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PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

The Fifteenth Special Session of the Senate of the 100th General Assembly will please come to order. Will Members please be at their desk? Will our guests in the galleries please rise? The invocation today will be given by Reverend Jacson Moody from the Grace United Methodist Church and the Kumler United Methodist Church of Springfield, Illinois. Pastor.

THE REVEREND JACSON MOODY:

(Prayer by the Reverend Jacson Moody)

PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

Please remain standing. Senator Cunningham will lead us into the Pledge.

SENATOR CUNNINGHAM:

(Pledge of Allegiance, led by Senator Cunningham)

PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

Brian Mackey from Illinois Public Radio -- requests leave to photograph. James R. Carder from the Blueroomstream.com requests permission to videotape. Lou Kleinberg, CBS News 2, requests leave to video. Erik Arendt from WGN-TV requests permission to video. Rodney Correll, ABC Channel 7 Chicago News, requests permission to video. Rich Saal from The State Journal-Register requests permission for still photos. Emilee Fannon, WCIA, for audio and video requests. Michon Undstrom {sic} (Lindstrom) from WAND-TV requests permission to videotape. Seeing no opposition, leave is granted. Mr. Secretary, Reading and Approval of the Journals.

SECRETARY ANDERSON:

Senate Journal of Monday, August 28th, 2017.

PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

Senator Hunter.

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SENATOR HUNTER:

Mr. President, I move to postpone the reading and approval of the Journal just read by the Secretary, pending arrival of the printed transcript.

PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

Senator Hunter moves to postpone the reading and approval of the Journals, pending arrival of the printed transcripts. being no objection, so ordered. The Senate of the 100th General Assembly is convened in its Fifteenth Special Session. practice of this Body since the 88th General Assembly, the rules adopted in the 100th General Assembly and its officers and committees are in effect for the continuous period of the 100th General Assembly, including any Special Session. There are three organizational resolutions that will be adopted today. resolutions inform the House that the Senate is ready to conduct business, create a Senate Committee of five to wait upon the Governor, and create a Senate Committee of three to approve Journals of the Senate for all days of the Fifteenth General --Special Session. Mary Ann Ahern from NBC Chicago News requests permission to video. Seeing no opposition, the request is approved. Mr. Secretary, Resolutions.

SECRETARY ANDERSON:

Senate Resolutions 1 through 3, offered by Senator Link. They are substantive.

PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

Mr. Secretary, Senate Resolution 1.

SECRETARY ANDERSON:

Senate Resolution 1, offered by Senator Link.

(Secretary reads SR No. 1)

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PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

Senator Link moves to suspend the rules for the purpose of immediate adoption of Senate Resolution 1. All those in favor say Aye. Opposed, Nay. The Ayes have it, and the rules are suspended. Senator Link now moves the adoption of Senate Resolution 1. All those in favor will say Aye. Opposed, Nay. The Ayes have it, and the resolution is adopted. Mr. Secretary, Senate Resolution 2. SECRETARY ANDERSON:

Senate Resolution No. 2, offered by Senator Link.

(Secretary reads SR No. 2)

PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

Senator Link moves to suspend the rules for the purpose of immediate adoption of Senate Resolution 2. All those in favor will say Aye. Opposed, Nay. The Ayes have it, and the rules are suspended. Senator Link now moves the adoption of Senate Resolution 2. All those in favor will say Aye. Opposed, Nay. The Ayes have it, and the resolution is adopted. Mr. Secretary, Senate Resolution 3.

SECRETARY ANDERSON:

Senate Resolution No. 3, offered by Senator Link.

(Secretary reads SR No. 3)

PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

Senator Link moves to suspend the rules for the purpose of the immediate adoption of Senate Resolution No. 3. All those in favor will say Aye. Opposed, Nay. The Ayes have it, and the rules are suspended. Senator Link now moves the adoption of Senate Resolution 3. All those in favor will say Aye. Opposed, Nay. The Ayes have it, and the resolution is adopted. Mr. Secretary, Messages from the House.

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SECRETARY ANDERSON:

A Message from the House by Mr. Mapes, Clerk.

Mr. President - I am directed to inform the Senate that the House of Representatives has concurred with the Senate in the passage of a bill of the following title, to wit:

Senate Bill 1947.

Together with the following amendment which is attached, in the adoption of which I am instructed to ask the concurrence of the Senate, to wit:

House Amendment 5 to Senate Bill 1947.

Passed the House, as amended, August 28th, 2017. Timothy D. Mapes, Clerk of the House.

A Message from the House by Mr. Mapes, Clerk.

Mr. President - I am directed to inform the Senate that the House of Representatives has adopted the following joint resolution, in the adoption of which I am instructed to ask the concurrence of the Senate, to wit:

House Joint Resolution 1.

