

Illinois residents see broad corruption in state government and seek action for change

Analysis of a statewide survey

January 2009

As Illinois residents contemplate the current scandal surrounding Governor Blagojevich, distrust in state government has reached an all time high and two-thirds support the creation of a new state agency to vigorously enforce Illinois' campaign finance laws (66% support). Another two-thirds would like to see more tax dollars spent on stronger enforcement of laws to keep money out of politics (65% support).

Illinoisans are more likely to think of Governor Blagojevich's alleged actions as the norm rather than an aberration in Illinois politics. Nearly six in ten (58%) see Blagojevich's alleged behavior as "common among public officials" in the state compared to four in ten (39%) who say it is unusual. Corruption in state government and the influence of money in state politics top the concerns of Illinois residents for the state (61% and 54% respectively "extremely" concerned). These concerns score even higher than residents' worries about the economy (50%) or jobs (45%).

Opinions of the state legislature are much more negative than they were a few months ago and just as the legislature reconvenes, the public does not have much confidence that lawmakers will address the issue of money in politics. A large majority of voters say a legislator's support for laws to reduce the influence of money in politics would be important to their decision to re-elect their legislator (89%) and half (50%) say it would be "very" important.

The 2009 Belden Russonello & Stewart survey for the Joyce Foundation (www.joycefdn.org) is a random sample telephone survey of adults in Illinois on attitudes toward government and political reform. A total of 802 interviews were conducted by telephone January 5 through 11, 2009. The margin of sampling error for the survey is plus or minus 3.5 percentage points at the 95% level of tolerance. Some of the questions in the current survey track attitudes from BRS surveys on political reform conducted in the 2008 and 2006.

Overview

The 2009 Joyce Illinois statewide survey uncovers seven main points on attitudes toward state government and reforms:

1. Pessimism on the direction of the state and distrust in the Illinois state government has risen over the last few months:
 - Eight in ten Illinois residents (78%) say the state is off on the wrong track, an increase over the 68% who thought so in April-May 2008.
 - Similarly, a large majority (81%) says it only trusts the state government “some of the time” or “almost never.” The percent saying they “almost never” trust the state government rose from 25% in April-May 2008 to 29% this January.
2. Concerns about corruption in state government and the influence of money in state politics top residents’ list of concerns for the state, and these concerns are not likely to dissipate with the departure of the governor.
 - Six in ten (61%) are “extremely” concerned about corruption in state government and over half (54%) about the influence of money in state politics. Concerns of corruption exceed concerns over the economy (50%), jobs (45%), and the state budget (46%).
 - A majority (58%) believes Governor Blagojevich’s alleged behavior is “common” among Illinois public officials, while 39% find it an “unusual and extreme case of corruption.” Concerns about corruption and the influence of money in politics, therefore, are deeper than the current scandal and are likely to continue even if the governor is removed.
3. Even during tough economic times, two-thirds of Illinois residents support the creation of a new state agency to vigorously enforce Illinois’ campaign finance laws (66% support) and spending more tax dollars on stronger enforcement of laws to keep money out of politics (65% support).

4. Strong support exists for a range of reform efforts. Seven in ten to over eight in ten Illinoisans believe each of the reforms tested in the survey will make a difference in helping state government work better. In particular, large percentages believe tougher campaign finance laws and public financing will make a difference in state government:
 - Eight in ten (78%) say passing “tougher campaign finance laws that ban contributions by corporations to candidates and political parties” will make a difference.
 - Three-quarters say so with regard to “tougher campaign finance laws that ban contributions by unions to candidates and political parties;” (76%) and “tougher campaign finance laws that limit the amount of money individuals can give to political candidates and political parties” (74%).
 - Seven in ten (71%) believe public financing of political candidates will make a difference in helping state government work better.

5. As the Illinois legislature prepares to reconvene, residents of the state place importance on the legislature addressing the issue of money in politics but hold a generally unfavorable attitude toward the job the legislature has been doing.
 - Nine in ten voters (89%) say their legislator’s support for legislation to reduce money in politics would be important to their decision to re-elect their legislator with half (50%) saying it would be “very” important.
 - Illinois residents, however, hold a decidedly more negative opinion of the state legislature than they did last spring. Nearly half (49%) say the legislature is doing a “poor” job compared to 26% who said so in April-May 2008.
 - And, as the legislature prepares to address the governor’s scandal and the issue of money in politics, public confidence is low. Only 48% of Illinois residents have confidence the legislature will pass new laws to reduce the influence of money in state politics and 51% are not confident.

6. Although they have little faith in state government, Illinoisans still believe reform efforts are worthwhile.
 - A majority continues to believe it is “worth getting money out of politics” (57%); and
 - Two-thirds (67%) reject the idea that corruption will always be present in state government.

7. Illinois residents tend to be of one voice as they consider these issues and the job ahead for the state legislature. Even though Republicans voice more criticism than Democrats toward the state government, Democrats, Republicans and independents come together in their concerns about corruption in the state and their support for policy changes:
 - “Limiting the amount of campaign money Republican and Democratic leaders of the legislature are allowed to contribute to other legislative candidates” (Total 71% support; Democrats 71%; Republicans 77%; independents 73%).
 - “State government spending more taxpayer dollars on stronger enforcement of laws to keep money out of politics” (Total 65% support; Democrats 63%; Republicans 68%; independents 66%).
 - “Creation of a new state agency to vigorously enforce Illinois’ campaign finance laws” (Total 66% support; Democrats 71%; Republicans 61%; independents 66%).

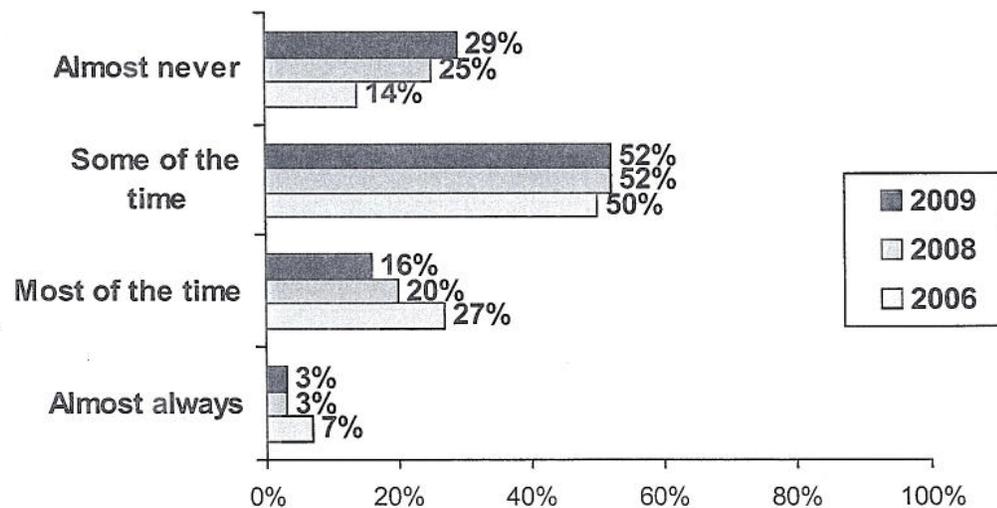
Findings

1. Active distrust in state government rising

Over the last few months, Illinoisans have grown more pessimistic about the direction of their state and more distrustful of the Illinois state government. Eight in ten Illinois residents say the state is off on the wrong track (78%), an increase over the 68% who thought so in April-May 2008. Less than two in ten (18%) currently see the state heading in the right direction. Republicans (88% wrong track) and residents of northwest Illinois¹ (89%) hold the most pessimistic attitudes about the direction of the state.

Residents of Illinois express increasingly sizeable distrust in their state government. Eight in ten (81%) trust the Illinois government to do what is right “only some of the time” (52%) or “almost never” (29%). Sixteen percent trust state government “most of the time” and only three percent “almost always” trust government to do what is right. Distrust of the Illinois state government has greatly increased over the past three years, with the percent saying they “almost never” trust the state government rising from 14% in June-July 2006, to 25% April-May 2008, to 29% this January. Residents most distrustful of state government include men (34% “almost never”) and Republicans (39%).

Trust in State Government to Do What is Right



Q3. How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Illinois to do what is right: almost always, most of the time, only some of the time, or almost never?

Joyce Foundation Survey conducted by Belden Russonello & Stewart, n=802 residents of Illinois, January 5 to 11, 2009

¹ Illinois counties included in each region outlined in Methodology section at back of this report.

