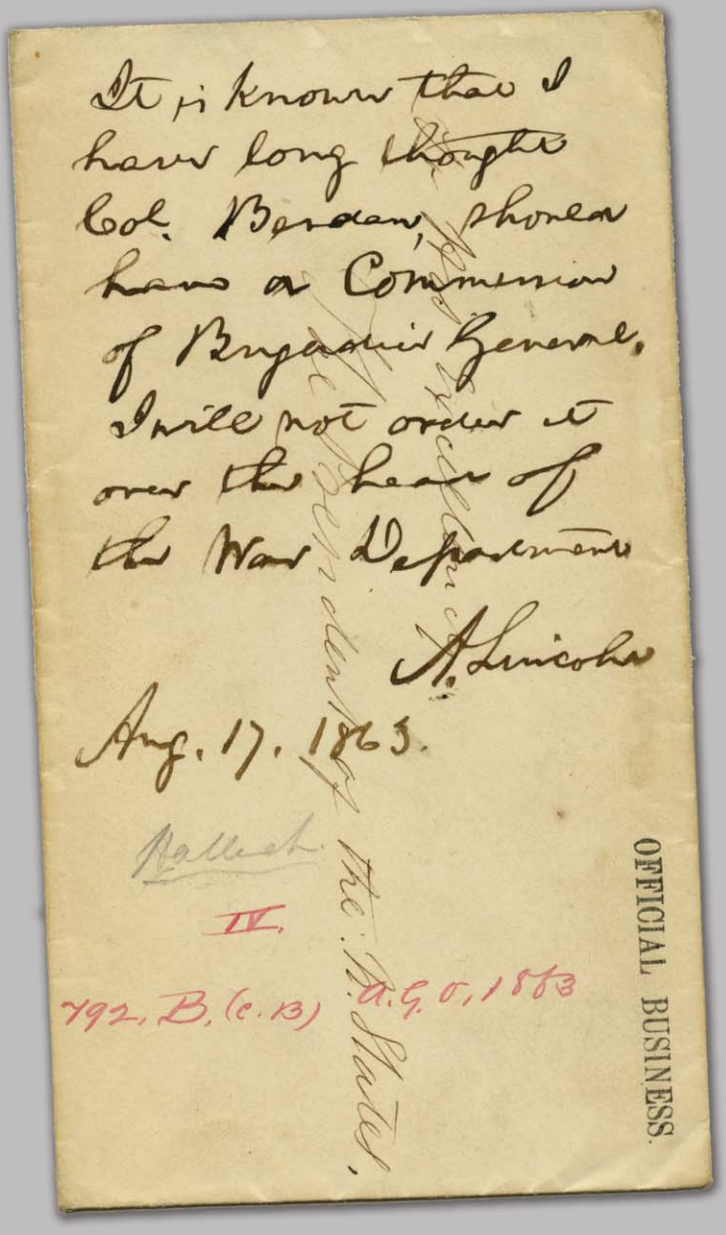
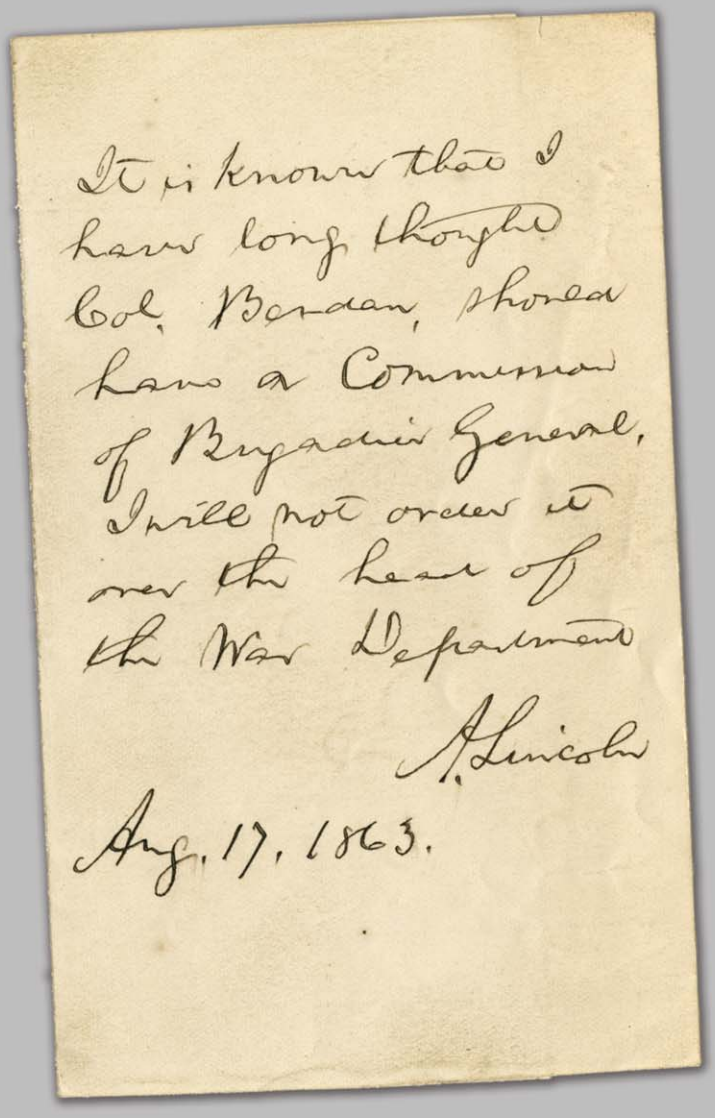


Abraham Lincoln wrote this brief endorsement on an envelope supporting the promotion of Hiram Berdan from colonel to brigadier general. Berdan was an inventor, engineer, and marksman who recruited two regiments of sharp-shooters, carefully selected men armed with long-range rifles and telescopic sights. Frustrated by his lack of advancement, Berdan resigned in January 1864 and returned to private life. Only after the war did he achieve the rank Lincoln sought for him in this endorsement. The original document is in the records of the Adjutant General's office at the National Archives in Washington, DC.

Courtesy of the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum.

FORGERY



The image above is of a forgery of this document, originally offered for sale as a legitimate document, then withdrawn, and then sold as a forgery. Later, it was donated to the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum as an authentic document. The skilled forger mimicked every stroke of Lincoln's pen and clearly had access to the original document or a high-quality reproduction. Comparing the two side-by-side reveals small variations and hesitations that indicate it is a forgery. Detecting and excluding forgeries is a significant challenge for the Papers of Abraham Lincoln, as the project seeks to compile an authoritative archive of all documents written by or to Abraham Lincoln during his lifetime.

Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration.

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