Offered by Senator Link.

(Secretary reads HJR No. 1)

Adopted by the House, August 28th, 2017. Timothy D. Mapes, Clerk of the House.

PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

On the Order of Resolutions is House Joint Resolution 1. Mr. Secretary, read the resolution.

SECRETARY ANDERSON:

House Joint Resolution 1, offered by Senator Link.

PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

Senator Link moves to suspend the rules for the purpose of

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immediate consideration and adoption of House Joint Resolution 1. Those in favor will say Aye. Opposed, Nay. The Ayes have it, and the rules are suspended. Senator Link moves for the adoption of House Joint Resolution 1. All those in favor will say Aye. Opposed, Nay. The Ayes have it, and the resolution is adopted. Senator -- Silverstein, excuse me, what purpose do you rise? SENATOR SILVERSTEIN:

Silverstein. Purpose for announcement, Mr. President.

PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

Make your announcement.

SENATOR SILVERSTEIN:

That there will be a Democratic Caucus upon recess in the President's Office.

PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

How -- how long is that? Okay. Thank you. Senator Althoff. SENATOR ALTHOFF:

Yes, for a purpose of announcement.

PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

Purpose of announcement.

SENATOR ALTHOFF:

Thank you, Mr. President. The Republicans would also like to caucus for the same amount of time that the Democrats caucus, sir. PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

That's appropriate. Senator Silverstein and Senator Althoff move that the Senate recess for the purpose of a Senate Democratic and Republican Caucus. Seeing no objection, the motion is granted. The Senate stands now in recess to the call of the Chair. After the caucuses, the Senate will for -- will be back for Floor action. The Senate stands in recess to the call of the Chair.

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(SENATE STANDS IN RECESS/SENATE RECONVENES)

PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

The Senate will now come to order. Would members of the Rules Committee please go to the President's Anteroom -- to -- Assignments go to the President's Anteroom. Will members on the Committee of Assignments please go to the President's Anteroom? (at ease) Senator Bivins, for what purpose do you rise? SENATOR BIVINS:

Thank you, Mr. President. A point of personal privilege.

PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

State your point, sir.

SENATOR BIVINS:

Thank you, Mr. President. I'd like to introduce to the Body a very special guest with me today. This is a lady that...

PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

Senator Bivins, can you hold one second?

SENATOR BIVINS:

Yes. Thank you.

PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

Please, can we -- we're getting ready to go to the order of business. Can we please give the Senator your attention?

SENATOR BIVINS:

Thank -- thank you, Mr. President. I'd like introduce to you a very special guest, a young lady that I had a date with December 16th, 1972, and we've been dating ever since. And -- and we are going to soon, in a couple of months, celebrate our forty-third wedding anniversary. And we just... Thank you.

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PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

Please give $\--$ your support and congratulations, sir, for that.

SENATOR BIVINS:

And we...

PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

'72 was a good year.

SENATOR BIVINS:

We -- thank you. We were in Macon, Georgia, last night with our daughter and granddaughter for her birthday, as we try to do every year, and we were summoned back to Springfield. So she's really excited to be here. We left early. And it's my understanding there's going to be a -- perhaps a vote on Minority Leader and I'd just like to tell Senator Brady that his fate is in her hands for this vote. So, thank you very much.

PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

Again, congratulations, sir. Mr. Secretary, Committee Reports.

SECRETARY ANDERSON:

Senator Clayborne, Chairman of the Committee on Assignments, reports the following Legislative Measures have been assigned: Be Approved for Consideration - Motion to Concur with House Amendment 5 to Senate Bill 1947.

Signed by Senator James F. Clayborne, Chairman.

PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

Supplemental Calendar No. 1 has been printed and distributed. On Supplemental Calendar 1 is the Order of Secretary's Desk, Senate Bills, Concurrence. This is final action. Senator Manar, do you -- Senator Manar, do you wish to proceed? ...(inaudible)... Mr.

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Secretary, read the motion.

SECRETARY ANDERSON:

I move to concur with the House in the adoption of their Amendment No. 5 to Senate Bill 1947.

Signed by Senator Manar.

PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

Senator Manar, explain the bill.

SENATOR MANAR:

Thank you, Mr. President, Members of the Senate.

PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

Before we get started, please, if we can get attention of all Members. Will -- will staff members please go to the rear of the Chamber? Members also give your undivided attention. This is the bill of the day. Senator Manar, will -- will you proceed? SENATOR MANAR:

Thank you, Mr. President. Think how I'd like to approach this is just go through some of the highlights of what's contained in the bill that came over from the House that we are asking the question in regards to concurrence from the Senate. First of all, I -- I think we should start with what the bill contains in regards to what can only be described as a historic achievement to reform how schools are funded in Illinois. We all know that we have the least equitable system of school funding in the country. It's been something that we've debated for years in this Chamber that, we should also note, the Senate has led the effort on. But, first of all, in this bill, as is the case in Senate Bill 1, no district would lose funding. There are no red numbers. There is no more winning and losing scenarios moving forward. That's a huge accomplishment for the State of Illinois and for children in public

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schools' classrooms. Number two, funding would be distributed on a per district basis, not a per pupil basis, when it comes to a hold harmless. Number three, we would achieve pension parity, which, of course, is something that we have long debated, but I think we've come to an understanding that we can't address inequity in the State without addressing pension parity on a larger scale in the State of Illinois. We will distribute three hundred and fifty million new -- new dollars through the evidence-based model, which, of course, is something that was fully vetted by the Senate, by the commission that the -- the Governor set up, that was recommended in great detail in that commission's report. bill contains that distribution formula. We can go into details of what is in this bill in regards to Senate Bill 1, but I would summarize it this way: This bill does not abandon Senate Bill 1. This bill, almost in its entirety, contains the provisions that were passed by this Chamber in Senate Bill 1. That's an important place to begin. Other things that were included in this compromise legislation take into account things that we have also debated here that have alluded us. But it gives us a chance here to achieve success on mandate relief. It also gives us a chance to achieve success about -- a greater guarantee that we will meet minimum level funding requirements in future years. It also addresses some minor changes to how Chicago pensions are handled in years moving forward. Also in this bill, there is a tax credit scholarship program, which I would assume will consume much of our debate here this afternoon, in addition to giving the Chicago Board of Education the ability to raise their tax levy to shore up the Chicago Teacher Pension Fund. Another smaller piece, but nonetheless important, because we've had, again, discussions about

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this for a very long time, this legislation puts into place a commission. I guess we couldn't get by today without creating another commission. But, nonetheless, it's an important one to study the impact of tax increment financing districts on not just school districts, but the State in general and furthering economic development efforts. So that's a piece of this bill as well, I - which I embrace. I think it's something that we ought to do and it's long overdue. So with that, Mr. President, I'll conclude my opening remarks. Be happy to take any questions from the membership.

PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

Is there any discussion? Is there any discussion? There are a few Members. Just for the Members, so everyone will have an opportunity to speak that wish to speak, we will have the debate timer on as we go forward this morning. Senator Barickman.

SENATOR BARICKMAN:

Thank you, Mr. President. To the bill.

PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

Please proceed, sir.

SENATOR BARICKMAN:

Sure. Thanks, Mr. President. First of all, I just want to begin with my thanks to many people who are in this Chamber, the galleries, countless people around the State who've weighed in on this debate and, through their combined efforts, have helped get us to where we're at. Certainly, my appreciation to the Leaders, the four Leaders, kind of been pulling this final piece together. The negotiators, Representatives Davis, Currie, Bourne, Pritchard, Senator Lightford, Senator McConchie on -- on our side of the aisle, and my special thanks to Senator Manar. We have a long

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history on this issue. Lot of history has transpired since this began. I appreciate your advocacy, I do, and respect the efforts that you have made over the years. We've disagreed often, but, importantly I think, we've come together importantly in this bipartisan agreement and I'm glad we did. I'm glad we did. think it's for the betterment of our State and for our school -schoolchildren that we have been able to come together, as Republicans and Democrats, on this issue. So thank you for your -- for your advocacy along the way. You know, the first -- I want to talk about the -- the evidence-based model just briefly. And, you know, the evidence-based model to me is something that -- that kind of crossed my desk back in 2014. And, you know, remember -think about what was happening at that time. We were talking openly in our State about the fact that we had a broken system of funding our schools. We talked about the antiquated nature of school funding and the fact that resources and the availability of resources to our schools and, ultimately, our schoolchildren was highly dependent on where people lived and where kids lived. And so I began to study the evidence-based model. It was in 2015 that it was first introduced as a proposal for consideration and -- and the -- the pitch that I have today is no different than what I said then. Utilizing an evidence-based model is good for the kids of Illinois. It's a strategic approach that links best practices and evidence-based approaches to school funding. It's like Stephen Covey talked about - the author, Stephen Covey - in his book 7 Habits of Highly Effective People, "You must begin with the end" -- "the end in mind." And so by considering the optimal learning environment for our schoolchildren, we are now able to put forward a funding model that encourages behaviors in the classroom without