2. Concerns about corruption outrank economy and jobs

Topping Illinoisans' list of concerns are "corruption in state government" and "the influence of money in state politics;" six in ten (61%) say they are "extremely" concerned about corruption in state government, and over half (54%) are "extremely" concerned about money in politics. Corruption and the influence of money in politics outrank all the other concerns included in the survey, including concerns about the state's economy (50%), the state budget (46%), jobs (45%), state taxes (41%), and health care (38%).

Since April-May 2008 Illinois residents' concerns about corruption in state government have increased (49% to 61% "extremely concerned"), as have concerns about the influence of money in politics (46% to 54%). Yet even before the Blagojevich scandal, corruption and the influence of money ranked among the top tier of Illinoisans' concerns in spring 2008, on par with concerns about the economy.

Residents 40 years old and older express more concern than younger residents about corruption in state government and influence of money in politics.

Concern with Corruption and the Influence of Money By Age

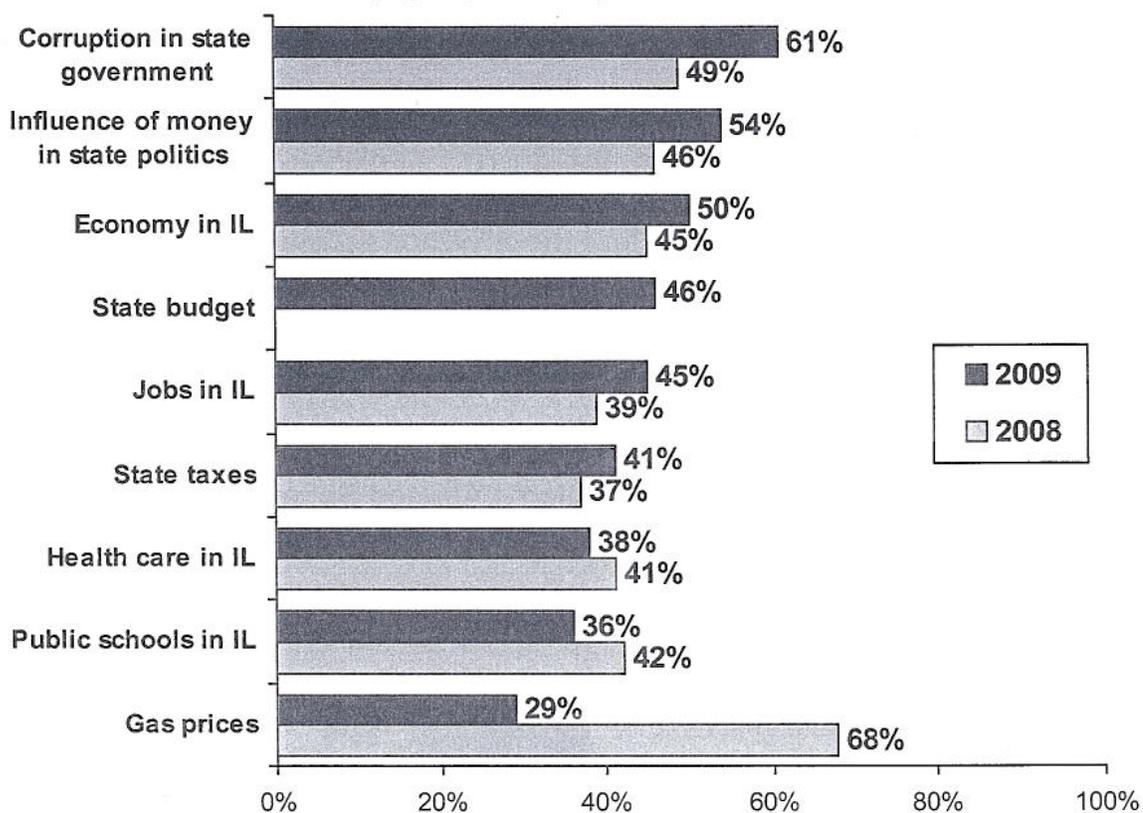
On a scale of one to ten where ten means extremely concerned and one means not concerned at all, how concerned are you personally about each of the following issues in your state: Q6. Corruption in state government. Q9. The influence of money in state politics.

<i>% saying "10"</i>	Corruption in state government	Influence of money in state politics
Total	61%	54%
18-39	48%	45%
40-59	72%	65%
60+	69%	53%

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Concerns with State Issues

% saying "10 – extremely concerned"



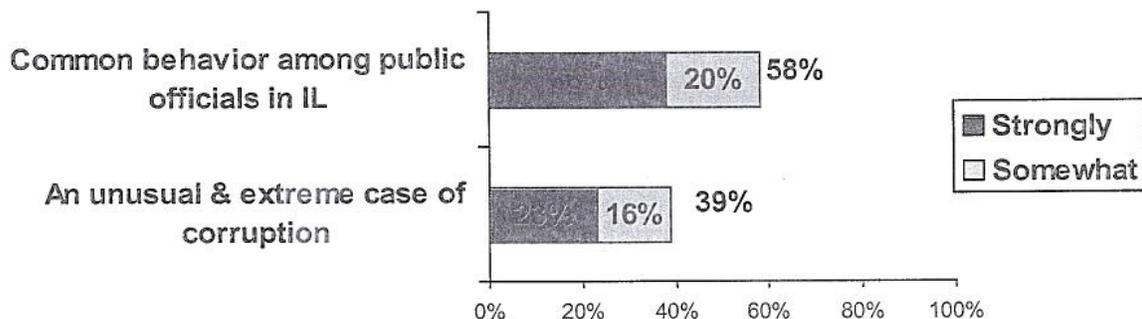
On a scale of one to ten where ten means extremely concerned and one means not concerned at all, how concerned are you personally about each of the following issues in your state: Q6. Corruption in state government. Q9. The influence of money in state politics. Q4. The economy in Illinois. Q12. The state budget. Q13. Jobs in Illinois. Q7. State taxes. Q5. Health care in Illinois. Q8. Public schools in Illinois. Q10. Gas prices.

Joyce Foundation Survey conducted by Belden Russonello & Stewart, n=802 residents of Illinois, January 5 to 11, 2009

3. Majority believes Governor Blagojevich's alleged behavior is "common" among public officials

The current scandal surrounding Governor Blagojevich serves as a telling illustration of Illinoisans' concerns about corruption and money's influence in their state government. A majority (58%) sees Governor Blagojevich's alleged behavior as "common among public officials" in the state. While four in ten (39%) say the alleged behavior is an "unusual and extreme case of corruption." Overall, those who strongly believe the governor's alleged behavior is common (38%) outrank those who strongly believe the case is unusual and extreme (23%). Majorities of almost all demographic groups across the state see the governor's alleged behavior as common rather than unusual in Illinois politics.

Governor Blagojevich's Alleged Behavior Is...



Q13. Do you think Governor Blagojevich's alleged behavior is an unusual and extreme case of corruption or do you think this type of behavior is common among public officials in Illinois? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE) Do you believe this strongly or somewhat?

Joyce Foundation Survey conducted by Belden Russonello & Stewart, n=802 residents of Illinois, January 5 to 11, 2009

4. Reducing influence of money in politics is a role for Illinois legislature, but body viewed in increasing negative light

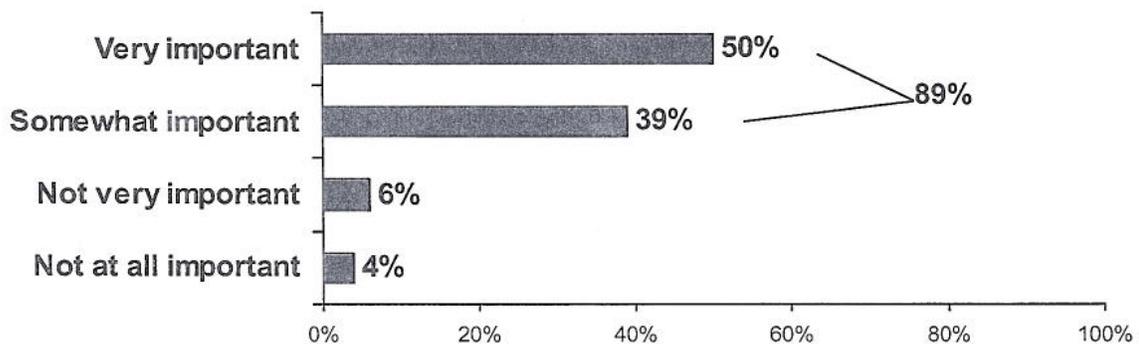
Illinois residents place a fairly high level of importance on their legislature addressing the issue of money in politics, but hold a generally unfavorable attitude toward the job the legislature has been doing.