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mandating it. We give school districts flexibility to make decisions locally, based on the needs of their student population. We restore confidence in taxpayers that they no longer are being asked to contribute to an ineffective and inefficient school funding system. And we create transparency so that lawmakers and taxpayers can see their money at work. We remove the arbitrary nature of funding schools and watch the dollars flow to the school districts that need them the most. And ultimately, this program is one that's scalable. It ends proration, a dirty word in the education community that so many of us have tried to end for so long. The evidence-based model ends proration. And ultimately what the evidence model does is create an adequate and equitable school funding program for our two million schoolchildren in our State who are relying on us to create a better learning environment for them. And so, for these reasons, I stand in support of this measure. I think this is a historic opportunity for our State. I think this is a meaningful opportunity for the two sides to come together and demonstrate that we have an ability to work together to solve problems. In doing so, I recognize it's a compromise. Not everyone's going to be happy with this. There's certainly more work that needs to be done and I'm sure that on our side of the aisle, we look forward to working with those of you on the other side of the aisle to continue to do the work that needs to be done to help give our kids the optimal learning environment that they need to be able to succeed in this world economy that we ask them to compete in. And so I ask of you in the Senate here to join us in support of this measure. Think it's an important opportunity that we have now. We need to act now so that our schools can have the assurances that the funding's going to be

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there during this school year. We need to act now because we don't want another generation of schoolchildren to miss the opportunity that proper funding will help for them. So I'd ask this Body to adopt this measure, I'd ask the Governor to sign this law -- this measure into law, and I'd ask us to importantly take this important step forward on behalf of millions of schoolchildren, parents, and families who are relying on us to get this done. Urge an Aye vote. Thank you, Mr. President.

PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

Senator Biss.

SENATOR BISS:

Thank you, Mr. President. To the motion.

PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

Proceed, sir.

SENATOR BISS:

Thank you. I -- first of all, I would like to not only congratulate, but also thank the sponsor for genuinely remarkable work on a crucial issue, if not the most crucial issue facing the State over the course of a number of years. And there's a lot good in this bill. There's a lot that's important in this bill. But, nonetheless, I rise to state my intention to vote No on this motion, not because I don't understand the importance of compromise and not because I don't feel prepared to vote for legislation that has components that I have problems with, but because I think there are components of this legislation that cross, what is for me, a red line. The introduction of a voucher system to direct public funds toward private schools is, for me, dangerous. It, for me, sets a problematic president -- precedent that will, I fear, allow for a long-term systematic undermining of our public school

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systems. The prioritization in place in this proposal, which is clearly well-intentioned, nonetheless, in my opinion, is designed in such a way that will inevitably specifically pull some of the most engaged students and their families out of the most struggling schools districts, creating significantly greater problems to be left behind. There are other components in this that I think are worthy of a lot of significant discussion. The -- the TIF issue is important and I certainly hope that we'll be taking up House Bill 3720 in the fall Veto Session as well, to take further, and I think important, steps on the TIF question. But -- but I want to close by addressing an issue that may sound a little bit like a process question, but to me it's an important -- important part of my concern about how we got here. We've been talking about this issue for a very long time. We've been working on this issue for a long time. We had the Education Funding Advisory Committee, which did a tremendous amount of work years ago. We had the Governor's Education Funding Reform Commission that I had the pleasure of serving on that took this work just fairly recently. We've had a lot of debates, we've had a lot of bills, we've had a lot of backs and forths, and yet this specific proposal to divert public dollars to private schools is a very, very late-breaking entry, as we sit on the precipice of crisis. As we sit in this moment, we're unsure about how long schools will be able to remain open in this very, very young school year. And it just troubles me to see this effort to use a looming crisis as an excuse to begin, I would argue, backdoor privatization of our school system. And I can't help but ask, what's next? What kind of diversion of public funds into private hands are going to happen the next time we're staring at a budget crisis, or a school crisis, or a fiscal

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crisis? I think this is a dangerous precedent. I think this is the wrong way to govern. I'm reluctant to say what I'm saying given the crucial nature of this issue and the important things that exist in this bill. But given both the specifics of the policy and the alarming precedent, I reluctantly rise to say a No vote and to respectfully urge my colleagues to join me. Thank you.

PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

Senator Rooney.

SENATOR ROONEY:

To the bill, please, Mr. President.

PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

To the bill.

SENATOR ROONEY:

Mr. President, I -- I agree with the previous speaker, although on different points, that, unfortunately for me, the things that I like in this bill are just too far outweighed by the things that I don't. But I'm not going to belabor our debate time by going through those. I've said them all before. What I feel the need to stand for is to express the number one thought that I'm getting from people in my district and I don't mean the kind that are sending the emails. I mean people that I've talked to over the weekend, just out on the block and at the grocery store. The number one thought could be summarized with the single word "Seriously?" Meaning there's a meeting that takes place on a Thursday afternoon and then on a Friday the caucuses are informed and then draft language pops out on a Sunday, which nobody can get access to until a Monday morning, and then the House votes Monday afternoon and the Senate votes today. The General Assembly has to

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stop doing business like this. I know we're in a hurry. I know time is of the essence. I have a sub in my class right now. I want to get back there. I want to sew this all up too. But the reason why we have procedures, where bills are supposed to have certain numbers of days, is so that regular people can find out what's in the deal and contact us to tell us what they think. Over and above the parts of this bill people like and the part they don't, the number one thing I'm hearing is "Really? We're doing it again." Months and months and months and months of deliberation and then snap fingers, go. It's just run right through before regular people even have a chance to find out what's in it. We have to stop doing business this way.

PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

Senator Righter.

SENATOR RIGHTER:

To the gentleman's motion, if I might, Mr. President.

PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

To the motion, sir.

SENATOR RIGHTER:

Thank you very much, Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Chamber. As is habitual now in this Chamber, you can't get up and talk about an issue like this that's been going on for years without handing out an envelope full of thanks. So I'm going to thank Senator Manar, as the chief sponsor of this, who's worked very hard. I want to thank Senator Barickman and let's just — just assume for purposes of brevity and the timer that everyone deserves thanks for the work they've put in on this. What we have before us today is a dramatic change in our priorities in terms of the flow of public dollars to public institute — institutions

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that teach our children in elementary and secondary grades. And what we're going to be saying now is that we're going to take into account more of what we have learned, particularly over the last couple of decades, about what it takes to effectively teach a child. Now, one thing that we have to admit is that there are some things for which even the most vigorous of studies can't replace and set back the appearance -- importance of the home and parents and the community in -- in -- in educating these children. Nevertheless, in terms of what a government can do through the allocation of public dollars, this is an improvement over what we've had in the past and -- and -- and we should all be willing to admit this. One other point, it has to do with the tax credit program, which has consumed, while only seventy-five million of the dollars, seventy-five percent of the attention on this. Despite what some people are saying, this is not a voucher program. Let us stand up and be honest about that. A voucher program is where you take public dollars and you use them in a private school. That is not what this is. And everyone knows that definition and it is, at the very least, misleading to use that characterization. Okay? We incentivize through our tax codes all kinds of behavior that we think is good - okay? - including business deductions or credits, home mortgage interests. I mean, we do that in a wide number of areas. So what are we going to do with this one? We're going to say that we're going to encourage people of means to contribute to scholarship funds to help kids of poor families get a better shot at the education that all of us say is so important. So those of you who want to demonize or criticize this bill or vote No on the ninety or now - what? - ninety-five, ninety-nine percent of the bill that you were for in May because we are going

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to provide some limited avenue for kids who are trapped in failing schools and their parents don't have the means to just pick-up and move somewhere else, you're going to give them an avenue to access a reasonable education. What is not right about that? What is not right about that? All of us stand up and make speeches about education and helping poor families incessantly on this Floor. That is exactly -- that is exactly what this bill and that program specifically offers. Please vote Yes. Thank you, Mr. President. PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

Leader Harmon.

SENATOR HARMON:

Thank you, Mr. President. To the motion.

PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

To the motion, sir.

SENATOR HARMON:

Thank you, Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Senate. I rise in strong support of ninety percent of the gentleman's motion. I don't mean to be flip. I do want to emphasize that this is an historic transformational moment in Illinois education policy. It has decades, perhaps fifty years, in the making and success has many parents, as it's often said. And when this passes, there will be many people to credit, many dead for years, who toiled in prior General Assemblies. I don't think there's anyone who deserves more credit than Andy Manar, who has carried this issue for us in a remarkable way, a fair-handed way, and one that makes me proud to be in the Senate. So thank you, Senator Manar, for that. I have just one observation and I want to emphasize the point that Senator Righter just made. The controversial part of this bill, the -- the -- the tax credit-

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funded scholarships, is not a voucher program. And I don't say that to address the critics; I say that to caution the -- the proponents. I think that there is a fundamental misunderstanding among our constituents as to what this is. And I think we need to be careful when we go home to middle-class families who are sending their kids to Catholic schools, who think that they're going to get a tax credit for the tuition checks that they write, we need to be very careful about how we frame this. But, at the same time, I do want to emphasize, in a year, in five years, in twenty years, those of us who vote Yes will remember that we voted for a transformational event in Illinois education policy, not for the warts of the bill. And I strongly encourage your Aye votes.

PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

Senator Rezin.

SENATOR REZIN:

Thank you, Mr. President. To the bill, please.

PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

To the -- to the motion.