Among registered voters, over eight in ten (89%) say that if their "state representative repeatedly supported legislation to reduce the influence of money in politics" it would be important in their decision to re-elect their legislator, with half (50%) saying it would be "very" important.

Those who feel strongly about this issue include:

- Voters 40 to 59 (54% "very" important to re-election);
- Voters 60+ (60%); and
- African Americans (63%).

Re-election Based on Support for Reducing Money in Politics

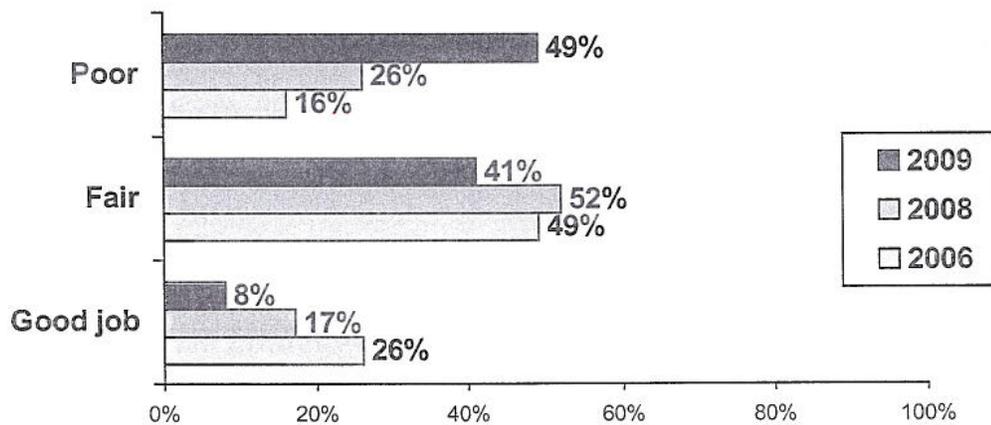


BASE: Registered voters; n=732. Q31. If your state representative repeatedly supported legislation to reduce the influence of money in politics, how important would that be to you in deciding to vote to re-elect your legislator – very, somewhat, not very or not at all important?

Joyce Foundation Survey conducted by Belden Russonello & Stewart, n=732 registered voters in Illinois, January 5 to 11, 2009

Illinois residents' negative opinion of the state legislature's job performance has nearly doubled since last spring and tripled since three years ago. Nearly half (49%) say the legislature is doing a "poor" job compared to 26% who said so in April-May 2008, and 16% who said the same in 2006. Currently, four in ten (41%) say the legislature is currently doing a "fair" job, and only eight percent give it a rating of "good." Men (57% "poor") and Republicans (61%) hold the most negative views.

Increasing Dissatisfaction with State Legislature



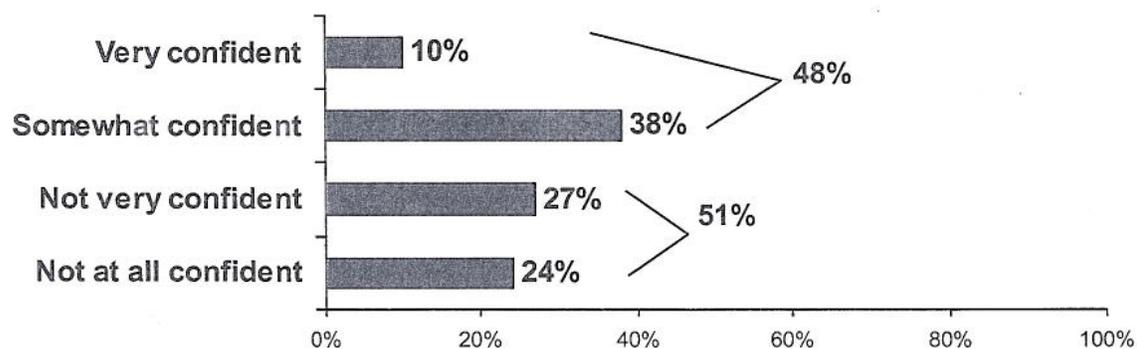
Q2. How would you rate the job that the Illinois state legislature is doing -- a good job, a fair job, or a poor job?

Joyce Foundation Survey conducted by Belden Russonello & Stewart, n=802 residents of Illinois, January 5 to 11, 2009

As the legislature prepares to address the governor's scandal, public confidence is also lacking on whether lawmakers will reduce the influence of money in state politics. Only 48% of Illinois residents have confidence the legislature will pass new laws to reduce the influence of money in state politics, while a majority (51%) is not confident.

Republicans (61% not confident; 39% confident) and independents (60%; 40%) express much less confidence than Democrats (40%; 58%).

Confidence that the Legislature will Take Action



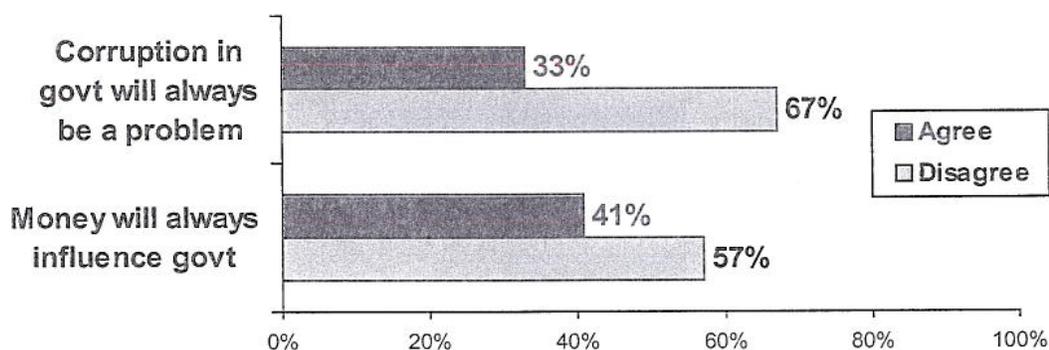
Q14. How confident are you that the Illinois legislature will pass new laws this year to reduce the influence of money in state politics? Very confident, somewhat, not very, or not confident at all?

Joyce Foundation Survey conducted by Belden Russonello & Stewart, n=802 residents of Illinois, January 5 to 11, 2009

5. Despite waning faith in state government, majorities believe reform efforts are worthwhile

Despite their lack of trust in government, Illinoisans still have hope for change in state government. Two-thirds (67%) reject the idea that “corruption in government will always be a problem, so trying to fix it will not make much difference,” while only a third (33%) agrees. A majority (57%) also disagrees that “money will always influence government decisions, so it is not worth trying to reduce the amount of money in politics,” while four in ten (41%) agree.

Belief that Government Can Improve, Reforms Worthwhile



Please tell me if you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. Is that strongly or somewhat [agree/disagree]? Q26. Corruption in government will always be a problem, so trying to fix it will not make much difference. Q27. Money will always influence government decisions, so it is not worth trying to reduce the amount of money in politics.