SENATOR REZIN:

Thank you. Four years ago, we started the conversation about fair and equitable school funding. Two education funding commissions and hundreds — thousands of hours by our staff, we've gotten to this point. This has been a long journey to get here. It's been frustrating and not easy, but something as important as this, when we have to — when we have to work to get to this point, it shouldn't be easy. Because if this process was easy, that meant we probably wouldn't have been doing it right. Far too long, our school — our schools have been treated inequitable. Schools in my district, like LaSalle, DePue, Plano, Streator, which we've

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talked about for years, have been unfairly treated and impacted harshly by current school funding formula and years of proration, but not anymore. Our battle to get to this point, it's worth it, because we now have a historic, fair, and equitable funding in Illinois. Now I recognize that there are challenges in this bill, but don't let perfect get in the way of possible. This bill is not perfect by any means. But, finally, this bill makes equal funding for all schools, children, regardless of where they live or who they are, possible. I ask for an Aye vote.

PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

Senator McConchie.

SENATOR McCONCHIE:

To the motion.

PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

To the motion, sir.

SENATOR McCONCHIE:

Thank you. You know, in joining, when I first ran for office, the number one thing I would hear about from -- from constituents was concern about property taxes and that is something that I felt was lacking. We didn't have sufficient things to address property taxes when Senate Bill 1 came through here the first time. And I just want to run through the - briefly - the pieces that provide some opportunity for property tax relief that I think is fundamentally important, regardless of where you are in the State. It already has been referred to by the sponsor the fact that we're going to be doing a task force on addressing these issues with tax increment financing, which has been ridiculed as perhaps ways in which cities and such have -- have kept tax dollars out of the schools and ended up putting the State more on the hook. I think

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this is a welcome development. I think that there's some fundamental changes that we can be making and, during the negotiations, we talked about some of those things and I look forward to being able to advance that conversation going forward. In this, for those districts who are above adequacy, for those that are at a point in which they are essentially fully funded in their schools, there's going to be the opportunity of voters for the first time to be able to go to referendum and say, we don't want to -- you know, we're -- we need to reduce our property tax burden from these districts. I have a district in my -- I have a school district in my district that is a hundred and eighty percent of adequacy and yet the school board cannot find it in their heart, if you will, to provide any sort of property tax relief to those property taxpayers. This is an opportunity for individuals to be able to put -- band together, go to referendum, and try to get their property taxes lowered. I think that the mandate relief that is in here provides the opportunity for those districts who have said that there are mandates that are raising the cost of doing business too much so or helping drive these cost factors, gives them an opportunity to be able to come to the Legislature in an expedited fashion and be able to make their case. And if it -- it is going to be substantial benefits that they can do those same things in a better more equitable fashion, that they can be able to get approvals to do that. And then there is -- there's been this disparity over the years between Chicago's tax rates and other tax rates, but especially in the suburbs. This is providing Chicago the ability to address their own -- some of their own financial issues by being able to raise their own property taxes to a level to take care of their own concerns. There are many

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factors in addition to the evidence-based funding model, this equity that we're really trying to -- to inject into the system. I'm really glad that we've expanded these factors on property taxes to be able to provide for better relief on multiple areas here. And so I would -- again, this is not everything I would want. Senator Manar and I went back a lot -- and forth a lot on this in negotiations in talking about these things, but I also want to commend you in regards to your work on this and encourage an Aye vote. Thank you.

PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

Senator Bertino-Tarrant.

SENATOR BERTINO-TARRANT:

To the motion.

PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

To the motion.

SENATOR BERTINO-TARRANT:

We are at this moment today, I would like to say, not because that we were not willing to compromise on this side. I firmly believe we are here because we just did not know the Governor's endgame. And now we are in a situation where we're having to make a quick decision, a quick decision I -- I don't like any more than anyone else, not only for the opponents, but for the proponents. This is a -- a big change to what we have done and I sincerely wish that we had time to -- to vet it out more. I will not address the hypocrisy here, because as we've learned, there's an abundance of hypocrisy under this Dome and no one is -- is free from that. But the end result is that we have a funding system that is equitable for students. It is adequate -- adequate for students throughout the State. And if we can leave today with an

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accomplishment of changing this horrible system, then I feel comfortable in supporting my colleague and my friend and for the Members here who are voting Yes. So, today, I urge an Aye vote for all students in Illinois. Thank you.

PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

Leader Brady.

SENATOR BRADY:

Thank you, Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Chamber. I think it was Representative Will Davis who yesterday said that everything we need is in this bill, but not everything we want and we differ on what we want, but I think it's good to focus on the fact that what we need is in this bill. Every school district will get more money than last year. The people of Illinois will get an opportunity for property tax relief. Students will get an opportunity to go to schools they couldn't go to before. I think we've accomplished a lot. And I want to compliment each and every Member of this Chamber for their hard work in this effort. It was rooted, I believe, in the Governor's commission to look at education funding, which developed a model that advances this State for the children of this State. We all believe we need that. And the time, I believe, has come to accomplish that. I'm proud that the Governor will sign this piece of legislation. He will support this piece of legislation. And I'm proud, and I think pleased, that this process, I believe, has brought us together in a bipartisan way with the Second Floor and our Chambers that I hope will advance a number of other issues that we need to improve this State. Again, thank you to President Cullerton and to all of you. PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

Leader Lightford.

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SENATOR LIGHTFORD:

Thank you, Mr. President. To the motion.

PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

To the motion, ma'am.

SENATOR LIGHTFORD:

Ladies and Gentlemen of the Senate, this is what compromise looks like. This is it, a bill that none of us like at a hundred percent. This is what we needed to do in order to fix a flawed system that we've become recognized for across this country. This is what we needed to do to ensure that we put a promise, a promise out to our school districts that we would fund them, that we would fund them in a timely fashion, and it would be at the level that they expect. I really appreciate the fact that I can stand here and say to the Chicago Public School children that you will be treated fairly. I feel good in order to be able to stand here and say that we protected collective bargaining rights for teachers and that we held off on third-party contracting and those Democratic principles that we all believe in and support, and at the same time, also say that there was initiatives that the Republican Party put forth that we also have to support in order to get us to a place of compromise. This is how we do it. It took us four years to figure this out. It's taken us three years to figure out how to get a budget compromise. So I'm hoping that we can use this historic moment to bless all of our kids across the State with an opportunity to get a fair and equitable education no matter where they are in the State. We can use this as an example moving forward in so many other ways on how to improve the conditions of the State of Illinois for all the people. So, again, in order to get to this place with a spirit of compromise, we all

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have to endure some things that we would more than likely would never vote for if it was in a single measure. But it's all here packaged together and it's packaged together for the greater good -- for the greater good of our children across the State. proud to be a part of this Chamber and getting this done, something that I've been wanting to have happen for a very long time. Senator Manar, I want to thank you for taking the helm and the lead on this and actually bringing us to this place, because, with this, we have a chance to close the academic achievement gap amongst our children across the State. We can look at those economic triggers and all of those factors now that have been plaguing us for years and just go at the need. We're -- we're finally at a place where we can say, what is the need in your school district, what is the need in your school district, what is the need in my school district, and address just the need. So I think this is a moment that we can all be proud of. None of us can really say we love it at a hundred percent, but it actually gets the job done. question would be, how are the children? And we can all say, the children are well. I ask for an Aye vote.

PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

Senator Manar, to close.

SENATOR MANAR:

Thank you, Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Senate. Let me -- let me conclude this debate by starting with this, I want to thank Senator Barickman for his work on this issue going back to, it was 2013, when we cosponsored a -- a resolution, Senate Joint Resolution 32, that set up our process here. I've kept this resolution in my desk drawer, hoping that one day we would find a way to get to a point to where we can build consensus on this

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issue, and I hope that today is that point. You've done incredible I respect your work. We've had our moments where we went at each other, but I think, to credit of many, that people kept their eye on the ball through difficult times and that's what allowed us to get to the point to where we are today. To the advocates of Senate Bill 1, I want to be very frank and direct to each of you, and I could go through a laundry list of names and organizations and individuals, but I want to say to the advocates collectively that just because this bill is different than the bill that you advocated for, it doesn't mean that your work is lost. Many are here in the Chamber. We are here discussing Senate Bill 1 almost in its entirety. There are other things in this bill without question; we've talked about those. But your work is not lost. The advocacy that you put together, that you achieved over time, it's here in this bill and you should be commended for those efforts. You did one thing that was, I think, almost impossible a few years ago and it's simply this, you brought parts of the State together that typically don't talk to each other, that typically don't share problems with each other, that certainly don't advocate enough together here in Springfield. But the advocates of Senate Bill 1 and the Fix the Funding coalition, all of the efforts that have happened, you have -- you achieved that and that achievement has resulted in this bill today, which undoubtedly is historic, and I want you to know that your work is not anything other than recognized here today by the Illinois Senate. We've had incredible staff members on both sides of the aisle that have worked through this. Some have come and gone, by the way, over the last several years. I want to specifically recognize Mike Hoffmann, who was standing behind me - there he is