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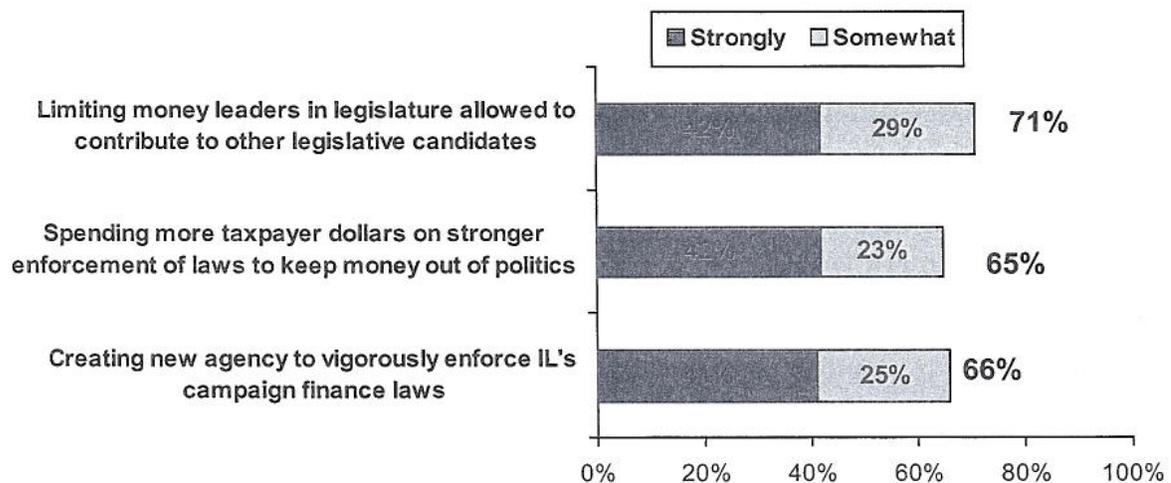
6. Strong support for many reforms, including creating and funding new enforcement agency for state campaign finance laws

All of the specific reforms tested in the survey garner majorities in favor of the policies. Three proposals especially pertinent to the current Blagojevich scandal earn strong majorities in support. These include:

- Seven in ten (71%) support “limiting the amount of campaign money Republican and Democratic leaders of the legislature are allowed to contribute to other legislative candidates” (42% strongly).
- Two-thirds (65%) support “spending more taxpayer dollars on stronger enforcement of laws to keep money out of politics” (42% strongly). Residents 60 years old and over “strongly” support this proposal (56%).
- Two-thirds (66%) also supports the “creation of a new state agency to vigorously enforce Illinois’ campaign finance laws” (41% strongly). Chicago residents (47%) and African Americans (51%) are among the most likely to strongly support the new agency.

Large majorities across the state support each of these reforms, including majorities of Democrats, Republicans and independents.

Support for Reforms



Q24. Would you support or oppose a law limiting the amount of campaign money Republican and Democratic leaders of the legislature are allowed to contribute to other legislative candidates? Do you (support/oppose) that strongly or somewhat? Q25. Would you support or oppose state government spending more taxpayer dollars on stronger enforcement of laws to keep money out of politics? Is that strongly or somewhat (support/oppose)? Q23. Would you support or oppose the creation of a new state agency to vigorously enforce Illinois’s campaign finance laws? Do you (support/oppose) that strongly or somewhat? *Joyce Foundation Survey conducted by Belden Russonello & Stewart, n=802 residents of Illinois, January 5 to 11, 2009*

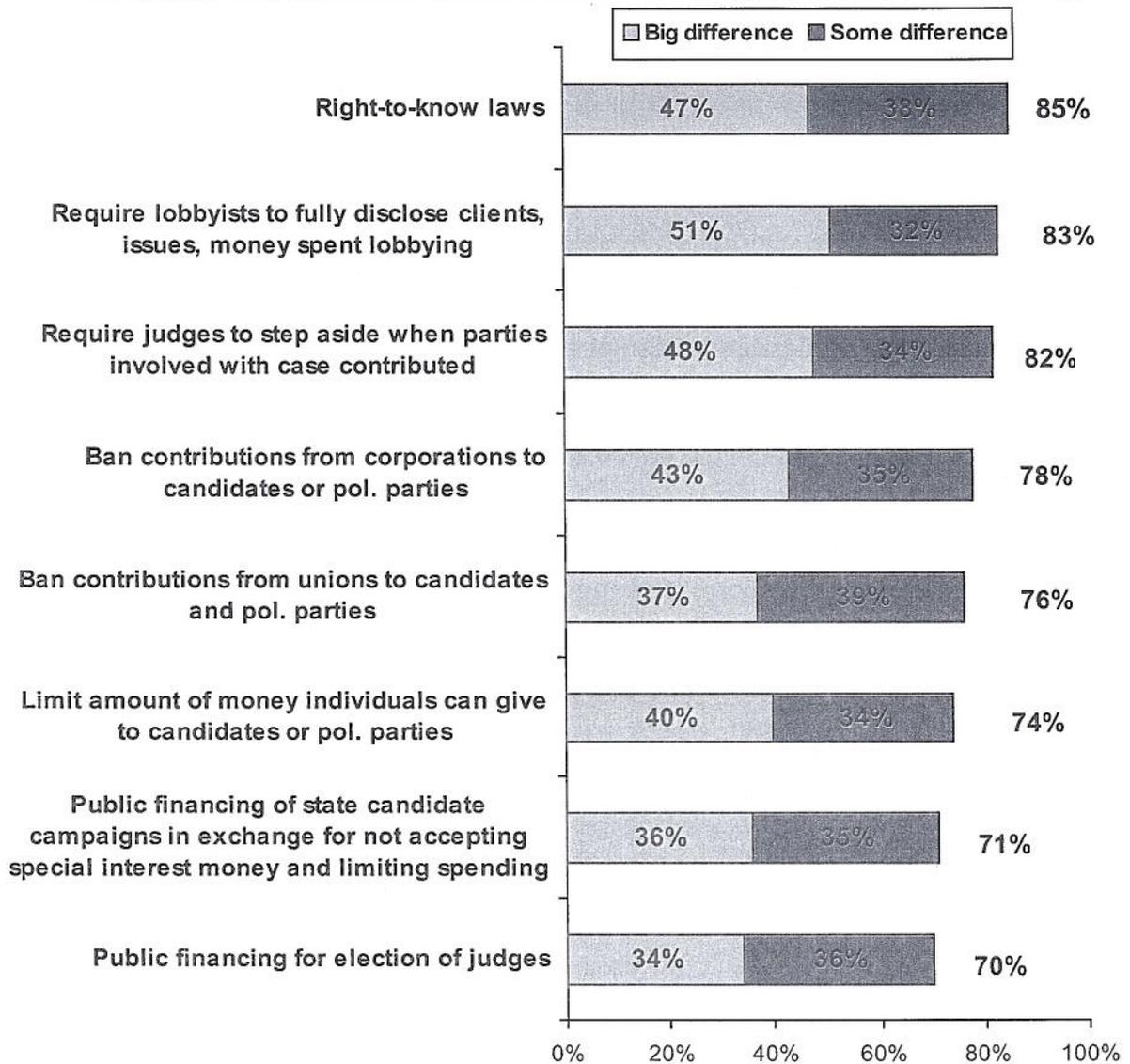
In addition, three-quarters or more of Illinoisans believe reforms related to openness, including right-to-know laws and public reporting for lobbyists, conflict of interest issues with judges, as well as tougher campaign finance laws will make a “difference” in making Illinois state government work better.

- “Right-to-know laws that give the public more access to state government decisions on spending and programs” (85% make a difference; 47% “big difference”).
- “Require lobbyists to fully disclose their clients, what issues they are working on, and the money they spend on lobbying lawmakers” (83% make a difference; 51% “big difference”).
- “Require judges to step aside in cases in which either the lawyers or the parties involved in the case have contributed to their election campaigns” (82% make a difference; 48% “big difference”).
- “Pass tougher campaign finance laws that ban contributions by corporations to candidates and political parties” (78% make a difference; 43% “big difference”).
- “Pass tougher campaign finance laws that ban contributions by unions to candidates and political parties” (76% make a difference; 37% “big difference”).
- “Pass tougher campaign finance laws that limit the amount of money individuals can give to political candidates and political parties” (74% make a difference; 40% “big difference”).

Seven in ten, Illinoisans believe reforms that provide state candidates and judges with public financing for their campaigns will make a difference in how their state government works.

- “Use tax dollars to provide state candidates with public funds to run their campaigns in exchange for agreeing not to accept money from special interests and to limit their campaign spending” (71% make a difference; 36% “big difference”).
- Public financing for election of judges – that is letting judges use tax dollars to finance their campaigns rather than asking for contributions from lawyers and special interest groups” (70% make a difference; 34% “big difference”).

Proposals to Make Government Work Better



Thinking again about state government, please tell me whether each of the following would make a big difference, some difference, not much difference, or no difference at all in making government work better. 22. Right-to-know laws that give the public more access to state government decisions on spending and programs. 16. Require lobbyists to fully disclose their clients, what issues they are working on, and the money they spend lobbying lawmakers. 20. Require judges to step aside in cases in which either the lawyers or the parties involved in the case have contributed to their election campaigns. 18. Pass tougher campaign finance laws that ban contributions by corporations to candidates and political parties. 19. Pass tougher campaign finance laws that ban contributions by unions to candidates and political parties. 17. Pass tougher campaign finance laws that limit the amount of money individuals can give to political candidates and political parties. 15. Use tax dollars to provide state candidates with public funds to run their campaigns in exchange for agreeing not to accept money from special interests and to limit their campaign spending. 21. Public financing for election of judges - that is letting judges use tax dollars to finance their campaigns rather than asking for contributions from lawyers and special interest groups.

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Detailed Survey Methodology

The questionnaire used in this study was designed by BRS in close collaboration with the Joyce Foundation and its grantees, which offered valuable insights and contributed much to the thinking that developed the survey questions. Some of the questions were also asked in the 2006 and 2008 Political Reform Surveys and are repeated for tracking changes in public opinion.

The fieldwork was conducted by telephone using a computer-assisted telephone interviewing (CATI) system, from January 5 to 11, 2009 by a team of professional, fully-trained and supervised telephone interviewers. BRS monitored the interviewing and data collection at all stages to ensure quality.

Sample: The universe for the 2009 study is all adults 18 and older in telephone-equipped households in the state of Illinois.

The sample was selected in two stages. In the first stage, the sampling frame was a list of randomly created phone numbers (a technique known as random digit dial or RDD) for telephone exchanges in Illinois. Telephone numbers were selected at random from this frame. The second stage was selection at the household level. In residences where working telephones were reached, the survey respondents were selected using a random probability method, i.e., interviewers requested to speak with the adult 18 years or older in the household who had the most recent birthday.

A total of 802 telephone interviews were completed. All sample surveys are subject to possible sampling error; that is, the results may differ from those which would be obtained if the entire population under study were interviewed. The margin of sampling error for the entire survey is plus or minus 3.5 percentage points at the 95% level of confidence. This means that in 95 out of 100 samples of this size the results obtained in the sample would fall in a range of plus or minus 3.5 percentage points of what would have been obtained if every individual adult in Illinois had been interviewed. The sampling error is larger for smaller groups within the sample. Other non-sampling error may also contribute to total survey error.

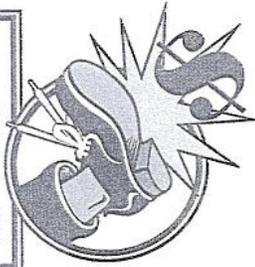
Data Analysis: The data have been weighted by age, race, and gender to match the demographics to the proper proportion in the current population of Illinois according to U.S. Census figures. All charts and analysis in the text refer to the weighted data.

Regional breakdown: The five regions used in the study include the following Illinois counties:

Chicago	Chicago	Northwest	Central Illinois	South Illinois
City of	Suburban Cook	Illinois	Adams	Alexander
Chicago-- Cook	DuPage	Boone	Brown	Bond
	Kane	Bureau	Calhoun	Clay
	Kendall	Carroll	Cass	Clinton
	Lake	DeKalb	Champaign	Edwards
	McHenry	Fulton	Christian	Fayette
	Will	Grundy	Clark	Franklin
		Hancock	Coles	Gallatin
		Henderson	Crawford	Hamilton
		Henry	Cumberland	Hardin
		Jo Daviess	De Witt	Jackson
		Knox	Douglas	Jefferson
		LaSalle	Edgar	Johnson
		Lee	Effingham	Lawrence
		Marshall	Ford	Madison
		McDonough	Greene	Marion
		Mercer	Iroquois	Massac
		Ogle	Jasper	Monroe
		Peoria	Jersey	Perry
		Putnam	Kankakee	Pope
		Rock Island	Livingston	Pulaski
		Stark	Logan	Randolph
		Stephenson	Macon	Richland
		Tazewell	Macoupin	Saline
		Warren	Mason	St. Clair
		Whiteside	McLean	Union
		Winnebago	Menard	Wabash
		Woodford	Montgomery	Washington
			Morgan	Wayne
			Moultrie	White
			Piatt	Williamson
			Pike	
			Sangamon	
			Schuyler	
			Scott	
			Shelby	
			Vermilion	

About BRS

Belden Russonello & Stewart is a public opinion research and communications firm based in Washington, D.C. Since 1982, BRS has conducted survey and focus group research and communications consulting. Learn more about BRS at www.brspoll.com



Limit corruption by
regulating campaign
contributions

Please support HB 24 and SB 1768

Illinois is virtually alone among American states in allowing candidates to take as much campaign money as they can get from whomever will give it to them. In 45 other states and for federal offices, campaign finance laws limit how much individuals can donate; laws for federal elections and in most states also ban direct contributions from corporations, unions and associations. These laws became common in the wake of the Watergate scandal as a means of combating real and perceived corruption by limiting the influence of deep-pocketed interests while also shielding businesses and individuals from extortionate demands for campaign funds.

HB 24 and SB 1768 would establish campaign contribution limits for individuals, businesses, associations and political action committees. The bills are modeled after federal campaign contribution limits. But while SB 1768 would prohibit corporations, labor groups and associations from contributing directly from their treasuries, as under the federal system, HB24 would not ban those types of donations.

Illinois is one of only a handful of states that currently has no campaign contribution limits – a deplorable distinction that contributes to Illinois' reputation as the Wild West of campaign finance.

Illinois' last two governors made plain the weaknesses of our current unregulated campaign finance system. Recent trials demonstrated that officials can and have demanded outsized campaign contributions in exchange for appointments to boards and commissions, the delivery of state funds and grants, even the signing of bills approved by the legislature. The pay-to-play bill enacted in 2008 over Gov. Blagojevich's veto was a good start, but there remain too many other activities for officials to leverage into campaign funds.

With two governors in a row charged with criminal corruption, it is clear that Illinois' political culture demands serious attention. Voters are well aware of Illinois' rich history of corruption. In a January 2009 survey, 58% of respondents said they believe Blagojevich's alleged activities are commonplace among Illinois public officials. More importantly, 74% of the voters said contribution limits will make a difference in making Illinois government work better.

It is time for the legislature to break clean with the past and to end the system that allowed people like Blagojevich and George Ryan to assume the duties of our state's chief executive. A reasonable system of limits on campaign contributions and transfers will protect candidates from a recurring source of scandal and corruption.

HB 24 is sponsored by Reps. Harry Osterman, Beth Coulson, Kathleen Ryg, Kevin Joyce and John Fritchey. SB 1768 is sponsored by Sens. Heather Steans, Jacqueline Collins and Michael Noland.

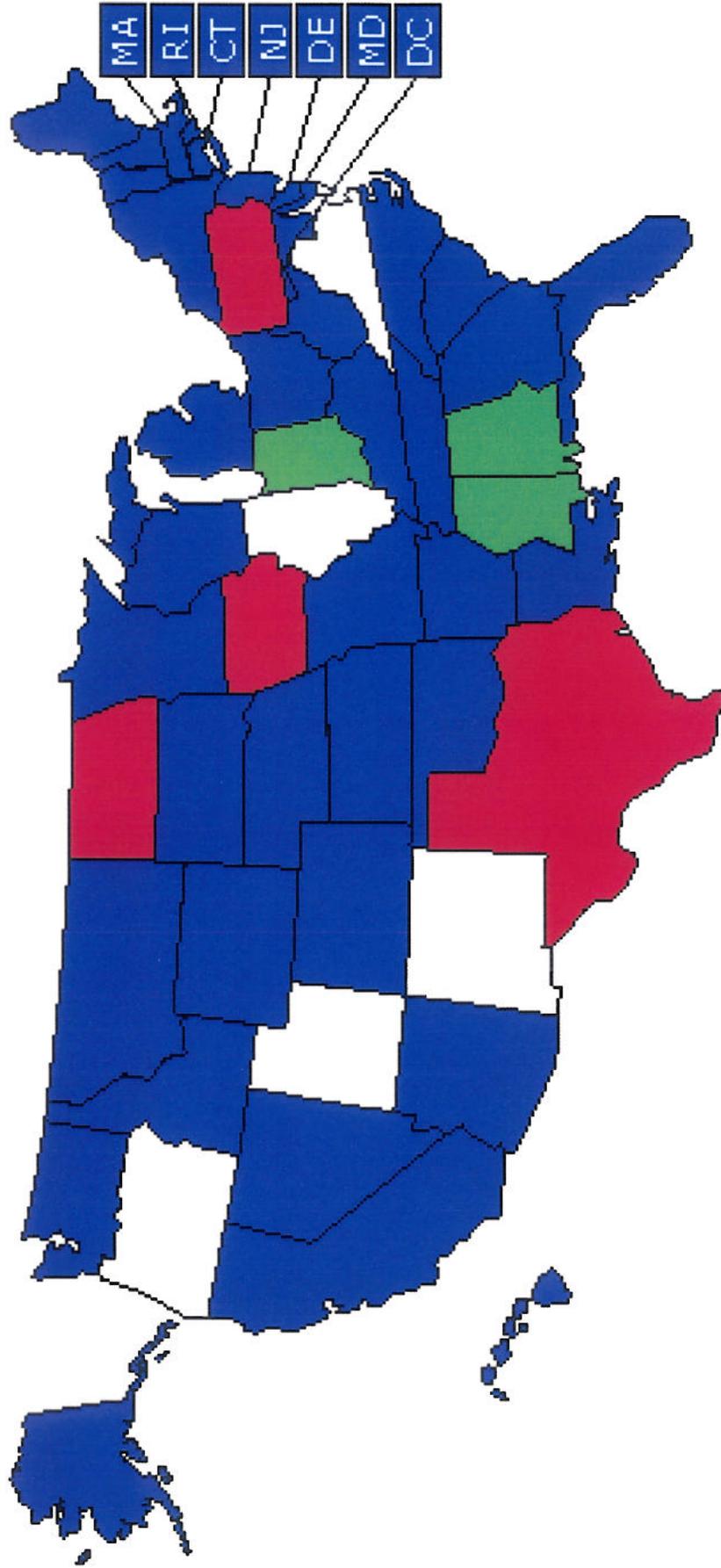
The grid below outlines the limits in HB 24 and SB 1768:

	begins Jan. 1 after a general election through the day of the primary election	begins the day after a primary election and continues through Dec. 31 after a general election	begins January 1 of an odd-numbered year, runs through Dec. 31 of an even-numbered year
Limits proposal	Primary election period	General election period	Every two years
Individuals can give up to:	\$2,300 to any local office, legislative, statewide, and judicial office candidate; \$2,300 to political party and legislative caucus committees	\$2,300 to any local office, legislative, statewide, and judicial office candidate; \$2,300 to political party and legislative caucus committees	\$2,300 to other PACs; \$80,000 in total, aggregate donations
State political party PACs can give up to:	N/A	\$30,000 to legislative candidates	N/A
One political party PAC, as designated by a candidate, can give up to:	N/A	\$10,000 to local candidates; \$125,000 to statewide office candidates; \$10,000 to judicial office candidates	N/A
Legislative caucus committees can give up to:	\$30,000 to legislative candidates	\$30,000 to legislative candidates	N/A
All other PACs can give up to:	\$5,000 to local, legislative, statewide office and judicial office candidates; \$5,000 to party and legislative caucus PACs	\$5,000 to local, legislative, statewide office and judicial office candidates; \$5,000 to party and legislative caucus PACs	N/A
* Businesses, unions, associations and their respective their PACs can combine to give up to:	* \$5,000 to local, legislative, statewide office and judicial candidates; \$5,000 to party, legislative caucus and other PACs	* \$5,000 to local, legislative, statewide office and judicial candidates; \$5,000 to party, legislative caucus and other PACs	* \$80,000 in total, aggregate donations, when contributions are made directly from business, union and association treasuries; their respective PACs are not bound by the same limit

* There are two differences between HB 24 and SB 1768. The House proposal allows corporations, unions and associations to contribute directly from their treasuries at the same level of giving as a PAC; SB 1768 prohibits contributions from these entities but, like HB 24, allows corporations, unions and associations to sponsor PACs. Also, the Senate proposal creates a system of randomized auditing of political committees, to be administered by the State Board of Elections.

3/13/2009

Campaign Contribution Limits



Various Limits (38 states + D.C.)

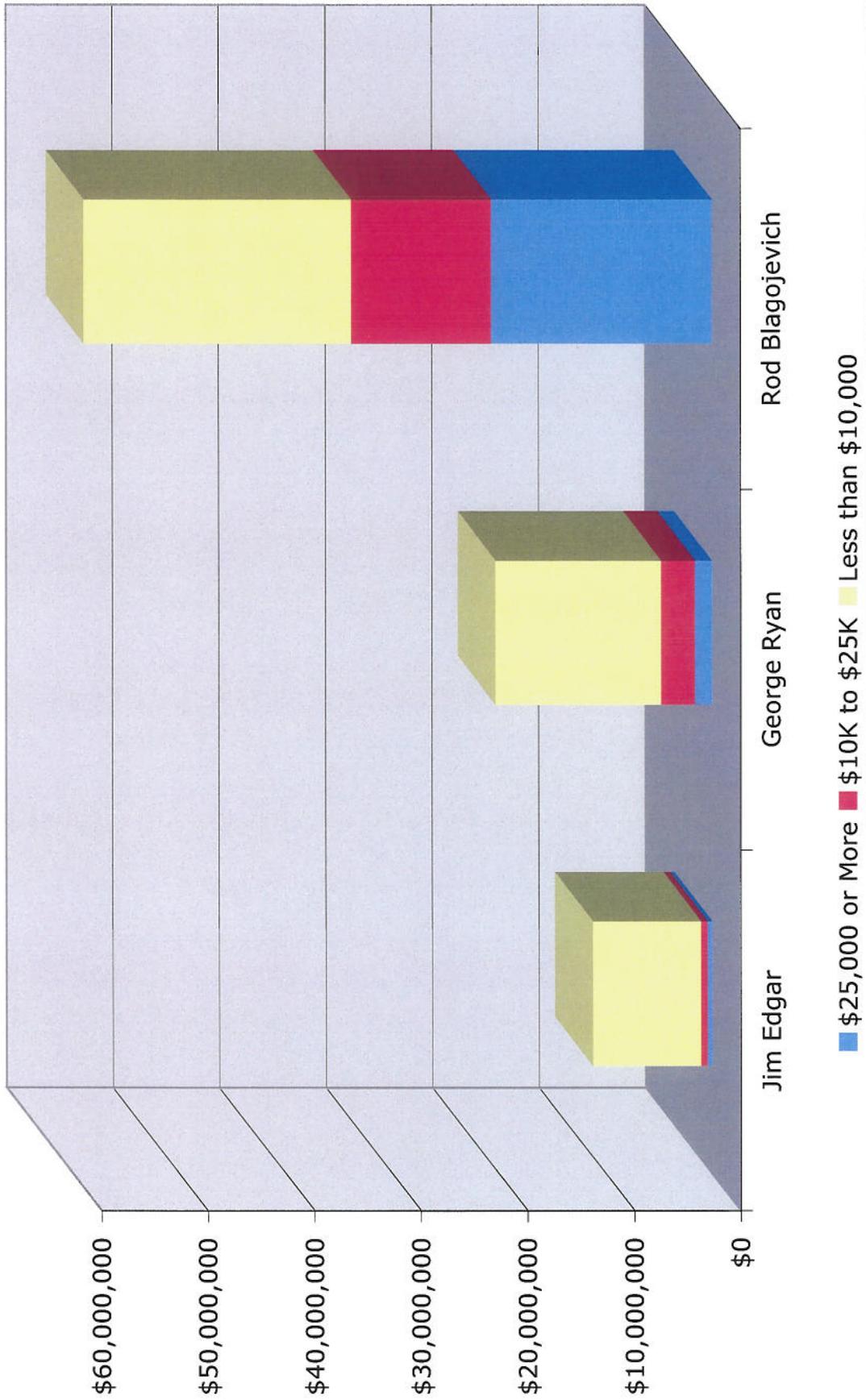
Ban on Corporate Contributions; No Other Limits (4 states)

Limit on Corporate Contributions; No Other Limits (3 states)

Ban on Monetary Contributions by Political Parties; No Other Limits (3 states)

No Limits from Any Source (5 states)

Growth in Large Donations



Self-financing by Candidates for Statewide Office

(Includes loans and direct contributions from the candidate and the candidates immediate family, does not include contributions from businesses owned by the candidate)