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- for his work on the Senate staff. Senator Harmon mentioned a -- a good point and I have it in my notes to mention too. are people that have come and gone from this Chamber over decades that would have loved to have been here in this moment to cast a vote on this issue, maybe for or against, but nonetheless, there are people that served in this Chamber that -- that moved this ball down the field to the point to where we picked it up four years ago and we're delivering a product today. Their efforts should not go unnoticed here today. There's a lot of people, there's a lot of people, and they are encouraging us to find a way to get this done. And I think we have a good product here that represents compromise. This is a work that started long before anybody that has worked on this issue walked into the Senate. Senator Lightford should be commended for her effort for advancing this issue within our caucus and beyond our caucus, bringing parts of the State together. Kimberly, I appreciate your work so much on this issue. The time and the effort that you have put into this, you should be commended for that and your leadership on this issue for so many years in the State Senate. But -- but finally, I want to -- I want to address the tax credit issue directly, right now. I acknowledge -- I acknowledge, as -- as a few of the previous speakers addressed the issue of process, I don't necessarily disagree with any of those remarks, by the way, I don't. I want to acknowledge that on the Floor of the Senate today. But I also understand that we have to solve this problem and we have a moment to solve it and I think it's our responsibility to strike compromise and to get it done. And this is a balanced equation in this bill, I'm convinced, otherwise I wouldn't be sponsoring it. I presume that the individuals and the organizations that brought

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forward the tax credit for our consideration as a Legislature bring it from a place of only wanting to help children. I give them that presumption. And if you begin the conversation right there, we can find a thread of commonality between what we are trying to accomplish with our efforts in Senate Bill 1 to that small specific piece of this bill dealing with tax credits. There is a common goal there. Now, our proposal, under Senate Bill 1, has been scrutinized, probably the most scrutinized bill in history in the State - that's a good thing. And we should all hold this other piece of this bill to the highest standards to make sure that it's done exactly as it's intended and has the result that those individuals and groups brought to us. That presumption that they want to help children, it should be held to that standard, and if it isn't, then it should end. That's something that should be in all of our interests today. And that's something that we should all look for going forward. And finally, I -- I want to end by saying this. Leader Lightford said the litmus test should be, does this help children? And I will tell you that last night I was undecided about my position on this bill and I slept on it, and I got in my car and I drove to Springfield, like I do every day, and I drove through about four different small towns and I happened to catch about five bus stops and children waiting at corners, kids in small towns that have borne the brunt of inequity in downstate Illinois. I represent so many of them in southern Macoupin County and across the district. I probably drove by a hundred kids today waiting for a bus or walking to school. And I thought to myself this question, I asked myself this question, is this bill -- is this bill going to help those kids? Is this bill, as it came from the House that represents compromise between

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Democrats and Republicans, is this bill going to help those children that I saw this morning? And the answer is, absolutely, it will help those children. It will absolutely help every one of those children. We will fund those schools fairly for the first time in decades. There will not be another generation of students that are subjected to inequity, the worst in the country, after this bill becomes law. That's something worth saying today. It may not be perfect, it is not perfect, but is this a moment that we should all grab and we should all take ahold of and we should all celebrate together, understanding there's work to do and there's accountability that has to take place afterwards? answer is absolutely, without question in my mind. I appreciate the work of this Body and so many people that have lended {sic} their voices to this debate over any number of years. I think this is a good conclusion. I ask for an Aye vote. Thank you. PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

Ladies and Gentlemen, as this bill has an immediate effective date, it will require thirty-six votes for passage. The question is, shall the Senate concur in House Amendment No. 5 to Senate Bill 1947. All those in favor will vote Aye. Opposed, Nay. The voting is open. Have all voted who wish? Take the record. Having received the required constitutional... On that question, there are 38 Yeas, 13 Nays, 4 voting Present. Having received the required constitutional majority, the Senate does concur in House Amendment No. 5 to Senate Bill 1947, and the bill is declared passed. Senator Manar, you rise, sir? I guess after your standing ovation, sir. Senator Manar.

SENATOR MANAR:

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Thank you -- thank you, Mr. President. I neglected to thank the sponsor of this bill and so many other bills in the House of Representatives, Representative Will Davis, who's done incredible work on this issue. I appreciate his work. I appreciate the time he has spent in the district that I represent. Will, I -- I think on behalf of everyone in the Senate, we appreciate what you've done to advance this issue. Thank you.

PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

Senator {sic} Davis, welcome to the Senate and congratulations. Senator Hunter, what purpose do you rise?

SENATOR HUNTER:

Mr. President, I meant to press Present, as opposed to No, on -- on this past bill.

PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR TROTTER)

The record will so reflect your intentions. May I have your attention, please? There being no further business to become before the Fifteenth Special Session, pursuant to House Joint Resolution 1, the Fifteenth Special Session of the Senate stands adjourned to the call of the President. The Senate stands adjourned.