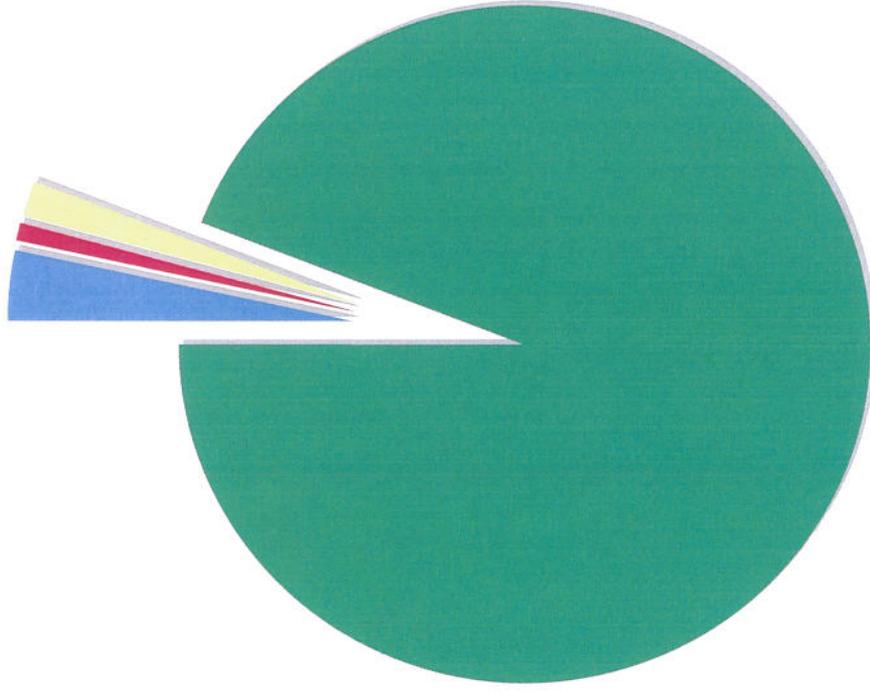
2002 Election (2001-2002 data) Self-financing of \$50,000 or more

Coleman, Bob	ATGEN	\$1,354,346	Rep	Lost Primary
O'Malley, Peter	GOV	\$3,155,066	Rep	Lost Primary
Wood, Corine	GOV	\$5,277,311	Rep	Lost Primary
Schmidt, John	ATGEN	\$1,822,631	Dem	Lost Primary
Washington, Joyce	LTGOV	\$ 220,000	Dem	Lost Primary
Cohn, Kris	SECST	\$ 250,000	Rep	Lost General
Quinn, Pat	LTGOV	\$ 155,000	Dem	Won General

2006 Election (2005-2006 data) Self-financing of \$50,000 or more

Brady, Bill	GOV	250,000	Rep	Lost Primary
Gidwitz, Ronald	GOV	\$6,535,660	Rep	Lost Primary
Oberweis, James	GOV	\$2,497,763	Rep	Lost Primary
Rauschenberger, Steve	LTGOV	\$60,750	Rep	Lost Primary
Eisendrath, Edwin	GOV	\$1,011, 888	Dem	Lost Primary
Giannoulas, Alexi	TRES	\$3,117,350	Dem	Won General

Impact of Self-Financed Legislative Candidates 2005/06 and 2007/08



■ Losing Challengers ■ Winning Challengers ■ Winning Incumbents ■ Candidates who did not give or loan more than \$25K

Money in Politics in Illinois

Sunshine Project 2/21/2009

Cost of Politics at the State Level

(Constitutional Officers, Legislators, State Parties, Supreme Court Judges, Appellate Court Judges)

(Excludes candidates for local elected office and local political party organizations)

2007-2008 Totals (no statewide elections)

\$111.3 million raised

\$100.0 million spent

2005-2006 Totals (statewide elections for Constitutional Officers)

\$175.5 million raised

\$183.5 million spent

1995-2007 (Seven Election Cycles)

\$920.8 million raised

\$893.5 million spent

Most Expensive Races 2007-2008

92nd House race \$1.615 million

6 House races over \$1 million and 4 additional over \$900,000 in combined spending.

59th Senate race \$2.223 million

4 Senate races over \$1 million and 2 additional over \$900,000 in combined spending

Most Expensive Races 2005-2006

Governor

Blagojevich(D) \$28.94 million

Topinka (R) \$10.74 million

Whitney (G) \$.05 million

Primary Losers \$20.83 million

Total 60.56 million

107th House race = \$1.924 million

5 House races over \$1 million in combined spending

52nd Senate race = \$2.259 million

7 Senate races over \$1 million and 1 additional over \$900,000 in combined spending

Role of legislative leaders and political parties in targeted legislative races

59th Senate race \$2,313,000 million raised

Forby (D) Incumbent Won \$1,384,000

54% \$747,000 from legislative leaders, candidate committees, and party committee

40% \$554,000 from interest groups, labor unions and corporations

03% \$44,000 from contribution of less than \$150

03% \$39,000 from individuals

*24% \$336,000 in contributions of \$10,000 or more from interest groups, labor unions, or corporations

*No contributions from individuals of \$5,000 or more

Burzynski (R) \$929,000

96% \$888,000 from Legislative leader, candidate committees, and party committees

03% \$29,000 from in interest groups, labor unions and corporations

<01% \$7,000 from contributions of less than \$150

<01% \$5,000 from individuals

*No contributions of \$10,000 or more from interest groups, labor unions, or corporations

*No contributions from individuals of \$5,000 or more

85th House Race \$1,338,000 raised

Hassert (R) Incumbent \$784,000

14% \$110,000 from Legislative leader, candidate committees, and party committees

79% \$623,000 from in interest groups, labor unions and corporations

01% \$11,000 from contributions of less than \$150

05% \$40,000 from individuals

*34% \$265,000 in contributions of \$10,000 or more from interest groups, labor unions, or corporations

*No contributions from individuals of \$5,000 or more

Klunk-McAsey (D) Won \$554,000

84% \$467,000 from Legislative leader, candidate committees, and party committees

12% \$65,000 from in interest groups, labor unions and corporations

03% \$15,000 from contributions of less than \$150

01% \$7,000 from individuals

* 04% \$24,000 in contributions of \$10,000 or more from interest groups, labor unions, or corporations

*No contributions from individuals of \$5,000 or more

Top Contributors to Illinois Politics in 2007-2008

\$1,708,000	IL Education Assn IPACE
\$1,248,000	IL Fed of Teachers/Chicago Teachers Union
\$1,201,000	IL State Medical Society
\$1,173,000	Assoc Beer Dist IL ABDI
\$1,163,000	Health Care Council of IL (nursing homes)
\$1,083,000	AFSCME Council 31 (government employee union)
\$944,000	AT&T PAC
\$898,000	IL Hospital Assn IHA
\$760,000	IL Assn of Realtors RPAC
\$720,000	Duchossois Co & Family (gambling)
\$718,000	Exelon PAC ComEd PAC (electrical utility)
\$708,000	IL Pipe Trades PAC
\$685,000	Ameren (electrical utility)
\$634,000	IL Trial Lawyers Assn
\$627,000	IL Laborers Leg Committee
\$613,000	Comcast (cable TV)
\$612,000	Assoc Firefighters of IL
\$584,000	Personal PAC (pro-choice group)
\$523,000	Altria (tobacco)
\$456,000	Credit Union PAC

Competitive Election Rates for the General Election

<u>House</u>	No opponent or losing candidate spent 0	Losing candidate spent less than \$100,000	Losing candidate spent more than \$100,000	
1999-2000	73	30	15 (13%)	(118)
2001-2002	77	31	10 (8%)	(118)
2003-2004	87	21	10 (8%)	(118)
2005-2006	86	21	11 (9%)	(118)
2007-2008	76	30	12 (10%)	(118)
<u>Senate</u>	No opponent or losing candidate spent 0	Losing candidate spent less than \$100,000	Losing candidate spent more than \$100,000	
1999-2000	13	5	3 (14%)	(21)
2001-2002	40	6	13 (22%)	(59)
2003-2004	16	2	5 (22%)	(23)
2005-2006	22	6	10 (26%)	(38)
2007-2008	26	7	7 (18%)	(40)

Primary Competition

2007-2008

4 losing candidates raised \$100,000 or more in the primary for a House seat (118)

3 losing candidates raised \$100,000 or more in the primary for a Senate seat (40)

2005-2006

5 losing candidates raised \$100,000 or more in the primary for a House seat (118)

3 losing candidates raised \$100,000 or more in the primary for a Senate seat (38)

2003-2004

2 losing candidates raised \$100,000 or more in the primary for a House seat (118)

1 losing candidates raised \$100,000 or more in the primary for a Senate seat (23)

2001-2002

2 losing candidates raised \$100,000 or more in the primary for a House seat (118)

1 losing candidates raised \$100,000 or more in the primary for a Senate seat (38)

Incumbent Reelection Rates

1999-2000 127 of 127 incumbents running in the general election reelected

2001-2002 139 of 146 incumbents running in the general election reelected

2003-2004 128 of 131 incumbents running in the general election reelected

2005-2006 134 of 135 incumbents running in the general election reelected

2007-2008 144 of 146 incumbents running in the general election reelected

672 of 685 (98%) incumbents running in the general election reelected in the last five election cycles

Illinois PIRG

**Standing Up
To Powerful Interests**

Illinois Public Interest Research Group

407 S. Dearborn, Ste. 701 Chicago, IL 60605
www.IllinoisPIRG.org Brian@IllinoisPirg.org

A Brief History of Low Contribution Limits

1990: Lawton Chiles successfully campaigns for Governor of Florida while accepting contributions no greater than \$100. He is re-elected in 1994, defeating Jeb Bush, again accepting contributions no more than \$100.

1992: Washington, DC voters approve Initiative 41 by a margin of two to one, passing in every ward. It limits contributions to \$50 for city council, \$100 for mayor. Supporters included labor unions, church organizations, environmental advocates, U.S. PIRG, ACORN, and community-based housing organizations. There was a 66% increase in candidates in the following 1994 city council elections, and a greater number of candidates were able to raise \$1000 or more after the reforms than in 1990. Candidates reached out to a broader base of citizens for support, so while contribution limits were reduced by 90% there was only a 23% drop in total candidate fundraising. This law was later struck down by a federal district judge. The DC Council changed the law before it could be appealed.

1993: Senator Paul Wellstone introduces an amendment during Senate debate of campaign finance reform to limit contributions to U.S. Senate candidates to \$100. It received 13 votes, including support from Bill Bradley, Tom Harkin, Paul Simon, as well as Republicans William Cohen, Charles Grassley, and John McCain.

1994: Missouri voters approve Proposition A by a margin of 74% to 26%, to set \$100 limits for legislative races. Montana voters approve Initiative 118 to set \$100 limits to state legislative races by a margin of 60%-40%. Oregon voters approve Measure 9 by a margin of 72% to 28%. These initiatives were backed by ACORN, state PIRGs, Common Cause, the League of Women Voters, and a host of other organizations. These ballot questions lead to declines in total candidate spending but an increase in the number of small individual contributors. These laws were flawed in that they applied the same contribution limits to individuals as to PACs, meaning that an organization that represented thousands of people could only contribute the same amount as one person who was acting alone. This tended to

reduce the role of organizations with many small contributors, and emphasize the role of \$100 donors. In Massachusetts, reformers gathered some signatures to go to the ballot with a low limits question, but compromised when the legislature passed a bill that set \$500 contribution limits. The Oregon Supreme Court struck down Measure 9 under the Oregon Constitution, which the Court found was much stricter than the U.S. Constitution and permitted no limits on contributions whatsoever. A federal judge upheld Missouri's contribution limits, but was reversed by the 8th Circuit Court of appeals. As a result, contribution limits of \$250 went into effect. These limits had been passed by the legislature in an unsuccessful attempt to head off Proposition A. The Montana limits were not challenged in court until they had been in effect for two election cycles. They were upheld by a federal district judge on September 19, 2000 in the wake of the Supreme Courts ruling in *Nixon v. Shrink Missouri Government PAC*.

1996: Colorado voters approve Amendment 15 by a margin of 2-to-1 to set \$100 limits on legislative races. It was supported by Colorado Common Cause, COPIRG, the League of Women Voters, ACORN, Clean Water Action, and others. This law was in effect of the 1998 elections, resulting in a significant increase in contributions and overall drop in total fundraising. It was suspended by a federal district judge, and gutted by the Colorado legislature before the 10th Circuit ruled on its appeal. Arkansas voters approve Initiated Act 1, supported primarily by ACORN and local labor organizations. It set \$100 limits for legislative races, but fixed the problem of the 1994 era laws by allowing organizations to set up small donor committees, or People PACs, that could accept no more than \$25 from an individual but could contribute up to \$2500 to a candidate. The Arkansas measure also included a tax credit of up to \$50 for small contributions as a means of stimulating small donors. A federal district judge upheld the \$100 contribution limits to legislative races, but rejected the \$300 limits for statewide races. The 8th Circuit Court of appeals threw out the \$100 legislative limits as well as the People PAC provision, and the Supreme Court declined to hear the case. California voters approve Proposition 208 by a margin of 60-40. Prop 208, supported by Common Cause and the League of Women Voters set contribution limits of \$250 for legislative races, but in most cases these limits would have doubled to \$500. CALPIRG and labor organizations such as SEIU opposed prop 208, preferring instead Prop 212 which proposed \$100 limits for legislative races, mandatory spending limits, required candidates to raise 75% of their funds from within their district, and provided for People PACs that would accept no more than \$25 but could give up to \$10,000 to legislative candidates. Prop 212 was defeated 51%-49%. Prop 208 was enjoined by a federal district judge before being in effect for even one election, and was changed by a legislatively referred ballot question (prop 34) passed by voters in 2000 before it could be ruled upon by the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals. Voters in Maine pass a ballot measure that lowers the contribution limit for legislative races to \$250 in addition to providing all candidates with a clean money option. It passed by 56%, lower than most low limit initiative because of the less popular public financing provisions. The Maine effort was lead by Maine Citizens for Clean Elections, Northeast Action, and a strong coalition. A federal district judge upheld Maine's contribution limits prior to the *Nixon v. Shrink*

ruling on January 7, 2000, and this ruling has been upheld by the 1st Circuit Court of Appeals.

1997: The Alaskan legislature passes a campaign finance law in response to citizens from Campaign Finance Reform Now! and AKPIRG gathering signatures for a ballot initiative. The law lowers contribution limits from \$1000 to \$500 among other things such as limiting the amount of out-of-state contributions. This law was eventually upheld by the Alaskan Supreme Court. The Vermont legislature adopts legislation in response to lobbying by VPIRG, Common Cause, the League of Women Voters, and others. The new law sets contribution limits of \$200 per election cycle (equivalent to \$100 per election for primary and general elections combined), as well as setting mandatory spending limits, limiting out-of-state contributions, and providing public financing for gubernatorial candidates. The contribution limits of this law have been upheld by federal district court, but the mandatory spending limits (which intentionally challenge the *Buckley v. Valeo* ruling) are on appeal. At the federal level, Congressmen Shays and Meehan drop provisions from their bill that would have required candidates to raise significant portions of their funds in amounts under \$250 in order to qualify for free TV time.

1998: Arizona voters approve Initiative 200 by a margin of 51% to 49%. It lowers contribution limits by 20%, taking them to \$270 for legislative races, in addition to providing for public financing for candidates who voluntarily limit their fundraising. Massachusetts voters approve by a two-to-one margin Question 2, which provides 85% public financing for candidates who voluntarily limit spending and their other contributions to \$100 or less. These laws were spearheaded by the national group Public Campaign, local Citizen Action organizations, with support from Common Cause, the League of Women Voters, and others.

2000: On January 24, the U.S. Supreme Court reverses the 8th Circuit Court's rejection of the \$250 contribution limits that the legislature passed in response to Proposition A (which had been adjusted for inflation to \$275), and states that the \$1000 limit in *Buckley* is not meant to be the minimum level allowed and that states may adopt whatever contribution limits they want so long as they are not "so radical in effect as to render political association ineffective, drive the sound of a candidate's voice below the level of notice, and render contributions pointless." This leads lower courts in Vermont and Montana to uphold low contribution limits, and prompts legislators in California and Colorado to gut voter-enacted contribution limit laws before they can be heard on appeal. Voters in Missouri reject full public financing that contains no lowering of contribution limits by a margin of 65%-35%, and voters in Oregon reject a measure that contains public financing but has no contribution limits by a margin of 60%-40%. Meanwhile, the Georgia legislature (with support from Common Cause) passes a law to provide for electronic disclosure of campaign contributions and increases allowed contribution levels for legislators from \$3000 to \$4000 for a 2-year cycle. Senators McCain and Feingold begin contemplating an increase in the federal contribution limit from \$1000 to \$2000 as a way to build more support for a soft money ban.